Signs in Kawen Sai Ceremony of Tetun Tribe

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Abstract—This study examines the meaning of signs in Kawen Sai, the traditional patrilineal marriage system of Tetun tribes of Belu Regency. Qualitative descriptive method was applied in designing the study. In addition, Pierce’s theory of semiotics was used as the underlying parameter in analyzing the data. Observation, interview and recording techniques were used in collecting the data from 10 informants. The results show that signs in Kawen Sai ceremony comprise 36 forms and belong to symbol. Meaning implied beyond these signs are sanctity, ritual, modesty, majesty, respect, petition, hope, social, and communication systems.

Keywords: Kawen sai; Semiotic; Sign

I. INTRODUCTION

Sign as an entity of social phenomena markers have often been reviewed in the past. Especially, in relation to the field of science studying the signs, semiotic, Semiotic Piercean can be theorem in interpreting the meaning of the sign attached behind a signified object (Impara, 2018; Zhang & Sheng, 2017). It is that sign is actually understandable as a form of logic carried out in a comprehensive philosophical system examining the nature of being, the existence of something and its relation to existence of knowledge (Jensen, 2015; Mingers & Willcocks, 2017). The present analysis makes its focus the studying of aspects of the Belu community social signified through the signs in Kawen sai and how the community ideology is reflected beyond the signs. Thus, the study deals with checking on whether what Zhang and Sheng call that especially of tourism, the study of signs would benefit from making the focus on individuals by using Pierce’s concept interpretant.

In general, there are two kinds of customary marriage system adopted by Belu society, namely patrilineal marriage (marriage adhering to paternal lineage) and matrilineal marriage or marriage embracing maternal lineage (Rodliyah, 2017; Rachmawati, 2016). This study tries to feature the discussion emphasis on the genealogis patrilineal customary marriage system which for the Belu people is known as Kawen Sai. Conceptually, patrilineal customary marriage system is aimed to re-enforce the spear and sword in order to faen kotu 'buy a woman in full payment', the symbolic meaning; and to transfer the wife and the children’ status from the wife’s house to husband's house (Rachmawati, 2016; Fortunato, 2015; Tainaka & Itoh, 1994). For this, belis ‘the dowry’ is a social exchange system to respect the dignity and social position of women in traditional ceremonies to transfer the status, rights and duties of their wives and children from the home of their wives and give full status and role to become member of uma tribe 'custom house' of her husband (Alfano, 2017; Rodliyah, 2017; Anderson, 2007). The peculiarity of patrilineal marriage is to pay for twenty-four kinds of
wedding belis with details including silver, money, gold, coins, headband and entanglement blankets, large animals, and even soil (Rodliyah, 2017; Rachmawati, 2016). Since the women's dignity is so great and high, the family or clan recipients must cooperate to buy a woman in full payment. Therefore, belis is the prominent determinant for a husband degree rising to a higher familial degree when it is fulfilled.

Viewed from linguistic perspective, such social-cultural phenomenon of Kawen Sai is a very interesting language aspect and entity to investigate, especially at the semiotic level. Even it has in all conscience been an inspiration and the ground of conduction of this research. This is because the signs and symbols realized in each of the stages of patrilineal marriage such as Kawen Sai contain deep sacred significance as its uniqueness that needs to be recorded, documented and scientifically announced (Rachmawati, 2016; Rodliyah, 2017). In addition, the mixed influence of the development of the times in human life has made mostly young generation of Belu Regency often ignore the efforts of culture and custom preservation, including the basic customary rules and system in marriage as a form of local wisdom.

All event entities in the human life environment are shrouded by the meanings depicted in the language used, including the signs and symbols (Zhang & Sheng, 2017). The meaning itself is the purpose of the speaker, the influence of the application of language in the usage, perception or behavior of human individu or groups, the relationship in the sense of correspondence or the correspondence between language or speech and all the things it shows, and how to use language symbols (Jensen, 2015; Alfano, 2017).

Signs are something that on the basis of previously constructed social conventions can be considered to bring about something else (Yakin & Totu, 2014). In addition, the development or shifts after many studies have been conducted to investigate relationships between signs and symptoms in human life are recorded, formulated, and re-expressed through the language (Hartmann & Vossebeld, 2013; Przymus & Kohler, 2018). Previously the concept of meaning was stuck on the existence of something because of something else, such as the presence of smoke into a marker of fire. Ferdinand de Saussure defines the sign as a unit consisting of signer and signified. The relationship between signifier and signified can be arbitrary (Hartmann & Vossebeld, 2013; Zhang & Sheng, 2017; Jensen, 2015). Something can be a sign if there is a system that is differential, as well as markers are also differential or relational (Kilstrup, 2015). One form of a sign is a word, while an object is something referenced by a sign. Additionally, the interpretation is that which is in someone's mind about the object being referred to a sign. When a three elements of meaning interact in one's mind, the meaning of something represented by a sign appears.

For the development of linguistic theories, linguists and scholars have put their attention on studying the signs that are not benefit-free, so that a separate discipline has been triggered. Hence, the sign is examined in the field of semiotic science. Semiotics is rooted in classical and scholastic studies of the arts of logic, rhetoric, and poetics (Jensen, 2015). The "sign" at that time still means something else. For example, smoke marks the fire. In the science of communication, "sign" is an interaction of meanings conveyed to others through signs. In the communication process the tool used is not only spoken language alone but the sign is often a fundamental communication tool. The presence or absence of events, structures found in something or a habit can be called a sign. A flag, a gesture with a wave of hands, a word, a silence, a nervous movement, the reddening of the face, gray hair, the glances of the eyes and many others, all include a sign (Zoezt, 1992). Signs are something that represents or describes something else {in the mind of someone who thinks (Yakin & Totu, 2014)}. The cultures of society are the sources of the signs used to study. However, Kawen Sai has never been examined on the level to which it can prove itself to exist within the notion of relationship between human cultural traits and language. It is to say that if conceptual proportions have by previous scholars, theorists, and linguists been triggered. Hence, the sign is examined in the field of semiotic science. Semiotics is rooted in classical and scholastic studies of the arts of logic, rhetoric, and poetics (Jensen, 2015). The "sign" at that time still means something else. For example, smoke marks the fire. In the science of communication, "sign" is an interaction of meanings conveyed to others through signs. In the communication process the tool used is not only spoken language alone but the sign is often a fundamental communication tool. The presence or absence of events, structures found in something or a habit can be called a sign. A flag, a gesture with a wave of hands, a word, a silence, a nervous movement, the reddening of the face, gray hair, the glances of the eyes and many others, all include a sign (Zoezt, 1992). Signs are something that represents or describes something else {in the mind of someone who thinks (Yakin & Totu, 2014)}. The cultures of society are the sources of the signs used to study. However, Kawen Sai has never been examined on the level to which it can prove itself to exist within the notion of relationship between human cultural traits and language. It is to say that if conceptual proportions have by previous scholars, theorists, and linguists been discovered that a sign is a about a signifier and a signified building the reflection on the individual or community adopting it, inexorably signs in Kawen Sai of Belu society might confirm itself to that described conceptual of theorists.

Building on the above-described phenomenon, the present study is to claim how it would appear in semiotic perspective if the Kawen Sai ceremony is examined as the present researcher thinks it ties on an intimate cultural ideology connection of the community to that of signs, symbols and probably indexes.
realized in it. In a specific tendency, this paper examines the form of the realisation of the scope of semiotic study in the traditional culture of Kawan Sai.

II. METHOD

This research was conducted by using descriptive qualitative research design. The data were obtained through interviewing ten seniors, aged 45 years and over, who originally were community members of Tetun tribe, Belu regency. In collecting the data through interview, list of questions concerning the Kawan Sai ceremony was arranged according to elicit the information approximately required in the research. Furthermore, during the process of interview, recording was also carried on to record all the responses from the informants. After collecting the data, analysis was done by transcribing the interview with the informants. Data were analyzed in a distributional method that is linguistic description and forms signifying signs in Kawan Sai were the main data to analyze the linguistic relation to community cultures (Sudaryanto, 1985). The results of data analysis were presented in both formal and informal method. In the formal method, data were presented in the form of table covering the condition of forms used in Kawan Sai ceremony of Belu community. By informal method, I meant of having presented the results of data analysis by describing on words, phrases, and clauses.

III. DISCUSSION

Patrilineal Marriage System of Kawan Sai of Belu Belu Society

In the implementation of traditional patrilineal marriage system of Belu society, there are a set of activities that are necessarily carried out. This set of process is just as usual as those of other marriage systems of other tribes in this community. It is that as such activity is a cultural event that is not free of traditional and conventional specific procedures; community rank-based standpoint is highly maintained (Mody, 2015; Fortunato, 2015; Bravo, Martinez, & Ruiz, 2014). The results of data analysis bring out the following description of Kawan Sai of Belu society.

For the people of Belu, the principle of order life is inseparable to the local marriage ceremony. The marriage ceremony shows a high personality inside relation to customary behavior and social relations behavior between family and fellow citizens (Fortunato, 2015; Mody, 2015). In its relationship to customs, various signs with their ideological, sacral and ritual meanings in the Kawan Sai are found visibly. The existence of the signs is often resulted cultural entities conventionally built among within society interaction. Each of these signs contains a very deep meaning and is accepted by each individual or a group of people who are in the area. Despite its meaning -bound notion, the signs used in the marriage ceremony in certain areas of Tetun tribe are of different meaning.

As previously conveyed that patrinilineal marriage system Kawan Sai involves a specific procedure, covering stages of activities, the procedure is absolute because it is one of the elements of culture that live for generations and developed in the community. Therefore, the rules must be obeyed by both prospective bridegroom and the prospective bride. The stages in question are:

- **Inuk foun dalan foun or lolo leten ‘introduction stage’**
- **Tama husu ‘proposal’**
- **Badu abat ulun abat ain ‘engagement stage’**
- **Ha lia adat ‘the proceeding of the marriage in peak’**

**Inuk Foun Dalan Foun atau Lolo Leten ‘Introductory Stage’**

The first stage is taken by the prospective bridegroom when trying to marry a woman is to get him known by the prospective bride family. This is for the society of Tetun tribe called inuk foun-dalan foun (literally means a new path or a new road). In short, the term is meant to open a new path or to get ready to meet the prospective bride. At this stage, the prospective bridegroom is required to visit the house of the bride along with an aikalete, a spokesperson who in other words is a customary communication connector between the two parties. The presence of an aikalete in a marriage event is inexorable as it is defined in the fixed rule of customary culture. Philosophically a woman, the prospective bride, is put at a high-ranking; a prospective bride should not flaunt herself to a prospective bridegroom before the bridegroom comes with the right intention to marry.

As an additional fundamental customary rule, at the introductory stage in the marriage process for the Tetun people there are various speeches to be spoken, as follows.

1. **Husar dato binan dato**
Signs in Kawan Sai Ceremony of Tetun Tribe

1.  
   Pusat dusun rukun dusun  
   ‘The honoured Tribal elder feto sawa (‘giver tribe’) and uma mane ‘recipient tribe’.

2. **Tos dato metis dato**  
   Keras dusun kuat dusun  
   ‘The hounoured customary elders with all the parents’

3. **Nain malun nain tuan**  
   Uma suku uma tuan  
   ‘As tribal leader in uma mane tribe (‘taker’)

   The first oral speech is meant to welcome the prospective bridgroom by the prospective bride that is performed by aikalete. In the second oral speech, aikalete welcomes the tos dato 'the traditional custom elder', the most important person in the marriage ceremony. Thus, the customary elder is greeted by revealing a special speech signifying a show of respect according to custom rules. The third speech is intended to honor the family of the bridgroom by the family of the bride, since in the traditional marriage ceremony of the Tetun tribes, philosophically; the marriage does not only unify a-two figures but also unites a-two tribes, both the bridgroom and the bride. Hence, this utterance is absolutely spoken at the introductory stage.  

   In the first, second and third speeches there are dominating icons indicated through the presence of aikalete ‘the spokesman’ at bride party, and a visible symbol is indicated by fuik no bua 'betel nut' presenting (unspoken in the utterance as it is realized in the act of presenting the betel nut.

**Tama Husu ‘Proposal’**  
At the tama husu stage, the bridgroom’s family brings a koba ‘betel nut' which contains fuik ‘betel’ and tua ‘nut’, tua ‘traditional local drink'; accompanied by the provision of matalet 'handmade' to the prospective bride. At this stage too, the bridgroom's family comes with a number of dowries and some jewelry such as kerabu 'earrings' and henu ‘necklace’ to be submitted to the bride family. This stage is obligatory to be taken by the prospective bridgroom in order to meet and apply for a bride.

Speeches to be spoken in performing for this stage are:

1. **No Oan Dato No Feton Dato**  
   With Children Hamlet With Sisters Hamlet  
   ‘Ladies and Gentlemen.’

2. **Laka teu sina no e lae?**  
   Do you have a pigeon?

   ‘Your daughter.’

3. **Hanek Matan Dato Ne’e Lalok Dato**  
   Vessel for betel Eyes Hamlet This Vessel for betel Hamlet

   1With a piece of betel we all stay in harmony  

   2At the stage of Tama Husu ‘fiance process’ there are three important speeches to be conveyed by the prospective bridgroom through aikalete ‘spokesman’. The first speech is spoken by Aikalete as a form of respect to the bride family. At the same time, the prospective bridgroom's family comes to express that the purpose of their arrival is to ask for their daughter for a marriage with prospective bridgroom. At this stage, the bridgroom family brings fuik no bua 'betel nut', tua ulun ‘traditional drink', matalet ‘souvenir', koba 'betel vessel, and murak 'silver'. The most predominant symbol in this event lies in the presence of spokesmen from the bridgroom. In the second speech, the prospective bride is likened to laka teu sina ‘a pigeon’. Question Laka teu sina no e lae? ‘Do you have a pigeon?’ asked by spokesperson of the prospective groom's family is intended to imply the willing of the prospective bridgroom to marry a daughter. The symbol appearing in this event is the aikalete from the prospective bridgroom. The third speech is spoken by Aikalete. The point of the utterance is that with the betel and areca nut a two-family are unified, as betel and areca are likened to a couple of woman and man who will build a common household, complement each other, and unify a two big families.

3. **Badu Abat Ulun Abat Ain ‘Engagement’**  
   1The next stage is Badu Abat Ulat Aun Abat Ain ‘engagement’. This stage is an important stage and is anticipated by both prospective bride and bridgroom (bridgroom in particular). At this stage, the prospective bridgroom is at binding the prospective bride in a marriage. This stage is characterized by the giving and exchange of rings which by Tetun tribe is called as tara horuk ‘exchange of ring’. Kadeli ‘ring’ for the people of Belu, in the process of engagement is not a ring made of gold but is that of methane 'black thread'. The two brides-to-be tied through the kabas metan ‘black thread’ in the ring finger of each other. This black thread has become a hereditary culture carried out and preserved by the community tribe of Tetun Lo’okeu dominating
engagement process.

In addition, at this stage too, a gold ring is carried by the groom's family and given to the bride's family. Murak 'silver', fos 'uncooked rice', fahi 'pig', fahi ran 'pig blood' and nuwen 'coconut water' are also brought at this stage. These are used as a ritual material to invoke the blessing of the ancestors so that both brides are blessed and empowered in building a happy and prosperous household ark. At the engagement stage there are important speeches, namely:

1. *Biti e lulik wai*, *Biti e manas wai*
   Mat e pamali large, mat e hot large
   ‘Pamali mat which serve as an intermediary to God’

2. *Fo dei dalan bot, Fo dei malolok*
   ‘Give it a big way, give it the right way’
   (Invoking good directions from God to give the right path, not to give trouble)

3. *Bei be na’l sia, Bei be Berek sia*
   Grandfather king they, grandfather Berek they
   ‘The honoured grandfather, the honoured Grandfather Berek’

4. *Hola be oan feto, Hola be oan mane*
   Take child woman, take child man
   ‘For daughter, for son’

5. *No’I be sudi ha’l, No’I be tau ha’I*
   Now light fire
   Who will build a household

The above verse explains the ritual and sacred meaning contained in the customary marriage of the Tetun tribe of Lo’okeu village. Everything in life has meaning, as well as the traditional marriage. The first utterance conveyed by the makoan 'old custom' which implies the meaning of sacred media serving as an intermediary to God. The second is a plea to God to give the right path so that the traditional ceremony can go well so that the bridegroom and the bride can build the household well later.

The third edict is spoken by a customary elder in honor of all customary elders who come from both the big families of the bridegroom and the bride. The fourth is a greeting to the groom and the bride who will build a household. The above sayings are delivered by the makoan customary elder as an important symbol in this engagement stage. The other symbols are ring, betel nut, and traditional beverage which is an important symbol in this stage.

**Ha Lia Adat ‘Peak Season of Marriage/Custom Feast’**

*Ha Lia Adat* is the culmination of all the passing stages ending in the process of marriage ceremony (the festive party) at the bride's home. Families of both parties attend to witness the beginning of this new family life of a two men by providing certain advice and knowledge known as *sadan umakain*. The customary elders of both sides will gather at a *labis 'seat'* to advise both of them. This is done so that the bride and groom can live and build a new family together in both love and in sorrow. The delivery of the bride to the bridegroom's family is done after the bride's spokesman approves the request of the groom's spokesman. If both of the spokesmen have agreed, the whole family of the bride handed her daughter to take home with the *manefou* 'son in law' to his house.

A speech that accompanies the peak of this marriage is as follows.

1. *Tebes e.... Tebes e*
   Yes.... Yes...

   **Koi sosa kola e Laka teus sina**
   The boy has taken the dove.

   **Kodi baka tetu, kodi baka rani**
   To be put, to be saved

   **Ne’e uma metan, nee ri mean**
   In the bridegroom’s house, in a red pole

   At the peak of the wedding ceremony there is a core speech spoken by Aikalete 'spokesman' of the men. In the above passage it is said that the groom has married the bride as seen in the “*Koi sosa kola e Laka teus sina*” ‘The boy has taken the dove.' and the bride has got the best place in the bridegroom's family as a daughter-in-law. Later, the woman will become a housewife who will serve her husband and take care of the household, as seen in the speech *Ne’e uma metan, nee ri mean*. In the bridegroom’s house, in a red pole.

**Form of Signs**

Based on the data analysis, there are 36 signs used by the people of Tetun tribe in *Kawen Sai* ceremony. The signs are *fuikno-bua* 'betel-nut', *hare* 'paddy', fos 'uncooked rice', *lesu* 'headband', *riti* 'bracelet', *fahi* ran 'pig blood', morten 'beads', *kadeli* 'ring', *kabas metan* 'black thread', *tuan ulun* 'hat', *nu wen* 'coconut water', *babarak makerek* 'tray', *fahi ran* 'pig blood', *nuwen* 'coconut water', *fahi* 'pig', *fos* 'uncooked rice', *murak* 'silver', *na’l* 'bow', *na* 'hat', *labis* 'seat', *tofali* 'black thread', *kabas metan* 'black thread', *tuan ulun* 'hat', *nu wen* 'coconut water', *babarak makerek* 'tray', *murak* 'silver', *fos* 'uncooked rice', *na’l* 'bow', *na* 'hat', *labis* 'seat', *tofali* 'black thread', *kabas metan* 'black thread', *tuan ulun* 'hat', *nu wen* 'coconut water', *babarak makerek* 'tray',
Among many signs found in the Kawen Sai ceremony of Tetun tribe there is only one form which is that of symbol. The theory used in answering the first problem formulation in this research says that there are 3 (three) sign forms based on their relation to markers and markers: icons, indexes and symbols. Therefore, icons and indexes are absent.

Table. 1 Signs in Kawen Sai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Tetun Term</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fos /fɔ s/</td>
<td>Uncooked rice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fahi Ran /fɑ hI rɑ n/</td>
<td>Pig’s blood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tua Ulun /tuɑ ulun/</td>
<td>Traditional drink</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Murak /murɑ k/</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hitire /hItIrᴈ/</td>
<td>Women’s crown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tais Bata Rata /tI:Is’ bata’ rata/</td>
<td>Scarf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Taha /tɑ hɑ/</td>
<td>Chopping knife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Biti /bIti/</td>
<td>Mat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Tua Nai /tuwɑ nɑ I/</td>
<td>Uncle sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ria /rIɑ/</td>
<td>Brother in law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Aikalete /ɑ i:kɑ l3t3/</td>
<td>Spokesperson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Makoan /mɑ ko ɑn/</td>
<td>Customary elder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nu Wen /nU w3:n/</td>
<td>Coconut water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Lesu /l.baseUrl/</td>
<td>Headband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Riti /rIti:/</td>
<td>Bracelet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Morten /m-r, n/</td>
<td>Breads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Karabu /kɑ rɑ bU/</td>
<td>Earrings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Badlima /bɑ dlImm/</td>
<td>Anklet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bolas /b-1:s/</td>
<td>Belt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kaebauk /kɑ bɑ wuk/</td>
<td>Men’s crown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Dadasan Murak /dɑ dɑ s’n’ murak/</td>
<td>Silver comb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Sasuku /sukun/</td>
<td>Hairpin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kakaluk /kɑ kɑ luk/</td>
<td>Men’s small bag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tala /tɑ lɑ/</td>
<td>Gong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Heuk /h上海证券</td>
<td>Likurai Dance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Belak /bɑ lɑk/</td>
<td>Women’s necklace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Fuik No Bua /fuɑ k’ no’ bua/</td>
<td>Betel nut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Hare /hэр /</td>
<td>Paddy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Kadeli /kɑ d, ɑ ll/</td>
<td>Ring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kabas Metan /kɑ bɑ s’metan/</td>
<td>Black thread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Babarak Makerek /bɑ bɑ rɑ k’makerek/</td>
<td>Tray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Tais Feto /tI:s’ feto/</td>
<td>Fabric traditional bag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Koba /kobClo/</td>
<td>Vessel of betel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Krau Baka /krɑ bɑ’ baka/</td>
<td>Cow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Fahi /fɑ hI/</td>
<td>Pig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Tais Feto /tI:s’ feto/</td>
<td>Sarong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 36
Each of this sign is described as follows.

**Fos ‘uncooked rice’**

![Fos 'uncooked rice'](Doc. Berek, 2017 Images 1 Fos 'uncooked rice')

Fos 'uncooked rice' is one of the symbols used by Tetun tribes of Belu in the *Kawen Sai*. Fos refers to grain whose shell has been removed by milling and pounding. Fos for Tetun tribe of symbolizes strength. It is used as a medium to bless the spirits' souls of the bride and bridegroom so that they remain strong in building their homes and being a helper or hope for others.

**Fahi Ran ‘Pig’s blood’**

![Fahi Ran 'Pig's blood'](Doc. Berek, 2017 Images 2 Fahi Ran ‘Pig’s blood’)

Fahi ran 'Pig's blood' is another sign, classified as a symbol used by the Belu people of the Tetun tribe in the Kawen Sai ceremony. The texture of the blood is thick, sticky, and quite chewy. A good fahi ran is the one that has a small air holes and of a red heart color. In the process of ritual, the bride and bridegroom stepping over the fahi ran which is put into a shell and placed on the ground.

**Tua Ulun ‘Traditional drink’**


Etymologically the term *tua ulun* is derived from two words, *tuak* “gin” and *ulun* which ‘head’. *Tuak* is a kind of typical Timorese drink, which is original liquid, derived from lontar tree and mixed with certain ingredients.

**Murak ‘Perak’**

![Murak ‘Silver’](Doc. Berek, 2017 Images 4 Murak ‘Silver’)

Murak refers to transition metal is soft, with a white and shiny color. Silver itself has a good electrical conductivity, and has a high selling value so many people are interested in this object. This type of object, one of which is the symbol used by the Tetun people in the ceremony of *Kawen Sai* serves as the redeemer of dowry to the bride.

**Hitire ‘Women’ crown’**

![Hitire ‘Women’ crown’](Doc. Berek, 2017 Images 5 Hitire ‘Women’ crown’)

The next symbol is hitire 'crown lady'. This kind of sign for the Tetun tribe can only be used by the bride or when a woman is crowned as a bride. Hitire is one of the traditional jewels of the Tetun tribe that resembles a piece of cloth decorated with dozens of coins (silver) placed on the forehead and both ends are tied at the backhead. This symbolizes the honor for the bride because this crown, for Tetun Belu tribe, is a symbol of women's honor.

It is all witnessed in the present that signs vary in meaning according to social
interaction setting and background, but mostly they reflect characteristics of their function from the nature they are used (Zhang & Sheng, 2017). Situation like the wedding ceremonies may have different design of establishing in different area due distinction in human background of culture. However, signs will always exist in such activities binding a society to certain focus of ideology, function, and concept of an entities referred to as a representamen of a sign (Doina, Calin, Anisoara, Elena-Adriana, & Nicoleta, 2012), and this phenomena is a form of culture.

The patrilineal system of wedding of Belu society is one of conventional way of behaving in and for life that had been grown and developed by the community. In that standpoint, the society built up a rule connecting them to their surrounding realized through signs used in wedding ceremony (Rachmawati, 2016). The present study found that it is not from aspect of human culture signs bring about roles in being a concept for society life, but religious and their pattern of system rank of living in the society is also conceptualized. This can be seen from meanings of signs realised in the prtilinlineal wedding ceremony of Belu regency, in which they represent ritual meaning and sacred meaning owned by the society in their life. In addition, meaning of showing nobility and prestige systems are also represented trough the signs.

Ritual and Sacred Meaning

The signs realized in the traditional ceremony of Tetun tribe of Belu are part of the customary rituals. The ritual and sacred meaning can be seen in the following sign.

Kadeli ‘Ring’

The ritual and sacred meaning of customs in a traditional wedding ceremony can be seen from the event of tara horak 'exchange of rings'. The ring indicates that the two brides-to-be are ready to form and live new life in a household. The meaning contained in the event of Tara horak is that both brides have a sacred and holy bond according to religion and state that cannot be separated by anyone but death.

Fahi ran ‘Pig’s blood’

Fahi ran ‘pig's blood' is one of the icons in which it contains sacred meaning and is a customary ritual called hakur fahi ran 'breaking the blood of a pig'. The Belu people of Tetun tribe Lo’okeu village have their own ideologies. The ideology in question is an oath and a promise between a man and a woman to be faithful to one another as a husband and wife to death because, by the Tetun community, it is believed that pig's blood contains strength.

Fahi ‘Pig’

Fahi 'pig' for Tetun tribe is not only used to reward the dowries of marriage that have been given by the bridegroom but is also used in the activities of the customary ritual called sona fahi ‘stabbing pigs'. This customary ritual is performed to ask the ancestors for clues about the domestic life of the two brides in the future. What is interesting about this ritual is that when the pig is stabbed, its blood is stranded on a container along with a betel leaf and a betel nut which is then a customary elder or a person entrusted is asked to apply pig's blood on the forehead, chest and limbs such as the hands and feet of the bride in order to get 'strength' for them to build a home life with their children.

Kabas Metan ‘Black thread’

Kabas metan ‘black thread' is one of the symbols used in the customary marriage ceremony of the Tetun culture. For the Tetun tribe, black threads are attached to the wrists of the bride as a legally bound adherent of the couple, before undergoing a procession of blessing in the church. The black thread here is associated with the use of the ring on the bride's second ring finger after it is legalized by blessing in the church. The black thread here is associated with the use of the ring on the bride's second ring finger after it is legalized by religion and state.

Nobility and Prestige

Every society has a different culture. This difference results in the meaning of each sign realized in the marriage ceremony to be differ. Tetun community of Lo'okeu village as a cultured society has objects reflecting the meaning for nobility and prestige.

Morten ‘Beads’

Morten 'beads' is one of the jewelry attached to the neck, made of corncover, wood carvings and clay that have a distinctive orange color. This object is a traditional jewel of the Timorese used by the bride and bridgroom which for the noblemen is also used as dowry which is considered comparable to a number of buffaloes and cows. Morten has a very high historical significance that is worth more than a pearl. Morten hand handed over as a marriage dowry by the bridgroom to the women as a form of homage to the prospective bride and the family.
Signs in Kawen Sai Ceremony of Tetun Tribe

Riti ‘Women’ bracelet

Riti is an object made of silver-shaped bracelet. This object is also one of the traditional jewels of the Tetun community of Lo’okeu Village used by the bride as handmade. There are three types of riti of Tetun tribe of Lo’okeu village, Riti funan ‘flower-shaped bracelet’, Riti kai ‘plate-shaped bracelet’, and Riti selaka ‘bracelet of a curved form which is made of silver’.

Biti ‘Mat’

Biti is one of the symbols used in traditional ceremonies marriage of Tetun tribe made from woven palm leaves with varying sizes. Usually the biti used in traditional ceremonies is biti bot ‘big mat’, as in traditional wedding ceremonies, ceremonies of death and other traditional ceremonies that are official. In a traditional ceremony of marriage, biti bot is used as a sign of acceptance of the family of the groom. It represents the simplicity and modesty of the bride’s family.

Fuik-Bua ‘betel nut’

Fuik-Bua ‘betel nut’ is other symbol contained in traditional marriage ceremony of Tetun tribe. It is not simply as a tribute to the bridegroom performed by the bride or vice versa. In a traditional marriage ceremony of the Tetun tribe, fuik-bua symbolizes well-accepted communication between the bride's family and the bridegroom's family.

Tala ‘Gong’

Tala ‘gong’ is a traditional musical instrument played to accompany traditional wedding ceremonies that are part of traditional ceremonies, royal ceremonies, and religious ceremonies. For the Tetun tribe, gong is used as a means of communicating between inhabitants in the ward and in traditional marriage ceremonies.

IV. CONCLUSION

The traditional marriage of genealogical patrilineal system of the Tetun tribe of Belu Regency is inspired by the associative concept between the degree of human and the creature or the environment. This is evident from the signs that are realized which are all those of symbols, not icons and indexes. A total of 36 signs indicates that the Tetun ethnic people’ philosophy is such indigenous marriage is a process of unifying two human souls with different sexes to form a solid new and harmony life. Women are human beings who are of high dignity that must be respected in the marriage and the ceremony should be appreciated by providing dowries. This condition triggers the process of traditional marriage of the community not to be arbitrarily done but bound by custom rules, culture, and is reflected through the use of language and symbols. The signs in the customary marriage ceremony are explained by signifier marker relations (marker or something that can be perceived as a sign) and signified (entity referenced by the sign). Based on this relationship, meaning implied behind all of the signs cover the sacred and ritual, modesty, majesty and honor, wish and hope, social, communication. However, the results of this study are not a statically fixed but it can change at any time according to the demands of human and cultural development. Therefore, this study may be continued for other different objects and contexts investigation in order to preserve the human traits and culture recorded through language, both verbal and non-verbal.

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