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E-mail: kanzphilosophia@sadra.ac.id/kanzphilosophia@gmail.com.
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LIFE VALUES OF MANGGARAI PEOPLE AS REFLECTED IN THE MORAL TRADITION GO’ET

Salahuddin*
Linguistic Department, Gadjah Mada University; salahuddin1998@mail.ugm.ac.id

Abstract: This study aims to examine the philosophical life values of the Manggarai people in Western Flores, which are reflected in the proverbs of the Manggarai language (Go’et). Go’et is an oral literature that contains the values that govern the life of the Manggarai people. This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach design involving semantics theory to interpret the meaning of Go’et. The data in this study were obtained by conducting in-depth interviews with one of the Manggarai community leaders with the initials AW (52) and secondary data available on the Manggarai Nuca Lale website. The data obtained were then validated using the Indonesian-Manggarai dictionary to find samples that fit this study. Nine data are relevant to the scope of this study based on the results of data collection that have been done. From the data found, the researcher concluded that there are three central values in go’et which contain advice and instructions for living a life under the norms that apply to the Manggarai community, such as unity, Manners and Wisdom, and passion and hard work. These findings are consistent with the fact that the Manggarai people uphold the values of unity, cooperation, and harmony among community members.

Keywords: Go’et, Life Philosophy, Manggarai, Oral Tradition.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menilik nilai falsafah kehidupan suku Manggarai yang tercermin di dalam peribahasa bahasa Manggarai (Go’et). Go’et adalah sastra lisan yang berisi nilai-nilai yang mengatur kehidupan masyarakat Manggarai. Penelitian ini menggunakan desain pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif dengan melibatkan ilmu kognitif semantik untuk menafsirkan makna yang terkandung di dalam Go’et. Data dalam penelitian ini diperoleh dengan melakukan wawancara mendalam dengan salah

Kata-kata Kunci: Falsafah Hidup, Go’et, Manggarai, Tradisi Lisan.

Introduction

Indonesia is a country rich in cultural diversity. Regional culture is a normative culture that seeks to navigate human life by applying mutually agreed cultural norms. Normative culture includes a package of social meanings, values, and practical norms that, in ordinary cases, tend to be relied upon to overcome various challenges. The normative culture that part of a culture that includes a package of social meanings, values, and practical norms that, in ordinary cases, tend to be relied upon to overcome various challenges in life forms (Vargas 2020, 392). Vargas continues that humans need tools, skills, and knowledge to navigate complex communal lives. Normative culture provides this collection of resources—interrelated patterns of meanings, symbols, practical norms, practical values, and the like, which can include rituals and often tacit decision procedures. However, in the way it is characterized today, normative culture is a set of practical (as opposed to theoretical) norms, social meanings, and values that tend to go together, often in mutually reinforcing ways.

Defining culture is not a complicated matter because it tends to be consistent with the definition carried out by cultural experts. Culture can be understood as a set of practical norms, meanings, and values practiced jointly by members of that artistic community. Any information obtained from other members of one’s community through social learning capable of influencing individual behavior, part of the artificial environment, the total number of shared learned behaviors of a society or subgroup, historically transmitted patterns of meaning embodied in symbols, information capable of influencing the behavior of individuals which they acquire from other members of their community through teaching, imitation and other forms of social transmission and the vast array of
practices, techniques, heuristics, tools, motivations, values and beliefs we all acquired growing up (Vargas 2020, 393).

Given our more limited concern with normative culture, talking about different or practical cultures is to talk about other communities that internally share an overlapping set of applicable social norms, values, and meanings. Culture can also be understood as a set of shared understandings that characterize a group of people (Kövecses 2012, 126). The shared knowledge meant by anthropologists, when looking at it from a cultural point of view, refers to metaphorical expertise in the form of intangible entities, such as time, inner human life, mental processes, emotions abstract qualities, moral values, and social and political institutions. In this view of metaphors, metaphors can be an integral part of culture.

The value of local wisdom can usually be identified through the culture found in certain groups of people, one of which is an oral tradition. All ethnic groups form their own identity through language (including oral traditions), ways of eating, ways of dressing, polite and ethical ways, and moral standards that they practice (Sumitri 2018, 1-2).

The regional culture found in Indonesia has characteristics that can distinguish one from another (Ndiung et al. 2019, 16). These characteristics can be found in differences in ethnicity, customs, and language practiced in everyday life (Lajim et al. 2022, 52). From these differences, one similarity is found in Indonesia’s regional cultures, they have their local languages. In regional languages, how the speaker perceives the world is portrayed (Demos 1964, 598).

That way, the regional language produces different vocabularies according to the concepts understood in the speaker’s brain. In language, it can also store history about the traditions practiced by the early generations, which are portrayed in oral tradition, as known as peribahasa or familiarly understood as proverbs. Proverbs are a group of words or sentences containing figurative meanings. The meaning contained in proverbs is usually conveyed implicitly. Thus, a broad understanding is needed to know the meaning to be conveyed in the proverb. Proverb explains life’s phenomena and is a valuable expression, illustrator, statement, and advisory tool (Maneechukate 2018, 91).

As explained by Bacon, the philosophy of life is portrayed in proverbs. Proverbs also contain essential advice from the ancestors of speakers of specific languages. Oral traditions such as proverbs also have an essential role in supporting ethnologists in tracing the history of a nation, in addition to historical findings such as temples. Oral traditions provide information that can support or interrelate with concrete historical evidence (Lowie 1917, 162).
Manggarai is one of the tribes that inhabit the West Flores Islands, which are spread over three regencies, such as West Manggarai, Central Manggarai, and East Manggarai, with the Manggarai language as the tribal language. Manggarai is one of the regional languages in East Nusa Tenggara, which has many proverbs. Proverbs in the Manggarai language are more familiarly known as go’et. The go’et oral tradition contains history and advice on the life of the former Manggarai people, passed down from generation to generation.

Tonkin (1986, 204) explains that the word ‘tradition’, as it is commonly used, implies a communication that is passed down from generation to generation, making it valid and authoritative but not as authoritative as History (Niman 2022, 150). The contents may accumulate over time, be contaminated by counterfeit additions, or contain cruces due to copier errors. In quasi-historical terms, oral traditions are often accounts of past existing or currently relevant social or sociopolitical relations (Tonkin 1986, 203). The advice in go’et contains the norms of life regarding what is permittable and what is forbidden. For norms such as these to work successfully, normative cultural meanings must provide some tool for providing answers to practical questions about what is worth doing and how to do it, and what follows when things go wrong (Vargas 2020, 393).

Go’et is a cultural treasure of Manggarai that contains implicit messages about life. Go’et (Deki, 2011) are proverbs in the Manggarai language that are rich in meaning and value and function as a guide in directing humans to achieve a life that is under the norm (Moses 2019, 59). The expressions in go’et contain directions, life guidance, and advice to lead a great and compassionate life toward others. There are also prohibitions against doing actions detrimental to oneself and others. Go’et prioritizes taste, and aesthetic values contained therein. The value of taste can be described as “the level of feeling contained in a meaning, information, or intention expressed by a speaker or writer to match what the writer or speaker wants”. Meanwhile, the aesthetic value is closely related to the value of beauty, which is usually found in the proverb pattern.

Go’et, for the Manggarai people, is spoken in various traditional rituals. In Manggarai cultural rites, go’et has many types depending on what customary ritual is being carried out, such as the traditional rites of building a house or mbaru niang, the birth of a baby or ceur cumpe, and the release of a leaving or wu’at wa’i—and there are more traditions -Other Manggarai time-honored traditions (Moses, 2019).

The main thing is that the proverbs in certain rituals should be spoken by a specific person who understands what kind of go’et can be said in certain situations. The speaker is a player and has verbal facility, which may be relevant to his performance. Moreover, speakers vary in
Salahuddin: *Life Values of Manggarai People* …

Go’et can be considered the highest literary language that is generally spoken in the Manggarai traditional rituals. Manggarai language spoken in formal situations (Helmon 2018, 315) usually involves a high level of understanding in which both parties have equal interpretive abilities on the discussed topic (Raru 2016, 41). Nevertheless, go’et is also possible to be spoken as an entertainer when conversing in informal situations, for example, talking with someone who certainly has the same level of understanding of the figurative language used. Kayange (2014) continues that there are two messages or intentions of the creators of sayings, namely, to express rationality through the statements given and to transfer the message to the user profoundly. The first objective emphasizes that rationality is demonstrated by creating ideas that inspire the minds of those who hear them. Aspects of rationality are communicated through sentences that are not straightforward (literal meaning-based).

**Meaning as A Central Study of Linguistics**

In Peterson’s writings (1980, 751) entitled “Philosophy of Language,” he raises a fundamental question: What is the linguistic meaning? How can one know that a proverb has more than one linguistic meaning? How can a substance be related to other things, which is the real meaning that the interlocutor wants to convey? Such questions seek to discover what is behind the interlocutor’s mind and the real intentions and goals to be obtained from the speech (Morris 2007, 10).

Kaelan (2002, 215) asserts that when someone says something that is not said, in essence always accompanies what is said so that the two are a unit. Thus, humans must experience a broad understanding of the language used in speech events because, with this provision, the true meaning can be understood. Extralinguistic beliefs regarding speakers and the situation play a fundamental role in determining how speech is produced, identified, and understood (Chomsky 2006, 102).

Linguistics also questions the study of meaning. This can be found at various linguistic levels, from phonology to semiotics. Phonology examines how phoneme sounds can differentiate meaning, such as the phoneme sounds /b/ and /p/ are different so that they distinguish...
the importance of the words ‘tampak’ and ‘tambak’ in Indonesian. Morphophonemic processes, namely derivation, and inflection, can change word classes and meanings at the morphological level. Essential words subjected to the affixation process allow changes in a sense, such as a suffix -ness in English, which is added to the lexeme ‘happy,’ which is an adjective ‘happiness’ that will change the word class and its meaning. Likewise, semiotics seeks to interpret a sign’s meaning in a particular context. Semiotics is divided into three main branches: semantics, syntax, and pragmatics. Syntax questions how the order of phrases that make up a clause can be understood and accepted. In addition, the study of syntax cannot be separated from discussions about functions, roles, and syntactic categories. The noun category cannot fill the predicate function in English. Whether the phrase in a clause is changed or its position can change the meaning or maintain the purpose becomes the main study of syntax, such as an active clause that is changed to a passive clause. Semantics studies how purpose is related to signs or symbols and how social and cultural contexts form these meanings. In comparison, Pragmatics is a branch of semiotics that studies how to use gestures or symbols in real communication situations.

In semantics, there are several terms of essential meaning, two of which are associative and proverbial. In general, associative meaning (Chaer 2012, 284) is the meaning that belongs to a lexeme that has a relationship with something outside the language. As explained earlier, associative meaning can be equated with the concept of symbols. Certain groups use the associative meaning contained in a word or lexeme to express other concepts with similar characteristics, circumstances, or characteristics to those of the original word concept.

The associative meaning is not part of the word’s primary meaning (conceptual) but has various meanings based on individual experience or the context contained in a sentence (Sarifah 2008). Every individual from a different cultural background has a different concept of associative words. Associative meaning can be distinguished from conceptual meaning, namely the original meaning of a lexeme independent of any context or association. Thus, conceptual meaning has the exact definition of lexical meaning, denotative meaning, and referential meaning. Leech (1976) incorporates connotative, stylistic, practical, and collocative meanings into association meanings. The connotative meaning is related to the value of taste, the stylistic meaning is related to social differences, the affective meaning is related to feelings, and the collocative meaning is the equivalent or synonym of the word.

Furthermore, according to Chaer (2012, 284), the meaning of proverbs is created because of the association between the original meaning and
its meaning as a proverb. The proverb is a term used to cover all kinds of traditional expressions (Fanany 2003, 54). Fanany continued that these proverbs contain free speech, one or more metaphors, have a general application shared by speakers of a particular language, have traditions in their society, and contain advice or observations on how the world works.

Furthermore, the basic concept of cognitive semantics is the nature of the relationship between the conceptual structure and the external world of sensory experience, or in other words, looking at the heart of human interaction with awareness of the world outside, and aims to build a theory of conceptual structure according to how we experience the world (Evans et al. 2006, 157). Furthermore, Evans et al. (2006, 157) carry out four basic cognitive semantic assumptions: an abstract design that is embodied, the semantic structure is conceptual structure, meaning representation is encyclopedic, and meaning construction is conceptualization.

Regarding conceptual design, Evans (2006, 157) likens the basic concept of semantic cognition to a man confined in a house with closed sides, interior, boundaries, and exterior, which results in a man being unable to get out because of the barrier on the door. According to Evans et al. (2006, 157), this barrier blocks the physical relationship between humans and the outside world. The illustration imagery meant by Evans is referred to as an image schema, which means that the human body's experience gives rise to meaningful concepts. The semantic structure is conceptual, meaning that language refers to concepts in the mind rather than objects outside the world. In other words, the conventional meaning associated with a word is a linguistic or lexical concept. The third central principle of cognitive semantics states that semantic structures are encyclopedic. This means that words do not represent neatly packaged collections of meaning (dictionary view) but serve as ‘points of access’ to a vast repository of knowledge relating to a particular concept or conceptual domain. While the last principle insists that the construction of meaning is equated with conceptualization, a dynamic process in which linguistic units guide a series of abstract operations and the recruitment of background knowledge.

The main discussion in cognitive semantics relates to the basic meaning of the body, which means a meaningful conceptual structure because it is tied to pre-conceptual (physical) experiences that are directly meaningful (Evans et al. 2006, 157), which in many studies in cognitive semantics tradition is directed straight at the analysis of conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphors give rise to conventional conceptual mappings that are stored in long-term memory and are motivated by the schematic structure of the image.
 Furthermore, regarding how meaning can be understood, Harman (1968, 593) offers the concept of three levels of meaning, which consist of, first, an explanation of the use of language in thinking; the second, an explanation of the use of language in communication; and third, a description of the use of language in certain institutions, rituals or practices of a group of speakers. The first level of meaning is closely related to the abstract semantic structure concept Evans (2006, 157) promoted above. The means of a thought is determined by its position in the overall structure of thought and other psychological attitudes, that is, its place in the conceptual schema of the subject, including its relationship to experience and relations to other things in the same schema. The second level of meaning theory explains communication and what is involved in a message with a specific meaning. Proper communication is a concrete form of channeling human thoughts and ideas; Kantz summarizes the meaning of the message about the meaning of the thought,” namely the meaning of the message (what is meant by the speaker) in terms of the meaning of the thought being communicated (what is meant by the speaker so that the listener the thoughts possessed by the speaker). The third level of meaning emphasizes that some institutions, games, and practices involve the use of language and, therefore, can give meaning (significance) to the use of that language. However, according to Harman (1968, 597) mentioning, this level of meaning is a different type of meaning from that involved in the first and second levels, and usually, the use of certain words in an institution, practice, or game presupposes that these words have the meaning as a message (which by default assumes that the terms have meaning when used to express one’s thoughts).

Previously, talking about the difference between literal and symbolic meanings was necessary. When hearing these two terms, what comes to mind are two opposite times (antonyms). In other words, meaning can only be literal or figurative. Phrases or sentence marks in specific interpretations cannot be literal and metaphorical (Bredin 1992, 69). This implies that there is no third condition, which means there is no meaning which is both non-literal and non-figurative.

Furthermore, Bredin (1992) explains the fundamental difference between figurative language and symbolic meaning. Figurativeness in language refers to the second-level order or pattern in the use and arrangement of words. The first level sequence, explained by Bredin, consists of the rules and regulations used by competent speakers of the language (native speakers). This first level is further divided into four types: phonological, syntactic, semantic, and discourse, or simply this first level is language theory. The symbolic order is the second level of arrangement word for word, superimposed on the first. This
second level, according to Bredin, also consists of four types, namely successively phonetic figures (alliteration, assonance, rhythm, or rhyme), syntactic figures (rhetorical questions), semantic figures (metaphors), and discourse figures (syllogisms, sonnets, stanzas, letters, novels, and catechisms). It is, thus, clear that talk of symbolic meaning is only related to semantic figures.

There is no end to the study of the meaning of figurative language. What keeps it interesting are the questions like, ‘Why did they say it like that?’ or ‘What is the correlation between the use of the word and the real world?’ At least eight types of non-literal language are currently identified (Roberts et al. 1994, 159), including hyperbole, idiom, indirect request, irony, understatement, metaphor, rhetorical question, and simile. Hyperbole is an exaggeration, as in the expression “dentuman itu menggelegar membelah angkasa” (the boom thundered across the sky) in Indonesian. Idioms are combinations of words that create non-literal meanings, as in the phrase scapegoat in the Indonesian language, “dia menjadikan aku sebagai kambing hitam” (he made me a scapegoat). Indirect requests, on the other hand, are the opposite of direct requests that use imperative sentences. In other words, requests should not be stated in direct imperative sentences but can also be used in satirical interrogative sentences. The irony is not much different from an indirect request, but the difference is that this type of figure of speech tries to express a meaning contrary to the real sense. An understatement is a statement that aims to belittle something in a difficult situation. Metaphors are indirect or hidden comparisons, i.e., time is money, while similes are the opposite of metaphors, namely, explicit (direct) comparisons, which usually use the word like or like; for example, the body is like a towering pillar.

Intelligence, reason, and national spirit are reflected in the proverbs of the people who use them (Kelley 1869, 122). Proverbs for the people who own them are linguistic media where wisdom memories are stored, where pieces of the history of civilization and culture of a society, means of explaining life phenomena, solutions, and tools communicative to get a respectable position in the eyes of society. Through this elaboration, proverbs are a means to portray cultural values contained in certain groups of people, which function to explain the phenomena of life that take place within them.

Meanwhile, this study observed the proverbs because they have a distinctive form, reflected in the content of wisdom, classical characteristics or characteristics, and figurative forms. A distinctive form means that a proverb has its structure, meaning, function, referent, and style. The proverbs also contain local wisdom that reflects individual,
community, and national character, customs, or culture that apply to the community that owns it. The classical nature of proverbs shows the origins of their emergence, distribution, survival, and development. Furthermore, the last is to have a figurative form, namely studying meaning, and looking for models of understanding, both as text and in the context of communication. This research is also necessary because it can help describe the values of the life of the Manggarai people by observing oral traditions, which are still little discussed and commented on in the form of written texts.

Tonkin (1986, 207) argues that it is vital to convert the flow of speech into written words, which can be scanned, handled, viewed by people who do not need to meet the speaker, and produced as separate objects subject to the material constraints of the money economy. However, oral tradition can be advantageous in many ways if compared to written sources.

Finnegan (1970, 200) argues Oral sources are more open to these factors than written sources. A written document can, of course, be affected by as many things as it is written, but once it is written, it can be considered permanent. On the other hand, oral forms are open to all these influences, not only on their first formulation and transmission but on every occasion after that. Since they are oral and thus can only exist as and when passed by word of mouth, they are greatly influenced by several additional factors that do not apply to documentary sources.

This study applies a qualitative descriptive method. This qualitative descriptive research method was carried out by describing and explaining in detail the linguistic phenomena found in the research object, namely in the Manggarai proverbs (go’et). Humans, as proverb users are the main research instruments, and explanations of research results are described in words or statements that follow the facts in the field.

This study uses two types of data, namely primary data, and secondary data. Primary data was obtained by conducting in-depth interviews with one of the community leaders in West Manggarai Regency with the initials AW (52). The researcher recorded the proverbs that were relevant to this research and found out the meaning of each word contained in the proverbs. The data analysed is the proverb (go’et) which is still popularly spoken in the customary rituals of the Manggarai people. In addition, the primary data is also supported by a secondary data set available on the Manggarainucale.blogspot.com website page entitled “Kumpulan Go’et Manggarai”. The meaning of each word is validated by looking at the original meaning in the Indonesian-Manggarai dictionary published by STKIP Santu Paulus Ruteng. Each data is grouped and explained based on the meaning contained in the proverb.
The reference based on the Richard-Orgent concept above refers to the concrete form possessed by a sign. However, in the sense of reference proposed by Verhaar (2010, 137), it can have two forms, different lingual referents, and intralingual referents. The presence of intralingual and extra-lingual references indicate the language’s power and sense of value, which are used as markers of politeness in communication. Intralingual referents are elements of language that always form propositions of meaning (language units that form meaning). In contrast, different lingual referents are elements outside of language that support the realization of the author’s or speaker’s intent (Pranowo 2015, 39). Extra-lingual elements contained in language are context and non-verbal elements such as gestures, expressions, and body movements. The meaning of a word or lexeme is often detached from its basic understanding or concept and reference. The new meaning is determined when the word is already in the context. For example, the word ‘crocodile’ will have a different meaning from the reference it should if it is related to the context being discussed. When someone says, “You crocodile, he tricked his mother”, the word crocodile in that sentence is detached from the basic concept or reference.

**Beyond Meanings: Life Philosophy of Manggarai People Containing in Go’et**

Based on the data collection results, nine proverbs were found relevant to this study’s scope. The proverbs chosen in this study contain profound meanings that require a broad understanding. As previously mentioned, proverbs like go’et have an exciting choice of associative and figurative words. Thus, the meaning contained in a word in go’et is a connotative meaning that associates inanimate objects with human social life. This Manggarai language proverb below contains a lot of values and life advice. Some messages and prohibitions function to regulate life in a direction under the norms that apply to the Manggarai community.

**Maintaining the Value of Solidarity and Unity**

The four proverbs below contain advice to maintain the value of solidarity and unity among family members. Solidarity is a form of togetherness, tolerance, sympathy, and empathy between members of a particular community (Helmon et al. 2020, 696) without realizing it, this diversity also holds potential conflicts that can threaten the life of the nation and state. This challenge in diversity has resulted in various clashes in society so that it is important to conduct a multicultural study of the value of local wisdom. This study aims to describe the value of
solidarity in the Torok oral tradition, identify the urgency of integration, and describe the integration of local wisdom values especially the value of solidarity in the Torok oral tradition of the Manggarai community through multicultural education. This research is included in the type of qualitative research by utilizing eco-linguistic theory. Eco-linguistics is a study that examines the relationship between language and the socio-cultural environment of society. The data in this study were collected by using the method of recording and ethnographic interview techniques. Data analysis was performed using the extra lingual equivalent method with contextual techniques. The results showed that the value of solidarity in the Torok oral tradition of the Manggarai community is depicted in the traditional rituals of giving names to children, sending children when they want to migrate, and during traditional marriage rituals. Integrating these values of solidarity can be done by making these values material, concrete examples, and values that inspire the learning process.

In Manggarai culture, there is a patrilineal system, which means a family system that draws the male or paternal lineage, so two important terms are known, ata one (insiders) and ata pe'ang (outsiders). Ata one is the man in the family who continues the extended family relationship, while at a pe'ang refers to a woman who gets married and becomes a member of someone else’s family (Ndung 2019, 10). Nonetheless, the Manggarai people uphold the value of unity between family members. This is evident from the emergence of the term woe nelu, which unifies kinship ties between brothers.

1. *Ite Ca Cewak Neka Pande Behas, Ite Ca Lide Neka Pande Bike.*

In the Manggarai language proverb above, two clauses are interconnected. The first clause *ite ca cewak neka pande behas,* can be translated as “we are from one bowl, do not make it broken”, and the second clause *ite ca lide neka pande bike,* which means “we are from one basket,
do not make it broken”. The two clauses convey the same two messages, maintaining the unity value. This proverb contains a prohibition to avoid dividing the unity arranged in a family relationship.

This proverb uses two types of referents: *cewak* (bowl) and *lide* (basket). The conceptual meaning of the word *cewak* is “a coconut shell that is used as a plate/bowl when eating”. If examined as a whole in one clause, there is a non-collocated relationship between the words *cewak* (bowl) and *behas* (break). *Cewak* itself is a solid object which, when crushed, will break, not cut off like a rope when it is cut or severed.

While *lide* or basket in this proverb has a conceptual meaning, “a container made of woven bamboo used to serve rice”. The word *lide* in this proverb is collocated with the word *bike*, which means “break”. There is a mismatch between the two words because baskets are woven using woven bamboo or rattan and are impossible to break. Thus, in these two clauses, there is an exchange of meaning between the word *behas* in the first clause and *bike* in the second clause. Supposedly, the word *cewak* (bowl) is collocated with the word *bike* (broken), and the word *lide* (basket) is collocated with the word *behas* (released). Nevertheless, these two clauses carry one principal value: maintaining unity. These two references are associated with the kinship relationship that humans have in their lives. The word *neka* (do not) is a form of prohibition so as not to break up long-standing family relationships (Jagom et al. 2023, 73)*neka koas neho kota” in Manggarai culture and its relation to the precepts of Indonesian Unity. This paper aims to explore the relationship between local Manggarai proverbs and efforts to internalize the values of unity, which in certain situations are often threatened by attempts at division. This study uses a qualitative method, namely by interviewing several key informants to find out in depth about the meaning of go’et studied in Manggarai culture. The results obtained from this study are that there is a correlation between proverbs in Manggarai culture and the value of unity contained in the third precept of Pancasila. The correlation is that just as the Precepts of Indonesian Unity in Pancasila were born from national consciousness, proverbs that speak of unity in Manggarai culture are actually born from an awareness of the importance of the spirit of unity and oneness in the concrete reality of the Manggarai people. The value of unity contained in this expression is part of the pearl of the nation which is embodied in the third precept of Pancasila, namely "Indonesian Unity". The expression or Go’et has the function of tying up broken kinship ties, strengthening a sense of brotherhood and as an effort to maintain unity in the face of problems that can divide unity. The foundation of the value of unity that is lived by the Indonesian nation today, was not automatically born since the formulation of Pancasila as
the basis of the state. The spirit of unity was lived long before Pancasila was formulated. In other words, the principle of unity in the third precept of Pancasila is a reflection of local wisdom that has been internalized in various local cultures in Indonesia. The Sila Unity in the perspective of the expression "neka behas neho kena, neka koas neho kota" is a fence ('kena'/"kota'.

2. *Nai Ca Anggit Tuka Ca Leleng.*

Similar to the proverb (1) above, this proverb also recommends maintaining unity and oneness. The difference is that two references to *nai* (breath) and *tuka* (stomach) are used in this proverb, which directly uses the human body to be associated with the value of this unity. If translated literally, *nai cai anggit* means "breathe in one rhythm" and *tuka cal leleng* means "born in the same stomach". If observed, the meaning of the value of unity in this proverb could be more apparent. However, the two mutually collocating references in this proverb make it meaningful and very popular in various Manggarai traditional rituals. *Nai* (breath), which is collocated with the phrase *ca anggit* (one bond), has the same meaning as that found in the word *tuka* (stomach), which is collocated with the phrase *ca leleng* (one womb). The meaning of collocation in proverb (2) is always to maintain kinship and avoid disputes when making decisions. This can be realized by maintaining togetherness to minimize conflict among colleagues (Wahyu et al. 2018, 5).

3. *Muku Ca Pu’u Neka Woleng Curup, Teu Ca Ambo Neka Woleng Jangkong*

The proverb above has two main clauses that state the same thing, avoiding division. Two references reflect a one-to-one relationship: *muku ca pu’u* (one bunch of bananas) and *teu ca ambo* (one thick sugarcane). The two references are collocated with the same prohibition: *neka woleng curup/jangkong* "do not differ in what you say". In other words, someone cannot have different opinions and fight with each other (Rahmat et al. 2021, 14). *Muku ca pu’u* and *teu ca ambo* represent sibling relationships from the same parents. These two phrases are followed by the prohibition *neka woleng curup/jangkong*. Thus, the overall meaning contained in the proverb is that between brothers or sisters should not fight and have different opinions. Siblings should unite and get along.

4. *Ngampong Tanah, Ngawe Wae*

Proverb (4) only consists of two phrases, *ngapong tanah*, which means 'ravine', and
ngawe wae ‘river water’. The value of unity in this proverb is conveyed implicitly. No words in this proverb refer to the value of unity. However, ngapong tanah and ngawe wae in this proverb refer to a natural object that separates two residential areas. In this proverb, the message is implied that people should be able to live together in one settlement to work together as a unity. The Manggarai community emphasizes unity and cooperation in social and community life. It can be concluded that ngampong tanah and ngawe wae are two phrases associated with the dividing factor in unity.

Maintaining the Value of Manner and Wisdom

The Manggarai people pay close attention to what they say face-to-face with their interlocutors. Just like in other regional cultures in Indonesia, the Manggarai tribe also knows the ethics of speaking and language levels (wise words). This can be seen from the difference in the use of the word greeting to refer to the second person singular ‘you’. The Manggarai people distinguish between the use of the phrase hau which is used when speaking with peers, and the word ite used when talking to older people, foreigners, or people with higher status. Furthermore, the Manggarai community uses the word kraeng to greet people with a higher social status. Therefore, some of the sayings below suggest that guarding speeches in everyday interactions is proper.

1. Curup Hae Ubu, Neho Luju Mu’u Cepa Hae Reba Cama Neho Emas Lema

The proverb above is general advice to be polite in speaking. Curup hae ubu has a conceptual meaning of ‘talking to peers’. The following clause neho luju mu’u cepa hae reba cama neho emas lema can be interpreted as neho (like), luju mu’u (eloquence, kindness in speech), cepa (areca nut), hae reba (male friends), cama/neho (like), and emas lema (golden tongue). Hae reba refers to the friendship relations forged between men in the Manggarai community who recognize no boundaries of age and social class (Adon 2020, 48). Men of the Manggarai tribe establish friendships and form an alliance that can support the lives of their neighbors in the present and the future. This alliance group will work hand in hand to lighten the burden on various traditional events, such as weddings; the alliance group will distribute seng kumpul kope funds (i.e., literally means collaborating machetes) which have been mutually agreed on in the amount (Nggoro 2015, 106).

In the second clause, two references are used to express courteous human behavior: cepa ‘chew of betel’ and emas lema ‘golden tongue’. The
word *cepa* has an associated meaning with human nature that is humble, giving, and always glorifying others. In comparison, *emas lema* is a figure of speech to explain the wise nature of speech. The two clauses are present simultaneously to state the concept of advice to be polite and speak good words in the association.

2. **Tiwu Lewe Lewing Lembak**

For native speakers of the Manggarai language, this proverb is well known containing life advice to be wise in relationships. However, these two references to a proverb (6) do not directly state the value of courtesy because there is no relationship between *tiwu lewe* and *lewing lembak* with the meaning of courtesy and wisdom. The word *tiwu* in the Manggarai language means ‘ballad/pool/bottom’, which is the deep part of the river, while *lewe* means ‘long/big’. Thus, *tiwu lewe* is a phrase that has a deep meaning. The phrase *lewing lembak* consists of the word *lewing*, which means ‘pot’, while *lembak* can be interpreted as ‘wide/roomy’. *Lembak* in the Manggarai language is sometimes collocated with the word *nai* to become *lembak nai* which means ‘with an open heart/patience’. Furthermore, *tiwu* and *lewing* in this proverb are two referents that represent a wise human attitude in speaking. *Tiwu lewe* reflects a human attitude that is full of consideration when speaking, and *lewing lembak* shows a patient and gracious attitude when dealing with people or, in other words, not easily offended by the words of those around him. The Manggarai people highly uphold the ethics of behaving and speaking. This is intended to maintain self-esteem and dignity and that of others and build intimate relationships between people (Sakura 2019, 39) verb choice, and word order, (2. The Manggarai people build harmonious relationships among themselves and develop a spiritual connection with God and the universe. This is reflected in a saying that reads *Béo Baté Élor, Mbaru Baté Kaéng, Compang Baté Takung, Uma Baté Duat, and Waé Baté Téku*. This proverb is often used as a reminder for the Manggarai people always to remember where they come from (Widyawati 2022, 126). One of the traditional rites that directly radiates the five cosmologies is the *Ngelong* rite practiced by the Manggarai tribe, which is intended to improve human relations with nature, which at the same time also has an impact on their relationships with fellow humans and gods of the universe (Asman et al. 2022, 112).

**Maintaining the Value of Passion and Hard Work**

Verheijen (1991, 27), a Dutch missionary, linguist, and anthropologist, explains that the Manggarai people have a calm, peace-loving, and serene
character. The Manggarai people are described as a hardworking tribe; both men and women have their parts of work on; as defined by Verheijen, “Women are seen to be diligent in working in the garden and skilled in various handwork.” Men must manage and care for lingko (gardens) and work with women to plant. The Manggarai people are also taught to work hard to achieve something they want. By working hard, one can regenerate the previous leadership. This is reflected in the three proverbs listed below.

1. **Kudut Langkas Haeng Ntala, Uwa Haeng Wulang**

   In the proverb above, the two references ntala and wulang symbolize idealism. This relates to the distance from the earth to the two celestial objects, ntala (star) and wulang (moon). The literal meaning of the proverb is, “To be tall like the stars, to be old to reach the moon”. Generally, these proverbs are said by their parents as a wish to achieve goals as high as the moon and stars. However, this proverb is often used in formal situations of traditional rituals in Manggarai, such as the ritual of wuat wa’i, harvest thanksgiving, and ceremonies for opening new land. This proverb is familiar to young people in Manggarai because it is a hope conveyed when going far away to study. This kind of customary ritual is called wuat wa’i. More profoundly, wuat means ‘to equip’, and wa’i means ‘to go far’. Therefore, wuat wa’i is an event to give messages and hopes conveyed before someone goes far from their hometown to achieve their goals.

   In addition to the value of struggle for those who will go far, this proverb also contains the value of solidarity for the people of Manggarai. Traditional ritual events bring together people who live together in a settlement to sit cross-legged and accompany someone to study or for other purposes. In the wuat wa’i ritual, the locally invited people give money as a form of support for someone who is going to migrate. In other words, the wuat wa’i is intended to raise funds for those who intend to migrate to pursue education. This proverb can be compared with the proverb in Indonesian ‘gantunglah cita-cita setinggi langit’. Thus, these two proverbs express the meaning of the spirit of struggle to achieve the expected results or goals.

2. **Lalong pondong du ngon, lalong rombeng du kolen**

   This proverb is also often spoken in wuat wa’i traditional rituals. The difference lies only in the references used. This proverb can be translated as pondong when they leave, rombeng when they come home”. Two primary references are used in this proverb: lalong pondong and lalong
rombeng. Lalong pondong is a type of rooster with a short tail. Meanwhile, lalong rombeng is a rooster with a long tail. These two metaphors describe the success one gets when returning from studying in other places. Someone who goes outside of the islands to study is like lalong pondong, who has nothing but the determination to learn. When returning to their hometown, it is hoped that someone who has migrated can become like a lalong rombeng, someone who returns with achievements such as a title or rank.

3. *Eme wakak betong asa, manga waken nipu tae*

The proverb (9) also symbolizes the spirit of struggle. This proverb has different meanings depending on the context of the current situation. The proverb is translated as “When old bamboo falls, then there are still roots sprouting”. This proverb uses the symbols betong asa (old bamboo) and wake (roots) to refer to parents or leaders and the younger generation as successors. Betong asa is likened to an older person or leader. Meanwhile, wake refers to the younger generation who will continue the leadership. Betong asa (old bamboo) implies that leadership is passed on to wake (roots/shoots) who will continue the struggles that previous leaders have carried out.

Ndung (2019, 45) in “Etos dan Spirit Hidup Orang Manggarai” explains that the analogy of the word wake (root) can be related to various contexts, including the context of leadership and politics. The word wake is analogous to the initial source of life that guides humans towards a way of life considered correct and passed down from generation to generation. However, like the roots of bamboo, as in the proverb, humans also need to regenerate or pass on the norms of life to new generations in the future.

**Conclusion**

The Manggarai people have well-documented intellectual property in go’et oral tradition. Go’et provides knowledge about the norms of life passed down from their ancestors. Some examples of go’et analyzed in this study show the life philosophy of the Manggarai tribe, such as maintaining the value of unity, courtesy and wisdom, and the spirit of hard work. These values are expressed implicitly using figurative language, which requires in-depth interpretation. The figurative language in go’et shows how the Manggarai tribe perceives the world as seen from the associative vocabulary.

The value of unity emphasizes that the Manggarai community is an unresolved unit, so the go’et contains advice and prohibitions not to
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break the life harmony between siblings. Manggarai people must also uphold the value of politeness in their relationships by keeping their word to avoid offending the other person’s feelings. Meanwhile, Passion and Hard Work value explain that all achievements come through many sacrifices in energy and time. The Manggarai community always lowers their enthusiasm for work so that they can become reliable successors of leadership in the future.

This research provides knowledge about the philosophy of life of the Manggarai tribe, which is portrayed in go’et oral tradition. With the implementation of this research, it is hoped that it can open shared insights about how many ethnic intellectual property legacies in Indonesia tell a lot about their existence.

REFERENCES


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