

# ***Bale Desa* and *Pawonan* Tengger: Reflections on Managerial Order, Sociocultural Integration, and Language Defense Practices**

Salamah<sup>1</sup>, Sony Sukmawan<sup>2</sup>

salmasalamah11@student.ub.ac.id<sup>1</sup>, sony\_sukmawan@ub.ac.id<sup>2</sup>,

Brawijaya University, Malang, East Java, Indonesia

**Abstract.** Discussions Tengger cannot be separated from a strong tradition rooted in *titiluri*, one of which is *bethek-sinoman* at the village hall with a unique *pawonan* system. This study aims to describe the function, management system, representation of harmony, and role of women and *pawon* in language preservation. This study uses a folkloristic approach with a field research design that relies on interviews and observations. The result is *pawonan* system is divided into various types according to its function; *ngombe*, *adang*, *kelajangan*, *lauk*, and *isuh-isuh*. It can also be a representation of living together in harmony. Activities in *pawon* illustrate how easy Tenggerese people are to help others based on the sense of belonging. Uniquely it can also be a way of maintaining regional languages through communicating with each other and exchanging information in an intimate and friendly communication space so that it contributes to the preservation of the local language.

**Keywords:** Village Hall; *Pawon*; Folklore; Tradition Practices; Language Defense.

## **Introduction**

Talking about the community (*guyub*) cannot be separated from the value of harmony. This value is created through a harmonious relationship between one individual and another within a community. This harmony can be obtained through an interaction that is built in a communication space that can be formed in various ways. Communication space can be created from community activities, holding events or celebrations, and traditional rituals, to traditional practices that take place involving the presence of the local community. In people's lives that are still thick with traditional rituals or traditions, there will be an intensive space for communication. Intensification of communication like this is common in the Tenggerese community, especially during traditional performances. One of the traditional practices in Tengger that is very often carried out is the *bethek-sinoman* activity. These traditional activities create a lot of space for communication and integration opportunities.

*Bethek-sinoman* is a term that refers to the traditional practice of helping each other. This cooperation activity is carried out when there is an intention, both personal and ceremonial purposes contained in village traditional rituals [1]. [2] also mention that *bethek-sinoman* is an activity that can foster unity among others through communication spaces that form an intimacy with each other based on the similarity of language, culture, and various other factors. In short, the term of *bethek-sinoman* refers to an activity of gathering together to prepare for a ritual, where people will communicate with each other, socialize, and exchange information, creating a portrait of a harmonious relationship between one individual and another.

What distinguishes the cooperative activities of the Indonesian people in general and the Tenggerese people in preparing for a celebration or ritual is the place of implementation and preparation. The Tenggerese take advantage of the village *bale* (village hall) as a place for government administration as well as a place to prepare and carry out their personal event. There are special buildings whose structures are adapted to prepare for rituals or the needs of the community, including *pawon*, *petamon*, *pedaringan*, *pekayon*, *penyimpun*, *penampung*, and also *pekiwan*. Of these parts, *pawon* which means the kitchen is the most dominating part. However, the Tengger *pawonan* in the village *bale* is different from the *pawon* or kitchen in general. In the Tengger *pawon* system, there can be at least four to five different spaces in it.

Several previous studies are relevant to this article, for example, the research of [1] which discusses *bethek-sinoman* as an activity to support *anjangsana*. However, this research only focuses on the activities of the *bethek-sinoman* itself, there is no further discussion about the existence of the village *bale* (village hall), especially the Tengger *pawon* system and its management which have potential values to be studied more comprehensively. Previously, there was also research by [3] which discussed the village *bale* as a place for carrying out prayers, but the research focused more on the ethnographic study of Tengger women who played a large role in people's lives, there were still no studies that specifically discussed the village *bale* and *pawon*. The existence of the Tengger *pawon* in addition to its unique system and management, there is also a portrait of the harmonious relationship of the Tenggerese community itself. Inside the *pawon*, there is a communication space that is dominated by the same language, the Javanese language with the Tengger dialect, where people who communicate with the same language indirectly have an implied closeness because they come from the same cultural background.

Based on the description above, it can be seen that there are still many potential things about the Tengger *Pawonan* that can be studied more comprehensively. Therefore, this study focuses on the functions and systems of customary management in the Tengger *pawonan*, the representation of the principle of the harmonious and the Tenggerese community through traditional practices in the village *bale*, and the role of women and the Tengger *pawonan* in the practice of maintenance of Javanese Tengger (Sub)Dialect (BJDT). This research deserves to be studied because culture essentially preserves humanity. In the development of this increasingly advanced era, many shared values have been eroded by individualist traits. Therefore, this research is expected to be an example of how the value of harmonious (mentifact) can be created through a portrait of community togetherness (sociofact) that is formed through traditional practices in cultural artifacts, especially in the *pawon*'s room.

## Method

This qualitative research paradigm uses a folkloristic approach which is designed as a field research. Qualitative research emphasizes the depth of information [4], so this approach is suitable for digging deeper into the potential issues of the existence of the *pawonan* Tengger. The field research model was chosen as part of the research design aimed at obtaining more accurate and relevant data through data collection techniques in the form of direct interviews with the informants involved as well as direct participatory observations in the field. In addition, data collection techniques in the form of literature studies are also carried out, namely a series of activities related to library data collection methods to strengthen the results of the analysis [5]. In collecting field data, researchers will be assisted by instruments in the form of interview guidelines and observation guidelines supported by recording techniques and note-taking techniques (transcription).

Interviews were conducted with selected informants using the purposive sample method based on consideration of the background and objectives of the research itself [6]. Therefore, the data sources chosen in this study were subjects who were involved in *pawon* management, from the dukun staff to the general public who were directly involved in *pawon* activities. Furthermore, related to data analysis techniques, the interactive model used the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions [7]. Then finally, the validity of the data will be tested using one of the data credibility test techniques, videlicet the triangulation technique which consists of triangulation of sources, techniques, and time. [8] states that the triangulation technique is checking the credibility of data through various different sources, different techniques, to extracting data at different times, so that more valid or credible data is produced.

## Findings and Discussion

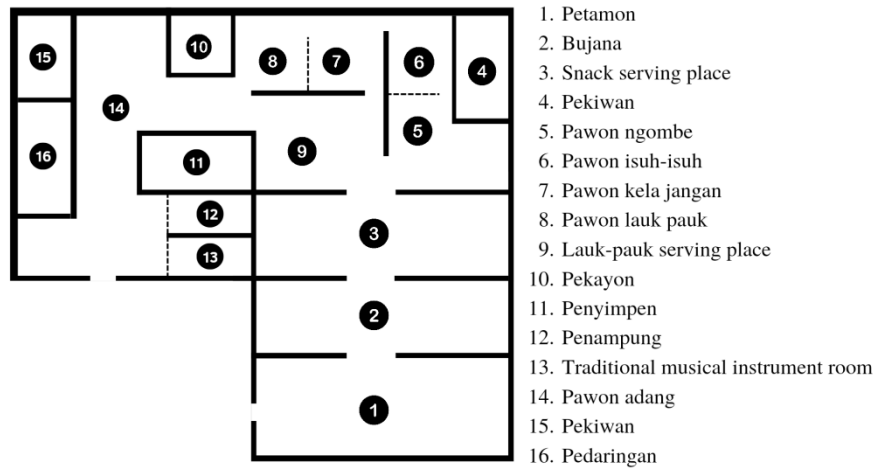
### 3.1 Bale Desa as a Place for Practice of Tenggerese Traditions

The village hall in the Indonesia society's view is generally regarded as a place that manages government administration within the scope of the village community, although on several occasions it is also sometimes used as a place to carry out the personal event of the residents. However, the village hall in the Tengger area which local people refer to as the '*bale desa*' is a place specially designed as a point of carrying out rituals and traditional event, in addition to its function as a village government office. In fact, the function of this celebration is more common than the village activity itself.

"Usually the village *bale* is used for village activities, it can also be for personal event and this function is more than the village activity itself."

(Interview, RE, 21 May 2022)

This can also be proven through the structure of the village hall building in the Tengger area which is unique and different from the village hall in general. The rooms in the village hall of Tenggerese people include *pawon*, *petamon*, *prasadana* or *bujana* rooms, *penyimpan*, *penampung*, *pedaringan*, *pekayon*, and also *pekiwan*. Among these places, *pawon* is the place with the most various types of space contained in it.



**Fig. 1.** Tengger village hall building sketch

The front room of the village *bale* is generally called *petamon*, which is a place to welcome guests. Furthermore, there is also a *prasadana* place or it can also be called a *bujana* room, which is a place to eat with a buffet system that provides many chairs lined up for the guests to eat a meal. Then, when enter again there is a place used to prepare snacks before serving. Then there is also *pekiwan*, which is a toilet or restroom. Next there is the *pawon*, where the use of the *pawon* is for cooking. There is also a *penyimpan* or storage room, which is a place to store items, such as cooking utensils. However, because the storage space is not sufficient to accommodate all these items, they are divided into other places known as *penampung* or reservoirs. Furthermore, there is also a *pedaringan* whose use is for all ceremonial needs that will be used, especially those in the form of materials, including the meats that are hung in the room. In addition, there is also a musical instrument warehouse to store traditional musical instruments that accompany the ceremony.

As previously mentioned, the village *bale* as a place for the implementation of a tradition is familiar in Tengger. According to [3], there are at least 18 traditional rituals performed by the Tengger people. However, regardless of the type of traditional ritual or intention to be carried out, it definitely requires preparation which is known as the pre-celebration stage. There are three stages in preparing for *hajat* at the village *bale*, including *woro-woro* or notification, *ngayon* or collecting firewood, and the traditional practice of mutual help between communities called *bethek-sinoman*. *Bethek-sinoman* itself is the essence of preparing for a celebration, where the term *bethek* refers to the women's community and the term *sinoman* refers to the male community who helps prepare the event.

### 3.2 Pawonan Tengger: Functions and Implementation Management

Religiously, the Tenggerese people really take into account the existence of the *Pawon*. The community's religious expression towards the *pawon* which has played a major role in helping their needs is shown in an attitude of respect for the *danyang* or *pawon* guardian spirit by giving them offerings. If there are rituals or intentions such as *entas-entas*, *walagara*, and so on, the *pawons* at the village *bale* will be saved or celebrated with offerings

called *tamping* or *tetamping*. *Pawon* will be accompanied because according to the Tenggerese there are guards named Kaki Thowok and Nini Thowok, and local Tenggerese who are also mentioned in a number of chants, especially *Japa Ngaturen Sajen Tamping* which is specifically reserved for house *danyang* (watchman or guardians), *pawon* (kitchens), and roads [9].

Giving *tamping* itself can begin before the event takes place, where the watchman or guardians will be notified that there will be an activity. The goal is that the watchman does not disturb humans by giving him a reward in the form of offerings. Not only *pawonan* in the village *bale*, *pawon* in people's homes will also be given *tamping* on every Friday legi that refers to Javanese calendar.

The term *pawon* is generally associated with the kitchen space. But in essence, the word *pawon* itself in Tengger refers to the use of traditional stoves that use firewood as the heating raw material. The shape of the *pawon* or traditional stove can also vary, depending on the function or use of the stove. Can be rectangular with two to four holes, and can also be circular with one hole designated as a place for heating a kettle or large teapot. The *pawon* that uses a rectangular shape with two holes is usually used to cook rice or *adang*, while the one with four holes can be used to cook vegetables, meat, and side dishes. Then, the circular *pawon* itself is generally used to boil water.



**Fig. 2.** Traditional kitchen sketch

*Pawonan* in village *bale* in the Tengger area can generally be made without bulkhead walls, videlicet by using wood or other items that can be used as space dividers. However, there are still parts of the *pawon* that use the wall as a barrier. The division or structure of the space in the Tengger *pawonan* has been known by the whole community so that it has become a standard that has been passed down from generation to generation. The types of *pawon* found in the Tengger *pawon* can be divided from four to five different spaces. Among them there are *pawon ngombe*, *adang*, *kelajangan*, *lauk pauk*, and *isuh-isuh*. Here are the various forms and their designations.

### **3.3 Pawon Ngombe**

*Pawon ngombe* is a place devoted to making and preparing drinks. The shape of this *pawon* is flexible and can be placed anywhere. The point is in the *pawonan* or traditional wood-fired stove used to boil drinking water. The shape of the *pawon* used is usually round or square with a round hole in the middle that can be used to place a kettle or large basin. Usually

in one *pawon* can be used for one basin or two to three kettles. The number of people involved in *pawon ngombe* can be up to at least eight people or it can be more depending on the size of the event being prepared.



**Fig. 3.** *Pawon ngombe* sketch

### **3.4 *Pawon Adang***

*Pawon adang* or it can also be referred to as *pawon ngadang* is a place that is used for blocking or cooking rice. This *pawonan* also uses a traditional stove made from wood that has been collected before during *ngayon*. The shape of the *pawon* used is usually in the form of a large box with four stove holes in it so that generally one *pawon* can be used for four basins at once. The number of people who are responsible for managing the *pawon adang* can be at least a dozen people or it can be more depending on the size of the event being prepared.



**Fig. 4.** *Pawon adang* sketch

### **3.5 *Pawon Kela Jangan***

*Pawon kela janggan*, as the name implies, serves to do *kela* or cook and *janggan* which mean vegetable soup in Javanese, so *pawon kela janggan* can be interpreted as a place to cook vegetables soup, whether based on coconut milk or not. This *pawonan* also uses a traditional wood-fired stove like the two previous *pawons*. The shape of the *pawon* used is usually also in the form of a large box with four stove holes in it so that in one *pawon* can be used for four

pots or pans at once. The number of people who are responsible for managing this *pawon* class at least a dozen, tens, or it could be more depending on the size of the event being prepared.



**Fig. 5.** *Pawon kela jangan* sketch

### **3.5 Pawon Lauk**

*Pawon lauk* is a place that is used to process meat, fish, and other side dishes. This *pawonan* also uses a traditional wood-fired stove, but sometimes it can also be assisted with a gas stove if the number of invited guests present is not possible if only using a traditional stove. The shape of the *pawon* used is usually also in the form of a large box with four stove holes in it so that in one *pawon* can be used for four pots or pans at once. The number of people responsible for managing the *pawon lauk* at least a dozen, tens, or it could be more depending on the size of the event being prepared.



**Fig. 6.** *Pawon lauk* sketch

### **3.6 Pawon Isuh-isuh**

*Pawon isuh-isuh* is a term used to refer to a place to wash cooking utensils and eating utensils. *Isuh-isuh* itself in Javanese means washing, but the context is utensils. Although it is called a *pawon*, of course this type of *pawon* does not require a stove, but several water tubs which are also equipped with a water tap and a dipper. The number of people responsible for managing this *pawon* class at least eight people or it could be more depending on the size of the event being prepared.





**Fig. 7.** *Pawon isuh-isuh* sketch

In a number of Tengger villages, the *pawonan* structures are usually made side by side, then near the *pawon* a place for firewood is prepared. The function of each type of *pawon* cannot be contested because it is part of the tradition. For example, the place for *pawon ngombe* cannot be exchanged with other *pawon*, even with *pawon kela janggan*, *isuh-isuh*, etc. In particular, the *pawon ngombe*, which has a different shape, is round and then a kettle is placed on top, while the other *pawon* has two longitudinal holes in it so that the *pawons* cannot be exchanged. *Pawon-pawon* found in the village *bale* also underwent several changes over time.

Most of the *pawons* used today have been made permanent, so there is no need to make from scratch or disassemble them like in the past, where at that time when there was a celebration, they still had to make *pawons* made of bricks and glued together with wood ash and water. However, because it is now permanent, there is no need to make a *pawon* from scratch every time there is an event. But on the other hand, the tradition of cooking using nature continues to this day, namely the use of firewood collected through the traditional instrument of *ngayon* or *negor kayu* (chopping wood) which is done as part of the pre-celebration.

The *pawon* management system itself is completely left to the owner of the intention, where long before the intent begins, the owner of the intention will visit people's homes starting from neighbors, neighbors from different hamlets, to neighbors from different villages, depending on how big the intention is, which is conducted. In other words, who is responsible for the parts of the *Pawon* later is the person who was assigned by the owner from the beginning to assist in *bethek*. The range of the number is also diverse and can be very large because the owner of the intention can invite the entire village community where the intention is carried out so that people from other villages can also be invited to help with the preparation of the event.

For sacred purposes, such as the *entas-entas* ritual, videlicet the release of dead spirits, usually the intention is carried out on a large scale. In one village in the Tengger area, it can even invite 1,600 people to join *bethek-sinoman*, and this number does not include invited guests. In less than four months the owner of the intention had come to people's homes to ask for help in preparing for the event. Tengger people who want to hold a celebration even generally have prepared the day from one to two years before the celebration is held. Can't and shouldn't be tight so as not to collide with others.



### 3.7 Pawonan Tengger as a Portrait of the Pillars of the Tengger Society

As mentioned earlier, the reason the Tenggerese people are willing to come in droves to help prepare for their celebration, especially to help cook at *pawon* is because of the high value of mutuality or harmony between one individual and another. In other words, the *pawon* can be a portrait of the harmonious relationship of the Tengger people's life. The concept of community according to the Indonesia dictionary language is a group or gathering. While according to the Javanese concept of life, the term "*guyub*" refers to harmony. When interpreted in its entirety, the concept of *guyub* refers to the condition of the gathering of a group of people together with various harmonious goals that can underlie it. The word *guyub* is further often paired with the word harmony, forming a new concept called *guyub rukun* (harmony), where the term "harmonious" in everyday life is often associated with the concept of peace without conflict.

The use of the concept of harmonious community is essentially inseparable, because harmony can be created from the existence of community, while the life of a harmonious society brings logical consequences to a harmonious life [10]. One of the factors of harmony that can be created is through the implementation of the harmonious community which is manifested in social life [11]. The form of implementation itself can vary, ranging from the provision of mutual assistance, community service, to the tradition of *biodho* and/or *bethek-sinoman*. The use of traditional instruments in creating community has been proven to be able to bond harmony between one individual to another within the scope of society, even regardless of the existing social class.

Communities who work together in carrying out a tradition or preparing a traditional ritual can create a portrait of a harmonious relationship based on religious, social, and cultural values. For example in the tradition of *walagara* and *mayu desa* by the Tengger tribal community. The feeling of having a mutual responsibility to work together to clean and beautify the village can increase the intensity of the community to meet, interact, and communicate, so that harmony can be built through gathering or working together. People who can realize the portrait of a harmonious relationship are basically those who behave tolerantly and are light-handed in the sense of being helpful. This characteristic is very suitable for the Tenggerese people who uphold the tradition in a *titiluri* or hereditary manner. This strong Tengger culture can also be a factor, because in essence culture preserves humanity.

Talking about culture, Indonesia as a multicultural country is a nickname that cannot be separated. Various ethnic groups, races, religions, and cultures make *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Together in Diversity) a relevant motto. As for the portrait of culture, it does not have to be displayed in the form of art, the value of the harmonious relationship is also an extraordinary Indonesian culture with full values of tolerance and an attitude that upholds unity. On the other hand, unity is a very vulnerable thing because there are a few seeds of intolerance that can create a threat of disintegration. But unfortunately, so far the threat of disintegration is unavoidable for the Indonesian people. Starting from ethnocentrism, separatism, to the emergence of various types of rebellion. This proves that Indonesia as a pluralistic nation is still not fully ready to face pluralism itself.

The basis for the creation of these problems is the non-optimal value of tolerance and harmony as the basis of life for the Indonesian people with all their diversity. Therefore,

through the portrait of the life of the Tengger tribe as one of the oldest tribes in Indonesia, it is hoped that there will be a representation and adaptation of values that can serve as an example to reduce disintegration actions. Another reason why the Tenggerese are worthy of being a portrait of a harmonious society is that the crime rate in Tengger is very low. Strong self-control and firmness in the culture of the Tengger people have been proven successful in scoring a minimum crime rate [12]. This, of course, cannot be separated from the strong feeling of belonging among the Tenggerese tribal communities, which are often created through communication spaces with traditional instruments as intermediary media.

The implementation of *bethek-sinoman* becomes a tradition that brings together various layers of society or makes the village *bale* a place for people to meet with one common goal. Among these spaces, the *pawon* is the place that dominates the creation of communication spaces. It should also be reiterated earlier that the Tenggerese are essentially known for their friendly, harmonious, and open nature, and love to help. When there is a *bethek-sinoman* activity, the activity is warmly welcomed and used as a place to meet and interact. In other words, when *bethek-sinoman* there is a lot of conversation going on in it.

Furthermore, the reason why the Tenggerese are willing to flock to help *bethek-sinoman* is none other than the very strong value of harmony within the Tengger community itself. From a long time ago, the community had been contacted to help *bethek-sinoman*, therefore efforts will definitely be made to come, even if in different villages, efforts will be made to come.

"The Tengger people are bound by tradition and custom, so the harmony is extraordinary."

(Interview with RE , 12 June 2022)

"The Tengger people know each other, even though they are in different villages and regions, for example the people of Brang Kulon and Wetan."

(Interview with BD , 12 June 2022)

The Tenggerese consider *bethek-sinoman* activities as an important tradition. For them, it is a shame if they do not attend even though they have been invited and asked for help in preparing for their celebration. Therefore, they must have taken the time to come. So it's not surprised things if there are tens, hundreds, up to thousands of people who help with their needs. Attitudes and traits that respect the value of mutual assistance and harmony have become commonplace in Tengger. Unity or harmony is not the only important thing found in the *bethek-sinoman* tradition, but also managerial values. Related to this value, the Tenggerese are a very organized society. Like the working principle of ants, without being given such rules, the community has worked according to the required needs.

In general, when they are practicing the *bethek-sinoman* tradition, people will usually tell stories about their daily lives, as well as share experiences from one individual to another. Furthermore, it can be seen that the temperature in the Tengger region which is a highland is quite cold compared to other regions in Indonesia, so the warm air from the *pawon* is believed to increase intimacy or closeness in interacting and communicating. As is known, the cold can indeed interfere with communication and the warm air from the *pawon* will greatly help smooth communication, but of course the *pawon* is not only useful as a cold repellent. *Pawon*

can create intimacy and warmth that is not only literal when in Tengger, but also essential warmth.

The urgency of *pawon* in addition to preparing dishes also serves to build essential closeness between communities. The warmth in Tengger is not only limited to the physical warmth obtained from the air of the *pawons*, but there is also a warm heart. When warming the body while communicating with each other, intimacy and a portrait of a harmonious relationship are created in it. In addition, another reason *pawon* can represent and create a portrait of a harmonious relationship is that in the *pawon* there is a communication space with the same language. People who communicate with the same language will indirectly create an emotional closeness because they come from the same cultural background. Basically, language and culture are a unified whole.

The closeness that has been fostered little by little will then be able to create a feeling of belonging to each other so that a sense of harmony can be created. Furthermore, the thing that needs to be a concern is the existence of *titiluri*, namely the inheritance of traditions from generation to generation through habituation since childhood. In Tengger, young people also contributed to the celebration. They are willing to come to the village hall on their own initiative without being asked. This can happen because of the *titiluri* (hereditary inheritance) of the Tenggerese community in introducing local culture to the next generation, including traditions to help with traditional needs and rituals.

The Tenggerese's people willingness to help each other is based on the principle of service, not paid professional responsibility. Instead of being paid, the people who come to help, especially in *pawon*, come with something, for example eggs, sugar, oil, and so on. This self-awareness to help each other is one of the supporters of the creation of community, therefore it is not surprising that the Tengger *pawonan* can be a portrait of the harmonious relationship of the Tengger community. The portrait of harmonious and kinship in Tengger is also based on a sense of kinship, where all are considered as a big family without having to draw family lineage. There is a Tengger philosophy which reads "I am you and you are me", which means that the Tenggerese are essentially one and have each other.

For the Tengger people, through *pawon* there are many things that can be shared, ranging from experiences, life stories, and so on. A strong sense of harmony and mutual belonging to one another is considered more than enough to become the reason or motive for the Tenggerese people to help others.

In addition, it is not only limited to *pawonans* in public spaces such as village *bales*, domestic *pawons* or household *pawons* can also be seen a portrait of the harmonious relationship of the Tengger people. In essence, the Tenggerese people have a penchant for conversing in *pawon*, both public and domestic *pawons*, and even welcomes guests, especially fellow Tenggerese people also in *pawon*. In addition to the warm impression that *pawon* gives, there is also a philosophy behind the Tenggerese's penchant for *medayoh* or visiting *pawon*. The first is looking for warmth, but the main philosophy is because the *pawon* represents the 'inside of the house' or 'the deepest part of the house'. This refers to the characteristics of the Tengger people who are open to others.

The purpose of entertaining guests at *pawon* is not to show off, but so that the sincere intentions from the deepest heart of the owner of the house can be conveyed properly to the

guest through the assumption 'this is me, this is my heart, please see my innards' which is symbolized or represented through the interior of the house, videlicet *pawon* or kitchen. In other words, welcoming guests at the *pawon* also shows that nothing is hidden from one another, a form of harmony created from mutual trust and belonging. In addition, it has become a habit or a common thing for fellow Tenggerese people who, when visiting, go directly to the *pawon* section to talk to each other in a more warm and intimate communication room.

### **3.8 The Role of Women and *Pawon* as Part of Language Defense Practices**

In the perspective of folklore, the tradition of *bethek-sinoman* in *pawonan bale desa* (village hall) can be categorized as lore, videlicet the tradition of the folk (groups of cultural owners). The Tengger herd system is a product of the Tengger folk. In addition to the functions of the *pawon* described in the previous sub-discussion, there are other functions of the *pawon* as a means of language maintenance. It should be reiterated that as a society known for its cultural diversity, the Tenggerese also have their own variety of languages, namely Javanese (Sub)Tengger Dialect which common abbreviated as BJDT. What is meant by the Tengger subdialect refers to the language system used by the Tenggerese people to distinguish themselves from the Javanese people in general, namely the use of old Javanese type of Javanese language which is used as everyday language. The thick old Javanese language is more often used and found in rituals or traditional ceremonies [13].

Currently, the existence of BJDT is still quite well maintained among the Tenggerese community. However, there are concerns that in the future BJDT will lose its existence due to the emergence of the language threat factor. For example, youths who live permanently in Tengger have Tenggerese which tend to be intact, while youths who live not permanently tend to speak mixed languages [14]. The case of language threats makes the role of parents, especially mothers, very important. Mothers (women) are at the forefront of teaching local languages to children and the surrounding environment, because mothers are the first school for children [15] In other words, Tengger women play a very important role in building communication within the family and society.

Tengger women have unwittingly helped maintain and pass on the language through traditional practices that are routinely carried out. For example, when doing *bethek-sinoman* in *pawonan bale desa*, there are activities to communicate with each other and exchange information, there is an influence on the use of language that occurs in it, because conversations triggered by using BJDT will more or less flow with BJDT as a medium of communication. The communication space created in *pawon* also forms intimacy with each other through the similarity of language and culture. Whether we realize it or not, this is classified as an effort to maintain language in the form of preventive efforts by setting a good example (good practice). A good example is created through the existence of a cohesive communication space and maintaining the integrity of the language in it. In other words, the preservation of local languages in the community can also be achieved by speaking the local languages together in various scales of use, especially the local scale, and for the Tengger *pawon* community it can be used as a forum or space to make this happen.

In the implementation of traditional rituals, Tengger women also take a big part in preparing for the event. So of course the role of Tengger women is quite strategic in language defense efforts. Cultural-based activities and traditional practices are one of the most effective

alternatives to use as a means of maintaining local languages because they create a communication space. So it can be concluded that among the many ways to pass on cultural values, one of them is through communication spaces created from activities, events, rituals, or traditional practices that take place by involving the local community. Not only the inheritance of cultural values, the Tengger *pawonan* can also provide the inheritance of character values through harmony, managerial order and sociocultural integration that is created.

## Conclusion

The uniqueness of the tengger village *bale* compared to the village hall in general is the existence of a *pawonan* structure with various special functions. The Tengger *pawonan* system is divided into various types of spaces such as *pawon ngombe* which functions to make a drink, *pawon adang* to cook rice, *pawon kela jangan* to cook vegetables, *pawon lauk* to process meat and other side dishes, and *pawon isuh-isuh* to clean cooking and eating utensils. The activity of preparing for the celebration is usually referred to as the *bethek-sinoman* tradition, in which the management of its implementation is left entirely to the owner of the event and has been preparing for the past one year. On the other hand, in addition to preparing a celebration dish, the Tengger *pawonan* can also be a representation of the principle of living together and harmoniously in the Tenggerese community in traditional practices in the village *bale*.

*Pawonan* Tengger is also a proof of how light the Tenggerese people are in helping others, this is based on a high level of harmony and a sense of belonging. In addition, *pawon* can provide a sense of warmth in the midst of the cold air temperature in Tengger, where when warming the body while communicating with each other, intimacy and a portrait of a harmonious relationship are created. The warmth in Tengger is not only limited to the physical warmth obtained from the air of the wasps, but there is also a warm heart. The feeling of pleasure obtained by helping each other while telling stories creates its own intimacy. The Tengger *pawonan* uniquely can also be a means of maintaining the local language. When doing *bethek-sinoman* in *pawonan* village hall or village *bale* or *bale desa*, there are activities to communicate with each other and exchange information so that there is an influence on the use of language that occurs in it. This action is a form of preventive effort by setting a good example (good practice) through the creation of a unified communication space and maintaining the integrity of the language in it.

## References

- [1] Bahar, Z. R. & Sukmawan, S.: Bethek-Sinoman: Memupuk Gotong Royong, Menopang Anjingsana, dan Memelihara Jati Diri Masyarakat Tengger. *SOSIOGLOBAL: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Penelitian Sosiologi*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp.11-26, (2021). <https://doi.org/10.31764/historis.v6i1.4075>.
- [2] Sukmawan, S et al.: *Sangsaka Saujana Tengger, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition*. Malag, MNC Publishing, (2020).
- [3] Sukmawan, S., & Febriani, R. Perempuan-perempuan Pemeluk Erat Adat: Studi Etnografi Perempuan Tengger. *Linguista: Jurnal Ilmiah Bahasa, Sastra, dan Pembelajarannya*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 1-10 (2018). <http://doi.org/10.25273/linguista.v2i1.2682>.

- [4] Asdar.: *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan: Suatu Pendekatan Praktik*. Yogyakarta, Pustaka AQ, (2018).
- [5] Zed, M.: *Metode Penelitian Kepustakaan (Cetakan Kelima)*. Jakarta, Yayasan Obor, (2018).
- [6] Lenaini, I. Teknik Pengambilan Sampel Purposive dan Snowball Sampling. *Jurnal HISTORIS*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 33-39 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.31764/historis.v6i1.4075>.
- [7] Miles, M. B, & Huberman, A.M.: *Analisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Sumber tentang Metode-metode Baru (Penerjemah: Universitas Indonesia, Terjemahan dari: Sage Publications)*. Jakarta, UI Press, (2014).
- [8] Mekarisce, A. A.: Teknik Pemeriksaan Keabsahan Data pada Penelitian Kualitatif di Bidang Kesehatan Masyarakat. *Jurnal Ilmiah Kesehatan Masyarakat*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 145-151 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.52022/jikm.v12i3.102>.
- [9] Sukmawan, S., Rizal, M. S., & Nurmansyah, M. A.: *Green Folklore*. Malang, UB Press, (2018).
- [10] Sudarsih, S. & Widisuseno, I.: Pentingnya Nilai Guyub Rukun bagi Remaja di Dusun Sembung Sendangtirto Berbah Sleman Yogyakarta. *Harmoni: Jurnal Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 42-47, (2021). <https://doi.org/10.14710/hm.5.1.42-47>.
- [11] Fitriyah, A., & Farihah, I.: Partisipasi Komunitas Samin dalam Guyub Rukun: Merajut Harmoni Kelompok Agama di Desa Karangrowo Undaan Kudus. *Fikrah: Jurnal Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 50-63, (2016). <https://doi.org/10.21043/fikrah.v4i1.1680>.
- [12] Negara, P. D. Budaya Malu pada Masyarakat Tengger dan Pengaruhnya terhadap Budaya Hukum Penghindaran Konflik. *Widya Yuridika: Jurnal Hukum*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 141-152, (2018). <https://doi.org/10.31328/wy.v1i2.743>.
- [13] Putri, D. S. J. E. Unsur-unsur Bahasa Jawa Kuna pada Masyarakat Suku Tengger. *Journal of Arts and Humanities*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 1-8, (2013). <https://ojs.unud.ac.id/index.php/sastra/article/view/7077>.
- [14] Zalwia, M. U. Modernisasi dan Diskontinuitas Bahasa Daerah (Studi Kasus Penggunaan Bahasa Daerah Gu di Kelurahan Lakudo Kecamatan Lakudo Kabupaten Buton Tengah). *Jurnal Neo Societal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 494-502, (2018). <http://dx.doi.org/10.52423/jns.v3i2.4053>.
- [15] Lubis, M. S. A. Peran Ibu sebagai Sekolah Pertama bagi Anak. *Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 6-13, (2021). <https://jurnal-lp2m.umnaw.ac.id/index.php/JIP/article/view/772/553>.