



Consonant Clusters in Manggaraian Name Differentiate Gender: Perspective of Cultural Linguistics

¹Yohanes Paulus Florianus Erfiani

UNWIRA, Kupang, Indonesia, irnoerfiani21@gmail.com

²Kletus Erom

UNWIRA, Kupang, Indonesia, kletuserom123@gmail.com

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Abstract*

This article discusses Consonant Clusters (CC) in Manggaraian Name (MN). CC constitutes two or more different consonants in one syllable. In Theory of Cultural Linguistics, CC belongs to verbal symbols. They are based in cultural imagery of Manggaraian Language Speakers (MLS). The data were obtained from observation on MN consisting of Male Manggaraian Names (MMN) and Female Manggaraian Name (FMN). CC is homorganly formed from nasal-sonorants-continuants /m/, /n/, and /ng/ and stop consonant /b/, /p/, /d/, /t/, /g/, /k/, and affricate consonant /c/ and /j/ forming eight CC: /mb/, /mp/, /nc/, /nd/, /nj/, /nt/, /ngg/, and /ngk/. They occur more in MMN than they do in FMN. They combine with different vowel frequency. They include /ngg/, /mb/, /nd/, /mp/, /ngk/, /nt/, /nc/, and /nj/ in MMN, but /nd/, /mb/, /ngg/, /nt/, /mp/, /ngk/, /nc/, and /nj/ in FMN respectively. CC differences in MN reflect cultural imagery difference of MLS on gender. MN has cultural consonant clusters

1. Introduction

McIntosh (2013: 1018) defines *name* as the word or words that a person, thing, or place known by. McIntosh (2013: 1810), then, defines *word* as a single unit of language that has meaning and can be spoken or written. Word of language linguistically belongs to Noun, Verb, Adjective, etc. Noun can be common noun (CN) and proper noun (PN). CN is the name of a group of similar things (McIntosh, 2013: 299). PN is the name of a particular person, place, or object that is spelled with a capital letter (McIntosh, 2013: 1229). The noun *ata* 'someone/a man' is a CN that can call anybody in Manggaraian Language (ML). The nouns *Nggaéng Sawu*, said to be the first person arriving in Manggarai, precisely on the peak of Mount Mandusawu, is a PN for a man. The noun *acu* 'dog' is a CN that can call any dog in ML. The noun *Kampa*, said to be derived from the word *kampas* derived from the CN *kapas* 'cotton' that is white, following the process of Consonant Cluster (CC), is a common PN for a given white dog in MLS.

MLS has unique and specific system of naming things. The system must be different from or even similar with that of other language speakers. The differences or similarities may occur in CC or other linguistic features. CC is a group of two or more consonant sounds that are together and have no vowel sound between them (McIntosh, 2013: 279) or two or more different consonants in one syllable (Salim, 1997: 415). Syllable is carried by vowel because vowel carry

pitch and loudness (Fromkin, 2012: 210). Thus, CC collocate with vowels to carry pitch and loudness. The examples are /st/ in *stay*, /str/ in *stray*, etc. in English.

Writing this article was motivated by the mission No. 6 of Widya Mandira Catholic University (WMCU) stating “*To explore and develop local wisdom and culture of people of East Nusa Tenggara Province*” (Anonymous, 2022: 6). A short observation on MN shows that CC also occurs in MMN and FMN. Some examples include /mb/ in *Mbambik* and /nd/ in *Ndandik*, the common PN of a female, and in *Mbémbok* and *Ndondok*, the common PN of a male of MLS.

This study intends to find out CC in MN. It is a continuation from some previous studies on naming system practiced in MLS that have been written in the last ten years starting from the very first: four types of PN for MLS: Manggaraian Name (MN), Catholic Name (CAN), Kinship Name (KIN), and Pseudonym (Erom, 2015: 27 – 39); fourteen pseudonyms with their reasons (Erom, 2014: 39 – 50); ways for relating MN of a person to that of a person of previous generation and coeval (Erom, 2019: 72 – 85); naming handmade objects: *chopping knife* and *whip* (Erom, 2016: 32 – 43); the reasons why MN is thought rude and CAN polite (Erom, 2014: 1 – 11); naming system of domestic animals based on the colours of the fur (Erom (2015: 1 – 20); naming natural environment by using pronoun followed by CN (Erom, 2015: 14 – 31); six names for God in Manggaraian Traditional Ritual Discourses and two names acculturated into Roman Catholic Church (Erom, 2019); and phonotactics of MN (Erom et al, 2023).

Continued from the studies, naming system of MLS in other aspect needs conducting. It is entitled “*Consonant Clusters of Manggaraian Name Differentiate Gender: Perspective of Cultural Linguistics*”. As the study highlighted from the TCL, the features intended to find out include verbal symbols of MN and cultural imagery of MLS that signifies gender. Verbal symbols refer to CC existing in MN. They specifically include kinds of CC, frequency of use, kinds of vowels combined with CC, and syllabic structures of MMN and FMN containing CC. Cultural imagery or imagery is the signification of the use of CC combined with vowels in MMN and FMN that imply and signify differences of gender: male and female.

This study promotes some practical and theoretical significance to some sides following their capacity, capability, and competence. Some practical significance follows. This is the application and implementation of the Vision No. 6 of WMCU (Anonymous, 2022: 6) of teachers and students of WMCU in general, and those of English Education Department in particular. This teaches MLS to have knowledge on MN, especially the CC reflecting *cultural imagery* of MLS that differentiates gender by which they may have proudness, respect, and sense of belonging to MN. Provided with such knowledge, MLS may have respect and tolerance on differences of gender within MLS themselves and with other ethnics in East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesian Country, even with other people of the world having their own naming system for human equal rights widely campaigned at the present time anywhere and anytime.

Theoretical significances include the following. Conducting this study may prove and widen the application of the TCL in exploring language, culture, and cultural linguistics anywhere, especially those existing in East Nusa Tenggara Province, as stated in the Vision No. 6 of WMCU (Anonymous, 2022: 6). This study can also be the sources and references for other studies on the same domains to confirm and elaborate.

Exploring the verbal symbols in CC in MN and cultural imagery of MLS that differentiate gender, the theory of cultural phonology (TCP) (Palmer, 1996: 272 – 289), part of the TCL, is applied. The TCP is specified in the theories of complex category and sound symbolism (SS) in MN that differentiates gender. Complex category means individual phonemes and sequence of phonemes governed by auditory schemas (and articulatory routines) (Palmer, 1996: 272). This will be applicable in analyzing CC in MN. SS means single segments, not analyzable as morphemes, may signify changes in shape or movement (Palmer, 1996: 273). This will be applied in discussing *cultural imagery* of MLS that differentiates gender.

Some theoretical statements of the TCL with their elaborated theories to guide the data analyses are quoted, both proposed by Palmer, the sparkler of the TCL, and by other linguists.

- (1) *Language is the play of verbal symbols that are based in imagery. Imagery is what we see in our mind's eye, but it is also the taste of a mango, the feel of walking in a tropical downpour, the music of Mississippi Masala. Our imaginations dwell on experiences obtained through all the sensory modes, and then we talk* (Palmer, 1996: 3).

The theoretical statement asserts four things: *verbal symbol, imagery, experiences, and sensory modes*. *Verbal symbol* includes grammatical aspects of language comprising phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. *Verbal symbols* in this article include phonology and semantics, especially CC in MN reflecting *cultural imagery* of MLS constructed and obtained from experiences of sensory modes.

- (2) *This theme of imagery in language provides a basis for examining a surprisingly wide range of linguistic topics. It applies not only to narrative and figurative language, but also to the semantics of words and grammatical constructions, to discourse, and even to phonology. --- - In **cultural linguistics**, phonemes are heard as verbal image arranged in complex categories, words acquire meanings that are relative to image – schemas, scenes and scenarios; clauses are image-base constructions; discourse emerges as a process governed by the reflexive imagery of itself; and worldview subsumes it all* (Palmer, 1996: 4).

The theoretical statement explains the width and depth of the TCL applied in exploring language grammar, figurative language, and scenarios of discourses and narrations. CC in MN belongs to grammatical aspect, especially phonology. In the view of TCL, different CC in MMN and FMN reflects different *cultural imagery* of MLS.

- (3) *Individual phonemes and sequences of phonemes are governed by auditory schemas (and articulatory routines); they are complex categories; and they are multidimensional. Phonology often reveals a symbolic dimension that is penetrated by the emotive realm of ethos and world view. Phonology and morphology often intersect. This can be seen in sound symbolisms where single segments, not analyzable as morpheme, may signify changes in shape or movement. It can also be seen in syllable reduplications that signify pluralisation or diminution. Like other aspects of language, phonology seems intimately connected to image-schemas, cognitive-models, and world-views. Phonology is cultural* (Palmer, 1996: 272 – 273).
- (4) *Verbal symbols link conceptual units of sounds to units of meaning. In theory, meaning could be attached to a wide variety of sound configurations, including acoustic features, segments, syllables, syllable combinations, suprasegmentals such as tones and stress, and even involuntary exclamations. For example, a male raconteur may use a lisp (an interdental fricative) comically, if chauvinistically, to signify femininity. A rising tone on either the word Ohhh?, or the phrase Is it true? can signify doubt, while a rising-falling tone on Ohhh? or the phrase Of course signifies recognition or acceptance* (Palmer, 1996: 279 – 282).

The TCL of Palmer (1996) theorizes about CC (3) and SS (4) of language in phonology. The CC is applied in analyzing consonant clusters existing in MMN and FMN. SS is applied in discussing cultural imageries of MM reflected in CC in MMN and FMN.

- (5) *Cultural linguistics may require “thick description”* (Geertz, 1973; Sherzer, 1983). *Determining the meaning of discourse requires attention to the identities and histories of discourse participants, as well as to the immediate previous history of the discourse under interpretation, especially as these are construed by the participants. But determining what is sufficient, pertinent, and meaningful is often a matter of perspective and social position.*

Therefore, the determination of meaning must be interpretive, taking into account speakers' and listeners' own construal (Palmer, 1996: 38).

The last theoretical statement talks about the work with TCL. It is about interpretation of *cultural imagery* of language speakers through formal features and meaning of *verbal symbols*. Here *cultural imagery* of MLS is interpreted through the existence of CC in MN and their signification to gender: male and female. Applying the TCL, especially cultural phonology, interpretation is mostly done by the writers because sometimes MLS do not give satisfied information. It is understandable because “any linguistic classification of experience had to be tacitly accepted by the community as an identity” (Edward Sapir, 1949 [1921]: 12 – 13). In addition, Fromkin et al (2012: 267) assert that “the phonemes are acquired during childhood and become part of the subconscious knowledge of our language”. Thus, CC in MN that differentiate gender must have been tacitly accepted from previous generation, ancestors of MLS, without being explained and then they practiced without being able to realize and explain too.

1. Research

Methods

This study investigates CC in MMN and FMN in Manggarai Regencies. They were obtained from observation. They were also obtained from some documents of list of MN: the book of baptism in Parish of Saint Antonius Padua Rii and Parish of Christ the King Pagal, Cibul Sub district, Manggarai Regency, list of people in villages, and list of students in schools, recalling the names of classmates in Elementary Schools, Junior High Schools, Senior High School, universities, teacher mates, etc.

Short and quick observation shows that certain MN is used by some persons in some regions in Manggarai Regencies, e.g., *Imbut*, *Émbot*, *Émpor*, *Timpung*, *Onduk*, *Indut*, *Antas*, *Nanggut*, *Téngko*, and many others. Based on this fact the writers assume that certain MNs are used by some persons from some regions in Manggarai Regencies. This is the reason of mainly observing MMN and FMN in Manggarai Regency, even only in Cibul Sub district, without neglecting common MMN and FMN used by persons from any place in other sub districts, even other Manggarai Regencies found in any name lists.

As suggested by Moleong (2017: 168 – 172), the researchers themselves become research instrument by making use their intuitions in observing common MNs. MN that sounds strange, like *Armanjaya*, *Sanjaya*, etc., were ignored. All MNs obtained from observation are listed and classified in two groups: MMN and FMN listed in each table. One MMN/FMN with certain CC is listed in each number with all their vowel variations (VV). Then we have complete MMN/FMN with their CC and VV.

Doing data analysis starts with rereading each chunk of MMN and FMN. Then the CC were observed and identified to go to conclusion. It is the conclusion of verbal symbols. In the light of TCL, verbal symbols realized in CC reflects cultural imagery of MLS. Identification of cultural imagery of MLS was done by doing interpretation on features of CC in MMN and FMN.

2. Discussion

Consonant Clusters in MMN & FMN and Cultural Imagery of MLS

In the TCL, CC belongs to *verbal symbols* that are based in *cultural imagery* of MLS. Thus, the discussion involves *verbal symbols* and *cultural imagery*, preceded by presenting lists of MN of MLS.

Tabel 3.1 Male Manggaraian Name

No MMN

No MMN

No MMN
01 Ambang, Ambong, Émbong, Uimbang
02 Ampa, Ampé, Impa
03 Ampang, Ampong, Ampung, Émpang, Umpang
04 Ampur, Émpar, Émpor, Impér, Impur
05 Andar, Andur, Ondor
06 Ando, Andi, Éndi, Éndo
07 Andok, Ondok, Onduk
08 Andong, Éndong, Undung
09 Anggal, Anggul, Enggol, Onggol, Onggul
10 Anggar, Anggor, Onggur
11 Anggas, Énggos, Onggos, Unggas
12 Anggong, Énggong, Unggang
13 Anggut
14 Angka, Éngko, Ongko
15 Angkar, Angkur, Ongkor
16 Angkas, Ongkas, Ongkos
17 Angkat, Angkut
18 Antas, Antus
19 Anti, Inta, Unta
20 Bandar, Bandur, Bundur
21 Banggur, Bonggor
22 Banggut
23 Bengkang
24 Béngko
25 Bungkar
26 Cangkang, Cangkung
27 Cenggar
28 Dampang, Dampung
29 Danggun
30 Danggun
31 Dangka, Dangku
32 Danggur, Dénggor
33 Dénggot
34 Dumpak
35 Dumpas
36 Émbak, Émbok, Ombuk, Umbak
37 Émbot, Ombat, Ombot
38 Engkong
39 Éntak
40 Gambu, Gémbo
41 Gancur
42 Gandul
43 Gandur
44 Gandut
45 Ganggas, Ganggus, Genggas
46 Ganggor, Génggor, Genggur
47 Ganggu
48 Gantang
49 Gonto
50 Hambur
51 Hanco
52 Jangga, Janggu
53 Janggat

No MMN
88 Mbejot
89 Mbeluk
90 Mbémbok
91 Mboéng
92 Mbombo
93 Mbula
94 Ménjang
95 Mentik
96 Nambé, Nambu, Nembo, Némbo
97 Nambut, Némbot
98 Nampar, Numpar
99 Nanggor, Nanggur, Nonggur
100 Nanggu, Nonggo
101 Nanggus, Nénggos
102 Nanggut
103 Nangkak
104 Nangkar
105 Nangkas
106 Nantal
107 Nantu, Nonté, Nonto
108 Ncemar
109 Ncoung
110 Ndak, Ndaék, Ndouk
111 Ndalé, Ndali, Ndéla
112 Ndap
113 Ndarang, Ndaréng, Ndarung, Ndong
114 Ndéot
115 Ndo
116 Ndondok
117 Ndoung, Ndung
118 Nempung, Nompong, Numpung
119 Nénggong
120 Néngkong
121 Ngambut
122 Ngampang
123 Ngantak
124 Ngéngga
125 Ngganggun
126 Nggarang, Nggorong
127 Nggénggok
128 Nggujang
129 Ngkuang
130 Ntamé
131 Oncom
132 Onjong
133 Pampur
134 Pandang, Pandong, Pundung
135 Panggés
136 Panggun
137 Panjak
138 Pengko
139 Rambang, Rambung, Rombung, Rumbung
140 Rampak, Rempak, Rompok, Rumpak

No	MMN	No	MMN
54	Janggur	141	Rumpus
55	Jémpo	142	Ranca
56	Jompar	143	Randu, Rondo
57	Junggang	144	Rangga, Ranggu, Ringgi, Rénggi, Ronggé
58	Kambu, Kémbo, Kombo	145	Ranggas
59	Kampul, Kumpul	146	Ranta, Ranté
60	Kandang	147	Rantang
61	Kanjo	148	Ronggung
62	Kanjung	149	Rontak
63	Kantar, Kantor, Kantur	150	Sampang, Sampung
64	Kéndo, Konda	151	Sangku
65	Kenjak	152	Sanja
66	Kenjuru	153	Santa, Santu
67	Lamba, Lambu, Lembu, Lombé	154	Sehandi
68	Lambut, Lémbot	155	Sémba, Sémba
69	Langgur	156	Senggar
70	Lanjang	157	Séngkang, Sungkang
71	Lanta	158	Sumpak
72	Lombong	159	Tamba, Témbo, Tomba, Tumba
73	Lumpung	160	Tambang, Tambung
74	Mangkung, Méngkong	161	Tambuk, Témbok
75	Mampung, Mompong	162	Tandak, Tanduk, Tondok
76	Manggang	163	Tandal, Tundel
77	Manggas, Monggus	164	Tanggal, Tanggul
78	Manggi, Ménggo, Minggu	165	Tanju
79	Manggut, Ménggot	166	Tangkur
80	Mangkas, Mangkus	167	Ténggok
81	Mangkur, Mongkor, Mungkur	168	Téngko, Tongka
82	Manjur	169	Tondo, Tunda
83	Manti, Mantu, Ménta	170	Wandur
84	Mbaling, Mbelang, Mboléng, Mbolong, Mbulang	171	Wanggang, Wanggong
85	Mbaut, Mbout	172	Wanggu
86	Mbehuk	173	Wanggur
87	Mbejok	174	Wanggut

Total: 174/312

Tabel 3.2 Female Manggaraian Name (FMN)

No	FMN	No	FMN
01	Ambik, Ambuk, Imbuk	36	Ndai, Ndué
02	Ambung, Émbéng, Umbung	37	Ndais, Ndé'és, Ndias
03	Ambus, Émbés	38	Ndandik, Ndinduk
04	Ambut, Imbut	39	Ndauk, Nda'uk, Ndék, Ndé'ék, Ndik, Ndi'ik
05	Andung, Éndéng, Indung	40	Ndaung
06	Anggéng	41	Ndawing, Ndawung
07	Dingging, Dinggung	42	Ndémo
08	Dinggus	43	Ndiam
09	Éndés, Indis, Indus	44	Ndimun
10	Entét, Intut	45	Ndimus
11	Gimbuk	46	Ndiper
12	Gimbung	47	Nduhung
13	Gintus	48	Ndundus
14	Gombé	49	Ngéndé

No	FMN	No	FMN
15	Incik	50	Nggadik, Nggaduk, Nggidak, Nggiduk, Nggudik
16	Inda	51	Nggaéng, Nggiung
17	Indut	52	Nggai
18	Injam	53	Nggénuk
19	Intek, Intik	54	Nggijung
20	Jenggut	55	Nggik
21	Kembuk	56	Nggimuk
22	Kindut	57	Ninggu
23	Kundung	58	Ningkir
24	Kungkung	59	Ngkuling
25	Lémbu	60	Ntimus
26	Landus, Léndés, Lindus	61	Nti'us
27	Léndék	62	Pingging
28	Léndéng, Lendung	63	Rénggong, Renggung
29	Limbut, Lumbut	64	Rindik
30	Lundur	65	Rinding
31	Mbadus	66	Sinda
32	Mbambik, Mbambuk, Mbimbuk	67	Sinta, Sintu
33	Mbéjang	68	Témbé
34	Mbuér	69	Timpung
35	Mpihus	70	Tingguk
Total: 70/107			

Verbal Symbols: Consonant Clusters in MMN and FMN

Lists of MMN in Table 3.1 and FMN in Table 3.2 show some verbal symbols realized in CC combining with vowels. They are explained in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 CC in MMN and FMN

No	CC Features	MMN	%	FMN	%
1	CC & Vowel Variations (VV)				
	Total CC	8		8	
	CC having one Vowel Variation (VV)	96	56.4%	48	68.57%
	CC having Two/More VV	78	43.6%	22	31.43%
	Total	174	100%	70	100%
	Total VV	312		107	
	Average	1.79 (2)		1.53 (2)	
	Eight CC /mb/, /mp/, /nd/, /nt/, /nj/, /nc/, /ngg/, and /ngk/ exist in MMN and FMN. CC in MMN numbers 174, 312 VV, and the average 1.79 and CC in FMN numbers 70, 107 VV, and the average 1.53. CC occur more in MMN than they do in FMN.				
2	Syllables	MMN	%	FMN	%
	CC in One Syllable	4	1.28%	3	2.8%
	CC in Two Syllables	306	98.08%	104	97.2%
	CC in Three Syllables	2	0.64%	0	0%
	Total	312	100%	107	100%
	CC mostly occurs in MMN and FMN of two syllables, very few in those of one, three, or more syllables.				
3	The Most Five Gliding Vowels	MMN		FMN	
		/a – u/	69	/i – u/	29
		/a – a/	54	/a – u/	12

No CC Features

<i>/é – o/</i>	33	<i>/é – é/</i>	11
<i>/o – o/</i>	26	<i>/i – i/</i>	9
<i>/a – o/</i>	14	<i>/u – u/</i>	7

CC combined with gliding vowels mostly starts with lower-front-RV */a/* and mostly ends in lower-back-RV */o/* in MMN. CC combined with lower vowels dominates MMN. On the contrary, CC combined with gliding vowels mostly starts with higher-front-UV */i/* and mostly ends in higher-back-RV */u/* in FMN. CC combined with higher vowels dominates FMN.

4	CC Combined with Syllabic Vowels	MMN		FMN	
a	CC <i>/mb/</i>	56	18.3%	26	23.42%
	RV <i>/mba/</i>	14		3	
	RV <i>/mbo/</i>	21		0	
	RV <i>/mbu/</i>	13		15	
	Total	48		18	
	UV <i>/mbé/</i>	3		5	
	UV <i>/mbe/</i>	5		0	
	UV <i>/mbi/</i>	0		3	
	Total	8		8	
	CC of <i>/mb/</i> occurs more with RV <i>/a/</i> , <i>/o/</i> , <i>/u/</i> in both MMN and FMN than it does with UV <i>/e/</i> , <i>/é/</i> , <i>/i/</i> in both MMN and FMN.				
b	CC <i>/mp/</i>	39	12.75%	2	1.8%
	RV <i>/mpa/</i>	17		0	
	RV <i>/mpo/</i>	7		0	
	RV <i>/mpu/</i>	13		1	
	Total	37		1	
	UV <i>/mpé/</i>	2		0	
	UV <i>/mpe/</i>	0		0	
	UV <i>/mpi/</i>	0		1	
	Total	2		1	
	CC of <i>/mp/</i> occurs more with RV <i>/a/</i> , <i>/o/</i> , <i>/u/</i> than it does with UV <i>/e/</i> , <i>/é/</i> , <i>/i/</i> in MMN, but almost equal amount with both RV and UV in FMN.				
c	CC <i>/nd/</i>	54	17.65%	48	43.24%
	RV <i>/nda/</i>	18		10	
	RV <i>/ndo/</i>	18		0	
	RV <i>/ndu/</i>	12		15	
	Total	48		25	
	UV <i>/ndé/</i>	2		11	
	UV <i>/nde/</i>	1		0	
	UV <i>/ndi/</i>	3		12	
	Total	6		23	
	CC of <i>/nd/</i> occurs more with RV <i>/a/</i> , <i>/o/</i> , <i>/u/</i> both in MMN and FMN than it does with UV <i>/e/</i> , <i>/é/</i> , <i>/i/</i> in both kinds of MN. CC occurs in almost equal amount with both RV (25) and UV (23) in FMN.				
d	CC <i>/nt/</i>	27	8.82%	9	8.11%
	RV <i>/nta/</i>	14		1	

No CC Features

RV /nto/	3	0
RV /ntu/	5	3
Total	22	4
UV /nté/	2	1
UV /nte/	0	1
UV /nti/	3	3
Total	5	5

CC of /nt/ occurs more with RV /a/, /o/, /u/ than it does with UV /e/, /é/, /i/ in MMN, but almost equal amount with both RV and UV in FMN.

e	CC/nc/	8	2.61%	1	0.9%
	RV /nca/	1		0	
	RV /nco/	2		0	
	RV /ncu/	1		0	
	Total	4		0	
	UV /ncé/	0		0	
	UV /nce/	0		0	
	UV /nci/	0		1	
	Total	0		1	

CC of /nc/ hardly occurs with RV and it does not with UV in MMN. It does not occur with RV, but it hardly occurs with UV in FMN.

f	CC/nj/	8	2.61%	1	0.9%
	RV /nja/	4		1	
	RV /njo/	1		0	
	RV /nju/	3		0	
	Total	8		1	
	UV /njé/	0		0	
	UV /nje/	0		0	
	UV /nji/	0		0	
	Total	0		0	

CC of /nj/ occurs very few with RV, but it does not with UV in MMN. It hardly occurs with RV, but it does not with UV in FMN.

g	CC/ngg/	81	26.47%	22	19.82%
	RV /ngga/	22		4	
	RV /nggo/	21		1	
	RV /nggu/	32		7	
	Total	75		12	
	UV /nggé/	3		2	
	UV /nggel/	0		0	
	UV /nggi/	3		8	
	Total	6		10	

CC of /ngg/ occurs more with RV /a/, /o/, /u/ both in MMN and FMN than it does with UV /e/, /é/, /i/ in both kinds of MN. CC occurs in almost equal amount with both RV (12) and UV (10) in FMN.

h	CC/ngk/	33	10.78%	2	1.80%
	RV /ngka/	16		0	

No CC Features				
RV /ngko/	10		0	
RV /ngku/	7		2	
Total	33		2	
UV /ngké/	0		0	
UV /ngke/	0		0	
UV /ngki/	0		0	
Total	0		0	
CC of /ngk/ occurs with RV, but none with UV in MMN. However, it hardly occurs with RV and none with UV in FMN.				
Grand Total CC in Syllables	306	100%	111	100%

5 Total CC Combined with RV	275	89.87	63	56.76
Total CC Combined with UV	31	10.13	48	43.24

Total syllabic vowels having CC is 306 in MMN and 111 in FMN. In MMN, CC combines more (275 = 89.87%) with RV syllables /a/, /o/, /u/ than it does (31 = 10.13%) with UV syllables /e/, /é/, /i/. In FMN, CC combines a bit more (63 = 56.76%) with RV /a/, /o/, /u/ than it does 48 (43.24%) with UV syllables /e/, /é/, /i/. Thus, in both MMN and FMN, CC combines more with RV syllables than they do with UV syllables.

The frequency of each CC combining both with RV syllables and UV syllables in both MMN and FMN is different. The CC /ngg/ numbers 81 (26.47%), /mb/ 56 (18.3%), /nd/ 54 (17.65%), /mp/ 39 (12.75%), /ngk/ 33 (10.78%), /nt/ 27 (8.82%), /nc/ 8 (2.61%), and /nj/ 8 (2.61%) in MMN respectively. The CC /nd/ numbers 48 (43.24%), /mb/ 26 (23.42%), /ngg/ 22 (19.82%), /nt/ 9 (8.11%), /mp/ 2 (1.8%), /ngk/ 2 (1.8%), /nc/ 1 (0.9%), and /nj/ 1 (0.9%) in FMN respectively.

The *sounds* of all languages fall into two classes: *consonants* and *vowels* (Fromkin, 2012: 201; 237). The *vowels* include: rounded (/a/, /o/, /u/, unrounded (/i/, /e/, /ə/), front (/i/, /e/, /a/), central (/e/), back (/u/, /o/), high (/i/, /u/), low (/a/), gliding (/ai/, /ei/, /iə/, /oi/). The *consonants* include: bilabial (/p, b, m/), nasal, (/m, n, ŋ, ŋ/), CC (/st/, /str/, /mb/, /mp/, etc.

Vowels carry pitch and loudness (Fromkin et al, 2012: 210). They can be sung or shouted. The quality of a vowel depends on the shape of the vocal tract as their passes through. Different parts of the tongue may be high or low, to the front or to the back, the lips may be spread or pursed (rounded), the velum may be raised or lowered in the mouth. Hence RV (/a/, /o/, /u/) and UV (/e/, /é/, /i/) exist.

Speech sounds vary in their *manner of articulation* (Fromkin et al, 2012: 205). *Manner of articulation* describes the direction of the airflow and the degree of structure that impedes the airflow. Based on the airflow direction, speech sounds are divided into *oral sounds*(OS) and *nasal sounds* (NS). OS are produced with the air escaping only through the oral cavity. NS are produced with the air escaping through the nose and the mouth. The sounds /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /ŋ/ belong to nasal, hence they are called NS. The consonant sounds other than the four belong to oral, hence they are called OS. They include /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /c/, /j/, /k/, /g/, etc.

The verbal symbols realized in CC in MN are based in *cultural imagery* of MLS. MMN and FMN have their own CC in terms of complex category and sound symbolism. Complex category refers to individual phonemes and sequences of phonemes (Palmer, 1996: 272). CC with their VV belongs to complex category. Sound symbolism that refers to single segments, not analyzable as morphemes, may signify changes in shape or movement (Palmer, 1996: 273) and direct association of sound to meaning by analogy (Palmer, 1996: 280).

MMN has CC of /mb/ (Mbém bok), /mp/ (Nompong), /nc/ (Oncom), /nd/ (Ando), /nj/ (Manjur), /nt/ (Éntak), /ngg/ (Nggorong), and /ngk/ (Angkat), while FMN has CC of /mb/ (Mbambik), /mp/ (Timpung), /nc/ (Incik), /nd/ (Lundur), /nj/ (Injam), /nt/ (Intik), /ngg/ (Niggu),

and /ngk/ (*Kungkung*). It is clear that all CC are preceded by NS /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ followed by eight OS, having the same or near place of articulations. Bilabial NS/m/ precedes stop bilabial OS /b/ and /p/ resulting in (→) /mb/ and /mp/. Alveolar NS /n/ precedes stop alveolar OS /d/ and /t/ → /nd/ and /nt/ and affricate post alveolar OS /c/ and /j/ → /nc/ and /nj/. Velar NS /ng/ precedes stop velars OS /g/ and /k/ → /ngg/ and /ngk/.

It seems that the presence of NS intends to give *sonorant* and *resonant* effects to stop sounds resulting in CC. They signify sonority and resonance. This is sound symbolism (SS) in Cultural Phonology, part of the TCL. SS realized in CC in MN reflects cultural imagery of MLS in seeing MN that is different from those of other ethnics, even MMN is different from FMN. The eight chunks of CC signify MN of MLS, that is of course different from those existing in names and languages of other ethnics. CC mostly occurring with RV signifies male/man/boy and with UV signifies female/woman/girl. These phenomena belongs to sound symbolism. This is *cultural imagery* of MLS reflected in CC in MN.

The conclusion of “sonorant and resonant effects” is reached by doing analogies on a number of *onomatopoeic* in ML, like /mbeng/ [mbəŋ] ‘the sounds of wings of bumblebee when flying’, /mping/ [mpɪŋ] ‘the sound of fruit falling, e.g., coconut fruit falling’, /iné ndung/ [iné nduŋ] ‘the mother of bee(insects), a name given based on the sounds of their wings when flying, /ntung/ [ntuŋ] ‘frog/toad(the frog in mud hole)’ a name given based on the sound it produces, /nceng/ [nɕəŋ] ‘the sounds of bee flying in a colony’, /njuuk/ [ndʒuk] ‘small guitar’ a name given based on the sound it produces, /nggeng/ [ŋgəŋ] ‘the sounds of an aeroplane flying’, and /ngkang/ [ŋkaŋ] ‘the sounds of dog when it is hit or being bitten by other stronger dog’.

Cultural Imagery of MLS in CC in MMN and FMN

The discussion of verbal symbol realized in CC in MN of MLS has been explained in Subchapter 3.1. It empties into the analysis and discussion about cultural imagery of MLS through interpretation (Palmer, 1996: 38). When MLS, especially the informants, could not have give enough and satisfied information, then the writers mostly did the interpretation applying the concept of TCL. It is understandable because, as Edward Sapir (1949 [1921]: 12 – 13) asserted that any linguistic classification of experience had to be tacitly accepted by the community as an identity. The same as true, different CC in MMN and FMN is “tacitly accepted and practiced by MLS without being able to understand and explain it/them” (Fromkin et al, 2012: 267).

Some different concepts of imagery and meaning need explaining. Lexically and morphologically the word *imagery* is derived from the word *image* meaning the following: (1) image is a picture in (your) the mind or an idea of how someone or something is, (2) the way that something or someone is thought by other people, and (3) a mental picture or idea which forms in a reader’s or listener’s mind from the words they read or hear’ (McIntosh, 2013: 775). *Imagery* is what we see in our mind’s eye.... (Palmer (1996: 3). Hornby (1989: 619) defined it, *images as a group*. *Imagery* can be considered similar with the term *cultural conceptualization* (Sharifian (2017: 11 – 24). *Imagery* is the container of human thought. It occupies human brain. It is the base for making meaning of something (Palmer, 1996: 46). It is obtained from experiences of sensory modes (Ibid).

On the contrary, lexically meaning/mean ‘to signify something’ (Hornby, 1989: 771). *Mean is to express or to represent something*’ (McIntosh, 2013: 957). ‘*Meaning is a part of language*’ (Palmer, 1990: 1). Language covers grammatical aspects of language. They are phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. Thus, meaning contains in language with all its grammatical aspects. Meaning, of course, also contains in other cultural realizations, like the shape of buildings, pictures, the ways of sitting, standing, walking, social communication, etc.

The existence of CC in MMN and FMN reflects cultural imagery of MLS. The differences of CC combined with vowels in MMN and FMN linguistically, phonologically signifies male or female. Naming system of male and female of MLS has cultural phonology,

especially complex categories – individual phonemes and sequence of phonemes governed by auditory schema (and articulatory routines) (Palmer, 1996: 272), and sound symbolism – single segments, not analyzable as morphemes, may signify changes in shape or movements (Palmer, 1996: 273) and the direct association of sound to meaning by analogy (Palmer, 1996: 280). Complex category is realized in the phonemes of CC collaborating with certain vowel phonemes to form certain syllable of MN. CC in MMN much more dominantly collocate with RV of /a/, /o/, and /u/ than with UV of /e/, /é/, and /i/. The dominance of CC combined with RV signifies male/boy/man. The dominance of CC combined with UV signifies female/girl/woman. Thus, CC in MN differentiates gender: male from female of MLS. This is a cultural imagery MLS.

The changing resonance patterns of vowels are produced by altering shape and size of the discharging orifice (Kantner and West in Miller, 1996: 50). The terms *rounded* and *unrounded* vowels depend on the physical positions of the lips and tongue of mouth when producing vowels combined with consonants of MN. When producing RV /a/, /o/, and /u/, the lips are open widely enough and the tongue lowers. This position results in forming shape and size of the orifice that is possible to produce big resonance. On the contrary, when producing UV /i/, /é/, and /e/, the lips are open rather narrow and the tongue tip raises. This position results in forming shape and size of orifice that is possible to produce small resonance. Thus, MN with RV combined with any CC has big resonances and the ones with UV with any CC have small resonances.

Big/strong or small/weak resonances seem to go in line with ways of social life of MLS. It shows the domination of male/man on female/woman, at least in language dimensions. Some cultural practices confirm this. The Spokesman ‘*Tongka*’ of Manggaraian traditional marriage negotiation and spokesman ‘*Ata Tudak*’ of Manggaraian traditional ritual discourse are always spoken by males/men. *Tudak* means speaking and giving/delivering offerings of animals, like cocks, pigs, goats, buffaloes, and horses, to God, the Almighty and Ancestors.

This is a cultural linguistic study. It finds out two features: *verbal symbols* and *cultural imagery*. Verbal symbols pertain to linguistic features – phonology – CC, and (cultural) imagery deals with the way MLS differentiate gender through verbal symbols.

3. Novelty

The discussions empty into finding some novelties of this study. Such novelties include the following. (1) This study finds eight chunks of CC in MN, even in ML. (2) CC occur more in MMN than they do in FMN. (3) CC combine more with RV in both MMN with 89,87% and FMN with 56,76%. (4) More frequency of CC combined with more RV in MMN than they do in FMN signify difference between MMN and FMN. This means that MLS differentiate gender through verbal symbols. This is cultural imagery of MLS in seeing gender – male and female.

4. Conclusion

As the study highlighted in the TCL, it was found two things: verbal symbols of MMN and FMN, and cultural imagery of MLS. Verbal symbols involve five linguistic features: (1) Eight CC: /mb/, /mp/, /nc/, /nd/, /nj/, /nt/, /ngg/, and /ngk/ were found in MMN and FMN; (2) MMN is more possible to have CC than FMN is. In fact, 174 MMN with 312 VV, but only 70 FMN with 107 VV were collected. (3) Each CC exists in different frequency: MMN include /ngg/, /mb/, /nd/, /mp/, /ngk/, /nt/, /nc/, and /nj/, and FMN include /nd/, /mb/, /ngg/, /nt/, /mp/, /ngk/, /nj/, and /nc/ respectively. (4) Most CC in both MMN and FMN combine with RV and very few with UV, but big difference in MMN and small difference in FMN. In fact, in MMN, of 81 CC /ngg/ 73 combines with RV and only six with UV. Of 55 CC /mb/ 46 combines with RV and only eight with UV. Of 54 CC /nd/ 48 combines with RV and only six with UV. Etc. In FMN, of 48 CC /nd/ 25 combines with RV and 23 with UV. Of 26 CC /mb/ 18 combines with RV and eight with UV of 22 CC /ngg/ 12 combines with RV and 10 with UV. etc. (5) CC occur

more in MMN and FMN of two syllables.(6) CC combines more with RV in both syllables (68.3%) of MMN and it does more with RV in either one syllable (59,62%) of FMN.

The verbal symbols of CC in MN show some different linguistic features. Different frequencies of CC and kinds of vowels combined with CC in MMN and FMN signify gender – male (boy, man) and female (girl, woman). In short, CC in MN differentiates gender.

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Biography of Author

	Dr. Yohanes P. F. Erfiani, S. Pd. M. Pd., is a dozen in Widya Mandira University (UNWIRA). He received undergraduate degree of English Education Program at Widya Mandira University (UNWIRA), Kupang in 2012. Then, he finished post graduate degree of English Education Program at Nusa Cendana University (UNDANA), Kupang in 2015. Finally, he graduated from doctoral degree of Linguistic Program in Udayana University (UNUD), Denpasar in 2023. He also a linguistic researcher. He has been interested in linguistic field, especially cultural linguistic perspective. It can be proved by many articles which are published in journal and proceeding. He also has published two books. He has participated in a number of national and international conferences and academic workshops as keynote speaker and presenter. Email: irnoerfiani21@gmail.com
	Dr. Drs. Kletus Erom, M. Hum., is a dozen in Widya Mandira University (UNWIRA). He received undergraduate degree of English Education Program at Nusa Cendana University (UNDANA), Kupang in 1989. Then, he finished post graduate degree of Linguistic Program at Udayana University (UNUD), Denpasar in 2004. Finally, he graduated from doctoral degree of Linguistic Program in Udayana University (UNUD), Denpasar in 2010. He also a linguistic researcher. He has been interested in linguistic field, especially cultural linguistic perspective. It can be proved by many articles which are published in journal and proceeding. He has participated in a number of national and international conferences and academic workshops as keynote speaker and presenter. Email: kletuserom123@gmail.com