Alek Ketek and Alek Gadang: TWO MODELS OF TRADISIONAL WEDDING IN NAGARI SINGKARAK KUBUANG TIGO BALEH MINANGKABAU SOCIETY

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agari Singkarak Kubuang Tigo Baleh Minangkabau society has a unique tradition of customary wedding. As a part of the Minangkabau society, they conduct two models of the tradition of wedding, namely; *alek ketek* (small party) and *alek gadang* (big party). *Alek ketek* ceremony can be done in a simple way, but the *alek gadang* ceremony is full of complicated arrangements. People who conduct the tradition of *alek gadang* must do the custom rules correctly. This complicated model of customary wedding is only practiced by Nagari Singkarak Minangkabau's society, and not by other people, although its neighborhood villages. Interestingly this wedding tradition implementation is still upheld by the local community.

The wedding situation reflects the community capability level of Nagari Singkarak in determining *alek*. It creates the layers of the specified social level, upper and lower. Community groups who determine *alek gadang*, they choose social strata which will occupy a higher level than those who determine *alek ketek* ceremony.

Keywords: Two models, traditional wedding, *alek ketek*, *alek gadang*.

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A. Introduction

Wedding is an important social event in human life cycle. Wedding is a transition of a life when a girl or boy will soon leave all the memories and habits of his youth, to enter the new world of family life as a woman or a married man. Marriage is not only creating a relationship between two human beings, who builds a family, but it creates a much broader relationship, it is the relationship between the relatives of the individuals build up the family (Gitrif Yunus, 1999: 2). Marriage in all times and in all places is a contract according to the customs, intended to establish legitimate children born as an acceptable member of society (Gough in Keesing, in Gitrif Yunus, 1999: 1).

There are various customs and rules on the implementation of wedding ceremony, as customary wedding in different cultures take certain rules suitable to the rules set by the custom itself. The wedding ceremony process is very diverse, in accordance with the prevailing custom in the community who have it. Matrilineal Minangkabau society living with a communal system, put wedding into the affairs of relatives, besides involving relatives near and far they also involve all levels of society villages. This wedding ritual is usually full of complex arrangements and full of symbols. This is match with the expression of Ruth Benedict that ritual activities is a very important aspect in human life (Ruth Benedict in Hadiwinoto, et. al., 1990: 1) especially by the people who still live in traditional patterns of agrarian culture (Hadiwinoto, et. al., 1990: 1).

Besides the rules of wedding generally implemented in Minangkabau, there are also habits of wedding that each *nagari* has different way to react. In this case it applies *adaik* salingka *nagari*,¹ *pusako* salingka suku, lain padang lain belalang, lain lubuak lain *ikannyo* (traditional circle of *nagari*, pusako circle of tribes, different field different bugs different pool different fish), which is a hereditary habit in some villages. Nagari Singkarak Kubuang Tigo Baleh Minangkabau² as one of the 648 *nagari* spread over 11 districts in

¹ Customary is rules must be obey and implementedby certain society. Minangkabau society knows 4 form of customary called *adaik nan ampek* (for custom), consist of (1) *Adat nan sabana adat*, basic value wiich is nature law; (2) *Adat nan diadatkan*, culture inheritance from custom formulator of Minangkabau who is from Datuak Katumanggungan and Datuak Perpatih Nan Sabatang; (3) *Adat nan teradat*, also called as *adaik salingka nagari* (round of *nagari*'s custom), is the result of ratification of head man in a *nagari*, apply for *lain padang lain belalang*, *lain lubuk lain ikannya*; and (4) *Adat istiadat*, is a custom or habits adapted to the demand of society.(LKAAM Sumatera Barat, 1987: 19-20; Suarman, et. al., 2000: 61-78).

² Nagari Singkarak is one of *nagari* located in district of Solok, West Sumatera. Kubuang Tigo Baleh (now is solok) is a part of cultural area of Minangkabau, and located in Luhak Tanah Datar. The name of Kubuang Tigo Baleh oroginated from had man (tribe leader) saying in Luhak Tanah Datar in deciding two conflicted group, then extrude 13 people in those groupby mentioneing the words of

Minangkabau, has a unique wedding ritual. One of the uniqueness of the wedding ritual is on the wedding model implementation. Nagari Singkarak society classify the party levels into two parts, thowe are: (1) alek ketek (small party), and (2) alek gadang (big party). Alek ketek implementation can be done simply and without any binding requirements, but the implementation of the alek gadang must pass major phases sequentially in accordance with the customary rules and regulations. Models are quite complicated wedding ritual is only owned by Nagari Singkarak society, and not owned by other people in the neigborhood villages. Interestingly this wedding tradition implementation is still upheld by the local community.

The focus of this paper will discuss around the structure of wedding in Nagari Singkarak Minangkabau, and then will discuss why there are two models of wedding in Nagari Singkarak, how people conduct the wedding, and what symbols appear during the course of the wedding ceremony.

The Prohibitions in Customs Wedding System of Nagari Singkarak Society

Principle matrilineal exogamy³ marriage in Minangkabau held by the community Nagari Singkarak state that a person cannot have marriage with a person who is relative, such as *sasuku*, *sarumpun*, and *sadarah* relatives (one tribe, one family, and one was related by blood). Although Islam is a fad to the community, but implementation of *sasuku*, *sarumpun*, and *sadarah* marriage is still prohibited by custom. This was also to consider social relations salvation and the lineage distruction (LKAAM Sumatera Barat, 1987: 118-119. This provision have to be obey by the whole community because it has stated in *adat nan babuhua mati*, which have a punishment for thrown over indigenous peoples in the form excommunication and the separation from the the society of *nagari* (Amir, 1997: 24). So that the tight exogamy marriage concept held by the community Nagari Singkarak up to now.

There are at least four prohibition of marriage, which must be obeyed by the community of Nagari Singkarak, those are: (1) Prohibition of *sasuku* marriage (one tribe), (2) Prohibition of *sarumpun* marriage

iko buang, iko buang, iko buang (throw this way, throw this way, throw this way), which then change into words *kobuang* or *kubuang*. Becoause the number of people extruded is thirteen pople (*tigo baleh*), so that the words compilation of *iko buang* and thirteen people change into Kubuang Tigo Baleh (i extrude thirteen). Those thirteen peole was reaching to solok (nowadays name). (Tamsin in Suarman, et. al., 2000: 319).

³ Eksogami is a princip of wedding which oblige a person to find his/her match from out of his/her society, such as family, social group, one residencial area. (See Keesing, 1981: 283).

(one clan); (3) Prohibition of *sadarah* marriage (relatives by blood); (4) Prohibition of marriage between children Nagari Singkarak with children Nagari Saniangbaka.

Even though there is a prohibition on *sasuku*, *sarumpun*, and *sadarah* marriage in Nagari Singkarak, but the fact that there are also people who did not obey the prohibition. So *sasuku*, *sarumpun*, and *sadarah* marriage remained in the society. Those who do marriage of *sasuku*, *sarumpun*, and *sadarah* are considered breaking the society pride. In this case, the society, *niniak mamak*, and the penghulu brought up this issue to Kerapatan adat (meeting) in Balai-Balai Adat. There is no forgiveness for them, they were expelled from their homes, and thrown over indigenous society, as a custom proverb said ... *indak dibaok sailia samudiak*, *saduduak satagak*, *saadat sapusako*, *sahino samalu*, *salabuah satapian* ... *kok salah indak buliah lai ditimbang*, *utang indak buliah lai dibayia* (not brought forward and backward, onesit and onestand, one custom one wealth, one shame one embarash, one step one line ... if one can no longer determined, debt can no longer be paid).

Besides to the doer, the impact of the punishment was also affecting family's life and his relatives in the society, especially in their clan. Their family will be isolated from its society; they will receive various bullying from the community *nagari*.

The marriage law in Nagari Singkarak also prohibit the marriage between person from Nagari Singkarak and person from Nagari Saniangbaka (the neighbor of Nagari Singkarak), the law marriage in Nagari Saniangbaka also set up its citizens not to marry people who came from Nagari Singkarak. Although this marriage prohibition is not stated in indigenous society and religion, but the ban has been ingrained in those peoples' lives.

This marriage Prohibition was inspired based on the history which stated that the ancestors of both community have an oath. Although marriage prohibition is exist for a long time in both society, nevertheless there are still in the community that violate the prohibition.

The Tradition Before The Wedding Ceremony

There are several certain phases that a custom must be trough by each society that will carry out the wedding ceremony. The phases are: 1) *Marasok* (absorb) is the procession of first sounding out and as the beginning of the series procedure of wedding ceremony in Nagari Singkarak. 2) *Maminang* (proposing), is of the coming of groom family who will paired to bride's house to propose. 3) *Maarekkan janji* (to strengthen promise). 4) *Batando* (engaged), is a deal of binding promises by delivering a binding thing as a symbol binding agreements by the groom to the bride. If there is between the two families who cancel the agreement that had been agreed, so they would get a indigenous sanction or punishment. 5) Manakok hari (specify the wedding day. 6) Manduduakan niniak mamak (seat ninik-ninik mamak). 7) Bainai or berinai (wearing inal). Community of Nagari Singkarak also made ritual bainai as part of the ritual their customary wedding. The wedding rituals are not complete without the procession of bainai, the inai which will be used by made by bako⁴ anak daro (the bride) before the wedding ceremonies at around 7.30 pm after Isya prayers, bako deliver two packs inai that has been pounded smoothly) to the house of the anak daro, another pack of inai in the night, is also deliverd to the candidates house marapulai (groom). 8) Wedding ceremony.

Customary Wedding Traditions Model using Alek Gadang

At the prior part, we mentioned that there are two models of customary wedding traditions often conducted in the Nagari Singkarak community, the wedding model using *alek gadang* (big party) and the model marriage using *alek ketek* (small party). Both the keyword is also as a concept that most widely accepted and respected by life aspects and social community called Nagari Singkarak. In the following sections will be elaborated customary wedding tradition model of Nagari Singkarak using *alek gadang*.

After the wedding ceremonies that are often conducted on Friday, then on Saturday or Sunday *alek gadang* (bog party) is conducted. *Alek gadang* which analoguous as *turun jo payuang* (down with an umbrella) is marked with some important things, among them are *mambantai* or Aqiqah (sacrifiying goat) Ritual.

Aqiqah (arabic: cutting) Ritual is one of the ritual of Muslim in obedience to Allah S. W. T. the amighty. Aqiqah Ritual means sacrifiying slaughteried animals in welcoming the birth of the child as a sign of thanks to Allah S. W. T.⁵ Imam Ahmad and Tarmidzi refere from Umm Karaz Ka'biyah that he asked Allah's Messenger about aqiqah ritual. He said, "For boys it is optionally to slaughter two goats and for a girl it is optionally to slaughter one goat, and not to harm you, whether the slaughtered animal is male or female."⁶

Society of Nagari Singkarak implements the Rasulullah saying in accordance with Islam law, for the prosperous family would do aqiqah of his son on the seventh day he was born. But for those who have not

⁴ In matrilineal Minangkabau society it is known a term as *Bako, induak Bako, and anak pisang.* In general the terms *bako* is a nuclear family and their father's matrilineal and relatives of the father, while the term *induak bako* only intended for father 's sibling.

⁵ <u>http://kambinguntukaqiqah.blogspot.com/</u>

⁶ Imam Ahmad dan Tarmidzi <u>http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aqiqah</u>. also see <u>http://kambinguntukaqiqah.blogspot.com/</u>

been able to at the time, the family will do aqiqah of his son at the time his wedding. Aqiqah ritual in the wedding day is called *mambantai* (to cut), the procession *mambantai* as part of the wedding ritual has two goals, the first is to carry out the bride aqiqah ritual that has not been done in hist seveth day after he was born; and the second is to financing the party or *alek gadang* for the bride who has been done the aqiqah ritual. However, whatever the purpose of the procession *mambantai*, if *alek* (party) with the procession of *mambantai* is called *alek gadang*, on the other hand *alek* that was not accompanied by the procession of *mambantai* called *alek ketek*. According to some informers,⁷ the wedding ritual and *mambantai* ritual was a reflection of indigenous peoples of *basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah*, and that is the place of a meeting between tradition and religion.

According to Bapak late Jalius Malin Malano,⁸ there are three parents loan to his son; (1) Messenger's Circumcision; (2) Religion; and (3) Aqiqah ritual. When the debt was paid by the parents, the parents will get the merit. The meaning aqiqah ritual is that there is gap in the relationship of a child with his/her parents before aqiqah ritual, child at that time was such a sword that was pawned. He will be near and meet his parents when the aqiqah was done for him/her. When the parents, thirst in the field Masyar later, has its aqiqah that will connect to their son so that the child will know who his parents are, he will bring water when her parents thirsty, and he will also bring food when his parents hungry.

The ritual mambantai is usually done a day after the wedding ceremonies. When wedding day carried out on Friday, then the ritual mambantai carried out on Saturday. The mambantai ritual is carried out after the times of Subuh (dawn) prayer, attended by all men who were in nagari, which has been dipanggia (invited) by his grandmother house (sisters' sons mother). It was a time, the father-in-law (mintuo), ipa bisan (brother-in-law's), the son, the cousin, the older brother, sumando (a position a husband in the structure Minang indigenous peoples, and so on. Like Minang's proverb said kok elok baimbauan, kok buruak baambauan (good work is praised, bad work helping each other).

Before the *mambantai* ritual is started, then the *si pangka* (host) prepared several ritual apparatus, namely: (1) cattle; (2) rice; (3) Betel; (4) Milk; (5) Bananas; (6) cooking oil; (7) knife; (8) Comb; (9) glass or a mirror.

⁷ Interview with: 1) The deceased. Amris St. Tunaro. Dated January 3, 2010, in Batur; 2) Taufik Lelo Sutan. 15 November 2009, at Batur; 3) Interview by the deceased. Mr. H. Malin Jalius Malano. Dated December 5, 2009.

⁸ Interview with the deceased. Bapak H. Jalius Malin Malano. Tanggal 5 Desember 2009, di Singkarak.

In general, livestock that can be used for aqiqah ritual consists of:⁹ (1) goat with age more than two years; (2) sheep or lamb to the age more than one year or ever for tooth change; (3) Buffalo or cow's age more than two years; (4) camels with age more than five years. In its relationship with animals that slaughtered for aqiqah ritual, of course, be adjusted with the families' conditions and social status that have *alek* (party).

Rice (Min: *bareh*) is the ears rice (unhulled rice) which has been split from chaff. In rituals aqiqah ritual in the local community of Nagari Singkarak, rice to be part of the ritual. Rice (which will be equipped with rice, curry, etc) be made as a tool ceremony which will be given to *urang siak* (pious scholars) to be eaten. The charity will bring a great reward pour into their children whose aqiqah addressed to,¹⁰ and in the field of Mashar will be able to help the parents who are in trouble.

For those Minangkabau betel always presented in every religious ceremony, such as ritual of the nativity, wedding, welcoming guests, or even a sacred rituals has continued to be carried out by this tradition. Because of this reasong, this tradition is considered as important thing for Minangkabau community who believes that chew betel is a tradition that has meaning as unifier hope to be a person who is always humble, have a pure heart is sincere and aggressive, honest, and patience.¹¹

In the aqiqah ritual betel was presented as respect to the parents, because betel is a symbol in nature that represents humility, mutual love and respect each other.

Dadiah (milk) is a traditional food Minangkabau, nutritional content, made from such as buffalo milk that is fermented in *buluh* (bamboo) covered by banana leafes. In addition to a food, *dadiah* also presented in the ceremonies indigenous peoples, both in Minangkabau or in other areas such as in ceremony of tabot festival in Bengkulus. In aqiqah ritual in Nagari Singkarak, *dadiah* was also used as one of the means the ceremony.

Banana is fruit plants as herbs that comes from the area in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. Besides having nutrition quite a lot and rich minerals, the banana is also used as a symbol and symbol in various ceremonies. In rituals *mambantai* or aqiqah ritual in Nagari Singkarak, banana also became one of the rituals' tool. Oil, comb, and

<u>html</u>

⁹ <u>http://crysrepair.blogspot.com/2009/11/pengertian-definisi-tata-cara.</u>

¹⁰ Interview with Bapak H. Jalius Malin Malano. Singkarak 5 Desember 2009.

¹¹ http://www.minangkabaunews.com/artikel-356-sirih-simbolpenghormatan -orang-minang.html

glass or a mirror, was the instrument of a tool that is also presented in ritual aqiqah ritual.

When *urang siak* (which will cut off a goat) and the guest who are invited morning, have come together, then commenced the procession *mambantai*. Only guests a man who is in the arena, they went around to watch the procession. A goad is pulled to the arena, rice, *sirih*, milk, bananas, cooking oil, a knife, comb, mirrors that is placed in a container is brought to the goat. One of the *mamak* took one glass or a mirror, and faced to face a goat to have its reflection. A goat and then was oiled and were combed along her hair while faced in front a mirror, it means to groom themselves, and to cleanse themselves. Glass or a mirror narrowly defined for a light itself so that later on in the field Mashar child whose the aqiqah conducted for knows who he his/parents parents.

After that, there are some betel leaves wiped to a goat. Betel were presented in this procession has a meaning as respect for the parents, because betel is a symbol in nature that represents humility, mutual love and respect each other. Then the goat is drawn and prepared to cut off, so he began cutting goat which was witnessed by guests who attended. After the cut of goat was finished it was in hanging in a tree and the clean, and then in fuel to eliminate their feathers that may still be found in all its body.

In a corner of the arena has been prepared in a place to settle goat cutting. There it was several men squat and had a duty to clean up a goat and cut off to small pieces.

After the procession *mambantai* is finished, all those who attend in this event upstair to the house to eat. But there is always priored by *pasambahan* (gift/present) to eat finished by *pasambahan* (present/gift) eating. Finally all guests who were present to return to their homes.

Mambantai can be done by only marapulai, only anak daro, or will be done by both sides marapulai and anak daro in their own homes. When mambantai done by marapulai as well as anak daro, or will be done by both *marapulai* so that indigenous peoples of Nagari Singkarak gives certain rule for this procession, that marapulai has right to have gala (a title), a 'honorary degree" which should be given to the groom in Minangkabau who has been married as revealed by the proverb of ketek banamo, gadang bagala (when he was a child was given the name, after than has the title). The gala for a man in Nagari Singkarak abandon Tigo Baleh new rituals can be done if he will be done by alek gadang (big party) or mambantai kambing (cut the goat). So that when an even has not been conducted for a man, so he had not be given the gala yet. Thus, it turned out that the concept ketek banamo, gadang bagala (small given the name, the great has the title) in Minangkabau is also a adaik round of nagari's custom (indigenous peoples selingkar nagari, of which only applied only in certain nagarinagari.

The procession *mambantai* identical to *alek gadang* also gave authority for a *marapulai* to wear *cirobong* a crown of *marapulai* greatness. A *marapulai* has just been given the right to wear *cirobong*, when procession *mambantai*. On the other hand, if procession of *mambantai* has not been done then *marapulai* did not have the right to wear *cirobong*. Then a hat greatness *marapulai* was subtituted by *saluak*.

Pelaminan (Weddings bed), the place for sitting (sleep) bride (Team of Dictionary arragement Language training and Development Centre Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993: 742).¹² The term *pelaminan* are used by many ethnic groups in Indonesia, including Minangkabau. But Nagari Singkarak have their own terms, they call *pelaminan* as *pakaian rumah* (dress the house). Attribute of *pakaian rumah*is connected to the life of the people Nagari Singkarak, and the dressing the *pakaian rumah* must be placed in their place, and adjusted with big or small *alek* (the party). Thus the *pakaian rumah*instaling should be adjusted with the current *alek* and in terms that applied in Nagari Singkarak.

Pakaian rumah has a unique shape, many different accesories and the colors made its appearance be lively, which consists of the parts that are complementing each other. Besides it looks very beautiful, lively, and glorious, parts of it was not just accessories, the symbols of the pregnancy but that has certain meaning.

The parts of a pakaian rumah of: langik-langik gadang (big cailing), anak langik-langik (small cailing), ogoh-ogoh, kaboyo, lapiak kamba (twin matt, consists of seven layers), kasua, ramo-ramo (butterfly mattresses consists of seven layers), tirai tabia (curtain veil), geredeng (3 meters), tabia (the veil), mato banta (pillow), tonggak banta (a major milestone pillow), hakim (four pieces), banta gadang (big pillows three), banta ketek (small pillow four pieces), banta ampek (four pillow foradoration), kasua kaduduakan (positioning mattresses, for the Padang urang sumando), kasua marapulai (mattresses marapulai).

In its relationship with *alek gadang*, there are provisions of the pairing *pakaian rumah*, that every *alek gadang* should be equipped with:

a) Kasua ramo-ramo (mattresses), is mattresses that is used for the seat bride. Kasua ramo-ramo consists of some layers, sometimes nine, seven, five, or three layers. Many layers showing a big or small party that was held. When mattress nine layers or seven layers, so that it has alek gadang.

Bride who wore *kasua ramo-ramo* nine layers are usually the bride from the royal family Tuanku Lareh Singkarak (Rusli

¹² Also see <u>http://baralekdi.blogspot.com/2011/01/pelaminan-</u> <u>minangkabau.html</u>

Amran,1981: 19, 68-69).¹³ when Dutch Government came to Minangkabau, structure of the government in Minangkabau was altered by Western nations, with a system of *Lareh* (Laras), which form of government to which is equivalent to Minangkabau sub-district in this time. *Lareh* headed by a master *Lareh* (Laras) who was appointed and promoted by the Netherlands. Tuanku Lareh is chosen from a *penghulu* (ruler) of called *Datuak* (old man) in a *nagari*. Until this time the children and grand children of Tuanku Lareh was still has special position structure social community of Nagari Singkarak.

Besides bride from the royal family of Tuanku Lareh, there are also bride from *penghulu* who use *kasua ramo-ramo* of nine layers. But each society that use *kasua ramo-ramo* nine layers are required to *mambantai* (cut) buffalo or cow.

The use of *kasua ramo-ramo* seven layers still referred to as *alek gadang*, but each family who use it required for *mambantai* (cut) a goat as animals limb.

b) *Tonggak banta banta* (main pillow) in the *pakaian rumah*, also was a symbol that *alek gadang*. *Pakaian rumah* at every *alek gadang* should be equipped with a *tonggak banta*.

c) *Dijapuik bako* (picked up by *bako*) with *padi saratuih sukek* or rice hundred liters *bajamba* or *batalam* and *batalempong*) that are known as ceremony *maanta padi saratuih* (take a hundred rice), is a procession indigenous peoples who will be done by *bako*. The procession was also is one of the symbols carry out *alek gadang*.

Customary Wedding Traditions Model Using Alek Ketek

The initial procession that was done in *alek ketek* is almost the same as the *alek gadang*. As option to choose in *alek gadang*, people who choose *alek ketek* are still carrying out the procession such as: 1) *Marasok*; 2) *Maminang*; 3) *Maarekan janji*; 4) *Batando*; 5) *Manakok hari*; 6) *Manduduakan niniak mamak*; 7) *Bainai*; and 8) wedding ceremony.

But after the wedding ceremonies in an *alek ketek* there is no *mambantai*, and in relation to *bako*, *bako* can pick up or not pick up its bananas. When picked up, *bako* can also determine whether picked up with *maanta padi saratuih* as that will be done in *alek gadang*, or *bako* can also take its trunk with *maanta nasi pamanggia* (take a *rice caller*).

The procession of maanta nasi pamanggia almost the same as the maanta padi saratuih (take a hundred rice), but induak bako did not prepare equipment such as the ceremony (1) oyak osen; (2) jamba; (3) white rice; (4) beras kunyik (5) kambuik balamun; (6) talam sumandan; and (7) padi saratuih sukek. Equipment ceremony that must be

¹³ Also see Ramli Suit Gindo Kayo in <u>http://kepinganminangkabau.wordpress.com/2012/05/25/lareh-singkarak/</u>

prepared by *induak bako* in the procession *maanta nasi pamanggia are:* (1) 13 karambia (coconut); and (2) 5 liters sipuluik (sticky rice). While bako-bako or other sumandan-sumandan from bako usually bring karambia (coconut) that was put on kambuik limo as in the ceremony maanta padi saratuih.

Other aspect is that in a procession *maanta pamanggia rice*, bananas also paraded in a row by relatives *bako*, accompanied by and also with talempong. But usually not as long as the procession or not as much as *maanta padi saratuih*.

Conclusion

The traditional marriage with the *alek gadang* (big party) and the tradition wedding with the *alek ketek* (small party) are the two models traditions wedding indigenous peoples in Nagari Singkarak. Both practices wedding is still run until this time, because the rules indigenous peoples Nagari Singkarak has been set up procedures model traditions wedding of indigenous peoples.

The custom will set up the wedding with the *alek gadang*, and indigenous communities are also set up in wedding with *alek ketek*. Big or small *alek* (party) can be seen from the symbols of the ritual each custom.

Alek gadang implementation is determined by an conduction of procession *mambantai* (to cut cattle), the first uses buffalo or cow as their livestock, the latter use a goat as animals livestock, and the third party did not make the procession *mambantai* at all. Big, small, or not animals that provided show the economy capability of family that will be conducting *alek*(party).

The importance procession *mambantai*, it was also find in the *gala* (honorific name) to men Minang, toward the symbols *pakaian rumah* like number of *kasua ramo-ramo*, *tonggak banta*, and so on.

The wedding Situation was reflecting that the community capability level of Nagari Singkarak determine *alek* that was chosen, create the layers of the specified social level, upper and lower. The process of the layers of the system was self running, who had gone up from a different levels of ability between individuals or among social groups that are in the community. Community groups that determine *alek gadang* as they choose social strata of course will occupy a higher than the groups that determine *alek ketek* as his choice.

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Interview

- 1. The deceased Amris St. Tunaro. Piliang Batangkarak. Lecturer, Artisan speech. Talao Singkarak.
- 2. The deceased H. Jalius Malin Malano. Sumpadang. Mosque caretaker. Jorong Dalimo Singkarak.
- 3. Taufik Lelo Sutan (45). Chaniago. Farmer, Artisan speech. Talao Singkarak.