

The Characteristics of Endogamy Marriage in Manggaraian Cultural Community

¹Florens Maxi Un Bria, ²Aloysius E. Monteiro, ³Hironimus Taolin, ⁴Fransiskus Bustan, ⁵Gracia M. N. Otta

¹The Lecturer of Pastoral Higher Education, Great Diocese of Kupang

²The Lecturer of Pastoral Higher Education, Great Diocese of Kupang

³The Student of Linguistic Study Program, Postgraduate Program, Nusa Cendana University Kupang

⁴The Lecturer of the Faculty of Teacher Training and Educational Sciences, Nusa Cendana University Kupang

⁵The Lecturer of the Faculty of Teacher Training and Educational Sciences, Nusa Cendana University Kupang

ABSTRACT: This study explores the characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community in view of social anthropology. The study is descriptive-qualitative as it describes the characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community on the basis of the conceptualization ascribed in their cognitive map considered along with the customary rules inherited from their ancestors. The results of study show that the endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community has specific characteristics to Manggaraian culture as the parent culture in which it is embedded. The specific characteristics are reflected in two forms of marriage, including cako marriage and tungku marriage. The cako marriage is the form of marriage between a man and a woman of the same wa'u as patilineal-genealogic clan. However, the cako marriage is only allowed between a man of the wae ka'e 'the elder offspring' and a woman of the wae ase 'the younger of offspring' of the third layer above. As one village was only inhabited by one wa'u in the past, the cako marriage was mostly practiced by Manggaraian cultural community. The tungku marriage is the form of marriage between the son of the ego's sister and the daughter of the ego aimed at reconnecting the relationship that has been previously broken due to the exogamy marriage. Because of the rapid growth and development of cross-cultural communications and interactions, however, both the cako marriage and the tungku marriage are no longer practiced in today's Manggaraian cultural community.

Keywords: characteristics, endogamy marriage, Manggaraian cultural community, tungku, cako

I. INTRODUCTION

Culture serves an important role in the life of a society as culture makes the social life of a society meaningful. The important role of culture in making the social life of a society meaningful can be clearly seen in the function of culture shared by a society as members of a social group. The culture they share functions not only as the glue binding them together but also as the blue print guiding their patterns of behaviors. At the same time, it is worth noting that, in addition to governing their patterns of behaviors, culture they share also makes them sensitive to matters of status, helps to know what others expect of them, and what will happen if they do not live up to the expectations of others (Cassirer, 1987; Brown, 1994; Suriasumantri, 2001; Birx, 2011; Alshammari, 2018). The views imply that culture belonging to a society as members of a social group serves as a sense of identity designating their existence as members of a cultural community. As every culture has its own ways in viewing the world, culture they share also functions as a symbol of identity differentiating them from the members of other cultural communities (Boas, 1962; Berger & Luckman, 1967; Schneider, 1976; Cassirer,

1978; Casson, 1981; Keesing, 1981; Wallace, 1981; Hall, 1997; Suriasumantri, 2001; Bustan & Bire, 2018; Bustan & Kabelen, 2023; Bustan & Liunokas et al, 2023).

If we explore in more depth, the differences between cultures can be seen in a numbers of elements. One of the elements making up the content of culture belonging to a society is the system of social organization which is concerned with the pattern of relationship between and among them in their contexts of living together as members of a cultural community. The manifestation of the pattern of relationship is reflected in marriage kinship as a subsystem of social organization which concerned with the pattern of relationship established on the basis of marriage ties. Like other aspects of social organization, the marriage kinship shared by a society as members of a cultural community has specific characteristics in some respect to the parent culture or hosting culture in which it is embedded (Liunokas et al, 2023).

Bearing the matters stated above in minds, this study explores marriage kinship in Manggaraian culture as the identity marker of Manggaraian people as members of Manggaraian cultural community living in the region of Manggarai that occupies the western part of the island of Flores in the province of East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia (Verheijen, 1991; Bagul, 1997; Erb, 1999; Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2009; Bustan, 2018; Bustan et al, 2017; Bustan & Bire, 2018; Gunas et al, 2023; Bustan & Kabelen, 2023; Bustan et al, 2023). However, as marriage kinship is so complex that the focus of study is paid to the characteristics of endogamy marriage applied by Manggaraian cultural community. The characteristics of endogamy marriage are identified on the basis of conceptualization ascribed in the cognitive map of Manggaraian cultural community considered along with the customary rules inherited from their ancestors (Palmer, 1996; Palmer & Farzad, 2007). We are interested in conducting the study for the basic reason that the characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community are specific in some respect to Manggaraian culture. However, due to the rapid growth and development of cross-cultural communications and interactions with those coming from different cultural background, the endogamy marriage is no longer practiced in today's social life of Manggaraian cultural community (Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2018). As a result, it is not surprising that most members of Manggaraian cultural community, especially those of young generation, do not know and understand exactly the characteristics of endogamy marriage as the parts of cultural properties inherited from their ancestors.

II. FRAME WORK

This study is viewed from the perspective of social anthropology as a branch of anthropology exploring the relationship of culture and society aimed at understanding how a society as members of a social group live and make their life meaningful due to the functions of culture they share (Cassirer, 1987; Brown, 1994; Suriasumantri, 2001; Birx, 2011; Alshammari, 2018). More specifically, in the perspective of social anthropology, the existence of a society as members of a social group is mainly explored through the lens of culture they share aimed at knowing the ways they view and make sense of the world (Cassirer, 1987; Koentjaraningrat, 1992; Kaplan & Manners, 1999; Kupper, 2008; Hogg & Abrams, 1988). As society can be defined differently, in the perspective of social anthropology, society refers to an cultural community as they are bound by the awareness of sharing the same culture and of speaking the same language as the mirror of culture they share (Sudikan, 2001; Koentjaraningrat, 1992; Bustan, 2005). Similar to society, as the definition and significance of culture vary from school to school, within the field of social anthropology, most approaches treat culture as in the following: (1) a system of implicit and explicit ideas that underlies and gives meaning to behavior in society; (2) a system of symbols and meanings; (3) premises that order and organize thought and feeling; and (4) a worldview of a society. The orientations of the approaches are realized in such cultural aspects as in the following: (1) political, economic, religious, kinship relations, events, interactions, and institutions; (2) values; (3) conceptions of the world; and (4) theories of knowledge (Ochs, 1988; Alshammari, 2018; Sudikan, 2001).

The manifestation of the approaches and orientations, as mentioned earlier, can be seen in the system of social organisation as one of the main elements making up the content of culture shared by a society as members of a cultural community which is concerned with the patterns of relationship between and among them. Similar to other elements of culture, the system of social organisation has specific features to the parent culture in which it is embedded. The specific features of social organization are reflected in the system of kinship which refers to the culturally defined relationships between individuals who are commonly thought of as having family ties. Along with its specific characteristics, it is not surprising that the system of kinship is one of the main concerns or interests of study in social anthropology because it affects the social structure and the social life of its society as members of cultural community as a whole. In terms of the patterns of relationship, the system of kinship can be classified into blood kinship which is established on the basis of blood ties and marriage kinship which is established on the basis of marriage ties (Ochs, 1988; Keesing, 1981; Koentjaraningrat, 1992; Birx, 2011; Bustan, 2016; Lawang, 1999; Koentjaraningrat, 2004). Apart from blood kinship relationship, the patterns of relationship in marriage kinship can be further identified into endogamy marriage and exogamy marriage. Endogamy marriage refers to a form of marriage within such specific groups as clan or tribe, while exogamy marriage refers to a form of marriage with outside person of one's clan or tribe. As their names imply, the natures of differences between the two forms of marriage are reflected in their prominent characteristics (Koentjaraningrat, 1992; Koentjaraningrat, 2004; Schneider, 1976; Sudikan, 2001).

III. METHOD

This study is descriptive-qualitative as it describes the characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community on the basis of conceptualization ascribed in their cognitive map (Muhadjir, 1995; Palmer, 1996; Palmer & Farzad, 2007; Nusa Putera, 2011; Afrizal, 2014). The procedures of research were field and library research. The field research was aimed at collecting the primary data dealing with the conceptualization of Manggarai society on the features of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community. The field research was carried out in Pagal, the capital city of Cibai district, as the main location. The data were obtained by using dialogic-ethnographic approach and emic perspective (Bernstein, 1972; Hymes, 1974; Spradley, 1997; Geertz, 1998; Afrizal, 2014). The method of collecting the data was interview, involving both direct interview and indirect interview mediated by using handphone. The interviews were done several times with three persons as key informants representing the members of Manggaraian cultural community. The three key informants were selected on basis of ideal criteria proposed by Faisal (1990), Spradley (1997), Sudikan (2001), and Bungin (2007). In addition to recording, the techniques of data collection were elicitation and note taking. The library research was aimed at collecting the secondary data relevant to the objectives of study. The method of data collection was documentary study. The documents used as the sources of reference were of two kinds, including general references (books) and special references (scientific articles, results of research, paper). The collected data were then analyzed qualitatively by using inductive method as the process of analysis was started from the data to a local-ideographic concept/theory describing the characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community (Bungin, 2007; Sudikan, 2001; Nusa Putera, 2011).

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The results of study show that the characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community are specific in some respect to Manggaraian culture as the parent culture or hosting culture in which it is embedded. The specific characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community are reflected in the patterns of relationship in accordance with the customary rules inherited from their ancestors. On the basis of the customary rules inherited from the ancestors of Manggaraian cultural community, the forms of endogamy marriage are of types, including *cako* marriage and *tungku* marriage. Each of these two forms or types of marriage has its own characteristics which are specific to Manggaraian culture as the identity marker of Manggaraian people as members of Manggaraian cultural community (Bagul, 1987; Lawang, 1999; Erb, 1999; Bustan, 2016). Due to the rapid growth and development of cross-cultural communications and interactions,

however, both the *cako* marriage and the *tungku* marriage are no longer practiced in today's Manggaraian cultural community. As a result, it is not surprising that most members of Manggaraian cultural community, especially those of young generation, do not know and understand exactly the characteristics of the *cako* marriage and the *tungku* marriage as the cultural properties inherited from their ancestors.

Discussion

Referring to the results of study provided above, this section discusses in more depth the characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community on the basis of conceptualization ascribed in their cognitive map considered along with the customary rules inherited from their ancestors. The matters of discussion are concerned with the characteristics of the *cako* marriage and of the the *tungku* marriage as the two forms of marriage indicating and designating the specific characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community as the main concern of the study.

Characteristics of Cako Marriage

The word *cako* is an action verb in Manggaraian language that lexically means 'cut' as seen in verbal phrase *cako haju* 'cut wood'. As its name implies, the *cako* marriage refers to the form of marriage between a man and a woman originating from the same clan known as *wa'u* in Manggarai language which refers to patrilineal-genealogic clan (Verheijen, 1991; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2018; Liunokas et al, 2023). The aims of the *cako* marriage are as follows: (1) enlarge the members of the *wa'u* as patilineal-genealogic clan and (2) strengthen the power of the *wa'u* due to having many offsprings. The aims are based on the conceptualization of Manggaraian cultural community that the more members of the *wa'u* as patilineal-genealogic clan the stronger and the more respected them in the eyes of other clans (Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2018; Liunokas et al, 2023).

In accordance with the customary rules inherited from the ancestors of Manggaraian cultural community, the *cako* marriage is only allowed between a man of the *wae ka'e* 'the elder offspring' and a woman of the *wae ase* 'the younger of offspring' of the third layer above. Because of the *cako* marriage, the social role and status of the *wae ka'e* as the elder offspring decrease in a certain level as the *wae ka'e* acts as wife-taking family or wife taker which is known as *anak wina* in Manggaraian language. In contrast, the social role and status of the *wae ase* as the younger offspring increase in a certain level as the *wae ase* acts as wife-giving family or wife giver which is known as *anak rona* in Manggaraian language (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016; Liunokas et al, 2023).

The deviation of the customary rules, say for example, the man of the *wae ase* as the younger offspring' marry the woman of the *wae ka'e* as the elder offspring are defined as taboo. This is because the deviation violates not only the harmony of social relationship between them as the members of the same *wa'u* but also the harmony of transcendental relationship with their ancestors as the first source of the customary rules in question. As it violates the harmony of transcendental relationship with their ancestors, the deviation is also defined and identified as a sin in the conceptualization of Manggaraian cultural community. In accordance with the customary rules inherited from their ancestors, in an attempt to keep and maintain such harmony relationships, the couples are sanctioned by terminating their love relationship. In more extreme way, the couples are even excommunicated from the membership of the *wa'u* and they are no longer acknowledged as the members of the *wa'u* for life (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2018; Liunokas et al, 2023).

On the other side, as the two families have blood relationship as the members of the patrilineal-genealogic clan, the request of dowry which is known as *paca* or *belis* in Manggaraian language is not so strict. This is because, if the dowry requested by the *wae ase* as wife-giving family or wife giver to the *wae ka'e* as wife-taking family or wife taker is relatively high, then it is like hitting their own knees or cutting their own legs as the two families are of the same *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan. The conceptualization is reflected in the verbal expression

of Manggaraian language, *tuku cala tu'us agu paki cala wa'i*. The verbal expression analogizes the relationship of the *wae ase* as wife-giving family or wife giver and the *wae ka'e* as wife-taking family as wife taker the relationship of knees 'tu'us' and legs 'wa'i' as the organs of the same body (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006). The *cako* marriage was the form of marriage mostly applied by Manggaraian cultural community in the past because one village was only inhabited by the members of one *wa'u* as a patilineal-genealogic clan (Verheijen, 1991; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2018; Liunokas et al, 2023). However, because of the increasingly widespread of Manggaraian cultural community due to the extension of the cross-cultural communications or interactions with those coming from different cultural backgrounds, the *cako* marriage is not longer practised in today's life of Manggaraian cultural community.

Characteristics of *Tungku* Marriage

The word *tungku* is an action verb in Manggaraian language that lexically means 'connect', as seen in verbal phrase *tungku wase* 'connect rope'. As its name implies, the *tungku* marriage refers to the form of marriage between a man, the son of *ego's* sister, and a woman, the daughter of *ego*, aimed at reconnecting the relationship between the two families that has been broken due to the exogamy marriage. As conceptualized in the cognitive map of Manggaraian cultural community, the purpose of the *tungku* marriage is that the inheritance of properties belonging to the *ego's* family and that of the *ego's* sister still remains in the same extended family circle (Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2018; Liunokas et al, 2023). In accordance with its purpose, it is not surprising that the negotiation regarding the number of dowry in the *tungku* marriage is not the main concern or interest of discussion between the two families, in this case the *ego's* family as the *anak rona* as wife-giving family and the *ego's* sister family as the *anak wina* as wife-taking family.

The procedure of the *tungku* marriage in Manggaraian cultural community is usually started by carrying out a special ritual known as *teing hang* in Manggarai language aimed at giving food for their ancestors at the initiative of the *ego's* sister's family as the *anak wina*. After the ritual has been carried out, the family of the *ego's* sister inform or tell the *ego's* family that the intention of their coming is to request the *tungku* marriage between the son of the *ego's* sister and the *ego's* daughter. The request is conveyed in the verbal expression of Manggaraian language, *inang olo, wote musu* that lexically means that 'the aunt in the front and the sister in-law in the back' (Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2006; Liunokas et al, 2023).

The verbal expression implies meaning that the *ego's* daughter as is requested to live together with the *ego's* sister as her aunt for a certain period of time in order to build a closeness of love with her son. If the love relationship between them is established, the *tungku* marriage can be held, or conversely, if the son of the *ego's* sister does not fall in love with the *ego's* daughter, the *ego's* daughter must be escorted back to the *ego's* house through a customary rule known as *pedeng roto* in Manggarai language. The verbal expression means that the escort of the *ego's* daughter back should be carried out traditionally by bringing a certain amount of money and a horse to convey an apology that the *tungku* marriage cannot be held for the reason that their two children are not matchmakers. The *pedeng roto* makes the relationship between both the *ego's* family as the *anak rona* and the family of the *ego's* sister as the *anak wina* remains well even though the two children are not married through the *tungku* marriage (Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2018; Liunokas et al, 2023).

The deviation of the customary rule, say for example, the son of the *ego's* marries the daughter of the *ego's* sister, is an avoidance relationship known as *wali elar* in Manggarai language which lexically means 'reversal relief'. The reason is that the deviation violates not only the harmony of social relationships between the *ego's* family and the *ego's* sister's family but also the harmony of transcendental relationship with their ancestors as the first sources of the customary rule. As it violates the harmony of transcendental relationship with their ancestors as the first sources of the customary rule, the deviation of the customary rule is also defined a sin in the conceptualization of Manggaraian cultural community. In an attempt to maintain the relationships, therefore, the couples are sanctioned by terminating their love relationship or even excommunicating them and they are no

longer acknowledged as the members of their children for life (Bustan, 2016; Bustan, 2018; Liunokas et al, 2023).

Along with its main aim, it is worth noting that the *tungku* marriage is the form of marriage that the members of Manggaraian cultural community longed for in the past. Due to the dynamics of Manggaraian cultural community, however, the *tungku* marriage is no longer practiced in their today's social lives. This is also because of an appeal proposed by the Catholic church in the region of Manggarai whose majority of the population embraced the Catholic religion not to conduct the *tungku* marriage between the members of Manggaraian cultural community. The basic reason of the appeal is that the two families still have very close relations as brothers and sisters that might cause some negative impacts towards the health conditions of their descendants in the future (Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2018; Liunokas et al, 2023). Being aware of the likely health problems that might occur or happen towards their descendants, the appeal of the Catholic church in the region of Manggarai does not become a controversial issue in the today's life of Manggaraian cultural community.

V. CONCLUSION

The characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community are specific to Manggaraian culture as the parent culture or the hosting culture in which it is embedded, as reflected in the *cako* marriage and the *tungku* marriage. The *cako* marriage is the form of marriage between a man and a woman of the same *wa'u* as patilineal-genealogic clan. The *cako* marriage is only allowed between a man of the *wae ka'e* 'the elder offspring' and a woman of the *wae ase* 'the younger of offspring' of the third layer above. As one village was only inhabited by one *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan in the past, the *cako* marriage was the form of marriage mostly practiced by Manggaraian cultural community. The *tungku* marriage is the form of marriage between the son of the *ego's* sister and the daughter of the *ego* aimed at reconnecting the relationship that has been previously broken due to the exogamy marriage. Along with the rapid growth and development of cross-cultural communications and interactions occurring due to the dynamics of Manggaraian cultural community, both the *cako* marriage and the *tungku* marriage are no longer practiced in their today's social life. Therefore, it is of great importance to document the characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community on the basis of the results of research.

Acknowledgements:

1. The study is a collaborative independent research
2. There is no conflict of interest between authors

REFERENCES

- [1.] Afrizal. (2014). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Sebuah Upaya Mendukung Penggunaan Penelitian Kualitatif dalam Berbagai Disiplin Ilmu*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- [2.] Alshammari, S. H. (2018). "The relationship between language, identity, and cultural differences". *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. 8, No. 4, 2018. 98 – 101.
- [3.] Bagul, A. B. (1997). *Kebudayaan Manggarai sebagai salah satu Khazanah Kebudayaan Nasional*. Surabaya: Ubhara Press.
- [4.] Bernstein, B. (1972). *A Sociolinguistic Approach to Socialization with Some Reference to Educability: The Ethnography of Communication*. Edited by John Joseph Gumperz and Dell H. Hymes. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- [5.] Birx, J. H. (2011). *21st Century Anthropology: A Reference Handbook*. Edited by James H. Birx. London: Sagepub.
- [6.] Boas, F. (1962). *Anthropology and Modern Life*. New York: The Norton Library. W. W. Norton &

- company.
- [7.] Bungin, B. (2007). *Penelitian Kualitatif: Komunikasi, Ekonomi, Kebijakan Publik dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya*. Jakarta: Prenada Media.
- [8.] Bustan, F. (2005). "Wacana budaya *tudak* dalam ritual *penti* pada kelompok etnik Manggarai di Flores Barat: sebuah kajian linguistik budaya". *Disertasi*. Denpasar: Program Doktor (S3) Linguistik Universitas Udayana.
- [9.] Bustan, F. (2006). *Etnografi Budaya Manggarai Selayang Pandang*. Kupang: Publikasi Khusus LSM Agricola Kupang.
- [10.] Bustan, F. (2018). *Fitur organisasi sosial dalam kebudayaan Manggarai di Flores*. Kupang: Lembaga Penelitian, Universitas Nusa Cendana Kupang.
- [11.] Bustan, F. & Bire, J. (2018). "The forms and meanings of baby birth cultural discourse in Manggarai language". In *Opcion Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales*. Ano 34. Especial No. 14, 2018.
- [12.] Bustan, F. & Kabelen, A. H. (2023). "The cultural conceptualization of Manggarai society regarding economic welfare in the field of animal husbandry". *SPARKLE: Journal of Language, Education, and Culture*, 2 (1), 1-8.
- [13.] Cassirer, E. (1987). *Manusia dan Kebudayaan: Sebuah Esai tentang Manusia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Alois A. Nugroho. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- [14.] Erb, M. (1999). *The Manggaraians: A Guide to Traditional Lifestyles*. Singapore: Times Editions.
- [15.] Faisal, S. (1990). *Penelitian Kualitatif: Dasar-dasar dan Aplikasi*. Malang: Yayasan Asih Asah Asuh (YA3).
- [16.] Foley, W. A. (1997). *Anthropological Linguistics: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- [17.] Geertz, C. (1998). *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays*. Hammersmith, London: Fontana Press.
- [18.] Gunas, T., Bustan, F., Menggo, S., & Jem, H. Y. (2023). "Politeness in *Tiba Meka* ritual in Manggarai language and culture, Eastern Indonesia". In *Interdisciplinary Journal of Sociality Studies*. Vol. 3 (2023), 61-71.
- [19.] Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage.
- [20.] Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- [21.] Hogg, M. & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes*. London: Routledge.
- [22.] Kaplan, D., & Manners, A. A. (1999). *Teori Budaya*. Diterjemahkan oleh L. Simatupang. Yogyakarta: Pusat Pelajar.
- [23.] Keesing, R. M. (1981). "Theories of culture". In *Language, Culture, and Cognition: Anthropological Perspectives*. Edited by Ronald W. Casson. New York: Macmillan.
- [24.] Koentjaraningrat. (1992). *Beberapa Pokok Antropologi Sosial*. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat.
- [25.] Koentjaraningrat. (2004). *Kebudayaan, Mentalitas dan Pembangunan*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- [26.] Lawang, M. E. (1999). *Konflik Tanah di Manggarai: Pendekatan Sosiologik*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press.
- [27.] Liunokas, Y., Bustan, F., Huan, E. (2023). 'The forms of marriage in Manggarai society'. *International Journal of Arts and Social Science* ISSN: 2581 -7922, Volume 6 Issue 8, August 2023.
- [28.] Muhadjir, N. (1995). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: Telaah Positivistik, Rasionalistik, Fenomenologik, Realisme Metaphisik*. Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin.
- [29.] Nusa Putra. (2011). *Penelitian Kualitatif: Proses dan Aplikasi*. Jakarta: Indeks.
- [30.] Ochs, E. (1988). *Culture and Language Development: Language Acquisition and Language Socialization in a Samoan Village*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [31.] Palmer, G. B. (1996). *Towards a Theory of Cultural Linguistics*. Austin: The University of Texas Press.
- [32.] Palmer, G. B. & Farzad, F. (2007). 'Applied cultural linguistics: an emerging paradigm'. In *Applied Cultural Linguistics*. Edited by Farzard Sharifian and Gary B. Palmer. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.

- [33.] Schneider, D. (1976). "Notes toward a theory of culture". In *Meaning in Anthropology*. Edited by Keith H. Basso and Henry A. Selby. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- [34.] Spradley, J. P. (1997). *Metode Etnografi*. Diterjemahkan oleh Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya.
- [35.] Sudikan, S. Y. (2001). *Metode Penelitian Kebudayaan*. Surabaya: Unesa Unipress bekerjasama dengan Citra Wacana.
- [36.] Suriasumantri, J. S. (2001). *Filsafat Ilmu: Sebuah Pengantar Populer*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- [37.] Verheijen, A. J. (1991). *Manggarai dan Wujud Tertinggi*. Diterjemahkan oleh Alex Beding dan Marsel Beding. Jakarta: LIPI-RUL.