

CHARACTERISTICS OF BLOOD KINSHIP SYSTEM AS IDENTITY MARKER OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN MANGGARAI SOCIETY

Fransiskus Bustan ^{a,1}
Alexander H. Kabelen ^{b,2*}
Dewi I. N. Bili Bora ^{c,3}
Elisna Huan ^{d,4}
Antonia Tefa ^{e,5}

^{a,b,c,d,e} English Education Study Program, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Nusa Cendana University, Kupang, Indonesia

¹frankybustando@gmail.com

²alexkabelen63@gmail.com

³dewi.bilibora@staf.undana.ac.id

⁴elisna@staf.undana.ac.id

| KEYWORDS | ABSTRACT |
|--|---|
| blood kinship system characteristics, identity marker, social organization, Manggarai society | This study explores characteristics of blood kinship system as identity marker of social organization in Manggarai society in view of social anthropology. The study is descriptive in nature as describes the characteristics of kinship system as the identity marker of social organization in Manggarai society on the basis of cultural conceptualizations ascribed in their cognitive map as the frames of reference. The methods of data collection were observation, interview, and documentary study. The techniques of data collection were recording, elicitation, and note-taking. The data were analyzed qualitatively by inductive method. The results of study show that the system of blood kinship as the identity marker of social organization in Manggarai society is known as wa'u in Manggarai language which refers to a patrilineal-genealogic clan established on basis of blood ties traced along with father's lineage and the origin structure of the same ancestors as the origin structure. While the specific characteristics of the wa'u are also marked by such cultural properties as the mbaru gendang as the origin house of the wa'u designating its existence as house-based community, the lingko randang as communal agricultural land belonging the wa'u , the beo as unilocal settlement unit of the wa'u , and the belief of the ireng as a kind of totem. The characteristics of blood kinship system affects not only the social structure of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan, but also the social lives of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan as a whole. |

How to cite: Bustan, F., Kabelen, A., Bili Bora, D., Huan, E., Tefa, A. (2025). Characteristics of Blood Kinship System as Identity Marker of Social Organization in Manggarai Society. *SPARKLE Journal of Language, Education and Culture*, 7 (1) 1-12.

INTRODUCTION

It is a truism that there is no society on this earth living without culture or, vice versa, there is no culture on this earth living without society in the sense that neither society nor culture exist without the other. Culture makes the life of a society as members of a social group meaningful as culture they share represents their beliefs and practices, while a society represents their existence as members of a social group who share those beliefs and practices (Cassirer, 1987; Geertz, 1973; Suriasumantri, 2001; Bustan et al., 2023a). Culture in this light is a self-identity of a society that comprises the concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others (Alshammari, 2018; Hogs & Abrams, 1988). In line with this, according to Ochs (1988), the function of culture as an identity marker of a society as members of a social group is double dimensions because, besides functioning as a sense of identity, culture also functions as a symbol of identity distinguishing them from those of other social groups.

The differences of cultures can be seen in several main elements which are closely related to each other in making up the content of a culture shared by a society as members of a social group. One of

the main elements making up the content of their culture is the system of social organization which is concerned with a pattern of relationship between and among them in their context of living together for years or a long period of time and even transgenerations. The system of social organization is manifested in the system of kinship which comprises a set of rules, norms, beliefs, and values as the frames of reference for them to maintain unity, harmony, and cooperation. The system of kinship is regarded as one of the most important components of social organization because it affects not only the social structure of a clan as members of a cultural group, but also the social life of the society in question as a whole. In terms of the forms of relationship, the system of kinship can be identified into two forms or types, involving blood kinship and marriage kinship. Blood kinship is established on the basis of blood ties and marriage kinship is established on the basis of marriage ties (Kaplan & Manners, 1999; Sudikan, 2001; Koentjaraningrat, 2004; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2009; Bustan, 2018; Bria et al., 2023).

Apart from the system of marriage kinship, this study investigates the system of blood kinship as identity marker of social organization in Manggarai society as members of Manggarai ethnic group residing in the region of Manggarai which occupies the western part of the island of Flores in the province of East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia (Erb, 1999; Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2009; Bustan, 2018; Bustan & Liunokas, 2019; Bustan & Kabelen, 2023; Gunas et al., 2023; Bustan et al., 2023a; Bustan et al., 2023b; Bria et al., 2023; Bustan et al., 2024; Bustan, 2024; Bustan, 2025). However, as the system of blood kinship as an identity marker of social organization in Manggarai society is complex and pervasive, the study focuses on the characteristics of blood kinship considered along with the conceptualization ascribed in the cognitive map of Manggarai society as the frame of reference. As Manggarai language serves as the window into the cognitions or minds of Manggarai society in viewing and making sense of the world, the study is portrayed through the lens of Manggarai language as the reflection of Manggarai culture with special reference to the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena they employ in the cultural domains appearing in cultural discourses which refer to the kinds of discourse taking place in cultural domains of Manggarai society (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2009; Bustan et al, 2023a; Bria et al, 2023; Bustan et al, 2024).

FRAMEWORK

As the system of kinship as an aspect of social organization can be explored from many different perspectives, this study is viewed from the perspective of social anthropology as a branch of anthropology which studies the relationship between society and culture. The study is based on premise that, as mentioned earlier, neither society nor culture exists without the other in the sense that culture makes the life of a society meaningful. In the perspective of social anthropology, the existence of a society as members of a social group is explored through the lens of culture they share to uncover the ways they view and make sense of the world. As its definition implies, two basic concepts that should be taken into account in the study of social anthropology are society and culture. As the term 'society' can be defined differently, in the perspective of social anthropology, society is referred to as a group of people and, at the same time, as a complex pattern of norms of interaction that exist among them (Sudikan 2001). Similar to society, the term 'culture' may mean different things for different people and, as a result, it is difficult to find a comprehensive definition of culture used as the frame of reference in cultural studies and in the field of social anthropology is no exception. As the definition and significance of culture vary from school to school, according to Ochs (1988), within the field of social anthropology, most approaches treat culture as in the following: (1) a system of implicit and explicit ideas that underlies and gives meaning to behavior in society; (2) a system of symbols and meanings; and (3) a worldview of a society. The orientations of the approaches are reflected in such cultural aspects as in

the following: (1) social behaviors such as political, economic, religious, and kinship relations; (2) events, interactions, and institutions; (3) values; and (4) conceptions of the world (Keesing, 1981; Sudikan, 2001).

The approaches and orientations are in line with the conception of Tylor (2010) that culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society (Keesing, 1981; Schneider, 1976; Foley, 1997; Kaplan & Manners, 1999; Sudikan 2001; Koentjaraningrat, 2004). As seen in the social life of a society, the functions of culture shared by a society as members of a social group are as follows: (1) to facilitate the generation of commitment to something larger than one's individual self-interest as culture is a social-collective property belonging to them as a whole; and (2) to enhance social system stability as it serves a control mechanism or blue print for them in organizing their patterns of behavior in viewing and making sense of the world (Ochs, 1988).

The functions of culture can be seen in the system of social organization as one of the main elements of culture which is concerned with a pattern of relationship between members of a society as members of a social group. The pattern of relationship is reflected in the system of kinship as an aspect of social organization which is concerned with the recognition of relationship between persons established on the basis of descent or marriage. If the relationship is established on descent, it is defined as blood relatives or consanguine relatives, while if the relationship is established through marriage, it is defined as marriage relatives or affinal relatives (Ochs, 1988; Kaplan & Manners, 1999; Sudikan 2001; Koentjaraningrat, 2004). The important role of kinship system is reflected in two basic forms that include, as aforementioned, blood kinship which is established on the basis of blood ties and marriage kinship which is established on the basis of marriage ties. Apart from marriage kinship, the system of blood kinship which is also known as consanguineous kinship or same blood kinship is of several types. One of those types is patrilineal which refers to the type of blood kinship traced on the basis of paternal line and derived from common ancestors and children are identified their memberships on the basis of their father's lineage group (Sabeen & Teuscher, 2013).

As every culture has its own ways in viewing and making sense of the world, there are some other cultural properties or cultural patrimonies inherited from their ancestors characterizing the blood kinship system shared by a society as members of a social group (Kaplan & Manners, 1999; Sudikan, 2001; Koentjaraningrat, 2004). As different societies share different cultures, the system of blood kinship shared by a society as members of a social group should be explored on the basis of cultural conceptualization ascribed in their cognitive map that comprises a bulk of linguistic knowledge and of cultural knowledge used as the sources of reference for them viewing and making sense of the world. In addition, the study of blood kinship system shared by a society as members of a social group should also be considered along with the significance of language they employ because, in addition to being the window of their world, language as the reflection of culture they share is the window into their cognitions and minds as well (Yu, 2007; Bustan, 2005; Hall, 1997; Bria et al., 2023; Bustan et al, 2024). Therefore, the basic concept that should also be taken into account is that both language and culture belonging to a society as members of a social group are closely related and the relationship is manifested in the cultural conceptualization ascribed in their cognitive map as the frame of reference in viewing and making sense of their world (Palmer & Sharifian 2007; Bustan, 2005; Goodenough, 1964).

METHOD

In terms of its research design, the study is descriptive as its aim is to describe the system of blood kinship as identity marker of social organization in Manggarai society, as reflected in such aspects as the characteristics of blood kinship and the differences of status between a male and a female in the social structure of clan (Muhadjir, 1995; Nusa Putra, 2011). The procedures of research were field and library research. The field research aimed to collect the primary data dealing with the system of blood kinship in Manggarai society. The field research was carried out in Ruteng, the capital city of Manggarai regency, as the main location. The approach to obtaining the required data was ethnography especially dialogic ethnography (Hymes, 1974; Gumperz, 1992; Spradley, 1997; Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Geertz, 1971; Foley, 1997). The methods of data collection were observation and interview. Based on the data of observation, the in-depth interviews were carried out with Manggarai society represented by five persons living in Ruteng as the key informants selected on basis of the ideal criteria proposed by Faisal (1990), Spradley (1997), and Sudikan (2001). The interviews aimed to distill the conceptualization ascribed in their cognitive map regarding the system of blood kinship. The techniques of data collection were recording, elicitation, and note-taking. The library research was aimed collecting the secondary data. The method of data collection was documentary study. The documents used as the sources of data were of two kinds, involving general documents (books) and special documents (scientific articles, results of research, paper). The collected data were then analyzed qualitatively by inductive method as the analysis was started from the data to the local-ideographic concept/theory as it describes the system of blood kinship as identity marker of social organization in Manggarai society (Spradley, 1987; Sudikan, 2001; Duranti, 2001; Bustan, 2006; Bustan & Semiun, 2019).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The results of study show that the system of blood kinship in Manggarai society is known as *wa'u* in Manggarai language which is referred to as a patrilineal-genealogic clan (Verheijen, 1991; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2009; Bustan, 2018). The *wa'u* as the system of blood kinship shared by Manggarai society has specific characteristics to Manggarai culture as the parent culture in which the system of blood kinship they share is hosted. The system of blood kinship in Manggarai society as the core symbol of relationship in their context of living together as the members of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan is not only formed on the basis of having biological relations from the common ancestors, but also indicated by a number of cultural properties or patrimonies passed down from their ancestors (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2009; Bustan, 2018). Along with those characteristics, the system of blood kinship affects the social structure of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan as well as the social life of Manggarai society as a whole. One of the prominent effects can be seen in the differences of status between a male and a female in the social structure of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan. The differences are conveyed through the attachment of special terms as the attributes or labels for a male and a female that have been ascribed since their birth. While in view of the perspective of ethnosemantics, the meanings stored in the forms of linguistic phenomena used designate gender differences in linguistic practices in Manggarai language.

Discussion

Referring the results of study provided above, this section discusses in more depth the system of blood kinship in Manggarai society with special reference to the characteristics of blood kinship system.

Characteristics

As aforementioned, the system of blood kinship in Manggarai society known as *wa'u* in Manggarai language is a patrilineal-genealogic clan (Verheijen, 1991; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2018; Bustan, 2024). As its name suggests, the general characteristics of blood kinship in Manggarai society are identified on the basis of birth affinity (genealogic) traced from paternal lineage (patrilineal) of the same ancestors. In addition to general characteristics, there are still some other cultural properties inherited from the ancestors of Manggarai society as the specific characteristics of their blood kinship. As conceptualized in the cognitive map of Manggarai society, the cultural properties characterizing the specific features of the blood kinship system in Manggarai society are indicated by origin house (*mbaru gendang*), communal agricultural land (*lingko randang*), village (*beo*), and totem (*ireng*).

Origin House

As conceptualized in the cognitive map of Manggarai society, one of the cultural properties inherited from their ancestors characterizing their system of blood kinship is the ownership of origin house of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan which is known as *mbaru gendang* 'drum house' in Manggarai language. The term *mbaru gendang* appears in the forms of a nominal phrase made up of two words as its component parts, including the word (noun) *mbaru* means 'house' as the core word that functions as the Head (H) and the word (noun) *gendang* means 'drum' that functions as its Modifier (M). The origin house of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan is called *mbaru gendang* in Manggarai language because there stores the *gendang* 'drum' which is believed by Manggarai society as the self-image of their ancestors.

The ownership of the *mbaru gendang* as the origin house of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan designates the existence of the *wa'u* who owns the house in question as a house-based community. This implies meaning that, as the members of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan, they are bound by the awareness of having the same *mbaru gendang* as their origin house. The conceptualization is based on the historical fact that, in the past, the members of one *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan lived in one big house (*mbaru mese*) which is then known as *mbaru gendang* and, at the same time, they also shared the family pattern of eating together known as *kilo hang cama* 'family eating together' in Manggarai language. The term *kilo hang cama* is a nominal phrase made up two words as its component parts, including the word (noun) *kilo* 'family' and the word (verbal phrase) *hang cama* 'eat together' made up of the word (verb) *hang* 'eat' as the core word that functions as the Head (H) and the word (adverb of manner) *cama* 'together' as its Modifier (M).

In addition to living together in the same house as their origin house and eating together from the same pot, they also worked together in cultivating their agricultural lands carried out in the form of mutual cooperation known as *leles* in Manggarai language (Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2024; Bustan, 2025). The manifestation of mutual cooperation is reflected in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *Duat gula cama rangka lama, we'e mane cama rangka ruek* 'Going to work in the morning is crowded like male monkeys, going home in the afternoon is crowded like water birds'. The contents stored in the forms of linguistic phenomena used in the verbal expression have manifold meanings, but the most prominent meaning is that, as the members of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan, they should always maintain solidity and solidarity in their contexts of living together. As conceptualized in the cognitive map of Manggarai society, he solidity and solidarity are not only reflected in words but also manifested in actions or deeds in order to make the verbal expression meaningful for their social life as a whole (Bustan, 2005; Bustan et al., 2024).

The belief of the *gendang* stored in the *mbaru gendang* as the origin house of the *wa'u* as the self-image of their ancestors designates that the *mbaru gendang* is a sacred place in the cultural conceptualization of Manggarai society (Erb, 1999; Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2024). Being a sacred place, it is obliged for the members of the *wa'u* to treat the *mbaru gendang* in such a way that the ancestors will not be furious and angry with them. One way to honor their ancestors as the first origin of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan represented in the *gendang* is manifested in the ritual of *teing hang*, the ritual of food offerings for their ancestors by serving some chicken meat, rice, and drinks placed near the *gendang*. The ritual is mainly aimed at keeping and maintaining the harmony of transcendental relationship with the ancestors as the source of moral power determining their life welfare in the world. Even so, it is worth noting that the members of Manggarai society do not worship their ancestral spirits at all, but respect to the ancestral spirits as they hold the roles as intermediaries for their prayers to God as the Supreme known as *Morin agu Ngaran* in Manggarai language (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan & Liunokas, 2019; Bustan et al., 2023a).

Other ways the members of Manggarai society honor their ancestors are reflected in giving special treatments to the *gendang* as the self-image of their ancestors that can be seen in the place of the *gendang* and the time of its use. In accordance with the customs that apply traditionally from their ancestors, the *gendang* is hung on the center pole of the *mbaru gendang* known as *siri bongkok* 'main pole' in Manggarai language in a position which is difficult for children to reach. Along with the conceptualization of the *mbaru gendang* as a sacred place, it is also believed by Manggarai society that the *siri bongkok* as the center pole of the *mbaru gendang* is the center of the world (*axis mundi*). Dealing with the time of its use, the *gendang* is only played at a certain situational context of ritual like in the context of *penti* ritual, the traditional New Year party for the *mbaru gendang* as the origin house of the *wa'u* and the *lingko randang* as the communal agricultural land belonging to the *wa'u* as the owner of the *mbaru gendang* in question (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan et al., 2024; Bustan, 2024).

Referring to semiotic conception, *Nomen est omen*, another form of respect to the ancestors of the *wa'u* is reflected in the use of the ancestral names for their children (one or two children) to commemorate the greatness of their ancestors in the past which underlies the greatness of the *wa'u* as a whole. The members of the Kina *wa'u* in the district of Cibal, for instance, use and attach he names, Paju and Salang, in accordance with the names of their ancestors. By attaching the names of their ancestors, it can be easily known by the members of other clans the name of the *wa'u* they come from. However, due to the dynamics of Manggarai society and cross-cultural communication with those coming from different cultural backgrounds, the use of the names of the ancestors tends to change in today's Manggarai society. Many facts show that, in the last few decades, the members of Manggarai society prefer to use Javanese names or western people's names for their children so as not to be said to be outdated (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016).

The social phenomenon implies meaning that the function of Manggarai culture as the self-identity of Manggarai society that comprises the concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others tends to fade in today's life of Manggarai society. As the same time, the belief of the sacredness of the *mbaru gendang* as the origin house of the *wa'u* tends to fade in today's Manggarai society as well. It is found out that the *mbaru gendang* is often used as a place for carrying out political meetings, especially during general elections even though the candidates are the members of other clans and of other ethnic groups. This is one of the controversial issues in today's Manggarai

society as the political meetings tend to 'desacralize' the existence of the *mbaru gendang* as a sacred-house belonging to the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan living in one village. Likewise along with the use of the *mbaru gendang* for political purposes, the members of Manggarai society often use the *gendang* as the self-image of their ancestors outside the actual contexts of rituals, as in welcoming government leaders (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006).

Regardless such changes, although the family pattern of eating differently known as *kilo hang dio* 'family eating differently' in Manggarai language has been widely implemented in today's Manggarai society, the members of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan are still bound by the awareness of the ownership of the *mbaru gendang* as their origin house. In subsequent development, the ownership of the *mbaru gendang* as a distinguishing feature of the *wa'u* as a house-based community can be seen in today's life of Manggarai society. If there are more than one *mbaru gendang* in one village, the differences between the houses are marked by attaching the name of the *wa'u* as the distinctive feature. As found in Pagal village, in the district of Cibal that lies in the northern part of the region of Manggarai, for instance, there are two *mbaru gendang*. One is called *Gendang Kina* as the *mbaru gendang* belongs to the Kina *wa'u* and the other is called *Gendang Tasok* as the *mbaru gendang* belongs to the Tasok *wa'u*. The word (noun) *gendang* used in the two nominal phrases is the conversion of the word (phrase) *mbaru gendang* marked by the omission of the word (noun) *mbaru* (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006).

The social phenomenon shows that the meaning of the term *beo* 'village' as the *unilocal* settlement unit of the *wa'u* as the members of a patrilineal-genealogic clan living in one *beo* 'village' has been changed into the multifocal settlement unit of the *wa'u*. This is because the members of the *wau* widely spread in many villages due to cross-clan or cross-cultural marriage known as the *cangkang* marriage in Manggarai language which refers to the form of marriage between a man and a woman coming from two different clans that have no kinship relationship before (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006). As a matter of fact, after marriage, the man must live in his natal village and not in the village of his wife because, as a member of the *wa'u* as a house based-community, he is obliged to guard the *mbaru gendang* as a cultural property inherited from the ancestors (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan & Semiun, 2019). However, many facts show in today's Manggarai society that the *mbaru gendang* has been lived by the members of other clans as the members of the *wa'u* as the owners of the *mbaru gendang* live in their own houses due the implementation of the pattern of family known as *kilo hang dio* 'family eat different' as the change of the pattern of family known as *kilo hang neki* 'family eats together' as was in the past. This implies that the ownership of the *mbaru gendang* as one of the cultural properties inherited from their ancestors that indicates the specific characteristics of blood kinship system has become meaningless in today's Manggarai society.

Communal Agricultural Land

In line with the ownership of the *mbaru gendang* as their origin house, as mentioned earlier, the ownership of the *lingko randang* as a communal agricultural land is one of the cultural properties characterizing the existence of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan in Manggarai society. Each sector of the *lingko randang* known as *moso* in Manggarai language is divided in the form of spider network drawn from the center of the *lingko* known as *lodok* in Manggarai language. In addition to showing the justice, the division of the *moso* in the form of spider network also symbolizes the unity of the *wa'u* as the owner of the *lingko randang*. Similar to the *mbaru gendang*, the *lodok* as the center of the *lingko randang* is conceptualized by Manggarai society as a sacred place because it is believed that the place is where the natural spirits reside as the guardians and caretakers of the *lingko randang*.

Being a sacred place, it is prohibited for the members of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan to display inappropriate behavior in the *lingko randang* in order that the natural spirits residing in the *lingko randang* will not be furious and angry with them. Even so, it is noteworthy that the members of Manggarai society do not worship the natural spirits at all, but respect to the natural spirits in accordance with their roles as the guardians and caretakers of the *lingko randang* (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan et al., 2023a).

The relationship of the *mbaru gendang* and the *lingko randang* as the cultural properties of the *wa'u* is reflected in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *Gendangn one, lingkon pe'ang* 'Drum inside, communal agricultural land outside'. The word *gendang* is the conversion of the word *mbaru gendang* (with the omission or deletion of the word *mbaru*) and the word *lingko* is the conversion of the word *lingko randang* (with the omission or deletion of the word *randang*). The manifestation of the relationship between both the *mbaru gendang* and the *lingko randang*, according to Bustan (2005), can be clearly seen in the *penti* ritual, the traditional new year party for the *mbaru gendang* and the *lingko randang*. This is because one of the main aims of celebrating the *penti* ritual for Manggarai society is to honor their ancestors represented by both the *mbaru gendang* and the *lingko randang*. The *penti* ritual is firstly performed in the *lodok* as the center of the *lingko randang* and then it is continued in the *mbaru gendang*. Similar to the *siri bongkok* as the center pole of the *mbaru gendang*, the *lodok* as the center of the *lingko randang* is also conceptualized in the cognitive map of Manggarai society as the center of the world (*axis mundi*) as well (Verheijen, 1991; Erb, 1991; Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2024).

In today's Manggarai society, however, there have been some changes in the belief of Manggarai society regarding the existence of the *lingko randang* as a sacred place. One of the basic reasons of such changes is that the *lingko randang* that was previously jointly owned by members of the same *wa'u* has been divided into permanent property by each family and some have even been sold to others outside the *wa'u*. As a result, several rituals related to respect for the *lingko randang* such as the *penti* ritual are no longer practiced or carried out routinely and intensively every year according to the customs passed down from the ancestors. The agricultural patterns that were originally seasonal have changed to non-seasonal because the agricultural lands have been planted with such long-lived crops as coffee, candlenut, clove, and cocoa. Due to such changes, the ownership of the *lingko randang* as a communal agricultural land belonging to the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan as one of the cultural properties inherited from their ancestors has become meaningless in today's Manggarai society.

Village

As mentioned earlier, one of the cultural properties designating the characteristics of blood kinship system in Manggarai society is indicated by the ownership of village known as *beo* in Manggarai language. As the members of one *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan lived or resided in one village in the past, the term *beo* was defined as the unilocal settlement unit of the members of one *wa'u*. The term *unilocal* comes from Latin language as the combination of the word (numeral) *unus* 'one' and the word *locus* 'place' (Verheijen, 1991; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006). The cultural conceptualization of Manggarai society regarding the ownership of the *beo* characterizing the existence of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan is reflected in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *Ase-kae ca sosor wae neka woleng tae, ase-kae ca natas labar neka woleng bantang* 'Descendants of one water source do not differ in speech, descendants of one playing field do not differ in agreement'. The term *ca sosor wae* 'one water source' refers to the members of one *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan derived from the same ancestors and the term *ca natas labar* 'one playing field' refers to the *beo* as a

unilocal settlement unit of the *wa'u*. In other words, both the term *ca sosor wae* refers to '*ius sanguinis*' indicated by the ownership of one water source belonging to the *wa'u* living in one village and the term *ca natas labar* refers to '*ius soli*' indicated by the ownership of the *beo* (village) as the unilocal settlement unit of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2024).

The cultural conceptualization ascribed in the cognitive map of Manggarai society regarding the ownership of the *beo* as the unilocal settlement unit of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan is also mirrored in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *beo lonto remo* 'village sits together'. The verbal expression implies meaning that the *beo* as a cultural property belonging to the members of the *wa'u* serves as a symbol of their unity (*ius soli*). In the middle of the village courtyard, there is an altar composed of flat piles as a place for carrying out rituals to honor the ancestral spirits as well as the natural spirits that guard the village known as *compang* in Manggarai language. Likewise the *siri bongkok* as the center pole of the *mbaru gendang* and the *lodok* as the center part of the *lingko randang*, the *compang* is also believed by Manggarai society as a sacred place and a center of the world known as *axis mundi* in Latin. It is worth noting that, being a sacred place and a center of the world, the children are prohibited to play in or near the *compang* so that their ancestral spirits and the natural spirits residing in the *compang* will not be furious and angry with them. If they ignore the prohibition, it is believed by Manggarai society that they will receive magical sanctions in the form of illness or disease outbreaks from their ancestral spirits and the natural spirits residing in the *compang*. Along with changes in the perspective of Manggarai society in viewing and making sense the world, it is found out that the belief of the *compang* as a sacred place as well as a center of the world tends to fade at this time.

Due to the implementation of the family pattern of the *kilo hang dio* in the last few decades, it is found out that the ownership of the *beo* as a cultural property of the *wa'u* tends to fade at a certain level as well. As seen in some villages in the region of Manggarai, for instance, the village land has been divided for each nuclear family as permanent property, while in other villages, the village land has been divided for each nuclear family with unclear boundaries that often lead to inherent conflicts occurring between neighbors in today's Manggarai society. Due to the changes of the village design, it is also found out that some villages do not have both the *natas* 'courtyard' and the *compang* 'altar' because the main roads have been built by the local government of Manggarai regency in the middle of the villages. As a result, the existence of the *beo* and the *compang* as the cultural properties symbolizing of the unity of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan in Manggarai society have shifted at a certain level beyond the meanings passed down from their ancestors.

Totem

It is conceptualized in the cognitive of Manggarai society that the existence of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan is also characterized by the belief of a kind of totem known as *ireng* in Manggarai language. The kind of the *ireng* is different from one *wa'u* to others depending on the legend passed down from their ancestors. Regardless whether or not it is rationale and logical, the belief of the *ireng* serves not only as a form of control mechanism or blue print for the members of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan from their human desires, but also as a part of social sanctity to show their obedience and adherence to the traditional norms and rules inherited from their ancestors. The prohibition of eating *nakeng lawo* 'meat of mouse', for instance, is the *ireng* for the members of the Kina *wa'u* residing in the district of Cibal that lies in the northern part of Manggarai region. It is believed by the members of the Kina *wa'u* that, if they break the *ireng* intentionally or unintentionally, they will get scurvy as a form of sanction from the ancestors for the disobedience to the rules passed down by

their ancestors as the first origin of the Kina *wa'u*. Along with the dynamics of Manggarai society, the cultural conceptualization ascribed in the cognitive map of Manggarai society regarding the belief of the *ireng* has been shifted outside the frame of meaning inherited from the ancestors of the Kina *wa'u* in their today's social lives as the belief of the *ireng* is regarded as something unreasonable or illogical. This is because there is no direct correlation between eating mouse meat and getting scurvy they suffer that might be due to other reasons and not because of eating mouse meat.

CONCLUSION

The system of blood kinship as identity marker of social organization in Manggarai society known as *wa'u* as patrilineal-genealogic clan is established on the basis of blood ties traced along with paternal line derived from the same ancestors. The *wa'u* as the system of blood kinship in Manggarai society has unique and specific characteristics to Manggarai culture indicated by such cultural properties as the ownership of the *mbaru gendang* as the origin house of the *wa'u* as a house-based community, the ownership of the *lingko randang* as a communal agricultural land belonging to the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan, the ownership of *beo* as an unilocal settlement unit of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan, and the belief in the *ireng* as a kind of totem. Due to the dynamics of Manggarai society, however, there have been some changes in the characteristics of blood kinship in Manggarai society. The changes can be seen, for instance, in the treatments of the *gendang* stored in the *mbaru gendang*, the ownership of the *moso* in the *lingko randang* as permanent ownership, the change of the village design, and the change of their belief related to the *ireng*. The system of blood kinship affects not only the social structure of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan, but also their social life as a whole.

REFERENCES

- Afrizal. (2014). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Sebuah Upaya Mendukung Penggunaan Penelitian Kualitatif dalam Berbagai Disiplin Ilmu*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- 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.
- 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.
- Boas, F. (1962). *Anthropology and Modern Life*. New York: The Norton Library. W. W. Norton & company.
- Bria, F. M. U., Monteiro, A. E., Taolin, H., Bustan, F., Otta, G. M. N. "The characteristics of endogamy marriage in Manggaraian cultural community". *International Journal of Arts and Social Science*. Volume 6 Issue 12, December 2023.
- Bungin, B. (2007). *Penelitian Kualitatif: Komunikasi, Ekonomi, Kebijakan Publik dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya*. Jakarta: Prenada Media.
- 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.
- Bustan, F.(2006). *Etnografi Budaya Manggarai Selayang Pandang*. Kupang: Publikasi Khusus LSM Agricola Kupang.
- Bustan, F. (2009). "Peran *tu'a golo* sebagai pemimpin tertinggi dalam struktur sosial kelompok etnik Manggarai ditinjau dari perspektif linguistik kebudayaan". *Linguistika*. Vol. 16, No. 30, Maret 2009, 1-17.

- Bustan, F. (2018). *Fitur Organisasi Sosial dalam Kebudayaan Manggarai*. Kupang: Lembaga Penelitian Undana.
- Bustan, F. (2024). *Pelangi Budaya Pertanian Lahan Kering Masyarakat Manggarai*. Yogyakarta: Jejak Pustaka.
- Bustan, F. (2025). *Mosaik Kearifan Lokal Warisan Leluhur Orang Manggarai*. Yogyakarta: Jejak Pustaka.
- Bustan, F., Semiun, A., Bire, J. (2017). *The Characteristics of Anthropomorphic Metaphor in the Manggarai language*. Balti: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing.
- Bustan, F., Semiun, A. (2019). *The Cultural Discourse of Baby Birth in Manggarai Speech Community*. Germany: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing.
- Bustan, F., Kabelen, A. H. (2023). 'The cultural conceptualization of Manggarai ethnic group regarding economic welfare in the field of animal husbandry'. *SPARKLE: Journal of Language, Education, and Culture*, 2 (1), 1-8.
- Bustan, F., Kabelen A. H., Bria, F. M. U., Monteiro, A. E., Taolin, H. (2023a). "The cultural conceptualization of the Manggaraian speech community regarding the omnipotence of God as supernatural power". *SPARKLE: Journal of Language, Education, and Culture*, Volume 3, Issue 1, December 2023, Pp. 1-10.
- Bustan, F., Liunokas Y. (2019). "The forms and meanings of verbal expressions on the existence of God as a supernatural power in Manggarai language (a cultural linguistic analysis)". *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*. www.ijicc.net. Volume 5, Issue 3, 2019. Special Edition: Science, Applied Science, Teaching and Education
- Bustan, F., Huan, E., Otta, G. M. N. (2023b). "The traditional calendar of dry land farming in Manggarai culture". *International Journal of Arts and Social Science*. Volume 6 Issue 11, November 2023.
- Bustan, F., Bria, F. M. U., Sumitri, N. W. (2024). "The nature and solution of family conflict in a patrilineal genealogical clan of Manggaraian society". *Global Journal of Arts Humanity and Social Sciences*. Volume 4, Issue 1, Jan 2024.
- Cassirer, E. (1987). *Manusia dan Kebudayaan: Sebuah Esai tentang Manusia*. Diterjemahkan oleh Alois A. Nugroho. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Casson, R. W. (1981). *Language, Culture and Cognition: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Macmillan.
- Duranti, A. (2001). *Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader*. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- Erb, M. (1999). *The Manggaraians: A Guide to Traditional Lifestyles*. Singapore: Times Editions.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Language and Power: Relasi Bahasa, Kekuasaan, dan Ideologi*. Diterjemahkan oleh Indah Rohmani-Komunitas Ambarawa. Malang: Boyan Publishing.
- Faisal, S. (1990). *Penelitian Kualitatif: Dasar-dasar dan Aplikasi*. Malang: Yayasan Asih Asah Asuh (YA3).
- Foley, W. A. (1997). *Anthropological Linguistics: an Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books
- Goodenough, W. H. (1964). "Cultural anthropology and linguistics. In *Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Gumperz, J. (1992). "Contextualization of language". In *The Contextualization of Language*. Edited by Aldo di Luzio and Peter Aus. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Gunas, T., Bustan, F., Menggo, S., Jem, H. Y. 'Politeness in *Tiba Meka* ritual in Manggarai language and culture, Eastern Indonesia'. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Sociality Studies*. Vol. 3 (2023), 61-71.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage.
- Hogg, M., Abrams, D. (1988). *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes*. London: Routledge.

- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kaplan, D., Manners, A. A. (1999). *Teori Budaya*. Diterjemahkan oleh L. Simatupang. Yogyakarta: Pusat Pelajar.
- Keesing, R. M. (1981). "Theories of culture". In *Language, Culture and Cognition: Anthropological Perspectives*. Edited by Ronald W. Casson. New York: Macmillan.
- Koentjaraningrat. (2004). *Kebudayaan, Mentalitas dan Pembangunan*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Lawang, M. Z. R. (1999). *Konflik Tanah di Manggarai: Pendekatan Sosiologik*. Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia.
- Muhadjir, N. (1995). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif. Telaah Positivistik, Rasionalistik, Phenomenologik, Realisme Metaphisik*. Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin.
- Nusa Putra. (2011). *Penelitian Kualitatif: Proses dan Aplikasi*. Jakarta: Indeks.
- Ochs, E. (1988). *Culture and Language Development: Language Acquisition and Language Socialization in Samoan Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, G. B., Sharifian, F. (2007). "Applied cultural linguistics: an emerging paradigm." In *Applied Cultural Linguistics*. Edited by Farzard Sharifian and Gary B. Palmer. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Sabean, D. W., Teuscher, S. (2013). "Introduction". In *Blood & Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present*. Edited by Christopher H. Johnson, Bernhard Jussen, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher. New York: Berghahn Books.
- 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.
- Spradley, J. P. (1997). *Metode Etnografi*. Diterjemahkan oleh Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya.
- Sudikan, S. Y. (2001). *Metode Penelitian Kebudayaan*. Surabaya: Unesa Unipress bekerjasama dengan Citra Wacana.
- Suriasumantri, J. S. (2001). *Filsafat Ilmu: Sebuah Pengantar Populer*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Tylor, E. B. (2010). *Primitive Culture: Researches Into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*. Volume 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wallace, A. F. C. (1981). "Culture and cognition". In *Language, Culture, and Cognition: Anthropological Perspectives*. Edited by Ronald W. Casson. New York: Macmillan.
- Verheijen, A. J. (1991). *Manggarai dan Wujud Tertinggi*. Diterjemahkan oleh Alex Beding dan Marsel Beding. Jakarta: LIPI-RUL.
- Yu, N. (2007). "The Chinese conceptualization of the heart and its cultural context: implications for second language learning". In *Applied Cultural Linguistics*. Edited by Farzad Sharifian and Gary B. Palmer. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.