










The Cultural Identity of Minangkabau and Dayak Kanayatn: An Anthropolinguistic Study

Syamsurizal^a, Achril Zalmansyah^b, Heksa Biopsi Puji Hastuti^{c*}, Hasina Fajrin R.^d, Tri Saptarini^e, Mukhamdanah^f, Exti Budihastuti^g

^a Research Center for Language, Literature and Community, BRIN, Indonesia.
Email: syam015@brin.go.id

^b Research Center for Language, Literature and Community, BRIN, Indonesia.
Email: achr001@brin.go.id

^c Research Center for Language, Literature and Community, BRIN, Indonesia.
Email: heks001@brin.go.id

^d Research Center for Language, Literature and Community, BRIN, Indonesia.
Email: hasina.fajrin.r@brin.go.id

^e Research Center for Language, Literature and Community, BRIN, Indonesia.
Email: tris017@brin.go.id

^f Research Center for Language, Literature and Community, BRIN, Indonesia.
Email: mukh012@brin.go.id

^g Research Center for Language, Literature and Community, BRIN, Indonesia.
Email: exti001@brin.go.id

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Abstract

The Minangkabau and the Dayak Kanayatn are two sub-ethnic groups in the Indonesian archipelago with both similar and diverse traditions, customs, moral values and in terms of anthropolinguistic and language aspects. This study aimed to examine the similarities and differences between the Minangkabau and the Dayak Kanayatn. Descriptive qualitative and comparative methods were used to analyse the data. Based on the results, it was found that Minangkabau ethnic group still adhered to their customs and culture, while the Dayak Kanayatn believed in supernatural powers (animism and dynamism) and upholds their traditional values. Hence, the two are similar in terms of traditions and customs, while the differences are based on the concept of divinity. Minangkabau is based on Islamic teachings, while Dayak Kanayatn is based on non-Islamic teachings. Another finding is the language similarity between Minangkabau and Dayak Kanayatn. These similarities are in morphological systems in which both have a morpheme or prefix {ba} which means 'ber' in the Indonesian language or 'to' in English and a morpheme or prefix {sa} 'se' which means a number/as much; preposition (preposition) ka 'to'; and lexical equations. This study provides useful insights for further research.

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* Corresponding Author.

Email: heks001@brin.go.id

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Introduction

Cultural identity is an essential awareness characterizing a particular group in terms of living habits, customs, language, and other customary values (Dorais, 1995; Hobsbawm, 1996; Lee Su Kim, 2003; Riley, 2008; Setyaningrum, 2018). Cultural identity can also be interpreted as a unique feature of a particular culture. It is seen in physical appearances, such as hair color, skin color, body shape, way of dressing, food, and language. Besides, cultural identity can be seen from the lifestyle of the population and from their cultural impressions, namely from the way the residents carry out their cultural rituals in commemorating traditional ceremonies in their life cycle, such as births, circumcision of apostles, marriages, deaths, and other ceremonies (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2018; Triana & Putri, 2022).

The Indonesian archipelago comprises various ethnicities, races, religions, languages, and cultures. Each island has different customs, languages, and cultures. Sumatra is one of Indonesia's largest islands, inhabited by various ethnicities with different languages, customs, and cultures (Herlina et al., 2022). Various ethnic groups inhabit the island of Sumatra, including the Malay, Batak, Minangkabau, Aceh, Lampung, Basemah, Rejang, Komerling, Mentawai, Bengkulu, and other ethnicities. The Minangkabau ethnicity is one of the largest ethnicities living in the Bukit Barisan of West Sumatra. However, they have migrated all around Indonesia and even globally. Likewise, the sub-ethnic group known as the Dayak Kanayatn, is one of 405 Dayak sub-ethnic groups spread throughout Kalimantan. Both these groups have strong traditional and cultural values

The Minangkabau and the Dayak Kanayatn are two sub-ethnic groups with many traditions, customs, and moral values. There exist both similarities and differences in terms of anthropolinguistic and language aspects between the two groups. There is a dearth of studies on these two sub-ethnic groups; no attention has been paid on their way of life, and the religious and traditional cultural values of Minangkabau and Dayak Kanayatn. Their diversity of traditions, customs, and moral values contained in their traditional teachings have also not been discussed so far. Therefore, this study aims to describe the similarities and differences between the Minangkabau and the Dayak Kanayatn. The study focuses on the diversity of customs and moral values embodied in the similarities and differences of the traditional teachings of both Dayak Kanayatn and Minangkabau groups. The data was collected through initial observation and interviews with several informants in Sajingan Besar and Jagoi Babang subdistrict, supplemented through library study and documentation research.

Literature Review

Historically, the Minangkabau region is divided into two parts, namely the Darek and the Rantau regions (Hasanuddin, 2015; Meiyenti & Syahrizal, 2014; Omar dan Nelmawarni, 2008; Syafyahya, 2006). The Darek comprises three regions: Luhak Nan Tigo, also known as Luhak Tanah Datar or Luhak nan Tuo; Luhak Agam also known as Luhak nan Tengah, and Luhak Limo Puluh Koto also known as Luhak nan Bungsu (Safitri & Suharno, 2020; Wongso & Idid, 2014). In this case, the divisions of Luhak imply the elder, the middle, and the younger. These three Luhak areas are referred to as the original Minangkabau realm, where Minangkabau's cultural identity is still strong in this area. On the contrary, the Rantau area is quite far from the center, and it influences the cultural identity. In addition, there is a third region, a transitional area, between the Darek and the Rantau regions. It is called the *ikua darek area*, *kapalo rantau* 'the Darek is land tail, the Rantau is head' (Mayasari, 2010; Rosa, 2021). It is the area of Solok Regency.

The Minangkabau ethnic group is known as trader and *perantau*, who leaves his village to earn a living. The ethnic group still preserves its customs and culture. It is shown by their traditional expression, *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* (traditional fundamental is sharia (religious law, fundamental sharia is the Quran), *syarak mangato, adat mamakai* 'sharia regulates, the tradition carries it out (Chaniago, 2021; Pratama, 2019; Wimra, 2017). The traditional expression implies that Minangkabau custom is based on religion and the book of Allah (Quran), and the people must carry it out.

On the Island of Borneo, there is also a sub-ethnic group known as the Dayak Kanayatn. (Darmadi, 2016; Dewi, 2018; Isman, 2014). They are scattered in Pontianak Regency (now Mempawah Regency), Kubu Raya, Landak Regency, and Bengkayang Regency. In a small part, the Dayak Kanayatn can also be found in the Ketapang Regency and Sanggau Regency, West Kalimantan. The Dayak Kanayatn lives as an agrarian-nomadic ethnicity. They believe in supernatural powers (animism and dynamism) and appreciate and uphold their traditional and cultural values (David & Panjaitan, 2021). For the Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity, customary and cultural values still justify past actions, explain present actions, and guide future actions, likewise with the Minangkabau ethnicity in West Sumatra (Yaqin, 2021).

There are several similarities and differences between the Dayak Kanayatn and the Minangkabau communities. One of the similarities, for example, is the concept of *bahuma baladang* in the Dayak Kanayatn community, which is similar to the concept of *basawah baladang* in the Minangkabau community. The concept of *bahuma baladang* in the Dayak Kanayatn community means 'owning a land' and 'owning a field. *Huma* is a place to plant rice, while fields are places to grow vegetables, such as cucumbers, cassava, corn,

starfruit, mustard greens, spinach, and various vegetables. *Huma* and *ladang* are places or areas obtained from exploring new areas for the Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity. The activity of searching for or determining a new place for farming is what they call *ngawha* (Purwana, 2007).

Meanwhile, in the Minangkabau traditional concept, *bahuma baladang* is called *basawah baladang* 'farming the fields,' which means 'owning a rice field' and 'owning a field' (Christyawaty & Susilowati, 2010; Kosasih, 2013; Siratni, 2019). The word *basawah* consists of the morpheme {ba-} and the word *sawah* (paddy-field or wet field). The prefix {ba-} means 'to do something'. It changes the meaning of the word *sawah* becomes the activity relating to farm in the paddy-field. Likewise, *baladang* consists of morpheme ba- and base word *ladang* (field). The meaning *ladang* added morpheme ba- refers to activity relating to farm non-paddy in the wet field.

The phrase *basawah baladang* in the Minangkabau cultural concept is a symbol that the family or people in that ethnicity are the original inhabitants of the area. It also relates to other conditions, such as *batunggua bapanabangan*, *basosok bajurami*, *bapandam bapakuburan*, *bahuma babendang*, and *bahalaman bapamedanan*. The word *batunggua bapanabangan* means to have stump near to log. The word *basosok bajurami* means to have straw as the remains of harvest. The word *bapandam bapakuburan* means to have grave area for sub-community. The word *bahuma babendang* means to have *huma* 'garden house' that has *bendang* (a percussion for spread information). The word *bahalaman bapamedanan* means to have yard for traditional activity'.

A person is said to be the inhabitant of an area in the Minang realm if he or she has tree stumps left by his ancestors employing the forest as a living, *sosok jurami* or large rice fields, an area where people are buried, *bahuma* means having rice fields in a dry land, *babendang* means having an information center, and *bahalaman bapamedanan* means having a *rumah gadang* 'gadang house, a traditional house of Minangkabau ethnicity' and a large yard, and having an arena as a place for deliberations which they call *medan nan bapaneh* 'hot field', as well as an arena where *silat* is practiced.

The Minangkabau people believed that their ancestors came from the *zuriat* Iskandar Zulkarnain or Alexander Agung, a king on the Ruhum Continent, whose name was Maharaja Diraja. Together with Maharaja Didaja, four women are described as the Campo Tiger, Forest Goat, Mualim Dog, and Siamese Cat (Diradjo, 2020). Experts interpret the Campo Tiger as someone who came from Champa, which is a mountainous area on the west coast of Indochina (now Laos). The Jungle Goat is interpreted as someone who comes from the Chambay area, namely an ancient port city in India, which around the 7th century had become a route for spices and the spread of Islam to the archipelago. Mualim's dog is interpreted as someone who came from Mawlamyine, a city in southeastern Myanmar (Burma). Meanwhile, the Siamese cat is interpreted as someone who came from Kochin, Siam (Bangkok), an old city in present-day Thailand. The descendants of the Maharaja Diraja with these four women became the forerunners of the descendants of the Minangkabau people. From an anthropological point of view, it was conveyed that the Minangkabau tribe was part of the Deutro Malays who migrated from the mainland of South China to Sumatra Island around 2500-2000 years ago. They entered through the Kampar River to a plateau called the Darek region.

While the Kanayant Dayak ethnicity, based on secondary data, also came from the area now known as Yunnan in the South China region. From this place, they wandered through Indochina to Malaysia as a steppingstone to enter the islands of Indonesia. Then it continued until about five hundred years BC, from mainland Asia to the islands of Indonesia. This group is called Deutro-Malay, who inhabit the area around the coast (Coomans, 1987).

The Dayak Kanayatn who resided on Borneo Island and the Minangkabau inhabiting Sumatra Island are examined in this study because they base their tradition on time-honored adages. Although geographically these two ethnicities are far apart, from the observations of researchers, there are also similarities in terms of cultural identity and language, such as from the phonemic and phonetic aspects, morphological aspects, and lexical aspects, in addition to similarities in familiar adages. Moreover, there exists a wide research gap since no studies have been made to compare the Minangkabau culture and the Dayak Kanayatn. This was the main motivation to conduct this study.

Theoretical Background

Language and culture are two systems inherent in the human life. If culture is a system that regulates human interaction in society, language is a system that functions as a means for this interaction to take place. Language cannot be separated from culture. Language and culture are like two sides of a coin, one side is linguistic and the other is cultural. Language and culture are two related phenomena, they are like two conjoined twins. What appears in culture will be reflected in language, or vice versa (Chaer & Agustina, 2004). Anthropology is a combination of two disciplines, namely anthropology and linguistics. Anthropology is the science of humans and culture. At the same time, linguistics is the science of language. In simple terms, anthropolinguistics is a branch of linguistics that examines the relationship between language and culture, especially to observe how language is used in everyday life as a tool in social action (Yuwono & Lauder, 2003). Anthropolinguistics is an interdisciplinary field of science that examines the relationship between language and the intricacies of human life, including culture as the core intricacies of human life (Sibarani, 2015).

Anthropology does not only study language from its structure but also from its function and usage in socio-cultural contexts. Anthropology examines family structure and relationships through kinship terms, color concepts, and parenting patterns. It examines how community members communicate with each other in certain situations, such as during traditional ceremonies, then relates it to their culture. Anthropology is a subfield of linguistics concerned with placing language in a broader socio-cultural context and its role in maintaining cultural practices and social structures (Lafamane, 2020).

Research on comparative cultural identity in terms of anthropological aspects is not a new research domain. Previously, many studies have been conducted by experts and researchers regarding this study. For instance, Fauzi (2019) observed significant differences in ethnic identities between students of Javanese and Chinese descent at Pangudiluhur Domenico Savio Middle School. In another research (Fiteriani, 2017) empirically proved that implementing lectures for Science Learning courses must be integrated into exploring the understanding of science concepts and honing basic science process skills in every simple science practicum activity (experiment).

Methodology

The study adopted a comparative research design to examine the similarities and differences between the sub-ethnic groups sampled for this study. A comparative research is a study that aims to find out or test the similarities and differences between two or more groups (Brislin, 1976; Esser & Vliegenthart, 2017; Karyati, 2016; Ragin & Zaret, 1983; Ulum et al., 2016; Valencia et al., 2019). Comparative research compares a variable or research object with other variables or research objects to find causal relationships or similarities and differences in a research object. This type of research compares one variable with other variables that have the same object, to produce data descriptions, namely in the form of exposures that show the similarities or differences between two or more variables being compared. This type of research can also be used to determine the causes behind certain situations. This type of research is a qualitative research which produces descriptive data in the form of written words from observable people and actors (Moleong, 2017). This qualitative approach explains and analyzes individual or group phenomena, events, social dynamics, beliefs, and perceptions.

There were three strategic stages in this study, namely, the stage of providing data, the stage of data analysis, and the stage of presenting the results of data analysis. At the data provision stage, data were collected using the listening method with basic techniques: tapping techniques, clever listening techniques, and recording techniques. At the data analysis stage, a comparative method was used by comparing the cultural identities of the Minangkabau ethnicity and the Dayak Kanayatn sub-ethnicity to look for similarities and differences. Finally, the data was presented using an informal method, namely the method of presenting the results of data analysis using ordinary words, including technical terminology (Mahsun, 2017).

Results and Discussion

i. Minangkabau Cultural Identity

Minangkabau is an ethnic group that has self-government and laws, which are actually based on unwritten traditions. Since unwritten traditions are obeyed more faithfully, they have become a powerful way of life and a unifying tool for people in Minangkabau. Traditions are not just customs, but they govern the Minangkabau people in carrying out their lives, even though they have merged into another ethnic group. Traditions in Minangkabau culture can be classified into four parts, namely *adat nan sabana adat* 'genuine tradition', *adat nan diadat* 'established custom', *adat nan taradat* 'customary customs', and *adat-istiadat* 'custom' (Navis, 1984). *Adat nan sabana adat* as a genuine tradition means that even the force cannot change it because it will still exist. If it is removed, it will not die; if it is moved, it will not wither. God's provision applies to all, which the Minangkabau people have made their way of life or philosophy of life. *Adat nan diadatkan* is a law and regulation that applies to all Minangkabau people, as practiced in the Luhak dan Rantau Law and the Nan Duo Puluh Law. *Adat nan taradat* is a regulation created based on the results of deliberations for consensus who perform it. It is likened to the *mamangan adat* 'traditional guidance', or *patah tumbuh* 'even it is broken, it will grow', *ilang baganti* 'even it is lost, it will be replaced.' Finally, *adat-istiadat* are ceremonial customs that apply in every *nagari* in Minangkabau. *Nagari* is an area or group of villages led (headed) by a prince. These customs in *mamangan adat* are likened to a tree that, if raised, will become a 'big' *gadang* and *tall* (Navis, 1984).

The Indonesian Language Dictionary states that tradition is a rule (action) (Kamus, 2008). Therefore, it has been commonly followed or done a long time ago as a habit or a way of life (behavior). Tradition reflects the personality of an ethnic group and the embodiment of the soul. Custom, on the other hand, is an essential element that gives identity to ethnic groups. It is part of the cultural wealth of a region or nation, used to guide the attitudes and behavior of its community. While the tradition is local; it only prevails in its supporting societies; the custom creates intersections with other ethnicities and is usually based on universal norms. The Islamic Encyclopedia explains that custom is a habit or tradition of a society carried out repeatedly from generation to generation. The term *adat* (tradition) refers to customs with sanction such as customary

law and without sanction (Team, 1993). At the same time, tradition is defined as everything, such as customs, teachings, habits, and so on, that are passed down from ancestors. Traditions are thus the legacies of the past internalized into the prevailing culture (Putra & Ratmanto, 2019; Rodin, 2013). Tradition is not only a matter of historical heritage but also a matter of present-day contributions at various levels (Hakim, 2003). Furthermore, Mattulada believed tradition can give birth to culture (Arief, 2008). Culture derived from tradition has at least three forms: ideas, values, norms, and regulations; the form of human-patterned activities and actions in society (activities); and the form of human-made objects (artifacts).

Minangkabau culture belongs to the Minangkabau ethnic group which was developed outside the Minangkabau region. It is one of the great cultures of the archipelago, which is very prominent and influential because the distribution of its people is wide. This culture is egalitarian, democratic, and synthetic which distinguishes it from other great cultures. This culture adheres to a matrilineal system, such as in matters of marriage, ethnicity, inheritance, and customary titles. Before Minangkabau people converted to Islam, this culture had animist and Hindu-Buddhist patterns. The initial basis of the custom was called *basandi alua* 'the fundamental is procedure', *alua basandi patuik jo mungkin* 'the procedure is based on proper and improper'. Later, it was changed into *adat basandi syarak* 'the tradition's fundamental is sharia', *syarak basandi kitabullah* 'the fundamental sharia is the Quran', *syarak mangato* 'the sharia regulates', *adat mamakai* 'the tradition carries out'. This time-honored adage is the Minangkabau cultural identity.

ii. Dayak Kanayatn Cultural Identity

The Dayak people, who came from the Yunan region in South China, are the original inhabitants of Borneo Island. They wandered from Yunan through Indochina to Malaysia before reaching Indonesia. Those who arrived first were from the Negrind and Weddid groups, followed by the Proto-Malay group, whose migration lasted approximately between 3000--500 BC. Then, they relocated around 500 years BC from mainland Asia to various islands in Indonesia. This second group was called the Deutro Malay group, which inhabited the area around the coast (Purwana, 2007).

At first, the Dayak people inhabited the area around the Kapuas River and the Kalimantan Sea. With the arrival of the Sumatran Malays and the Malacca Peninsula, the Dayak ethnic group was pushed upstream. Malay culture imbued with Islamic values grew to become the dominant culture in West Kalimantan. It was caused by the full power held by the Malays, and the indigenous people also experienced the Malayization process. Aside from being traders, the Malays also played a role as propagators of Islam. As a result, some ethnicity in the interior of West Kalimantan has embraced Islamic teachings spontaneously. The Dayak people who embraced Islam abandoned their ethnic identity and identified themselves as Malays (Rachmadhani, 2018).

The Dayak ethnicity is one of the ethnicities that have many traditions and customs as a marker of their cultural identity. However, the study about the cultural diversity of the Dayak ethnicity is still lacking because the ethnicity has hundreds of sub-ethnics. The Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity, a sub-ethnic Dayak in West Kalimantan, still adheres to customs and culture as their ancestral heritage. Some traditions inherited from their ancestors are the tradition of *naik dango* 'giving thanks to *Nek Jubata* for a bountiful harvest', *ngampar bide* 'rolling the mat before harvest to ask permission of the God', and several other cultures. Other objects include proverbs, sayings, traditional expressions, and so on (Ivo, 2001; Priskila, 2010; Wina & Habsari, 2017). For the Dayak Kanayatn people, *Nek Jubata* is a designation for God, who passed down tradition to the Dayak people's ancestors.

iii. Similarities And Differences Between Minangkabau and Dayak Kanayatn

Based on the results of data analysis and comparison, it was found that there were several similarities and differences between Minangkabau cultural identity and Dayak Kanayatn culture. Some of the similarities and differences are discussed in the following sub-sections:

i. Concept of God/religious system

The Minangkabau ethnicity is known as one of the ethnicities that are still loyal to their traditional teachings. Regarding the concept of divinity, from an interview with one of the Minangkabau traditional leaders, information was obtained that the Minangkabau ethnicity made Islamic teachings the only foundation and guideline for behavior in life, as stated in their *adat mangan*, which stated *Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* 'Adat bersendi syarak, syarak bersendi Kitabullah' (ABS-SBK) to mean that ABS-SBK is a philosophy of life that must be adhered to in social life. ABS-SBK is a framework of social life in fostering the relationship between humans and humans and the relationship between humans and God.

For the Minangkabau people, the concept of ABS-SBK is an identity born from a historical awareness of the struggle for life. Before Islam entered Minangkabau, the concept of Minangkabau tradition was familiar with the concept of truthfulness, truth as outlined in the expression *alua jo patuik, patuik jo mungkin*, as

stated in the traditional expression before Islam, *adat basandi alua, alua basandi patuik jo mungkin 'adat bersendi kepada alur, alur bersendi kepada patut/pantas dan mungkin.'* With the arrival of Islam to Minangkabau, traditional teachings became more perfect, which then gave birth to the concept of *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah, syarak mangato, adat mamakai* Adat is based on syarak, syarak is based on Kitabullah, syarak deliver and custom perform', as stated in a few of regular expressions below:

<i>Si Muncak mati tarambau</i>	'The Muncak died in Tarambau'
<i>ka parak mambaok lading</i>	'go to garden bring a machete'
<i>lukolah pao kaduonyo</i>	'hurt both thighs'
<i>Adat jo syarak di Minangkabau</i>	'a tradition and syarak in Minangkabau'
<i>bak aua jo tabiang</i>	'like aur with a cliff'
<i>sanda-manyanda kaduonyo</i>	'both support each other'

After the Minangkabau people were converted to Islam, they adjusted their traditions according to Islamic teachings. These negotiations are represented in the *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* adage. These means that the universe was created by Allah, which is one of Allah's verses and one of the signs of Allah's greatness. However, the traditions are always internalized, so it is impossible to abandon them. most of the Minangkabau people still adhered to Christianity as their ancestral heritage.

On the other hand, the Dayak Kanayatn believed in supernatural powers (animism and dynamism) and their people's traditional and cultural values. Their concept of divinity was Jubata, not Christ. The preaching of the Gospel was less than optimal and had less place in their culture. For them, Christianity was a foreign religion that lived in their midst because customs and culture had become flesh and blood that cannot be separated from their lives. In their time-honored adage, the Dayak Kanayatn expressed the concept of faith in God, which they called Jubata, "*adil ka talino, bacuramin ka saruga, basengat ka Jubata.*" This traditional expression implies 'to be fair to others, to reflect on heaven, and to surrender to God.' They use this traditional expression as a traditional greeting. It can be seen at the gate of the city and in all important public places. In this traditional expression or customary greeting, the philosophy of life of the Dayak Kanayatn people is illustrated as a religious society based on traditional values. In everyday life, they cannot be separated from the relationship between humans and God, the creator of the universe. When farming, looking for rattan, looking for agarwood, looking for honey, hunting for pigs or deer, they always start with a ritual as a request to *Jubata*.

Based on the discussion above, there are similarities and differences between the Adagium of Minangkabau adat and the Adagium of Dayak Kanayatn custom. The similarity is that both Minangkabau and Dayak Kanayatn customs base their traditional teachings on the concept of divinity. If Minangkabau custom bases its traditional teachings on Islamic religious teachings, Dayak Kanayatn bases customary teachings on traditional values (animism and dynamism). Minangkabau people make Islam their cultural identity, while the Dayak Kanayatn sub-ethnic makes traditional teachings their cultural identity.

ii. Communal Ties and Patterns of Community Organization

Concerning communal ties and patterns of community organization, the Minangkabau ethnic group is a society that adheres to a matrilineal kinship system, namely lineage based on maternal lineage. In this kinship system, the smallest family unit is called *samande*, 'one mother,' consisting of three generations: the grandmother, the mother and the mother's siblings, and their children. In Minangkabau society, power lies in the hands of the mother's brothers, who are called by their children *mamak*, while the children are called nephews by the *mamak*. They live in a house, which is called *rumah gadang*. The *rumah gadang* is only occupied by married women and their children who have yet to regain their minds. Boys who have regained their senses or are adults may not live in *rumah gadang*. Sons who are already intelligent will live together in a *surau* belonging to their people, or in a bachelor's house, especially for the unmarried men.

In a larger communal structure, a collection of *samande* is called *saparuik*. This *saparuik* family consists of four generations, namely a *ninik* (grandmother's mother), several grandmothers from the same mother, the mothers who are the children of the grandmothers who are from the same mother, and the grandchildren of the grandmothers. *Paruik* is led by the oldest *mamak*, called *mamak tungganai*. A group of several *saparuik* families with the same descendants is called *sakaum*. One clan consists of five generations, descended from the mother of the *ninik*. The same family is led by a primus inter pares between the *tungganai*, called the *clan's mamak*. A collection of several clans of the same lineage is called *sasuku*. One tribal unit consists of six generations, led by a *penghulu*. In the regular expression, it is stated as follows.

<i>Kamanakan barajo ka mamak</i>	'Nephew abdicates to the <i>mamak</i> '.
<i>Mamak barajo ka tungganai</i>	'Mamak abdicates to the <i>tungganai</i> '.
<i>Tungganai barajo ka panghulu</i>	' <i>Tungganai</i> abdicates to <i>penghulu</i> '.
<i>Panghulu barajo ka mufakat</i>	' <i>Penghulu</i> abdicates to consensus'.
<i>Mufakaiaak barajo ka alua</i>	'Consensus abdicates to <i>alur</i> '
<i>Alua barajo ka patuik jo mungkin</i>	' <i>Alur</i> abdicates to worth and possibility'.

Patuik jo mungkin barajo ka nan bana
Bana badiri sandirinyo

'Worth and possibility abdicate to the truth'.
 'Truth to itself'

It is the communal bond and organizational pattern of the Minangkabau ethnicity which is contained in the law and customary law.

Meanwhile, the conventional system and sub-ethnic culture of the Dayak Kanayatn is known as the inheritance page or family descent. The word page refers to a pretty distant kinship, from cousins who are twice descended (*duduk dantar*) to cousins who are six times descended (page). While the word *waris* 'inheritance' refers to relatives who are still close, ranging from siblings (*sapusat*) to one *madi' saket* (between first-generation cousins). In more detail, kinship relations in the Dayak Kanayatn community consist of one center or central order, namely, one mother, one father, or siblings. This group is called *sakadiriatnpupu sakali*, or one grandfather. On top of that, they are called *dua madi' enek/pupu dua kali*, namely grandfathers, brothers, and sisters. Then *dua madi' saket* three-time cousin is one cousin's grandmother or great-grandfather. After this, referred to as *duduk dantar sepupu ampat kali*, it is between great-grandfather's great-grandfather's cousins. *Duduk dantar sepupu ampat kali* is between grandfathers and cousins twice descended. Even larger groups are called twice-*dantarpagelpupu*. Both grandfathers have one great-grandfather, and the largest group is called *twice-dantarpagelpupu*. That is, both grandfathers have a *dantar page*.

The family system in the Dayak Kanayatn tradition can be in the form of a nuclear family, namely a family consisting of father, mother, and children and the extended family. They live in *betang* house or long house. This house consists of several rooms as a symbol of their social organization. Those who inhabit the longhouse come from a community bound by genealogical factors. Apart from longhouses, most Dayak people live in single houses on stilts. Usually, a single house is inhabited by one nuclear family consisting of a father, a mother, and children. Dayak Kanayatn people do not know the lineage of the father (patrilineal) or maternal lineage (matrilineal). Their kinship system is only based on the balance of the two. For example, both parties hold a family meeting at the time of marriage. The father's and mother's sides carefully get the gundal or invitation. Gundals or invitations are given equally, for example, ten gundals from the father's and ten from the mother's side. Likewise, regarding the problem of inheritance, the Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity does not recognize inheritance for only men or only for women. For the Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity, all children will receive an inheritance from their parents.

Nevertheless, the older and youngest children usually get a more significant share than the other siblings. It differs from the Minangkabau ethnicity, whose inheritance goes down to daughters (high heritage), while boys do not get any share. However, if the inheritance is low, the results of the parents' search then the son will get 2/3 and the daughter 1/3.

iii. Customary Law

Customary law is a manifestation of social norms that have sanctions and are supported by traditional institutions such as judicial institutions. For the Minangkabau ethnicity, customary law is a powerful way of life and a unifying tool. Their view of life comes from the customary laws they see as their custom. They are still loyal to the customs of their ancestors because, for them, customs are worn new, the cloth is worn out 'If you wear a custom, it will remain new, and if you wear cloth, it will wear out.'. They will live in the traditional house, and will die in the land. The customary law regulates the Minangkabau people in every aspect of their life. In principle, customary law regulates the balance between the rights and obligations of members of the same clan, ethnicity, *nagari*, and even the Minangkabau realm. For the Minangkabau ethnicity, *adat* is also an unwritten law that regulates every aspect of their life. This form is expressed in the statement that *idui dikanduang adat, mati dikanduang tanah*, 'live in the womb of custom, die in the land'. The traditional expression implies that humans are governed by tradition, a tradition rooted in *syarak*. *Syarak* is based on the book of Allah, and when they pass away, they will be buried on the land. In the Minangkabau custom, there are moral values that every member of the community must carry out.

The tradition for the Minangkabau people is a reference to behaving and acting in various situations. There is no corporal punishment for violators of customary law. They do not know the form of punishment blood for blood, life for life. Punishment is a more moral punishment for violators of customary law, discarded along the tradition or ostracized. People subject to customary sanctions will feel ashamed because they are considered to have offended the feelings of the community as a whole and will become gossip in the *nagari*.

For the Minangkabau people, the practice of customary law must be fair, must not be one-sided, *manimbang samo barek, mauku samo panjang, tibo di mato indak dipiciangan, tibo di paruik indak dikampihan* 'weigh equally, measure the same length, arrive at the eyes not squinted, arrives in the stomach is not deflated'. In this case, they use *picik jangek, kalau awak dipicik sakik, baitu pulo urang* 'pinch the skin, if the skin pinched hurts, so do people who are pinched'. It must not be one-sided or excessive in deciding cases or imposing sanctions. Their traditional expression says *malabihi ancak-ancak, reducing sio-sio* 'exaggerating is too good, reducing is also a waste.

Another principle in the implementation of the customary law of the Minangkabau ethnicity is related to the policy in making this decision. It is reflected in the customary law, which states that there is *abih adat dek mufakat*, as evident in the following phrases:

<i>Walaupun hinggok mancakam</i>	'Even though perch gripped'
<i>Kuku nan tajam tak baguno</i>	'Sharp nails are useless'
<i>Bago mamagang tampuak alam</i>	'Despite holding the reins of nature'
<i>Kato mufakat nan baguno</i>	'the word consensus is useful'

This traditional expression is a form of Minangkabau local wisdom in administrating customary justice. As a matter of similarity, these Minangkabau traditional expressions above also have in common the customary expressions of the Dayak Kanayatn sub-ethnic group, which states *idop dikandung adat, mati dikandung tanah*, means 'forever in life, tradition will always be governed by custom and, after death, will be buried in the ground'.

Like the Minangkabau, the traditions for the Dayak Kanayatn people also refer to behaving and acting in various situations. There is no corporal punishment for violators of customary law. They do not know the form of punishment blood for blood, life for life. Punishment is more of a moral punishment for violators of customary law. People who are subject to customary sanctions will feel ashamed because they are considered to have hurt the feelings of the community as a whole and will become gossip in the village. For the Dayak Kanayatn community, customary law practices must be fair, not one-sided or excessive, in deciding cases or imposing sanctions. Their regular expression says that *adat lebih Jubata bera, adat kurang antu bera* 'custom is good, God is angry, the custom is lack, ghosts are angry.' If it is too excessive in imposing sanctions, then God will be angry, but if it is too light, it will also bring the wrath of ghosts or spirits. Another principle in implementing customary law for the Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity is *jarubn ame jadi mariam* 'small problems should not be exaggerated.' A traditional leader should apply the principle of *mariam jadi jarubn ame*, a big problem becomes a minor problem' so that the problem becomes simple, and if possible, the problem can be solved.

In the process of customary justice, customary sanctions are not solely of material value but also have a spiritual meaning to restore the social balance which has been disturbed. The most severe customary sanctions for violators of tradition do not have to sell all of their valuables to pay customary fines because the customary rules also say *damuk adat karena pakat*, which means that tradition ends due to a consensus. Customary fines are just a symbol of peace to restore social balance. All decisions must reflect justice because injustice will make one party feel hurt. Therefore, before acting to harm people, *tetek siku, tulang takar* 'hit by the elbow, it hurts yourself.' This traditional expression implies that if somebody is hit, he or she will feel pain, and so will other people. If they are hit, they will also feel pain.

iv. Accuracy in Making Decisions

Accuracy is the ability to do something right without making mistakes. Accuracy is a human need in carrying out daily activities. In the Minangkabau group, a decrease in accuracy in making decisions can impact a loss for someone. In essence, the group believed that decision is the final result in considering something to be implemented. Decisions are a series of activities to analyze facts or information, leading to excellent and proper judgments. It is because precision in making decisions is like *mambiak rambuik dalam tapuang, rambuik indak putuih, tapuang indak taserak, ibarat manokok ula di dalam baniah, ula mati, tapi panokok indak patah, baniah indak leso*, (it is like a snakebite in a seedling, a caterpillar dies, but a snakehead does not break, it does not break, it is like taking the hair in flour, hair is not broken. It breaks, the flour does not scatter', like killing a snake in a seed, the snake dies, but the club does not break, the seed does not get stepped on.) This Minangkabau traditional expression implies that in solving a problem, do not harm others. Refrain from letting the problem be solved but cause other problems.

The traditional Minangkabau expressions have similarities with the traditional expression of the Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity. Regarding this concept of precision or caution, the traditional expression of the Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity says that it is like *mangkokng ular, ular mati pamangkokng inak patah* 'like hitting a snake, a dead snake does not break, it is better.' Mistakes in customary justice are like piercing a bead with no holes, *'nyusuk manek ina' balubakng*.'

v. Love for the Ancestral Land

The matrilineal kinship system results in sons needing a room in *rumah gadang*. Minangkabau custom only allows boys to sleep in *rumah gadang* when they have not yet regained their minds. When Minangkabau boys have regained their senses, they have to sleep together in the *surau* owned by their people or in celibates. Besides, the tradition also requires them to leave their hometowns to study knowledge or make a living. Through their traditional education, Minangkabau boys are required to go abroad. The expression goes: *Karatau madang di hulu, babuah babungo balun*, to mean 'Karatau madang is in the upstream, not yet bearing fruit' or *Marantau bujang dahulu, di rumah baguno balun* to mean 'Wandering single first, at home useful yet.'

However, the traditional Dayak Kanayatn phrase says, *Ka' mae batu babarikng, kadek bukek ka' arukng*. 'Where do the stones roll if it does not go down? As far as the crane flies, it returns to the wallows too. Just like the Minangkabau people, the Dayak Kanayatn people also have the concept that as far as they go abroad, one day they will return to their hometown.

vi. Fair Concept

Minangkabau custom teaches that every human being, especially leaders, must be able to treat others fairly. Regarding this concept of fairness, Minangkabau custom says that *jikok manimbang samo barek, jikok maukua samo panjang, tibo di mato indak dipiciangan, tibo di paruik indak dikampihan*. It means that if you weigh the same, if you measure it, it's long, when you reach the stomach, don't deflate it, when you reach your eyes, don't deflate it. squeezed'. Meanwhile, in the Dayak Kanayatn customary concept, the concept of justice is similarly described in the customary expression of *adat labih Jubata bera, adat kurang, antu bera*, which means that 'traditional Jubata is angrier, adat is less ghostly angry'. Based on the two customary adages above, it is clear that there are similarities between the concept of justice in Minangkabau custom and the concept of Dayak Kanayatn custom.

vii. Language Similarities

Minangkabau language is one of the regional languages spoken by the Minangkabau ethnic group in West Sumatra, parts of the administrative areas of the Provinces of Riau, Jambi, Bengkulu (Mukomuko), North Sumatra (Barus and Sibolga), South Aceh, and Negeri Sembilan Malaysia. Meanwhile, the Dayak Kanayatn language is the regional language spoken by the Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity in Landak, Sambas, Bengkayang Districts, Singkawang City, Mempawah District, Sanggau District, Pontianak City, and Kubu Raya District.

Thus there are similarities between the Minangkabau and the Dayak Kanayatn languages. These similarities are in morphological systems, for example, they both have the morpheme or prefix {ba}, which means 'ber' in the Indonesian language; morpheme or prefix {sa} 'se'; preposition (preposition) ka 'to'; and lexical equations. Some examples of similarities between the Minangkabau and Dayak Kanayatn languages can be seen in Table 1 below.

Tabel 1. Similarities in Morphological Systems

No	Equations in Morphology	Minang-kabau	Dayak Kanayatn	Indonesian Language	Meaning		
1	Prefix: {ba}	<i>bacamin</i>	<i>bacuramin</i>	bercermin	(doing) mirror		
			<i>baremah</i>	salah satu upacara adat Dayak Kanayatn	one of the Dayak Kanayatn traditional ceremonies		
			<i>baburukng</i>	salah satu upacara adat Dayak Kanayatn	one of the Dayak Kanayatn traditional ceremonies		
		<i>bahuma</i>	<i>bahuma</i>	berladang	farming		
		<i>baladang</i>	<i>baladang</i>	berladang	farming		
		<i>bajalan</i>	<i>bajalan</i>	berjalan	walking		
		<i>balubang</i>	<i>balubakng</i>	berlubang	hole		
		<i>batandu</i>	<i>batandu</i>	bertandu	stretcher		
		<i>babariang</i>	<i>babarikng</i>	berbaring, bergulir	lying down		
		<i>bamato</i>	<i>bamata</i>	bermata	eyed		
		<i>batalingo</i>	<i>batareyekng</i>	bertelinga	eared		
		<i>baati batu</i>	<i>baati batu</i>	berhati batu	stone hearted		
		2	Prefix: {sa}		<i>sapatok</i>	sedikit	a little
				<i>sakanyang paruik</i>	<i>sakanyang parut</i>	sekenyang perut	as full as a stomach
<i>ka sarugo</i>	<i>ka saruga</i>			ke surga	to heaven		
<i>ka sasamo</i>	<i>ka talino</i>			kepada sesama	to others		
<i>ke Tuhan</i>	<i>ka Jubata</i>			kepada Tuhan	to the God		
<i>ka ma</i>	<i>ka' mae</i>			ke mana	to go		
<i>ka bawah</i>	<i>ka' arukng</i>			ke bawah	go down		
	<i>ka' nguramokng</i>			ke dalam kayu	into the wood		
<i>ka Jawa</i>	<i>ka' Jawa</i>			ke Jawa	to Java		
<i>ka padang</i>	<i>ka' padakng (hilalang)</i>			ke padang (ilalang)	to the prairie		
3	Lexical	<i>berang</i>	<i>bera</i>	marah	angry		
		<i>kabau</i>	<i>karabo</i>	kerbau	buffalo		
		<i>manokok</i>	<i>mangkokng</i>	memukul	to hit		
		<i>panokok</i>	<i>pamangkokng</i>	pemukul	a tool for hitting		
		<i>indak patah</i>	<i>ina' patah</i>	tidak patah	not broken		
		<i>gadang</i>	<i>radakng</i>	besar	big		
		<i>tungau</i>	<i>tungo</i>	tungau	mite		
		<i>pacah</i>	<i>pacah</i>	pecah	broken		
		<i>iyu</i>	<i>iyu</i>	hiu	shark		
		<i>kanyang</i>	<i>kanyakng</i>	kenyang	full		
		<i>kareta</i>	<i>kareta</i>	kereta	train		
		<i>nyiru</i>	<i>nyiru</i>	meniru	to imitate		
		<i>talapak tangan</i>	<i>talapak tangan</i>	telapak tangan	palm		

Conclusion

The study examined the similarities and differences between the Minangkabau ethnic identity and Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity obtained from the processing of data obtained in the field and from several reference sources as secondary data. Based on these findings and data analysis and the comparison of the Minangkabau cultural identity with the Dayak Kanayatn cultural identity, it can be concluded that:

- 1) There are several similarities in cultural identity between the Minangkabau ethnicity and the Dayak Kanayatn sub-ethnic in West Kalimantan. Both are the communities that base their traditional teachings on religious teachings, but the difference is that the Minangkabau ethnic group bases its traditional teachings on Islamic teachings, while the Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity bases its traditional teachings on the concept of tradition or culture, which they call Jubata. We can see this from the regular expression which states *Adat Basandi Syarak Adat, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (Minangkabau), "*Adil ka talino, bacuramin ka saruga, basengat ka Jubata*" (Dayak Kanayatn).
- 2) Both Minangkabau and Dayak Kanayatn people are familiar with the concept of the nuclear family and the wider family. The Minangkabau people call the house where they live together their ancestral heritage *rumah gadang*, while the Dayak Kanayatn people call their ancestral heritage house the *betang* or long house. In the Minangkabau ethnicity, boys do not have a room in the gadang house because the rooms are reserved for girls, but the boys often have rooms at home.
- 3) The Minangkabau and Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity both have local wisdom when it comes to solving problems. In deciding the issue, the Minangkabau ethnicity is guided by the customary concept of *bak maambik bambuik dalam tapuang, rambuik indak putuih, tapuang indak taserak, manokok ula dalam baniah, ula mati, tapi baniah indak lesu*. While the Dayak Kanayatn ethnicity has a concept such as "*mangkokng ular, ular mati pamangkokng inak patah*," which means that 'like hitting a snake, a dead snake does not break its beater.' Mistakes in customary justice are like piercing; a bead that has no holes '*nyusuk manek ina' balubakng*'.
- 4) Language and morphological similarities between the Minangkabau language and the Dayak Kanayatn language were also identified. The similarities in morphological systems, for example, show that both have the morpheme or prefix {ba}, which means 'ber' in the Indonesian language; morpheme or prefix {sa} 'se'; preposition (preposition) ka 'to'; and lexical equations.

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