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ACCESS

Global Journal of Arts Humanity and Social Sciences

ISSN: 2583-2034

Abbreviated key title: Glob.J.Arts.Humanit.Soc.Sci

Frequency: Monthly

Published By GSAR Publishers

Journal Homepage Link: https://gsarpublishers.com/journal-gjahss-home/

Volume - 4 | Issue - 1 | Jan 2024 | Total pages 60-66 | DOI: 1

an 2024 Total pages 00-00

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.10548723

THE NATURE AND SOLUTION OF FAMILY CONFLICT IN A PATRILINEAL-GENEALOGIC CLAN OF MANGGARAIAN SOCIETY

BY

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Article History

Received: 15- 01- 2024 Accepted: 20- 01- 2024 Published: 22- 01- 2024

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Abstract

This study explores the nature and solution of family conflict in the patrilineal-genealogic clan of Manggaraian society based on the conceptualization ascribed in their cognitive map, as reflected in the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena they employ in the traditional expressions of Manggaraian language as the mirror of Manggaraian culture. The study is descriptive-qualitative. The theoretical framework is cultural linguistics, one the new theoretical perspectives in cognitive linguistics exploring the relationship between language, culture, and conceptualization. The results of study show that nature of family conflict occurring in Manggaraian patrilineal-genealogic clan is an internal problem in a household (rintuk tau lewing agu kebor) and, as such, there is no need to involve external parties to solve it. The approach to solving the problem is win-win solution (hambor) as the parties involved in the family conflict are declared right and the clan leader is declared wrong as he is negligent in doing precauitions to prevent conflict (anggom). As they are of the same clan, it is difficult for the clan leader to determine which party is right or wrong (paki cala wa'i, tuku cala tu'us). The solution of family conflict is carried out through local-democratic model (lonto leok) aimed at maintaining social harmony between the members of wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan. The study is beneficial to preserve the traditional expressions of Manggaraian language as the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used imply a set of local wisdoms inherited from the ancestors of Manggaraian society serving as the frames of reference for them in organizing their patterns of behavior in the contexts of living together as the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan.

Keywords: nature, solution, family conflict, Manggaraian, patrilineal-genealogic clan

INTRODUCTION

It is widely acknowledged that different societies share different cultures (Le Page & Andree, 1985). The basic reason of such differences is that that every culture has its own ways in viewing and making sense of the world (Ochs, 1988; Hymes, 1992; Occhi, 2007; Geertz, 1973; Goodenough, 1964; Sapir, 1949; Miller, 1968; Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Sudikan, 2001). The differences between cultures are reflected in languages because language used by a society as members of a speech community is the mirror of culture they share (Alshammari, 2018; Goodenough, 1964; Sapir, 1949; Miller, 1968; Finochiaro, 1974; Palmer & Sharifian, 2007;

Palmer, 1996; Kramsch, 2001; Cakir, 2006). This comes closest to conception that language used by a society as members of a speech community is the most visible and available expression of their culture (Brown, 1994; Wierzbicka, 1991; Kramsch, 2001; Palmer & Sharifian, 2007). The conception implies that both language and culture belonging to a society as members of a speech community are closely related (Foley, 1997; Geertz, 1973; Sapir, 1949; Miller, 1968; Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Sharifian, 2011; Bustan, 2005). The relationship is symbiotic-reciprocal as language exists in culture (language in culture) and culture exists in language (culture in language) just as language exists in society (language in society) and society exists in language (society in language) (Duranti, 1997;





Duranti, 2001; Bustan, 2005; Foley, 1997; Goodenough, 1964; Palmer & Sharifian, 2007).

As language used by a society as members of a speech community is the window into their mind or cognition (Langacker, 1999; Yu, 2007; Whorf, 2001; Wallace, 1981), it is a truism that the relationship of both language and culture belonging to them is manifested in conceptualization ascribed in their cognitive map (Foley, 1997; Palmer & Sharifian, 2007). The cognitive map contains a bulk of linguistic knowledge as well as a bulk of cultural knowledge functioning as the frames of reference for them in organizing their ways in viewing and making sense the world (Foley, 1997). As Wardaugh (2011) pointed out, when a society as members of a speech community value certain things and do them in a certain way, they come to use their language in ways that reflect what they value and what they do (Wierzbicka, 1991; Goodenough, 1964). The use of language as the mirror of culture they share is reflected in linguistic phenomena they employ both in macro-interactional levels and in micro-interactional levels like in such cultural texts as ritual speech, folksong, folktale, proverb, and traditional expression. The forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena they employ in the cultural texts are specific to culture they share as the parent culture in which their language is embedded (Sumitri & Bustan, 2023; Bustan, 2005; Hasan, 1989).

Referring to the matters stated above in minds, this study investigates the relationship between both Manggaraian language and Manggaraian culture belonging to Manggaraian society as members of Manggaraian ethnic group living in the land of Manggarai that lies in the western part of the island of Flores, the Province of East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia (Verheijen, 1991; Erb, 1999; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan et al, 2017; Bustan & Kabelen, 2023; Bria et al, 2023). As the relationship is so complex that the study focuses on the nature and solution of family conflict in a patrilineal-genealogic clan of Manggaraian society. As family conflict can be defined differently, the term refers to family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal genealogic clan in Manggaraian society

on the basis of conceptualization ascribed in their cognitive map (Verheijen, 1991; Erb, 1999; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006). It is worth noting that the conceptualization is interpreted on the basis of the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena they employ in the traditional expressions of Manggaraian language inherited from their ancestors. The reason is that Manggaraian language serves as the mirror of Manggaraian culture as well as the worldview of Manggaraian society as members of Manggaraian speech community (Verheijen, 1991; Erb, 1999; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan et al, 2017; Bustan & Kabelen, 2023).

In addition, the study is conducted for the reason that the traditional expressions of Manggaraian language designating the conceptualization of Manggaraian society regarding the nature and solution of family conflict in a patrilineal-genealogic clan are specific to Manggaraian culture as the parent culture in which Manggaraian language is embedded. The forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used in the traditional expressions contain a

set of local wisdoms inherited from the ancestors of Manggaraian society as the frames of reference in organizing the patterns of behaviors in their contexts of living together as members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan for the sake of maintaining social harmony (Verheijen, 1991; Erb, 1999; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan et al, 2017; Bria et al, 2023). Due to the dynamics of Manggaraian society, however, most of them tend to ignore the traditional expressions as the frames of reference for them in undestanding the nature and solution of family conlict occurring in their context of living together as the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan. Many facts occuring in the last few decades show that, when they get involved in a family conflict, they prefer to take formal-legal channels through the judiciary institutions in solving the conflict even though they know exactly that they have to spend a lot of time, energy, and money. As a result, the social harmony between them doesn't work well in accordance with the expectations of their ancestors. Therefore, the study might be beneficial as a source of reference for Manggaraian society to revitalize the ways of thinking about the nature and solution of family conflict occurring in a patrilineal-genealogic clan on the basis of local wisdoms inherited from their ancestors.

FRAMEWORK

Along with its main concern, this study is viewed from cultural linguistics, one of the new theoretical perspectives in cognitive linguistics exploring the relationship between language, culture, and conceptualization belonging to a society as members of a social group. Cultural linguistics is an emerging paradigm in cognitive linguistics as it draws on the combined resources of anthropological linguistics and cognitive linguistics in providing an account of the patterns of communicative or interactive behaviors (Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Palmer, 1996; Malcolm, 2007; Sharifian, 2011). In the perspective of cultural linguistics, language is explored through the lens of culture aimed at uncovering the conceptualization ascribed in the cognitive map of its speakers in viewing and making sense of their world (Palmer, 1996; Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Sharifian, 2011). This is in line with the basic premise that language used by a society as members of a social group is the window into their mind or cognition (Yu, 2007; Langacker, 1999; Whorf, 2001; Casson, 1981; Wallace, 1981; Stross, 1981; Richards et al, 1992).

Referring to its aim, cultural linguistics is an approach to identifying the differences between languages due to cultural differences (Occhi, 2007; Cassirer, 1987). This comes closest to the conception of Humboldt that the diversity of languages is not the diversity of signs and sounds but the diversity of cultures (Miller, 1968; Bilal & Erdogan, 2005; Cakir, 2006). The conception parallels in some respect to the theory of linguistic relativity proposed in the hypothesis of Sapir and Whorf that the varying cultural concepts and categories inherent in different languages affect the cognitive classification of the experienced world in such a way that speakers of different languages think and behave differently. Therefore, the basic principles that should be taken into account when we study a new or foreign language are as follows: (a) we perceive the world in terms of categories and



distinctions found in our native language and (b) what is found in our language may not be found in another language due to cultural differences (Sapir, 1949; Miller, 1968; Boas, 1962; Palmer, 1996; Bilal & Erdogan, 2005; Cakir, 2006).

The basic concepts of cultural linguistics are language, culture, and conceptualization. As language can be defined differently, in the perspective of cultural linguistics, language is defined as a cultural activity and, at the same time, as an instrument for organizing other cultural domains. This is because language is shaped not only by the special and general innate potentials of its speakers as human beings but also by physical and sociocultural experiences in their contexts of living together for years or a long period of time (Palmer & Sharifian, 2007). Likewise, language, as culture may mean different things for different people (Kaplan & Manners, 1999), in the perspective of cultural linguistics, culture is defined as a source of conceptualization of experience encountered by a society as members of a speech community in viewing and making sense of their world (Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Palmer, 1996; Wallace, 1981; Stross, 1981; Sharifian, 2011). As both language and cognition are closely related, according to Foley (1997), culture is a cognitive map that functions as the frame of reference for them in viewing and making sense of their world (Goodenough, 1964). This is because culture they share is a display illustrating how they organize their ways of thinking about items, behaviors, and beliefs or events in cultural domain. The relationship is manifested in their conceptualization which refers to fundamental cognitive processes which naturally lead to the development of schemas, categories, metaphors, and scripts (Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Palmer, 1996; Sharifian, 2011).

The ways a society as members of a social group conceptualize their experiences in cultural domains are called cultural conceptualizations that contain such cultural aspects as beliefs, customs. traditions. and values. conceptualizations and language are two intrinsic aspects of cultural cognition, it is true to say that the cultural conceptualizations have conceptual existence and linguistic encoding as well (Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Palmer, 1996; Sharifian, 2011). Language in this light is seen as a central aspect of cultural cognition that functions as a collective memory bank for storing cultural conceptualizations, past and present. It is said so because language is shaped by cultural conceptualizations that have prevailed at different stages in the story of its speakers and these different stages can leave their traces in current linguistic practices. Language as a collective memory bank belonging to a society as members of a social group serves as one of the primary mechanisms to store and communicate cultural conceptualizations (Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Palmer, 1996; Sharifian, 2011). In line with this view, Sharifian (2007) propounds that language used by a society as members of a speech community is a fluid vehicle for the retransmission of their socioculturally embodied cultural conceptualizations. As cultural conceptulization is the result of interaction between members of a culture through continuous process of negotiation and renegotiation through time, space, and even across generations, language in its use as a means for communicating and embodying cultural conceptualization is the vehicle for expressing the cultural identity of a society as members of a social group. The cultural conceptualizations distributed accross the minds of a society that represent their cognitions at the cultural levels are called linguistic imagery which is concerned with how they speak about the world that they themselves imagine. The linguistic imagery can be examined from linguistic phenomena they employ with reference to situational context and sociocultural context as the nonverbal setting in which the linguistic phenomena are used (Palmer, 1996; Palmer & Sharifian, 2007; Scharifian, 2011).

METHODOLOGY

This study is descriptive-qualitative as it describes the nature and solution of family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan in Manggaraian society with special reference to the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena they employ in the traditional expressions of Manggaraian language (Muhadjir, 1995; Creswell, 1998). The approach used to achieve the intended aim was ethnography, especially dialogic ethnography (Hymes, 1974; Spradley, 1997; Duranti, 1997; Duranti, 2001; Bernstein, 1972). The procedures of research were field and library research. The field research aimed at collecting the primary data was carried out in the region of Manggarai, especially in Ruteng town as the capital city of Manggarai regency as the main location of research. The methods of collecting the required data were observation, interview, and focused-group discussion, while the techniques of data collection were recording, elicitation, and note-taking. The sources of the data were the members of Manggaraian society as members of Manggaraian speech community, especially those residing in Ruteng town as the main location of research. For the purpose of this study, however, they were represented by five key informants selected on the basis of ideal criteria proposed by Sudikan (2001), Bungin (2007), Afrizal (2014), Kaplan and Manners (1999). The libary research was done to collect the secondary data. The method of data collection was documentary study and the kinds of documents used as the sources of reference were general documents (books) and special documents (articles, papers, and research result) (Bungin, 2007). The collected data were analyzed by inductive method as the process of analysis was started from the data to the concept/theory, that is local-ideographic concept/theory as it describes the nature and solution of family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan in Manggaraian society (Sudikan, 2001).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of study show that there is a close relationship between Manggaraian language and Manggaraian culture belonging to Manggaraian society. The relationship is manifested in the conceptualization of Manggaraian society regarding the nature and solution of family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan. The conceptualization is reflected in the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena they employ in the traditional expressions of Manggaraian language inherited from their ancestors. The forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena





used are specific to Manggaraian culture as the parent culture in which Manggaraian language is embedded. The meanings stored in the forms of linguistic phenomena used designate that the family conflict occurring in the social life of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic clan is an internal problem. As they originate from the same ancestors and have the same blood relationship, the appropriate approach to solving the family conflict in question is win-win solution aimed at maintaining social harmony in their contexts of living together as members of a patrilineal-genealogic clan.

Discussion

The nature of family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan in Manggaraian society is reflected in the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used in following the traditional expression of Manggaraian language, rintuk tau lewing agu kebor 'collide mutually pot and scoop'. The forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used in the traditional expression imply that the family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan in Manggaraian society is likened as the mutual collision (rintuk tau) of pot (lewing) and food scoop made from coconut shell (kebor). The word (noun) lewing 'pot' and the word (noun) kebor 'food scoop' are used to symbolize the close relationship of blood kinship between the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan. This is because, in the past, the members of the wa'u as a patrilinealgenealogic clan lived in the same house, used the same furnace, cooked food using the same pot, took food using the same food scoop, and ate together (Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2005). As they come from the same origin house as their main or traditional house known as mbaru gendang 'drum house' in Manggaraian language, the forms and meanings of linguistic phenemona used in the traditional expression also imply that family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan is an internal dispute in a household. As it occurs between siblings, it is conceptualized in the cognitive map of Manggaraian society that it no need to involve the external parties or the third parties to solve the family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan.

As the nature of family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan in Manggaraian society is regarded as an internal dispute in a household, as mentioned above, the approach to solving it is win-win solution approach which is known as hambor in Manggaraian language. It is conceptualized in the cognitive map of Manggaraian society that the hambor is the best approach to solving the family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan because neither party is declared wrong or, in other words, the two parties involved in the family conflict are declared right. The party who is declared wrong is the tu'a wa'u as the top leader of the wa'u as a patrilinealgenealogic clan. This is because he is negligent in doing precauitions so that the family conflict in the social social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan under his leadership does not occur. Another reason is that the implementation of the *hambor* approach to solving the family conflict is mainly aimed at keeping

peaceful situation between the two parties involved in the family conflict as they are the members of the same wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan. In addition to keeping peaceful situation between the two parties involved in the family conflict, the implementation of the hambor approach is also aimed at maintaining social harmony in their context of living together as the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan as a whole.

The significances of the hambor as the most effective approach to solving the family confict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan are reflected in the forms and meanings in the traditional expressions of Manggaraian language: (1) Anggom pele awo, ambet pele sale 'Embrace those in the east, embrace those in the west' and (2) Neka oke nggerlaus hae wa'u, neka oke nggersales ase-ka'e 'Don't throw to the north the members of the same clan, don't throw to the west the members of the same clan'. The traditional expressions are the basic principles that should be taken into account by the tu'a wa'u as the top leader of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan in solving the family conflict between the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal clan under his leadership. The basic reason is that being the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan, they should always live in unity in accordance with the expectations inherited from their ancestors. If they have different thoughts or ideas in solving the family conflict, the traditional expressions are regarded as meaningless cultural properties inherited from their ancestors. This is one of the main social issues in today's Manggaraian society as most of them tend to ignore the meanings of the traditional expressions as the local wisdoms inherited from their ancestors.

As the two parties involved in the family conflict are of the same wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic, the tu'a wa'u as the top leader of the wa'u is difficult to detemine which party is declared right and which party is declared wrong. The reason of such a difficulty is reflected in the traditional expression of Manggaraian language, Paki cala wa'i, tuku cala tu'us 'Cut off the legs, cut off the knees'. The forms and meanings of the traditional expression imply that the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan are likened to the organs of a human body. At the same time, the two parties involved in the family conflict are likened as the wa'i 'legs' and the tu'us 'knees', while the tu'a wa'u as the top leader of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan is likened as the ulu 'head' as he is in charge of leading the members of the wa'u as a patrilinealgenealogic clan as a whole. Being aware of his obligation and responsibility as the top leader of the wa'u as a patrilinealgenealogic clan, as has been mentioned earlier, the tu'a wa'u is declared wrong because he is negligent in doing precauitions so that the family conflict between and among the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan does not occur. The use of win-win solution approach through both the hambor and the anggom is aimed at maintaining a sense of unity and keeping social harmony in their contexts of living together as the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan.

In accordance with the habits applied traditionally since the ancestors of Manggaraian society, the solution of family conflict occurring in the social life of the *wa'u* as a patrilineal-genealogic





clan should be carried out through a sit-down event known as lonto leok 'a circular seated formation' in Manggaraian language. The lonto leok is held in the mbaru gendang 'drum house' as the origin house of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan that functions as the living house of the tu'a wa'u as the top leader of the wa'u in question (Erb, 1999; Bustan, 2005). The ways of solving the family conflict through the lonto leok is reflected in the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used in the traditional expression of Manggaraian language, Padir wa'i, rentu sa'i 'Stick out feet, gather heads'. The formation of sitting together in the form of the lonto leok symbolizes the sense of both unity and togetherness as the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan as they come from same descent, have the same bloodline, and share the same origin stucture. The forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used in the traditional expression imply that the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan are likened the organs of a human body, as reflected in the use of the two words (nouns), including the word (noun) wa'i 'foot/feet' and the word (noun) sa'i 'head/heads'.

It is worth noting that the lonto leok is regarded as a meaningless cultural property inherited from their ancestors if they have different thoughts or ideas in the process of solving the family conflict. Therefore, the basic concept that should taken into account in the process of solving the family conflict occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan is reflected in the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used in the traditional expression of Manggaraian language, Nai ca anggit, tuka ca leleng 'Hearts bound one, stomaches bound one'. The forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used in the traditional expression imply that being the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan, they must always be the same in thoughts or ideas in the process of solving the family conflict aimed at maintaining social harmony. In addition to having the same thoughts or ideas, they are also required to have the same actions in carrying out the decision made because actions speak louder than words. The requirement that should be considered in an attempt to achieve the intended aim is reflected in the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used in the traditional expression of Manggaraian language, Muku ca pu'u neka woleng curup, teu ca ambo neka woleng lako 'The bunch of bananas don't have different speeches, the bunch of sugar canes don't have different actions'. The forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used in the traditional expression imply that, as the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan which is symbolized by muku ca pu'u and teu ca ambo, they must always be the same in words and deeds along with the basic principile that united they stand, divided they fall. Due to the dynamics of Manggaraian society, however, the traditional expressions tend to become the meaningless cultural texts as many family conflicts occurring in the social life of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan are resolved through formal justice institutions even though they exactly know that the mechanisms of resosulition the conflicts will take time, energy, and money.

CONCLUSION

Both Manggaraian language and Manggaraian culture are closely related and the relationship is manifested in the conceptualization of Manggaraian society on the nature and solution of family conflict in a patrilineal-genealogic clan (wa'u), as reflected in the forms and meanings of linguistic phenomena used in the traditional expressions of Manggaraian language. As conceptualized in the cognitive map of Manggaraian society, the nature of family conflict in a patrilineal-genealogic clan is an internal problem in a household (rintuk tau lewing agu kebor) and, as such, it is no need to involve external parties to solve it. The approach to solving the conflict is win-win solution (hambor) as both parties involved are declared right, while the tu'a wa'u as the top leader of the wa'u a patrilineal-genealogic clan is declared wrong (anggom) because he is negligent in doing precauitions so that the family conflict does not occur. As the two parties involved in the conflict are of the same wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan, the tu'a wa'u as the top leader of the wa'u is difficult to detemine which party is declared right or wrong (paki cala wa'i, tuku cala tu'us). The win-win approach (hambor) is implemented through a circular seated formation (lonto leok) held in the traditional house (mbaru gendang) in favor of keeping peaceful life and maintaining social harmony in their context of living together as the members of the wa'u as a patrilineal-genealogic clan along with the basic of principle that united they stand, divided they fall.

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Citation

Fransiskus Bustan, Florens Maxi Un Bria, & Ni Wayan Sumitri. (2024). THE NATURE AND SOLUTION OF FAMILY CONFLICT IN A PATRILINEAL-GENEALOGIC CLAN OF MANGGARAIAN SOCIETY. Global Journal of Arts Humanity and Social Sciences, 4(1), 60–66. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10548723