RESEARCH ARTICLE

Negotiations among traditional leaders in Muna tribal marriages

Almarsaban¹, Taufiq Said²

Abstract: In Muna community marriage is known as kawin pinang and kawin lari. Elopement is done as a way out or solution for the Muna community. Negotiation is crucial in this research because, in the literature review conducted by the author, as many as 25 national journals did not discuss in depth about negotiations in marriage. This research was analyzed using a descriptive qualitative method with data collection techniques of in-depth interviews and participatory observation. The results of this study show that in the marriage process for the Muna community, starting from finding a mate, proposing, and ending with a marriage, the role of traditional leaders is needed. Traditional leaders who function as mediators and facilitators through negotiations or deliberations can influence the value of the dowry itself.

Keywords: Marriage, Dowry, Negotiation, Traditional figures

Abstrak: Dalam pernikahan masyarakat Muna dikenal dengan istilah kawin pinang dan kawin lari. Kawin lari dilakukan sebagai jalan keluar atau solusi bagi masyarakat Muna. Negosiasi menjadi sangat krusial dalam penelitian ini karena dalam tinjauan literatur yang dilakukan oleh penulis, sebanyak 25 jurnal nasional tidak ada yang membahas secara mendalam mengenai negosiasi dalam pernikahan. Penelitian ini dianalisis dengan menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data wawancara mendalam dan observasi partisipatif. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa dalam proses perkawinan bagi masyarakat Muna, mulai dari mencari jodoh, melamar, dan diakhiri dengan pernikahan, peran tokoh adat sangat dibutuhkan. Tokoh adat yang berfungsi sebagai mediator dan fasilitator melalui negosiasi atau musyawarah dapat mempengaruhi nilai mahar itu sendiri.

Kata kunci: Pernikahan, Mas kawin, Negosiasi, Tokoh adat

About Author

Almarsaban, Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Halu Oleo University, Indonesia; Taufiq Said, Oral Tradition Science Study Program, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Halu Oleo University, Indonesia.

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1. Introduction

A marriage is more or less also related to the social position of the two people involved since generally they tend to consider the equality of social status level. They believe that marriage can elevate the level of certain people, but it also lowers a person’s level. Regarding marriage, Setiadi (2008) explained how humans develop and grow to have offspring. Marriage and offspring is a process that produces cultural diversity as well as its customs. They will not be able to develop properly and be civilized without a process or formation called marriage because marriage results in the presence or birth of offspring. Good and legitimate offspring will then be able to lead to the creation of a good and legitimate family, and eventually grow into good and legitimate relatives and society. Thus, marriage is a rigging element that legitimately continues the good life of humans and society.

Therefore, some previous studies about marriage have been conducted by predecessors. However, in some of the papers or research that I have observed about marriage, they discuss how the process is in a marriage, how social status is discussed in marriage, how is the process of completing an elopement, and an in-depth discussion on the customs of marriage, as well as how the process of conflict resolution in a marriage. As I am seeing and observing, some of their papers seem to be indifferent or not paying more attention to the role of negotiations in a wedding procession, even though negotiations in marriage have an essential role in a marriage’s success.

A marriage will not work out smoothly if the discussion about the dowry does not reach an agreement between the two parties. In addition, the determination of the dowry is also very related to the status or social class of the Muna people. Marriage dowry is a provision regarding the value of traditional marriage values, both marriages between same-groups and marriages between groups (cross-marriages), the provisions are as follows; first, the traditional dowry for marriage between same-groups is in accordance with the traditional dowry for the marriage of the group concerned. Second, the traditional dowry of marriage between groups (cross-marriage) is based on custom or through mutual agreement in making decisions based on identical human principles to maintain group dignity.

The determination of the dowry level according to the traditional Muna leaders depends on the social status of a person in society. Thus, there is a difference in the level of dowry between one group and another. The difference in determining the dowry is viewed based on social strata, namely the kaomu group (the nobles), walaka (traditional, legal, legislative groups), anangkolaki (groups that control trade, agriculture), and the maradika (commoners). This means that the determination of the amount of dowry paid will be different if the marriage is conducted with the same Muna tribe but with a different social strata or marriage with a different tribe. The dowry issue is an important and strategic matter in Muna traditional wedding procession. This means that if the dowry issue has been resolved and successfully determined, it can be ensured that all stages of the marriage will work out smoothly. On the contrary, if the dowry discussion does not reach an agreement, it is certain that the marriage process will fail or falter. In short, the success or failure of the marriage process in the Muna custom is determined at the dowry discussion stage.

Marriage by proposal (doangka ne mata) has several stages that must be carried out by both parties of the bride and groom. The stages are the kamata stage (matchmaking), the defenagho tungguno karete stage (asking whether the woman has already engaged or
has been proposed), the *dofeena* stage (proposal), the *detaburi* stage (kafeena arrangement), the *paniwi* stage (depositing goods for consumption), the *tandugho sara-sara* stage (delivery of traditional principals) and the *kawi* stage (wedding ceremony). This marriage can also clearly show a person’s social status in society which is reflected in *tandugho sara-sara* (delivery of traditional principals). The delivery of the traditional principals is carried out by the bride and groom depending on the position of the social status of each bride and groom. For example, if the woman comes from the upper class of society (*kaomu*/noble), while the man comes from the lower class of society (*saraka*/ghata), then the value that must be paid by the man to the bride is high. Vice versa, if the woman comes from the lower class of society and the man comes from the upper class, then the value that must be paid by the groom to the woman is also low.

However, there are also the Muna people who elope (*dopofileigho*) because the groom is unable to fulfill some of the conditions specified for marriage by proposal, even though elopement is highly undesirable to occur because it will cause misunderstandings between the families of the groom and bride, and even become the potential trigger for conflict between those families. The elopement phenomenon has become an alternative for some young people to rush their marriage plans, despite the opposition from the parents of both parties. Based on the phenomenon illustrated that cultural values in marriage customs are violated, thus the role of negotiation or deliberation really needs to be done to make a decision to manifest the couple’s desire to get married.

2. Literature review

2.1. Dowry practices

The findings of the study by Qadar (2018) showed that the dowry practice in Muna traditional marriages, where a person’s social status will be reflected in the determination of the dowry. It is further explained that, first, the practice of traditional Muna marriage dowries is based on stratification, namely: the *kaomu* (nobles) class with 20 *bhoka*, the *walaka* (traditional) group with 10 *bhoka* and 10 *suku*, the *anangkolaki* (agriculture) group with 7 *bhoka* and 2 *suku*, and the *maradika* group with a dowry of 3 *bhoka* and 2 *suku*. Second, the value contained in the dowry practice of Muna traditional marriage, namely the balance value in the determination of the dowry of the four Muna groups. The value of deliberation is contained in the dowry determination procession. Economic value and secrecy can be found in the dowry delivery procession that uses a cover cloth. Third, two major groups of the Muna community that respond to dowry practices are: conservative groups (maintaining dowry practices) and reformist groups (providing renewal of dowry practices). Factors that result in the existence of conservative group are education level and social status. Meanwhile, factors that result in reformist group are education level and understanding of religion.

Aris Nur Qadar’s explanation of the dowry practice is in line with Chichi’s research (2019), which also studies dowry. She mentioned that there is a division of the dignity of seven groups which causes the difference in the amount of dowry in the marriages of the Muna people during the reign of King Sugi Manuru since ancient times. Furthermore, she explains the factors behind the difference in the amount of dowry in marriage by proposal. The total dowry of *Kaomu* group was 20 *bhoka*, a symbol of the nature of *raafuluno* which was embodied in Muna’s royal position as *Kino* or village head. The dowry of *walaka* group was 10 *bhoka* and 10 *suku*, which is a symbol of the customary position of the Muna kingdom, namely two *Hatibi*, four *Modhi Kamokula*, and four *Modhi Anahi*. The dowry of *Anangkolaki* group was 7 *bhoka* and 2 *suku*, which is a symbol of the traditional position of
the Muna kingdom carried out by Kodasano group, namely as Bhontono Kampo, Parabhela, and Kamokulano Liwu, and Kodasano group, whose dowry is 3 bhoka and 2 suku, is a symbol of the 7 farmers of King Sugi Manuru in his marriage to Wa Saorone who has 7 children as the head of the village.

The basis used by Bugis society in determining the dowry value in marriage is also through social classification or social strata, but social class is not only determined because he is of noble descent (kaomu). In other words, social strata are not necessarily determined by lineage, but also because of one’s position, job, or level of education they have taken (Sopyan, 2018). In a more in-depth analysis, Siti Aisyah discusses the meaning of traditional marriage ceremonies. She researched the meaning of traditional wedding ceremonies in Malay culture toward emotional intelligence. In her findings, she said that marriage is essential in Malay culture and that the ceremony itself has detailed, unique, attractive, and exotic stages. She added that the procession required patience and the ability to adapt from both parties, both the couples and the families of the couples. If it is not based on high emotional intelligence, it is not impossible that failure and conflict will occur before the marriage takes place, she said (Aisyah, 2018).

In addition, La Ode Rusli discusses the meaning of the expressions spoken by the male and female delegations in marriage by proposal. According to his findings, there are a series of meanings that reveal a series of processions carried out by each delegation, both from the male and female parties, which originate from deliberations, making promises and meanings in marriage by proposal (Rusli, 2016). In addition, the analysis of the role of traditional leaders is strengthened by other research which emphasizes on the role of traditional leaders in a marriage. Furthermore, traditional leaders have an important role in resolving both private and public conflicts. He explained that the role of traditional leaders can be intermediaries if conflicts occur in marriage. He mentioned that traditional leaders can serve as mediators, facilitators and negotiators (Intan, 2018).

2.2. Marriage

The many ins and outs and processes that must be conducted in marriage cannot be denied as a manifestation of the culture of society which must be maintained as an identity. Culture serves as an identity, as researched by Novi in describing the culture of the Sumbawa people through the Barodak procession of the traditional Sumbawa wedding. She explained that the form of culture is a complex of ideas, ideas, values, norms, regulations, and so on. The form of culture is a complex of patterned activities and actions from humans in society, as well as a form of culture as objects made by humans. The form of objects and forms of activity are the most concrete forms so that the cultural system in Sumbawa society can be understood, she said (Utami, 2016).

Regarding explanation on traditions, she explained that tradition is a community habit, namely behavior that is continuously carried out by individuals and creates personal habits. If someone else's personal habit is imitated then it will also become that person's habit. Gradually, they also practice this tradition in the unity of society between each individual. Then, if all members of the community engage in the habitual behavior, this habit will eventually become the custom of that community. Community groups gradually make this tradition a custom that should apply to all members of society that should be implemented by sanctions (R Van Dijk in Tolib Setiadi, 2008). In line with the statement asserted by Van Dijk who said that marriage is not only a matter of those who are getting married, Lestari Nurhajati revealed that marriage at a young age is largely determined by
the participation of parents. Children who do not receive the primary role of the family from their parents cause them to decide to get married (Nurhajati, 2012).

3. Method

This research was conducted in West Muna Regency using ethnographic methods as the basis for data collection. This research is descriptive qualitative because it provides a basic description and real information about negotiations in the traditional marriage of the Muna people. This research employs qualitative approach with the intention of describing the phenomena that exist in the research location using qualitative data, specifically by collecting qualitative data in the form of descriptions or narratives about the role of negotiation in the traditional marriage of the Muna people in West Muna Regency and/or by systematically explaining the role of negotiations in the marriage customs of the Muna tribe and how the influence of the traditional negotiations works. The steps taken in a marriage procession are approaching the woman who will be one’s life partner, proposing, following up after proposing, delivering the main or traditional substance of the dowry, and finally holding the marriage ceremony, where the role of traditional leaders is to become a mediator in the negotiation process. The data sources for this article consist of traditional leaders, religious leaders, and people who have married either by proposing (marriage by proposal) or eloping.

The data collected in this study were then grouped according to the types and problems. Data analysis process was conducted from the beginning of the research until the end of the entire research process. This is in line with Endraswara's (2003) opinion who said that researchers can fully comprehend the research results that have been achieved from the problems studied by continuously analyzing data. Data analysis was carried out in depth using a qualitative descriptive method, namely a study that intends to describe or depict and explain the role of negotiation or tradition deliberation in Muna tribal marriages and how the influence of customary negotiations on the community.

4. Result

Muna people recognize two types of marriage, namely marriage by proposal and elopement. In the former, there are several stages that are conducted before the wedding ceremony is carried out. These stages include *defenagho*, *tungguno karete*, *kafeena*, *kataburi*, *paniwi*, *adhati balano*, wedding ceremony, and *kafelesao*. Meanwhile, in elopement, the stages are shorter because they do not hold a procession like the one for marriage by proposal described above. However, in elopement there are stages to fleeing with the girl or woman one likes. This is done because there are obstacles in the relationship between the man and the woman that hinder the marriage process, such as the absence of parental consent, unwed pregnancy, and the disparity in the level of dowry.

In the negotiation stage, traditional leaders act as mediators in the negotiation process. Before holding a marriage contract, there are definitely several processes that must be passed or conducted by the groom, starting from approaching the woman who will be his life partner, asking about the status of the woman, delivering the main or traditional substance, and so on until the wedding stage. At these stages, the discussion of dowry and/or marriage money or money used for wedding purposes becomes a very important matter that must be passed by the bride and groom. The role of traditional leaders is important in determining the amount of marriage dowry that must be given by the groom to the bride. The traditional leaders from the bride and groom sides engage in a negotiation
to determine the best day for the wedding and the wedding dowry. Therefore, the role of traditional and religious leaders as mediators of the two brides greatly influences the marriage ceremony. Furthermore, elopements often occur due to the stagnation of negotiations done by the traditional leaders from the bride and groom sides. The stages of holding marriage by proposal and elopement presented in the following.

4.1. Kawin pinang (Marriage by proposal)

As done elsewhere and in native society, there is an engagement period before marriage. However, in Muna, this engagement period is different from that of western nations. The engagement period is meant to not get to know each other better. It just signifies that the girl and the boy are no longer free and that they are bound by an agreement. The consent is made by the father of the two young children (Couvreur, 2001). Marriage by proposal (doangka ne mata) is one of the marriage processes in the Muna tradition held by those who wish to marry in a way that is known by various parties, the family, traditional and religious leaders, and the relatives of the bride and groom. This method is seen as very honorable and has always been the dream of parents in marrying off their children. Apart from the methods and processions that take up a significant amount of time, energy, and material, this type of marriage also requires the patience and expertise of certain parties in dealing with various matters needed. The following are the steps of marriage by proposal in the Muna community.

4.1.1. Dekamata (approaching the woman who will be a man’s life partner)

The first step is generally aimed at women in the same group or one level lower. In ancient times, an unmarried woman was not allowed to leave the house, especially if she came from the kaomu (nobility) lineage. Girls can only leave the house under certain conditions and are accompanied by their muhrim, for example at corn/rice planting events or during harvesting. This is done to avoid unwanted actions to the girls. Thus, dekamata occurred because there were no direct and intense interactions between men and women’s daily life in the past.

Dekamata is usually done by the man’s family to learn the characteristics and habits of the woman they want. One of the ways is by organizing a banquet or sending some people to visit the woman’s house and studying the attitude of the woman in serving guests, the cleanliness of the house, and manners, as well as her relationship with her parents. If the evaluation criteria are sufficient to meet their requirements, the woman will then get asked about her willingness to marry if someone proposes. If the woman signals that she is ready, then they proceed to the next stage, which is a proposal. In order to hold marriage in the social life of the Muna people at that time, dekamata was done with an event held by the man’s parents. Dekamata that was held by having meals was usually called fumaaha towu (cane eating event), dekantunu kahitela (corn grilled event), and fumaaha mafusau (cassava eating event). Prior to this event, the man’s parents personally invited the woman’s parents and several girls in the village to attend the event. At the time of the event, the man’s parents assessed each girl that was present regarding their speech, appearance (beauty), cleanliness, eating habits, manners, and other feminine elements according to their son’s preference. Likewise, the man could observe directly which candidate would be chosen for the next assessment since occasionally, a girl already knew the purpose of the event and they were trying with all their potential to be chosen as daughter-in-law.
4.1.2. *Defenagho tungguno karete* (asking the woman’s status)

*Defenagho tungguno karete* in the Muna language dictionary is *defenaghagho* which means: *de* (one person or plural), *fenaghagho* (to ask), *tungguno* (keeper/occupant), *karete* (yard). Thus, *defenaghagho tungguno karete* (ask about the keeper of the yard) is figurative language which means asking the status of a woman. This stage is an advanced stage of the *dekomata* stage that must be passed by the man's family before proposing to the woman of his choice. The procession of *defenagho tungguno karete* (asking the status of the woman who is about to be married) is conducted at the bride’s house. Representatives of the groom party discussed with the elders from the groom's and bride’s entourages to unite perceptions of the day for the proposal delivering, the party money, and food that will be given as well as the dowry of the two prospective bride and groom. The dowry or customary money is determined based on the tracing of each party’s lineage to find out the social class of each party, whether they come from the *kaomu*, *walaka*, or *maradika* groups.

Once everything has been agreed upon, they will wait for the day to proceed to the next stage, namely the delivering of the proposal goods, except for the party money, which was previously given at that time. In the stage of determining the dowry or party money here, the role of traditional leaders from the bride and groom is needed as a mediator to negotiate the amount of party money that will be delivered to the woman until the nominal amount of the party money will be agreed upon. In the proposing stage, the groom’s family prepares everything so that the proposal goes as expected. The first thing to do is holding a deliberation to determine the day of departure and determine the elders from the man’s family who will be representatives, which usually consist of two people, to visit the woman’s house to bring news or promises.

After the deliberation has been held, the man’s family orders the elders who had been appointed to go to the woman’s house and meet the woman’s parents to inform them that there will be several people from the man’s family who will come. After that, the messengers ask the woman’s family to wait for the arrival of the man’s family at the appointed time. In addition, the messengers will also inform that there will be other messengers who will bring ingredients for consumption, which will be served during the meeting, or some money, which will later be used by the girl's family to buy consumption.

When the appointed day and time arrives, the man’s family comes to the woman’s house to ask who is the caretaker or owner of the flowers in the yard. Eight or twelve elders or traditional leaders have been sent in the procession. Likewise of those waiting, in this case the woman’s family, there are representatives or traditional leaders waiting for the arrival of the man's family. If there is an agreement from both parties regarding the results of the proposal, then the next stage is determining the day and date as well as discussing the wedding cost. The discussion on this matter is not part of the dowry, but in the form of money agreed as the cost of organizing the wedding procession.

4.1.3. *Kafeena* (the proposal)

Marriage proposal precedes the engagement. Hence, the engagement period is the period between the proposal and the wedding ceremony. For families who still hold strong traditions, during that time, the two fiancés are like strangers, not even speaking to each other (Couvreur, 2001). *Dofofeena* and *kafeena* in the Muna language dictionary have different meanings. *Dofofeena* means to ask or be asked (want to know) about something, while *kafeena* means to ask questions. Literally, *dofofeena* or *kafeena* means a symbolic
question addressed to women. However, in the context of traditional marriages, *dofoteena* or *kafeena* is not carried out verbally but in the form of delivering cash, the amount of which is according to the agreement of both parties based on traditional provisions.

### 4.1.4. Kantaburi (following up the proposal)

In the Muna language dictionary, *kantaburi* literally means one that pushes or an additional custom. However, in the context of marriage, *kantaburi* are usually referred to as *kantaburino kafeena*, meaning they bring money for the follow-up proposal money. *Kantaburi* is basically a question symbolically addressed to the parents of the proposed woman with the intention of asking for approval for *kafeena* accepted by the proposed daughter.

### 4.1.5. Paniwi (presenting goods for catering)

The basic meaning of *Paniwi* in the Muna language dictionary is *feompu*, which means servitude or sincerity. For the man and his family, this engagement period sometimes requires a very high cost. He has to provide everything that is needed at his fiancé's house, usually assisted by his family. He often takes care of the maintenance of his fiancé's family (eating, betel nut, fruit, etc.). On a rather long period of engagement, the *paniwi* stage can reach very high costs for him and his family, especially when the woman's parents are very demanding. The costs incurred for this are roughly in line with the dowry (Couvreur, 2001).

### 4.1.6. Adhati Balano (presenting the main dowry or traditional substance)

*Adhati balano* in the Muna language convention means the implementation of customary payments (dowry). The meaning is related to the traditional principals that must be carried out in the implementation of marriage. After the *paniwi* procession, the next stage is the *adhati bhalano* stage or process (delivering the main dowry or traditional substance), where there is a customary principal offering which is done based on the social status of the bride and groom. Then, the amount of *bhoka* determined based on social status is traced by each delegation of traditional leaders of the bride and groom.

*Adhati balano* (dowry principles) includes *sara-sara pada-pada*, namely the procession of talks and delivery of the main traditional principals done by the groom to the bride. In this process, the traditional value or *bhoka* value that will be paid is based on the social status of the man and woman, which is traced through customary discussions by representatives consisting of traditional leaders from each region of the bride and groom. The next step is *lolino ghawi*, *kaokanuha*, and *matano kenta*, which are gifts in the form of money for witnesses or those involved in the wedding procession.

### 4.1.7. Wedding ceremony

Wedding ceremony is held at the woman's house after the traditional offering is done and agreed upon. This ceremony is marked by the wedding vow by the man who is guided by a traditional or religious leader, which makes the bride and groom legally become husband and wife, and can be subject to the rights and obligations as husband and wife.

### 4.1.8. Dofofelesau (permission request)

*Dofofelesau* means a permission request from the bride and groom to the woman's parents to bring the bride to live in the groom's house. Four days after the wedding, they will leave for the groom's house. When the bride arrives at the man's parents' house, the
man’s family washes the bride’s feet as a symbol of cleansing the woman from all kinds of external influences and as a sign of acceptance for the man. A new sarong is also worn to the woman as a symbol that she has become a part of the man’s family and has been bound by the man who married her. This procession ends with returning the bride and groom to the bride’s house, known as *kafosulino katulu*. This indicates that the bride and groom are ready to navigate the household despite all the challenges they may encounter in the future.

4.2. **Kawin lari (elopement)**

Elopement can also be referred to as a marriage without a proposal or engagement. In Muna, eloping with a partner is considered normal and even happens almost every year.

4.2.1. **Planning**

First of all, the couple asks for help from their family, relatives, and friends to prepare or arrange a good strategy to prepare all the necessary needs as well as when picking them up later. This is important to ensure that they will not encounter elopement problems that will result in failure.

4.2.2. **Selecting the time and place**

In determining the time and place, one of the informants and Muna traditional leaders, Yamin S., said that:

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<tr>
<th>Table 7. Unlucky Days in the Muna Calendar</th>
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<td><strong>Month</strong></td>
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<td><em>Dhu al-Qa’dah</em></td>
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<td><em>Dhu al-Hijja</em></td>
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It can be said that in doing something, it is necessary to pay attention to unlucky days so as not to bring bad luck later. Determination of departure is usually done by someone who knows good days and unlucky days (*pande kotika*). *Pande kotika* (someone who knows good days and unlucky days) will be asked to observe the good days and unlucky days before picking up the prospective woman who will be taken away as well as the wedding so that there will not be any bad luck in the execution. This is crucial because the *pamali* (taboo) culture that permeates the Muna community prohibits engaging in traditional activities on unlucky days according to their calendar. Violation of these *pamali* will cause conflict against village elders because the marriage will later bring bad luck.
4.2.3. Placing o’tanda

For Muna people, o’tanda is a signal or a sign that the woman has been taken away. O’tanda takes the form of money that is placed beneath the pillow or the mattress in the woman’s bedroom.

4.2.4. Departure

In the departure process, everything must be carefully prepared so that the woman's family is unaware of the process. Once all the preparations have been completed, on the appointed day, a messenger (a close relative or friend) of the prospective elopement couple departs to pick up the woman that will be married along with an envelope which will then be left beneath the woman’s pillow. The woman usually waits anxiously and prepares the things to be brought to the house of the person who would later serve as a temporary host. The messenger is very concerned about the atmosphere of the woman's house. Hence, a spy must be sent to monitor the situation there to see whether it is safe. When the woman's parents are sleeping or away, the messenger who spied earlier reports the result to the pickup, then they head to the woman's house to pick up the girl. The causes of elopement can vary. In the Muna community, elopement occurred due to several things, such as disapproval from parents, unwed pregnancy, and disparity in the level of dowry.

5. Discussion

There are various kinds of ethnic groups in Indonesia and customs that are inherent in it, one of which is regarding the traditions in marriage. In Muna tribe, there are several stages in the execution of wedding traditions. As explained above, the stages involved in the marriages of Muna tribe are dekamata, asking about the status of the woman, proposal, and so on until the wedding ceremony. The analysis’ results reveal that there are several problems that require the involvement of traditional and religious leaders to resolve and prevent conflicts.

5.1. Traditional settlement in elopement

Young people may elope because of various issues, such as disapproval from parents, unwed pregnancy, and disparity in the level of dowry. Not only do parents play a significant part in finding a solution, but traditional and religious leaders also play a significant part in the process. Apart from that, discussing the traditional principals or dowry money is crucial for the proper execution of the marriage procession. The role of the negotiator, namely traditional leaders between the bride and groom through traditional figure representatives, determine the success of the marriage procession. The following steps explain the settlement processes.

5.2. Kaforatoano kahalano lalo (expressing apologies)

Kaforatoano kahalano lalo is conducted the day after the couple is at the priest's house. The brother's concern (kahalano anahi moghane) is a traditional fine because the woman's family is not notified beforehand that her daughter is in a relationship or dating the man. This fine is requested in the amount of the dowry previously paid. Traditional ceremonies usually do not take too long, but sometimes the two parties reach a stalemate, hence it takes a very long time to decide a case. This is because there is one party who insists on existing traditional provisions or the dowry requested is too high beyond the limits of the man's ability so that it burdens the woman's family. In cases like this, village traditional leaders usually directly mediate between the two parties by offering several solutions that are acceptable to both parties. The imam sends two or three messengers or delegates from the man’s family to the woman’s family's house. The delegates are tasked
with expressing apologies for the anxiety endured by the woman's family because her daughter had been taken away to prevent undesirable things from happening.

5.3. **Kafoepe (the messenger preceding the delivery of traditional principals)**

After the delegation from the man side (messengers) express apologies for the anxiety endured by the woman’s family, the messengers come back to the woman’s family house to inquire about the meeting of traditional leaders who will discuss the settlement of the runaway. After the delivery (kafoepe) from the messenger of the man’s family has occurred, the woman’s family usually gives various responses. Once the woman’s parents agree to accept the delegation, a meeting time is agreed with the men. In this kafoepe procession, a meeting time for traditional leaders has been determined.

5.4. **Rechecking**

After the messenger of the man has agreed with the woman’s family regarding the day of the meeting to determine the traditional principals (tandugho adati kabughou), the messenger informs or reports the results that have been agreed upon with the woman’s family to the man.

5.5. **Katandugho adhati kabughou (a meeting to determine the traditional principals)**

The meeting to determine the traditional principals takes place after an agreement is reached between the two parties which has been discussed at the kafotinda stage. At the katandugho adhati kabughou event, there are often debates between the two parties and between traditional leaders representing the bride and groom, but still in traditional manners. At this stage, there is a discussion about the size of traditional principals that must be delivered to the woman as well as customary fines if a mistake is found during pofileigho, and the day of the marriage is determined. There is also a discussion about customary fines due to errors in pofileigho. The mistake occurs because the man’s party did not leave any tokens or money beneath the woman’s pillow or mattress as a sign that the woman had been taken away.

Several important topics that are often discussed in such meetings to determine the traditional principals include:

5.5.1. **Kalengkano pogau (introduction or opening before getting into traditional principals discussion)**

At the Kalengkano Pogau stage, the man is required to pay five bhoka or as much as IDR 240,000. The money is immediately given in front of the customary recipient (metarimano adhati) and is stored in a plate covered with a cloth or handkerchief (kabhintingi). Next is the discussion of the traditional principals (Adhati Bhalano).

5.5.2. **Adhati balano (traditional principals)**

At this stage, the discussion revolves around how much are the traditional principals and the costs of the wedding that must be handed over to the woman. The amount that will usually be charged to the man is based on the social stratification of the prospective daughter to be married. The value of one bhoka Muna that applies to cases of elopement is IDR 48,000 or twice that of marriage by proposal (point numbers). The amount of money goes up depending on the agreement of each delegation, and the traditional leaders of the bride and groom consult to agree on the amount of money to be given, as well as whether there will be a big reception or only a wedding ceremony. The dowry delivering process for an elopement (pofileigo) is carried out and adjusted to customary demands and other provisions, such as the process of point numbers involving kafeena,
kantaburi, paniwi, and others are delivered once. In addition, the man is also required to pay customary fines (sanctions).

5.5.3. Kagaaha (the wedding)

After the traditional handover event is finished, then the time of the wedding day is determined. Therefore, someone who is good at determining a good day and an unlucky day (pandekotika) is asked to determine the auspicious day for the wedding ceremony. If the time determined by the pandekotika has been mutually agreed upon, both parties will determine the place for the marriage, whether at the man's house or at the woman's house, or at the house of one of the families of both parties.

If the wedding ceremony is held at the man's house, then all the needs of the wedding ceremony are borne by the man and the woman's family only serves as guardian for their daughter. However, if the wedding ceremony is held at the woman's house, then the man usually gives money for the wedding ceremony purpose. The wedding ceremony is held in a simple manner and only invites traditional and religious leaders as well as a few neighbors and family. However, if the woman's or the man's family can afford it, a wedding party is usually held. The wedding vow is held in front of the village imam or Office of Religious Affairs officers, as well as representatives from the families of both parties.

6. Conclusion

The West Muna community has strong traditions as their community identity. One of the depictions of strong traditions can be seen at wedding processions. There are two types of marriage in the West Muna community, namely marriage by proposal and elopement. In a marriage process, it generally begins with finding a partner. For young people, this is a crucial stage to find a partner to marry. In the search process, there are several things that are considered from potential partners, including morals and social behaviors. The process of marriage by proposal moves on to the next stage, which includes asking about the woman's status, organizing it, delivering the materials for the proposal, giving money in exchange for the woman’s parents assistance, discussing the traditional principals, carrying out the marriage ceremony, and asking for permission from the bride’s parents before bringing the bride to the groom’s house. In a long series of traditional processions, it is not uncommon for family and relatives to intervene to cause these couples to choose to elope. The form of intervention is problems related to life partners, as well as the dowry in the form of party money that was deliberately raised. Therefore, elopement is a way out or a solution for every couple who wants to get married. Apart from that, responsibility and a form of loyalty makes elopement more common.

The traditional elopement procession is not as many as the traditional marriage by proposal procession, even though elopement has a series of traditional settlement processions that are almost the same as marriage by proposal. There are several stages of elopement that must be prepared by the man. starting from planning, determining the time and place, giving a sign in the form of money placed beneath the woman's pillow as a sign that she has been taken secretly by her lover, and departure. During the departure, the couple must ensure that none of their families know about it, as well as the place to stay for a while. The reasons for elopement vary, including disapproval from parents, unwed pregnancy, and disparity in the level of dowry. The settlement process is done with the help of traditional and religious leaders, which begins with a notification to the family, an apology, discussion, and delivery of traditional principals along with customary fines, and finally the wedding. In each procession, besides the families and relatives of the bride
and groom, the role of traditional and religious figures plays a very important role in ensuring the success of the marriage.

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