

Interactivity in the Performance of the Traditional Art of Bagurau Saluang Dendang Minangkabau in West Sumatera

Rustim¹ Wisma Nugraha¹ Lono Lastoro Simatupang¹ Asril²

1. Interdisciplinary Postgraduate School Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta.

Jalan Teknik Utara, Pogung Yogyakarta 55281

2. Institut Seni Indonesia Padangpanjang

Jalan Bahder Djohan Padangpanjang 27128, Sumatera Barat

Abstract

Bagurau Saluang Dendang is a type of Minangkabau traditional music which involves the audience (*pagurau*) in its performance. The *pagurau* is not an ordinary audience but a community that has the ability to interact in the performance through *pantun* (poetry or verse), to express stimulation of a message and to provide a response to other messages. *Bagurau Saluang Dendang* is a performance of vocal music accompanied by the *saluang* instrument. The texts presented are lamentations about various aspects of community life, expressed spontaneously through *pantun*. The ability to sing *pantun* and interact according to the theme and situational context of the performance is the primary focus of discussion in this research. The research method used is ethnography with participant observation, and audio-visual recordings of three performances in *luhak nan tigo* Minangkabau, specifically in the regencies of Tanah Datar, Agam, and Lima Puluh Kota. The data analysis is carried out through the text and context of the performance, encompassing the ideas, behaviour, and material of the performance, based on cultural themes that are proposed for interaction throughout the performance. The research results show that there are two forms of interaction that take place during the performance, namely between one *pendandang* (singer) and another, and between the singers and groups of *pagurau*. The aesthetic expression of the performance is constructed on the basis of the successful interactivity between the performers and *pagurau* in interpreting the messages of the cultural themes communicated in the performance.

Keywords: Interactivity, tradition, *bagurau*, and *saluang dendang*.

1. Introduction

The specific meaning of an interactive aesthetic in a performing art is the profound achievement of a performance aesthetic that is produced by the involvement of interaction between the performers themselves and between the performers and the audience, to create a pleasurable expression about the socio-cultural life of the supporting community. Bambang Sugiharto (2014:104) states that art is an evolution of civilization, because art not only speaks about the struggle of human consciousness with meaning and values but also touches on the deepest conscience, heart, imagination, and sensibility of man. One form of this is through the interactivity of an art performance. According to Blumer (1969:2), symbolic interaction rests on three premises: (1) People's behaviour towards something is based on what it means to them, (2) this meaning is obtained from the result of social interaction with other people, and (3) this meaning is perfected at the time the process of social interaction is taking place. Art as an aesthetic expression possesses a quality of interactivity. Simatupang (2013:102) writes that an aesthetic is a human response to a bodily experience, a response to an experience that comes from self-cultivation and the internalization of values that prevail in society through various kinds of social interaction. Based on this conception, I felt inspired to study how the implementation of interaction in the text and context of a *bagurau saluang dendang* performance creates the aesthetic of the performance according to the viewpoint of the performers. The aesthetic of an art performance is not only related to material aspects alone but also to the interactivity and behaviour that are a part of the performance itself.

A performance of *bagurau saluang dendang* lasts a whole night, from 9 o'clock in the evening until 4 o'clock in the morning, ending just before the dawn call to prayer. Throughout the performance, members of the audience (*pagurau*) are free to come and go as they please since there are virtually no rules about watching a performance. Those involved in the performance are free to behave or act in any way they choose, for example arriving late, moving seats, eating, drinking, selling something, sitting wherever they like, smoking, playing cards and dominoes, talking, cheering, and acting however they please, as long as they do not disturb the performance. One important aspect of this art is that *bagurau saluang dendang* serves as a medium for interaction and integration. In this interaction, there are two main things to be observed: First, the performance as a process of communication, in which messages are transmitted and received through *gurindam* (aphorisms) and *pantun*. Second, the performance as a communication of the product and exchanging of meanings, whereby the interaction serves to establish meanings that are then exchanged between the people involved in the performance. Wherever it takes place, the tradition of *bagurau saluang dendang* tends to have a similar form and pattern. This form and pattern concerns the active participation and involvement of an interactive audience. The messages presented in the form of *pantun* are a symbolization of the reality of the natural and socio-cultural phenomena of

the community, expressing themes of sadness, advice, romance, fate, poverty, suffering, despair, hope, longing, and various other social behaviour. The *pantun* sung as the main material of the performance refer symbolically to the socio-cultural themes that form segments of interaction in the performance. The themes of the songs (*dendang*) are developed and related to the socio-cultural reality and behaviour present in the performance. These themes contain messages, which originate from the singers' (*anak dendang*) representation of certain social and cultural phenomena, and are directed towards the *pagurau*, either individually or as groups, so that the *pagurau* are able to respond in a particular way to the messages.

The success of a *bagurau saluang dendang* performance depends strongly on the capacity for interaction and degree of involvement of the groups of *pagurau* in the performance. The capacity for interaction and degree of involvement of the *pagurau* rests on the ability of the *anak dendang* to build a stimulus through their vocal quality, their command of *dendang* and *pantun*, and their spontaneity to explore *pantun* that are relevant to the situation of the particular performance. This research focuses on the interaction between the players and the audience, including the ideas, behaviour, and material of the performance in expressing messages, meanings, and cultural values of the Minangkabau community.

2. Research Method

This research uses a qualitative method with direct involvement in the performance by way of joining one of the *bagurau* groups in the audience. Through this method, the researcher became a part of the *bagurau saluang dendang* performance and was able to participate freely in the performance, observing, taking notes, and gathering important documentation related to the performance. The primary research data is the recordings made of three performances using a multi-camera video to record the activities of the performers and four other cameras to record the activities of the *pagurau* groups. This recording technique enabled the researcher to obtain pictures of the various activities and behaviour occurring simultaneously during a performance, and especially the interaction that occurred throughout the performance. The data was selected and analyzed based on the themes and titles of the *dendang* that produced the highest level of intensity in the communication and interaction between the *pagurau* participants. Some of the themes that resulted in a high level of interaction between the *pagurau* groups included themes such as romance, domestic disturbances, the lives of widows and widowers, suffering, and poverty.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Elements of *Bagurau Saluang Dendang* Performance

A *bagurau saluang dendang* performance consists of a number of individual musicians who come together to form a group at the time of a performance. The performers include 1 *saluang* player, 1-3 singers, and 1 moderator (*janang*), who controls the interaction during the performance. The *saluang* is a wind instrument made from bamboo, measuring 65 centimetres in length and 2.5 centimetres in diameter, with 4 finger holes that can produce 5-6 different pitches. The sound is produced by blowing across the edge of the open-ended bamboo using a technique known as circular breathing. The singers take turns to sing *dendang* (songs) that are in the form of *pantun* consisting of 4 to 16 lines (phrases). The singers have a good command of *pantun* with various different titles, which are sung according to the requests of the *pagurau* present at a performance. Sometimes the *pantun* is created spontaneously by the singer, based on the text of the performance, including the words spoken, the clothes, the behaviour, or the conditions and situation observed during the performance. Lono Simatupang (2013:183) states that the text refers to anything that is present during the time of a performance and is thus shared by both the performers and the audience. It includes the physical presence of the performers and their behaviour during the performance. This means that the phrases sung in the *pantun* are not fixed and may be adapted and improvised to suit a particular situation. The singers are sensitive and have been trained to read a performance situation to use as material in the *pantun* they sing. This situational context of a performance conforms to the opinion of Asril et al. (2018:34), who writes that "creating *pantun* spontaneously requires a high level of skill and is an indicator of the singer's ability to compose a text or lyrics quickly and also appropriate to the target audience. Spontaneous *pantun* is always needed, especially at the time of a performance (*bagurau*). Inspiration for the opening lyrics and the main lyrics of the *pantun* generally comes from the atmosphere of the performance and from the audience".

The *saluang* player (*tukang saluang*) is generally a male musician who is skilled in the technique of circular breathing and has memorized the introduction to all of the hundreds of existing *dendang*. The singers have the ability to read the behaviour of a performance and the reality of day to day life as material for the *pantun* that are created at the time a performance is taking place. Many of the *pantun* sung are in strophic form. Sastra et al. (2018:48) write that "a traditional performance of *saluang-dendang* is in strophic form in which a particular melody is sung over and over again by the vocalist with different *pantun* texts. These texts are created spontaneously with themes that are chosen to suit the purpose and situation of the performance. Hence, the ability to create *pantun* is an essential skill for the *dendang* artist to possess in the logogenic musical style of

traditional *saluang-dendang*, in order to build a dynamic atmosphere in the performance”. A similar opinion is expressed by Fraser (2013:144), who writes that “a *dendang* is identified by its melody not by its text, because texts change for a given melody from one artist and performance to the next. Strophic in form, a melodic cycle is repeated while the choice of text and number of times the cycle is repeated varies according to the circumstances.” In addition to having a good command of the *pantun* material, the singers must also have the ability to interact with the *pagurau* and even the ability to recognize the personal lives of the *pagurau* so that the interaction becomes more familiar and more profound in nature. The different *pagurau* groups usually have names that are already well known to other members of the *pagurau* community and also to the singers. The *pagurau* have the ability to create *pantun* to express messages and provide material for interaction, and they generally have sufficient finances to involve a group of people in a *bagurau saluang dendang* performance because every message that is conveyed is accompanied by an amount of money which depends on the quality of interaction that has been created. The *janang* controls the interaction in a performance and also has the skill to develop the interaction of the performance in a way that is orderly, familiar, humorous, and dynamic.

Performances of *bagurau saluang dendang* are held in various places, depending upon the request of the person holding the celebration. A performance may take place in a coffee shop, a market stall, in front of a private home, in the grounds of an office, or in a specific place where a series of nightly performances is being held. *Bagurau saluang dendang* performances may also be held at weddings, ceremonies to appoint traditional local leaders, circumcisions, events for reciting the al Quran, and other celebrations. Performances do not involve the management of an organization but are initiated by a group of *pagurau*. The basic funds needed for holding a performance are provided in part by regular contributions from a number of people and the rest is obtained while the performance is taking place. The singers may be chosen from the tens of singers available in numerous villages (*nagari*), and different groups are formed every time a performance takes place. The group of performers for any particular performance is decided just before the performance takes place and requires no rehearsals or special preparations by the players. Figure 1 below shows one of the venues used for a *bagurau saluang dendang* performance, and Figure 2 shows the situation in which the *pagurau* are enjoying the atmosphere of a performance.



Figure 1. A performance of *bagurau saluang dendang* taking place in an indoor room
(Photo: Rustim, 2010).



Figure 2. The atmosphere of a *bagurau saluang dendang* performance, in which the *pagurau* are enjoying the performance while sitting together and chatting in a group (Photo: Rustim, 2010)

3.2. Structure and Interactivity in a *Bagurau Saluang Dendang* Performance.

The structure of a *bagurau saluang dendang* performance is divided into 4 sections: greeting, introduction, interaction, and closing. In the greeting section, customary proverbial sayings are used as a traditional way of welcoming guests, especially important guests such as religious leaders, local leaders, intellectuals, groups of women who are revered as traditional functionaries (*bundo kanduang*), as well as all the *pagurau* and members of the community present at the performance venue. The second section is the introduction, which is extremely important because all the performers are honorary guests of the audience in the place where the performance is held, and as such they must respect the rules and norms that are upheld in the local *nagari*. The opening *dendang*, which is always performed at the start of every *bagurau saluang dendang* performance, is a type of *dendang* known as *dendang singgalang*. There are hundreds of *dendang singgalang*, and the performers select one to perform as the opening of the performance. Figure 3 below is an example of the text from *dendang Singgalang Kasiak* (Singgalang Sand).

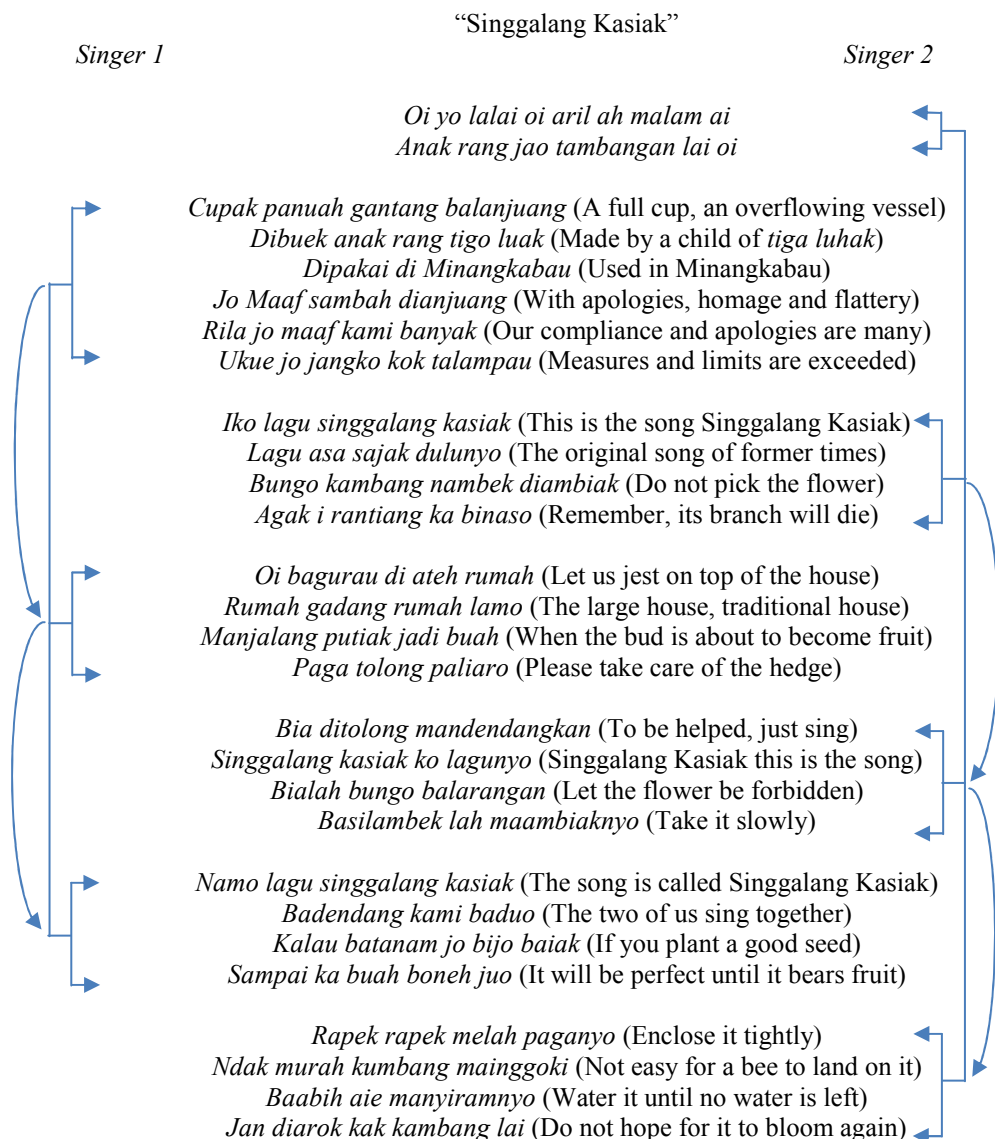


Figure 3. Singer 1 and singer 2 interact in opposition to each other
 (Source: Rustim, 2018)

The introduction offers an apology to all the *pagurau* present for any shortcomings or unintentional wrongdoings during the performance, as well as greeting the *pagurau* and wishing them good health. The *dendang* then continues with a theme that discusses the position of a girl (flower) in social interaction. A girl must grow and develop under the supervision of her parents, and this is described from two different perspectives. The first singer's position is as a flower picker and the second singer's position is as the owner of the flower. The first singer wishes to pick the flower (the forbidden flower) carefully so that it is not harmed, while the second singer wishes to take care of the bud until it becomes fruit and will do good deeds to all people as a way of enclosing and protecting itself. The theme in this introduction is a one way message resulting from the interaction of the two singers who view the theme from different perspectives.

The third section is the interaction, in which the *anak dendang* present material in response to the *pagurau* groups' requests for particular *dendang*. This section encourages interaction between the *pagurau* and the singers or between the different *pagurau* groups. According to Sedyawati (1990:60), there are two forms of performing art, namely art which functions as entertainment and art which is a shared experience. In Indonesia, traditional performing arts tend towards the latter, in which the performers may tease the audience, leading to discourse between the players and the audiences, and in some cases the players may even mingle with the audience and audience members may join the performers. The *anak dendang* play one *dendang* after another, using *pantun* which contains words of advice, flattery, suffering, longing, romance, hope, humour, and satire. In order to interact in the performance, the *pagurau* may write down *gurindam* or *pantun*, or communicate them directly with the *janang*. Examples of written messages are shown in Figures 3 and 4 below.

**PAGURAU LAMAK
 LAPAU RANDAH PASAR LASI**

KANDAMAS/DAKUTO/PWI/14DRA.

MIKITAK LAGU

SAWATDULAKIG.

- LAI SAIRIANG SALUANG JO DENDANG
- KALAMAL GURAU SAMALAMKO.
- MAHEALIAK KILGIC DIKUWAH PAKJANG
- LAHSILAU MATO DEWA DEK KILGICYO
 NAK R PTS.
- GAJU MAKAGAN API
- NAK KASUMBO PAMELIAN MATO.
- JURUAH SULARIK LAH DI KUMBANG.
- KATUJU BANA NANYO AT
- SASUAI BANA NANYO MATO.
- SAYALU ~~KALAM~~ GAM DI TAWLAN URAXIG.

TTD KAD.

Figure 4

**PAGURAU LAMAK
 LAPAU RANDAH PASAR LASI** 10,000

INDIAR GUNUNG/KATAM PERUK
 BOORH GUNUNG

POORAN ULAPAI SALAMAIK BOBORAU
 MAKSILAM KUNTUK KADANEH MEMAIK
 PUNYANSIK URAG BOBORAU KASAS PUSYO*

- ULEK PULU JO 3 ROEH
- KOTAM BRUK KADAM MOLAKKAST
- KAM DI LAI GURAU BO CHOK.
- DEK KUBIK SURUAN TALANG SURUEH
- TSKAMPANG LAPIK DI LAPAI ROORH.
- LAH NANO BOBORAU SODIPAH, MAWAK PUNYANSIK

RAITIBORAN GURAU BOORH GUNUNG.
 KAM BOBORAU DI LAPAI ROORH.
 INDIAR GUNUNG KADAM* SODIPAH.
 KALAU COIKO TARANG GALAKGASAG.
 BOORH MAWAKK ULEK KS SALAH
 LAH TOLUH MAK API, LAI BO ULEK TAW

+ R = UNIK

Figure 5

The *dendang* cards used by two *pagurau* groups containing requests for songs with messages conveyed in the form of *pantun* (Source: Rustim, 2010)

The message contained in the *pantun* shown in figure 4 is: first, “look at the shiny long necklace (pendant), it dazzles the eyes to look at it”; second, “although the heart is fond and [she is] agreeable to the eye, unfortunately *agam* (the singer) already belongs to another.” This is an example of the way in which a *pagurau* group builds a message through *pantun* to be directed at one of the singers who is wearing a long shiny necklace and is attracting the attention of many people in the audience. The *pantun* is created on the spur of the moment in accordance with the reality of the singer’s behaviour, which is observed and made into *pantun* to convey the feelings of the writer towards the singer. The two *pagurau* groups above interact with one another as they interpret the reality of the performance with *pantun* in different ways and with different interests. The first *pagurau* group (figure 4) wishes to enjoy the *dendang* aesthetically whereas the second *pagurau* group (figure 5) requests a response from the singer to its *pantun* and requests that its wishes be granted. The interests of the two *pagurau* groups dominate the performance throughout the night, as they request the service of the performers through their interaction in the performance. In addition to the role of the singers, the success of a performance is also determined by the *pagurau* and the *janang*.

The names of *pagurau* groups that are often mentioned in the *pantun* of a performance are groups that are already well known to the *anak dendang*. To a certain degree, being mentioned by name is not an easy feat for a *pagurau* group to achieve because it requires a fairly large amount of money for a group to be recognized both by other *pagurau* groups and by the *anak dendang* themselves. In order to achieve this, a *pagurau* group needs experience and frequent participation in *bagurau saluang dendang* performance in various *nagari* in order to be able to integrate itself in this community. A person also requires sufficient assets to become a potential member of a *pagurau* group. An example of a well-known *pagurau* group can be seen in Figure 6 below, playing *koa* cards.



Figure 6. A well-known *pagurau* group may play *koa* cards or other card games in a *bagurau saluang dendang* performance arena (Photo: Rustim, 2010).

Alan Lomax (1979:3) states that singing is a special act of communication which is more organized and in its redundancy is excessively formal. The redundancy of singing soars, attracts attention, and invites group participation. The main function of song is to express shared feelings and create a joint activity for several groups or communities of people. Therefore, the content of the sung communication should be social in nature rather than individual, normative, and specific. In this context, the role of the *janang* is important for increasing the intensity of interaction in a performance. The presence of the *janang* in *bagurau saluang dendang* has a large impact on the continuity of a performance, in a number of ways. First, he is able to increase the proceeds of a money-raising performance (*lapiak gurau*). Second, he has the ability to create a higher level of interaction and involvement of the *pagurau* groups, making the atmosphere of the performance more memorable and more satisfying for the *pagurau* groups. Third, he attempts to reduce any conflict that arises as a result of friction in the interaction between the *pagurau* groups involved in a performance. Fourth, he provides space for the *anak dendang* and *saluang* player to stop for a moment while the *pantun* and *gurindam* are submitted by the *pagurau* are read.

There are two types of *dendang* in a performance of *bagurau saluang dendang*, namely *dendang mudo* (happy songs) and *dendang tuo* (lamentations). The *pantun* contained in the *dendang* can also be categorized in the same way – *pantun muda* and *pantun tua*. The only difference between the two kinds of *pantun* is in the word phrasing and the delivery. *Pantun muda* is more open, candid, and easy to understand, while *pantun tua* is more figurative and symbolic in the way its meaning is presented. Peggy Reeves Sanday writes: “It (*saluang dendang*) is a celebration of emotions and feelings from generation to generation. It is like blues in America, fado in Portugal, a simple expression of deep human emotions about love, mourning, and loss (death). The nostalgia and grief grounded in this everyday-life activity bring together all that is known about village life. There is a sense of peace reflected in the melodic interaction between the female singer and the *saluang*. The *saluang* player follows the singing of the female vocalist wherever she wishes to go, and when she changes the melody, carries it into a new song, he continues to follow. The two parts are inseparable because they both carry the emotions of life by weaving the words of the woman and the melody of the man.” (Sanday, 2002: 170). One type of song that is strongly characteristic of the *bagurau saluang dendang* tradition is *dendang ratok*. The word *ratok* means lamenting or wailing (Minang: *baibo hati*) and this type of *dendang* with its melancholy character is performed usually after midnight or as morning approaches. The characteristic rise and fall of the *saluang* has a nuance of pleading or sorrow, and this adds to the impression of a lamentation, especially when accompanied by *pantun* which are filled with metaphors and allusions of philosophy, ideology, and socio-cultural themes.

Communication and interaction also take place between the singers, as they present song themes with different styles of interpretation and perspectives. The differences arise because of the various experiences of the singers and the different ways they view the reality of culture. Outbursts of emotion over the reality of life are important themes for understanding and addressing the past, the present, and the future.

Another form of interaction that occurs in the performance of *bagurau saluang dendang* is interaction between the singers and the *pagurau*. This begins with a request for a particular song in which two-way interaction can take place between the singer and *pagurau* as well as between the *pagurau* themselves. The first method for requesting a particular song is by writing a message on a piece of paper, containing the name of the *pagurau* and a request for a particular song title, a request to prolong the current song, newly created *pantun* that the singer can respond to, or a request for the newly created *pantun* to be sung by a particular singer. The second

method is for the *pagurau* to interact directly by conveying a message verbally to the *janang*, asking permission to respond to the *pantun* of the singer. This context can be seen in the traditional activity of wild boar hunting and the behaviour surrounding the tradition. The song entitled *Baburu Babi* (Hunting Boar) is shown below.

<i>Anak Dendang</i>	<i>Pagurau</i>	Translation
<i>Nan dek awak jarang batamu Usah tibo nak baliak pulang Baanyo uda ka baburu Anjiang pandai rimbo tapanggih</i>		Perhaps we rarely meet Don't come, turn round and go home How will <i>uda</i> hunt A dog smart in the forest is roasted
	Sibona namo anjiangnyo Eka	Eka, their dog's name is Bona
<i>Dangkalan gurau sampai salasai Dek da katik danga malamko Disangko si bona lai kabangkai Tunggua lapuak nan disalaknyo</i>		Listen to the <i>gurau</i> until it is finished <i>Uda</i> Katik listen tonight Bona is presumed to go hunting Barking at an old stump
	Duo ikua anjiangnyo Rina, si Tompel sikua lai	Rina, they have two dogs, Tompel is another
<i>Duo ikua pamenan kini Si tompel pulo kini namonyo Pirek lakek baburu tak jadi Kama pamenan da katik bao Oi bagurau di dalam pasa Oi batigo kami bedendang Baanyo lupak ka mamatah Jajak bakasan babi hilang</i>		Now there are two dogs Tompel too, his name <i>Pirek</i> is placed, no hunting takes place Where has <i>uda</i> Katik taken your dog
	Ka sungayang pamenanko dibao baburu Rina	Oh <i>bergurau</i> in the market Oh the three of us sing together How the <i>lupak</i> will break The tracks are clear, the boar has disappeared To Sungayang this dog will be taken to hunt, Rina.
<i>Dek da katik tolonglah danga Balam jo rantiang lai tibo Bona lah payah dek bakaja Manga si tompel kabangkainyo Oi bagurau samalam kini Dek da katik jo kawan-kawan Dima niak nan kamanjadi Dek kanduang ganggam balapehkan Jo da katik denai lah tahu Hatinyo kareh-kareh karah Da katik tasabuik urang paburu Bakaja lai kabangkai indak</i>		<i>Uda</i> Katik, please listen Balam and Ranting are coming too Bona is too tired to chase Why has Tompel caught it Oh <i>bergurau</i> all night now <i>Uda</i> Katik with his friends Where intentions will become real Like the contents of the hand released
	Indak batanyo hati ketekko do Eka, inyo sabana urang pagurau	<i>Uda</i> Katik I already know His heart is hard like <i>karah</i> This <i>uda</i> Katik is a hunter Chasing whether or not he catches anything Not asking this inner voice, Eka. They are truly a hunter
<i>Takuik bana da katik ka itam Tengah malam ba topi juo Da katik bamain pisau tajam Denai lah lukko dek kileknyo</i>		So afraid <i>uda</i> Katik will be black At midnight also wearing a hat <i>Uda</i> Katik plays with a sharp knife I am wounded by the glare
	Topiko bana pamanihnyo	This hat is for decoration
<i>Dek da katik danga malamko Malam kini lainyo datang Disabuik bana apo kagunonyo Uda lah arek di tangan urang</i>		<i>Uda</i> Katik listen this night Tonight he will come What is the use of saying it is right <i>Uda</i> is in the tight grip of someone
	Sanabu lai lah, agak guyah kini ko Eka	More <i>pantun</i> , this heart is rather unsteady now, Eka
<i>Oi badendang kami batigo Dek da katik tolong simakkan Nyampangko guyah satahunko</i>		Oh let the three of us sing together <i>Uda</i> Katik please understand How unsteady is my heart this past year

<i>Anak Dendang</i>	<i>Pagurau</i>	Translation
<i>Elok kini udah lapehkan</i>		It is better that <i>uda</i> let go now
<i>Eloklah kito ka sungai patai</i> <i>Bia si bona nak kasinan pulo</i> <i>Asa jo uda katik niaik ka sampai</i> <i>Agak sahari di kayai juo</i>		We should go to the Patai River Let Bona also go there As long as with <i>uda</i> Katik the intention is conveyed Even if only for a day, let the effort be made
	<i>Lai sabana kato hati Eka,</i> <i>lai kamandi aia angek di</i> <i>Sungai Patai</i>	Is it truly from your inner heart, Eka? Can we bathe with warm water in the Patai River?
<i>Buru babi lagunyo kini</i> <i>Dek da katik danga samalamko</i> <i>Nan dek denai sabana dalam hati</i> <i>Dek da katik buktikan pulo</i>		Hunting the boar is the song now <i>Uda</i> Katik listening all night For myself it is truly in my heart For <i>uda</i> Katik let it also be proven so
<i>Dek rang banyak tolonglah danga</i> <i>Dek pak wali baitu pulo</i> <i>Caliak da katik nan banyak aka</i> <i>Ka induak-induak tagak</i> <i>manyaleknyo</i>		For most people please listen To pak Wali also Look at <i>uda</i> Katik with all his wits In the place for women/mothers he stands
	<i>Itu tando urang maleh</i> <i>salero</i>	That is the sign of a person with no taste
<i>Kok iyo da katik sabana sayang</i> <i>Mintak izinlah nan kanan tuo</i> <i>Elok pagi denai antakan pulang</i> <i>Di Sungai Patai salamonyo</i>		If it is true that <i>uda</i> Katik's love is real Ask the old wife's permission It is better I take you home At the Patai River <i>uda</i> Katik for ever
<i>Elok sibona uda tinggakan</i> <i>Baitu bana pasan samalamko</i> <i>Kalau iyo niak balangsungkan</i> <i>Marapeklah duduak di siko</i>		It is better <i>uda</i> to leave Bona alone That is my message tonight If my intentions are to be carried out Come and sit close by in this place
	<i>Kalau kabatinggakan</i> <i>anjiang bialah ndak jadi ka</i> <i>Sungai Patai</i>	If I am left by the dog, let me cancel my trip to the Patai River
<i>Ibo bana da katik jo si bona</i> <i>Oi ka denai badutoi sajo</i> <i>Lah diganjua suruik salangkah</i> <i>Pado isuak jo aia mato</i>		The true affection of <i>uda</i> Katik is for Bona Why have I been deceived too Better to take a step back Than for the tears to flow tomorrow
<i>Kok bantaik ka sungai patai</i> <i>Rang suayan bana pambayannyo</i> <i>Kasih sayuik sayang tak sampai</i> <i>Ka tali darah marusaknyo</i>		If the intention is to go to the Patai River A person from Suayan will become related by marriage Half-hearted affection, love spurned Hurts deep into the blood vessels
	<i>Sampaikan bana malah,</i> <i>jan ditahan</i>	Just tell, do not hold back

Notes: Rina and Eka are *anak dendang*; *Uda* Katik is *pagurau*.

Figure 7. The interacting texts of the singer and *pagurau* with the theme of boar hunting

(Source: Rustim, 2010)

Clifford Geertz (1992:21) believes that culture is most effectively studied purely as a symbolic system (the key words being “in its own terms”), by isolating its elements, singling out internal relationships between these elements, and then characterizing the entire system in a particular general way according to the centre of the symbols around which the culture is arranged, the basic structures of a culture being an outward expression, or the ideological principles of the place where the ideology is based. The activity of wild boar hunting in Minangkabau is a tradition for eradicating crop pests, especially wild boar. Hunters, assisted by dogs, capture and kill the wild boar together in an activity known as *buru alek* (hunting between *nagari*). The symbols and behaviour of the hunters in this activity are the main focus of the singers in the *pantun* material for interacting in this particular *bagurau saluang dendang* performance. The *pantun* shown above show how skilled the singers are at creating *pantun* spontaneously during the performance. Jean Duvignaud (2009:49) describes this as “an

aesthetic of total communion” in the sense that the signs of expression only take on meaning if the artist is clever at referring to something that is considered important and has symbolic value for the group that has accepted and registered it. The interaction in the performance becomes more attractive because some of the *pagurau* groups are also have experience as wild boar hunters in their daily lives. The spontaneous interpretation of the *pantun* changes when the behaviour of the hunters is associated with the behaviour of the *pagurau* in the performance, when the singer mentions the words ‘hat’ ‘Bona’, and ‘Tompel’ as symbols of communication.

The singers always use their experience and skills to serve and follow the wishes of the *pagurau*. A *bagurau saluang dendang* performance gives the impression of being controlled by the *pagurau* with regard to its themes and the direction in which the messages are presented. The interaction in the performance becomes increasingly complex when the singers have to serve the various different interests of all the *pagurau* groups. The role of the *janang* is important for controlling the interaction, using his skills to manage the path and direction of the communication and his strategic position to accommodate all the different interests. The *janang* is highly revered in the performance because of his ability to build interaction that does not lead to conflict or discord between the *pagurau* groups. The *janang* also has the ability to build the continuity of a performance from start to finish, ensuring that it runs smoothly and satisfies all those present, controlling the performance interaction wisely.

The *pagurau* engage in communication interaction in an effort or process to adapt individually or as a group to the *pagurau* community. It is this effort to become involved that establishes the *pagurau* as an element of the performance, meaning that without the presence of the *pagurau*, a performance of *saluang dendang* would not be called *bagurau saluang dendang*. It is a fact that in the tradition of *bagurau saluang dendang* in Minangkabau, the *pagurau* always control and dominate the performance because the groups of *pagurau* that attend these performances are people who must be respected and served throughout the duration of the performance. The social solidarity created by the *pagurau* groups depends largely on the responsibility of each group to visit each other’s villages every time a performance is held. The quality of this solidarity can be measured by the level of participation and involvement of each group in a performance. *Bagurau saluang dendang* is a medium for integration between *pagurau* groups and for building a broader network of relationships.

The fourth part of the structure of a *bagurau saluang dendang* performance is the closing section. This section is marked by a *pantun* text containing an apology from the singers, on behalf of the performance team, to the organizing committee that invited them to perform, to the local leaders and important members of the community, and especially to the *pagurau* groups, and also an expression of hope that they will be invited to attend the next performance of *bagurau saluang dendang* in a different place.

4. Conclusion

Bagurau is a form of social contact that was created as a medium of expression and aims to establish social integration and cultural adaptation through a performing art. This process of integration and adaptation is achieved in the form of social interaction in a specific area, with the support of specific individuals and groups, in an endeavour to broaden the network of *pagurau* groups and *pagurau* communities in order to sustain and preserve the existence of the *bagurau saluang dendang* tradition in Minangkabau.

The substance of *bagurau saluang dendang* lies in the behaviour of the audience, the communication interaction between the players and the audience, and the norms that exist in the performance within a social context. These three elements of substance are the main idea behind this study of *bagurau saluang dendang* which functions as a medium of cultural communication. It is the diversity of meaning that makes up the substance of the traditional art of *bagurau saluang dendang*, as opposed to uniformity which has only a single meaning. Therefore, the concept of *bagurau* as a cultural communication in essence rests on the differences in interpretation as a part of knowledge and experience.

References

- Asril., Anas, M.A., Jonni., & Nurkholis (2018). Musical Ambivalence in the Performance of Saluang Orgen in West Sumatra. *Arts and Design Studies Journal* (63), 31-40.
- Duvignaud, Jean. (2009) *Sosiologi Seni*. Bandung: Sunan Ambu Press.
- Fraser, Jennifer. (2013). The Art of Grieving: West Sumatra’s Worst Earthquake in Music Videos. *Ethnomusicology Forum*, (22/2), 129-159.
- Geertz, Clifford. (1992) *Tafsir Kebudayaan*, Terj. Budi Susanto. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Lomax, Alan. (1978). *Folk Song Style and Culture*. New Jersey: Transaction Books.
- Rustim. (2010). *Interaksi Sosial dalam Pertunjukan Tradisi Bagurau Saluang Dendang di Minangkabau*. Master’s Thesis, Sekolah Pascasarjana, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta.
- Sanday, Peggy Reeves. (2002) *Woman At The Center: Life in a Modern Matriarchy*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.
- Sastra, A. I., Ediwar., Hajizar., & Jufri. (2018). *Lareh Bodi Caniago: Power Systems and The Concept of*

-
- Bagurau Saluang* in A Study of Musical Aesthetics in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau – Indonesia. Arts and Design Studies Journal (64), 47-56.
- Sedyawati, Edi. (1980). *Pertumbuhan Seni Pertunjukan*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.
- Simatupang, Lono Lastoro. (2013). *Pergelaran: Sebuah Mozaik Penelitian Seni-Budaya*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Sugiharto, Bambang. (2014). Seni, Peradaban dan Keadaban. Prosiding Seminar Nasional FKI ke 8 “*Spirit of The Future: Art for Humanizing*” Yogyakarta: BP ISI Yogyakarta.