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Marriage and Family Formation in the Contemporary Manggarai Culture (Flores, Indonesia)

[Małżeństwo i formacja rodzinna we współczesnej kulturze Manggarai (Flores, Indonezja)]

Streszczenie: Indonezja, choć szybko się rozwija, nadal pełna jest zasobów dziedzictwa kulturowego – utrwalonej tradycji, zwyczajów – jako obszarów badawczych. Przykładem jest Manggarai, region położony w zachodniej części wyspy Flores. Przy zakładaniu rodziny mieszkańcy Manggarai nadal praktykują tradycyjny sposób (*adat*). Procedura ta opiera się na lokalnej koncepcji, zgodnie z którą rodzina ma nie tylko klasyczne znaczenie jako rodzina nuklearna (zwana *kilo*, *ca kilo* lub *mbaru kilo*), ale obejmuje także znacznie szerszy krąg. Dlatego tak pilna staje się każda droga w procesie zawierania małżeństwa, która potencjalnie tworzy nowy związek dwóch większych rodzin (*woe nelu*). Okoliczności te odgrywają ważną rolę w życiu społecznym i politycznym Manggarajczyków, nawet wtedy, gdy żyją oni z dala od swojej ojczyzny.

Summary: Indonesia, although it is developing rapidly, still offers many traditional circumstances that could be the subject of research. An example is Manggarai, a region in the western part of Flores Island. When founding a family, the inhabitants of Manggarai still practice the traditional way (*adat*). This procedure is based on the local concept that the family not only has a classical meaning as a nuclear family, called *kilo*, *ca kilo* or *mbaru kilo*, but also includes a much wider circle. This is why every path in the process of marriage becomes so urgent, which potentially creates a new relationship of two larger families (*woe nelu*). These circumstances play an important role in the social and political life of the Manggaraians, even when they live apart from their homeland.

Słowa kluczowe: Indonezja; Manggarai; zakładanie rodziny; tradycyjne małżeństwo; *adat*.

Keywords: Indonesia; Manggarai; family founding; traditional marriage; *adat*.

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Introduction

Manggarai is the most western region of the Indonesian island of Flores. It has a population of almost one million people and is the largest ethnic group on the island. Bellwood classifies them as Proto-malays, which is also assumed by Bijlmer and Keer.² The inhabitants speak the local Manggarai language (*curup* Manggarai as a lingua franca with various local dialects) and several other languages such as Rembong, Wolos, and Kepo in the east.³ The significant majority of residents are Roman Catholics. The main crops of this agrarian society are coffee, rice, vanilla, cloves and others.

The founding of a family through the traditional path of marriage is still a major event among Manggaraians. F. Pine classifies the understanding of family according to anthropological writings into two terms: *i*) nuclear or conjugal family as of father, mother and children; and *ii*) extended family that consists of two or more related conjugal families (it may be with their married children).⁴ Based on Tsubouchi and Maeda' analysis about the family term among Malayans, Y. Hayami underlined, that "in all kind of reflexions, we should consider the meaning of this term, whether as the unit of habitation, familial ties based on marriage, birth, and adoption, or as the ideal type of a family concept constructed in each society based on the previous two."⁵ In this article, I would like to highlight the concept of family ties in the process of family formation among the Manggarai people through the complex path of marriage and how the kin is extended as a result.

A family in the traditional Manggarai

Anthropologist who specialises in the Manggarai region, Maribeth Erb, describes how the traditional family develops. The Manggarai people believe that all living things came into being from the union of 'father above and mother below'.⁶ The union of a man and a woman then produces

² (Bellwood, 1985, p. 75–76).

³ I use in this article only the terms that are in *lingua franca*, which are understood by all people of Manggarai.

⁴ (Pine, 2010, p. 277).

⁵ (Hayami et al., 2012, p. 13).

⁶ This cosmological predicate of the Supreme Being is common among the eastern Indonesian cultures, for example among all Flores cultures. Among the Manggaraians, the Supreme Being, the Creator has many predicates, like father above, mother below (*Ema eta, Ine wa*), the sky above, the earth below (*awang eta, lino wa*) (Erb, 1999, p. 149).

new lives, which will create successive new lives. In the ancient times, when the family lived in a big house, once the children grow up, the boys leave their parents' room and sleep in the front room until they get married. After marriage, they start their own *kilo*, which signifies both: a room in the same house and their own family. The girls sleep in their parents' room until they get married.⁷ This distinction can be seen even from the birth of children. A new-born boy is called *ata oné*, meaning inside person, because he will remain in the family or clan. A girl is called *ata pé'ang* (outside person) because she will leave the family or clan through marriage.⁸

In the Manggaraian terminology, a nuclear family with a father (*ema* or *ame*), mother (*ende* or *ine*) and children (*anak* or *mantar* or *wua pa'a*) is called *kilo*, *mbaru kilo* or *ca kilo*.⁹ This term derives from the ancient time, when a clan (*wa'u*) lived in a big house (*mbaru niang* or *mbaru lempang*). *Mbaru* means house and *kilo* means a room as a part of the big house. In the hierarchical structure of the house, there are many rooms, in which every family as a part of the clan lives. Therefore the other words for family *kilo* or *ca kilo*, is alternately used, because it means one room.

The roles of father and mother differ traditionally.¹⁰ The father is described as *ame rinding mane*, i.e. the guard of the day and a mother as *ine rinding wie*, i.e. the guard of the night.¹¹ A father is the breadwinner of the family. He is responsible for finding and preparing the field for the new planting season. He teaches his sons how to do this and how to hunt. The mother takes care of the house, children, weaving mats and the sowing.¹² In *adat* rituals, the father takes part in processions and rituals while the mother, along with other women, prepares the meals.¹³ The role of the

⁷ (Erb, 1999, p. 43). Nowadays, in the modern houses, it is no more practiced.

⁸ (Gordon, 1980, p. 49–50; Allerton, 2004, p. 344). If the birth takes place at home, the eldest of the family asks the question about the sex of the child from outside the door. The question is: ours or a stranger? (*ata one ko ata peang?*). In rural communities, babies are born at home with the help of a midwife, so more rituals may take place. In the case of those born in hospitals, rituals are only organized after being brought home.

⁹ (Deki and Regus, 2011, p. 64). M. Erb adds another name apart from *kilo* to describe the family: *kilo hang neki* (those whose eat together in the same room). (Erb, 1999, p. 43).

¹⁰ This description only shows the traditional worldview of the Manggaraians, as the division of labour between men and women has become unclear in modern times, when hunting and finding new places to grow crops is no longer the main occupation of men.

¹¹ In the mystical field, the Supreme Being (God) is attributed many predicates, such as heaven above, earth below (*Awang eta, lino wa*) or father and mother (*Ame rinding mane, Ine rinding wie*).

¹² (Verheijen, 1977, p. 55–57).

¹³ This division of social functions can be observed in almost all Indonesian cultural contexts, for example in the thanksgiving *slametan* ceremonies among the Javanese, as described by Clifford Geertz (Bell, 1997, p. 123).

mother, however, comes up enormously in marriage negotiations. Since the bridewealth is commonly called *wae cucu ine* or *wae cucu ende*, which means gratitude for mother's milk, the mother of bride-to-be decides how big the bridewealth should be.

In the traditional or adat context of life of the Manggaraians, the nuclear family plays only a minor role, as it is a concept that firstly emerged during Western colonialism.¹⁴ All aspects of life bring the understanding of the family to an extended concept, which can be seen in traditional proverbs such as *paang olo ngaung musu* (front to back of house) or *paang agu pepa* (gate and end of village). Describing the life of the Manggaraians, M. Erb underlines, that "being born to a clan means being born in to a community of people who share not only physical properties, but also various rules, that relate them to the wider world."¹⁵ The affinal relatives (*woe nelu*), by marriage, are acquired to widen automatically the kinship network. Similarly to the most traditional contexts, in the larger perspective, this kind of relationship functions as a social unit with norms and beliefs or as economic unit for the survival of its members.¹⁶ The economic function can be seen in the moment of money gathering for the bridewealth (*kumpul kope*) or for beginning the academic year of a clan or family member (*wuat wa'i*).¹⁷

Beyond the urban reality, people in rural Manggarai still live in larger families. One household usually consists of three or more generations. This is mainly because, apart from the fact that family ties are still strong, there is no special care system for the elderly throughout the country. Additionally, although the kinship system is patrilineal, some married daughters remain with their parents. Nevertheless, along with the urbanization and the social development, the single households are becoming more dominant type. That means, the distinction between the traditional (adat) context and the internal household's interests is more and more clear. Thereby, the single families maintain their independency, especially in making decisions upon their household finance, their own children or rearing them.

¹⁴ The Dutch banned living together in large houses because of the lack of hygiene, which caused many diseases. From then on, each family built their own house (Steenbrink, 2006, p. 117).

¹⁵ (Erb, 1999, p. 43).

¹⁶ For example in the Kenyan context. See: (Wawire, 2003, p. 991).

¹⁷ This *wuat wa'i* ceremony (lit. preparing the step) is always organized to gather the money for expensive school or university salaries.

Marriage as a family founding

Family or clan relationship plays a big role in the social and politic life of Manggarai people.¹⁸ So to say, clan system is the basis of the traditional social life.¹⁹ Family founding is not only the case of two young people but of whole clan.²⁰ The entire procedure is based on and involved with all socio- or even political circumstances of the Manggaraian's life.

Marriage, as the longest way to form both nuclear family and a new circle of kinship, consists of number of procedures and ceremonies and always becomes the largest moments of the society, which includes life of them from the birth until the moment of death. In the following, the circumstance of family founding will be described through the marriage path.

a. The *woe nelu* relationship

Kinship through marriage is called *woe nelu*. This is symbolised by the structure of the hearth. In the traditional architecture of the house, the hearth has a central place around which all members gather. M. Erb emphasizes the warmth and togetherness created around the hearth as a symbol, in which the wife giving clan, who gives away her member in order to create new lives of another clan, plays the central role.²¹ That is why the wife giving clan is called *sapo agu likan(g)*, that means the hearth with the rocks on it.

There is traditional acceptance of preferential marriage between two certain clans.²² It is based on: *i*) the kinship prescription between two related clans, in which the original ancestors were brother and sister (consanguineous marriage); *ii*) internal agreement between two clans, as a pact of peace made after a conflict or local battle. In the former case, marriage between first-degree cousins has become rare due to the prohibition of the Catholic Church, except in the second or third generation. In the latter, a political or gratuitous agreement usually exists between two powerful clans that have fought each other in the past.

The wife-giving clan is called *anak rona* and the wife-taking clan is called *anak wina*. According to tradition, there can be multiple marriages

¹⁸ The term clan used here does not mean the clans in original meaning of it (as an ethnic group). These are in Manggarai more smaller subclans (*wa'u* or *suku*, or *uku* in the eastern part of Manggarai). Wouden and Mair classify them as lineage (Wouden, 1968, p. 5; Mair, 1965, p. 64).

¹⁹ (Nggoro, 2006, p. 48 etc).

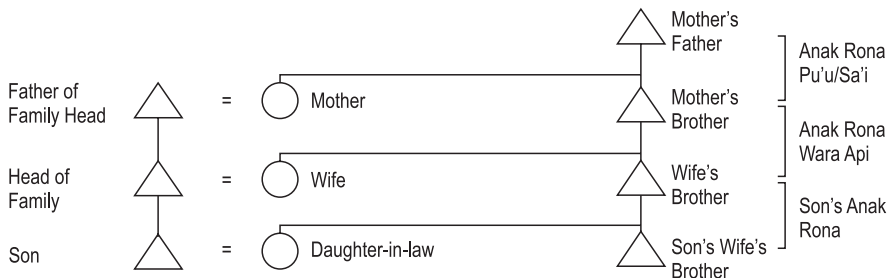
²⁰ (Gordon, 1980, p. 56).

²¹ (Erb, 1999, p. 110).

²² (Erb, 1999, p. 43). It is not an obligation among the Manggarai to marry their cross-cousins, what Mair calls prescribed marriage, but it is a preferential one. See: (Mair, 1965, p. 79).

between clans, which should make the whole procedure easier. When a marriage is made between two different clans, it can unite their members to be more closely involved in the traditional life of both clans. In this case, the clan taking the wife gets a new clan as *anak rona* (wife giver), in addition to the already existing, prescribed wife-giving clan.

To describe it more precisely, the family or clan of a man's wife is known as *anak rona* and the family or family of his mother is called *anak rona wara api* (the fire). The wife giving clan of his grandfather is called *anak rona pu'u* (main) or *anak rona ulu/sa'i* (head). M. Erb portrays such *woe nelu* relationship as depicted in the diagram below.²³



Endogamous marriage is still practiced among Manggaraians, as is exogamous marriage. Since the endogamous system allows for the renewal or creation of relationships between sub-clans, an exogamous alliance, especially with women from outside the Lesser Sunda Islands, may be one way to avoid the complicated traditional structure. Nevertheless, the marriage is also traditionally correct and the new family is fully accepted in the male clan. They have full rights to participate in all clan ceremonies. When a non-Manggarai man marries a Manggarai woman, he should fulfil all traditional duties until the wedding day and also after that. Then he should always remember his wife's role in the alliance system, as she and her new family are now considered *anak wina* (wife taker) for her original clan.

b. The traditional path of marriage

There are many traditional steps in starting a new family to go through, from the negotiation ceremonies until the decision on the Church wedding day. Nevertheless, some of them sometimes are left out due to the practical reasons. The ceremonies of the traditional path looks the same in the whole region, they differ in many places only insignificantly²⁴.

²³ (Erb, 1999, p. 111).

²⁴ See about this: (Allerton, 2013, p. 73–96; Gordon, 1980, p. 56–65; Jangur, 2010, p. 54–62; Nggoro, 2006, p. 109–125).

As soon as a man is ready to marry his future wife, he tells it his family, who calls then a meeting to begin the negotiation process. First of all, when everything is prepared, the young man and some representatives of his family or clan goes to his girlfriend's family to tell officially about their engagement. They bring a pig or a water buffalo as a gift for his girl's family. This path is called *ba pangkang* or *tukar kila* that mean ring exchange. At this time, the man's family should confirm officially their relationship through a ceremonies such as *pongo* (to bind through ring exchange), *ba cepa* (to bring the betel leaves) or *tuke mbaru* (entering the house). Afterwards both sides try to fix the bridewealth (*paca*) through negotiators (*tongka*). When the sum of the bridewealth is fixed, a pig (*ela mbukut*) or a goat (*mbe ute*) will be sacrificed. *Kempu* is a decision making upon the date the bridewealth should be brought. During the *pongo* ceremony both sides could also decide the wedding date, both adat and Church wedding. After the *pongo* ceremony, the young man's clan informs all its members about the bridewealth's sum and then calls a meeting called *kumpul kope* (lit.: gathering knives) to collect the sum.

The climax of all ceremonies is the traditional wedding, called *wagal* or *nempung*. Weddings take place always in the bridegroom's domicile. During the *wagal* the bridewealth should already be given to the bride's family. During the ceremony, the bride and groom are sitting together for the first time after a ceremony called *wela hendeng*, in which the bride will be praised in front of all guests. There will be dialogs between the both families. There will be a pig-sacrifice ritual during *wagal* (*renge ela wagal*). Some wealthier families will organize *caci*, a ritual whip fight with music, songs, and dances.

After the ceremony *wagal* the bride will be taken to groom's house, it does not matter how far away it is. The ceremony is called *podo* and is accompanied by her clan members with loud music (traditional or modern). The bridegroom expecting her and is waited by the bride's family playing traditional music. When she arrives, the groom welcomes her in front of the house. Before entering the house (*wedi para*) the bride has to tread on an egg as a ritual called *wedi ruha* or *keda rugha*. Then the gift for the bridegroom's family (*wida*) also should be presented. It ends up the whole traditional wedding.

It is now common among Manggaraiians that when the sum of the wedding wealth is not reached, then there is no big *wagal* or *nempung* wedding ceremony, only a smaller one called *umber*. This means that the traditional wedding will be postponed for a year or more.²⁵ The difference

²⁵ (Gordon, 1980, p. 58–59).

with the *wagal* is that after the umber ceremony there is no *podo* ceremony, so the bride is not taken to the groom's house. The groom has to live in the bride's house or not too far from her family until he reaches the sum demanded. However, this is less practised nowadays, especially if there is an agreement between both families and clans.

Like the term "family" refers to the whole clan or more (i.e. through marriage), every ritual or ceremony creates or maintains the feelings of (sometimes new) relationship among the members or between clans as well.

The contemporary realities of the Manggaraian family founding

a. How the Catholic Church treats the adat marriage ceremonies

The catholic missionaries arrived in Manggarai in 1921, later than in the other parts of Flores (1914). Unlike the earlier newcomers, they treated the local customs as being helpful in their mission. They did not erase the adat ceremonies, but attempted to fix them in to the catholic view of life and vice versa, namely to bring the catholic elements and theology in to the essence of the rituals.

Today the majority of Manggaraians are catholic and their daily life is strong related to the catholic belief. In the beginning of the twentieth century, catholic missionaries came from Netherlands into the region. Nevertheless, they still practice their traditional way of life. Many ancestor rituals are still on top. There is a very important phenomenon during all adat ceremonies, not only the marriage. A ceremony would not be legitimate without sacrifices of animals such as pig, chicken, goat or buffalo. The blood poured on the earth calls for fertility, purification or expiation²⁶. During the animal offerings some ritual speech (*turak*, *kepok*) are held, in which the ancestors are invited to the ceremonies as the mediators between the human being and God (*Mori Kraeng*). Thus the spiritual aspect of the ceremonies, in our case of marriage, is to be underlined and visible.

The reference to God is more underlined in all rituals than before.²⁷ As it is commonly observed, before the ritual supper or meal there will be

²⁶ The New Encyclopaedia..., (Jahr), p. 131.

²⁷ This is an example from the ceremony *podo*, in which a ritual prayer (*tudak* or *torok*) during the sacrifice of a pig: *Denge lité Morin agu Ngaran, dengé kolé le méu empo ata pa'ang bé lé, nenggitu kolé weki pa'ang olo ngaung musi, ..., ho'o lami elan, kudut pentang pitak diha...* (the names of bride and groom). *Ho'o taung néka pola wokat agu labé acus méu empo, tegi kali ga kamping Mori, kudut beka agu buars ise wina rona...* ect. Here is the meaning: Hear o God our Lord, hear o you ancestors and all you villagers, this is a sacrificed pig to clean the path of... (the name of bride and groom). We beg you, o ancestors, not to disregard them and we ask God's protection, so they may be blessed with descendants... ect.

always a catholic prayer to ask God's blessing not only for the meal but for the whole party. That is also one of the reasons, why the Catholic Church does not forbid the long and complicated procedures of marriage alliance. The bishops or the pastoral agents are all the sons of the culture, so that they are the part of their own culture and taking part in the various adat ceremonies.²⁸ This fact signifies that even the Church people (so called pastoral agents) are stark and deeply involved in the *adat* life. The Catholic Church opens thus her horizon wider and at the same time, she sanctifies the elements of adat. The religious instance thus, accepts – although not without criticism – the adat (traditional) preparation and process.

b. The case of divorce

Despite of the theological discourse, there should be also another thing the Church has to face. In the whole case of the marriage, it is to be seen, that people themselves are more engaged in the traditional process and care than in other aspects, such as the practical preparations of grounding a family (house, family planning, etc.). The Church offers pre-marriage courses, in which one of the main points is family prosperity. Nevertheless, this kind of Church's care seems to be despised, due to the large amount of adat obligations, which should be fulfilled. The young people *volens-volens* are extremely absorbed by the traditional preparations and then other dimensions could be waiting.

Adat law of the Manggaraians does not allow the divorce. A marriage nexus is unbreakable, as it is expressed in the proverb *acer nao, wase wunut* (*noa* means tiplant used field broaders, which is tied with the *wunut* or palm rope) and eternal, which is described as *cawi neho wuas, dole neho ajos* (be tied like the rattan rope, being one like the lianas). In this case, the State and Catholic Church also do not see the breaking off as a value. The State acknowledges a marriage, only when it is carried out according to the religion under which the bridegroom is registered. After a breaking off, on the legal level, the couples are still in the marriage tie. On the one hand, it is very difficult to get a legal (Church) divorce but on the other hand, the adat lets an alternative to dissolve a nexus, i.e. paying back a great sum of the bridewealth. People take then the traditional way, since the broken marriages are easier to be accepted, so are the new relationships.

²⁸ I know personally a diocesan priest, who becomes one of the famous mediators (*tongka*) and is often invited to the ceremonies of the bridewealth negotiations.

c. The case of bridewealth

Bridewealth is a known tradition worldwide. L. P. Mair, after studying the case in Africa finds out, that bride price is child price, because bride-wealth is essentially a return made for the woman fertility. The children she bears are considered as the children of the man. Bridewealth custom becomes also an important part in negotiating marriage among all cultures of Indonesia, although the practices are various. Indonesian language names it *mas kawin*, which means literally “wedding gold”. The other Indonesian words to describe bridewealth are *mahar* and *belis*. Above all, it means “an amount of present” given by the wife-taker clan or family (*anak wina*) to the wife-giver clan/family (*anak rona*). The term “an amount of present” will be the essence of the variability in practicing this tradition among various cultures of Indonesia. The amount or the kind of it is also a special theme to study.

M. Erb points out an important role of a woman as a “gift”, that is given away, or analogically to the legend of Manggarai people’s origin “to be cut up”, so that new lives can be created.²⁹ In the philosophy of the adat, *paca* aims to: firstly, to thank the bride’s mother tomb (*tuka wing de ende*); secondly, to legitimate the alliance of the bridegroom and the clans; thirdly, to manifest one’s readiness to give a secure life for the wife and the coming children.

As mentioned above, the bridewealth will be fixed during the pongo ceremony and be given in the wagal ceremony. Whether the agreed sum of *paca* is reached or not, there are various reactions of the wife-giver clan. The clan has the right not to let the wedding being continued or, depending on their good will, the wife-givers let the rest sum being payed later, which is known as “bom salang tuak, maik salang teku tedeng”. Literally, it means: the marriage (alliance) should not be the *tuak* (palm wine) source, but the water source that is eternal. It means then, the obligated amount of the bridewealth could be regulated in the later times, since the wedding is the most important one of all the processes.

In its traditional sense, the bridewealth refers only to material and animal gifts, like traditional sarongs (*songke*), a buffalo, horse, goat or pig. In the modern centuries, it means also an amount of money. Nowadays it really becomes a deep concern for all, as the case of bridewealth has changed its character, from purely adat formality to an idea of a payment, even a trade transaction. It means, the wife-giver clan demands a high sum of

²⁹ The Manggaraians believe, that their ancestors originated from a pair of the first people, who then were ordered by Mori Kraeng to kill their only son. From his blood grew various crops and also animals emerged for their life (Erb, 1999, p. 23–24).

bridewealth due to the clan-status or worse, due to the fact, how educated the bride is. The higher the bride's education level is, the more difficult it becomes for the bridegroom. It leads to more difficulties for both sides, like a postponed or worse, cancelled marriage. The high sum of bridewealth seems to be the mostly problem for the wife-taker clan or family. Many of them sometimes have to sell their adat land (*ulayat*), in case of not gaining the demanded sum.

On the one hand, the wife-giver clan is trying to collect the sum among the clan members, which could more integrate the bond and communal responsibility of all and among all the members. On the other hand, they have to place this clan-obligation and responsibility higher than everything else, like improving the family's prosperity. In some cases, a clan has to take a credit from a bank and then has to pay it off in instalments. Shortly, the case of strict adat obligations does not help people to improve their standard of life.

d. The problem of labour-emigration

A. Skolnick marks, that major shifts in economic, demographic, political, and cultural trends in the industrialized world and beyond have altered people's lives dramatically, especially in the family life.³⁰ Although the Manggarai region is a fertile land and produces a large amount of crops every year, the slow circulation of money and monopolistic policies in the trading system do not bring any benefits to the local people. Despite people's self-sufficiency in daily needs (food) from their land, they do need money for other purposes, such as school fees, medical care, electricity bills and also for traditional payments (adat).³¹ All this requires a regular income that cannot be obtained from agricultural products. Therefore, many people (mainly men) leave their families to go to other islands where they can earn money regularly. Most of these less educated people with no qualifications choose Kalimantan as their destination to work on palm oil plantations as fruit pickers or as security guards.

According to Caritas data from the last ten years, 200–300 Manggaraians migrate to other parts of Indonesia each year. Half of them leave with their spouse, often leaving their children with grandparents. The other half, especially married people, are threatened by loneliness. The lack of daily contact due to poor cell phone signal in both the workplace

³⁰ (Skolnick, 2002, p. 1182).

³¹ The case can be seen also in other rural regions, like by the Torajan people of North Sulawesi. The costly potlatches during the funeral ceremonies force some members of the family to migrate to other places of Indonesia in search of money (de Jong, 2008, p. 19).

and family place often leads to desperate acts. Many lonely people find other lonely people and decide to live together. And then they slowly break off contact with their spouses in Manggarai.

There is no accurate data yet that shows the percentage of the broken home cases. In my village, there are already four broken families as a follow of the labour migration. The consequences are dramatic and complex. Their spouses at home try to fight alone to raise the children or to marry again. Some of them are physically getting ill. Although they still get financial support for their common children, the shame they have to experience every day in the social and clan life is enormous.

Conclusion

The smallest kinship unit known as the nuclear, elementary or simple family is present in all societies. In the traditional Manggaraian mind-set, this nuclear family, as Pine points out, still serves as “the basis for the regulation of consumption, production, socialisation and individual sexuality or reproduction”.³² And its social status will be seen in the context of its relationship with the larger family unit we call the clan (*suku* or *wa'u*).

The contemporary Manggarai still keeps its tradition in the process of founding a family, since the marriage nexus plays extremely a big role (may be the biggest) in the social life of the Manggaraians. The wedding ceremony marks the importance of the new statuses of kinship and the behavioural expectations associated with them, both for individuals and for the community.³³ Since it is the case of all clan, apart from its meaning as nuclear unit, the family traditionally should be understood extendedly as a social group. Although a *kilo* is independent as a dominant form nowadays, but it belongs to complex family forms through marriage, constitutes them and becomes legitimate only in the association with them.³⁴

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³² F. Pine, *Encyclopedia*, p. 279. In many cases, among the Manggaraians, the pairs that are not productive are allowed by adat to be dissolved.

³³ Marilyn Thinger-Tallman, Debra A. Henderson, Marriage Ceremonies, in: James J. Ponzetti, Jr, *International Encyclopedia of Marriage and Family*, vol. 3, New York, Macmillan Reference, 2003, p. 1192.

³⁴ George P. Murdock, *Social Structure*. The Macmillan Company: New York, 1949, p. 2.

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