

**Nama :** KONSTANTINUS KAPU

**Student No :** 13020216420019

**Pembimbing :** Dr. Dedi Nirmala M.Hum.

**Abstract**

The present research aims to analyze the semantic primitives of cultural words used in wedding tradition, identify the cultural specific of West Manggarai language especially in conceptualizing the words and categorize the types of the words. The data are 28 cultural words that are always used in wedding tradition. In doing this study, the researcher used descriptive qualitative method and reflective-intrinsic method. The data were collected through interviews and written sources. The result shows that 75% of wedding cultural words are categorized as blended words, 18% as polysemy and 7% as non-compositional polysemy. In terms of semantic primitives, the categories are substantives 75%, mental predicate 7%, events 14%, actions 11%, time 4%, evaluator 4% and movements 7%. Then, in terms of embodied experience, 62% are cultural embodied and 18% as social embodied.

**Key words:** *wedding cultural words, semantic primitives, blended words, embodied experience.*

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**THE MEANING OF THE CULTURAL WORDS OF WEST MANGGARAI  
LANGUAGE USED IN WEDDING TRADITION**



**A THESIS**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For Master Degree in Linguistics**

**KONSTANTINUS KAPU**

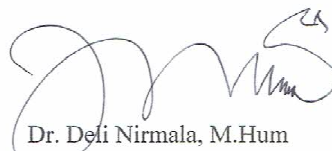
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**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
DIPONEGORO UNIVERSITY  
SEMARANG  
2019**

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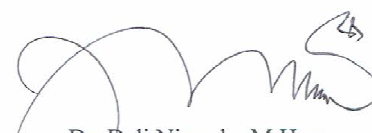
Submitted by  
KONSTANTINUS KAPU  
13020216420019

Approved by  
Advisor,



Dr. Deli Nirmala, M.Hum  
NIP 196111091987032001

Master Program in Linguistics  
Head,



Dr. Deli Nirmala, M.Hum.  
NIP. 196111091987032001

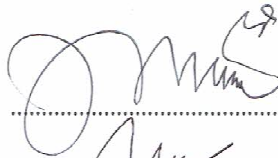
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13020216420019

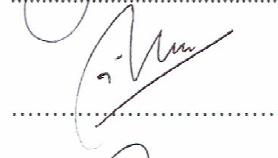
Approved by  
Strata II Thesis Examination Committee  
Master Degree in Linguistics  
On July 25, 2019

Advisor  
Dr. Deli Nirmala, M. Hum.  
NIP. 196111091987032001




date 25/07/2019

Chairman  
Dr. Nurhayati, M. Hum.  
NIP. 196610041990012001



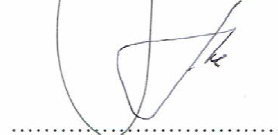
date 23/07/2019

First Member  
Dr. Agus Subiyanto, M. A  
NIP 196408141990011001



date 23/07/2019

Second Member  
Dr. M. Suryadi, M. Hum  
NIP 196407261989031001



date 23/07/2019

Accepted and declared in Semarang  
On July 25, 2019

Head of Master Program in Linguistics



Dr. Deli Nirmala, M. Hum.  
NIP. 196111091987032001

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### CERTIFICATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this study is my own research and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this study contains no material previously published or written by another or material which to a substantial extend has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institutes of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis.

Semarang, 1 Juli 2019



Konstantinus Kapu

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First of all, I would like to thank God Almighty for His love and guidance during finishing this thesis as my final project at Diponegoro University. My thesis entitled *THE MEANING OF THE CULTURAL WORDS OF WEST MANGGARAI LANGUAGE USED IN WEDDING TRADITION* could not have been undergone without God's hand.

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As a final, I would like to thank my lovely wife, Yulian Juita Ekalia M.Pd and my little baby boy, Dionisius Hernan kapu for their patience, love, care, support and everything that they have been through during finishing this thesis. They both are really meant to me. Next, I thank LPDP for full scholarship, my departed parent; Karolus Kapu and Lusia Miman, my nucleus family members; kak Mayus family, Kak Eryk & Kak Yetsi's family, Kak Sinta's family, Kak Ensi's family and all brothers and sisters. Also bapak Dami dan mama Emi in Balikpapan, bapak pranoto and ibu Diah Ismoyowati in Ungaran and ibu Yuli's family in Kassel Germany. For those that I have mentioned above, may God send His blessing to you all and may His love come upon you all. I do realize that this study is not perfect; therefore, critics and suggestions are needed and welcomed.

Semarang, 1 Juli 2019

The writer

DEDICATION

*This thesis is dedicated to*

*My beloved family;*

*My departed parents, my nucleus*

*family member and LPDP*

**MOTTO**

Du hast mich nicht erwählt,  
sondern Ich habe dich erwählt  
damit du Fruchts bringst (Yoh 15:16)

(bukan engkau yang memilih Aku  
melainkan Akulah yang memilih engkau  
supaya engkau menghasilkan buah  
berlimpah)

**Konstantinus Kapu**  
**13020216420019**

**Abstract**

The present research aims to analyze the semantic primitives of cultural words used in wedding tradition, identify the cultural specific of West Manggarai language especially in conceptualizing the words and categorize the types of the words. The data are 28 cultural words that are always used in wedding tradition. In doing this study, the researcher used descriptive qualitative method and reflective-introspective method. The data were collected through interviews and written sources. The result shows that 75% of wedding cultural words are categorized as blended words, 18% as polysemy and 7% as non compositional polysemy. In terms of semantic primitives, the categories are substantives 75%, mental predicate 7%, events 14%, actions 11%, time 4%, evaluator 4% and movements 7%. Then, in terms of embodied experience, 82% are cultural embodied and 18% as social embodied.

**Key words:** *wedding cultural words, semantic primitives, blended words, embodied experience.*

**Konstantinus kapu**

**13020216420019**

**Abstrak**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis makna asali dari kata-kata budaya yang dipakai dalam upacara pernikahan masyarakat Manggarai barat. Penelitian ini menganalisis secara khusus bagaimana kata-kata budaya dalam pernikahan ini dikonsepsikan dan bagaimana penggolongannya. Data yang dipakai terdiri dari 28 kata-kata budaya(leksikon) dalam upacara pernikahan, yang dikumpulkan melalui interview dan juga sumber-sumber tertulis. Penelitian ini juga menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dan reflektif-introspektif. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa 75% kata-kata budaya dalam pernikahan masyarakat Manggarai Barat adalah *blended words*, 18% sebagai polisemi dan 7% tidak diketahui. Dari pengkategorian makna asali, 75% substantiva, 7% predikat mental, 14% peristiwa, 11% tindakan, 4% waktu, 4% evaluasi and 7% pergerakan. Dari segi penggolongan pengalaman badaniah, 82% kata-kata ini merupakan hasil pengalaman budaya dan 18% merupakan hasil pengalaman sosial.

Kata kunci: *kata-kata budaya, makna asali, peleburan makna, pengalaman badaniah.*

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## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background of the Study

A classic German expression *andere Länder, andere Sitten* is quite similar to Indonesian proverb *lain ladang lain belalang, lain lubuk lain ikannya*. In other words, every region/place/country has its own culture. Related to this adage, there are many cultural words in West Manggarai language that are used in wedding tradition and school rite tradition and other situations, in which the people of West Manggarai use the cultural words in uttering their ideas. Interestingly, the use of these cultural words is only understood by certain people because its difficulty in getting the true meaning behind. The literal meaning of these cultural words is totally different from cultural meaning. In other words, the cultural words that are uttered by the speaker have something more than just what the words mean or the meaning is conceptualized and symbolized.

Cultural words are words that are associated with a particular language and cannot be literally translated (Newmark, 1998: 94). The cultural words used by West Mangarainese refer to their own culture, which means, to gain the meaning of the cultural words, someone should know the West Manggarainese background or culture first. Zoltan Kovecses (2000:164) writes that in language, conceptual cultural words are often viewed as a major element of culture. Therefore, language may be a significant mark of concepts (Kovecses 2000:284). Kovecses actually supports the idea of Lakoff and Johnson (1980:453), by saying that the connection between words and culture appears in a direct manner within the cognitive linguistic framework.

Language is a part of culture that links to way of thinking (Sibarani, 2004:46). People understand symbolized thing through language. Then, language itself concerns with lexicons that exist in the society. Kridalaksana (2001:126) says that lexicons are elements of language that provide information about meaning and their use in the language. Those lexicons are an image of ways of thinking concept about life and universe. Pertinent to this argument, Koentjaraningrat (2009:144) says, culture is the whole idea system, action and the work of people. One of the real forms of culture is language. Language is a verbal form of concept about culture. This means, language and culture have relationship and influence each other. The West-Manggarai cultural words are also manifestation of whole system of ideas. In wedding tradition of Manggarainese, people use cultural words which meaning is totally different from literal concept. The use of these cultural words refers to the habit of the Manggarai. However, the use of these cultural words in wedding tradition is frequently forgotten. People tend to skip every process and directly focus only on marriage proposal and wedding. In this phenomenon, some cultural words are not used and if this condition continuously happens, some cultural words will be forgotten.

Another reason of conducting this research is a modernity impact. The use of cultural words of West Manggarai language in modern era is slightly forgotten because the millennial generation tends to pay attention to modern things rather than the traditional ones. Besides, the lack of mastering the local language is seen as an obstacle for young generation to back to basic to their culture root. This phenomenon leads this study to be significant in order to remind the existence of West Manggarais' cultural words for the millennial generation. This study also

aims to find out the meaning of the West Manggarais' cultural words, so that the readers can differentiate the literal- and cultural meaning. The result of this research hopefully can be used as a reference for those in attending a cultural marriage ceremony in Manggarai regency. The last motive of doing this research is to keep the cultural words alive, because the newest phenomenon in West Manggarai right now tends to shorten the step of marriage ceremony. In other words, people do not follow the marriage process step by step but on contrary directly turn to important one. For this reason, it is important to save the cultural words alive, because dealing with culture means understanding the way of thinking of others.

## **1.2. Research Questions**

In order to make systematic approach in solving the problem, the following research questions are formulated.

- 1) What are the cultural words of West Manggarai language used in wedding ceremony, and what are the meanings of those cultural words?
- 2) How is the cultural word meaning different from literal meaning?
- 3) How are the cultural words of West Manggarai language conceptualized based on their experiences?

## **1.3. Objectives of the Study**

In line with the research questions, this study has the following purposes:

- 1) To differentiate the meaning of West Manggarais' cultural words used in wedding ceremony literally and culturally.
- 2) To identify the cultural specific of West Manggarai language used in wedding ceremony.

- 3) To have a deep understanding of using these cultural words in everyday life generally and wedding ceremony specifically.
- 4) To preserve the culture of West Mangarainese and better understand their way of thinking based on culture's view.

#### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

This research has significant values on saving the culture of West Mangarainese alive. Moreover, the phenomenon to leave the culture's value behind is quite high, because of the modernity era. For these reasons, the revealing of the meaning of the cultural words is a substantial point for millennial generation to go back to their root, because culture loss means also identity loss. Another significant point is to help the readers in finding the deeper meaning of West Manggarais' cultural words especially those who are not able to differentiate the literal and cultural meaning.

#### **1.5. Scope of the Study**

This research is concerned with the analysis of linguistic elements involved in cultural words of West Manggarai language, especially to reveal the meaning of the lexicons. The objects of the study are the wedding cultural words of West Manggarai language in Kempo dialect that usually used in occasional situation such as traditional marriage ceremony. Basically, there are a number of West Manggarais' cultural words but the researcher picks up only from marriage ceremony in order to limit the analysis area. Those cultural words are;

**Pre-wedding cultural words:** *tulak surak, wero weki, tuke mbaru, kumpul warang, kumpul kope, toto, sida nikah, belis.* **Wedding cultural words:** *teing hang, pateng, tongka, kimpu/paca,* **Post-wedding cultural words:** *paki manuk*

*wina rona, padong, padong lonto, wedi ruha, karong loang, wau wa'e, kope nggabang, des. **General cultural words in wedding ceremony:** tungku sai, kala rana, likang sua, beo kolen, weki sua, wendo, taing lipa wengko, rona tungku.*

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### 2.1. Previous Studies

Many studies related to Manggarai Language and Manggarainese culture have been done by various researchers using different methods. In this chapter, there will be some of them dealing with this topic. Gande vinsensius (2012) in his thesis *Tipologi Leksikal Verba 'memotong' dalam Bahasa Manggarai: Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM)* wrote the lexical and semantic structure of verb 'memotong' in Manggarai Language. Gande used qualitative method in finishing his research. He then found that the lexical verb 'memotong' has a uniqueness namely; memotong manusia(to kill a man), hewan(to slaughter an animal), pohon(to cut off a tree), rumput(cut off the grass), buah(to slice fruit), daun(to cut off a leaf), tali (to disconnect a rope), dan kain( to cut off a garment). All these lexicons are hyponym of verb 'memotong.' This article has a similar object namely Manggarai language, both also have similar approach; namely Natural Semantic Metalanguage(NSM). However, the cultural words are different.

Jeramun Paulus (2014) in his master thesis analyzed *the Degradation of Penti Ritual (traditional ritual to honor the ancestor) of Manggarain People in Sano Nggoang, West Manggarai*. His research focuses on identifying the original form of Penti itself, to find the reason of the degradation of Ritual *Penti*, to analyze the effect of the degradation of *Penti* ritual for local people. Jeramun used the theory of power discourse by Foucault and habits by Bourdieu. His findings show that Penti ritual can be done in the garden, in the middle of the village, in the

cemetery and *Mbaru Gendang* or rumah adat (a traditional house used for meeting and ceremony). The causes of the degradation are the lack of local language mastery, the lack of young people participation, the ban from Catholic Church and the lack of understanding of *Penti* and the development of technology. The effect of this degradation is the mastery of local language is getting low, the lack of solidarity among others, the change of the way of thinking of the people and the spreading of settlement of the people. Compared to my research, this research has a similar location and also the same background in which the people have degradation of local language, namely; Manggarai language in *Kempo* dialect. However, the big difference is the approach of researcher in doing the research. The one is using cultural study approach and the other is a kind of cognitive linguistics study.

Helga Maria Evarista Gero (2015) in her master thesis in Udayana University entitled *The discourse of Belis Tradition of Manggarainese* analyzed the pro and contra of giving *Belis* (mahar in bahasa Indonesia or a ritual of giving dowry to honor the bride) of Manggarainese marriage tradition. Helga's focus in her research is to identify the form of discourse of belis, the power relation behind the discourse and the reflection of Manggarainese towards belis. Her findings conclude that the belis tradition is a sacred ritual, as a symbol for a woman and also a binding relationship between wife and husband. Helga's research has the same context, in which we both talk about marriage tradition of Manggarainese. The difference is on its research approach between discourse analysis used by Helga and Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) approach used in this research.

Jeladu Kosmas (2015) in his article *passive construction of Manggarai language: a functional lexical analysis* wrote how Manggarai language is formed of passive structure. Jeladus' results show that Manggarai language consists of syntactical passive namely; canonical and non canonical passive forms. Morphological passive is not found in this language because there is no affixation and no morphological marker in this language. The similarity of this research is on its object, Manggarai language. While Jeladu used functional lexical approach, the writer in this thesis is using Natural Semantic Metalanguage approach.

Mirsa Umiyati and Jeladu Kosmas (2015) in their research *The Inflectional Phrase in Manggarai language* tried to find out the kinds of inflectional phrase in Manggarai language because this language is categorized morphologically as an isolating language and it has an inflectional form. In their finding, Manggarai language has three types of inflectional phrases, namely; inflectional phrase in tense, aspect and mood. This research has a similar object to my research in terms of using Manggarai language. Then, the difference is on its approach by using morphosyntax theory and the researcher in this study is using Natural Semantic Metalanguage approach.

I Wayan Arka and Kosmas Jeladu (2015) in their artikel *Passive without passive morphology? Evidence from Manggarai* examined the passive form of Manggarai language. Their finding shows that Manggarai language has a passive construction without passive verbal morphology. The construction of passive sentence is expressed by using particle *le* and marking oblique status of the agent argument of semantic transitive verb. This research is different with this thesis,

even though the focus is almost similar; Manggarai language. The approach of the research is using syntax theory while this thesis is using Natural Semantic Metalanguage.

Raru gregorius (2016) in his article explored the cultural imagery of ritual speech of *hambor haju* (a kind of ceremony of collecting woods in building a traditional house) in Manggarai distric. The purpose of his research is to find the imagery in the ritual speech of *Hambor Haju* and also its verbal symbol used in this ceremony. His research is a qualitative by obtaining the data through observation, interview, documentation, recording and taking note. His findings show that this ritual *Hambor Haju* consists of metaphor and paralelism, grammatical aspects, discourse scenario and literary style. Then, imagery in this ceremony involves esthetics imagery, unity, respect, deliberation, action, ideology, emancipation imagery. The difference between Raru's research and this research is on its object and it's the ory. Raru's research is a cultural linguistics study and this research is using Natural Semantic Metalanguage theory. The only similarity we have is the focus on Manggarai.

Fransiskus Borgias (2016) in his dissertation *Manggaraiian Myths, Rituals, and Christianity: doing contextual theology in eastern Indonesia* wrote the dynamic encounter between Catholicism and the culture of Manggaraian people. His findings based on his research questions are; transformation in the concept of human being, space and time of Manggarainese especially in terms of kinship system, marriage and birth. Second, there is a big change since Catholicism came to Manggarai especially in terms of faith-life. This dissertation is theological study

which is different with my thesis. The only similarity is on its object namely cultural life of Manggarainese.

Ema Rahardian (2017) in her master thesis *the metaphor of emotion used in Javanese Utterance* dealt with the question of conceptualization and mapping of the emotion metaphor in Javanese. In her finding, it shows that the emotion metaphor in Javanese is conceptualized by the experience of Javanese. Then, these emotions in cultural words are arranged by power, plot, source, purpose, object, process schema. The research of Rahardian has some similar point to my research based on the approach of the study, but the object of the research is totally different. While his research focused on Javanese culture, this research is on culture of West Manggarai.

Azizah Inayatul (2017) in her thesis *ungkapan upacara adat obong masyarakat adat Kalang Kendal; Tinjauan Semantik Kognitif* revealed the meaning of the expression of a death tradition in Kalang community life. The researcher found 22 cultural expression of *Obong* ritual. All these expressions have references, the terms of ritual, profession, actions, primitive semantics, social experience and cultural experience. This research is similar to mine due to the same approach we have. However, the object of the study is totally different. Azizah's focus is on *Obong* ritual in Kendal, while this master thesis is focused on Manggarai marriage tradition.

## 2.2.Review of Theories

### 2.2.1. Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) Theory

It has been mentioned earlier that the problem in this study is the difference meaning culturally and literally. The use of NSM in this study is significant in order to find the semantic prime of the cultural words which is used in the wedding tradition. It means, the semantic prime of the cultural words is identified through NSM. By identifying its semantic prime, it is easier to differentiate the meaning culturally and literally. Wierzbicka and her colleagues; Cliff Goddard, Felix Ameka, Hilary Chappell, Jean Harkins developed and proposed the NSM theory since 1972 through cross-cultural semantics. They focus on semantic primitives by using trial and error method. These semantic primitives are the elements which can be used to define the meaning of words (or any other meanings) cannot be defined themselves; rather, they must be accepted as 'indefinabilia', that is, as semantic primes, in terms of which all complex meanings can be coherently represented. Wierzbicka also highlights that every language has words which are intimately bound up with one particular culture and which have no equivalents in any other languages. At the same time, all languages also have words which appear to have semantic counterparts in all other languages which coincide with the set of this language's indefinables. Within a particular language, every element belongs to a unique network of elements, and occupies a particular place in a unique network of relationships. When we compare two, or more, languages we cannot expect to find identical networks of relationships. We can expect to find corresponding sets of indefinables. Some primitives are polysemous (the same word, for example, for ONE and THE SAME), this does not mean they are identical or that the language in question cannot make the distinction. The concepts can be distinguished by their distinctive grammatical frames.

The NSM theory is built on the assumption that words have meanings that can be articulated. Although meanings are not fixed and are interpreted differently according to context, there are always some shared features, and they can be captured, otherwise humans could not possibly communicate with each other. Therefore, the NSM approach aims to state the semantic invariant of a word or an expression in a precise way, striving for clarity and simplicity in defining the meaning.

According to Goddard and Wierzbicka, the current lexicon of NSM theory consists of around 66 lexical items. The semantic primitives are proposed by “a great deal of trial-and error experimentation in diverse areas of semantic analysis and are presented in the table below.

#### **Universal Semantic Primitives**

<b>NO</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Primes</b>
<b>1</b>	Substantives	I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING//THING, PEOPLE,BODY
<b>2</b>	Relation substantives	KIND, PART
<b>3</b>	Determiners	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER
<b>4</b>	Quantifiers	ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MUCH/MANY,
<b>5</b>	Evaluators	GOOD, BAD
<b>6</b>	Descriptors	BIG, SMALL
<b>7</b>	Mental predicates	WANT, FEEL, THINK, KNOW, SEE, HEAR, DON'T WANT
<b>8</b>	Speech	SAY, WORDS, TRUE
<b>9</b>	Actions, events,	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE

	Movements	
<b>10</b>	Existence	THERE IS
<b>11</b>	Life	LIVE, DIE
<b>12</b>	Logical concept	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF
<b>13</b>	Time	WHEN/TIME, NOW, AFTER, BEFORE, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT
<b>14</b>	Space	WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, NEAR, FAR, SIDE, INSIDE,
<b>15</b>	Intensifier/Augmentor	VERY, MORE
<b>16</b>	Interclausal linkers	BECAUSE, IF
<b>17</b>	clause operators	NOT, MAYBE
<b>18</b>	Metapredicate	CAN
<b>19</b>	Taxonomy,partonomy	KIND OF, PART OF
<b>20</b>	Similarity	LIKE /HOW/AS

### 2.2.2. Blending Theory

The problem of the wedding cultural words in West Manggaraian tradition is an issue of blending concept. This means, in order to know the meaning of those wedding cultural words, it is better to understand the concept of blending or conceptual integration (Friedrich Ungerer and Hans-Joerg Schmid 2006:421). Blending theory derives from two traditions within cognitive semantics: Conceptual metaphor theory and mental space theory. The crucial insight of blending theory is that meaning involves integration of structure that give rise to more than the sum of its parts. Many blending theorists argue that the process of conceptual integration or blending is a general and basic process to the way we think. A given example by Fodor and Lepore 1996 is *pet fish*. Pet fish is not simply

the intersection of the categories Pet and Fish. Instead, the category pet fish integrates aspects of each of the source categories in order to produce a new category with its own distinct internal feature. Pet fish in this conceptual integration means a person who you pretend you are friends with in order to use them for something.

According to Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, a good way to explain the notion of conceptual blending is to contrast it with the theory of metaphor. A given example proposed by Fauconnier and Turner is a sentence *Volkswagen obviously needs a shot in the arm*. The assumption in understanding this sentence can be different. A first interpretation is that Volkswagen has hired a new director and the second is a doctor or a nurse administering a syringe containing medicine intravenously in the arm of the patient. Also included is activated knowledge about the purpose of such an event, the improvement of the patient's health. According to the conceptual-blending theory, these two mental spaces are brought together and integrated, or 'blended' (Friedrich Ungerer and Hans-Joerg Schmid 2006:259).

### 2.2.3. Embodied experience

Wierzbicka in her book *Understanding cultures through Their Keywords* (1997:1) says that there is a relation between a life of society and the lexicon of language. The relation between them can be in material or visible level. The example of Wierzbicka's statement is the word *Bruderschaft* in German which does not exist in English. It can be literally translated as *Brotherhood*, it means *to drink as a pledge with someone*. The equivalency of this word in English indicates that English-speaking societies do not have a common ritual of pledging friendship

through drinking. This phenomenon leads Wierzbicka to agree the idea of Jhon Locke and Saphir that the meaning of complex ideas refers to customs and manner of life of people. The meaning of words from different languages do not equal to each other because it reflects and passes on ways of living and ways of thinking characteristic of the society itself through understanding their culture.

This argument is also supported by Lakoff and Johnson (1999:4) through their idea of embodied mind, who state that our mind is quite limited and it can't be separated with human beings' experiences. While our mind is working to produce some arguments, there is interaction in the mind itself with human bodies' experiences. Embodiment theory underscores that reality of the object is embodied through every days' stories (Evans & Green, 2006:44-48). Based on these arguments, it can be summed up that embodiment theory is the mix between body's experience and cognition.

The fact that our experience is embodied that is structured in part by the nature of the bodies we have and by our neurological organisation has consequences for cognition. In other words, the concepts we have access to and the nature of the 'reality' we think and talk about are a function of our embodiment: we can only talk about what we can perceive and conceive, and the things that we can perceive and conceive derive from embodied experience. These experiences can be social, cultural, psychological experience. From this point of view, the human mind must bear the imprint/record of embodied experience and the human mind/idea or action itself is a definition of a culture.

#### 2.2.4. The Types of cultural Marriage of Manggarainese

Manggarai language is a language that is used in western part of Flores Island. In the past, there was only Manggarai regency; however, nowadays it has been developed in three regencies, namely; East Manggarai regency, Manggarai regency and West Manggarai regency. These three regencies have almost the same language; Manggarai language, but in some areas, the dialect is totally different and some parts have different language too. This similarity in language leads them to have a similar culture too, especially traditional marriage.

These categories of wedding tradition below are the types how a Manggaraian can marry someone. There are six types of marriage in manggaraian and the *kala rana* type is the main focus in this research. The other types have different steps and most of them happen in the past. Below are the types of Manggarainese marriage model

1. Tungku sa'i (perkawinan Silang)

Literally *tungku* means connected and *sa'i* means head. *Tungku sa'i* marriage means a marriage between a bride and a groom whose parents are sibling. The groom is a son from a male sibling and the bride is a daughter from female sibling. The goal of this kind of marriage is to keep the kinship between them alive. This kind of form of marriage is now disallowed since Roman Catholic came to Manggarai.

2. Kala Rana (perkawinan di luar hubungan kekerabatan)

*Kala* means gambir (daun sirih) and *rana* is primary or young (pertama, muda).

This kind of marriage is undertaken, when the both families have no relationship at all and come from other clan or island. This type of marriage is now alive and

ideal among Manggarainese. In the past, *Tungku sa'i* marriage is at first place, if it could not be done, the second alternative is *Kala Rana* type.

3. Lili (memperistrikan janda)

Lili is a type of marriage, whose new groom still has relationship to her previous husband. Her new groom can be a single- or married one. If it is a married one, there must be approval from his first wife. This type is primarily not a marriage because there is no official stage like *tuke mbaru*, *toto* and *paca*. This process is a kind of shifting of responsibility.

4. Tinu lalo (mengasuh anak perempuan yatim piatu)

*Tinu lalo* marriage is a part of *tungku sai* marriage. *Tinu* means taking care; *mengasuh* and *lalo* is without parents; yatim piatu. A daughter whose parents have passed away can be taken care by her parents' families. If the daughter is mature enough, they can arrange the marriage. In the past, the woman was under pressured to marry with the son from her parent family, she lives with, but nowadays the woman herself decides what she wants.

5. Likang sua/telu (berapi tungku dua/tiga)

Polygamy has been known by Manggarainese since many years ago, however polygamy for Manggarainese refers to someone who is rich and very popular one.

The process of having a second wife is without divorcing his first wife.

Likang means *tungku api*; stone fireplace and sua/telu is number dua/tiga. Liking sua means beristri dua; having two wives.

6. Beo kolen/rona Weru

This marriage type is quite similar to *lili* type but the difference is on the freedom of the widow. In this condition, the widow has her right to decide to marry outside

her previous husband clan. Rona weru means bersuami baru, then beo(kampung)  
kolen(lagi) means berkampung halaman baru.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH METHOD**

#### **3.1. Research Design**

This research is carried out under descriptive qualitative method. The use of qualitative method is suitable with Mack's (2005;1) statement that one of the purposes of qualitative research is to find evidence and seek answer to question. In this research, some theories are used to reveal the problem of wedding cultural words of Manggarainese. Those theories are Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), blending and embodiment. NSM is used in order to know the semantic primitive of wedding cultural words while blending and embodiment theories are to differentiate the literal and cultural meaning and to maintain how the words conceptualized based on their experience.

#### **3.2. Population and sample**

The data of this research are the cultural words used by West Manggaraian people in wedding ceremony. Cultural words are usually used to communicate between families. The writer limits the data of cultural words because there are a lot of cultural words used in many other ritual of Manggarainese. In this research there are only twenty eight wedding cultural words. These cultural words are used in Kempo dialect, in West Manggarai, Flores.

### **3.3. Data Collection and Method**

The data of this research are taken from written cultural words, Jangur (2010:49-53) and oral use in the wedding ceremony. Interview in West Manggarai, Flores was done in order to know the meaning behind the cultural words. The theories of embodiment, natural semantic metalanguage and cognitive linguistic will be used to analyze the data. The researcher took a month to interview five informen (three head villages-*tua adat* and two chiefs-*kepala desa*) on June 2018. Besides, the data collection was also done through the experience of the researcher himself in wedding ceremony on July 2017.

### **3.4 Data Analysis Method**

There are three techniques used in this data analysis; collecting data, analyzing data and making conclusion. Collecting data is done through interview and the data are wedding cultural words of West Manggarainese. Almost all cultural words used in wedding ceremony are chosen especially the words that have specific meaning. As the next step, those data are analyzed by using NSM theory, blending theory and embodiment in order to categorize the cultural words. In analyzing, the data are categorized into semantics primitive, embodiment and also blending. After analyzing the data, a conclusion is made in order to highlight the finding and discussion.

In this study, there are 3 research questions. The first research question is answered by the use of NSM. The data are analyzed by NSM in order to find the semantic prime of the cultural words which is used in wedding tradition. The second research question is answered by blending theory. This theory analyzes whether the cultural words are blended or not. The third research question is

answered by embodiment. This theory is used in order to know how those cultural words are conceptualized based on the experiences of the local people.

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 The meaning and the Semantic Primitives of the wedding cultural Words

The marriage process of West-Manggarainese consists of three stages; pre-wedding, wedding and post-wedding, but there are also general cultural words used in marriage ceremony. These stages determine the use of cultural words differently. The grouping of the cultural words is based on the stage of marriage process itself. The cultural words in marriage ceremony are:

1. **Pre-wedding cultural words:** *tulak surak, wero weki, take mbaru, kumpul warang, kumpul kope, toto, belis.*
2. **Wedding cultural words:** *sidah nikah, teing hang, pateng/ tongka, kimpu/paca,*
3. **Post-wedding cultural words:** *paki manuk wina rona, padong, padong lonto, wedi ruha, wau wa'e, kope nggabang,des.*
4. **General cultural words in wedding ceremony:** *tungku sai, kala rana, likang sua, beo kolen, weki sua, wendo, taing lipa wengko, rona tungku.*

##### I. Pre-wedding cultural Words

The beginning of wedding ceremony in West Manggaraian tradition consists of many steps. A man who seriously wants to marry a woman can go through these processes. A man/groom goes to woman/bride's parent in the evening by taking at least a bottle of beer, cigarette, and money. After welcoming by the woman's parent or drinking tea/coffee, a man/groom can maintain his intention of coming. He puts fifty thousand rupiah in front of the parent while

saying the reason why he is coming to guest on that day. Money is a symbol of the significance of his words and it differentiates a normal talk and an important talk. He can start how he meets the woman at first what his feeling toward the woman is and so on. Usually, after listening to his intention, the parent asks for his self-identity. It can be family background, job, and etc. Before answering the question, the bride puts a cigarette and beer in front of the parent. Beer and cigarette are used in order to let the talk enjoyable between them. After self-introduction, the parent considers whether it is okay to continue to the next step. If the response is an easy yes from bride's parent, the next process of wedding puts in a serious discussion. The groom can ask for definite date/day, in which his family comes and proposes a marriage. The groom also asks for the number of money, livestock and any other need to conduct *tuke mbaru* (marriage proposal) as next process. The next morning the groom can leave the woman's house/village. This beginning process is called *tulak surak* and *wero weki*.

The groom then informs to his family what he has done and discussed with bride's parent. He also maintains how much money and livestock they must prepare for the next step. For example the bride's family asks 50 million Rupiah and a couple of pigs. There will be meeting (*nempung*) to gather all nucleus and extended family members of the groom to discuss how to collect 50 million and a couple of pigs for *tuke mbaru* process. In this meeting process there will be a person who acts as main spokesman (*pateng*). This *pateng* determines how much money from every extended family member and nucleus family member. They money from extended family member is called *kumpul warang* and from nucleus family member is called *sidah nikah*. Another way of collecting money for this

*tuke mbaru* is through *kumpul kope*. *Kumpul kope* is a moment, when a groom invites his neighbors, close friends to collect money for marriage.

If all the required money and livestock have been prepared for *tuke mbaru*, the groom's family comes to bride's family on the day that both families have been chosen. In an evening the groom's family comes to bride's family to deliver the money and livestock. The moment of groom's family delivers money and livestock is called *tuke mbaru*. If money and livestock have been given, then *toto* as next step of marriage can be done. The bride sits on a special homemade pillow and is carried by two or four men. The bride is set in the middle of groom's family and everybody greets her. After this, the bride and groom sit on the pillow and put on the ring as a sign that they both are now officially engaged. As final step of this pre-wedding process, there will be a meeting between bride-groom's family to decide how much money and livestock must be prepared for marriage. The number of money and livestock in this process is called *belis*.

1. *Tulak surak and wero weki*

Culturally, *Tulak Surak and wero weki* are inseparable, because both processes are combined together in the West Manggaraian marriage process. As an earliest phase, a man who really wants to have a serious relationship with a woman comes to her parents and introduces himself in front of her nucleus family members. The representative of man's family could accompany him in this process. The man shares how he met the woman at beginning, also maintains his intention and expresses his feeling to the woman. Her parents then consider whether or not there is obstacle between their relationship or family background problem. If there is no barrier, then the relationship between them is blessed. The

focus of *wero weki* is only on introduction to know who the man is and *tulak surak*'s focus is on the purpose of the man's coming. It is important to maintain whether the man just being a guest or having another intension of his coming. Some symbolized materials such as *Tuak* (a kind of alcohol), cigarette and some money are here used as a part of Manggaraian culture. *Tuak* and cigarette are used to greet each other, so that the conversation will be easier. Some money is used as down payment of their official conversation.

*Wero* (to tell) and *weki* (the body). Literally, *wero weki* means to tell someone. The word *tulak* means to follow and *surak* means letter. *Tulak surak* is literally to follow and a letter. The word *tulak surak* and *wero weki* are different from its literal meaning. Two examples underline how they are different in use.

***Tulak surak*** iwo mesa meseng ra nono (my dear, please help me to find the letter which lost yesterday).

In this context, the use of the word *tulak surak* means a real letter and the situation is in a daily life conversation. It explains a missing letter and someone is asked to find it.

Puli mo ***wero weki*** gemi latang tau perlombaan pidato 17 agustus cepisa? (have you registered yourself for speech competition on 17 August?)

In this context, the meaning of *wero weki* is to register and the situation is in a daily life conversation too. It describes about someone that wants to join a speech competition on 17 August. The word *weki* in this context can be omitted and it does not change the meaning and both words are separable: *wero*(to tell) and *weki* (body).

*Wie hoo, kaping ite dami anak kudut tegi ngalis nai dite latang wero weki agu tulak surak dami anak* (tonight, we are here to ask your blessing for my son's *wero weki* and *tulak surak*).

In this sentence, the meaning of *tulak surak* and *wero weki* is asking for blessing and self introduction and it is used in the wedding ceremony. These words *tulak surak* and *wero weki* in wedding context are inseparable. If it is separated, it does not have any cultural meaning. Let see the analysis below:

*Tulak surak* in cultural meaning:

X is a man while Y is a woman

X and Y did not know each other before

Because of this, they both want to have a serious relationship

X feels something (love) to Y and Y also feels something (love) to X

X comes to Y and Z (Y's family) to ask for something (blessing)

Before asking something to Y and Z, X must put something (money/beer) in front of Z

Y and Z say something (yes/no) to X

X hears to Y and Z

*Tulak surak* in literal meaning:

X has lost something (letter)

Because of that, X wants to find it again

*Wero weki* in cultural meaning:

X is a man while Y is a woman

X is in a place where Y and Z are there

Y and Z want to know X's family

X says something to Y and Z

After some time, Y and Z know who X is

Wero weki in literal meaning;

X did not know something

After sometimes, Y says something to X

Now, X knows because of Y

The word *tulak surak* is a complex verb because it has several semantic primes; FEEL, SAY, KNOW, HEAR and DO. Then, the word *wero weki* is also a complex verb because it has several semantic primes; SAY, KNOW, WANT. Based on the explanation above, the semantic primitive of *tulak surak* in wedding ceremony of West Manggarain is categorized as *mental predicate* while *wero weki* is also *mental predicate*.

No	Cultural words	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Wero weki	To tell	self introduction of groom
2.	Tulak surak	To find a letter	asking for blessing from bride's parent

From this description, it can be drawn that the words *wero weki* and *tulak surak* in cultural meaning has an integrative meaning and inseparable word. Two words *wero* and *weki* or *tulak* and *surak* are combined in order to get a new meaning which is used only in the wedding context or in other words, the meaning is blended.

## 2. Kumpul Warang

*Kumpul warang* and *kumpul kope* are almost the same. *Kumpul* is to collect and *warang* is support. The only difference between these two terms is the participant. In *Kumpul warang* ceremony, the participants are only extended family members. The nucleus family member of the groom invites his extended family members to collect money for wedding. For example, the dowry is 50 million. This amount of money is mainly collected from four groups: the groom himself, nucleus family members, extended family members and grooms' friends.

In the past, *Warang* was in form of livestock but nowadays, it can be associated with livestock and money. The shifting of *warang* is influenced by its value. Long time ago, dowry (mahar/belis) was determined by the amount of livestock and now by the amount of money. *Kumpul Warang* in cultural meaning is also different from its literal meaning. The two examples below prove how the difference is.

Nia bel *warang* dite latang tau partai hoo gra? Do you support us in this political party?  
In this example, the use of *warang* happens in daily conversation which refers to someone who needs support, then it is not identified what kind of support is needed. It can be in an idea.

Mo coga *warang* gami *cesua* latang ase de wote dite. Tomorrow we will deliver the money and livestock to my wife's brother.

Here, the word *warang* is used in wedding preparation and it is about giving money by a husband to her wife's brother. The support itself is in the form of money or livestock.

Kumpul warang in literal meaning

(X is Warang)

X is something

X is a kind of support

X can be an idea

Kumpul warang in cultural meaning

X is *warang*

Before this, X hears that Y wants to marry someone

X has something (money/livestock)

X goes to Y and moves livestock or money

No	Cultural words	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Kumpul warang	To ask for support	Money/livestock as dowry for bride

The word *kumpul warang* is as same as *wero weki* and *tulak surak*, in which two words are combined and formed a new meaning. This cultural meaning is different from its literal meaning. The meaning is blended. *Kumpul warang* is a complex verb. It has several semantic primes: HEAR, WANT, GO and MOVE.

3. *Kumpul kope*

*Kumpul kope* is a ceremony where the unity of men collects money for engagement of a groom. As a preparation step of marriage, the groom's family invites his neighbors, and close friends to plan the engagement day together. While

the men collecting money, the women serve them with coffee, tea and dinner. The high cost of a wedding ceremony is the reason why *Kumpul kope* is a must.

In this term, *Kumpul* means to collect and *kope* can be machete. The literal meaning of *kumpul kope* itself is collecting machete. The use of word *kope* in this term is a symbol for men. In the past tradition of Manggarainese, someone who is appropriate to use machete is a man. By having a sharp *kope*, a man can work in the garden properly in order to get some food for his family. *Kope* is also used to cut the grass, for feeding livestock and to find firewood. Those activities above are based on the background of Manggaraian society in the past that lived mostly as farmers and retailers. This background puts the existence of *kope* as an essential one for a man.

This essential meaning of *kope* for a man in manggaraian tradition is linked to marriage. A machete can work well if it is sharp enough so that it can be useful for farmer life and vice versa. This also occurs to marriage process in which people need some money to have a wedding ceremony. A great wedding ceremony and a big dowry require a lot of money. For this reason, the meaning of *Kumpul kope* related to marriage is different from its literal meaning. Here, *kumpul kope* means collecting money for engagement of a man, so that the wedding ceremony can be conducted without a financial problem. Besides, *Kumpul kope* shares some values of life such as unity, familiarity, and brotherhood. The different meaning of *kumpul kope* literally and culturally is shown below:

*Kumpul kope situ peang da nono* (please collect all the machetes outside).

This example refers to real machete and the context is in daily conversation which asks someone to collect all the machetes outside. This example also has literal meaning.

Mesen bengkes, ai Sanggen taung ase kae manga ranga one *Kumpul kope* latang tau kaping iname. (It is really grateful to see you all at *Kumpul kope* to conduct a marriage proposal).

This example has cultural meaning because it happens in wedding preparation time which refers to the happy feeling of someone in seeing his relatives/friends at collecting money ceremony.

#### *Kumpul kope* in literal meaning

X is *kumpul Kope*

X is putting something (machete) together

X is machete

#### *Kumpul kope* in cultural meaning

(X is *kumpul kope*)

Before this, X knows that Y wants to marry someone

X is doing something

X is collecting money

From this explanation, the semantic primitives of *kumpul kope* are WANT, DO and KNOW. The word *kumpul kope* has inseparable meaning like other cultural words such as *tulak surak*, *wero weki*, *kumpul warang*. They have an integrative meaning and if the combined words are separated, the meaning will be literal and no more cultural.

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	<i>Kumpul kope</i>	To collect machete	Money as dowry for bride

#### 4. Tuke mbaru

*Tuke Mbaru* is a ceremony where groom officially enters the house of the bride as a family member or in other word this is a moment of marriage proposal. If through *wero weki* the man is seen as a guest, here, in this *tuke mbaru* ceremony, he is seen as a family member. The groom puts traditional clothes on, comes in the house of the woman and waits until the *tongka* (mediator) calls the woman. The woman also wears beautiful traditional clothes. There will be a kind of game in between. When the woman comes up, both of them sit on a beautiful traditional handmade pillow. Then, the woman is officially introduced to groom's extended family members. After this ceremony, the groom's family delivers the money and livestock as down payment for marriage. In the history of the Manggaranese, before Tuke Mbaru ceremony, the woman is not allowed to come to man's family, so no family member knows who the bride is. For this reason, sitting on the beautiful traditional handmade pillow in front of man's extended family member is a need.

*Tuke* means climbing and *mbaru* means house. Literally, *tukem baru* is entering a house using ladder. A house with ladder is a kind of traditional house of Manggrainese in the past that avoids them from wild animals. The use of

word *tuke* is nowadays strange, because there is no house with ladder anymore. For this reason, the cultural meaning of the word *tuke mbaru* is confusing.

Ase kae sanggen taung, manuk bakok latang tau *tukem baru* de ase dite, poli taung siap'rga (dear brothers and sisters, the white rooster for our brother's *tukem baru* has been prepared).

This example of the use of *tuke mbaru* happens in wedding preparation time which shows the readiness of someone in preparing a white rooster for his brother's wedding. *Tuke mbaru* in this example means marriage proposal by giving a half of the dowry.

Neka labar nggeng wa tanah. Tuke eta mbaru ga, hai kudut usang hitu ga( don't play outside the house. Please come in because it will be raining).

This is the example of the use of the word *tuke mbaru* as literal meaning happens in the daily life. It describes a warning of someone to children, not to play outside because of raining. Please come in!

*Tuke Mbaru* literally:

X is *tuke mbaru*

X is moving to a place using something (ladder)

If there is no ladder, X cannot move in

X is a man or woman

*Tukem baru* culturally:

X is *tukem baru*

X and Y sitting on something (a handmade pillow) in a place (house)

Y introduces herself to X's family

X moves the dowry to Y

X says something (marriage proposal) to Y

The semantic primitives of *Tuke mbaru* are MOVE and SAY. The previous example shows the difference literally and culturally.

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Tuke mbaru	Coming in a house	Marriage proposal

5. Toto

Toto ceremony is a part of *tuke mbaru*. Toto is an event where groom and bride both still sit on the handmade pillow and put on the ring into their finger and show it to the public as a sign that they are now married. According to tradition, before religion was introduced, toto is the official marriage for Manggarainese. When religions exist, the marriage process is integrated. It means, after conducting *toto*, the marriage is continued by going to church or mosque. During the cultural process, all are sitting on the floor using mat. The two handmade pillows are put in the middle as the center of the ceremony the bride and the groom are sitting face to face. The examples below show how the word toto is totally different depending on its context.

Sanggan taung hitu salen, one acara *toto* hoo neki cataung dite anak.(dear all, by this toto, our two children are no more as a person but a family)

Neka toto na ata manga gemi tuh (do not show off what you have in your life)

Toto literally

X is toto

X has something new

X wants Y to see something

Toto culturally

X is *toto*

X is moving a ring to Y

X, Y showing the ring to people

X, Y are now culturally married

The word *toto* is an event (example 1). *Toto* itself means literally *to show something* (example 2). In this cultural marriage, *toto* refers to bride and groom who sit on the handmade pillow and show off their ring as a symbol of unity.

The semantic prime of the word *toto* is MOVEMENT.

no	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	toto	To show off	Putting the ring on as husband and wife

6. Belis

After *toto* ceremony, the bride and groom can leave the house, but the representative of both families still stay to determine how much *belis* should be paid off by the groom's family. The discussion between them is always exhausted, due to the number of *belis*. *Belis* can be some money, a dozen of beer, farm animals like goats, horses, cows, buffalos, roosters, pigs and traditional cloves. If the groom is well-educated or has a high status, the *belis* can be expensive. Before the wedding ceremony, *belis* must be paid off. If not, there will be no *padong* later on.

There is no literal meaning of the word *belis*. This word refers to dowry and the dowry itself can be some money, farm animals like goats, horses, buffalos, cows, roosters, pigs and traditional cloves. The semantic primitive of the word *belis* is SUBSTANTIVE.

Kudut belis dami anak, tegi lami 150 juta seng, *sua* kaba, 1 sapi, 1 jarang, *sua* ela, *sua* embe agu ca pasang towe. (the dowry of our daughter is 150 million Rupiahs, 2 buffalos, 1 cow, 1 horse, 2 goats and a pair of traditional cloves)

### Belis culturally

X is belis

X is something (the dowry) from the groom's family

X is something (livestock and money)

If there is no X, this (the wedding) can't be done.

## II. Wedding cultural words

As it has been mentioned above that after *toto* ceremony, there is a meeting between groom and bride's family to determine the number of money and livestock for wedding. The amount of money and livestock is usually bigger than at *tuke mbaru* (marriage proposal). For this reason, the speaker of the groom's family invites the nucleus and extended family member again and the groom himself to collect the money and livestock. If the money and livestock have been prepared, the wedding ceremony can be undertaken. In some cases, if the money and livestock are less-prepared than what is required, the wedding could be canceled. However, it depends on the bride's family. After wedding, there will be a party along the night and the next day, the bride can leave her house/village to live with her husband or known as *padong* (to guide).

## 1 Tongka/pateng

The communication between bride's family and groom's family is absolutely indirect. Both sides have a spokesman, who mediates the demand of the bride's family and the response of groom's family. The spokesman is called *tongka*. The *tongka* must be a man and good at knowledge of Manggarain culture, because some conversation is metaphoric. The job of *tongka* is only to build a bridge between two families. He himself can not decide alone but always discuss it with the family together. For example, if the spokesman of bride's family asks for Rp.150 million of dowries, the spokesman of groom's family can not directly approve it. He discusses it first with the groom's family whether or not it is okay.

The word *tongka* literally means a walking stick (noun) and to hold up something (verb). However, in this cultural moment, *tongka* is related to spokesman. For this reason, the semantic primitive of the word *tongka* is SOMEONE.

Tongka dise tegi 150 juta seng, *sua* kaba agu *sua* jarang kudut paca anak dise (their spokesman asks for Rp.150 million, 2 buffalos and 2 horses as dowry). This sentence refers to cultural meaning.

### Tongka culturally

X is tongka

X has a good knowledge at culture

X is someone

X is a man

Ome toe mek ngance lako, neka hemong pake tongka (If you cannot move, you may use your walking stick). This example has a literal meaning.

### Tongka literally

X is tongka

X is used by someone to move

X is a wooden stick

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	tongka	A walking stick	spokesman

#### 7. Sida nikah

Sida is similar to *kumpul warang* and *kumpul kope*. However, sida nikah is a special ceremony where all the nucleus family members of the groom gather together to discuss what they can do for the marriage. In Manggarai tradition, amount of belis (dowry) for bride's family is overcome together by the groom's family. Everyone has its portion whether groom himself or nucleus, extended family members. In this case, sida is collecting money and animals by the groom's nucleus family. For example, if the belis of a bride is 150 million Rupiah, 2 water buffalos, 2 horses, 2 goats. All this belis is divided to all the groom's family members. Sida nikah is a moment to deliver the money or livestock by nucleus family members of the groom. Usually, the belis portion of the groom's nucleus family members is higher than extended family members.

The word sida in Manggarainese language means literally an obligatory help (bantuan wajib). Then, in cultural wedding ceremony, sida means money or livestock. For this reason, sida nikah is categorized as SUBSTANTIVE.

#### Sida nikah culturally

X is something

X is sida nikah

X is money or livestock

X is a part of dowry.

no	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Sidah nikah	Ask for support and marriage	Obligation of nucleus-extended family member to give money/livestock

2 *teing hang*

The word *teing hang* literally means *memberi makan*. However, this literal meaning is not as same as its cultural meaning. *Teing hang* process is a moment where the bride with her parent, brother and sister are going to their ancestor cemetery or their departed family members. They ask for help by praying together in the cemetery and offer some food to their departed family. The intention of this *teing hang* is to ask for their support so that the wedding ceremony is going well.

These two examples show how literal and cultural meaning is different. a). neka hemong *teing hang* acu hitu musi ding e ( jangan lupa memberi makan anjing yang di dapur itu). b).sanggen taung ase kae de calon ipar dite mai taung *teing hang* sili beo.

(All your daughter-in-law's family came and attended sesajen's ceremony in the village). Based on this cultural claim and description, the semantic primitives of the word *teing hang* are FEEL, GO, PUT and SAY

Teing hang literally

X is teing hang

Before this, Y wants something (food)

X knows that Y wants something (food)

X puts something (food) in front of Y

Now, Y feels something good

#### Teing hang culturally

Before this, X feels something bad

Because of this, X goes to a place (family's cemetery)

X says something there (praying), then puts something (food, drink etc) there

After that X feels good

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	<i>Teing hang</i>	To feed others	Asking for blessing from departed family.

#### 4.1.2.4 kimpu/paca

The word *kimpu* has no literal meaning. Kimpu culturally meant a part of *belis*. Kimpu is the end deal of how much dowry has to grant to bride's family. This means, even though in the beginning there is an offer of dowry from bride's family, it is still viewed from groom's situation. For example, if they offer 150 million Rupiah in the beginning and in the end there is only 100 million Rupiah on the hand, it is understandable as long as it is reasonable. Sometimes there is an epic discussion among two families until the deal is made.

The semantic primitive of the word *kimpu* are WANT, HAVE, HEAR and SAY. The example below shows how the word works: a). *pisa kimpu lorong*

kaping iname dite tuh empisa? (How much dowry did you deliver at wedding ceremony last month?)

Kimpu culturally

X is kimpu

Before this, X wants something big (money and livestock) from Y

Y says the truth that he has something small

X hears the Y's words

Now, the wedding can be done.

III. Post wedding cultural words

A moment after wedding is to let the bride go with her husband which it is well known as *padong*. However, as it mentioned earlier that there will be consequences of less delivered money and livestock at the wedding day namely; the bride can not be taken to groom's house/village and second the man must stay at bride's family to help them in running their life. If dowry is paid off, then there will be *padong*, *curu*, *wed'i ruha* and *des*. In this *padong*, the bride and her nucleus-extended family members can accompany her in moving to her husband house/village. These families also help the bride by moving all her belonging. They then go together with the group of groom's family.

When they arrived at her husband's village, they can not directly move to the house. In a traditional house or an open field, they are welcomed by local people and traditional music like *gong* and *gendang* (a kind of drum) is played

after they all sit. The local people greet and congratulate them while offering tea and coffee. After some time, the bride and groom wear traditional clothes and move to the house of the groom (This is called as *Curu*). Right, in the front door, there is an egg and they both must step on that egg until it is broken. After that they are allowed to come in and sit in a circle. After having tea and coffee, there will be a couple of chicken that is slaughtered in the front of the bride and groom and they both eat it after that (this is called *paki manuk wina rona*).

After spending a night, in the early morning, the local women and the bride's families go to a bathing place together. The bride and groom take a bath in front of the people. This means, they both should put their past behind whether their ex or everything from the past that bothers their new life as a new married couple (this is called as *wau wae*). At noon, the families of the bride can say farewell to the groom's family. However, before this happens, there will be a *nempung* (a kind of meeting from both families). Again, they sit in a circle and the groom's family gives a number of money to bride's families. Without that money, the family of the bride will not leave that village, because it is a must. If it is done, they can leave and the bride stays in her husband house or village (this is called *des; pamitan*)

#### 4.1.3.1 Kope Nggabang

Kope is machete and *nggabang* means very big. Kope *nggabang* in literal meaning is a very big machete. In the tradition of Manggarainese as a farmer and retailer, the significance of the kope *Nggabang* is lower than kope in general. It is only used to cut off a big tree, when farmers themselves go farming. Then, in

the reality life of Manggarainese, Kope Nggabang is less taken than the normal one, for this reason kope nggabang can be categorized as an important thing.

The cultural meaning of Kope nggabang related to marriage process is totally different than its literal meaning. As a tradition, a man who wants to marry a woman must pay a number of dowry (it can be money, livestock, traditional blanket etc). The man who cannot pay it off is called kope nggabang, an important man. As a consequence, after wedding ceremony the woman cannot be moved to man's house/village but on contrary, the man must stay with parent in law to help them in running a life. This man replaces his failure to pay off his dowry.

The difference in meaning is also shown in semantic primitive way.

*Kope nggabang* literally is SOMETHING while culturally is SOMEONE

*Kope nggabang* literally

X is kope nggabang

X is something

X is a kind of machete

*Kope nggabang* culturally

X is kope nggabang

X is someone who has not enough dowry to pay off

X must stay at bride's house

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	<i>Kope nggabang</i>	Machete and very big	A groom who can not deliver required dowry.

#### 4.1.3.2 Padong

*Padong* is a moment, when the representative of the bride's family joins the groom's family in taking the bride to her husband village or house. After celebrating the wedding party, a night long, the bride moves to the village where her husband coming from. However, before it is done, all the requirements must be completed, especially the number of dowry. When they arrive at the groom's village, the local women from the village welcome them by serving coffee and tea. After having tea and coffee, the bride and groom put on the traditional clothes and go along with the local villagers to the bride's house.

The word *padong* here means *menghantar*. The example of using this word can be shown as followed: 1). Padong mantar sekolah (accompanying a child to school). 2). Poli keru padong de weki pesta situ meseng ga (had padong been conducted for the bride ). The word *Padong* means to accompany someone to move somewhere. This meaning is appropriate to its semantic primitive meaning as MOVEMENT.

##### Padong literally

X is padong

X is someone

X has something difficult and needs someone else in order to move

##### Padong culturally

X is Padong

X is people

X is accompanying bride from her village to her husband village

X is family members of the bride

X is moving to another home and village

no	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
	padong	To accompany	accompanying bride from her village to her husband village

#### 4.1.3.3 Padong lonto

Lonto means *berdiam diri, duduk* and padong (ibid). If we draw a meaning of this word, it can be paradox. Something is called *padong* if it is moving. The word *padong lonto* has a similar substance of *padong* process in previous explanation, however in this process, the bride is not moving to her husband village/home because the number of dowry is not fulfilled. As consequence, the bride must stay and work for his father-mother in law. Based on this explanation, Padong lonto is a situation where the groom can not fulfilled the dowry and must stay by father-mother in law.

This meaning is suitable with semantic primitive meaning as MOMENT category. Then, this situation occurs for certain time and not for entire life.

#### Padong lonto culturally

X is Padong lonto

X is a bride who can not move because of the less delivered dowry

X is can move if dowry is fulfilled

X stays with her husband in her parent's house

No.	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Padong lonto	To accompany and to set	A bride who can not move to her husband house

#### 4.1.3.4 Curu

The literal meaning of the word *curu* is menjemput(to pick up). This literal meaning can not explain the substance of its cultural meaning. In curu process, the bride and groom are not allowed to enter their own house or their parent's house directly. They both are welcomed by all the people especially women of the village in an opened spot and everyone in the village greets and congratulates them for their new wedding. After having had coffee together, the bride and the groom are moved along in a procession to their parent's house.

Based on this cultural meaning, the semantic primitive of the word *curu* is *EVENT*. The following example can differentiate the meaning. a). *Mo curu koe ase gemi eta salang* (go and pick up your little brother near the road). b). *Cepisa curu de pengantin weru situ* (when is the welcome ceremony of the new married couple?)

The example (a) is clear enough that someone is going to pick up a little brother. Then, in the example (b) refers to a welcome ceremony of a new married couple.

#### Curu literally

X is curu

X is someone

X is welcomed by someone or relatives

### Curu culturally

X is curu

X is attended by many people

X is a new married couple

X is a welcome ceremony of a new married couple.

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	curu	To welcome	a welcome ceremony of a new married couple

#### 4.1.3.5 Wed'i ruha

The literal meaning of *wed'i ruha* is menginjak telur (stepping on an egg). Before entering the parent's house of the groom, not only the bride but also the groom must step on an egg until the egg itself is broken. *Wed'i ruha* process is a symbol that a married couple's life is inseparable until they die. An egg symbolizes the life itself, a beginning of an existence; an embryo. If the egg is broken, the bride and the groom may have a sit and everyone in the village come to greet them

Based on this cultural explanation, the semantic primitive of the word *wed'i ruha* is an ACTION. These following examples distinguish the literal and cultural meaning. a). *Nono, neka wed'i ruha manuk situ musi ding e, ai kudut pika le amba* (my dear, do not break the eggs because it is gong to deliver to market). b). *Poli e wed'I ruha de pengantin weru situ ro ga?* (Has that new married couple done wedi ruha?)

Wedi ruha literally

X is wedi ruha

X did not see that there is something (egg)

X stepped on something (egg) accidentally and it happened (broken)

Wedi ruha culturally

X is wed'i ruha

X is a group people (a married couple)

X and Y go in the the place (front door)

X and Y step on an egg till it's broken

X and Y are inseparable in life

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Wed'i ruha	Stepping on egg	Love each other until dead

4.1.3.6 Karong loang

*Karong loang*, literally means menuntun ke kamar tidur (to lead by the hand to the married couple's bedroom). This aims to show them where to sleep. It is apparently very weird but it deals with the concept of a house in the past, in which several married couples could live together in a traditional house with many rooms. That's why this *karong loang* process is significant, so that the new married couple does not make a mistake by entering someone else bedroom. The semantic primitive of *karong loang* is SUBSTANTIVE

*Karong loang* literally

X is karong loang

X can be someone or people

X did not know something (bedroom)

Y shows X something (bedroom)

Karong loang culturally

X is *Karong loang*

X and Y is a married couple

X knows something (bedroom) while Y not

Z shows X and Y something (bedroom)

X and Y have a special bedroom.

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Karong loang	To lead and bedroom	Bedroom for married couple

#### 4.1.3.7 Wa'u wae

*Wa'u wae* literally means turun ke air (heading to the water). *Wa'u wae* has a deeper meaning in term of culture. In this process, the bride and the groom are paraded by the local people to a water source. They both dress with cultural custom and take a bath using coconut water. The coconut water is chosen due to its pure substance and having a bath using coconut water symbolizes the cleanliness. It means, *wa'u wae* is a moment for the married couple to clean up their body and soul in order to start a new life, new relation with partner as a wife or husband. All their past relationship with other man/woman must be left behind and only focus on his/her current partner. Having a bath using coconut water can also determine whether the new married couple has a first baby boy or baby girl.

The semantic primitive of the word *wa'u wae* is an ACTION, an EVENT and a MOVEMENT. To differentiate between literal and cultural meaning of this word can be seen below. a). *do ata mai laing wa'u wae dese weta gemi laing hitu* (there were many people coming on your sister *wau Wa'e*). b). *neka wa'u wae ding, ai kolang e mek weki gemi tu* (don't touch the water because your temperature is still unstable).

Wau wa'e literally

X is *wau wa'e*

X can be someone or people

X wants to swim, for this reason X moves to a place (kind of pool)

Wau Wa'e culturaly

X is *wa'u wae*

X is a new married couple

X and Y go to a place (water pool) with local people

X and Y have a bath together in front of the local villagers

X and Y are cleaned up and ordered not to pay attention to their ex-boyfriend/girlfriend.

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Wau wae	To touch and water	Self purification

4.1.3.8 Paki manuk wina rona

*Paki manuk wina rona* means literally *menyembelih ayam suami istri* (slaughtering a hen and rooster as a symbol to unify the extended family members

of the bride and groom. Two big families from the married couple sit in a circle and a couple of chicken (a hen & rooster) is slaughtered in the middle and the chicken blood will be mixed. The representative will announce what the mixed blood means to both families. After that, the representative asks the contact person from both sides. This is notable, in case, there is something between two families later on. For example, one of the bride's family members passed away and it is a must that they inform the groom's family and vice versa.

This cultural explanation distinguishes its literal meaning and ensures its semantic primitive category as relation SUBSTANTIVE. a). kudut *paki manuk wina rona*, mesti bakok e wulun na (the hen and rooster for the married couple should be the white one).

Paki manuk wina rona literally

X is paki manuk

X is something (chicken) and belongs to a group

X is slaughtered

Paki manuk wina rona culturally

X is *paki manuk wina rona*

X is a hen and a rooster

X is a symbol of a married couple

X is aims to unify the bride and groom families.

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	<i>paki</i> manuk wina rona	To slaughter a hen and roaster from husband and wife	Unity as wife and husband

#### 4.1.3.9 Des

The word *des* literally means *pamit*. This literally meaning is not enough the cultural meaning of the word *des* behind. In the *des* process as the last step of marriage tradition, all the families from both sides sit together. The family of the bride who joins in the process of Padong is now taking leave to their home. Before they leave the groom's village/house, the groom's family must accommodate all their needs such as transportation cost, food and drink, cigarette and all other costs. The amount of accommodation is various and it depends on how much money the groom's family has. *Des* process is farewell money to the bride's family.

Based on this cultural explanation, the semantic primitive of the word *des* is SUBSTANTIVE category. To differentiate the literal and cultural meaning of this word, let see the example blow: a). *poli des dese anak gemi rebao ga* (your son had said farewell to us) b). *pisa waa seng des de iname situ meseng?* (how much money did the bride's family have yesterday?)

#### Des literally

X is des

X is someone or a group of people

X wants to leave a place (a house)

X says something (farewell) to Y (the house owner).

### Des culturally

X is des

X is something (money)

X is a must

X is farewell money for bride's family.

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	des	Money and farewell	Farewell money for bride's family

#### **IV. General cultural words in wedding process**

The following cultural marriage words are rarely used and it seems that some of those words will be forgotten because there is no such kind of marriage in modern era of manggarainese culture. However, those cultural words still exist due to Manggarainese culture in the past.

##### *4.1.4.1 Tungku sa'i*

Literally *tungku* means connected and *sa'i* means head. *Tungku sa'i* marriage means a marriage between a bride and a groom whose parents are sibling. The groom is a son from a male sibling and the bride is a daughter from female sibling. The goal of this kind of marriage is to keep the kinship between them alive. This kind of form of marriage is now disallowed since Roman Catholic came to Manggarai. The goal of this model is to let their family relationship connected and if they are rich family, the *tungku sai* model is to let the richness dwell among their own clan/family.

There is a big difference between its literal meaning and cultural meaning for this word. The literal meaning is to connect a head and culturally meaning is a couple whose parents are sibling. The semantic primitive of the word tungku sai is SUBSTANTIVE.

(a) Tungku na kole sai manuk iwo poli mata (chicken whose head has been cut off can not survive again). The cultural meaning is marriage between a couple whose parents are siblings. (b) tungku sai kauts dite anak cepisa gra (your daughter and my son could marry).

Tungku sa'i literally

X is tungku sa'i

X is someone who feels bad with something (head)

After some moment, Y moves something (X's head)

But X dies

Tungku sa'i culturally

X is tungku sa'i

X is a group of people (a couple)

X is a couple whose parents are siblings

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Tungku sa'i	To connect a head	Marriage by blood

4.1.4.2 *Kala rana*

*Kala* means gambir (daun sirih) and *rana* is primary or young (pertama, muda).

This kind of marriage is undertaken, when the both families have no relationship at all and come from other clan or island. This type of marriage is now alive and ideal among Manggarainese. In the past, Tungku sa'i marriage is at first place, if it can not be done, the second alternative is *Kala Rana* type. The use of gambir in this poin is a symbol to a young woman who is ready to marry someone.

The difference between cultural and literal meaning can be shown below and the semantic primitive of the word kala rana is SUBSTANTIVE.

(a) tegi ge saung kala gemi iwor ranar ra, tau cepah aku tuh (can I have some young areca nut leaf from you, I want to chew it with areca palm). This sentence includes a literal meaning. The cultural meaning is; (b).hami mai kudut lamar kala rana dite bo inang (we are here to ask your young daughter to marry).

Kala rana literally

X is kala rana

X is something (areca nut leaf)

Kala rana culturally

X is kala rana

X is someone

X is a young woman

X is ready to be married with someone

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Kala rana	Daun sirih yang masih muda	a young woman who ready to marry

#### 4.1.4.3 *Likang sua*

Polygamy has been known by Manggarainese since many years ago, however polygamy for Manggarainese refers to someone who is rich and very popular one. The process of having a second wife is without divorcing his first wife. *Likang* means tungku api; stone fireplace and *sua*/telu is number dua/tiga. *Likangsua* means beristri dua; having two wives.

The word *Likang* is tiga batu tungku untuk perapian and *sua* means dua. Literally *likangsua* means, someone has two fireplaces. The brief meaning between them can be seen below and the semantic primitive of the word is SUBSTANTIVE. (a) pande *sua likang* gami sili mbaru, ai kudut gelang teneng (our house has two fireplaces in order to cook quickly). This example is a kind of literal explanation. (b). oe, *likang sua* kole wote dite tuh gro (my dear, your son has another wife).

##### Likang sua literally

X is *likang sua*

X is something (fireplace) in a place (kitchen)

X is two fireplaces in the kitchen

##### Likang sua culturally

X is *Likangsua*

X is someone

X is a married man

X is the married man has another new wife

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	<i>Likangsua</i>	Berapi tungku dua	Beristri dua

#### 4.1.4.4 *Beo kolen*

This marriage type is quite similar to *lili* type but the difference is on the freedom of the widow. In this condition, the widow has her right to decide to marry outside her previous husband clan. Rona weru means *bersuami baru*, then *beo(kampung) kolen(lagi)* means *berkampung halaman baru*.

The word *beo* means *kampung halaman* and *kolen* is *lagi*; so, *beo kolen* refers to a woman who has a new home after the previous husband passed away. The difference between its literally and culturally meaning can be seen below; (a) *manga kole beo weru sili kecamatan Ruteng hoo ga* (now there is a new village in our Ruteng county). This one is example of literal meaning. (b) *manga ket kole beo werun ipar dite hitu ga toa* (your daughter in-law has a new man, has't she?). This one has cultural meaning and the semantic primitive of the word is SUBSTANTIVE

#### Beo kolen literally

X is beo kolen

X Someone

X moves from a place( village) to another place

Beo kolen culturally

X is beo kolen

X is a widow

X has previous husband but passed away.

X is married with someone else

X's new man has no family relationship with her previous one

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Beo kolen	Berkampung halaman lagi	Janda yang menikah lagi

4.1.4.5 *Weki sua*

*Weki* (body) and *sua* (two). *Weki sua* literally means pregnant (berbadan dua). If the woman is pregnant before marriage, there will be punishment for that.

The semantic primitive of *weki sua* is EVALUATORS/ATTRIBUTES

Weki sua literally

X is weki sua

X is someone and someone else

Here, there are two persons

Weki sua culturally

X is weki *sua*

X is a woman

X is pregnant before marriage

X and Y (her partner/man) will be punished.

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Weki <i>sua</i>	Two bodies	Pregnant before marriage

#### 4.1.4.6 *Wendo*

*Wendo* means to flee with a woman (melarikan seorang perempuan). This situation happens if the love between a man and woman is really strong and one of their parents does not allow their relationship. As third way, the man and woman flee together. The semantic primitive of this word *wendo* is MOVEMENTS.

##### Wendo literally

X is wendo

X is something

X is taken away by someone secretly.

##### Wendo Culturally

X is wendo

X is a man and woman

X's relationship is not allowed

X flees away

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Wendo	Take something away	Flee away together because a relationship is forbidden

#### 4.1.4.7 *Teing lipa wengko*

*Teing* (*memberi*), *lipa* (*sarung*) and *wengko* (*berselimut*). *Teing lipa wengko* means literally *memberi kain selimut*. This happens if a man flees with a woman. The culturally meaning means, the man must be responsible for that action in order to provide a comfortable life to the woman. The semantic primitive of *teing lipa wengko* is ACTIONS.

##### Teing lipa wengko literally

X is teing lipa wengko

X is someone

X feels something bad (cold)

X wants something (blanket)

Y gives something (blanket) to X

##### Teing lipa wengko culturally

X is teing lipa wengko

X is a man

X did something bad with a woman

X is responsible for the woman's life

No	Cultural word	Literal meaning	Cultural meaning
1.	Teing lipa wengko	Giving a blanket	A responsibility of a man for a woman's life

#### 4.1.4.8 *Rona tungku*

Literally, *rona tungku* means *rona* (*suami*) and *tungku* (*sambung*). Culturally means a chosen man by woman's parent who is coming from extended family. In the past, parent determined whom a woman/a man could marry with. The semantic primitive of *rona tungku* is SUBSTANTIVE.

##### Rona tungku culturally

X is *rona tungku*

X is a man

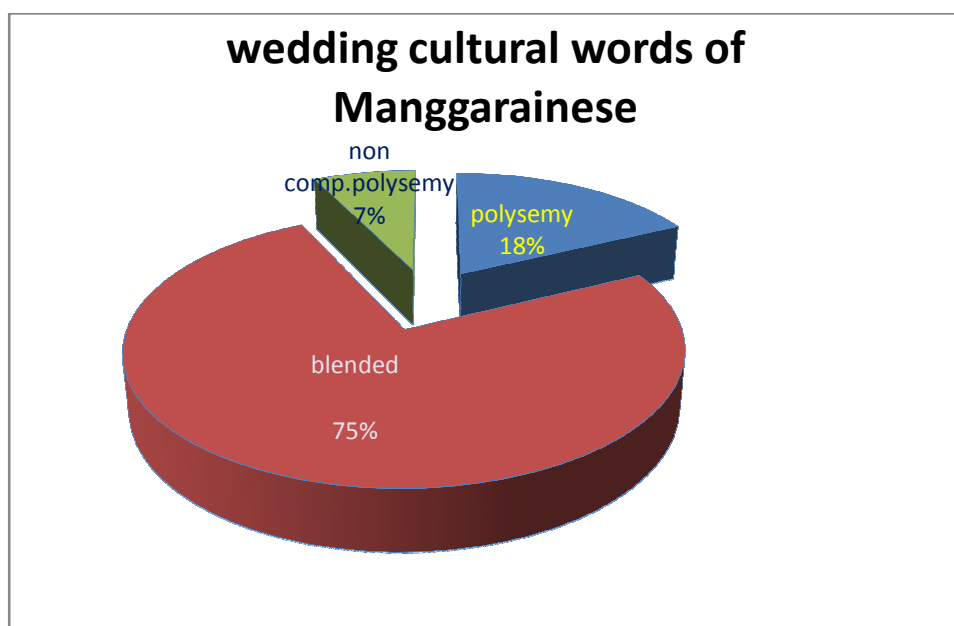
X is a chosen one by a woman's parent

X can be a husband or not for the woman later on

From this broad description of at least twenty eight cultural words of Manggarainese used in whole wedding process, it can be summed up that 75% of the wedding cultural words are categorized as blended words. All those blended words consist of two words and produce a new meaning and those two words are inseparable. Those words are *tulak surak*, *wero weki*, *tuke mbaru*, *kumpul warang*, *kumpul kope*, *belis.sidah nikah*, *teing hang*, *paki manuk wina rona*, *padong lonto*, *wedi ruha*, *karong loang*, *wau wa'e*, *kope nggabang*, *seng des.tungku sai*, *kala rana*, *likangsua*, *beo kolen*, *weki sua*, *wendo*, *taing lipa wengko*, *rona tungku*. The second category is 18% as polysemy. This category consists of a word only but it has different meaning based on its context. If these words are used in the wedding context and the meaning will be cultural. Those polysemy words are *toto*, *pateng/tongka*, *padong*, *curu*, *wendo*. The last category is 7% as non compositional

polysemy. This word has single cultural meaning. Those words are *belis*, *kimpu/paca*. The chart below shows its difference.

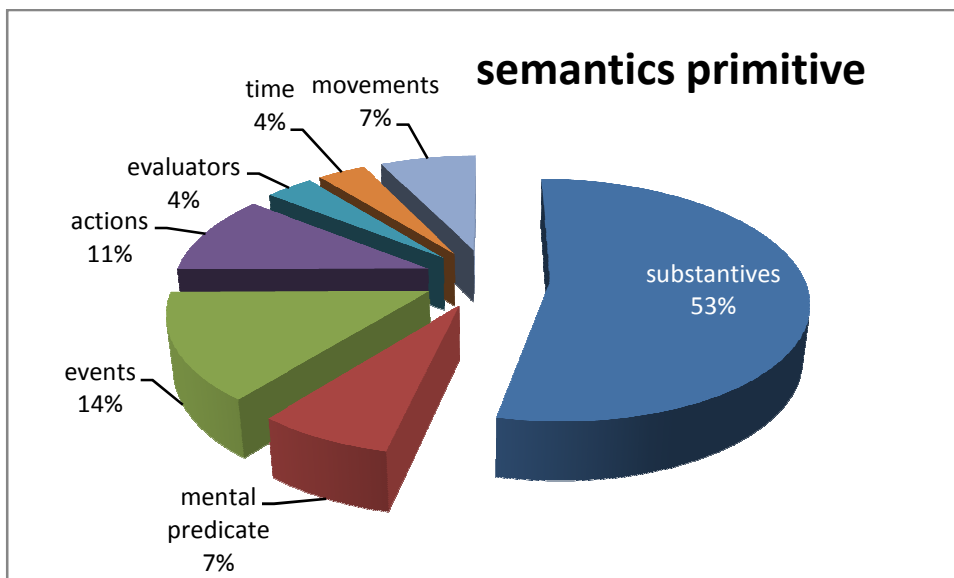
No	Cultural Words Category	Frequency	Percentage(%)
1.	Blended	21	75%
2.	Polysemy	5	18%
3.	Non compositional polysemy	2	7%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100%</b>



Another conclusion from this explanation is how the semantic primitive meaning of wedding cultural words is categorized. The first big category is as substantives 53% and the words are *kumpul warang*, *kumpul kope*, *sida nikah*, *belis*, *pateng/tongka*, *kimpu*, *paki manuk wina rona*, *karong loang*, *kope nggabang*, *des*, *tungku sa'i*, *kala rana*, *liking sua*, *beo kolen* and *rona tungku*. The second

category is events 14% and those words are *tuke mbaru, toto, wau wa'e and curu*. The third category is actions 11% and those words are *teing hang, taing lipa wengko and wedi ruha*. The fourth category is mental predicate 7% and those words are *wero weki and tulak surak*. The fifth category is movement 7% and those words are *padong and wendo*. The sixth category is time 4% and the word is *padong lonto*. The last category is evaluators 4% and the word is *weki sua*. The table below shows its difference.

No	NSM category	Amount in number	Amount in %
1.	Substantives	15	53%
2.	Mental predicate	2	7%
3.	Events	4	14%
4.	Actions	3	11%
5.	Time	1	4%
6.	Evaluator	1	4%
7.	movements	2	7%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100%</b>



#### 4.2 Cultural words' history (Embodiment) as social-and cultural experience.

Human being is a social creature (*ens-socialis*). This statement means that in human being's existence, a person needs someone else in running a life and no man is an island. This interaction is a nature of human being and it can be a social interaction or cultural interaction. Without interaction or communication with others among society, there will be no society.

The cultural words of West Manggarainese which are used in the wedding tradition are the result of their experiences whether it is socially or culturally. Since long time ago, the people of West Manggarainese have had a good interaction among others and the people there help each other in conducting a wedding. Their participation in the wedding of someone highlights their identity, solidarity and harmony. Those life values are the reasons of their participation in the wedding. Some people out there may judge their way of giving a high dowry as "a woman trafficking" but as Manggrainese people, it is seen as culture heritage from their

ancestor that forms their identity and living as a community. For this reason, the number of cultural words in wedding tradition is the result of social and cultural experience. The way they think, believe and keep something is a manifestation of their experience. It also means, the conceptualization of the cultural words in wedding tradition is derived from social-cultural experience of Manggarainese people themselves. For this reason, the way to understand the meaning of cultural words of Manggarainese used in wedding ceremony is through understanding or learning their culture. In other words, the way they conceptualize the cultural words, is based on the culture of Manggarainian society. Without understanding their culture, the cultural words in wedding ceremony will be difficult to get the point

The cultural words as a result of cultural experience are *tulak surak*, *wero weki*, *tuke mbaru*, *toto*, *sida nikah*, *belis*, *teing hang*, *pateng/tongka*, *kimpu/paca*, *paki manuk wina rona*, *padong*, *padong lonto*, *wedi ruha*, *kope nggabang*, *wau wa'e*, *tungku sai*, *kala rana*, *liking sua*, *beo kolen*, *weki sua*, *wendo*, *teing lipa wengko*, *rona tungku*. Then, others such as *kumpul warang*, *kumpul kope*, *sida nikah*, *curu* and *des* are the result of social experience.

1. Tulak surak(memohon restu- Asking for blessing)

It has been explained in the previous chapter that the word *Tulak surak* is coming from *tulak* (to follow) and *surak* (letter). This word exists due to Manggarainese habit in the past. Long before the digital era is born, the way each other connects, is by sending the letter. In Manggarain culture in the past, if an unknown sender of a letter is coming to a young woman or the parent finds their daughter sending a letter to a man, it is her parent right to know who the man is. As result, the man himself comes to her parent house to explain, what kind of letter

they both write. Then, the man must introduce himself in front of woman's parent. The intention of doing this one is answer the question from others later on, who the man is. It means, if the man and the woman hang out or go together in the public, the parent does not worry about her daughter because there is someone who responsible for. For this reason, this word *tulak surak* is used as cultural word in West Manggaraian wedding ceremony.

In the recent generation, the existence of this word is almost gone because the habit of young generation right now is different. The way, they keep contact each other, is by sending SMS/WA and E-mail not a letter. It is also phenomenon in West Manggarai right now that *tulak surak* process is omitted.

2. Wero weki(perkenalan diri si lelaki- Self introduction of the groom)

The origin of the word *wero weki* is based on the daily habit of of Manggarainese. They always come to guest just for drinking coffee. If there is a guest coming, house owner always greets him and asks some question in polite way. Questions can be where to go, how is life and so on. If foreigner comes to guest, he/she must maintain the purpose of his coming and what business he/she comes to guest.

3. Tuke mbaru(lamaran nikah-Marriage proposal)

This word *tuke mbaru* refers to culture of mangarainese. It has been mentioned earlier that it is a common to come to guest just for drinking coffee. However, if stranger comes to guest and enters a house, there must be something important that he carries with. Moreover, a common guest for coffee does not spend the night, but a foreign guest could stay over the night. The concept *tuke*

(menaiki) dan mbaru (rumah) derives from the house model of manggarainese in using ladder (see picture below). In order to come in the house, people use ladder.

4. *Kumpul warang*(mengumpulkan uang dan hewan-collecting money/livestock)

This term is adopted from their past. The aim of marriage is to have a new family and the marriage itself is expensive. As a part of responsibility, the nucleus and extended family members help the groom. Even though, a groom has a lot of money, this habit is still done. If someone wants to marry, they call all nucleus and extended family members to discuss it. Their presence is really important in order to keep the family relation alive.

5. *Kumpul kope*(mengumpulkan uang-collecting money)

If one of our friends or neighbors is going to marry, the local people can not be just a spectator. They do care and that is why they collect money. *Kumpul kope* is a ceremony where the unity of men collects money for engagement of a groom. As a preparation step of marriage, the groom's family invites his neighbors, and close friends to plan the engagement day together. While the men collecting money, the women serve them with coffee, tea and dinner. The high cost of a wedding ceremony is the reason why *Kumpul kope* is a must.

In this term, *Kumpul* means to collect and *kope* can be machete. The literal meaning of *kumpul kope* itself is collecting machete. The use of word *kope* in this term is a symbol for men. In the past tradition of Manggarainese, someone who is appropriate to use machete is a man. By having a sharp *kope*, a man can work in the garden properly in order to get some food for his family. *Kope* is also used to cut the grass, for feeding livestock and to find firewood. Those activities above are based on the background of Manggaraian society in the past that lived mostly as

farmers and retailers. This background puts the existence of *kope* as an essential one for a man.

This essential meaning of *kope* for a man in manggaraian tradition is linked to marriage. A machete can work well if it is sharp enough so that it can be useful for farmer life and vice versa. This also occurs to marriage process in which people need some money to have a wedding ceremony. A great wedding ceremony and a big dowry require a lot of money. For this reason, the meaning of *Kumpul kope* related to marriage is different from its literal meaning. Here, *kumpul kope* means collecting money for engagement of a man, so that the wedding ceremony can be conducted without a financial problem. Besides, *Kumpul kope* shares some values of life such as unity, familiarity, and brotherhood.

6. Toto (pertunangan yang resmi-putting the ring on)

In the past there was no toto. This word exists when religion was introduced. In order to know that someone is engaged with, they must introduce themselves to public to avoid other man/woman. A man or woman feels free to have a contact with other, but this happens only if he/she is still single. If toto has been conducted, he/she must control himself/herself in having contact with other.

7. Sida nikah(kewajiban saudara/i kandung-obligation of nucleus family member for a groom)

Sida nikah is also an obligation for nucleus family member because marriage is once in life time. If in a family there are three sisters and a brother and then the brother is going to marry. Almost 50-70% of belis will be their responsibility. If they do not have money, they can deliver a flock of livestock.

Sometimes this seems like a burden, but this is also the way to keep their family relationship alive.

8. Belis( mahar nikah-dowry)

In the Manggaraian culture, it is impossible to marry someone without any belis. The existence of belis is also to prove someone's value in the social life. In the past, belis was in the form of livestock only and now turns into money and livestock. In the past also, the amount of belis was determined by the wealth level of the woman and now it is determined by the education level.

9. Teing hang(meminta restu leluhur-asking for help from departed family member)

This word exists because of the habit of Manggarainese. If there is a big event or ceremony ahead, people come to cemetery or outside the house to ask for help from their departed families. In manggarainese culture, departed family members are invited to the ceremony and in their belief the spirit of departed family will come if people do teing hang.

10. Pateng/tongka(pembicara-spokesman)

In the culture of manggarainese, someone is called pateng if he is really expert in knowing something and he must be a wise man. The use of this word in wedding ceremony because talking about money and livestock in big number is sensitive and it tends to be conflict. The word pateng or tongka refers to wooden stick. The function of tongka as wooden stick in real life is to help someone in moving around or held tree that is going to fall down. As the function of wooden stick in real life, tongka in the wedding ceremony helps both families to have a deal.

11. Kimpu/paca (mahar akhir-end deal of dowry).

Belis is a must in the wedding tradition of Manggarainese. However, it is always a question: is a number of dowry a must too? How if the groom has not enough money and livestock? For example the bride's family requires 200 million and there is only 100 million on the hand. For this condition, it is absolutely bride's family authority to decide. A love between the bride and groom is prioritized.

12. Paki manuk wina rona (menyemlih ayam *suami istri*-unity as wife and husband)

In the tradition of Manggarainese, if a stranger comes to guest and stays over the night, the house owner serves him with delicious food and chicken as chosen one. In wedding, bride and groom are welcomed as a new family. For this reason are a hen and a roaster slaughtered as symbol of a couple; husband and wife.

13. Padong( menghantar-accompanying )

The word *padong* is related to culture root of Manggarainese. When a woman moves to another place, she absolutely takes all her own with and that is why she needs help to carry out all her belonging. In the past they brought all the things on foot because there was no car. Nowadays people use cars to carry it.

14. Padong lonto(pengantin wanita tidak dihantar-a bride who can not move to her husband home)

This word sounds ambiguous; padong (menghantar) and lonto (duduk). However, it refers to bride who can not be moved due to unpaid dowry from the groom. This is the consequence a less-delivered dowry.

15. Curu(penjemputan-welcoming)

The women in groom's village welcome the bride with joy. Sometimes they put money while hand-shaking. This kind of tradition highlights their happiness to have her as a new member in that village. Traditional music is also played and they serve many kinds of food. This symbolizes their solidarity.

16. Wedi ruha(cinta yang tak terpisahkan-love each other until dead)

Life of the bride and groom is symbolized as an egg. They step on an egg until it is broken. Love between them is also the same. Their life as a new married couple ends only by death. If a groom has stepped on an egg (wedi ruha), she officially belongs to that house. If a new married couple does not step on the egg in the front door of groom's house, they do not belong to that house.

17. Karong loang(kamar pengantin- a bedroom for new married couple)

This term karong (menunjukkan) and loang (kamar) refers to past experience. A traditional house in the past could be dwelt by more than one family and this traditional house has many bedrooms. To avoid that someone enters another bedroom, it is important to show it if there is a new married couple from the family because loang (a room) represents a family.

18. Wau wa'e(pembersihan diri-self purification)

In the past, manggarai was a remote area. The life of people at that time had no bathroom. People took a bath in the public bathing place. As taking a bath to clean up their body, the *wau wa'e* is also undertaken in order to purify them, especially not to remember all their bad things in the past.

19. Kope nggabang(lelaki bermahar kurang- a groom who can not deliver the required dowry)

There are two kinds of Kope (parang) in Manggarainese culture, the small and big one. The big one is called kope nggabang (besar) and it is rarely used in life. For its rarely use, kope nggabang refers to a man who is less-important.

20. Des(uang pulang-farewell money for bride's family)

In the padong session, it has been mentioned that the bride is taken to her husband's village or house and some families of the bride go with her for a night only. After spending a night, they must go back to their village. The assumption that the way back costs something; therefor the groom family must give them a amount of money.

21. Tungku sa'i(perkawinan silang-cross clan married)

Literally *tungku* means connected and *sa'i* means head. *Tungku sa'i* marriage means a marriage between a bride and a groom whose parents are sibling. The groom is a son from a male sibling and the bride is a daughter from female sibling. The goal of this kind of marriage is to keep the kinship between them alive. This kind of form of marriage is now disallowed since Roman Catholic came to Manggarai.

22. Kala rana(gadis-a young woman)

This term kala(daun sirih) and rana(muda) refers to a young woman who is ready to marry. Manggarainese has a tradition to eat kala(daun sirih) mixed with limestone and betelnut. The good Kala(daun sirih) to eat is the young one. The word kala rana refers to a young woman.

23. *Likang sua*(beristeri dua-having two wives)

The term likang(tungku api), *sua*(dua) is cultural. In the past, a traditional house of manggarainese could be dwelt by more than one family. Every family has

a likang(tungku api). If a family has more than one likang(tungku api), it means, the man has a new wife. *Likang* represents a family.

24. Beo kolen(bersuami baru-a widow with a new man)

This term *beo*(kampung) and *kolen*(lagi) is related to padong(menghantar). A married woman has a new village after marriage. If a woman has beo kolen, she is married again with someone else. Beo(kampong) represents a man/husband.

25. Weki *sua*(berbadan dua-pregnant)

The woman who is pregnant before marriage can be punished und the term *weki*(badan) and *sua*(dua) refers to the pregnant woman. If a woman is pregnant before marriage, the ceremony will be different and it is seen as a tabu.

26. Wendo(melarikan gadis-flee away with a woman).

This term exists due to experience of man and woman whose relationship is forbidden. They both choose to run away together and this situation is not acceptable. The barrier of the relationship can be various. In the past there was a big punishment in dealing with this condition, but now the consequence is, the man must marry the woman.

27. Taing lipa wengko(tanggung jawab terhadap perempuan-a man who flees away with a woman is responsible for woman's life)

*Lipa* or traditional blanket of manggarainese is valuable more than money. Blanket can protects someone from cold weather and to keep the body always warm. The use of term taing lipa wengko refers to the value of the traditional blanket itself. It is not common that a manggarainese gives a traditional blanket to someone. If it happens, the person who receives the blanket has special

relationship or case. Why lipa/blanket is a must instead of money or livestock?

Until now, lipa is counted as a very valuable material in Manggarainese culture.

28. Rona tungku(*suami pusaka*-a planned man)

This word is taken from marriage tradition in the past. The families decided who could be married with. However, *rona tungku* is a son from a woman's uncle. It does not matter, whether the woman is married with him or not, but the son from her uncle is *rona tungku*; a planned husband.

All those wedding cultural words are conceptualized based on the experiences of West Manggaraian people, especially their habits and customs in the past. The way of West Manggaraian people lived socially and culturally, determined also their way of thinking. The cultural words which are used in the wedding tradition are the result of social-cultural experiences of West Manggaraian people. The table below shows how a cultural word in wedding ceremony is influenced whether by social experience or by cultural experience. This table below is result that most of the cultural words are conceptualized based on their cultural experience rather than social experience.

No	Embodied cultural words	Frequency	(%)
1.	Social	5	17,9
2.	Culture	23	82,1
	Total	28	100

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

#### 5.1 Conclusion

From this broad description of at least twenty eight cultural words of Manggarainese used in whole wedding process, it can be summed up that 75% of wedding cultural words are categorized as blended words. All those blended words consist of two words and produce a new meaning and those two words are inseparable. Those words are *tulak surak*, *wero weki*, *tuke mbaru*, *kumpul warang*, *kumpul kope*, *belis.sidah nikah*, *teing hang*, *paki manuk wina rona*, *padong lonto*, *wedi ruha*, *karong loang*, *wau wa'e*, *kope nggabang*, *seng des.tungku sai*, *kala rana*, *likangsua*, *beo kolen*, *weki sua*, *wendo*, *taing lipa wengko*, *rona tungku*. The second category is 18% as polysemy. This category consists of a word only but it has different meaning based on its context. If these words are used in the wedding context and the meaning will be cultural. Those polysemy words are *toto*, *pateng/tongka*, *padong*, *curu*, *wendo*. The last category is 7% as unknown category. This word has single cultural meaning. Those words are *belis*, *kimpu/paca*.

Another conclusion from this explanation is how the semantic primitive meaning of wedding cultural words is categorized. The first big category is as substantives 53% and the words are *kumpul warang*, *kumpul kope*, *sida nikah*, *belis*, *pateng/tongka*, *kimpu*, *paki manuk wina rona*, *karong loang*, *kope nggabang*, *seng des*, *tungku sa'i*, *kala rana*, *liking sua*, *beo kolen* and *rona tungku*. The second category is events 14% and those words are *tuke mbaru*, *toto*, *wau wa'e* and *curu*. The third category is actions 11% and those words are *teing hang*, *taing lipa*

*wengko* and *wedi ruha*. The fourth category is mental predicate 7% and those words are *wero weki* and *tulak surak*. The fifth category is movement 7% and those words are *padong* and *wendo*. The sixth category is time 4% and the word is *padong lonto*. The last category is evaluators 4% and the word is *weki sua*. The table below shows its difference.

All those wedding cultural words are conceptualized based on the experiences of West Manggaraian people, especially their habits and customs in the past. The way of West Manggaraian people lived socially and culturally, determined also their way of thinking. The cultural words which are used in the wedding ceremony, are the result of social-cultural experiences of West Manggaraian people. The table below shows how a cultural word in wedding ceremony is influenced whether by social experience or by cultural experience.

## 5.2 Suggestions

One of my suggestions for next researchers who are willing to go further with this kind of topic is to enrich the research discussion. In terms of research subject, the next researchers can elaborate more culture specific of other region. By digging more culture values of others, the readers have more knowledge in understanding the way of thinking and the way of life.

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## APPENDIX

<b>Page.</b>	<b>Wedding Cultural Word</b>	<b>Literal meaning</b>	<b>Cultural meaning</b>
25	<i>Tulak surak</i>	Seeking for a letter	Asking for blessing
25	<i>Wero weki</i>	To tell	Self introduction
34	<i>Tuke mbaru</i>	Coming in a house	Marriage proposal
29	<i>Kumpul warang</i>	Collecting support	Money/livestock as dowry for bride
31	<i>Kumpul kope</i>	Collecting machete	Money as dowry for bride
36	toto	To show	Putting the ring on as husband and wife
40	Sida nikah	To call	Obligation of nucleus-extended family member to give money/livestock
37	belis	dowry	Dowry in the form of livestock and money
41	Teing hang	To feed	Asking for blessing from departed family
39	Pateng/tongka	A stick	spokesman
43	Kimpu/paca	End deal of dowry	End deal of dowry
54	Paki manuk wina rona	To slaughter a hen and rooster	Unity as wife and husband
46	padong	To take someone	accompanying bride from her

			village to her husband village
48	Padong lonto	not moving	A bride who can not move to her husband house
49	curu	To greet	a welcome ceremony of a new married couple
50	Wedi ruha	Step on an egg	Love each other until dead
53	Wau wa'e	Take a bath	Self-purification to stay away from all bad things
45	Kope nggabang	A big machete	A groom who can not deliver required dowry.
52	Karong loang	To lead into bedroom	Bedroom for married couple
56	des	farewell	Farewell money for bride's family
57	Tungku sa'i	A connected head	Marriage by blood
59	<i>Kala rana</i>	A young betel leaf	a woman who ready for marriage
60	Likang sua	Two fireplaces	Having two wives
61	Beo kolen	A new village	A widow who is married again
63	Weki sua	pregnant	Pregnant woman before marriage
63	wendo	To flee with someone	flee away
64	Teing lipa wengko	Giving a traditional blanket	A man who flees a woman away is responsible for the woman's life
65	Rona tungku	A connected husband	A planned husband

This picture is called *tulak surak* and *wero weki* in which the man comes to the girl and her parents to ask for blessing and introduce himself.



This picture describes how men collect the money as a form of their support. This is known as *kumpul kope*.



**This photo illustrates how *toto* ceremony is conducted. they show their ring to public in order to highlight that they are now engaged. This is also a warning for other women and men not to bother their relationship.**



**This picture describes how *tuke mbaru* is conducted. The man proposes a marriage proposal to the woman. They both sit on the handmade-pillow.**



The number of Dowry is delivered to the bride's family. This is known as *belis*.



The man who holds the money in this picture is called *tongka* (spokesman). His assignment is to bridge the conversation between two families.



This photo is known as *curu*. The people in groom's village welcome the new bride. They also accompany the new married couple to the house of groom.



When the new married couple has conducted *wedi ruha*, they sit in the house of the groom and *paki manuk wina rona* (slaughter a hen and rooster). This symbolizes their life as a new family



This photo is known as *wau wae*. In this ceremony, the new married couple takes a bath in the front of the local people. Having a bath together is a symbol of self-purification from all their past, especially to put their ex-boyfriend or ex-girlfriend behind.



In *wau wae* ceremony, there is also a moment, in which the man from groom family uses a coconut in order to know whether the baby later on a boy or a girl.



This picture is known as *padong*. The family and friends from the bride accompany the bride to go to the groom's village. They move all the belongings from the bride.

