

***PEMALI* IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF ISLAMIC LAW: A Phenomenological Study in the Patampanua Society, Polewali Mandar**

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Abstract: *Pemali* in the community has become a local culture that could engineer the community to behave and act. This construction is actually in harmony with the existence of laws that becomes as an avenue to maintain the peace and welfare of people. This research focuses on the concept of *pemali* in the Mandar tribe community in Patampanua village, Matakali sub-district, Polewali Mandar district from the perspective of Islamic law. From the focus of this research, the approach used is qualitative with phenomenology type. This research found that the existing *pemali* construction in the Mandar tribe community emerged due to at least three main factors, namely environmental, psychological, and social factors. This construction when viewed from the perspective of Islamic law has a concurring vision to build a society that has morality. So that the subject of society through *pemali* is always avoided by destructive behavior and attitudes.

Keywords: *Pemali*, Polewali Mandar, local wisdom, Islamic law

Introduction

The relationship between humans and the environment are influenced each other, as the conclusions of the research by Obaid,¹ Muhni,² or also Permana³ and Hossain & Ali.⁴ In this context, people in society experience various events in each of their activities. However, it cannot automatically accepted and present the event in a free unit of information. Therefore, through his psychiatric mechanism, humans build mental images to explain experiences that contain events to appear the perceptions or abstract concepts. In this aspect, humans can evaluate various information and design various decisions and actions.⁵ Even from this aspect, humans sort and design certain conceptions or categories in each of their activities.

Formation of conceptions and categories in fact provide a way to regulate the differences in the world around humans. Uniquely, the categories are based on certain characteristics and objects that they feel or are psychologically likened to. What fascinating about it theoretically, if everything is well maintained in a community, then in turn it will give birth to local culture/wisdom.⁶ This can also be understood as a form of human effort to use their intellect (cognition) to act and behave towards objects or events that occur in their life space. Based on this construction it can be concluded that humans act and behave according to their ability to use their minds as a result of the assessment of the object or event that occurred. This is often said to be *wisdom* or “knowledgeable/educated”.

One of the local wisdoms that is still very well preserved in the community and manifested in a very fundamental form, namely *pemali*. In some areas this word is referred to as *pemmali* (Bugis); *kasipalli* (Makassar); or *pemali* (Mandar)-researcher will use more idiom *pemali* for the term pamali, because it focuses the discussion on the Mandar tribe community in Patampanua Village,

Matakali District, Polewali Mandar Regency. *Pemali* itself is questioned by the relevance and urgency of many in the midst of the struggle of humanity to look to the future. Even the question arises, whether the Pamali is a logical human knowledge system or just a myth?; whether it really is based on empirical reality or just speculation of people who have certain interests.

Even so, it turns out that *pemali* has a sense of urgency towards the development of wise attitudes towards marine ecosystems, such as the conclusion of Uniawati's research;⁷ or bring about religious attitudes and love, as Harpriyanti & Komalasari research.⁸ Even the research that has been conducted by Nurdiansyah concluded, Pamali could be developed to be the basis of environmental learning in schools;⁹ because it is able to form attitudes and behavior in accordance with the traditions or customs of the community, such as the conclusions of Akhlak research, *et al.*¹⁰ These studies confirm, that *pemali* is able to form the mindset and attitude of subjects of the community. Even so the Mandar tribal community very close with the *pemali*, one of which is the tradition of *metawe'* which must be practiced in order to achieve the attitude of *sipakala 'bi*. Thus, on the idealistic side, *pemali* do not form the subject of society-read: the Mandar tribe community-which contrasts with the tradition or even the law.

Essentially, *Pemali* is a perception formed from the moral-idealism of the Mandar tribe. It is common for pamali to be conceptualized wisely and maintained -read: taken care- by the Mandar tribe community itself. Therefore, it is one of the distinctive riches of the Mandar tribe culture which is continuously developed to maintain the morality of their society. In this context, pamali in tune with the construction of the existence of law-including Islamic law- which aims to maintain peace and well-being of the people.

Based on this analysis, this research tries to focus the study on the concept of *pemali* in the Mandar tribal community

in Patampanua village, Matakali sub-district, Polewali Mandar district, from the viewpoint of Islamic law. That is, the construction of *pemali* phenomena discussed and analyzed by Islamic law perspectives so can find the education values of it. From the focus of this research, the approach used is qualitative which seeks to understand (*verstehen*) *pemali* in the Mandar tribal community with the perspective of Islamic law. Therefore, this research chooses phenomenology as a type of research to parse deeper into the reality of *pemali* and find the describe of its value.

***Pemali* Perception in the Mandar Tribe Society**

Basically, the *pemali* is a construction of local wisdom that axiologically guides the community towards attitudes and behavioral policies. Local in this context specifically refers to a limited space of interaction with a limited value system as well. That is, the interaction space that has been designed in such a way that involves a pattern of relations between humans; or between humans and their physical environment. Likewise, in Mandar tribal society there are patterns of social interaction in which there are values and norms. This pattern of interaction forms the framework of the relational system in the Mandar tribal community which directly produces certain values or norms, including in this aspect is the *pemali*. Therefore, it is natural that even *pemali*, normative values and norms will become the normative basis and reference for each of their behavior. From this aspect, at a macro level, humans evolve to perfect their lives in the midst of society. Harari in *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow* indicates that humans at this time in their evolutionary development are able to overcome three major problems, namely hunger, war, and disease.¹¹

As if the people of the Mandar tribe want to limit their living arrangements with rules that are able to foster benefit. The emergence of *pemali* as local wisdom is an attempt to find truth based on facts or symptoms that apply specifically to the culture of the Mandar tribe. That is, *pemali* essentially shaped knowledge that describes attitudes or behavior that reflects the original culture and in it contains philosophical values of ideality. This in sociology is more interpreted as a characteristic or a sign that must exist in society; therefore members of the community who live in a place will have its own uniqueness.¹² Therefore, the *pemali* in the midst of the Mandar tribal community are social characteristics and unique characteristics that appear as a mechanism of social control.

It is common for the *pemali* to be considered instinctive and capable of causing a sacred reaction to everyone in the Mandar tribal community. *Pemali* is considered as a sign that contains meaning (*significant symbols*) that has a social meaning, so they do not consider *pemali* merely fictitious expressions that do not have educational meaning. Indeed in the construction of *pemali* in the Mandar tribal community tends to emphasize noble goals. Although they realize that the diction used in the sentence structure is sometimes irrational. This noble goal in *pemali* is undeniable; as in the Kuta community in pushing for peace in their village, they developed a *pemali* strategy, as illustrated in a research by Agung.¹³

The people of the Mandar community are very obedient to perform *pemali* in their daily social activities. They only perceive *pemali* as expressions or perceptions of a forbidden nature that develops within their society. The growing *pemali* is not written down and applies to all Mandar tribal societies and it is able to create meaningful values and layout systems. On the one hand, they understand that a *pemali* is an expression

of advice, prohibition, or refusal to take actions that they believe will have a detrimental effect on those who do so. Just as the Bugis who lives by the rules and *pemali*,¹⁴ the Mandar people are the same, they inherently control the attitude and behavior through *pemali*. Whereas *pemali* itself is inherited only through verbal traditions -so it can be said that *pemali* is an oral phenomenon- but it enters people's minds until it forms into perceptions.

Perception itself is a process that occurs within an individual that begins with the receipt of stimuli, until the stimulation is realized and understood by the individual, so that the individual can recognize themselves and the circumstances around them.¹⁵ Even perception is said to be a process of recognition and gives meaning to the environment by individuals.¹⁶ Thus, perception includes the context of social life in where individuals are, so that in the context of social reality individuals will continue to align themselves with values and norms. Mandar tribal people through *pemali* can limit themselves to doing destructive actions because of the fear or fear of reinforcements' that will be found themselves. As Nengsih's research illustrates the pain caused by breaking *pemali* that occurred in the Banjar community in South Kalimantan.¹⁷

Clearly the social perception of the Mandar tribe can be said to be a process that occurs within the Mandar tribe community which aims to know, interpret and evaluate themselves. Their self which is meant in this context is the self that has been perceived from the aspect of nature, quality, or other aspects, so as to form a picture of themselves as objects of perception. Thus, the perception that exists in the Mandar community is a process of giving meaning to their environment in which there are social values and norms as well as normative values of religion. *Pemali* in this domain limits the Mandar tribal community from exceeding social barriers which are not appropriate.

Pemali who have penetrated the Mandar tribal community eventually formed binoculars and a divider between “what can be done” with “what should not be done”. Even *pemali* can be said as a standard or boundary of propriety held by the Mandar tribe to conclude “propriety” information and interpret “attitudes and behavior that are in accordance with the norm”. If this becomes an agreement, then *pemali* can be said as perception, a process where we can interpret and organize stimulus patterns in the environment.¹⁸ On the other hand, due to perceptions intertwined by gaining knowledge about events at a particular moment, then *pemali* becomes a sign against the community for not doing inappropriate attitudes and behavior. Although *pemali* is very closely related to myths and taboo realities; even the relation between verbal prohibitions and the implications of violations is not in harmony, but the high trust of the Mandar tribe in the tradition of pushing the *pemali* remains a normative reference. Therefore, for the Mandar tribe community, *pemali* is not considered to be merely an absurd sentence without any meaning behind it. That is, the Mandar tribal people place the *pemali* together with the traditions of their social life, so that every movement of the flow of events in the midst of the community is continuously considered for their compatibility with the *pemali*.

In this case, the perception of the Mandar tribe encourages them to be able to know or recognize objective social phenomena with the help of their senses based on beginner’s knowledge. As a perspective, the perception arises due to the stimulus they want to respond; one example is the prohibition for husbands to cut banana trees whose wives are giving birth, even though this means a suggestion to be calm -or don’t make a fuss. Thus, the perception of *pemali* can be understood as an experience of objects, events, or relationships obtained by concluding information

and interpreting messages starting from the receipt of stimuli, until they are aware of and understand the surrounding environment for their attitude and action. It is natural for the *pemali* in the Mandar tribal community to position each individual community to recognize themselves and the circumstances surrounding them - read the community environment - to behave and act in accordance with social values and norms.

Background in *Pemali*'s Perception in the Mandar Tribe

Society

When examined closely and at a macro level, people's lifestyles are strongly colored by rules that are prohibited, restrictions, taboo, or other aspects that touch people's ethical and moral feelings. This is because the subject of society will not be able to break away from these rules, including *pemali*. The growth and development of these rules—read: *pemali*—indeed arises from factors that are very influential, such as environmental factors, psychological factors, and social factors; as revealed in Hastianah's research.¹⁹ If a little observant, language or words in *pemali* have a very high meaning background and are expressed in the context of education to the community. One of Asis's researches about the word *kelong* in marriage to the Bantaeng community has an educational meaning to increase social values and norms.²⁰ This word grows inseparably from the environmental conditions of the Bantaeng community itself.

However, it will become clearer if the beginner expression is examined in depth by looking at several factors causing it. Because these factors can be used as a knife of analysis to enter the deepest meaning in the *pemali* itself. In general, there are indeed several factors causing the emergence of *pemali* in the Mandar tribal community, including: first, environmental factors;

which is one of the significant factors influencing the use of *pemali* in the middle of the Mandar tribe community. Therefore, *pemali* expressions in the Mandar community in the religious, agricultural, economic, marine and forestry environments. This is one indication, if *pemali* appears in every dimension of the life of the Mandar tribe; it is recognized *pemali* has a positive effect on people's lives.²¹

One example of the Mandali tribal dignitary expression that arises from the social situation in the forestry environment is *da patabang ponna loka mua mani purai miana bainemu apa kamonge mongei manini anamu* - which can be translated "Don't cut banana trees for a husband whose wife just gave birth. Or his child will be sick ". The phrase "*kamonge mongei manini anamu*" (your child will be sick); actually has the meaning "do not commit acts of violence or commotion, because a newborn baby needs calmness and very easily surprised". The sacred message contained in this *pemali* expression is actually very visionary-anticipative of the impact that arises from the commotion; this means that violent behavior and attitudes will adversely affect the baby for a long time. Although explicitly this *pemali* sentence expression between diction with meaning does not have correlation.

Second, psychological factors; where this factor is a form of psychiatric symptoms that gave rise to the use of *pemali* expression. Soul events that make a person or a group of people act in accordance with the *pemali* expression determined by inhern elements such as thoughts, delusions, and feelings. That is, the psychological turmoil of the Mandar tribe will have an impact on the emergence of their attitudes and actions. One example that makes people act is the stimulation through the senses, brought to the brain through the nerves - so the stimulation is thought about, felt and expressed through a word, attitude,

and action. This *pemali* appears regarding the mental condition of the Mandar people who are so complex; this can be seen through the behavior of the Mandar people. This phenomenon can theoretically be explained that the state of people's souls when excited, crying, laughing, sad or even angry can bring out a language.

Even from the psycholinguistic framework it can be explained, as some circles have revealed that there is a correlation between language and human behavior and human's common sense.²² In accordance with this opinion, the language that has an influence on the perception of a person's *pemali* in terms of receiving and responding will bring up the order of expressions. For more details, it can be explained that the use of the expression of *pemali* in relation to psychological factors has an explicit relationship. One example is the phrase "*da pangino barras, apa rio manini maccoro barang-barang pasanamu*" - which can be translated "Don't play with rice, or you will steal your in-laws' items." The meaning of this expression especially in the words "*apa rio manini maccoro barang-barang pasanamu*" (you will steal in-laws' goods) is to try to shape the psychological aspects of children to be afraid of. Abstinence from this prohibition is emphasized with the aim of forming appropriate attitudes and behaviors in children; because it makes toys, rice as the staple food of the Mandar tribe is inappropriate. Another example of the *pemali* expression that has to do with psychological factors is "*da pandoe urang mamaya urang siolai mata allo, apa rio manini napelluanni*" -which translates "Do not play in the rain when the sun is out, you will be possessed". Psychologically the use of the word *napelluanni* (possession) implies scaring children psychologically so as not to play with rain because it can cause disease.

Although at this time it has experienced a shift in the expression of *pemali*, caused by the continued development of

science and technology. As Lindawati & Ibrahim's research in the Aceh community concluded, there was no relationship between the practice of *sumang* (prohibition) with the community behavior because the community structure in it was no longer supportive.²³ The structure of society has a strong influence on the subject of society, so it will psychologically follow the development of the structure of society.

And the *third*, social factors; what is meant by social factors are factors of age, sex, religion, attention, and occupation. This factor actually focuses more on the construction of social values and norms that exist in society. One social factor which in this case concerns the factor of concern and implies *pemali* or taboo (prohibition) in the Mandar tribal community is the expression "*da pikkoro di ende simata dipoanniotu mating*" - if translated "Do not sit on the steps, or you will be scolded.". In this *pemali* expression the word "*simata dipoanniotu mating*" implies that it is nothing but to avoid the appearance of a less humiliating if one is often scolded for the same problem. Another example of a social factor that states the meaning of the beginner expression that is of an age or age level is "*da paelong mamaya mapparessu, apa tomauwen manini musikawengan*" - which translates "Do not sing when you are cooking, or you will get a old person as your future husband". The meaning of this expression especially on the word "*tomauwen manini musikawengan*" (married to an old person) means that this expression is intended at the age or age level especially for girls who will have a match or marry a man of old age. This phrase actually contains a lesson that do not let the habit of singing makes you careless and complacent, until the cooking is scorched, or even the cooking is mostly salty because the person no longer concentrates due to singing.

These *pemali* expressions are in fact aware of the subject of the Mandar tribe community on the impact that will be obtained. Therefore, many of the *pemali* expressions that develop in society have very high wisdom meaning, as revealed in the research of Basri, *et.al.*²⁴ It is only natural if *pemali* is able to develop a dynamic, safe, secure and prosperous Mandar tribal community life system, caused by the *pemali* that always gives preventive warnings to the behavior of the community. But the use of this *pemali* expression is very concerned about the recipient side. If observed and carefully examined from the source of the *pemali* perception, it can be ensured that those who accept the expression include children, men or women (especially those who are single) who have grown up as well as husband and wife.

Pemali perception or this prohibition develops in the Mandar tribal community massively and systemically, that is, expressions or sayings spoken by parents to their children, or advised and recommended to their children and grandchildren. This *pemali* comes not from the authorities, but develops through a verbal culture - a kind of message - from *tomauenta* (old people). The main message in *pemali* is actually a message to avoid destructive behavior, because it will have fatal consequences for the perpetrators and even the surrounding community. As in some areas, *pemali* is an effective barrier to environmental preservation - see Firdianto's research- even though the *pemali* is a product of local culture.²⁵

Basically the expressions of *pemali* being conveyed to children, men or women and husbands are almost identical (meaning). The words that will be issued and acted upon should be considered first, without any objection or prohibition. In general in the Mandar community, parents from ancient times up to this point have spoken verbally to their grandchildren at certain times. Like when kids want to play or do anything. This rhetorical expression may contain guidance or advice that do not directly

reveal a child's meaning or interpretation. The purpose of the disclosure is to prevent the children from not doing what they want to do. Such as the saying "*da pimmande mamaya uran anna guttur, apa narua manini guttur*" - if translated "Do not eat if it is raining with thunder, or lightning will struck"- or "*da patindo pe uppan, apa manini kamamu madugai mate*"- "Don't sleep on your stomach, or your father will die soon." These *pemali* show the children to be alert in bad weather and prevent the occurrence of neglect. On the other hand it is intended that every child should be able to maintain their manners when they go to sleep.

There are also a number of *pemali* expressions that are often spoken by parents aimed at adults, both male and female. This *pemali* is, "*da pappolong belua mua mamayao battang. Malai tu u botak anakmu*"- if translated "Don't cut your hair if you're pregnant, or your child will be bald". This expression provides lessons for pregnant women, especially young mothers, to avoid sharp objects that can injure the body. Psychological conditions of a pregnant women are unstable, so it is feared that they could be injured. There are also *pemali* expressions, such as "*da patindo di wattu magari apa makkuranni pappiwenganna puang*" -the translation of this phrase "Do not sleep if *magrib* (the sun is setting), because it will reduce your fortune". This is intended as a form of learning so as not to get used to sleep during *magrib* (sunset), because the time for worship in the evening prayer is very narrow and sleep will only make someone can be negligent.

There is also the saying of the *pemali* "*da passio namummande mua to melo lumamba, malai narua accilakangan ditangalalan*" -if it is translated "Do not offer food if someone is already wants to leave, or they will get accidents on the road". The purpose of this expression is to offer food in advance, not

when someone is leaving to travel or a guest who wants to leave. So the *pemali* in the Mandar community are more focused on cultivating manners and ethics in the middle of community life; and taking care for their own natural environment. Therefore, *pemali* of the Mandar community emphasize the harmony of their values and norms with each other and the environment.

Pemali also gives marriage lifesome colors, it focused on behaviors that must be avoided. The reason is so as not to cause feelings of displeasure or despicable, bad and vile actions in marriage life. Generally the purpose of the existence of the *pemali* expressions in the marriage life is just as a reminder to not talk emotionally, which causes a relationship to break. One of the *pemali* expressions in husband and wife's life is *da mu biasakan I sipau pau di patindoanmu to sola muane baine, apa simata siallao manini* -if translated "Don't make it a habit of talking in bed for husband and wife, or you will quarreling often later".

The meaning of the context of the *pemali* expression does not refer to the prohibition of people telling stories in bed, because there are two possibilities that can occur. First, the (secret) talks are feared to be heard by other parties; and secondly, there is a possibility of an angry husband or wife causing a fight. Therefore, the intention of the *pemali* expression is that each husband and wife can use that time to rest and let go of fatigue after working during the day. In the household, it is expected to guide and advise one another in order to create a peaceful relationship in marriage life. Both parties between husband and wife are actively creating cooperation and filling each other's gaps with love and responsibility.

Islamic Law Perspective of *Pemali*

In a dynamic and elastic Islamic Shari'a, there is a legal

basis called *'urf*. *'Urf* is something that becomes a habit and is carried out by the community, either in the form of actions carried out between them or lafadz which they usually say for special meanings that are not used (which are standard). Therefore, there are scholars' who explicitly state that if *'urf* is a propriety that applies in society;²⁶ In essence, the customs practiced by humans over and over and considered well by them can be accepted by Islam as legal propositions.²⁷ It is clear that through this concept, Islamic law has a dynamic in treating customary procedures that exist in the midst of society.

This indicates that Islam brought by the Prophet Muhammad is intended for all humanity, so that he is always in accordance with the dynamics of society and humanity. Therefore, Islam -including the Islamic legal framework- is known as a dynamic universal religion; as displayed by KH. Hasyim Muzadi.²⁸ Naturally, when Islam -when sending (through) the prophet Muhammad- blessing themselves as a mercy to the universe; this explicitly appears in Q.S. al-Anbiyâ' verse 107. In this context it can be concluded that the dynamism of Islam provides the freedom for the community to carry out innovative self-development without any conflict with Islamic doctrine.

Therefore, the Muslim community will never agree in terms of divinity, and it will continue to adhere to the principles of Islamic morality and values. In one of the Hadith narrated by Ahmad from 'Abdullâh ibn Mas'ûd it is said that -the meaning can be explained- "If Muslims sees it good, then it is good from the point of view of Allah too". Even these hadiths by the scholars of the fiqh understand (become the basis) that the traditions of the community that do not conflict with the principles of Islamic Shari'ah can be the normative basis for establishing Islamic law (fiqh). From this hadith, the rule of

the fiqh that states *al-‘ādah muḥakkamah* -it means a custom that can be used as the rule of law.

If there are manners of the community that does not conflict with the values and norms of Islam, then it can be used as a law for that society. But on the contrary, if an ‘*urf*’ is contrary to Islam, as the custom of the community to do some prohibited acts such as drinking wine or taking usury, then the ‘*urf*’ is rejected (*mardud*); this has led to many researches such as Huda & Evanti,²⁹ Sarjana & Suratman,³⁰ and Misno.³¹ The ‘*urf khas*’ is included in this framework, which is an ‘*urf*’ that is known and applies to a particular region or group of people, such as ‘*urf*’ that are related to trade, agriculture and even in this case are *pemali*. That is, *pemali* who are in conflict or contrary to Islamic values, then it will automatically be rejected.

Indeed, *pemali* is able to limit the destructive attitudes and behaviors of the community, so it can be said that the position of the ‘*urf*’ in the great theory of Islamic law is very important. In fact it can be claimed as an agreement of the scholars of *ushul* which is positioned integrated with the benefit of the ummat. Sociologically, the existence of ‘*urf*’ in the midst of Islamic society is very important, because the only living law is only ‘*urf*’ - like an unwritten *pemali* but able to exist in the community. In this context Islamic law actually accommodates local wisdom that is in line with the prophetic spirit. This can be interpreted as an effort to bring together the arguments of Islamic law with social reality; between the meaning of the text and context; or between legal proposition and ‘*illat*’ law. In this context there is actually an attempt to link or accommodate good habits as part of (the proposition) of law; and this is what is meant by the rules of *al-‘ādah muḥakkamah*.

Local wisdom such as *pemali* can be understood as anything that is based on knowledge, is rational, and is considered good

-read in harmony with- the provisions of religion. Moreover, *pemali* is able to encourage people to behave and act more constructively to realize the benefit of themselves, their families and society at large. Islamic law itself aspires to realize a universal life order in which there are prophetic-transcendental values. It aims to maintain aspects, including: *hifdz dîn* (maintaining religious freedom); *hifdz ‘aql* (maintaining freedom of thought), *hifdz mâl* (preserving property), *hifdz nafs* (preserving the right to life), and *hifdz nasl* (maintaining the right to develop offspring). The moral reference in the application of Islamic law is basically a characteristic of the universality of the Islamic religion which leads the community to a constructive life. It is clear that Islamic law and local wisdom such as *pemali* who have passed from generation to generation do not conflict and between the two contain these five principles.

On the other hand, there is a process of Islamic dialectics with local culture resulting in a more dynamic synthetic cultural product. In this context, local wisdom if it does not conflict with the basic principles of Islam -a monotheistic Islamic belief (*‘aqîdah*)-and has a value of prosperity is worth applying. As the birth of various ritual expressions whose instrumental value is the product of local culture and the material content of religious nuances of Islam is a reasonable dialectical. Likewise, the multiplier needs to be placed in his functional position which contains constructive values rather than the diction of the expression. However, the main requirement of acculturation or dialectical -when the *pemali* said as integrating Islamic values- does not eliminate the fundamental values of the teachings of Islam itself. Much research has examined this dialectical process between culture and Islam such as Sumpena’s research,³² Kastolani & Yusof,³³ Buhori,³⁴ or Mustakimah.³⁵

Based on the description, it can be said that the symbolization which is concluded in the *pemali* expression in the midst of society is a very important meaning of its existence. Local wisdom-as a culture-in the phrase of *pemali* is a symbol of meaning in the form of messages (speech) from generation to generation that is not contrary to Islamic belief. Therefore, it needs wisdom and broad thinking to unravel this *pemali* to be declared as a culture (*urf*) in accordance with Islamic belief. That is, it should not be in a hurry to give a *syirik* label to a case including the *Pemali* expression. If there is still *ta'wîl*, then the *ta'wîl* space should be applied to the case. In this context, it needs to be emphasized, if there are those who declare local wisdom-read: *pemali*-as an act of *syirik* or *bid'ah*, then this statement has not been completed in interpreting local wisdom. This can be exemplified *selamatan* of earth alms placed at the crossroads? It could be feared as an attempt to bring his alms to many people who are passing by at an intersection.

Theoretically *ta'wîl* is an attempt to go beyond explicit meanings to look for intentions that are relevant to the context. *Ta'wîl* itself has several variants, namely: first, *ta'wîl li al-qaul* (*ta'wîl* words); means searching for the meaning of a word and the nature behind what is intended. One example of a *pemali* expression that tends to be out of harmony with the diction used. In Arabic itself, words are divided into two kinds; namely *insha'* and *khobar*. The main part of the word *insha'* is *'amr* (command); Therefore, *ta'wîl* in this matter covers: a). *Ta'wîl amr*, do according to what was ordered. For example the history of hadith Siti Aisyah that the prophet Muhammad in bowing and prostration read a lot of prayer -which means "Blessed is You, Allah and praise be to You. Ya Allah forgive me". This is actually a *ta'wîl* from Q.S. al-Nashr verse 3. b). *Ta'wîl ikhbar*, efforts to understand the meaning of the occurrence of an

event as reported. For example like the word of God in the QS. al-A'râf verse 53; where in this verse Allah announces the coming of the Day of Resurrection, while humans await *ta'wîl* (occurrence) which is reported in the Qur'an.

Second, ta'wîl li al-fi'l (ta'wîl with action). This *ta'wîl* can be understood after an event occurs; like the prophet Khidir after punching a boat without the permission of its owner, killing a boy, and reestablishing a collapsed building. This is explicitly stated in Q.S. *Al-Kahfi* verse 82. While the third, *ta'wîl li al-ru'ya* or *ta'wîl al-ahadîth (ta'wîl with dream)*; which is a form of *ta'wîl* by unraveling the visibility of dreams. As the Prophet Ya'qub said to his son Yusuf when explaining his dream -see Q.S. *Yûsuf* verses 6- or vice versa when the Prophet Yusuf also dreamed- look at Q.S. *Yûsuf* verse 100.

From the explanation of the classification of the *ta'wîl*, it can be concluded that local wisdom -read: *pemali*- can be analogous to *ta'wîl* the companions of the Prophet Khidir-read Q.S. *al-Kahfi* verse 82. The groups that contra accuse, *pemali* local wisdom is heresy or some even say that it is more extreme as an act of *syirik*. This group does not consider the history, cultural development and social conditions of people who live in certain areas. Though these three aspects need to be involved in the determination of laws that come on the benefit of the community itself. this benefit that is actually the foundation of the building of the law, as Haetami's research concludes,³⁶ or Pasaribu's research.³⁷

Therefore, if the *pemali* is considered a social reality that is "made up," -read as a *bid'ah*, then the true *pemali* can be said to be a social reality that is heresy- a perfect reality. The question is which category *bid'ah*? In this context, *bid'ah* among scholars' fiqh is divided into two, namely: praised heresy (*mahmûdah*), and despicable (*madzmûmah*). Among the scholars fiqh of the Shafi'ite school mentions something new that is contrary to

the Qur'an, hadith or *ijmâ'* called heretical heresy (*dhalâlah*); and something that is new and does not violate the Qur'an, hadith or *ijmâ'* is called an unimpeachable *bid'ah* (*hasanah*). Based on this category of *bid'ah*, the *pemali* belongs to the category of easy *bid'ah* or *hasanah*. Because *pemali* is able to provide educative space for the community that encourages them to behave and behave constructively, as concluded in Arif's research.³⁸

Although on the one hand there are among the scholars' opinion that *bid'ah* occurs only in matters of worship. But in this context, there are difficulties to distinguish practices that fall into the category of worship, and practices that are not worship. Similarly, determining the reality of local wisdom *pemali* in the category of good *bid'ah* or not. However, the limit for determining categorization is in the implications caused by *pemali* who focused on the benefit of the life order of the community. On the other hand, this determination often causes strife and disputes between Muslims, and even disbelief. It is permissible to differ in opinion on the issue of branch (*furû'*) in religion, because this issue of *ijtihad* (the result of scholar's *ijtihad*) is not a final provision. Most of these differences will lead to non-substantial branches of belief (*furû'iyah*). *Pemali* in this context is *furû'* which is not directly related to the substance of religious belief.

Basically, the essence of the *pemali* does not mix the values of *'aqidah* with other values. The constructive implicative essence of the *pemali* needs to be prioritized as a consideration for the establishment of law in society. Prophet Muhammad himself once said -which can be translated- "Whoever does good activities, then for him is the reward and (also get) the reward of those who helped do it". The meaning of "good activity" can simply be said as an activity that makes people more faithful to God,

His prophets, and the books revealed by Him and is able to give birth to acts and acts of prosperity in the midst of society.

Socio-cultural diversity of the community, including in this case *pemali* in an area is not formed in a short time. But it was formed through a long and evolutionary history from generation to generation. At this point, relics that exist or have been recorded up to now that have become cultural heritages such as the *pemali* expression need to be preserved as long as they do not conflict with the Qur'an, hadith, or *ijmâ' 'ulama'*. Constructive cultural values continue to be preserved as treasures of community cultural wealth. This is important so as not to stop their cultural traditions that have been passed down for generations as a legacy.

Conclusion

Based on the explanation of the discussion, the clear perception of *pemali* in the Mandar tribal community arises due to three main factors, namely: *first*, environmental factors which include various fields, including: religion, agriculture, economy, marine, and forestry; *second*, psychological factors which include aspects of thoughts, delusions, and feelings; and *third*, social factors with factors including age, sex, religion, attention, and occupation. However, *pemali* that arises from these main factors has a scope, namely: *pemali* at the levels of children, adults, and parents (husband and wife). This indicates, *pemali* in the Mandar tribal community have a strong attachment in their tradition, so that the *pemali* cannot be separated from the life order of the Mandar tribe community. Even *Pemali* can stand as a binding law even though it is not written explicitly.

Interestingly, the *pemali* in the Mandar tribal community is very strong. *Pemali* was tested naturally by the community,

so it is able to blend with the life of the Mandar tribe. Because the habits and attitudes of the Mandar tribe that are controlled by tradition -including *pemali*, repeated and experiencing strengthen (*reinforcement*) will transform as a permanent social action. Therefore, if an action is not considered good by the community, then it will not experience a continuous reinforcement. Actions will naturally occur, because they are considered good or contain goodness; and this appears to involve the role of the *pemali* as a limitation on behavior that is not permissible. *Pemali* is in fact a traditional culture that can be understood as anything that is based on knowledge and is recognized by common sense and is considered good by the provisions of religious values -which in this context is Islamic law.

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