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THE SEMIOTIC EXPLORING OF THE JAMBI MALAY *CUCI KAMPUNG* TRADITION

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ABSTRAK

Terdapat perubahan dalam tradisi cuci kampung masyarakat Melayu Jambi di Indonesia. Perubahan ini didasarkan pada pemaknaan ulang atas tanda yang melekat pada tradisi dimaksud. Penelitian ini ditujukan untuk melihat proses pemaknaan ulang ini. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif-analitis dengan latar studi lapangan dan pustaka. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara, observasi, pengarsipan dan FGD. Selain itu dilakukan juga pembacaan pada beberapa literatur terkait. Data yang terkumpul dianalisis dengan teori semiotika Charles Sanders Peirce. Penelitian ini menghasilkan beberapa temuan. *Pertama*, tanda yang menjadi rujukan dalam tradisi cuci kampung adalah tindakan perzinahan yang dikenai sanksi berupa rajam. *Kedua*, tanda ini menjadi rujukan bagi objek-objek berupa tradisi cuci kampung di mana masyarakat Melayu Jambi melahirkan tradisi ini dengan denda adat berupa seekor kambing atau kerbau. *Ketiga*, melalui pemaknaan ulang terhadap tanda maka masyarakat Melayu Jambi melakukan perubahan pada tradisi cuci kampung, baik prosesnya maupun denda adatnya. Bentuk prosesnya menjadi lebih sederhana, sementara denda adatnya berubah bentuk menjadi uang.

ABSTRACT

There is a change in the cuci kampung tradition of the Jambi Malay community in Indonesia. This change is based on reinterpreting the sign attached to the tradition in question. This research is aimed at looking at this reinterpretation process. This research uses a descriptive-analytical qualitative method with a field and literature study as a background. Data was collected through interviews, observation, archiving and FGD. Apart from that, reading was also carried out on several related literatures. The collected data was analyzed using Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic theory. This research produced several findings. First, the sign that is a reference in the cuci kampung tradition is the act of adultery which is sanctioned by stoning. Second, this sign is a reference for objects in the form of the cuci kampung tradition where the Jambi Malay community gave birth to this tradition with a traditional fine in the form of a goat or buffalo. Third, through reinterpreting the sign, the Jambi Malay community made changes to the cuci kampung tradition, both the procession and the traditional fines. The form of the procession became simpler, while the traditional fine changed into money.

Keywords: *semiotics, Jambi Malay, cuci kampung tradition*

INTRODUCTION

The author finds that there is a process of re-interpretation a tradition that has been carried out for generations by the Jambi Malay community in Jambi Province, Indonesia. The tradition referred to is the *cuci kampung* tradition which is a form of ritual ceremony of rejecting reinforcements which aims to prevent all residents of a certain village or area from reinforcements or disasters when one of its residents is proven to have committed immoral acts, such as adultery. For the perpetrators of adultery will be subject to customary fines in the form of a goat. This customary fine can be increased to one buffalo if the perpetrator is from a respected group, such as a traditional or religious leader. In its development, customary fines imposed can be replaced with money. This change in customary fines occurred because of the re-interpretation of the *cuci kampung* tradition by the Jambi Malay community. In this process of re-interpretation by the Jambi Malay community, the author found three aspects of semiosis as previously explained by Charles Sanders Peirce, namely aspects of the sign, the objects and the interpretation.

There are several previous studies that have examined the *cuci kampung* tradition. There are studies that examine the *cuci kampung* tradition through legal aspects.¹ There are studies that examine

the *cuci kampung* tradition in socio-cultural aspects.² There are studies that examine the *cuci kampung* tradition from the aspect of communication.³ There are also studies examining the *cuci kampung* tradition from a health perspective.⁴ In contrast to the studies that have been carried out and as an effort to enrich the discourse of the *cuci kampung* tradition, the author tries to

¹ Vika Afrilia, 'Sanksi Zina dalam Perkawinan Masyarakat Suku Pekal Desa Napal Putih Bengkulu', *Jurnal Yuridis*, 9.2 (2022), 131–46; Erdianto Effendi, 'Penerapan Sanksi Hukum Gawal (Kawin Paksa) Dalam Penyelesaian Pelanggaran Kesusilaan Di Kecamatan Tungkal Ulu Kabupaten Tanjung Jabung Barat Jambi', *Jurnal Selat*, 8.2 (2021), 187–99 <<https://doi.org/10.31629/selat.v8i2.3830>>; Islah Islah, 'Penyelesaian Tindak Pidana Perzinahan dalam Hukum Adat di Kabupaten Batanghari', *Wajah Hukum*, 5.1 (2021), 418 <<https://doi.org/10.33087/wjh.v5i1.443>>; Islah Islah, Nella Octaviany Siregar, and Ade Ardinata, 'Sanksi Pidana Adat terhadap Pelaku Tindak Pidana

Melarikan Anak Perempuan Dibawah Umur di Desa Selat Kabupaten Batanghari', *Wajah Hukum*, 5.2 (2021), 541 <<https://doi.org/10.33087/wjh.v5i2.703>>; Ferik Leorisando, Rifanto Bin Ridwan, and Hasep Saputra, 'Tinjauan Kritis Sanksi Hukum Adat Rejang epahiang terhadap Pelaku Perzinahan', *Al Qalam: Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan dan Kemasyarakatan*, 16.6 (2022), 2131 <<https://doi.org/10.35931/aq.v16i6.1364>>; Ririn Isna Magfiroh and Ashif Az Zafi, 'Eksistensi Fikih dalam Penerapan Hukum Zina di Indonesia', *DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah dan Hukum*, 18.1 (2020), 102–17 <<https://doi.org/10.35905/diktum.v18i1.1314>>; Annisa Rahmadiana, Putri Nabilah, and Tiara Rahmawati, 'Kajian Kriminologis atas Sanksi Adat "Cuci Kampung" terhadap Pelaku Zina', *Journal of Judicial Review*, 24.1 (2022), 19 <<https://doi.org/10.37253/jjr.v24i1.5817>>; Dedi Yoga Sugama, 'The Role of Custom Leader in Settling Adultery Crime in Bukit Harapan Village Community Ketahun District North Bengkulu Regency', *Panji Keadilan*, 1.2 (2018), 304–20; Elon Suparlan, 'Pelaksanaan Sanksi Adat bagi Pelaku Zina di Kecamatan Seluma Utara Kabupaten Seluma Perpsketif Hukum Islam', *Qiyas*, 3.2, Oktober 2018.

² Yudi Armansyah, 'Kontribusi Seloko Adat ambi dalam Penguatan Demokrasi Lokal', *Sosial Budaya*, 14.1 (2017), 1 <<https://doi.org/10.24014/sb.v14i1.4158>>; Ananta Putri Nuroktaviani, Ashadi L Diab, and Muhammad Hadi, 'Upaya Tokoh Adat Menangkal Tindakan Asusila Perspektif', *Kalosara*, 1.1 (2021), 95–109.

³ Hasbullah Ahmad and Edi Amin, 'Integrasi Ayat-Ayat Al-Quran dalam Seloko Adat Jambi: Transformasi Dakwah Kultural', *Kontekstualita*, 30.1 (2015), 1–24.

⁴ Betri Anita and Fori Yumita Sumartin, 'Analisis Perilaku Seksual Remaja dan Stigma Masyarakat tentang Perilaku Seksual Remaja di Kecamatan Lubuk Sandi Kabupaten Seluma Provinsi Bengkulu Tahun 2014', *Jurnal Kedokteran dan Kesehatan*, 11.1 (37-44), Januari 2015.

examine the *cuci kampung* tradition from a semiotic aspect because there is a process of re-interpreting the *cuci kampung* tradition by the Jambi Malay community.

The semiotic theory that the author uses in this study is Peirce's semiotic theory. In connection with this theory, there are also many studies that have used Peirce's semiotic theory to examine various existing problems. There are studies that examine Peirce's semiotic theory as an analysis.⁵ There are studies that use Peirce's semiotic theory in the communication aspect.⁶ There are studies

that examine Peirce's semiotic theory in the literary aspect.⁷ There are studies that

⁵ Mogens Kilstrup, 'Naturalizing Semiotics: The Triadic Sign of Charles Sanders Peirce as a Systems Property', *Progress in Biophysics and Molecular Biology*, 119.3 (2015), 563–75 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pbiomolbio.2015.08.013>>; Halina Sendera Mohd. Yakin and Andreas Totu, 'The Semiotic Perspectives of Peirce and Saussure: A Brief Comparative Study', *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 155 (2014), 4–8 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.10.247>>; Xiaoming Zhang and Jiuling Sheng, 'A Peircean Semiotic Interpretation of a Social Sign', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 64 (2017), 163–73 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.04.002>>.

⁶ Geane Carvalho Alzamora and Renira Rampazzo Gambarato, 'Peircean Semiotics and Transmedia Dynamics'; Eugenio Andrade, 'Integration of Thermodynamic, Quantum and Hierarchical Theories of Information in the Context of Peircean Semiosis – A Review', *Biosystems*, 120 (2014), 10–20 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biosystems.2014.04.001>>; Yunita Anggraini, Sandi Prasetyaningsih, and Condra Antoni, 'Analisis dan Implementasi Motion Grafis Iklan Layanan Masyarakat (ILM) dengan Metode Semiotika Peirce', *EKSPRESI DAN PERSEPSI: JURNAL ILMU KOMUNIKASI*, 1.01 (2019) <<https://doi.org/10.33822/jep.v1i01.444>>; Ulyah Darajah, 'Iklan Sat'ir Panasonic al-Hawā'iyah Koran Al-Ahrām, Mesir: Analisis Semiotik Peirce', *Al-Ma'rifah*, 17.2 (2020), 171–78 <<https://doi.org/10.21009/almakrifah.17.02.07>>; Rini Fitria, 'Analisis Semiotika Charles Sanders Peirce dalam Iklan Kampanye Pasangan Calon Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Provinsi Bengkulu Tahun 2015', *Manhaj*, 1.1 (2017); Dudi Hartono and Asep Sugali, 'Makna Simbolik Senyum pada Iklan Lay's di Televisi (Analisis Semiotika Charles Sanders Peirce)', *Jurnal PERSPEKTIF Komunikasi*,

3.1 (2019); Bernadine Jones, 'Television News and the Digital Environment: A Triadic Multimodal Approach for Analysing Moving Image Media', *African Journalism Studies*, 37.2 (2016), 116–37 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/23743670.2016.1173568>>; Theodora Edra Pramaskara, 'Analisis Semiotika Peirce pada Sampul Majalah Tempo Edisi Jokowi Beserta Bayangan Pinokio', *Jurnal Kajian Jurnalisme*, 5.2 (2022), 209 <<https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v5i2.36251>>; Shifa Nur Zakiyah and others, 'Representasi Wanita dalam Poster Iklan Pengharum Pakaian "DOWNY": Kajian Semiotika Peirce', *Kajian Linguistik dan Sastra*, 6.2 (2021), 110–25 <<https://doi.org/10.23917/cls.v6i2.15055>>.

⁷ Arin Faridatul Azma, 'Pesan Perdamaian dalam Video Klip Atouna El-Tofoule: Analisis Semiotik Charles Sanders Peirce', *Al-Ma'rifah*, 18.2 (2021), 139–52 <<https://doi.org/10.21009/almakrifah.18.02.03>>; Linna Friska Marbun and Lasmary RM Girsang, 'Pemaknaan Perang Tanda Pagar "#" antar Dua Kubu Calon Presiden Indoensia 2019 di Media Sosial (Analisis Semiotika Peirce Pada Sampul Majalah Tempo Edisi 04 Juni 2018)', *SEMIOTIKA: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 13.1 (2019) <<https://doi.org/10.30813/sjk.v13i1.1790>>; Dian Nurrachman, 'Teks Sastra dalam Perspektif Semiotika Pragmatis Charles Sanders Peirce', *Al-Tsaqafa: Jurnal Ilmiah Peradaban Islam*, 14.1 (2017), 83–88 <<https://doi.org/10.15575/al-tsaqafa.v14i1.1793>>; Ursula Dwi Oktaviani and others, 'Analisis Makna Tanda Ikon, Indeks, dan Simbol Semiotika Charles Sanders Peirce pada Film 2014 Siapa di Atas Presiden?', *Stilistika: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra*, 15.2 (2022), 293 <<https://doi.org/10.30651/st.v15i2.13017>>; Dwi Ratih Puspitasari, 'Nilai Sosial Budaya daam Film Tilik (Kajian Semiotika Charles Sanders Peirce)', *Jurnal SEMIOTIKA*, 15.1 (2021); Rizki Anindia Putri and K Y S Putri, 'Konstruksi Peran Ibu pada Poster Film Bird Box (Analisis Semiotika Charles Sanders Peirce)', *Jurnal SEMIOTIKA*, 15.2 (2021); Ika Sari Rahayu, 'Analisis Kajian Semiotika dalam Puisi Chairil Anwar Menggunakan Teori Charles Sanders Peirce', *Jurnal SEMIOTIKA*, 15.1 (2021); Michael Jibrael Rorong, 'Representasi Nilai Kemanusiaan Web Series Kisah Carlo (Analisis Semiotika dalam perspektif Charles Sanders Peirce)', *SEMIOTIKA: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 13.1 (2019) <<https://doi.org/10.30813/sjk.v13i1.1792>>; Michael Jibrael Rorong, Dery Rovino, and Mike Noviani Prascillia, 'Konstruktivisme Estetika

examine Peirce's semiotic theory on the aspect of art.⁸ There is also research that examines Peirce's semiotic theory from a philosophical aspect.⁹ This research focuses on cultural aspects, namely the *cuci kampung* tradition of the Jambi Malay community.

The main objective of this study is to explain the process of meaning and re-interpretation of the sign in the *cuci kampung* tradition with Peirce's semiotic theory. Based on this objective, the following research questions were raised: (1) what is the sign in the *cuci kampung* tradition of the Jambi Malay community?, (2) what are the objects in the *cuci kampung* tradition meant?, and (3) how is the process of re-interpreting the objects in the *cuci kampung* tradition meant according to with the wishes of the Jambi Malay community?

Kaligrafi Batik Motif Lar', *Jurnal SEMIOTIKA*, 14.1 (2020); Ita Suryaningsih and Ince Nasrullah, 'Analisis Semiotika Charles S. Peirce dalam Tes Wartegg', *Jurnal KIBASP (Kajian Bahasa, Sastra dan Pengajaran)*, 5.2 (2022); Arvy Verian and Ilona V. Oisina Situmeang, 'Representasi Foto Kampanye Calon Presiden pada Majalah TEMPO Edisi 19 – 25 November 2018 (Analisis Semiotika Charles Sanders Peirce)', *SEMIOTIKA: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 13.1 (2019) <<https://doi.org/10.30813/s;jk.v13i1.1787>>.

⁸ Erna Kurniawati, 'Video Musik Sabyan Gambus "Atouna El Toufoule" Studi Analisis Semiotika Charles Sanders Peirce', *Al-MUNZIR*, 12.1 (2019), 97 <<https://doi.org/10.31332/am.v12i1.1281>>;

Mukhsin Patriansah and Reza Sastra Wijaya, 'Analisis Tanda Dalam Karya Seni Grafis Reza Sastra Wijaya Kajian Semiotika Peirce', *JURNAL RUPA*, 6.1 (2021), 34 <<https://doi.org/10.25124/rupa.v6i1.3737>>; Vivi Destri Yumiolda, 'Kajian Semiotika Peirce pada Karya Seni Lukis di Sanggar Seni Rupa SIMPASSRI Medan', *Visual Heritage: Jurnal Kreasi Seni dan Budaya*, 05.1 (2022).

⁹ Søren Brier, 'How Peircean Semiotic Philosophy Connects Western Science with Eastern Emptiness Ontology', *Progress in Biophysics and Molecular Biology*, 131 (2017), 377–86 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pbiomolbio.2017.08.011>>.

This research is a qualitative descriptive-analytical research with a mixed research background between field and literature. The research data was generated from interviews and FGDs with informants consisting of traditional leaders, academics and the general public. Data was also obtained from direct observation of the *cuci kampung* tradition events. In addition, the data is also generated from tracking and reading literature about the *cuci kampung* tradition and Jambi Malay customs. The collected data were then analyzed with Peirce's semiotic theory.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE *CUCI KAMPUNG* TRADITION

The *cuci kampung* tradition is a tradition that is still believed in, upheld and carried out by the majority of the Jambi Malay community. These people generally live on the outskirts of the Batanghari River in Jambi Province, Indonesia. This *cuci kampung* tradition is also commonly carried out by the Malay community in other areas, such as the Malay community in Bengkulu,¹⁰ Palembang, and Minangkabau.¹¹ Literally, the *cuci kampung* tradition is an effort made by the community to clean a certain village or area from dirt that sticks to it. The *cuci kampung* tradition is an effort made by the community to maintain and protect the place where they live from all kinds of immoral acts.

According to one informant,¹² the *cuci kampung* tradition is a joint effort by the people of a region to restore the honor of their region due to lewd, obscene or immoral acts. The *cuci kampung* tradition is also a form of prayer to avoid disaster

¹⁰ Mareta Widiya, 'Ringkasan Cuci Kampung', 2011 <<http://maretharingkasancucikampung.blogspot.com/>> [accessed 3 April 2023].

¹¹ Usrial Husein, 2013.

¹² Munsarida, 2013.

because the village has been polluted. Because customary is carried out on the earth, the *cuci kampung* tradition is cleaning the earth that has been polluted due to human behavior. Earth has been made riot because of human activity. The area limit of the rioting of the earth is the limit of the customary fines imposed on the perpetrators. If the riot is small, then the fine is small. On the other hand, if there is a big commotion, then the fine is also big.

The customary fine for the *cuci kampung* tradition is in the form of a four-legged animal. For example, 2 chickens, 1 goat, or 1 buffalo. A goat is the limit that can be done by *ninik mamak* (traditional figure). Meanwhile, if you exceed the number of a goat, it must be determined by the decision of the king or the government officials.¹³

Certain events incur a fine exceeding a goat. For example, events within the scope of incest between a son and his mother (*menikam bumi*), incest between a daughter and her father (*mencarak telur*), perverted act with brother/sister-in-law (*bersunting bungo setangkai*), and have sex with someone's wife (*mandi di pancuran gading*). Or if someone who is elder and respected in the village, such as the imam of a mosque, commits adultery, the punishment is a buffalo, 100 bushels of rice and is expelled from the village. The punishment became more severe because the village became very polluted due to human behavior that resembled that of animals, as stated in the Jambi Malay traditional *seloko adat* (wise words): *orang tua belaku budak, orang besak belaku kecik* (a parent acts like a child, an official acts like an ordinary person). The perpetrators were severely punished. Meanwhile, single girls are only fined for one goat, 20 bushels of rice and married.¹⁴

Simply put, the *cuci kampung* tradition is an attempt by the Jambi Malay

community to prevent and deal with various actions that are contrary to the values and norms that exist in Jambi Malay community. These actions include immoral acts in the form of adultery. While the customary fines imposed on perpetrators of immoral acts are intended as a form of prevention so that other immoral acts are not carried out again by other actors as well as a form of providing a deterrent effect for perpetrators who have committed immoral acts.

THE PEIRCE'S SEMIOTIC THEORY AS AN ANALYSIS

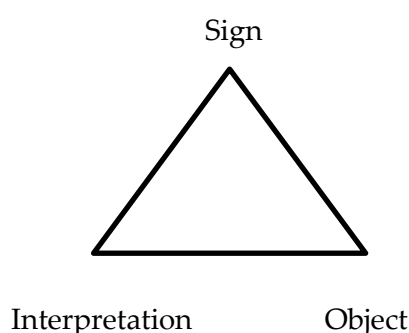
For Peirce, a sign is something that stands for something. For him, a sign and its meanings is not structure but a cognitive process which he calls semiosis. Thus, semiosis is the process of meaning and interpretation of a sign. This semiosis process takes place through three stages. The first stage is the absorption of sign representation aspects (first through the five senses). The second stage spontaneously relates the representamen with experience in human cognition which interprets the representamen (called the object). The third stage interprets the object according to his wishes. This third stage is called interpretation. The way of interpreting a sign through its relation to the representamen and object is based on the idea that the object is not always the same as the reality given by the representamen. Objects arise because experience gives meaning to a sign. So, semiosis is the process of forming a sign that departs from a representamen that is spontaneously related to an object in human cognition and then is given a certain interpretation by the human concerned as an interpretant. Because there are three stages of interpreting a sign, Peirce's theory is called trichotomous and because semiosis is initially based on concrete things, it is called pragmatic semiotics. Semiosis can continue through

¹³ Herman Basir, 2012.

¹⁴ Munsarida, 2013.

the interpretant, which can become a new representamen, so that the representamen at this advanced stage is something that exists in the human mind. Thus, semiosis can continue indefinitely. Peirce calls it unlimited semiosis.¹⁵ A simple description of semiosis can be seen in **Figure 1**.

Figure 1: Semiotics of the Triadic Model by Charles Sanders Peirce



Semiosis in Peirce's thought involves a collaboration between three subjects: the sign, the object, and the interpretation. Semiotics for Peirce is an action, influence, or cooperation of three subjects, namely the sign, the object, and the interpretation. Peirce expressed about the three-subject cooperation in the statement that what he meant by semiosis is an action, or effect, which involves, a cooperation of three subjects, namely sign, object, and interpreter.¹⁶ The influence of these three relationships has an impact that cannot be decided into action between partners, or a dyadic approach or

binary opposition, as was done by de Saussure.¹⁷

Semiotics as a teaching about a sign, according to Peirce, is related to the activity of someone who observes the character of each sign as he knows it, and based on an observation, which has gone through a process called abstraction. The person can lead to statements about a sign that may be erroneous, and therefore an understanding of a sign does not mean something that should exist in all signs used through scientific intelligence, because these abilities are learned through experience.¹⁸ There is an abstraction process (rationality) on the one hand, there is also empirical experience on the other hand in understanding a sign.¹⁹

The author uses Peirce's semiotic theory to analyze the *cuci kampung* tradition, namely to see the sign, the objects and the interpretations of the *cuci kampung* tradition. With this analysis it is hoped that it can be found how the re-interpretation of the *cuci kampung* tradition takes place in the Jambi Malay community, both the reasons and the process of re-interpreting it.

THE SIGN, THE OBJECTS AND THE RE-INTERPRETATION IN THE *CUCI KAMPUNG* TRADITION

In this section, the author will explain the sign used as reference in the *cuci kampung* tradition by the Jambi Malay community. An explanation of this sign is followed by an explanation of the objects that then emerge, both in the form of the *cuci kampung* tradition itself and the customary fines. After that, it was also

¹⁵ B. H Hoed, *Semiotik Dan Dinamika Sosial Budaya: Ferdinand de Saussure, Roland Barthes, Julia Kristeva, Jacques Derrida, Charles Sanders Peirce, Marcel Danesi & Paul Perron*, Dll, Ketiga (Komunitas Bambu, 2014).

¹⁶ C. S. Peirce, *Pragmatism and Pragmaticism*. In C. Hartshorne & P. Weiss (Eds.), *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce* (Thoemmes Press, 1998).

¹⁷ Rizal Mustansyir, *Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Melayu Sambas Dalam Tinjauan Filosofis* (Fakultas Filsafat Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016).

¹⁸ C. S. Peirce, *Elements of Logic*. In *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce* (Thoemmes Press, 1998).

¹⁹ Mustansyir.

explained the process and form of re-interpreting the *cuci kampung* tradition by the Jambi Malay community.

The sign that becomes a reference in the *cuci kampung* tradition of the Jambi Malay community is the stoning law which applies to adulterers in Islamic law. The stoning law itself is a legal sanction given in the form of the death penalty for those who break the law by being stoned to death. According to an informant,²⁰ the stoning law is impossible to apply in the Jambi Malay community due to various considerations, including because Indonesia is not a country based on Islamic law, so that later in the local community various forms of tradition develop as a substitute for stoning. In addition, the application of the stoning law was also rejected because it was seen as contrary to the rules on human rights that apply globally.

In Islamic law, the act of adultery that requires punishment is in the sense of inserting the male genitalia up to its bend into the desired female genitalia, which is forbidden because of the substance of the act. Adultery itself is divided into two kinds:

1. The act of adultery was committed by a *muhsan*, that is, a person who has reached puberty, is independent, and has mixed with legal means. The punishment for muhsan is stoning, which is simple stoning to death.
2. The act of adultery is committed by a person who is not *muhsan* (who does not meet the requirements as above), namely a single girl. Their punishment is one hundred lashes and exile abroad for one year.²¹

As a majority Muslim community, the Jambi Malay community has a tendency to make Islam a guide in their lives, including the stoning law as an

object for the *cuci kampung* tradition. By making stoning a sign for the *cuci kampung* tradition, the Jambi Malay community has arrived at the first stage of Peirce's semiosis process, namely the perception of sign representational aspects through the five senses.

The Jambi Malay community also understands the *cuci kampung* tradition with its various objects. The objects referred to are immoral acts as well as customary fines given for the intended actions.

An immoral act will be subject to customary fines in *cuci kampung* tradition with certain conditions. The first is related to the condition of the perpetrator when caught by the public. The perpetrators who were caught when they were not committing immoral acts, but were together in a place where it was possible to commit immoral acts, this condition was called *sumbang mato* (odd sight) and were subject to punishment in the form of an oral agreement from the perpetrators witnessed by community leaders. However, if the perpetrators are caught when carrying out immoral acts directly, they will be subject to customary fines. The second is related to the perpetrators of immoral acts. In the event that the perpetrators are girls or single people, a customary fine will be imposed: a goat, 20 bushels of rice, 20 coconuts and other equipment, and the perpetrators must be married off. However, if the perpetrators are people who already have partners, the customary fine increases to one buffalo, 100 bushels of rice, 40 coconuts and accessories. The third is related to the time of arrest. Time does not determine the form of customary fines, so whenever the perpetrators commit their actions, they will be subject to the same customary fines. The fourth is related to the crime scene. Same with the time of arrest, the place of occurrence of the case is also not

²⁰ Munsarida, 2023.

²¹ Sulaiman Rasyid, *Fiqh Islam* (Bandung: Sinar Baru Algesindo, 2010).

decisive. Wherever the incident took place, the same customary fine will be imposed.²²

The customary fines given varied from a goat to a buffalo. A fine in the form of a goat is imposed on the perpetrators from the common people and are still single and girls. While buffalo fines are imposed on perpetrators from among the perpetrators who are married or officials and community leaders.

The traditional processions and fines in the *cuci kampung* tradition were standardized and spread to various areas where the Jambi Malay community lived through the role of Jambi Malay traditional institutions and leaders. The rules regarding the *cuci kampung* tradition itself are based on the basics of customary law, which consists of three parts, namely *Induk Undang-undang Nan Limo* (the five main law), *Pucuk Undang-undang Nan Delapan* (the top eight laws), and *Anak Undang-undang Nan Dua Belas* (the twelve sub-laws). The Jambi Malay culture in general is gathered in this customary law.

These immoral acts and customary fines are manifestations of the objects of the *cuci kampung* tradition which are understood by the Jambi Malay community. The Jambi Malay community's understanding of immoral acts and customary fines is the second stage of Peirce's semiosis process, namely spontaneously linking representamen with experience in human cognition which interprets the representamen.

In line with the changing times, the procedures for carrying out the *cuci kampung* tradition and the form of customary fines have also changed in line with the meaning made by the community for this tradition.

The *cuci kampung* tradition procedures often no longer follow the existing standard, but are carried out in a simpler and more modern way according

to the location where the action is carried out. In fact, there are some parties who are responsible for carrying out this *cuci kampung* tradition, they do not understand exactly the procedures for implementing it. They only carry out a simple understanding in accordance with the general knowledge they have and spread among the community. According to an informant,²³ the *cuci kampung* tradition procession has undergone changes following the conditions of the community where this tradition is carried out. In general, the procession has followed the procedures of modern society where the procession is made simpler and concise. The process sometimes only involved a number of related parties, such as arrested perpetrators, community leaders and religious leaders. The perpetrators were summoned to appear before community leaders and religious leaders and were then asked to sign an agreement not to repeat their actions, pay customary fines and if possible were asked to marry.

Customary fines for reasons of convenience are also often replaced with money, the amount of which depends on the price of the fine and the negotiations and the ability of the party being fined. The money is then put into the village treasury or handed over to parties in need, such as orphanages.²⁴

The change in the form of the procession and the customary fines for the *cuci kampung* tradition clearly shows that there is a re-interpretation carried out by the Jambi Malay community. This re-interpretation of the *cuci kampung* tradition by the Malay community is the third stage of Peirce's semiotic process, namely interpreting objects according to their wishes. This third stage is called interpretant. The way of interpreting a sign

²² Munsarida, 2023.

²³ Ahmad Mustaniruddin, 2023.

²⁴ Saripuddin, 2013; Ali Imran Zamzuri, 2013.

through its relation to the representamen and object is based on the idea that the object is not always the same as the reality given by the representamen. Objects arise because experience gives meaning to a sign.

CONCLUSION

This research produced several findings. First, the sign that becomes a reference for the *cuci kampung* tradition of the Jambi Malay community is the stoning law imposed on adulterers. Second, the objects of the *cuci kampung* tradition of Jambi Malay community are the procession of *cuci kampung* itself along with customary fines in the form of a goat or a buffalo against perpetrators of immoral acts. Third, departing from these sign and objects, the interpretation will vary depending on the re-interpretation of the Jambi Malay community so that later a customary fine appears which is no longer in the form of a goat or a buffalo anymore, but is replaced with money. The findings of this study are able to answer the main objective of the research, namely to explain the process of meaning and interpretation of signs in the *cuci kampung* tradition with Peirce's semiotic theory.

This finding shows that the Jambi Malay local wisdom was born from the results of dialectics with various new elements or factors that entered, such as culture and religion. Especially in the *cuci kampung* tradition, the dialectic takes place between Islam and local wisdom as seen in the sign in the *cuci kampung* tradition in the form of the stoning law which originates from Islamic law. The findings also show that Jambi Malay local wisdom is flexible in the sense that it moves according to the times and the conditions faced by its people. Simply put, the Jambi Malay local wisdom is dynamic and changes. This finding is different from most previous studies which state that local wisdom is static and does not change.

These findings can be used by various parties with an interest in the preservation and development of Jambi Malay local wisdom, both the government and the community. The Jambi Malay local wisdom must not only be preserved by the community and the government, but must also be developed by conducting a dialectic with various new elements and factors that enter it. In addition, this finding is also conceptually important in the development of the discourse that culture is not static, but dynamic that develops along with the development of society.

This research also leaves limitations, including further elaboration on the current dialectic between the Jambi Malay local wisdom and global culture as the estuary of globalization, so further studies are needed, for example on the hybrid culture that was created and developed in Jambi Malay community.[]

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