Pamali Culture Existence: Phenomenology Study in Bani Tribe, Tubuhu’e Village, North Central Timor Regency, Indonesia

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Abstract
This study examines Bani Tribe’s cultural values by reviewing the meaning of Bani Tribe’s Pamali culture which is related to prohibitions on certain kinds of food. Pamali contains several values and norms, such as trust, compliance, politeness, and ethics. These represent moral education Pamali aimed for. Data type obtained was verbal and it exhibits three types of Pamali. First is Pamali for all communities of Tubuhu’e. Second is Pamali for all people in Bani Tribe. The third Pamali is special Pamali for Tribe Chief (Ana’tobe). Some of these Pamali include prohibition from consuming pigeon meat, duck meat, baby corn in a meal unless all these foods are already stored in a traditional warehouse for sacred rituals or other ceremonies. An in-depth interview has been conducted with respected informants, including persons with important status, such as community elders. Analysis result indicates that Pamali culture is believed by Bani Tribe to be a set of rule with a strong meaning. Hereby, it is then concluded that the meaning of Pamali is understandable from a social construction perspective. There is a fact that verbal tradition in Pamali culture has been constructed long ago by the ancestors, and thus, this culture should be their legacy. The ancestors have also ingrained moral education as a supreme virtue and, as a result, this impels Bani Tribe to maintain and conserve verbal tradition in Pamali culture to keep next generations following the path of their ancestors.

Keywords: Suku Bani, The Constructions of Meaning, Oral tradition, Pamali culture

INTRODUCTION
Culture is human mind and power which encompasses the variety of science, beliefs or religious systems, art, social organization (including kinship or customs), technology, livelihood, economy, and language acquired by humans as members of society. In general, life in that particular society is a concrete reflection of abstract cultural values (Koentjaraningrat, 2009:146).

The term Pamali could be found in cultural subjects. Various kinds of Pamali culture are spread in Indonesian society in general with various specified consequences. For example, Pamali for moving at mealtimes, using mats as blankets, swearing in the forest, taking pictures in odd numbers, getting up too late, sneezing while traveling, lingering in the bathroom, sitting by a door, girls washing hairs on Saturdays, sadness during pregnancy, sitting in the middle of the door during heavy rain, eating pickles at night, knocking the tip of a cigarette that will be lit to a hard object, biting bottom lips, pretending to cry, whistling at night, giving a handkerchief / perfume to the lover, throwing away the leftover rice due to being full, eating using bowls, wiping face using clothes, wearing clothes while walking, torturing girls, singing or whistling while eating, sleeping on the stomach, and other amali existing in various regions. Inherited by language or phrase from generation to generation (Anonymous, 2013) and each Pamali has its own meaning in the respective phrase.

An idiom in society usually takes the form of inquisitive language that contains meaning in community life. The idiom is a behavioral guide if it is examined to encompass a variety of high-value life teachings which are also inherited from the ancestors. The old or traditional phrase of Pamali idioms inherited by the ancestors orally or hereditarily is not documented and published by loyal speakers. These loyal speakers are diminishing with old age. On the other hand, the younger generation exhibits lack of interest on Pamali (Endraswara S., 2005).

Although Pamali considered irrelevant to the conditions of an advanced era, for the most part, the older generation still view Pamali as a signal from the predecessors to be obeyed. Therefore, Pamali is still bequeathed to newer generation in the hope that they can obey these Pamali for the sake of their respective security and successful life.

Research result (Sardani, 2013) exhibits that the ceremony of Pamali Manggodo is a ceremony inherent in the life of the Sambori community, especially in the agricultural field. This research exhibits that the Manggodo Pamali custom ceremony emerges as a system of action that has a function for the social system or for the Sambori community as a means to maintain the continuity of its members and reach equilibrium (balance).

Research analysis entitled "Perahu Dalam Pamali Orang Bajo " indicates that the Pamali of Bajo tribe is a sign of meaningful symbol. It is concluded that the meaning of Pamali is based on semiotic viewpoints describing the tradition of sea fishing and socio-cultural conditions of the Bajo as sailors who rule the oceans. The desire to maintain a sense of superiority to the sea encourages Bajo people to keep Pamali in the hope that their generation can follow in the footsteps of their predecessors (Uniawati, 2014).
Based on studies mentioned above, it can be concluded that it is possible that there are differences in the meaning of Pamali due to changing era. Pamali is considered as a myth that is sometimes ignored. But the real Pamali also contains a strong and logical reason for the belief. Pamali is a prohibition on conducting bad behavior and utter swears for oneself or the environment. Its violation is usually associated with fortune, soul mate, heredity, and safety.

In this study, the research was conducted in Tubuhu’e District. Bani Tribe was chosen as a data source. Data obtained was in the form of existing Pamali in Bani Tribe, Tubuhu’e District community. The researcher chose Bani tribe as the community tend to adhere to Pamali. Therefore Pamali is still being adhered to and utilized in daily activity. Considering the changing era, their community lifestyle changes as well. This led to the researcher’s curiosity in conducting research on existing Pamali in Bani tribe community.

Bani tribe lives in Maslete village, Tubuhu’e district, Kefamenanu city, North Central Timor Regency, Nusa Tenggara Timur Province. Maslete village is located in the town’s center. Maslete was the center of Bikomi Kingdom government which possessed two rulers, Lake and Sanak. Its community adheres to mutual cooperation (gotong royong) and most of the tribe member works as a farmer (85%) while the rest possess other occupation (15%). They mainly utilize traditional farming technique such as slash and burn (tebas bakar). The community’s education awareness is relatively low as most parents don’t consider high education for their children.

Bani tribe society consists of community adhering to customs and traditions, therefore, the value of culture has a very deep meaning. The strength of the value of this tradition disables people from rejecting the various inherited knowledge and belief in ancestral culture. Society can only make adjustments to the various rules of culture which includes customs. In relation to Pamali in the Bani tribe, Pamali is more powerful as a norm or a rule than any other written rule. Despite not recorded in writing, the community would adhere to it as it is correlated to the public trust.

Pamali culture is also believed to be a norm or rule passed down by ancestors and should be obeyed. For example, when a child from the Bani tribe is in another area and was served fish or duck meat, then the child does not touch the food. This is an aspect of tribal culture which was understood and admitted by the community.

The study of Pamali culture in Bani tribe is a tradition that has been maintained from generation to generation. The Bani tribe is one of the many tribes within North Central Timor Regency retaining the oral tradition of Pamali culture. This tradition is bequeathed through hereditary tales from their ancestors. This is similarly experienced and obeyed by other tribes as well.

Based on these conditions, this paper examines the Pamali associated with existing Pamali maintained by Bani tribe: the construction of the Banyan people's interpretation on oral tradition of Pamali culture, the oral tradition of Pamali culture which is still maintained and preserved in modern era, and the value contained in the oral tradition of the Pamali culture.

In this research, the theory used to analyze Pamali in Bani Tribe is "Social Construction Theory". Social construction theory will view the purpose of this paper which is constructed through the process of externalization, objectivity, and internalization of the community and the meaning of Pamali culture for Bani tribe which allows Pamali to exist and maintained until modern era.

Based on research background, the problem is described as follows: how does Bani tribe construct Pamali culture and what is the meaning of Pamali culture to Bani tribe community. The purpose of this study is to understand and analyze the meaning of "oral tradition of Pamali culture" in Bani Tribe. To understand and analyze the construction of "oral tradition of Pamali culture" which is still maintained and preserved by Bani Tribe community.

**RESEARCH METHOD**

The research method used is qualitative by using phenomenology approach that aims to understand the meaning of the incident, the symptoms that arise, and or the interaction for the individual in certain conditions and situations in daily life in a particular society (Fachan, 2013:88).

Qualitative methods are used to obtain in-depth data, a meaningful data. Meaning is the actual data or a value behind the visible data. Therefore in qualitative research does not emphasize generalization, but emphasizes the meaning (Sugiyono, 2015:3).

Qualitative methods used here have not been able to explain in detail should only qualitative methods were utilized. In order to obtain in-depth information, researchers used transcendental phenomenology method. This type of method starts at the object themselves, then the final judgment was based on researcher’s knowledge on the subject. Thus, this approach explains in detail the process of experience and knowledge of informants until the emergence of a common meaning for the wider community. The similarity of meaning produced by a man by accident, because the inadvertence is influenced by differences in the background of each individual. Therefore, the use of this approach aims to obtain empirical data through natural meanings based on the experience, knowledge, and awareness of the Bani tribe in carrying out the oral tradition of Pamali culture in everyday life.
Transcendental phenomenology is a logical approach, as it seeks and identifies prejudices and places them outside the object. The phenomenological approach is more appropriately used in this study because, the meaning of the phenomenon is apparent, but it also reveals the meaning behind the apparent phenomenon.

Data analysis technique used in this research is a method which put forward by Moustakas. Methods of data analysis are: phenomenological data analysis method following the concept given by Stevik-Colaizzi-Keen. Researchers then follow these steps to analyze field data obtained (Kuswarno, 2009:70-71).

Data collection techniques used were participant observation, in-depth interviews, documentation or documents. Instruments used in the form of cellphone camera and an interview guide.

The sample in this study is called informant. Sampling technique in this research is snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a technique of sampling the source of data that initially started in a small amount, and increased by time. In relation to phenomenology research, the criteria of informants in phenomenology research are those who directly experience a phenomenon to be studied and capable to articulate their experiences. Cresswell argues that the most important thing in phenomenology research is to describe the meaning of a small number of people who experience a phenomenon. The number of informants is not a measure, as long as it is able to provide sufficient information. However, Dukes recommends the use of between 3 and 10 informants to be able to perform data comparisons (Cresswell, 1998:122).

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

From the results of direct research to Bani tribe community, Tubuhu’e Village, Kefamenanu District, North Central Timor Regency, East Nus Tenggara Province. The Tubuhu’e village consists of ten tribes: Ta’niik, Sifé, Timo, Apaulbana, Bani, Nepsa, To’menus, Maol, Tšaintem and Sba’at Tribes.

In the Tubuhu’e society, there is a Pamali that applies to the whole society in particular. Each tribe possesses one but Bani people’s Pamali is still not widely known.

Pamali is often considered only a myth and taboo inherited from ancestors, but the authors consider Pamali possessing an important purpose and function in society. Researchers wanted to explore the true meaning of the Pamali. Therefore, this research is very important to be implemented.

Pamali contain both traditional and modern values that are very precise to be preserved even though most of the Pamali sentences contain superstitions.

Pamali which is still preserved and maintained by the people of Bani tribe: (1) Pamali for Tubuhu’e society; (2) Pamali for Tribe Chiefs (Ana’atobe); (3) Pamali for Bani tribe community.

(1) Pamali that applies to the Tubuhu’e society: first, Pamali Luma which means every seven years King Bana and King Sanak in Tubuhu’e Village bring historical evidence within five days. The historical evidence is in the form of Dawan (the Timorese local language “Nes hitum tak mese es suni blak oemanus, auni blak oemanus es la’ na” which is usually mentioned as Suni tapaul neno, Auni tapaul neno, fleu neno, Kap noni nok we nomi”. This idiom means “Seven swords or glazes in a holster, golden bridles, golden spears and rattan made of gold (for horseshoe equipment).

Luma is one of the Pamali types that applies to Tubuhu’e community including Bani tribe. Luma is said to be a Pamali because when King Bana and King Sanak mount their horses and walk down the path they will pass the community. The people meeting the kings must bend their heads, whether sitting or standing and should not see the king’s visage until he had gained a certain amount of distance.

A passer-by who saw the king’s visage must follow the kings to the custom house (Ume Le’u) to carry out traditional ceremony for the offense. Should one violates the Luma Pamali, it is said that the offender will die on the same hour, day and month the following year after one commits the offense. Pamali is very feared by the entire community, Bikomi tribe in particular.

Secondly, there is one Pamali that applies to Tubuhu’e village when they provide tribute by inserting seven corn grain into Sonaf (palace). When corn is brought to Sonaf, a ceremony will be held. One who makes a mistake during the ceremony would die in the following year, similar to Pamali Luma.

Pamali is also believed to be the hardest set of rule and is believed by the Maslete community. Should a king makes a mistake during a traditional ceremony, a field snake would emerge and circles the audience. The audience should not be surprised by the snake's emergence, or the offender would die. This is also one of the oral traditions of a Pamali culture that is very feared by society. Those who follow the ceremony at Sonaf (Istana Raja) are elderly who are believed to be cultural leaders and are already familiar with the tradition.

(2) The Pamali for the Bani tribal chief signifies that the tribal chief differs from the members of the Bani Tribe because they hold the highest office in their tribe. There are special Pamali for the tribal chief (Ana’atobe) which are described as follows: first, Pamali from eating freshwater fish or animals that come from fresh water, it is believed that in ancient time their grandmother was turned into crocodile when bathing in the river. The river becomes the Pamali water springs for the people of Bani tribe.

Second, Pamali to eat food in funeral home. This Pamali is inherited from ancient time. It is believed by the Bani tribe community from generation to generation that every tribal head should Pamali (avoid) to eat food in...
funeral home even it is their own biological parents funeral. The tribal chief will eat in a different house. A violation would incur disaster bestowed by ancestors. This Pamali applies only to the chief of the tribe not to Bani tribe members.

(3) Pamali for the Bani Tribe including the Tribe Chief. Pamali in the Bani tribe community is described as follows: first, Pamali to provide wrong information on what is associated with customs and history of the tribe’s ancestors. Secondly, Pamali from eating eat duck and pigeon meat. Duck and pigeons are believed to be ancestors. The ancestors taking shape of duck and pigeon fall in love and get married. The Bani tribe community believes that they are the descendants of the ducks and doves.

Third, Pamali to eat corn crops before the traditional ceremony (Dawannya na’ek pena). In this case, tribe members must present their first harvest to God the Creator (Uis Neno) and to their ancestors. In the ceremony, every first harvest must be put into the traditional house (Ume Le’u) to be used in traditional rituals. This Pamali is one of the religious systems of Bani Tribe concerning their beliefs.

Pamali has existed since ancient times and had a very strong influence on Bani tribe community life. Pamali is considered as the norm and rule that should be obeyed by society. Pamali as an objective reality that has developed with the existence of various aspects of the value contained in it. Pamali has existed for a long time from Bani tribe ancestors which is carried on continuously and hereditary. It is a set of rules that cannot be removed from their tribe.

In the construction of the oral tradition Bani tribe Pamali culture began at the time of the newborn child socialized by observing how significant others, namely parents and others close to him interact and carry out their social roles. In this case, the child is introduced by the parents about the basic oral tradition of Pamali culture believed by their tribe since time immemorial. This means that parents socialize their children about the oral tradition of Pamali culture. It is an internalization process for the child.

The oral tradition of Pamali culture has at least a function to become norms and rules capable to educate and form a positive character by providing information on prohibition and abstinence on a certain matters.

Individuals adapt to the environment in which they live. In this process, individuals perform activities to devote themselves behaving properly to adhere to the environment by receiving Pamali or even reject Pamali that have been set in the tribe.

This process of the individual experiences an awareness in acting that realizes that he is in the process of interaction with others. Pamali possess legitimacy in the surrounding community. Despite being oral tradition, Pamali is recognized and obeyed as an existing rule in a tribe.

Each of the three moments corresponds to an essential characterization of the social world. Through the internalization of human beings is the product of society; through externalization, society is an individual product; and through the objectification of society into a unique reality. There is a process of pulling out (externalization) as if the phenomenon occurs outside (objective), and there is a process of withdrawal inside (internalization) therefore outside factor appears as if it occurs within.

In the process of constructing Pamali culture by Bani tribe society, researched used Social Construction theory Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman as analysis base to understand the Pamali culture. In understanding various opinion of each member of the Bani Tribe, the dialectics put forward by Berger and Luckman takes place with three simultaneous momentum: (1) externalization, adaptation to the socio-cultural world as a human product; (2) objectivity, social interaction in the institutionalized world of intersubjective or institutionalization process; (3) internalization, in the form of individual identifies with the social institution or social organization in which one belongs.

The dialectical process that occurs in Bani tribe society is through the process of internalization, externalization, and objectivity. The internalization process that occurs in Bani tribe society is the most important socialization process.

Socialization occurs in the internalization process. King Bana and King Sanak possess an important role to convey Pamali. The kings invited the chieftains in to be present at Sonaf (palace) to convey Pamali to Tubu’ue Village. Based on the audience with the kings, the chieftain conveys the Pamali to members of the respective tribe gathered in traditional houses. In the internalization process for special Pamali to Bani tribe chief and Pamali for Bani tribe society through the same socialization. Parents possess an important role in the process of socialization. Parents will choose the right moment to deliver the Pamali prevailing in the respective tribe. Those who become chief will be chosen by their ancestors. Therefore tribe chief must continue to accept the assigned task. The chosen chieftain will naturally understand the tribe history and customs.

The objectivity of Pamali culture is the result of the construction of Bani society in the socio-cultural context, therefore existing opinion difference in society indicates the possibility of variations in obeying Pamali or pattern of action in interpreting Pamali culture. Tribe members obey Pamali as a norm or value. They could even violate it. Therefore Pamali culture will be in Bani tribe daily activity.

Interpretation in Bani tribe society to a Pamali culture based on knowledge, experience, and experience. The meaning of Pamali culture arises when a violation is committed intentionally or unintentionally.
Externalization in the society of Bani tribe argues about Pamali. The existence of a behavior committed by members of the Bani Tribe when obeying and believing the Pamali culture that has existed since their ancestors in antiquity and is believed to be one of their ancestral heritage.

Every member of the tribe who faces hardships and failures, woe and death, will always be understood in relation to his behavior in his tradition, including with objects (animals being sacrificed).

The behavior of one of the members of the Bani tribe who commits a violation of the Pamali culture has been established. Violations committed either intentionally or unintentionally will be punished by challenges or reprimands from their ancestors. This occurrence comes in the form of accidents, illnesses such as scurvy and itching, as well as wounds covering the whole body, pests damage cattle and crops, damage existing plants, cause blindness or death. Pamali violation may lead to a breach of safety.

Members of Bani tribe who have violated Pamali could obtain forgiveness, should the offender conduct ritual or ceremony yan called na'sapu (in Dawan language). The ceremony used plant named safe or hau manikin. These are sprinkled while praying for forgiveness from ancestors for violating the Pamali.

Any offense committed will have consequences. Nevertheless pardon is granted should the offender begs forgiveness to their ancestors. One who never violates Pamali will get the blessings and abundance in their life.

Pamali’s significance for Bani tribe society is that it acts as a rule or norm, customary law, or prohibition in the form of oral tradition. Offenders who violate Pamali would receive punishment and challenge. Pamali does not differentiate people with higher education or status (officials) for behaving poorly in certain time and place. Pamali is an inheritance from time immemorial. Pamali test the obedience and trust. Pamali culture is believed to be associated with the name of the Bani Tribe.

CONCLUSION
Although Pamali considered irrelevant to the conditions of the times that have advanced, for the most part, especially the old generation still look at Pamali as a signal from the predecessors to be obeyed. Therefore, Pamali is still bequeathed to newer generation in the hope that they can obey Pamali to obtain security and successful life.

In understanding the varied opinion of Bani Tribe members, the dialectics put forward by Berger and Luckman takes place with three simultaneous momentum: (1) externalization, adaptation to the socio-cultural world as a human product; (2) objectivity, social interaction in the institutionalized world of intersubjective or institutionalization process; (3) internalization, an individual identifies with the social institution or social organization in which he or she belongs.

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REFERENCES