

The Interpretation of Ecological Preservation in the *Awig-awig* (Customary Law) Text of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village: Positive Discourse Analysis

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Abstract—The earlier research on critical ecolinguistics tended to criticize the negative impacts of language in encouraging ecologically destructive behavior. However, this present study acts differently, it focusses on analysing positive impacts of language in preserving the environment. This present study aims at analysing the interpretation of ecological preservation revealed in the *awig-awig* (customary law) text belonging to Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. The data of the research were taken from lexicons, phrases, clauses or sentences used in the written text of the *awig-awig*. The collected data were analysed using Positive Discourse Analysis (PDA) developed by Stibbe (2017). The findings of the present study showed that the interpretation of ecological preservation in the *awig-awig* text took the form of preservation of natural ecology, preservation of human ecology, and preservation of spiritual ecology. The three findings above correspond to the *Tri Hita Karana* (THK) concept which was considered as the ecosophy of the study.

Keywords: *awig-awig*, *Tri Hita Karana*, *positive discourse*

1. Introduction

The parameter of ecolinguistics, particularly the existence of languages is indeed to be present among humans, interdependent, interacting, and interrelated with everything in its environment to make ecolinguistics as “life science” (Genua, 2018: 54-55). Thus, the presence of ecolinguistics study aims at dissecting stories revealed in human’s daily life. The stories can reveal in various sources, either in written, oral, or visual forms. Early ecolinguistics approaches tended to focus on how grammatical features and lexical items which are built into the language system prevent ecological thinking (Stibbe, 2017: 499). Halliday in Stibbe, (2017: 499) states that there is a problem occurring with a language system approach is that it fails to consider how particular ways to further their interest, and there is little prospect of changing the language

system itself. Stibbe (2017: 499) further states that this problem encouraged the occurrence of new approaches that have tended to focus on discourses rather than the language system. A discourse approach examines how particular group in society select particular lexical items and grammatical structures from those available from the language system, and combine them particular ways to tell the stories about the world.

Previously, critical ecoglossics mostly focused on the negative impacts of language in encouraging ecologically destructive behavior; however, positive impacts of language in preserving the environment is lately also considered by linguists, telling the stories about texts or discourses that need to be promoted for their beneficial values to the sustainability of the ecosystem where life depends on. There are numerous of positive discourses surround humans' life that need to be spreaded out instead of criticizing the destructive ones. The *Tri Hita Karana* (THK) philosophy, for example, is one of the texts that is considered encouraging people in Bali to preserve the environment in terms of spiritual, social, and natural environments. The main goal of the THK is to create the human happiness and prosperity that can be achieved through harmonious relationships between human and the Almighty God, other human, and nature (cf. Wiana, 2007:5-6; Peters and W. Wardana, 2013:52; Yudari, 2015: 60).

Implicitly, the implementation of the THK concept can be seen from the sustainability of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village in preserving the existence of the environment that was inherited by the ancestors of the villagers. One effort towards ecological preservation carried out by the community was to pour the idea into the *awig-awig* they belong to. *Awig-awig* is a form of written customary law that contains a set of rules as guidelines for behaving in society and accompanied by sanctions that are carried out firmly (Dharmika, 1992). The *awig-awig* belonging to Tenganan Pegringsingan Village reveals the meanings of ecological preservation conveyed by the text producers to the people who are the members of the customary village. In essence, the people of Tenganan Village are aware of the importance of interaction, interrelation and their interdependence with the environment as a place for the survival of their lives.

This present study aims at analyzing the interpretation of ecological preservation of the *awig-awig* belonging to Tenganan Pegringsingan village from PDA perspective developed by Arran Stibbe. According to Stibbe (2017), positive discourse analysis is a search for new ways of using language that tell very different stories from those of the current industrial civilization –

stories that can encourage us to protect the ecosystem that life depends on and build more socially just societies. New stories are needed to provide alternatives to current stories of consumerism, technological progress, economic growth, the mastery of nature and other dominant ways of conceiving the world that contribute to ecological destruction.

2. Research Methods

This study applied a qualitative method. Data collection method used was documentation method. The data taken in this study were in the forms of lexicons, grammatical constructions, and other linguistic features used in the *awig-awig* text belonging to Tenganan Pegringingan Village which are related to the preservation of ecology. Furthermore, these data were analyzed by using PDA developed by Stibbe (2017).

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 Interpretation of Natural Environment Preservation

Nature is seen as valuable to itself, because there is life in it, by itself human beings are seen as an inseparable part of nature and depend entirely on nature (Keraf, 2014: 89). Human relations to the natural environment are considered to be static or unchanging. Natural/environmental containers and contents, some of which are seen and those that are considered invisible. Containers with all-natural contents that appear to be the universe with all its elements, such as: planet earth, sun moon, and animals. The content element of planet Earth consists of natural biota, both biotic and abiotic. The biotic natural elements are in the form of biological components, such as groups of humans, animals, and plant groups. While the abiotic natural elements consist of: soil, solar energy, air, atmosphere, water, temperature, etc. (Maria and I Wayan Rupa, 2007: 96). There are no living organisms isolated from other living organisms. There is a chain of life that supports and sustains each other's life and life as a whole. This reaffirms the importance of patterns, linkages, interactions, mutual influence, and mutual support as being the core of the systemic paradigm (Keraf, 2014: 107).

The existence of the natural environment has a very important role for the people of Tenganan Pegringingan Village. This can be seen from the lives of the people who are very familiar with the natural environment with all its contents. The familiarity of the community with

the natural environment yields a local wisdom that aims at making the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village maintain and care for the environment because life is very dependent on the existence of it. The preservation of the natural environment becomes not only a source of life for the people, but also becomes a buffer for the erosion of language and culture that has been inherited from generation to generation. Ideas for the maintenance and care of the environment in the awig-awig can be examined from the following citations.

- (1) ...*tingkah pakawisan wong désa ika sinalih tunggal sagnahniya, tan kawasa wong désa ika sinalih tunggal **anyandayang**, muah **angadol** carik abian pakarangan*; ...
‘regarding the assets of the people who inherited it, the villagers may not pawn or sell rice fields, gardens, yards’
ADATP-07

In citation (1), the text producers forbid the people of the Tenganan Pegringsingan Village from selling inheritance land in the form of gardens, rice fields or home yards. The prohibition was realized by material processes in the clause in the form of the verbs *anyandayang* ‘pawning’ and *angadol* ‘selling’. Implicitly, the ban on pawning or selling this land is intended so that the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village still maintain the existence of the village environment in order to remain as inherited by their ancestors. The use and the allocation of the inherited land must be handed down to their grandchildren by obeying the contents of the *awig-awig* which is considered as a local wisdom of the community. Human closeness to the environment characterizes that the life of the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village is very dependent on the natural environment.

- (2) ...*wongé mangendok ring pabumian Tenganan Pegringsingan, tlasing pada tan kawasa **matuku** gumi, muah **manyanda** carik abian ring palasan Tenganan Pegringsingan* ...
‘the immigrants in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village are strictly prohibited from buying land or pawning rice fields in Tenganan Pegringsingan area’
ADATP-15

Citations (1) and (2) are interrelated where the text producers prohibit both those who sell and those who buy land in the area of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. Immigrants are not permitted to buy or pawn land, gardens, fields, or yards that are privately or communally owned by the residents of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. Migrants are given the opportunity to live in the area of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village by following the order of the socio-cultural life prevailing in the local village. The clause *tan kawasa matuku gumi muah manyanda carik*

abian 'it is prohibited to sell or is a form of consistency of the text producers for the care and preservation of the environment as a source of life for the people.

- (3) ...*tingkah wates sawawengkon prabumian wong desané ring Tenganan Pegringsingan, sané kawengku kabukti kagamel antuk wong désa ika, wates pangétan mawates antuk kepuh rangdu, ...*
 'regarding the boundaries of the area of the village of the people in Tenganan Pegringsingan, which is the territory of the village held by the villagers, in the East is bordered with a *kepuh rangdu* 'alstonia scholaris'.
 ADATP-12a

The noun *kepuh rangdu* in quotation (3) is a type of tree that is believed to have magical value. For the awig-awig producers, the *kepuh rangdu* tree entity is used as a marker of boundaries in the eastern part of the village. This existence can be observed from the clause *wates pangétan mawates antuk kepuh rangdu* 'the eastern part of the road bounded by the *kepuh rangdu* tree. This is a proof that the existence of flora as a living natural biota cannot be separated from the lives of the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. Trees are not only interpreted as entities that grow and act as erosion restraints, but also have cultural benefits, as well as traditional medicines and materials for art crafts that not only have aesthetic value, but also have magical value.

- (4) ...*watesé panjaité ka Pasedahan mabelat pangkung, kadrué antuk Tenganan Dawuh Tukad, wates panjaité Kangin, di bukité dawuh Tenganan Pegringsingane sasuhuhékawur kadrué antuk Ngis ...*
 'the boundary to Pasedahan is a ravine owned by Tenganan in the western part of the river, the boundary is from the East, on the hill, in western part of Tenganan Pegringsingan, owned by Ngis Village'
 ADATP-12b
- (5) ...*sadauh pangkung desané ring Timbrah, mawasta pangkung jelinjing yéh inem. Sadauh punika prabumian Tenganan Pegringsingan, mangraris mangelodang, wates panjaité ka Bugbug, jelinjing madaging batu mageng. Dajan desané ring Tenganan Pegringsingan mawates kepuh rangdu.*
 'to the West of the ditch in Timbrah Village named *Pangkung Jelinjing Yeh Inem*. In the western part is the Tenganan Pegringsingan region, then to the South, until it ends in Bugbug, in a ditch filled with large rocks. To the North of Bugbug Village continues to the West, ending on a hill to the East of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village bordering *kepuh rangdu* trees'
 ADAT-12b

The lexicons in citations (5) and (6), such as *tukad* 'river', *bukit* 'hill', *pangkung* 'ravine', *jelinjing* 'gutter', *batu* 'stone' and others illustrate the role of the text producers to use the diversity of environmental contents that already inherent in community cognition, both biotic

and abiotic as markers of the boundaries of the Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. The use of these lexicons, explicitly, illustrates the existence of interactions, interrelationships, and human interdependencies with environmental biota entities that are inherent in the cognition of the Tenganan Pegringsingan Village community. The topography of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village area with biotic diversity such as flora and fauna, abiotics such as rivers, hills, stones, and gutters, etc. forms the wisdom of the Tenganan Pegringsingan Village community to be able to adapt and socialize with nature. The nature teaches them to be able to survive and protect themselves from the threat of natural disasters. The naming of certain integrity cannot be separated from the physical characteristics of the area of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. This can be exemplified from the naming of the place of *Jelinjing Pangkung Yéh Inem* 'the drainage of drinking water in the gorge' to become a sign of the image of the existence of a topographical location inherent in the cognition of society. In addition, the phrase *yéh inem* 'drinking water' describes the existence of an environment that is still free of pollution, so that drinking water for the community can be obtained directly from the sewers in the ravines.

- (6) ...wong désa ika sinalih tunggal **angeker wit kayu** ring sawewengkon Désa Tenganan Pegringsingan, rawuhing sagumin Tenganan, lui kayuné kakaker wit kayu nangka, wit tehep, wit tingkih, wit pangi, wit cempaka, wit durén, wit jaka...

'any villager planting trees in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village, including in the lands of Tenganan Pegringsingan, while the trees that are allowed to keep (only used for things that are needed) are jackfruit trees, tehep 'artocarpus adoratissimus' trees, candlenut trees, pangi 'pangium edule reinw' trees, cempaka 'mangnolia champaca' trees, durian trees, and palm trees'

ADATP-14a

The phrase *angeker wit kayu* "growing trees" in citation (6) is an affirmation of the text producers that the conditions of the natural environment demand that the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village adapt to their survival. The growth of trees in the local village area characterized the sensitivity of the people to maintain, care for, and preserve the existence of timber trees protected by the village. The trees protected by the village are prohibited from being cut down as long as they live, except with the permission of the village by considering the condition of the tree, or the possibility of living a tree is very small. And the felled timber tree can be used to make or repair houses with permission from the village. Whereas, if the allocation is for the benefit of village facilities, logging of surviving timber trees is permitted by the village observations and decisions. Logging is usually done by prioritizing trees that have a distance that is too close to each other, which is usually measured by calculating a certain distance that

becomes a village agreement. For trees that produce fruit, both private property of residents and village property, are not allowed to pick the fruit directly from the tree. Fruit can be taken and enjoyed, if it has fallen itself from the tree. In this case, the value of human respect for plant rights is found to carry out natural life processes. The importance of the existence of trees for the Tenganan Pegringsingan community, so as to protect the forest area which is the source of the springs of life for the people, becomes a very important substance to be included in the *awig-awig*. In addition, the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village strongly believe in the existence of the myth "*Lelipi Slan Bukit*" (slan hill snake). A large snake that is believed to protect the forest in Tenganan Pegringsingan area is the incarnation of a human named "I Tundung". It was told that long time ago, there was a garden guard belonging to the Bendesa Adat 'the chief of customary village'. However, due to the frequent loss in the garden he worked on, I Tundung was embarrassed because he was afraid of being suspected of being a thief by the Bendesa Adat. Finally, I Tundung held a retreat at Pura Nagasulung to appeal to *Ida Sanghyang Widi Wasa* 'the Almighty God' to be given a frightening appearance, so that people would not dare to steal. Finally, I Tundung's request was granted, and he turned into a snake in charge of guarding the forest and guarding the Tenganan Pegringsingan Village area (Derana in Maria and I Wayan Rupa, 2007: 75). This mythology became the local wisdom of the Tenganan Pegringsingan Village community in protecting the forest area to be free from destruction and theft both crops and timber. The firmness of the awig-awig text producers of flora protection can be observed from the following citation.

- (7) ...né sedawuh pangkung sabalér désa tan kawasa ngarebah **jaka** kari mabiluluk, yan wus telas beluluk ipuné ika jakané wenang rebah; yan ana amurug angerebah kayu muah jaka, wenang kang amurug kadanda olih wong désa...
'the West side of the trench, northern part of the village is prohibited from cutting down the palm tree which is still flowering (fruiting), when it is finished fruiting the palm tree can be cut down; if there is a violation, cutting down a timber or palm tree, it should be fined by the village'
ADATP-14b

One manifestation of the preservation of flora existence which is one of the diversities of biological dimensions possessed by Tenganan Pegringsingan Village is the preservation of the existence of the *jaka* 'palm' trees. The palm trees for the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village have philosophical values that become local wisdom for the local community. The trees that still have *beluluk* 'fruit of palm' on the West side of the trench, in the North of the village

are not permitted to be cut down. The palm trees that are fruiting can be tapped to produce palm wine which serves for offerings, as well as for *matuakan* ‘palm wine party’ among the community members in a traditional ceremony. *Matuakan* culture for the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village is a medium for socializing among community members with the aim of maintaining a friendly relationship with joy. The preservation of palm trees is not only seen from the philosophical values possessed, but also from the function of greening the forest in the hilly area that surrounds the village. Anyone who harvests palm trees that are still bearing fruit will be fined by customary village, except the palm trees are no longer fruitful.

3.2 Interpretation of Social Environment Preservation

The harmony of the social environment is represented by the harmony of life among the people in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village by prioritizing common interests. Interaction between human and other human is clearly seen in the activities carried out in the village by promoting the spirit of mutual cooperation, both in ritual activities and humanitarian activities. The harmony of the social relations of the Tenganan Pegringsingan Village community is inseparable from the awareness of every citizen of the community to promote a sense of unity and solidarity among the people. The reality of maintaining a harmonious relationship in a social environment, explicitly or implicitly, can be observed from a number of citations found in the *awig-awig*, as the following citations.

- (8) ...*tingkahin wong desa ika sinalih tunggal, tingkah ing makagélanang sanak nia, yaniya wus asrah katampi sedah suhunan, yan iya waduning manglésin tan kawasa*;...
 ‘regarding whoever the villager betrothed his/her children, if the *sedah suhunan* ‘betel nut and its equipment’ has been handed over, the woman party is not allowed to cancel the engagement’
 ADATP-04

The relationship between humans and other humans in citation (8) is characterized by the material process *makagelanang* ‘betrothed’, namely the love bond between a man and a woman who will enter the household phase. The woman who has handed over the *sedah suhunan* to the man, the woman party cannot cancel the engagement. If the woman intends to cancel her engagement, she will be subject to sanctions according to the rules stated in *the awig-awig*. This prohibition is intended to prevent disharmony in community life. Implicitly, either the man or the woman must consider carefully in making decisions to get engaged before the *sedah suhunan* is

carried out. If both the man and the woman keep their promises, a harmonious relationship will be achieved, there will be no discomfort between families.

- (9) ...*tingkahin wong désa ika sinalih tunggal angrangkatang janma akagélan tan kawasa*, ...
 ‘whoever the villager is, marrying people who are engaged to someone else is prohibited’
 ADATP-05

Citation (9) above explicitly shows that the text producers want to prevent social conflict between citizens. The social environment must be comfortable by avoiding disputes between the human beings in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. The phrase *angrangkatang janma akagélan* ‘marrying people who are engaged’ is one of the actions that can trigger social conflict between individuals and create a disharmony between people. Therefore, this action is prohibited in the *awig-awig* by imposing sanctions for those who violate it.

- (10) ...*yan ana wong désa ika sinalih tunggal madruwé sentana katinggalin olih reramaniya, ana kaidréwaniya saluwiré jabaning prabéya, yaniya shak santanaiya, yaniya madum tatinggalan, tka wenang tkaning kacucuné paling wayah, istri kakung polih jemutan*; ...
 ‘if there are the villagers who have descendants in which their parents have passed away, and have treasure, for example, beyond the cost of their death, if the number of the offsprings is many, in case of dividing inheritance, the share must be divided until the oldest grandchildren, either grandsons or granddaughters.’
 ADATP-18a

In citation (10) above, the text producers want to create justice regarding the rights and obligations of the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village after they are abandoned by their parents. The inherited property must be distributed equitably to the children and grandchildren, either men or women. Justice is one way to create harmonious relationships within the family. The text producers also consider that to create harmonious relationships in a broader community context must begin with harmony in the family environment first. The children who have been left because of death by their parents do not only hope justice in obtaining their rights, but also, they must be responsible for debts or obligations that are left by their parents. This can be observed in the following citation.

- (11) ...*yan ika kang padem maninggalang utang, wenang santana panaké istri kakung wenang iya nama, manut trap kadi saban. Yan tangkas padumé kocap ring arep, tka wenang kasipat olih désa*.
 ‘if the dead leave the debt, it is deserved that the offspring of male and female children must bear it according to the valid rules. If there is a dispute in the division, it should be brokered by the village’
 ADATP-18b

The clause *santana panaké istri kakung wenang iya nama* ‘male and female descendants must be responsible’ in citation (11) is an affirmation of the *awig-awig* text producers to the children of deceased people in terms of rights and obligations. In addition to having rights to inheritance, the descendants of the deceased have obligations to be responsible for the debts left by the deceased parents. In the distribution of inheritance for the property left by the deceased person to his children and grandchildren must be carried out fairly. And if there is no agreement between one heir and the other, the village will mediate the problem so as not to cause conflict between families. Therefore, the text producers want a justice to create harmony in life with the family environment.

- (12) ...*wonge mengendok ring prabumian Tenganan Pegringsingan, sane kasuken antuk desane genah mangarapin* mawasta ring *Banjar Pande*,...
 ‘the immigrants in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village are given a housing estate by the village, called *Banjar Pande*’
 ADATP-35a
- (13) ...*yan ia kobetan ring karange ring arep, kawasa wonge ngendok nyalang karang ring karang Tengah; muah yan wong desa Tenganan kobetan karang, tka kawasa antuk wong desa ika unggingsirang winging ngendok*;...
 ‘if they have difficulties to live in the yards previously mentioned, the migrants may borrow the yards in the middle part (in *Banjar Tengah* or *Banjar Kauh*), and if the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan village have difficulties due to yards to live in, then the villagers have the rights to move the migrants;
 ADATP-35b

Citations (12) and (13) above are a form of solidarity between the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village, and openly give permission for immigrants to live in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village by occupying the *Banjar Pande* area. The expression *kasukén antuk désané genah mangarapin* ‘given by the village the place to live’ represents harmonious social relations not only with indigenous people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village, but also with the migrants seeking livelihood as long as they follow the *awig-awig* approved by the villagers. If the migrants do not get land for a place to live in *Banjar Pande*, they are also permitted to live in the central part which covers *Banjar Tengah* or *Banjar Kauh* as long as the indigenous people do not use the yards. The granting of the permit is shown by the clause in citation (13) *kawasa wongé ngendok nyalang karang ring karang Tengah* *kawasa* ‘permitted the migrants to borrow the yards in the central part’. However, when the indigenous people need the yards, the

immigrants must return them. The text producers want the social environment to be maintained harmoniously between the native citizens and the migrants.

- (14) ...*tata titining wong Desa Tenganan Pegringsingan yan ana sinalih tunggal durung madaha merangkat, tan kawasa makrama desa, masangkepeng ring Bale Agung, anut kadi trap kadi kuna-kuna.*

‘the regulation system of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village is that, if those who have not entered into the *daha truna* ‘youth’ association, when they get married, are not allowed to become the member of the customary village, and attend a customary meeting at the *Bale Agung*, as it has been practiced.

ADATP-40

Citation (14) implicitly illustrates the reality that the text producers want the young generation of Tenganan Pegringsingan to continue the customs and culture inherited by their ancestors. The *madaha merangkat* ‘youth organization’ aims to provide training for young men and young women in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village to prepare themselves to continue the traditions of the ancestors who have become the local wisdom of the community. Entering the *daha truna* is an arena for socializing among young men and young women by carrying out positive activities, such as improving personal skills, increasing spirituality, understanding the nature of life, and increasing logical thinking maturity in making decisions. Strict sanctions in the form of banning to become the members of customary village and prohibiting to attend customary meeting at *Bale Agung* implicitly forced young men and women in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village to go through the mid-life process as an effort to ripen the generation before entering the household life phase. The text producers consider that mental readiness before deciding to have a household can avoid divorce or other life conflicts.

- (15) ...*I wong Banjar Pande, mangendok ring Tenganan Pegringsingan, pada nganutin pakertan wong désa ika, tur kasukén mangamponin pakértian antuk kayangan mawasta ring Banjar Pande ther mahayu papayonin ring kayangané ring Banjar Pande...*

‘the people of *Banjar Pande*, living in Tenganan Pegringsingan, are equally obedient to the provisions of the Tenganan Pegringsingan villagers and are given to carry out worshiping in the holy places (temples) in *Banjar Pande*’

ADATP-41

Citation (15) above explicitly illustrates the high sense of solidarity among the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village towards immigrants. The migrants are not only given a place to live in *Banjar Pande*, but are also given permission to worship in the holy places in *Banjar Pande*. The granting of the permit is shown by the clause *kasukén mangamponin pakértian antuk kayangan mawasta ring Banjar Pande* ‘permitted to carry out worship in the holy places in

Banjar Pande. The text producers want harmonious social relations between the indigenous people and the migrants by complying with the approved *awig-awig* as shown by the phrase *nganutin pakertan wong désa* 'obeying the provisions of the villagers'. Social relations will work well and harmoniously if both the indigenous people and the migrant residents comply with the rules set forth in the *awig-awig*.

- (16) ...*tingkah I wong Désa Tenganan Pegringsingan tan kawasa **belas makurenan**, wiwah yan ana amurug sinalih tunggal, tka wenang iya kakésahang saking Désa Tenganan, manut kadi kuna.*
 'the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village are prohibited from divorcing; and if there is one who violates, he/she should be expelled from Tenganan Pegringsingan in accordance with the previous rules practiced'
 ADATP-49a

In citation (16), the text producers prohibit *belas makurenan* 'divorce' in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. Implicitly, this is related to citation (14) that before entering the household phase, the couple must prepare themselves outwardly and physically through a youth organization called *daha truna*. In this phase of self-preparation, young women and young people get a lot of life guidance so that later when they enter the household phase, they have a strong fortress to be able to maintain harmony in the household. According to the text producers, divorce is a serious problem, moreover, the people of the village of Tenganan Pegringsingan are only allowed to carry out marriages between citizens. This is inseparable from the existence of strong ties as a part of the community that has the same culture and customs. This bond makes it a strength for the people to avoid divorce, because the divorce is a manifestation of disharmony. On this basis, anyone who does a divorce will be expelled from the village as the approved agreement of all the villagers.

- (17) ...*tan kawasa wong désané ring Tenganan Pegringsingan **mamitra muah makakaruh**; yan ana wongé sinalih tunggal mamurug, tka wenang kajongkokang, tan kawasa ajak masangkepan ring Tenganan Pegringsingan.*
 'the villagers of Tenganin Pegringsingan are prohibited to commit adultery; if there is one who violates it, he/she should be deactivated as a customary village member, it is prohibited to attend the customary organizations in Tenganan Pegringsingan'
 ADATP-49b

The text producers in citation (17) above explicitly oppose the acts of adultery in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. In addition to contradicting religious and moral norms, this action has the potential to cause disharmony in the social environment. For Tenganan Pegringsingan people, the relationship of brotherhood between residents is very well maintained. For those who commit

acts of adultery will be subject to sanctions in the form of terminating their rights to participate in *pasangkepan* 'customary meeting' at the *Bale Agung*. It is implicitly interpreted as the termination of the *krama desa adat* 'traditional village members' in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village.

- (18) ...yan ana wong désané ring Tenganan Pegringsingan *tangkas madumduman pakawisan tatamayan*, saluwirniya wenang I *krama désa* manyipat muah magdumang *pakéwisan tatamayan ika*, yaniya nora soka kasipat wolih desa muah nora nampi ring duman, tka wenang I desa madawut tur mangraksa ika sané nora.

'if there is a person from Tenganan Pegringsingan Village disputing about the distribution of inheritance, for example, it is worthy for the *krama désa* to mediate and distribute the inheritance. If he/she does not want to be brokered by the village and does not accept the distribution, it is worthy for the village to confiscate and keep the property that is not received'

ADATP-60

The phrase *tangkas madumduman pakawisan tatamayan* 'disputes in the distribution of inheritance' in citation (18) which occurs in one of the families who have been left dead by their parents, will be mediated by the village so that there are no more widespread problems. The village will share the inheritance fairly with everyone who has the right to get it, both men and women. Consequently, if the presence of the village to mediate between family matters is related to the distribution of inheritance, the village has the authority to confiscate the property sued. The text producers in this case has an interest in maintaining a harmonious relationship between families with equitable distribution of inheritance.

3.3 Interpretation of Religious Environment Preservation

The relationship between humans and God becomes an inseparable part of the life of the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village who are one with the continuation of traditions and culture that are still practiced today. The intensity of religious activities that are integrated with cultural attractions is not blown away by the presence of the global era that has a major contribution in influencing the socio-cultural life of the community largely. For the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village, continuing the tradition, customs and culture is carried out with sincerity, although at the first glance it appears that the ceremonies or rituals carried out at a very close time need large amount of financials. They believe that God has created nature with all its contents is for the life of all beings. Therefore, the manifestation of human gratitude is by making sacrifices to *Ida Sanghyang Widi Wasa* (God) with sincerity.

At the time of compiling the *awig-awig*, the community had not recognized yet the concept of THK which is structured systemically as can be found in most *awig-awigs* in Bali at this time. However, with its very simple arrangement and the use of simple language, either explicitly and implicitly, it was found identification of human relations with God as shown by the following quotations.

- (19) ...*tatkalaning wong désa ika sinalih tunggal ngawéntenang **pujakérti** ring Désa Tenganan Pegringsingan ring sasih kalmia, tka wenang sapalasan pakarangan Tigasana **kasalarin** antuk wong désané ring Tenganan Pegringsingan...*
... when anyone in the village is holding a worship in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village on the fifth month, the people of Tenganan Pengringsingan Village are obliged to take donations for the Tigasana village yard in the form of crops.
ADATP-13

Citation (19) above explicitly illustrates the solidarity between the people in the village of Tenganan Pegringsingan and those in the Tigasana yard in the worship of the fifth month based on the calendar of the Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. The lexicon *kasalarin* "supported by donations" means sincere sacrifice presented to the Almighty God as an expression of human gratitude for nature and its contents created by *Ida Sanghyang Widi Wasa* (God) for the benefit of the lives of humans and other living beings. In the implementation *puja kerti* 'worships', the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village highly respect nature as a source of livelihood, with fertile land and abundant yields, such as the abundance of rice harvest produced by the rice fields in Tenganan Pegringsingan area.

- (20)*kang né mangdok sasorohan makarya saluiré, wenang kang mangdok pakaryan, wenang **iya anyarengin sapuja caruné** ring Pande, sanangken sasih kalima manut trap kadi saban.*
'the migrants as workers, for example, it is compulsory for the migrants who are looking for work take part in all the traditional/religious ceremonies in *Banjar Pande* every fifth month according to what has already been applied '
ADATP-22

The phrase *anyarengin sapuja caruné* 'following all the traditional or religious ceremonies' in citation (20) is intended by the text producers so that as the immigrants seeking work or looking for livelihoods in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village are still obliged to get closer to the God. Together with the indigenous people, residents outside the village migrating to Tenganan Pegringsingan are obliged to participate in carrying out all forms of ceremonies or rituals carried out by the village as a form of worship to the Almighty God. The natural fertility of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village is not only for indigenous people, but the people of

Tenganan Pegringsingan Village also provide an opportunity for wong angendok yang people who migrate 'to find a decent livelihood in Tenganan Pegringsingan. It is appropriate for the wong angendok to be grateful and to take part in performing ceremonies or rituals that become the tradition of the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village.

- (21) ...*kalaning I krama désa ring Tenganan Pegringsingan ngawangunang puja kérti, kawasa ngrampag sarwa pala ring abian muah ring carik sawewengkon prabumian Tenganan Pegringsingan, ...tatkalaning papayon rusak saluwirniya sané kaemponin antuk wong désané ring Tenganan Pegringsingan kawasa I wong desa **ngkampag** ring abian-abian...*

'when the villagers in Tenganan Pegringsingan held a worship, they have the rights to take various kinds of fruits from the fields or rice fields in the area of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village, ... when there are the damages of the buildings, such as those maintained by the villagers in Tenganan Pegringsingan, the villagers have the rights to take the wood for free in the fields'

ADATP-54

The lexicon *ngkampag* 'taking any crops from the community's fields freely' in citation (21) is an order of the text producers so that the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village increase their devotion to *Ida Sanghyang Widi Wasa* (God) by participating in the offering of crops produced in every ceremony or ritual held in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. The sincerity of the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village in donating their crops is an awareness that is formed individually, because God has bestowed a fertile nature with crops such as rice, fruits, and plants that can provide great benefits to human. Likewise, if there is damage to sacred buildings or village buildings, the residents also allow the community to take the wood that is in the people's gardens for free. All of that is a manifestation of a harmonious relationship between man and *Ida Sanghyang Widi Wasa* (God).

4. Novelities

The interpretation of ecological preservation revealed in the *awig-awig* text belonging to Tenganan Pegringsingan village can be classified into three aspects which are described as follows:

- (1) on the aspects of natural ecology, it is described the relationship between language and biological and physical environment, such as preventive efforts carried out by the text producers against mortgage and sale of land in Tenganan Pegringsingan area. This can be observed from the example of the clause *tan kawasa wong desa ika sinalih tunggal*

anyandayang muah angadol carik, abian, pakarangan ‘it is forbidden for anyone to pawn or sell rice fields, gardens, yards. The strong interaction, interrelation, and interdependency of Tenganan Pegringsingan community with environmental biota entities is also a sign of natural ecological preservation. The existence of *kepuh randu* ‘pule tree’, *tukad* ‘river’, *bukit* ‘hill’ *pangkung* ‘cliff’, *jelinjing* ‘ditch’, *batu* ‘stone’, and others illustrate the diversity of the environmental contents that are inherent in community cognition, both biotic and abiotic as a marker of the boundaries of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. The environmental ecological preservation is also illustrated by the phrase *angeker wit kayu* ‘maintaining trees’ as a form of local wisdom of the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village in preserving the natural environment as a source of dependence on the lives of all creatures;

- (2) on the aspects of human ecology, it is found that efforts to preserve the social environment are recorded from the prohibition of actions that contribute to creating social conflicts in the community. The text producers also mandate recipients of the texts to foster a sense of solidarity between human beings, be fair and loyal;
- (3) in the aspect of spiritual ecology, a system of inheritance preservation of the spiritual environment is discovered through the implementation of traditional ceremonies or rituals carried out by the people in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. During each ceremony/ritual carried out, the community is allowed to *ngrampag* ‘taking the crops belonging to the people for free’ in the community’s gardens. The expression *puja kerti* ‘worship’ becomes the identity of the people of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village as an expression of gratitude to *Ida Sanghyang Widhi Wasa* (the Almighty God) for the fertility of the land and abundant crops as a source of community life.

5. Conclusion

The interpretation of ecological preservation in the *awig-awig* text belonging to Tenganan Pegringsingan Village is delivered in a formal form by the text producers in the form of messages, orders, and intimidation to the recipient of the text. Text recipients (audiences) are positioned as recipients of a condition mandated by the text producers with the selection of formal lexicons. The interpretation of ecological preservation revealed in the *awig-awig* are the

preservation of natural ecology, preservation of human ecology, and preservation of spiritual ecology.

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