

THE SYMBOLIC MEANING OF THE ONCARAN TRADITION IN THE WEDDING CEREMONY OF THE PENDALUNGAN COMMUNITY

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Abstract: *This research focuses on the symbolic meaning of the Oncaran tradition contained in the marriage ceremony of the Pentalungan Probolinggo community. This research is important to do, because research on the local culture of the Pentalungan Probolinggo people is still minimal. The theory used as a theoretical basis in the analysis is the theory of George Herbert Mead's Symbolic Interactionism model. The method used in this study is descriptive qualitative method. The choice of this method is due to the purpose of this study which seeks to describe the symbolic meaning contained in the Oncaran tradition at wedding ceremonies in the Pentalungan Probolinggo community. Based on the research conducted, it was found that for the people of Pentalungan Probolinggo, the Oncaran tradition has meaning as 1) a symbol of hybrid identity, and 2) a symbol of brotherly values in the Pentalungan Probolinggo community.*

Keywords: *symbolic meaning, Oncaran, tradition*

INTRODUCTION

Research in the field of local cultural studies is still relevant today. This is caused by the lack of research regarding local culture in Indonesia. According to Tjahyadi et al. (2019) research that local culture is not only important for the development of cultural knowledge, but also for the resilience of national identity. This is due to the existence of local studies or culture which not only aims to reveal the meaning or values of a tradition found in a society. However, local cultural studies also have the aim of widely introducing the public to the existence of traditions in their area. Therefore, studying local culture can be a means of connecting society, science and the various traditions contained therein. So, through studying local culture, the identity of the people of a cultural area can be understood and revealed, even maintained.

This research focuses its study on the symbolic meaning of the Oncaran tradition found in the Pentalungan Probolinggo community. The selection is based on two factors. First, the unique cultural factor of the Pentalungan Probolinggo community. The Pentalungan Probolinggo community is a community that lives in the Probolinggo City and Regency area. From a cultural science perspective, the Probolinggo City and Regency areas are understood as cultural areas within the scope of the Pentalungan subculture. This subculture is located in the eastern region of East Java which is known as the "Horseshoe" region. This is due to the existence of this area which at a visual level looks like a horseshoe (Andayani et al., 2022; East Java Language Center, n.d.; Prakrisno Satrio et

al., 2020; Sudikan, 2004; Syauqi, 2021; Tjahyadi, Andayani, et al., 2020; Tjahyadi, Wafa, et al., 2020; Zoebazary, 2017).

On a geographical level, the "Horseshoe" area in East Java is in the eastern region of the province. The "Horseshoe" area includes the areas of Pasuruan (eastern part), Probolinggo, Lumajang, Jember, Situbondo, Bondowoso and Banyuwangi. Based on the area owned by each region in the region, the "Horseshoe" region can be said to be one of the largest geographical regions. The vast territory owned by the "Tapal Kuda" region makes the existence of this region an important region in East Java (Andayani et al., 2022; East Java Language Center, n.d.; Prakrisno Satrio et al., 2020; Sudikan, 2004; Syauqi, 2021; Tjahyadi, Andayani, et al., 2020; Tjahyadi, Wafa, et al., 2020; Zoebazary, 2017).

Pendalungan culture is not a culture formed by one cultural source. At a theoretical level, Pendalungan culture is understood as a form of community culture that is formed through the mixing of two or more cultural sources. This mixing has an impact on the presence of a new culture in which various elements from the source culture find new meaning or value (Tjahyadi et al., 2019; Tjahyadi, Andayani, et al., 2020c; Tjahyadi, Wafa, et al., 2020b). This also happens to the Pendalungan culture found in the Probolinggo community.

Probolinggo society is a society whose culture is formed by two cultural sources, namely Javanese and Madurese culture. In this society, these two sources are mixed, resulting in a new form of culture. However, what is unique about this is that, even though it has formed into a new culture, elements of the source culture can still be found in the culture of the Pendalungan Probolinggo people. However, these elements have undergone modifications due to negotiations between the two source cultures. Therefore, in the Probolinggo community, the existence of traditions rooted in Javanese and Madurese culture is present as part of the community's traditions. The existence of Javanese and Madurese culture which shaped the culture of the Probolinggo people into Probolinggo culture is known as Pendalungan culture (Sudikan, 2004; Tjahyadi et al., 2019; Tjahyadi, Andayani, et al., 2020c; Tjahyadi, Wafa, et al., 2020b; Zoebazary, 2017). The unique culture caused by the mixing of Javanese and Madurese culture in the Probolinggo community is what made Probolinggo Regency chosen as the research location.

The choice of the *Oncaran* tradition as the material object of this research was due to the fact that no research had been conducted on this tradition. *Oncaran* is a tradition that is deeply rooted in the people of Probolinggo Regency, especially in the people who live in the Kuripan District area. Kuripan District has an area of 66.74 km². Kuripan District is divided into 7 villages, namely Menyono Village, Dea WringinAnom, Resongo Village, Karangrejo Village, Kedawung Village, Jatisari Village, and Wonoasri Village. Kuripan District has a population of 31,600 people. The population density of Kuripan District is 614 people/km² (Infonesia, n.d.; Wikiwand, n.d.).

As previously explained, although the *Oncaran* tradition is a tradition that is deeply rooted in the people of Probolinggo Regency, in-depth research into this tradition has never been carried out. This makes the *Oncaran* tradition unknown to people outside Probolinggo Regency. This causes the existence of traditions and culture that developed in the Probolinggo Regency area to become traditions and culture that are foreign to the people of East Java. Therefore, in-depth research on this tradition needs to be carried out.

The theory used in this research is Herbert Blumer's Symbolic Interactionism theory. As for choosing this theory, the aim of this research is to describe the symbolic meaning of the Oncaran tradition found in the people of Kuripan District, Probolinggo Regency. In general, the theory of Symbolic Interactionism can be understood as a theory that aims to understand the exchange of symbols that occurs in a society (Blumer, 1969; Derung, 2017; Siregar, 2016).

The Symbolic Interactionism theory used as a theoretical basis in the analysis is Herbert Blumer's Symbolic Interactionism theory. In Blumer's perspective, the existence of symbols in social interactions cannot be ignored. This is because the actions carried out by each individual in a society are based on the meanings contained in the social life of that society. These meanings are obtained from social interaction carried out with other people. This causes these meanings to experience not only change, but also modification and refinement, in ongoing social interactionism (Blumer, 1969; Derung, 2017; Siregar, 2016).

The changes, modifications, or refinements of meaning that occur in social interactions make meaning in the social field always have a dynamic character. The social field is a field that is not static, or stagnant. This is due to the nature of society which always adapts to various changes that occur in its social environment. Every member of society is a social actor who plays a major role in the formation of a society. Therefore, the actions taken by each member of society have the potential to change the social terrain (Blumer, 1969; Derung, 2017; Siregar, 2016).

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that meaning is never separated from society. Meaning is formed in the act of interaction between individuals at a social level. Meaning is the product of the exchange of symbols that occurs in a society. Meaning is the product of social action.

METHOD

The method used in this research is a descriptive qualitative method. Descriptive qualitative is a research method that utilizes qualitative data which is analyzed and described descriptively (Denzin et al., 2018; Tjahyadi et al., 2019; Tjahyadi, Andayani, et al., 2020). The primary data for this research is verbal data obtained from interviews with sources. The interview in the research was conducted with one of the native residents of Kuripan District, namely Mbah Suro, who is 42 years old. The data obtained from field observations and literature studies related to the research topic are understood as secondary data which can help in understanding primary data. Observations or observations are carried out to obtain an overview of the research object being studied. Observation activities were carried out twice, namely on December 1 2021 and December 4 2021 in Resongo Village, Kuripan District, Probolinggo Regency by the Research Team, coordinated by the Head of the Research Team.

Analysis of the data was carried out by following the analysis procedures contained in Herbert Blumer's Symbolic Interactionism theory. The stages in data analysis include: 1) reading in depth the transcription of the interview results as prime data, 2) analyzing the meaning of the verbal data contained in the transcription of the interview results based on the concepts of mind, self and society contained in the theory of Symbolic Interactionism, and 3) draw conclusions on the analysis that has been carried out. In this

research, the results of the analysis that has been carried out are presented using informal techniques. This is because in this research, the results of the analysis are presented using ordinary words. The aim of using this technique is so that the description of the research results can be prepared well and precisely.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Oncaran Tradition as a Symbol of Hybrid Identity of the Pandalungan Community of Probolinggo

Oncaran comes from the Madurese word *oncal* or *oncar*. In Indonesian the word is translated as "throwing" (Muhri, 2016). Oncaran is a tradition of giving gifts in the form of money to the bride. The giving is done by throwing money onto a tray covered with a tablecloth. This tradition is an ancestral heritage preserved by the Pandalungan Probolinggo community. In the Pandalungan Probolinggo community who live in Resongo Village, Kuripan District, Probolinggo Regency, this tradition continues to be preserved to this day. Therefore, in every wedding ceremony, the Oncaran tradition continues to this day. This is as seen in the quote below:

A: "Oncaran iku onok e kapan?"

B: "Mulai biyen."

A: "Opo'o dijenengi oncaran?"

B: "Iki dijenengi Oncaran, soale berasal teko kata ontal seng artine lempar."

A: "Ouh oncalan?"

B: "Iya dari oncalan jadi oncaran."

A: "Berarti di lemparkan?"

B: "Iya di lemparkan, uangnya."

...

B: "Karena sebagai keharusan. *Gawe* nampan opo maneh ditutupi kain *iku anggepane* sopan gitu lah, melambangkan keterbukaan kepada anggota keluarga baru *yoiku penganten wadhon*. Lah terus *gawe oncarane dewe opo'o* kok dilempar *gak dideleh* biasa *ae?* *Yo* soale kan adat Madura terkenal keras dan melebih-lebihkan *nek ngomong*. *Dadi ngomong deleh iku dadi uncal, uncal duwek iku wes, ngono.*"

(Mbah Suro, interview, 1 Desember 2021).

Based on the quote above, it appears that Oncaran is a tradition that has existed in the people of Probolinggo Regency for a long time. Mbah Suro's statement stating "*Mulai biyen*" indicates that the existence of the Oncaran tradition has existed as a deeply rooted tradition in that community. The word *biyen* is a word that comes from Javanese. In Indonesian, the word means long (Rochana, 2012). In Mbah Suro's statement which reads "*Mulai biyen*" it can be interpreted that the existence of the Oncaran tradition has existed for a long time, so the time marker is not clear.

In the theory of Symbolic Interactionism there are the concepts of "I" and "Me". The concept of "I" is a concept that marks a person as a subject. The concept of "Me" is a concept that marks someone as an object. At the social level, a person's existence is not only at the "I" level, but also at the "Me" level. That's because at a person's level it is impossible to have a non-interaction situation. At the level of social interaction, a person

can become "I" when he practices sending symbols, but that person also becomes "Me" for other people because when "I" sends symbols, he becomes an object or "Me" for the recipient of the symbol. Therefore, in social interaction a person is both a subject and an object.

When he received the *Oncaran* traditional symbol, Mbah Suro became "Me". This means that at this level Mbah Suro has the status of an individual who is an object of social interaction. At this level, Mbah Suro became the recipient of the values or meanings contained in the *Oncaran* tradition. This acceptance then formed the meaning of the *Oncaran* tradition for Mbah Suro. So, the meaning of the *Oncaran* tradition that Mbah Suro has in his consciousness is not something he built himself. However, this knowledge was obtained from other individuals outside Mbah Suro who were members of the Resongo Village community, where Mbah Suro lived. This means that the meaning of the *Oncaran* tradition, which is a local tradition of the Pandalungan Probolinggo community, conveyed by Mbah Suro, is also the meaning of the Pandalungan Probolinggo community in general.

Apart from that, from the quote above it also appears that although *Oncaran* is a tradition that developed in the Probolinggo area, this tradition has a relationship with the culture of the Madurese people. This can be seen from Mbah Suro's statement which stated: *"Yo soale kan adat Madura terkenal keras dan melebihi-lebihkan nek ngomong. Dadi ngomong deleh iku dadi uncal, uncal duwek iku wes, ngono."* This statement forms a symbolic meaning that the *Oncaran* tradition is a tradition that was formed due to the influence of Madurese and Javanese culture. The use of the word *Oncar*, which is a word originating from Madurese, was explained by Mbah Suro using Javanese. This means that there is influence of Javanese and Madurese culture in the *Oncaran* tradition. Therefore, symbolically, this tradition forms the meaning that the Probolinggo people are a society that has a hybrid Javanese and Madurese identity.

The *Oncaran* Tradition as a Symbol of the Value of Brotherhood in the Pandalungan Probolinggo Community

The *Oncaran* tradition is formed from the interaction of the Kuripan people who create a symbol of kinship through holding this tradition at weddings. The community becomes an important figure in this tradition because the symbol of kinship that is formed is created by giving severance pay to the bride. This indicates that if someone is considered a relative or someone close to the executor then he is obliged to take part in providing severance pay to the bride. If this is not done, the person will be subject to social sanctions. This is as seen in the following quote:

A: "Tujuane iku opo mbah? Kok kudu onok oncaran?"

B: "Tujuane iku buat sangu penganten wadhon."

A: "Iku yen semisal onok mudhorot e ndak mbah ? Nek semisal yen nggak ngelakoni oncaran?"

B: "Ndak opo opo, tapi engkok bakal dirasani tonggo."

A: "Di kasihno seng wedok nggeh mbah? Wong seng lanang opok o kok gk di gaek i sangu?"

B: "Iyo ndak opo opo di kasih sangu juga ndak opo opo, tapi oncaran di khususkan untuk mempelai wanita."

B: "Semisal ada orang sini dan si cewek orang kota nggak dapet oncaran gitu. Trus sebaliknya. Cewek nya orang sini cowok nya orang kota. Iya dapet oncaran. Karena tradisi si cowoknya. Pesangonnya untuk mempelai wanita."

A: "Trus oncaran iku onok di desa endi an ? Di golongan kuripan tok ngunu?"

B: "Kalo kuripan rata semuanya."

A: "Biase seng ngei oncaran iku teko sopo?"

B: "Ya anu teko dulur dulur e. Kalo di sini itu kalo nanti anak nya nikah nanti kita ngasih juga."

A: "Berarti poliyan."

B: "Nah poliyan. Kalo dulu nggak ada sistem balekan ngono, kalo sekarang di catet siapa aja namanya yang ngoncar."

(Interview, 1 Desember 2021).

The people of Resongo Village gave gifts of money or what is called "severance pay" to the men's relatives and neighbors. Giving "severance pay" has a "*poliyan*" system where the nominal amount given by the community in this event must be returned with the same nominal amount if they also carry out the *Oncaran* tradition later. This tradition is unique to research because it is only found in Kuripan District. Apart from that, the existence of this tradition is not yet known to people outside the region.

The *Oncaran* tradition is the tradition of throwing or placing money into a tray that has been covered with a tablecloth. This is as shown in the following image:



Figure 1. Activities in the *Oncaran* Tradition
(Source: researcher)

This tradition aims to provide severance pay to the bride. Severance pay is provided by the groom's relatives and neighbors. Uniquely, the *Oncaran* tradition is only carried out if the groom comes from Kuripan District. This is a requirement for the *Oncaran* tradition to take effect. This tradition does not apply if the groom comes from outside the Kuripan sub-district even though the woman is a native of the area. Another condition of tradition is that the amount of severance pay given must be "tailed". This means that the amount of money collected must be in a rhythm or spelled out in the last number, for example IDR 1,750,500. The result of this nominal amount is the last amount, namely IDR 500. This is as shown in the interview excerpt with Mbah Suro below:

B: "Harus uang."

A: "Trus apakah ada nominal tertentu. Atau seikhhlase?"

B: "Seikhhlase."

A: “Kalau 2000 berarti nggak apa apa?”

B: “Ndak apa ap. Uniknya lagi biasanya kalau oncaran ada buntutnya, ada buntutnya. Misal dapat uang oncaran itu 5.7500.500 rupiah. Jadi orang sengaja ngasih uang kecil gawe imbuh-imbuhan seperti itu biar bacanya panjang. Uniknya di sana.”
(Wawancara, 1 Desember 2021).

Oncaran has a procession in its implementation. The procession involves event readers to guide the course of the event. First of all, the groom's family sits the bride and groom side by side. Then the family prepares a tray covered with a tablecloth in front of the bride and groom. After that, the presenter appealed to the public that *Oncaran* would begin. When *Oncaran* activities begin, people are free to give money in any nominal amount. Here, notes are taken by the family and the community who take part in providing severance pay or donations.

The donation or severance pay will be recorded with the name of the giver along with the nominal amount of money given to the bride. These notes are called *Poliyan*. *Poliyan* is carried out when people who have given severance pay will receive the same amount of severance pay if they hold a wedding or the *Oncaran* tradition later. Recording is important to do. Errors in recording the policy will have an impact on the emergence of conflict in society. This is because an error in recording a policy is not only considered a writing error, but will be understood as hostility or dislike towards the donor or severance pay. Due to this, *poliyan* is an important element in the *Oncaran* tradition.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis carried out, it can be concluded that the *Oncaran* tradition is a tradition that has long existed in the Pendalungan Probolinggo community. For the people of the region, *Oncaran* is not only a tradition that has existed for a long time, but also has a symbolic meaning that builds the identity of the Pendalungan Probolinggo people. Through the *Oncaran* tradition, the Pendalungan people of Probolinggo not only interpret themselves symbolically as a society that has a hybrid identity, but also as a society that upholds the values of brotherhood.

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