

Interpretation Of Ngadha Ethnic Identity In Flores In The Text Of The Sa Ngaza Oral Tradition

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Abstract

The Ngadha ethnic group in Flores (Indonesia) has an oral tradition of sa ngaza. It is a major part of traditional house building ceremonies and ancestor worship. This article is intended to explain the interpretation and ideology behind the sa ngaza oral tradition belonging to the Leko (woe) clan with two main problems: 1) how to interpret the sa ngaza text in the sa ngaza oral tradition; 2) what is the interpretation of ideology in the sa ngaza oral tradition. The study was carried out using library method and Paul Ricoeur's theory of interpretation underlining the concepts of text and ideological interpretation. The results explain the overall appearance of the sa ngaza by underlining clan identity (woe) regarding the origins of ancestral names, main characteristics, and their relationship with the other clans or sub-clans. The ideology behind the sa ngaza text is loyalty, honesty, and openness.

Keywords: Ideology, Interpretation, Sa Ngaza Oral Tradition.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The saying 'silence is golden' does not apply to the Ngadha people. According to them, what is gold is action (talk). This is clearly visible in the sa ngaza tradition. Sa ngaza, a variety of Ngadha ethnic oral poetry, is a direct part of the Ngadha cultural tradition in Flores, NTT.

Sa means to call, convey, announce. Ngaza means name. Sa ngaza means proclaiming names (descendants, ancestors, and the Most High) and mentioning the most important qualities (Arndt, Paul translation Lege Lukas, 1983:248) such as honesty, loyalty, mutual help, valiantness, and defender of the truth. This proclamation was conveyed in a number of traditional ceremonies, for example, making a traditional house (*tau sao*), restoration of a traditional house (*ka sa'o*), making *ngadhu*/symbol of male ancestors, and *bhaga*/symbol of female ancestors (*tau ngadhu-bhaga*), restoration of *ngadhu-bhaga* (*ka ngadhu-bhaga*), and in village festival ceremonies (*nua*). The main contents of the sa ngaza text are: mentioning the identity of the clan and sub-clan (*woe*), what the name of the clan is, what the names of their ancestors and honorific nicknames are, what the main characters are, what they will do, and closed with a call to immediately sound the gong drum (*laba go*).

The philosophical basis for delivering sa ngaza to the entire family and all family relations who are present at the traditional ceremony is community identity. Community identity is the main point in sa ngaza. In each performance, sa ngaza cannot be separated from the tua adat (*mosa laki*) of the sa ngaza singer (*mori sa*

ngaza) accompanied by dances imitating the movements of eagles and eagles (Ja'i), gong drum music (*laba go*), dancers, and the audience of the ceremony owner and the audience in general (Banda, 2015).

This tradition is passed down from generation to generation. As time goes by, the *sa ngaza* tradition underwent various changes, crossing the boundaries of traditional traditions, and entering the area of religious traditions and traditions of power (government). More clearly - according to Prior (2004) - boundaries frame the identity of a group of people. It can act as a barrier or connector. Barriers that differentiate and separate one's group from another's or conversely become a link that invites 'others' to cross it, to come and experience new horizons, to increase knowledge and expand the scope of friendship; for individual and group interests. *Sa ngaza* crosses traditional boundaries, enters religious and governmental areas.

How the *sa ngaza* tradition maintains itself is determined by two things: *first*, how the owner of the tradition, as an interpretant, maintains the existence of the traditions that accompany it such as the construction and blessing of ancestral symbols, traditional houses, family units, sub-clans and clans in the village; *second*, how to interpret the *sa ngaza* text. The interpretation of the text and what messages are conveyed through the text to explain the identity or identity of sub-clans, clans or ethnicities more broadly need to be explained or refreshed.

One approach to text interpretation is Ricoeur's text hermeneutic theory. Ricoeur deepened his thoughts on hermeneutics methodologically and theoretically. The word *hermeneutics* comes from the Greek *hermeneu* meaning to interpret or interpret. *Hermeneia* means exegesis or interpretation. When humans encounter a text, each text contains within it a unique world as a complex of values and meanings in which humans exist (Kleden, 2002: 39-40). Kleden underlines Ricoeur's thoughts and continues his question of the impact of the world of the text on the subject: listener or reader? Hermeneutic theory in this case cannot be separated from the history of the people who own the text as stated by Gadamer regarding *Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewusstsein* or effective historical awareness (Idem, 2002: 41).

Humans are historical creatures who have been shaped by history before they help shape history. This is shown, for example, in human relations with tradition. According to Ricoeur's theory of interpretation, this relationship can be traced in language and discourse, actions, ideology and texts (Thompson, 2003). Thus, there is no single text in the textual tradition that is truly alone in its presence. Language is one of them. Likewise, the *sa ngaza* oral poetry living in the socio-cultural activities of the Ngadha ethnic group in Flores expresses the group's ideology through actions (talking) and text.

This paper is intended to criticize the actions, ideology and texts of *sa ngaza* in the *sa ngaza* tradition using Paul Ricoeur's theory of interpretation (Thompson, 2003: 277 – 314) by underlining the concepts of text, domination and ideological interpretation. The main problems are formulated as follows: 1) how to interpret the *sa ngaza* text in the *sa ngaza* tradition; 2) what is the interpretation of ideology in the *sa ngaza* tradition.

II. CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

Texts and steps for understanding texts are the main focus of oral tradition studies, an oral tradition training, education and research program run by the Association for Oral Traditions (ATL) since 1996.

In the ATL Guidelines, it is believed that oral tradition is a source of the formation of civilization in various aspects of life. This is important because oral tradition, in its various forms, is very complex, containing not only stories, myths, legends and fairy tales, but also various things that are concerned with the life and livelihood of the community that owns it, for example, local wisdom, value systems, traditional knowledge (local knowledge), history, law, customs, medicine, belief and religious systems, astrology, and various artistic products (ATL Guidelines, 2010).

What is interesting about the first source of the study is the speakers, carriers, or sources who own oral traditions, including the community who owns or supports the tradition in question. This allows researchers to 1) analyze the interpretation of text or discourse holistically in the context of the community that supports the oral tradition; 2) place the implied or explicit meaning of the text, what is said and what actually happens; 3) interpret critically the text (Mbeti, 2010: 3 – 4). The oral text *sa ngaza*, for example, can be critically interpreted in the context of tradition, society and meaning.

The role of researchers in interpreting texts is determined by what guidelines are used as the basis for acting to find meaning. Paul Ricoeur provides space and place for researchers in ways that are relevant and can be used to interpret the text. The theory (hermeneutics) of interpretation, according to Paul Ricoeur, in principle, views the text as a stabilized discourse, a discourse that is standardized through writing (Ricoeur, 2009: 196). Ricoeur states in full as follows.

Writing is standardized speech, that inscription, whether in graphic or recorded form, is an inscription of speech. These inscriptions, made possible by the presence of printed characters in writing, ensure that speech survives. Standardization through writing takes the position of speech. It takes place in the place where speech can occur. This confirms that a text truly becomes a text when it is not limited to merely reproducing speech that has been spoken. A new text becomes a text when it directly puts what is meant by a discourse into written letters (Recoeur, 2009: 196 – 197).

Recoeur's views on oral literature research (*sa ngaza* oral traditions) are quite relevant. First, because in oral literature research - especially the study of oral traditions, the object of the study is oral texts (written texts based on oral data) obtained through field data collection. Second, Ricoeur, in his hermeneutic view, positions writing as speech, standardized (spoken) speech. Understanding and interpretation of oral literature (in the form of oral speech) and oral traditions where oral literature exists (through various traditions) are strengthened in written form; first, making it easier for researchers to stand on the boundaries of writing, before entering into a deeper analysis of oral literary texts. Second, based on the Ricoeur's important note that text cannot simply be equated with writing, the position of text (oral literature) which is based on orality (oral literature) is clear.

According to Ricoeur, the concept of text is written discourse (oral or spoken text that has been written) and that is why it is a work. There are three basic principles that characterize a work: first, a work is a structured totality that cannot be reduced to sentences; second, a work is produced in accordance with the rules or codes that define the direction of its literary flow; third, a work appears as a unique configuration that forms its own style (Thompson, 2003: 284). Based on this concept, the *sa ngaza* oral tradition is a work that has a position as a poetic text, has unique codes, and thus has its own style.

In making the work part of discourse (pay attention to the definition of text as discourse established in writing) the text is always considered a written work. In this case, all the activities of the *sa ngaza* oral tradition (building traditional houses, thanksgiving for traditional houses, traditions of respecting ancestors, togetherness of village origins) and oral *sa ngaza* poetry sung in the *sa ngaza* tradition for the purposes of traditional ceremonies, religion and government appear in oral form. It must be written down first for further scrutiny.

From oral to written, it is susceptible to various changes. Ricoeur examines this reality with one main concept of distancing. The first most obvious change centers on the fixation of discourse. Writing means maintaining the meaning (meaning) of what is said. Second, the relationship between the meaning of a text and the author (speaker) often overlaps. Third, it introduces the same incongruity between the text and the social conditions surrounding the text. Fourth, the text is freed from the boundaries of external references. In oral discourse, the relationship between the discourse and its birth reference does not apply in written form (Thompson, 2003: 286).

The four forms of distancing above emphasize that in research of oral traditions (which are written to be analyzed) they must be constructed and interpreted as a whole. For example, the oral poetry of *sa ngaza* must be interpreted in the context of the oral tradition of *sa ngaza* involving various other components in the ceremony. This underlines the concept of the *sa ngaza* oral tradition text. The oral tradition of *sa ngaza* is a discourse - about the oral poetry of *sa ngaza*, *mori sa ngaza* (singer), *mosa laki* (traditional elder) *laba go* (gong drum) and its drummers, *jai dance*, the dancers, the audience of the owner of the ceremony and the general audience in certain rituals- which is consolidated in writing and constitutes a cultural totality.

The Ricoeur's entire theoretical basis for texts is centered on hermeneutics, which means interpreting. Ricoeur again emphasizes that hermeneutics does not only require linguistic assistance. Hermeneutics requires the help of the theory of speech acts (speech - acts). According to Austin and Searle, speech acts are formed through a hierarchy of sub-actions which are spread across three levels: 1) the level of locutionary acts or propositional actions, the act of saying something; 2) the level of illocutionary action, namely what we do in/when we say; 3) the level of perlocutionary action, what we do by saying... (Recoeur, 2009: 270). This explanation shows that when oral discourse (discourse) turns into writing, it will sharpen the understanding of the elevation of words to what is said (meaning). The position of oral literature and written literature, oral discourse and written discourse are gathered in a paradigm which all have meaning.

The interpretation of meaning shows the importance of hermeneutic theory which offers methods of literary interpretation: a) dialectical method between the past and the present; and b) methods that pay attention to issues between the part and the whole. Thus, the important contribution of hermeneutics according to Endaswara (2008, 2011) is: a) hermeneutics incorporates an explicit understanding of "cultural totality", the basic and integrated whole of a culture or society at the level of fundamental ideology or worldview; b) the nature of literature in social life has been defined because the analysis begins with the relationship between cultural knowledge and the overall experience of life; c) hermeneutics opens up the possibility of trans-historical understanding with the concept of function between the past and the present (Endaswara 2008: 42) in meaningful action.

According to Ricoeur, one of the phenomena that offers distinctive characteristics found in writing (oral discourse that has been consolidated in writing) is meaningful action. Meaningful action can be seen as a text that has a certain plurality and makes it a limited field to allow for various interpretations (Thompson, 2003: 291 – 292). In this way, all the actions that accompany an oral tradition become a relevant part of the construction of meaning. In the oral tradition of *sa ngaza*, meaning is obtained through the interpretation of the text and the ideology behind it.

III. INTERPRETATION OF SA NGAZA TRADITIONS

3.1 Interpretation of the *Sa Ngaza* Text

The *Sa Ngaza* text basically conveys an announcement to the listener about the identity of a particular sub-clan or clan. Clan members interpret the meaning of *sa ngaza* based on the diction and expressions used, the names of ancestors, and symbols about the integrity of sub-clans or clans that are different from others. The entire content of the text can be interpreted as part of a believed identity.

Every interpretation is an attempt to uncover meanings that are still hidden or an attempt to open the folds of the levels of meaning contained in literary meaning. Ricoeur believes that there are basic needs (Sumaryono calls them latent needs) and language remains hermeneutic to express the true meaning. Language, as a symbol, means that hermeneutics aims to eliminate the mystery contained in a symbol by opening the veil of the unknown and hidden in these symbols. With hermeneutic efforts, symbols are more open because the position of the text is not simply equated with writing. Efforts to find what is hidden in symbols will be supported by understanding where the symbols come from in order to be able to explain what symbols are in the word "*sa ngaza*".

"Oral *sa ngaza* text" is not simply equated with written *sa ngaza*. The theoretical support put forward by Ricoeur regarding text is not simply equated with writing. The reasons are : 1) what gives rise to hermeneutical problems is not writing, but rather the dialectic between speech and writing; 2) this dialectic is formed based on objective analysis (distance between text and meaning). Therefore, we must look for the source of all dialectics in the discourse itself (Ricoeur, 2009: 176 – 177) to examine and deepen every symbol in the oral tradition. Looking for the source of this dialectic is important to pay attention to because *sa ngaza* is meaningless if it is separated from the oral tradition of *sa ngaza* in a complete circle of interpretation as a symbol of the identity of each sub-clan and clan (*woe*), the Ngadha sub-ethnicity in Flores. Pay attention to one example of the following *sa ngaza* text.

Contoh <i>sa ngaza</i> klan Leko dalam upacara adat	Translation in English
1. Oooooooooo.... Ja'o Ebu go Leko	1. Oooooooooo.... I am a hereditary ancestor
2. Leko a hoga woe ne'e sa'o gazi Liko Woe Leko nga kele gha ghepe ghero Ja'o bhai gha ghelo reto	2. Leko I am the ancestor of the Leko lineage Leko is my loyal protector with Liko Woe's original house Leko is my loyal protector Don't be afraid to face obstacles
3. Ja'o ebu go ne Wunga Wunga da bu'e bila sa'o ngata Tiwa Lina Ne Wunga da kabhe gha ja'o kame rase ja'o bhai gha ego gae	3. My grandmother's name is Wunga Wunga a real woman with his home Land of Peace My grandmother Wunga always hugged my waist tightly. I will not distort the facts
4. Oooooooooo... Ja'o Ebu go Leko Ja'o Ebu go Leko	4. Oooooooooo... Ancestors of Leko descent Ancestors of Leko descent
5. Ja'o ba pute ne'e Loda Lapu Nga ne'e Lopi Jawa podhu ne'e Seka Dolu Pita ne'e Tena Zia Pedu ne'e pado pu'u zale labu sa'o	5. I will not distort the facts That Loda Lapu, Lopi Java, Tena Zia, and Labu Sa'o It's the name of my family's house
6. Hoga hama miu tau laba! (Banda, 1996: 41 – 49)	6. O brothers, sound the gong drum

The *sa ngaza* text is divided into three main parts, namely the opening, body and closing. The *sa ngaza* text above introduces ourselves (stanza 1 and stanza 4). Stanza 1 is the opening, while stanza 4 confirms it once again; the second part (content) mentions or conveys identity, excellence, achievements, character, and all goodness (stanzas 2, 3, and 5); the third part (the ending) is a call to beat the drums (stanza 6).

Briefly the text above explains the following.

- a. Opening exclamation: introducing oneself or mentioning the name of an ancestor in the text.
- b. Conveying the *woe* (clan) identity: announcing to the general public Liko's *woe* identity as follows, loyal, not afraid to face obstacles, honest (not distorting facts), and confident.
- c. A call to beat the drums as a sign of joy.

The *woe Leko* identity announced through *sa ngaza* in front of the listening audience is the identity of the *woe* (clan) community from a number of clans in the Ngadha ethnic unit. An identity that shows the inner solidarity of the individual *mori sa ngaza* (singer of the *sa ngaza*) regarding the ideals and identity of his group. The *woe Leko* identity (one of the Ngadha sub-ethnic groups) is the ideology believed in the formal structure of their beliefs. This can be explained based on ideological elements, which according to Thompson (2003: 132), consist of description, analysis, moral prescriptions, implementation, and rejection.

1. Description. In this section, the identity of the *Leko* clan is conveyed in stanzas 1 and 4. "I am the ancestor of the *Leko* descendants." The *Sa Ngaza* singer "acts" as an ancestor who comes to declare himself in front of his family, clan and other listening audiences.

2. Analysis. In this section four things that are concerned with moral prescriptions; technical prescriptions; and implementation; conveyed through the content in stanzas 2, 3, and 5. Moral prescriptions are central in ideology, especially as this is connected to group identity. According to Ricoeur, ideology directs an action to be meaningful, as a text that can be interpreted by anyone, it is the primordial basis of the phenomenon of ideology. In the *sa ngaza* text above, the *Leko* clan (*woe*) declares itself to be a loyal protector and never afraid to face obstacles. It was also firmly stated that their female ancestor *Wunga* - a true *Wunga* woman - with her home Land of Peace - My grandmother *Wunga* always hugged me tightly around my waist, reaffirming that the *Leko* clan are honest descendants and will not distort the facts. *Leko* also confirmed that they were related to the families from the *Loda Lapu*, *Lopi Jawa*, *Tena Zia* and *Labu Sa'o* sub-clans. In this way, the acceptance of one's own clan or sub-clan and other clans or sub-clans is more convincing. *Sa Ngaza* and the traditions that present it have not experienced rejection.

3. The closing part is the command to beat the drums and the thanksgiving dance begins. The traditional *ja'i* dance (a dance imitating the movements of an eagle) involves the singer of the *sa ngaza* (*mori sa ngaza*), family members descended from the *Leko* clan, and all the ceremony participants are directly involved in the dance.

The symbols and interpretation of *sa ngaza* are determined by the dialectic between speech (and all the components that support it) and writing (as discourse/which is established). Apart from that, interpretation is needed when faced with the plurality of meanings contained in symbols. This complexity will be understood more focused and simple if the symbols and their meanings are returned to the context of understanding spoken speech. In *sa ngaza*, oral understanding occurs when the *sa ngaza* tradition is chanted in certain traditional ceremonies. All the *mosa* men (traditional elders) who own the ceremony will determine who the *mori sa ngaza* (*sa ngaza* performers), the main dancers, and the gong and drum players will be. This determination influences the overall appearance of the *sa ngaza* by underlining the identity of the *Leko* descendant group, one of the clans (*woe*) in the Ngadha ethnic community with the main characteristics: loyal, honest and open.

3.2 Interpretation of the Ideology and Ethnic Identity of the Ngadha in Flores

Ideology is the result of the increasing plurality of society and is related to competing groups, whose interests and sections are served by the ideology (Halpern 1961 through Mc Lelland, 2005: 4). Discussions about ideology are closely related to identity. Identity means a person's special characteristics or circumstances. Identity is also called identity with a special meaning of core, soul, spirit and inner movement power. In this case, identity is the same as spirit. The term *identity* expresses a reciprocal (mutual) relationship between oneself and certain basic characteristics shared with other people understood as a group. According to Erikson, the term *identity* has a number of meanings: 1) expressing an awareness of personal identity; 2) the unconscious drive for continuity of personal character; 3) a criterion for the hidden action of ego synthesis; 4) efforts to maintain an inner solidarity of the individual with the ideals and identity of the group.

The explanation above highlights two important things regarding identity, namely personal spirit and group spirit. When related to the Ngadha ethnic group, every member of the Ngadha ethnic group is aware of their identity as a person for the sake of the ideals and identity of their group. Group identity fulfills the

requirements of a system of interaction between members and a system of governing norms, continuity and a sense of identity that unites all members with the existence of an organization and a leadership system. Every *sa ngaza* from every *woe* (clan, sub-ethnicity) of the Ngadha ethnic group explicitly and implicitly proclaims the *woe* identity. This identity is different between one *woe* and another *woe* but has the same ideology, namely the ideology of oneness and unity, as well as the dignity of *woe* and the Ngadha ethnicity.

This article does not pay attention to the various differences between *woe* and the traditional organizations which produce leaders based on authority and charisma; and associations based on artificial organizations with leadership according to authority and law. For the Ngadha people - through the *sa ngaza* tradition - which proclaims group identity, the importance of identity is the ideology of the Ngadha people in showing their existence. Martin Seliger (1976) defines ideology as follows.

Ideology is a collection of beliefs and disbeliefs (rejections) expressed in valuable sentences, pleading sentences and explanatory statements... It is created to provide a relatively permanent basis for a group of people to justify belief in moral norms and a little factual evidence as well as rationalization based on self-awareness related to the legitimacy of implementation and technical prescriptions intended to guarantee the actions taken for the protection, reform, destruction or reconstruction of the existing order (Seliger, 1976 through Thompson, 2003: 132 – 133)

According to Thompson, the actual implementation of ideology has an influence on the formal structure of the belief system. Every *woe* member – individually or as a group – is bound by this system. This is easier to understand if explained in the example of the *sa ngaza* text above as well as the interpretation of its meaning.

Hermes explains this in three basic forms of interpretation, namely: 1) expressing words; 2) explaining a situation; and 3) translating. Thus, the interpretation of the meaning of *sa ngaza* explained above refers to three different issues, namely oral pronunciation, reasonable explanation, and transliteration from other languages (Palmer, 2003: 15 - 16). Palmer's view strengthens the position of oral pronunciation (oral literature) which is not simply equated with writing (Recoeur), but it is a direct part of the interpretation process. In this case, the power of oral pronunciation is tied to the tradition that surrounds it or the tradition in which oral literature is present and plays a role.

Semantic thinking refers to the opinion that every interpretation is an attempt to understand the folds or levels of meaning in the symbols or words contained in the text. The aim of interpretation is to remove the mystery contained in symbols or words by uncovering the hidden forces in words (Montefiore, 1983: 192; via Sumaryono, 1999: 105).

In its very basic understanding, - according to Ricoeur - ideology is related to the image absorbed by a social group, and to self-representation as a community that has a history and identity (Idem, 2003: 295). Because it is concerned with image, ideology becomes a group representation supported by individuals in that group: the clan (*woe*) believes that *Leko* (their ancestor) is a loyal protector, who is brave in facing obstacles, honest and will not distort the facts. *Leko* also confirmed that they have family ties with many other sub-clans. Therefore, all offspring are expected or required to have the same character traits practiced in everyday life. What is described above is in accordance with the opinion of Habermas who claims that humans have two interests: the practical interest in communicating with others in the form of social organization and the interest in being self-aware (self-reflective) and self-autonomy (self-determining), namely the emancipatory interest in autonomy. (Mc. Lelland, 2005: 128). These interests are conveyed through sub-clan, clan, ethnic identity, through local traditions.

Individuals and groups as well as individuals in groups become complementary forces to express the energy of identity as ideology. *Sa ngaza woe Leko* above is more energetic when the whole *sa ngaza* tradition is running smoothly. Furthermore, it is expressed both in actions and in texts which become the beliefs of the group's identity and ideology, namely loyalty and honesty. In this context, ideology is manifested in language which creates criteria for assessing an ideology (Idem, 129). Ricoeur places language - discourse established in writing - which is manifested in action, as the most urgent part of understanding the text and the ideology behind it.

IV. Conclusion

Some important notes from this paper are as follows.

1) Regarding the text: the relevance of Ricoeur's views to oral literature research (*sa ngazaa* oral tradition). *First*, the object of study is oral text (the written text based on oral data) obtained through field data collection. *Second*, Ricoeur in his hermeneutic view positions the text as utterance, (oral) utterance stabilized in writing. Understanding and interpreting oral literature (in the form of oral speech) and oral traditions where oral

literature exists (*mosa laki*, *mori sangaza*, dancers, *gong* musicians, the audience of the ceremony owner, and the audience in general) are consolidated in written form first, making it easier for researchers to base themselves on written boundaries, before entering into a more in-depth analysis of oral literary texts.

2. Regarding Interpretation: From oral to written it is susceptible to various changes. Ricoeur examines this reality with one main concept of distanciation which emphasizes that research of oral traditions (which are written to be analyzed) must be constructed and interpreted as a whole. For example, *sa ngaza* is interpreted in the context of the oral tradition of *sa ngaza* which involves various other components in the ceremony. *Sa ngaza* can be interpreted when chanted in certain traditional ceremonies. The interpretation of *sa ngaza* is also determined by its presence with traditional elders (*mosa male*), *sa ngaza* singers (*mori sangaza*), dancers, *gong* musicians, the audience holding the ceremony, and the audience in general.

3. Regarding the Action: Ricoeur emphasizes that hermeneutics does not only require linguistic assistance. Hermeneutics requires the help of speech acts formed through a hierarchy of sub-actions spread over three levels: 1) the level of locutionary acts. At this level what is observed is when *sa ngaza* is delivered or expressed openly to reach the widest possible audience; 2) level of illocutionary action. At this level, the delivery of the *sa ngaza* is accompanied by the movements of the singer (*mori sa ngaza*), the *gong* drum is beaten, and the *ja'i* dance begins; 3) level of perlocutionary action. At this level, the entire ceremony featuring *sa ngaza* ensures that the entire series of ceremonies runs smoothly.

4. Moral prescriptions are central in ideology, as this is linked to group identity especially. According to Ricoeur, ideology directs an action to be meaningful as a text that can be interpreted by anyone is the primordial basis of the phenomenon of ideology. The *Leko* clan's *sa ngaza* becomes meaningful when it is chanted in a series of ceremonies involving the entire family (*wailaki*). Every diction in the *sa ngaza* text is a moral prescription that must be carried out by all descendants. The main moral prescriptions of the *Leko* clan (*woe*) are loyalty, honesty and certainty not to distort the facts.

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