



Research article

The Text of Minangkabau Collective Riddles: Format, Figurative Language, and Social Function for the Collective Owners

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Abstract

This research article aims to describe the format, figurative language, and social function of the traditional oral texts of Minangkabau collective riddles in West Sumatra, Indonesia. This research is based on the theory of folklore where riddles are categorized as a significant part of oral tradition that grows and develops orally and traditionally within the Minangkabau collective. The description of the research findings will explain the following points. *First*, how the format of riddles, consisting of descriptions or questions (descriptive) and answers (referent), is used by the Minangkabau collective. *Secondly*, it explains how the Minangkabau collective oral style uses figurative language to compose the format of descriptions or questions (descriptive) riddles that they ask to be answered by their listeners. *Thirdly*, it describes the Minangkabau collective attitude of the owners of the oral tradition, and it explains the importance of the riddles in their social life. This finding is in line with the theory about the social function of oral tradition for the collective owner.

Keywords: Riddles, format, figure of speech, social function, Minangkabau collective, West Sumatra

1. Introduction

The Minangkabau people live on the mainland and the coast of the Province of West Sumatra, Indonesia. As an ethnic collective, they have a strong self-identity. The Minangkabau collective is one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia. Throughout its history, the ethnic identity of the Minangkabau collective has made a significant contribution to the form of Indonesian national culture with the syntax of their language, various kinds of arts, various types of culinary arts, and other aspects of their tradition. Based on this, the Minangkabau collective, which has been able to make a cultural contribution to the form of Indonesian national culture, can be said to be a strong, sturdy collective with a proud collective identity.

The Minangkabau collective has various forms of oral tradition including its folk tales, proverbs, expressions of folk beliefs, and riddles. The riddles are usually carried out by the

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Minangkabau community or collectives in informal, relaxed, and intimate meetings in a friendly and familial atmosphere. Activities in the form of question and answer in a presentation will bring jokes and joy among the participants in this riddle activity. The Minangkabau collective calls this type of oral tradition "batakok-taki". The "batakok-taki" genre, in the historical record of the Minangkabau collective oral tradition, has had a long history. Various types of riddles continue to interest the Minangkabau collective from one era to the next. Togetherness activities that make people feel happy, excited, and satisfied because they were able to provide the correct response, or sometimes annoyed or upset because the questioner had tricked them into answering, what they thought was correct. This is something supernatural because this question/answer activity is not about general knowledge. Therefore, the answer that the questioner claims to be the "correct" answer is sometimes completely unexpected. There is something arbitrary in determining the correct answer.

The study of the oral tradition of Minangkabau collective riddles by Indonesian researchers has so far been detected as a final project study at the undergraduate level (S1) and is relatively new because the study was carried out in the 2000s by Oktarian, Antoni., Hasanuddin WS, Nurizzati (2018); (Armayunita et al., 2019); (Naumi et al., 2020); and (Regina et al., 2022). An interesting thing that can be touched upon here regarding the oral tradition of Minangkabau collective riddles is what Van Hasselt did from 1877 to 1879. A total of 56 Minangkabau collective riddles were successfully documented and, then, published in a book entitled *De Talen en Letterkunde van Midden-Sumatra in the Netherlands* in 1881. Interestingly, the results of the documentation of the collective Minangkabau texts of riddles by Van Hasselt were then further investigated by Chadwick in 1990 in terms of language, specifically on the subjects and predicates contained in these riddles. The format of the description or questions from the texts of the riddle uses metaphors to make them symbolic.

The study we are currently conducting can be said to be a more comprehensive study of Minangkabau collective riddles texts compared to previous studies as mentioned above. The data collection area in this study covered all the mainland and coastal areas of West Sumatra Province. The study includes a study of format, use of figurative language, and the social function of riddle texts according to the Minangkabau collective that views itself as the owner of this oral tradition.

By knowing the format, use of figurative language, and the social function of the riddles of the people residing in the mainland and the coastal Minangkabau in West Sumatra, several things like the philosophy of life, concepts, behaviors, perceptions, and issues about people or Minangkabau collectives are conclusively experimented with. This research is also an attempt to document and classify the oral traditions of Minangkabau collective riddles in West Sumatra which are slowly being eroded and starting to disappear due to the touch of technology and modernization. In addition, this research can be said to be a follow-up study of Minangkabau collective riddles texts from what has been done by previous researchers, especially what has been done by Van Hasselt (1881) and Chadwick (1990).

2. Method

The type of research that forms the basis for the preparation of this article is qualitative research, namely research that does not use numerical and statistical data processing but prioritizes the researcher's appreciation of the interactions between concepts that are being studied empirically.

This research was conducted to understand phenomena about what is holistically experienced by research subjects such as behavior, perceptions, motivations, and actions, with a special natural context, and by utilizing the scientific method.

This research produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior, depending on observations of humans, both in terms of area and term. This research prioritizes natural settings and is conducted to present the social world, and its perspective on the world in terms of the concepts, behaviors, perceptions, and issues about humans studied.

The research data is in the form of format data comprising the use of figurative language in the riddles, the Minangkabau's own collective assessment as the owner of this tradition, and the function and benefits of this oral tradition of riddles in their social life. Data collection was carried out in two stages. The first stage is the inventory stage of literature study or document analysis. Through this stage, data was successfully inventoried that has been documented by early researchers, in this case, that has been documented by Van Hasselt (1881). The next step at this stage is to collect data directly from predetermined informants in the mainland and the coastal areas of West Sumatra by recording and interviewing. The words spoken directly by the informants were recorded in both audio and audiovisual versions using a tape recorder. Then the recorded voices are transcribed into written language. The results of the transcription were then transliterated from Minangkabau (mother tongue) into Indonesian and English. The transliterated text is then analyzed to formulate the format and the use of figurative language from the Minangkabau collective riddles text. The second stage was to collect data about the storytelling environment, including the views and philosophy of life, as well as the life values of the speakers who have an oral tradition of collective Minangkabau riddles in West Sumatra. Data about the text and riddle activities and what the Minangkabau collective recognizes as important from their oral tradition for their social relations was collected through recording, observation, and interview techniques.

3. Results and Discussion

Text Format

One encouraging thing that can be mentioned here is that many of the riddle texts obtained from Minangkabau informants living in West Sumatra are riddle texts as recorded in Van Hasselt's (1881), namely data numbers 1—8, 12—13, 15, 17—19, 23—26, 28—36, 38—48, and 50—56. This shows that the period of 141 years did not cause the Minangkabau riddle texts to disappear completely and to change with entirely new riddle texts. This finding also ensures that the Minangkabau people's "batakok-taki" oral tradition is still maintained and continues from one generation to the next until today.

Van Hasselt (1881) did not say for sure from which area he obtained the data on the Minangkabau riddles (mainland or coastal areas of West Sumatra or the Middle of Sumatra Region, as called at that time). Based on the findings mentioned above, it can be strongly suspected that Van Hasselt obtained the data from Minangkabau people living in the coastal areas of West Sumatra, not from Minangkabau people living in mainland areas. This is because the

findings of the riddles text data, which were mostly collected by Van Hasselt, were recovered today from Minangkabau people who live in coastal areas namely Padang City, Pariaman City, and Padang Pariaman Regency. There was no riddles text data found in the mainland of West Sumatra such as Payakumbuh City, Lima Puluh Kota Regency, Tanah Datar Regency, Agam Regency, Bukittinggi City, or Padang Panjang City, as the riddles text compiled by Van Hasselt.

Like the other collective riddle texts in the world, the Minangkabau collective riddle text format also consists of two parts of the presentation. The first part is called the description of the question (descriptive) and the second part is called the answer (referent). The interesting thing about the Minangkabau collective riddles text format is the use of figurative language which will be discussed specifically in the later portion of this article.

The text of the Minangkabau collective riddles, which have been collected from the mainland and coastal areas of West Sumatra, can be formulated as a causal relationship between the descriptive part and the referent part. The results of the study show that the format of the Minangkabau collective riddles text can be separated into two types: (1) the format of the first part and the second part which is oppositional (contradictory); (2) the format of the relationship between the first part and the second part that is non-oppositional (not contradictory). The oppositional (contradictory) format is the text format of Minangkabau collective riddles where the question (descriptive) and the answer (referent) are considered contradictory if they refer to daily reality. The following is an example of the riddles text in question.

Descriptive: *Daunnya talatak di dalam batang, buahnya talatak di dalam daun, batang apo tu?* Referent: *Batang Lamang*. (Descriptive: The leaves are located in the stem, the fruit is located in the leaf, what is the stem? Referent: Bamboo of *Lamang*)

Descriptive: *Binatang, binatang apo nan mamaliharo urang jo caro taruih maagiah aie minum sarato manyehatkan ?* Referent: *Jawi*. (descriptive: Animals, what animals take care of humans by providing healthy drinking water? Referent: Cow)

Descriptive: *Anaknyo dipijak-pijak, induaknyo diuruik-uruik*. Referent: *Janjang*. (Descriptive: The cub is trampled; the mother is stroked. Referent: Stairs)

Descriptive: *Induaknyo duduak-duduak sajo, anaknyo nan bakarajo ilie mudiak*. Referent: *Pariuak jo Sanduak*. (Descriptive: The mother just sits; the child works back and forth. Referent: Rice pot and Spoon)

The text format in the descriptive part of the four riddles text data above reflects that the description of the questions is arranged in a way that is contradictory (oppositional) with the daily reality. The description of questions, contrary to daily reality, is an interesting thing in this traditional oral activity because it will cause the answerer to be misled in answering the question. It is precisely this kind of condition that causes this "batakok-taki" activity to be lively.

The non-oppositional format is the Minangkabau collective riddles text format in which questions (descriptive) and answers (referent) are considered non-contradictory (non-oppositional) when referring to everyday reality. The following is an example of the text riddles in question:

Descriptive: *Nan dikaja indak baikua, nan mangaja indak bakaki, nan maliek indak bakapalo.*
 Referent: *Koncek, Ula, Kapitiang.* (Descriptive: Those who are chased have no tail, those who chase have no legs, those who see are headless. Referent: Frog, Snake, Crab)

Descriptive: *Ditungkuih bukan pakirim, ditanam bukan tinaman.* Referent: *Maik.* (Descriptive: Wrapped not a gift, planted not a plant. Referent: Corpse)

Descriptive: *Pagi bakaki ampek, tengah hari bakaki duo, patang bakaki tigo bamato ampek bagigi di lua muncuang.* Referent: *Urang dari ketek hinggo tuo.* (Descriptive: In the morning four-legged, in the noon two-legged, in the afternoon three-legged, four-eyed, teeth outside the mouth. Referent: People from infancy to old)

In the descriptive part of the three riddles text data above, it appears that the description of the questions is arranged in a way that is not contradictory (non-oppositional) with the realities of everyday life.

Figurative Language

The Minangkabau collective has the main tendency to use figurative language while communicating with each other, especially in oral communication. It has become one of their main characteristics. Therefore, the finding of the use of figurative language in Minangkabau collective riddles texts, which has been discussed by Chadwick (1990) specifically on the use of metaphors in the subject and predicate question format (descriptive), is not a strange thing. Nonetheless, Chadwick's discussion of the meaning of using figurative language in Minangkabau collective puzzle texts for the consumption of readers outside the Minangkabau collective is important and must be appreciated.

In the present article on the use of figurative language in Minangkabau collective riddles texts, matters that have been discussed by Chadwick (1990) will no longer be discussed. What will be discussed here is related to additional findings, namely about the characteristics of the use of figurative language in the form of similes or metaphors by the speakers of riddles in constructing descriptions or questions (descriptive). Based on the data obtained, the Minangkabau collective riddles text has a distinctive use of similes or metaphors related to the nature of humans, animals, plants, inanimate objects, and colors. The main reason why this is done by real speakers is to trick the listener into giving a wrong answer or an answer not wanted by the questioner. The following is an example of using a simile or a metaphor as intended:

Similarities with humans

Descriptive: *Ketek babaju,lah godang batilanjang, apo tu?* Referent: Botuang. (Descriptive: When you were young dressed, when you grew up naked, what was that? Referent: Bamboo)

Descriptive: *Bajalan indak ponek, manunjuak indak ado salah. Apo kok yo de?* Referent: *Jam (Jam tangan,jam dindiang)*(Descriptive: Walking is not tired, pointing is never wrong. What is it? Referent: Clock (Watch, wall clock)

Descriptive: *Ditakan pusek e, tabulalang Mato e, apo tu?* Referent: *Senter* (Descriptive: Pressed center, wide eyes. What is it? Referent: Flashlight)

In the three descriptions of the question sections (descriptive) above, the Minangkabau collective riddles text appears to be formulated by using figurative language in the form of object similarities that must be guessed by the answerer with the behavior and characteristics possessed by humans. Bamboo, clocks (hands or walls), and flashlights as objects of question, are formulated in figurative language by equating the characteristics of these objects with the behavior and characteristics of humans. If the answerer is unintelligent and does not carefully understand this figurative human-like language, they will not find the right answer to the question.

Similarities with Animals

Descriptive: *Batolu di awang-awang, menoteh di tapak tangan. Apo tu?* Referent: Buah manggih. (Description: Eggs in the air, hatch in the palm. Reference: Mangosteen fruit.)

Descriptive: *Kok duduak inyo sagadang kucing, kok malompek inyo sagadang gajah. Apo tu?* Referent: *Jalo lauak* (Descriptive: If he sits he is as big as a cat, if he jumps he is as big as an elephant. What is it? Referent: Fish Net)

Descriptive: *Babalalai bukannya gajah, mancakau bukannya harimau, mandanguangbukjannyo alang-alang. Apo tu?* Referent: *Rangik* (P1: Trunk is not elephant, pounce is not tiger, buzzing is not reeds. What is it? P2: Mosquito)

In the three parts of the description or questions (descriptive) of the three examples of text riddles with similes on animals, the question authors formulate the texts of riddles using similarities in the nature, behavior, and characteristics of animals. Laying eggs is a feature of birds, but hatching them in the palm of a human hand is certainly an odd thing. Another thing is a description or question (descriptive) of an object that if it sits, it sits as big as a cat; if it jumps it becomes as big as an elephant. The use of similarities in the characteristics, behavior, and characteristics of cats and elephants is an attempt by the questioner or drafter to outwit his listeners to find the most appropriate answer. Likewise, statements, or more precisely statements about animals that have trunks but are not elephants, behave in pouncing but are not tigers, buzz when the wind blows but are not reeds, are attempts to distract listeners from finding the correct answer. All these similarities in figurative language will force the answerer of the riddle question to think hard.

Similarities with plants

Descriptive: *Pucuk ke bawah urek ka ateh, apo de?* Referent: *Janguik* (Descriptive: Pucuknya ke bawah, akarnya ke atas. Apakah itu? Referent: Jenggot) (Descriptive: The shoot is down, the root is up. What is it? Referent: The beard)

Descriptive: *Daunnya talatak di dalam batang, buahnya talatak di dalam daun, batang po tu?* Referent: *Batang Lamang*. (Descriptive: The leaves are located in the stem, the fruit is located in the leaf, what is the stem? Referent: Bamboo of Lamang)

Two statements in the description or question (descriptive) section use similes or metaphors for plants. Similarities in the nature, behavior, and characteristics of plants are used by the inquirer in compiling statements as riddles text questions to his listeners. Based on the data obtained, it can be said that the characteristics of the pattern of questions (descriptive) in the use of figurative

language are similar to plants that tend to produce question patterns in the opposite (optional) format to everyday reality. See the two questions in the two riddles text above.

Similarities with inanimate objects

Descriptive: *Ado ciek umah indak bapintu indak bajandela, jikok pahuni e nio kalua, umahnyo ratah dipacahnyo. Apo tu?* Referent: *Talua* (Descriptive: There is a house without a door and no windows, if the occupants go outside, the house is cracked and broken, what is it? Referent: Egg)

Descriptive: *Dipanggang indak anguih, disiram indak basah, dikakok indak kanai, co takok.* Referent: *Bayang-bayang* (Descriptive: Burned not scorched, watered not wet, can't be caught, guess what. Referent: Shadows)

Descriptive: *Kasau e banyak tonggaknyo ciek, apo tu?* Referent: *Payuang* (Descriptive: Many rafters, only one pillar. What is it? Referent: Umbrella)

Observe the three riddles text above carefully. The statement of the question (descriptive) part is formulated in a long way, but the answer is only one word. By using figurative language for the inanimate objects, questions are asked to listeners who must answer the questions of the riddle text. The length of the questions as well as the nature of the questions in figurative language riddles texts is used with the main aim of forcing the answerers to think harder even though in the end they have to give up because they are unable to find a definite answer, except for the answerers who have heard the same question in different places, different times, and possibly by a different questioner.

Similarities with colors

Descriptive: *Merah basirabuik di lua, putih di dalam nan dimakan, apo de?* Referent: *Buah rambutan* (Descriptive: Red stringy on the outside, white on the inside which is eaten, what is it? Referent: Rambutan fruit)

Descriptive: *Diambuang ka ateh ijau warnanyo, jatuah ka bawah barubah merah, apo de?* Referent: *Buah simangko* (Descriptive: Thrown red in color, falling down turns red, what is it? Referent: Watermelon)

The expected answer (referent) to the question (descriptive) asked is not actually about color. The use of simile with various colors is done to disguise the meaning of the answer that the questioner really wants. As stated in the statement (descriptive) the two text riddles above are color matched. Through similes on colors, the answer to that question can vary depending on what the listener or answerer thinks of. In the first riddles text the correct answer is rambutan. The characteristics of a ripe rambutan fruit are that it has fibrous skin like human hair, is red in color, and is tempting but, of course, is not eaten. The contents of the rambutan fruit are white and the inside is covered with skin that is what is eaten. In the second riddle text, the correct answer is watermelon. The skin of the watermelon will remain green even though it is ripe, but the inside will be red. If a watermelon is thrown upwards, it will shatter as it falls, revealing its red contents.

Social Function

According to Brunvand (1968), determining what people believe or what their judgments are about the oral tradition being studied or has been explored through observation and interviews will determine how thorough the research on oral tradition within the framework of the folklore of a collective is. Brunvand (1973 and 1978) further theoretically explained that collective owners of oral traditions would state that their oral traditions were very important for their social life as (1) cultural values of teaching and learning play a significant function in strengthening beliefs and developing community integrity ; (2) cultural values of educational teaching and social control tools; (3) the cultural values of demonstrating social solidarity integrate the power of togetherness which is divided; (4) cultural values teach the wisdom of group (collective) identity; and (5) the cultural values of teaching and learning for independent living as a function of communal harmonization cannot be rejected.

Based on the results of interviews with fourteen Minangkabau people living in the mainland and the coastal areas of West Sumatra, information was obtained that the text and the activities of "batakok-taki" riddles have a certain social function for them as collective owners of traditions. Almost all informants stated that the text and the question-and-answer activity of "batakok-taki", carried out during free time in a relaxed atmosphere, are full of intimacy. Bakhri (62 years old) who lives in Ladang Nagari Pauah Kamba Village, Nan Sabari District, Padangpariaman Regency, said that the "batakok-taki" activity has a social function to test and increase one's "intelligence". Bakhri's statement was supported by the statements of other informants, namely Jarana (59 years old) who has his address at Nagari Bukik Batabuah, Canduang District, Agam Regency, and Sanimar (58 years old) who resides at Sungai Lingkuang Jorong Dadok Nagari Manggopoh, LubukBasung District, Agam Regency. All informants agreed that testing and increasing "intelligence" through texts and riddles activities of "*batakok-taki*" is not the same and not like testing one's knowledge and level of intelligence in an academic field with a particular curriculum. They added that the answers to the questions posed do not have to be answered just by thinking but by depending on the insight and experience of the answerer. Only those who have insight and experience about their collective customs and traditions can properly answer this question. It can also be answered by answerers who have heard this question in different places, times, and by different speakers.

Another outcome extracted from the interviews with informants about the social function of the text and the activities of "batakok-taki" riddles is their usefulness in entertaining each other in an intimate atmosphere. Informant Alinur (58 years old) having his address at Nagari Situjuh Batua, Lima Puluh Kota Regency, and Jaswirman (65 years old) living at Kanagarian Kapeh Panji Jaya Talaok, Bayang District, Pesisir Selatan Regency stated that the formulation of the questions (descriptive) and answers (referent) presented in the familiar activity will produce something entertaining because of the elements of humor and familiarity. Answers (referent) tend to be something not expected by the answerer. After the questioner asks a (descriptive) question, especially using figurative language, the answerer will be confused, and think hard trying to find answers to the questions put to him. In many cases, the answerer will have a hard time finding the correct answer (reference) as the questioner intended. The answerer and the questioner are both amused when no answer is received, and the answerer states that he or she cannot find an answer and then gives up. Since the answerer has given up, the questioner will tell the correct answer.

The intended answer is then announced, and the answer turns out to be completely unexpected or unthinkable by the answerer even though it is a very simple and easy answer. Conditions like this create a sense of humor and an entertaining atmosphere of intimacy. This can happen repeatedly and reciprocally because the questioner and the answerer can switch roles.

Based on the explanation of the results of the research on the study of format, figurative language, and function of the oral tradition text of Minangkabau collective riddles in the mainland and coastal areas of West Sumatra, it can be summarized as contained in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Format, Figurative Language, and Social Functions of the Riddles Collective Oral Tradition Text of Minangkabau Mainland and Coastal Areas of West Sumatra Indonesia

Structure Format	How to use Ffigurative language to formulate questions (descriptive) of riddle	Social Function	
		Media or means of testing wisdom and intelligence	Media or means for collective entertainment
<p>It has two formats, namely (i) a descriptive format which functions as a question; and (ii) an answer format (referent)</p> <p>The format of the question text (descriptive) from riddles is arranged in such a way that it can be a contradictory (oppositional) question or statement or a question or statement that is appropriate (non-oppositional) with everyday reality.</p>	<p>Figurative language is used with similarities (metaphors) in the form of (i) similarities with humans; (ii) similarities with animals; (iii) similarities with plants, (iv) similarities with inanimate objects, and (v) similarities with colors by the creator of the question riddles in the question format (descriptive) to confuse and require the listener (the person who has to answer) to think hard to find the real answer expected by the questioner</p>	<p>Media or collective means express feelings, thoughts, and attitudes during free time in a relaxed atmosphere full of intimacy</p>	<p>Media or means of collective togetherness create an atmosphere full of familiarity and refreshment of collective social relations.</p>

4. Conclusion

Based on the results of the research and discussion, the conclusions of this research can be formulated as follows. *First*, the Minangkabau collective riddles text in the mainland and coastal areas of West Sumatra Province, Indonesia has a format that consists of two parts: (i) a descriptive format that functions as a question, (ii) an answer format (referent). The format of the question

text (descriptive) from riddles can be arranged in such a way by the questioner so that it can be a contradictory (optional) question or statement or a question or statement that is appropriate (non-oppositional) with everyday reality. This format is similar to other riddles text formats found in various other ethnicities in the world.

Second, the Minangkabau collective refers to the text of the riddles as "takok-taki" and the activities of the riddles as "batakok-taki". Minangkabau collective riddle texts are characterized by using figurative language. Therefore, the use of figurative language in the text and the activities of "batakok-taki" riddles are its main characteristics. Figurative language is used by the creator of the riddle question to force the listener (answer) to think hard to find the answer as desired by the questioner. The figurative language used by the questioner is simile or metaphor. The similes or metaphors that are mostly used by questioners in compiling questions (descriptive) riddles as research findings are in the form of (i) similarities with humans; (ii) similarities with animals; (iii) similarities with plants, (iv) similarities with inanimate objects, and (v) similarities with colors.

Thirdly, the texts and activities of the Minangkabau collective riddles have a social function for the collective. This was stated by the informants as a collective representation of the Minangkabau in this study. They state that it is important that the texts and activities of riddles are preserved and passed on to the next generation at least related to these two things, namely (i) as a medium or means of teaching and testing Wisdom and Intelligence to fellow members of the collective and especially to the next generation on the sidelines leisure in a relaxed atmosphere full of intimacy, and (ii) as a medium or means for collective entertainment capable of creating and maintaining effective social relations and collective togetherness. In line with this conclusion, it can be stated unequivocally that the texts and activities of the Minangkabau collective riddles can be declared as an intangible cultural heritage of the Minangkabau collective in the land and the coastal areas of West Sumatra because they reflect attitudes and behavior of the Minangkabau collective. Like other oral traditions, the text of the Minangkabau "batakok-taki" oral tradition not only has a pragmatic aesthetic linguistic function in speaking but also has other broader social functions.

Thus, the research findings in the form of format, figurative language, and social function of the oral tradition of the Minangkabau collective riddle in the mainland and coastal areas of West Sumatra are believed to complement other types of Minangkabau collective oral tradition research that has been conducted by previous researchers. In addition, the results of this study also make it possible to carry out further research on the text and activities of the Minangkabau collective riddles in the future. In addition, the results of this study can also be used as a basis for research on oral traditions or traditions of other Minangkabau collective oral traditions. According to Siegel (1979), Goodenough (1981), Hadi (2002), Navis (2002), Barthes (2003), Dundes (2005), Sedyawati (2007), and Kaivola (2018) the sooner it is done the better it will be able to maintain the authenticity of the text. The longer it is postponed, the more likely it is that the influence of outside culture and the influence of communication technology tools will affect speakers, speech, and their oral tradition activities.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interests

The author declared no potential conflict of interest.

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