

ANA DHEI DHATO: A TRADITIONAL WEDDING TRADITION AT RAJAWAWO VILLAGE OF ENDE REGENCY

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ABSTRACT

The research aimed to describe each process of 'Ana Dhei Dhato' and revealed its cultural meanings based on the perspective of people in Rajawawo village of Ende regency. The research applied a descriptive qualitative. In collecting data, interviews, note-taking, and recording were conducted. The data were analyzed through transcribing and translating. The analysis results show that 'Ana Dhei Dhato' is considered the most valuable type of wedding because of its complexity and peculiar characteristics. It can be seen from the way they run this kind of wedding ritual. Some cultural meanings are found in these wedding rituals and language spoken, such as religious meaning, social meaning, historical meaning, juridical meaning, and didactic meaning. Therefore, it is expected that people in Rajawawo village must consider 'Ana Dhei Dhato' as one of the most valuable cultural heritages and should also maintain its existence.

Keywords: *traditional wedding, wedding tradition, Ana Dhei Dhato*

INTRODUCTION

Language and culture are closely bound because it is considered one of the most vital elements in any culture. Language is a part of the culture, and language itself is the mirror of culture. Al-Mansoob, Alrefae, and Patil (2019) have stated that a language is considered a means of communication that has its own specific cultural and linguistic features. It is such an identity to its speakers. Meanwhile, according to Kami et al. (2020), language is always a vital means of communicating. Language is also one of the human characteristics that distinguish them from other creatures. In addition, a language in societies that lives side by side has a social function, both as a means of communication and as a way to identify social groups.

The question is how culture is related to language. Language and culture themselves are tied very much since the beginning of human civilization. Culture is learned through relationships with other people. Therefore, culture is not natural, inborn, and will-less; it is a social product. Some factors are considerable and momentous in this transmission, such as information and knowledge in a society, social changes, social relations, and mass media. Thus, culture

transmits generation by generation. Meanwhile, Aso and Sujito (2016) have defined culture as a system of human patterns behavior which generated from social life, and it correlates all of the human communities with their environment ecology. The variety of culture in a certain region is quite unique and highly varied.

Different groups do not only have a different language, but they also have different world views, which are reflected in their languages. This proves how complex their relation is. It is in line with what is stated by Jiang in Mehmet (2017), who says language and culture make a living organism; language is flesh, and culture is blood. Without culture, the language would be dead; without language, culture would have no shape. Additionally, Nengsih and Syafwandi (2020) have argued that every human is governed by the customs and rules that apply in society. The customs that govern people's attitudes and life patterns have been passed down from the previous generation (ancestors) to the next generation.

Since the relationship between language and culture is very complex in nature, Hymes in Kupper and Jessica (2000) has proposed an approach to treat such a relationship in the view of three related perspectives. The first is that language as the element

of culture in which the use of language can be seen in rituals, folklores, folk songs, prayers, or ritual speech. The second is that language as the index of culture in which the use of language can be seen in the way of expressing the speakers' insight and experiences in perceiving the world. Third, language is the symbol of culture in which language has the function to characterize the existence of an ethnic group or tribe as an ethnolinguistic group as well as a speech community or language society.

The power of the culture can be seen in human beings' traditions. Hidayati (2018) has stated that tradition, often referred to as custom, is an activity carried out by a group of people from generation to generation with the aim to obtain harmony either between humans with humans, or harmony between humans with nature through values and norms contained in the tradition. If this harmony can be achieved and maintained, then welfare can be easily obtained. Welfare is not only concerned with matters but also with spiritual relevance. This can be seen, for instance, in wedding rituals that are maintained and survived through language. In line with that statement, Kartolo (2017) has defined marriage as one of the important human life cycle stages. Through married, somebody will get a new status from single to be married; thus, the couple will be approved and needed as full members of society. Additionally, Panjaitan and Manugeran (2019) have stated that a wedding is a ceremony in which two people are united in marriage or a similar institution. Most wedding ceremonies involve exchanging wedding vows by the couple, a gift (offering, rings), symbolic item (flowers, money), and a public proclamation of marriage by an authority figure or leader. Special wedding garments are often worn, and the ceremony is sometimes followed by a wedding reception. Music, poetry, prayers ritual speech are also optionally incorporated into the ceremony.

In many societies of the world, marriage is seen as the fundamental unit of the society without which there could be no family (Silalahi, 2019). Moreover, Passandaran (2019) has added that marriage ceremony in a cultural context is one of the traditions in the form of rituals with various functions. Marriage is something sacred, great, and monumental for every life partner. Therefore, marriage is not just following religion and continuing instinct to form a family; however, it has a profound and broad meaning for human life.

Wedding traditions and customs vary greatly among cultures, ethnic groups, religions, countries, and social classes. In running this kind of valuable inheritance, people should follow each step and fulfill all regulations needed. Neglecting one of those will give destructive impacts on their future life since it stands as one of the guidelines for living. Those are based on the convention and are maintained through generations. Indonesia is a country widely known as one of the biggest archipelagic states with various cultures and traditions. Rahman et al. (2020) have stated that Indonesia is the largest archipelago stretching from Sabang to Merauke. More than 13.000

ethnic groups inhabit the territory of Indonesia.

One of the regions in Indonesia which still maintain their past culture and tradition is the Nangapanda subdistrict, especially in Rajawawo village, which becomes the main focus of the research. Rajawawo village is located about 38 kilometers from Ende city, situated at the western area of Nangapanda sub district of Ende regency. They have three types of wedding rituals, namely *Ana Dhei Dhato*, *Ana Aze*, and *Ana Paru Dheko*. However, the research only focuses on *Ana Dhei Dhato* in an attempt to investigate and reveal both its process, which also covers the analysis of its ritual speech in the form of sacred words and its cultural meanings. Singh (2018) has stated that the sacredness of words has always been a vehicle to transfer values and moralities from one culture to another, from one faith to another, and so on. Languages behave differently based on their internal composition when it comes to the analysis of words in the sacred context. Meanwhile, Abdullah in Rudiyanto, Rais, and Purnanto (2020) have argued that cultural meanings can be defined as the meaning of language in accordance with the cultural context of its speaker along with their cognitive system, which can be seen from their mindset, way of life, and their world view.

From the perspective of scientific research, many pieces of research focus on investigating indigenous rituals to reveal their cultural meanings. The first research is from Langkameng and Latupeirissa (2020). They have conducted research about the cultural values of *Oko Mama*, marriage proposal ritual speech in Bokong community, Indonesia. The results show that the cultural values implied in *Oko Mama*, namely: (a) social value, which consists of cooperative value and the appreciation to girl's parents value, and (b) religious value. Hodairiyah, Rais, and Purnanto (2020) have conducted ethnography research that aims to find out the cultural meaning of verbal and non-verbal expression represented in the *Nyaébuch* tradition of people in Aeng Tong-tong, Saronggi, Sumenep. It is found that this tradition in the form of almsgiving whereby the charity is devoted to the deceased in the hope that it could alleviate and erase the sins of the deceased, in addition to which it could increase unity, harmony, family, harmony between people and others. Meanwhile, Silalahi (2019) has tried to unravel the semiotics of a marriage tradition in Batak Toba society based on the conception of signs proposed by Charles Sanders Peirce in order to reveal the meaning of icons, indexes, and symbols in the marriage tradition.

The fourth previous research is from Rudiyanto, Rais, and Purnanto (2020). Their research focuses on describing the cultural meaning of the *Sranan* tradition found in Wonokromo village, Alian subdistrict, Kebumen. The result of this research shows that the cultural meanings of this tradition include an offering to the ruler of a rice field (*Dewi Sri*) to avoid all kinds of pests that damage crops, as an intermediary to ask God for salvation, and as an application to be given a smooth provision and abundant crops. Additionally,

Mubarokah, Djatmika, and Sumarlam (2019) have conducted research in order to describe the violations of cooperative principles and the factors that created the humor of *Cucuk Lampah* in the wedding ceremony in the Magetan regency. The result shows that in creating humor, *Cucuk Lampah* mostly violates the quantity maxim. *Cucuk Lampah* is free to lie, using taboo, speaking indirectly with pambiwara, and singers. *Cucuk Lampah* also uses language play by mentioning the unexpected in the utterances to build up taboo words. The violations of the quality maxim, relevance maxim, and manner maxim are also done in less number compared to quantity maxim violations. The non-observance of the maxims mostly is violating a maxim, flouting a maxim, infringing a maxim, suspending a maxim, and the last is opting out of a maxim.

Meanwhile, Akbar et al. (2020) have tried to reveal the Sasak Lexicon in traditional marriages from a linguistic anthropology perspective. The results show that Sasak traditional marriages have three common systems. They are betrothed (*tapedait*), proposed (*melakoa*), and elopement (*memulang*). Among the marriages, *memulang* system is carried out dominantly. Moreover, it is found that there are two meanings, namely linguistic meaning, and cultural meaning. The next research is from Hidayati (2018). She tries to reveal the local wisdom of *Kembar Mayang* in the wedding tradition of Java ethnic. She finds out four points of local wisdom in *Kembar Mayang*; they are maintaining family honor, termed *keris-kerisan* in the form of dagger-shaped webbing; mutual protection, termed *payung-payungan* in the form of umbrella-shaped webbing; fidelity, termed *manuk-manukan* in the form of bird-shaped webbing; tenacity and sacrifice, termed *walang-walangan*, in the form of praying mantis-shaped webbing. *Kembar Mayang* as cultural heritage is to be preserved as a guideline in social life.

Meanwhile, Rahman et al. (2020) have carried out research in an attempt to analyze the symbolic meanings of *Palang Pintu* tradition of the Betawi wedding ceremony. They have found that the *Palang Pintu* tradition has symbolic values such as leadership, the religiosity that can be used as an opportunity for children's literacy appreciation learning. Nengsih and Syafwandi (2020) have undergone research in order to find out the symbolic meaning of the tradition *Hantaran Jamba Badagang* in a wedding party ceremony at Kambang Lembang sub-district, Pesisir Selatan. They have found out that this tradition contains the symbol of interaction, communication, and social value. It also contains the meaning of unity between communities and educational values. Furthermore, the *Jamba Badagang* tradition continues to be preserved and developed into the cultural heritage of the Kambang sub-district community.

Panjaitan and Manugeran (2019) have analyzed the symbolic meanings of *Kembar Mayang* conducted at Medan Sinembah village, Tanjung Morawa, Deli Serdang that are predominantly by Javanese ethnic.

It is found that there are five forms of symbolic meanings in *Kembar Mayang*: *Manuk-Manukan* as a symbol of loyalty, *Uler-Uleran* of struggle, *Walang-Walangan* of persistence, *Pecut-Pecutan* of optimism, and *Keris-Kerisan* of wisdom. The five forms of rites are compulsory in the wedding ceremony with the main objective to achieve a happy, harmonious, and peaceful life for the bride and the bridegroom, and this is in line with the general concept of marriage. The next research is from Kartolo (2017) that carries out an ethnography study about the use of language in Malay Deli, Indonesia. It covers the grammatical, psychological aspects, and social structure of wedding ceremonies in Malay Deli tradition.

The last previous research is done by Jumino (2019). This research is about the symbolic meaning in marriage ceremony of Javanese culture (semiotic analysis). The ceremony starts from wedding preparation, *pemasangan dekorasi* (decorating), *siraman* (bathe), *potong rikmo* (haircut), *selling dawet*, *midodareni* (visiting to the bride), *ijab kabul* (marriage vows), *panggih* (meeting), *balang suruh* (throwing suruh), *wiji dadi* (hoping fertile), *dahar kembul* (having meal together), *sungkeman* (prostrating), *sindur mayang* (covering shawl), *timbang* (weighing), *tukar cincin* (exchanging ring), until wedding reception. Each procession has both its own symbol and meaning.

METHODS

The research attempts to describe the wedding ritual based on its names and reveal their cultural meanings in the cultural context where they have taken place. The appropriate research design to answer the problems stated is a descriptive qualitative research design.

In collecting the data, the researcher uses some techniques proposed by Creswell (2009), such as observation, interview, recording, documentation study, and note-taking. Septiana, Santosa, and Sumarlam (2019) have stated that the researcher gradually discerns recurring patterns from these notes and observations. These allow the researcher to generate hypotheses about what the various linguistic behaviors that have been observed mean. Additionally, according to Sudaryanto (2015), some techniques can be used to obtain the data. Two of them are the observation method and interview. The observation method is done by listening and recording the information uttered by the informants, while the interview method is done by direct interview or face-to-face communication. The data obtained through field research are analyzed qualitatively. The data are analyzed through a systematic procedure such as transcribing, translating, and data analysis using contextual-based interpretation before finding the meaning. In transcribing, the recorded data are transcribed by the researcher in order to get a written datum enabling the researcher to analyze it in more detail. After transcribing, the data are translated from

the Ende language to English. To get a good result of translation, the text is translated using both lexical and contextual translation. In lexical translation, the text is translated literally. Conversely, the contextual translation should base on Ende's culture, especially in the Rajawawo context. It is based on the perspective that each society has its own way of thinking and behaving. In conducting both lexical and contextual translation, the researcher has consulted the informants to get a good and accurate meaning. The researcher's own interpretation is also added, especially to reveal its contextual meaning.

All of the data, then, are analyzed in accordance with the problems, aims, and scope of the research, namely the analysis of the cultural meaning of the traditional wedding ritual of people in Rajawawo village based on its process, which could reveal their values, function, and meaning. The analysis of that traditional wedding ritual process aims to get a picture of the cultural meaning of the traditional wedding ritual of people in Rajawawo village. This analysis is held after the meaning of each name and value dealing with the rituals is obtained by the researcher.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The cultural meaning is known as a character of meaning or value that is intermediate to represent something in a particular context of culture. It deals with an object that represents or stands for an abstraction. The explanation of cultural meanings will be presented after translating each process into lexical meaning. The data of the traditional wedding ritual process of people in Rajawawo village of Ende regency are presented, followed by a brief explanation about its lexical meaning and contextual meaning of the ritual, which will lead to the cultural meanings of the ritual being investigated.

The researcher has decided to delimit the research only to describe *Ana Dhei Dhato* according to its process and then reveal the cultural meanings within this ritual. *Ana Dhei Dhato/Nai Lapu Ja* wedding ritual can be held if the couples have already gotten permission from their parents and entire clan. In other words, they should do this without any pressure. The following description is the explanation of the terms *Ana Dhei Dhato/Nai Lapu ja*. The marriage can only be held if the couple (woman and man) love each other and get permission from their parents and clan. At the same time, *nai Lapu ja*, which means the man with his own desire, goes to his woman's house in order to get permission from her parents and clan. Before that, he has already told his family about his girlfriend's background (name, clan, hometown, and status). This is very important to his family because, by this information, they could prepare everything before entering the woman's house.

Ana Dhei Dhato's wedding ritual is carried out in a series of separate rituals that must be obeyed. The first ritual is called *tei nia mbe'o ngara*. In this phase,

the woman's parents and the whole clan have already obtained information about the man's background. A woman from the perspective of the Rajawawo people, is symbolized as *muku* and *tewu* (bananas and sugar cane), which means the woman does not live in isolation, but always lives under the protection of her whole clan and before the bananas ripe, anyone is not allowed to touch it. In this stage, the man's clan (*Weta Ane*) should bring *su'a eko* (ivory and animals - horse and buffalo). As a symbol of respect, the woman's clan also gives *are guni*, *wawi*, *zuka zawo*, *zambu kadho* (food, animals - pig, sarong, and also clothes).

The second ritual is *weta mai eja se'a*. The whole members of man's clan, including his *eja* (brother-in-law) and his sister, come to the woman's house to meet the woman's clan. In this stage, the exchange of valuable things will happen. The man's clan gives *toko* and *eko*, and as a symbol of gratitude, the woman's clan gives *are guni*, *zuka zawo sa kadho*, and *tee zani* (rice, sarong, and bedding).

The third is *mbeo sao nggeso tenda*. In this process, all the information needed from the woman's such as her house, her entire family (clan), and also the clan's role, especially *ka'e embu*, to the woman herself, have already been obtained by the man's clan (*weta ane*). In this stage, the dowry that has to be fulfilled by *weta ane* in the form of *toko* (ivory) and *wea seziwu* (gold) are discussed.

The fourth stage is *kiri pipi mbinge inga*. Contextually, it means using the cheek and ear to listen to something. Contextually, *puu kamu* (the girl's uncle) attends this stage with the purpose of listening to the ritual process of his sister's daughter. In this part, *puu kamu* takes a role only as a quest. However, after making some agreements, the man's family (*weta ane*) is demanded to give something, such as money and gold (*wea*), because *puu kamu* will play a significant role in the upcoming process of that ritual.

The fifth stage is *pete negi rike nggiki*. The function of this process is to strengthen their (woman and man) bond or love, and also their whole families/clans. In this stage, the man's clan must fulfill some demands from the woman's clan, such as ring(s) and necklace. People in Rajawawo village believe that this kind of valuable thing (ring and necklace) can lead their love to stand forever and happily ever after.

The sixth process is called *kuni kudu*. Contextually, the woman is ordered to go to the man's house to help the man's family, especially his mother, with household chores, for example, cooking, washing, cleaning, and others. This is a very crucial point because by doing this, she will be able to run or do her job or duty as a wife. She should throw away her doubt and hesitation in finishing all the work given. It should be noticed that the woman's duty here is merely helping the man's family. Therefore, she is not allowed to live together with her future husband in his house.

The seventh is *weka te'e soro zani*. Contextually, it means stretching the plaited mat and pillow. This stage is a formal ceremony of this wedding ritual. The woman's uncle (*puu kamu*) has already prepared plaited

mat and pillows in the woman's bedroom as a symbol of readiness to be a married couple. Symbolically, *te'e* (plaited mat) and *zani* (pillow) that are provided by the woman's uncle (*puu kamu*) show the fact that the woman is born from her mother's womb; therefore, the woman belongs to *puu kamu* (her uncle). The *puu kamu* (her mother's brother) plays a very crucial role during this ritual. This ritual is the beginning of their life as a married couple. The dowries that must be fulfilled by the man's clan are *toko*, *wea*, and money.

The eighth stage is *bhanda mere*. *Bhanda mere* is the final stage of this wedding ritual that they must bring many dowries. In this stage, the man, along with his family, must give a dowry to all members of the woman's nuclear family in accordance with the conventions that have already been determined before by the woman's parents. This stage is also called *Tu Bhanda Mere* (give a dowry in a huge number).

The last process is called *tu dhu nawu jeka*. Contextually, it means to live together forever. In short, the woman's family is ready to accompany their daughter to her husband's house in order to live together with her husband for her entire life. This process is also called *mbuku nai sao*. *Nai* means enter, and *sao* means house. Contextually, it is a symbol that a girl has already merged into a man's clan. The dowries that must be fulfilled by the man's clan are *toko*, bride price, and *eko* (buffalo and cow).

In accordance with the name, process, or ritual speech deals with the traditional wedding ritual. The researcher takes numerous cultural meanings that are interrelated to one another in order to cover a set of ideas and worldviews of people in Rajawawo village of Ende regency about their traditional wedding ritual. Based on the conceptual frameset in the idea of the informants and the result of the research, the researcher has found a number of cultural meanings of the traditional wedding ritual of people in Rajawawo village of Ende regency. The meanings include religious meaning, social meaning, historical meaning, juridical meaning, and didactic meaning. The set of these cultural meanings are not only symbolized by verbal expression (non-material symbols) in the form of language but also by non-verbal aspect (material symbol) in the form of any visible and touchable things.

The first cultural meaning is religious meaning. It constitutes an expression of believing in a higher being since it is closely related to people in Rajawawo village's perception of the nature of their ancestors' soul (*Embu Kajo Iro Aro*) as the mediator between them and their God (*Nggae Raze Dewa Reta*). Ancestors' souls as a human mediators should be magically invited to come in all ritual ceremonies. People in Rajawawo village believe that the ancestors' souls could become a bridge and also a mediator who delivers their praying and wishes to their highest entity. Their perception of the existence of the ancestors' soul is clear on the verbal level in the preface of all ritual speeches. In Rajawawo village, people call it *Dhera Dhao*. Lexically, *dhera* means open, *dhao* means call.

Contextually, *dhera dhao* means the ritual to feed the ancestor's soul. It takes place one night before the wedding ritual happens, and the whole members from the woman's side should take part or attend this ritual. This ritual always starts with the prayer to God or the highest entity, called *soa soza*. *Soa* means speech, *soza* means called. Table 1 is cited from the spoken discourse of the *sesajen* (the gift for souls) ritual.

Table 1 Spoken Discourse of Soa Soza

Term	Meaning
<i>Embu kajo iro aro, nggae raze dewa reta</i>	All ancestors' souls, God on earth and in heaven
<i>Ndie wesia kami wi kema mbana</i>	Tomorrow we'll have a ceremony
<i>Ana embu miu ata jodo sama</i>	Your daughter wedding ceremony
<i>Miu pera si rara ngaki siwesa</i>	Please give them the right way
<i>ebe mbana ndeka raza mozo</i>	The way that will lead them together and don't give them any disasters on their way
<i>Ndia kami pati ka miu</i>	Here we bring you a present
<i>Ka are pesa uta manu</i>	The pure rice and a big chicken
<i>Maisi ka pahara, minu peimu</i>	Let us eat and drink together

People in Rajawawo village believe that a chicken, especially its blood, symbolizes purity and clarity. The food in this ritual is served without any flavor. Praying for God or the highest entity through their ancestors is important since they believe in their ancestors' inclusions by keeping them away from any bad spirit, disasters and gives them eternal protection.

The second is social meaning. This traditional wedding ritual also contains social meaning. The social meaning covers a set of moral values functioning as ethical guidelines for all villagers of Rajawawo village. These ethnical guidelines as the social norms lead people to improve and maintain their social relationships in society. The social value includes solidarity, democracy, and social reconciliation. Solidarity value constitutes a significant social dimension established by the traditional wedding ritual of people in Rajawawo village. It becomes the basic principle of social unity between a couple's family and all villagers and other clans in Rajawawo society. The important thing to improve solidarity values is regularity, balance, cooperativeness, and the availability of the same right, and status. The social value is seen in all parts of the traditional wedding ritual of people in Rajawawo village of Ende regency from the beginning to the end. It creates an enormous social relationship because they believe that this wedding ritual is not only about the couple (woman and man) themselves, but it also involves the entire villagers to bond and unite the couple's clan (*weta ane* and *pu'u kamu*).

The solidarity value can be seen in the principles of the collaboration of people on Rajawawo village: *Kita ata mai pati nee ate masa mae e nee seso neno*. Lexically, *kita* means we/family, *ata mai* means come, *pati* means give, *nee* means with, *ate* means heart, *masa* means sincere, *mae* means not, *e* means remember/ think, *seso neno* means repayment. Contextually, it means the couples' family realizes that the villagers come to offer help with an open-hearted and without any repayment. Lexically, *poka* means cut down, *tiko* means crowd, *weza* means defend, *gizi* means around. Contextually, it is an activity that has to be done together in order to get the job done easily and quickly. Togetherness becomes a key success of this ritual. Lexically, *tuke* means support, *nduku* means knee, *duke* means hold on to, *siku* means elbow. *Tuke nduku duke siku* means support with knee and hold on to elbow. Contextually, it means a kind of support from many sides of the clan members through moral, material, and financial support has to be done seriously.

Social reconciliation defines the process of renewing and maintaining the friendly relationship between groups of clans. People in Rajawawo village believe that a friendly relationship or kinship not only limits or relies on particular people or among people in society, but also among the living people and their ancestors, which are considered living invisibly in their society. The social reconciliation among people in the society can be viewed in all processes and the principles of the traditional wedding ritual, while the relationship between people and their ancestors can be viewed in the *Dhera Dhao* ritual. In this ritual, the woman's whole clan, especially her parents, brothers, and sisters, have to take part, and the villagers should come as quests and witnesses. All related clans should join this ceremony as their presence becomes a form of social duty. Meanwhile, their absence will reduce social reconciliation. By participating in all ceremonies, taking part in such roles, having dinner together, they all can increase and maintain their friendly relationship. As a sign of gratitude to their ancestors, one day before the ceremony takes place, the couples should come to *Tubu Musu* (their ancestors' graves) to 'fed' their ancestors' souls, because they believe that by doing this, they would be blessed by their ancestors and Gods (*Embu kajo* and *Nggae Raze Dewa Reta*) and will also lead or guide them to reach prosperity, harmony, and happiness.

The term democracy refers to the similar views of people in deciding for unity. In the traditional wedding ritual context, it can be seen in ritual speeches (*mbabho*). *Mbabho* is a ritual talk for the purpose of negotiating the dowry that has to be fulfilled by the man's clan side. Only certain or particular people are trusted to lead this ritual (*mbabho*) called *Mosazaki*. He must be a man above sixty years old and has an ability to control the situation and arrange the sayings because of his tough job as a bridge to combine and unite two opinions from two different perspectives from both clan sides (*puu kamu* and *weta ane*). The example of *mbabho* can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2 Spoken Discourse of Mbabho

Term	Meaning
<i>Ine Baba ari kae</i>	Mother, father, brothers and sisters
<i>Kita ngambe ndie</i>	We are here together
<i>ngestei kema mbana ko ana embu kita</i>	To talk about our daughter's relationship
<i>ebe weta ane muku tewu miu ripi peka</i>	She has become a beautiful woman
<i>ata wi keti, miu pate ate miu</i>	Wish for your permission to be engaged with your daughter
<i>ebe weta ane miu pati si sua ne eko</i>	Here they bring you a present

The ritual speech in Table 2 represents both togetherness and the solidarity of people in the community. After having a deal about a dowry that has to be fulfilled, both clans make an agreement to follow all the regulations in front of *Mozazaki* and the villagers.

The third is historical meaning. The traditional wedding ritual of people in Rajawawo village of Ende regency is closely related to the cultural values and events existing and relating to the past. The traditional wedding ritual in Rajawawo village has gone through some changes. The wedding ritual in Ende regency, especially in Rajawawo village since the beginning, uses the dowry in the form of ivory. Rajawawo village is in *Tana Zozo* region that covers east region called *Nanggeree* (Nangaba), and west region called *Paroree* (Nangambo to Maukaro).

In the past time, people in Rajawawo village used *doka* (white gold), but as time passed by, the head of the village changes it to *wea* (pure gold) because they think that the value of the white gold is not so high. People in Rajawawo village, in their ritual or ceremony, always pair up all the things, even the dowry and the foods. *Sue* (ivory) is always paired up with *wea* (pure gold). *Sue* here is used to symbolize manhood, while *wea* is used to symbolize woman. When both clans gather to talk about something, the hosts always serve *mengi-keu* (betel vine and bitternut or *sirih-pinang*) and *muku-vizu* (bananas and *cucur* cake). It is a symbol of woman and man. People in Rajawawo village believe that all that has been united cannot be separated because missing one of these important elements will negatively impact the entire clan or family.

The last is juridical meaning. It can be viewed from two perspectives, including macro-perspective and micro-perspective. From a macro-perspective, the juridical meaning of the traditional wedding ritual of people in Rajawawo village is closely related to the conformity law, which is implemented in the harmonious relationship among alliance people in the society. It can be seen in the process of *Tu Bhandu Mere*, called *Mbuku Uta Ae*. It is a gratitude to the villagers that have given their support, time, and finance to help

the couple's families during their ceremony. The man's clan serves *kamba bhanda* (cows) to the villagers who came to the ceremony, but it should be noticed that there are some rules which the villagers should follow. Their duty here is only to help the couple's clan and as a guest. They are not allowed to give opinions or suggestions during a dowry negotiation process because it only involves the couples' family and the ceremony leader (*mozazaki*).

From a micro-perspective, the juridical meaning of the traditional wedding ritual of people in Rajawawo village is closely related to the relationship among the woman, her family, and the man. A relationship that cannot be separated between the woman and her clan can be viewed in the principle of the family relationship of Rajawawo village. People in Rajawawo village believe that they should always live in a group. This group (*Ine baba, pu'u kamu, ari ka'e*) always protects each other, especially their daughter and sister. Moreover, juridical meaning can also be viewed in a relationship between the woman and the man, in *pete negi rike nggiki*. It takes a function as a tool to strengthen the couple's (woman and man) love and their entire family/clan. In this stage, the man's clan has to fulfill some demands from the woman's clan, such as ring(s) and necklace, because these valuable things from their perspectives (ring and necklace) could make their love stands forever for the rest of their life.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the findings and as the answers to the research problem, the research has revealed the names and oral literature dealing with the process and its cultural meanings. There are three types of traditional wedding rituals in Rajawawo village of Ende regency, such as *Ana Dhei Dhato*, *Ana Aze*, and *Ana Paru Dheko*. *Ana Dhei Dhato* is a type of wedding ritual considered the most valuable wedding ritual among others. The process of *Ana Dhei Dhato* wedding ritual include *Tei nia mbe'o ngara*, *Weta mai eja se'a*, *Mbeo sao nggeso tenda*, *Kiri pipi mbinge inga*, *Pete negi rike nggiki*, *Kni kudu*, *Weka te'e soro zani/kembi kaja*, *bhanda mere*. *Bhanda mere* covers some details such as *mbuku Ine Baba*, *mbuku pu'u kamu*, *mbuku ndoa baba*, *ndoa ine/ari ka'e*, *mbuku ta ae*, *mbuku juju kangge weri ine*, *mbuku nua oza/ tubu musu ora nata*. The last process is *tu dhu, nawu jeka*.

Regarding the process and oral discourse of the traditional wedding ritual of people in Rajawawo village, the finding of the research pinpoints four cultural meanings related to how people in Rajawawo village view their life and the world where they live in. The four meanings are religious meaning, social meaning, historical meaning, and juridical meaning. Therefore, it is expected that the research will give valuable information and insight about Rajawawo's tradition, especially on their wedding traditions

for people in general, and is also a valuable written document of cultural heritage for the next generations. Along with the conclusion provided, the research offers two suggestions: the stakeholders are advised to take part in maintaining Ende's cultures by issuing policies supporting the maintenance and cultivation of these highly valuable cultural values. Further research on the cultural meanings, either the traditional wedding ritual of people in Rajawawo village or other Ende's traditional wedding rituals, is highly recommended to probe more about Ende's culture.

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