

# Cultural Values and Gender Portrayal Represented by Proverbs Use in Minangkabaunese

Annisa Nurhijatul Kania

Master of Linguistics, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

## ABSTRACT

Minangkabau people are a native group that lives in West Sumatra, which is in the middle highlands of Indonesia. Its spoken language is Minangkabaunese which there are many oral literatures in the language including proverbs. This study aimed to look the forms of the proverbs and the cultural values represented in proverbs use and to figure out the women portrayal represented in proverbs use in Minangkabau's customary rules: *Sumbang Duo Baleh*. Cognitive Linguistics theory and Conceptual Metaphor theory were applied in the study to give a complete look at how the community expects women to behave. The results showed that because of Minangkabau women's importance as leaders and role models in their society, they should fulfil all the social requirement to be become a well-regarded member of society otherwise they will be looked down upon in society.

## ARTICLE INFO

*Paper Type:*  
Research Article

*Article history:*  
Received: 13/12/2023  
Revised: 10/02/2023  
Accepted: 01/03/2024

*Keywords:*

- Minangkabau
- *Sumbang Duo Baleh*
- Proverb
- Metaphor
- Women

## 1. Introduction

Every group of people with different cultures must have many ways to represent their culture, including the proverb. Proverbs serve as a means for people to express their cultural heritage and convey their principles and convictions. As Storm (1992) said that proverbs are derived from collected experience, passed down through generations, and provide insight into a culture's beliefs and mindset. According to Cuddon (2013), a proverb is a straightforward and impactful phrase that expresses a universal truth, encapsulating common knowledge in a memorable and frequently metaphorical manner. It is traditionally passed down from one generation to another. In a proverb, it can carry a literal meaning and a non-literal meaning as well such as Metaphor. According to Lakoff (2003), the principle of metaphor lies in the conceptualization of one thing in relation to another, serving primarily as a means of comprehension. Thus, any kind of conceptualization of one thing in relation to another is considered as metaphor by Lakoff (2003). As what he stated that personification as one of the types of figurative language is a broad term for a lot of different types of metaphors. Lakoff (2003) also argued that a metaphor connects one idea to another, and its main purpose is to help people understand. So, based on this study, any type of figurative languages that conceiving something as another thing is considered as metaphor. Thereupon, for analysing proverb, it can adopt conceptual metaphor and cognitive linguistics theory for comprehending the meaning behind the proverbs. When looking to the metaphor use, it tries to see the form that is used to define something with other and the meaning behind it. While cognitive linguistics tries to see a deeper meaning of the proverb based on the cognitive of a certain cultural community. For instance, in Minangkabau ethnicity "Woman is the *limpapeh rumah gadang*". It defines woman as *limpapeh rumah gadang* which means a large pole used to support a building. Thus, it simlizes woman with a pole. The metaphorical mapping in this case involves understanding how the qualities associated with "a pole of a building" (e.g., strength, support, stability) are mapped onto the concept of "a woman." Therefore, in Minangkabau, woman holds the important roles in Minangkabau, especially in the household which is as strength, support and stability of the family. If we are going deeper, in Minangkabau, women in the family determine the family position in the society. That is the cultural meaning of "Woman is the *limpapeh rumah gadang*" grounded to Minangkabau tribe

community.

According to Ibrahim (2009), Minangkabau is an ethnic group in Indonesia who speak and uphold Minangkabau customs. They represent one of the rare matrilineal societies that have endured to the present day, and they are currently the largest in existence. It makes woman holding crucial roles in Minangkabau as represented in a saying “*Limpapeh Rumah Nan Gadang*” (as what explained in the previous paragraph) which means if being about to know the quality of a family, see how the women’s manner of the family (Rahmat & Maryelliwati, 2019). It is that crucial that leads Minangkabau state rules to its women as in “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*” while for men there are just six called “*Sumbang Anam*”. “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*” consists of “*sumbang*” and “*duo baleh*”. “*Sumbang*” means wrong while “*duo baleh*” means twelve. Thus, “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*” means twelve wrong things as a rule to be avoided it for Minangkabau women. The proverbs contain guidelines for Minangkabau women to behave telling what is wrong and what is right. In Minangkabau, it is the moral standard, the measure of the value of customary manners for Minangkabau women. *Sumbang*, as per Minangkabau traditions, may not necessarily align with customs seen in other regions (Ulya et al., 2022). For instance, in Minangkabau, woman is not allowed to cross-legged sit (called “*baselo*” in Minangkabau) while in other ethnic culture, it can be allowed. Thus, if a woman does a cross-legged then she made a “*sumbang*”. It is in order to protect anything possible bad things happen and to look good if being seen by others. In short, it is twelve wrong things that should be away from to have a good manner as a woman. It is also as a guideline for Minangkabau women to behave well expecting they are able to be a role model for people around them ((Rahmat & Maryelliwati, 2019).

Previously, there are several research that have been done before about cultural representation and gender portrayal in proverbs in different languages. Firstly, Nwoko (2011) studied about women portrayal in Ndebele proverbs and idioms. Then, Rasul 2015 studied about how women are perceived, symbolized and portrayed through Urdu and English proverbs which represented the traditional power relationship between gender. Next, OTISO (2019) studied about gender portrayal in Ekegusii proverb, Bantu language which is spoken in Western Kenya. Furthermore, Q. Khan et al. (2015) studied about gender identities in Pakhtu proverbs, a language spoken in province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. Moreover, Dzahene-Quarshie & Omari (2021) studied about reflections of gender ideology in the Akan and Swahili societies through its proverbs. On top of that, L. A. Khan et al. (2017) studied about gender representation through Punjabi proverbs, a language spoken in Punjab region of Pakistan and India. Additionally, Nofiadri (2021) delved into the metaphor, meaning, and cultural cognition in Minangkabau Ritual Speech, offering a deeper understanding of the metaphorical and cultural dimensions of the proverbs. While for research about “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*” there is Morelent (2021) which focused on character building and the implementation of Minangkabau women's culture through *Sumbang Duo Baleh* rules in secondary schools, highlighting the practical application of the rules in shaping the behaviour and values of Minangkabau women. Lastly, Gani (2020) studied the educational value of the expression for Minangkabau women in *Sumbang Duo Baleh*, emphasizing the role of the proverb as an educational tool for women in the Minangkabau community. In those previous studies, there are many cultural values and gender representation in different languages. Also, for the previous research about proverbs in *Sumbang Duo Baleh* that have been studied, the focuses are more on the women role in educational value while this present study tried to look the cultural values and the gender portrayal in the proverbs in *Sumbang Duo Baleh*. Therefore, this present study aimed to look the forms of the proverbs and the cultural values represented in proverbs use in Minangkabau’s customary rules: *Sumbang Duo Baleh*. In addition, this present study also aimed to figure out the women portrayal represented in proverbs used in Minangkabau’s customary rules: *Sumbang Duo Baleh*.

## 2. Methods

The data of this study were proverbs in all 12 rules in “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*”, Minangkabau’s customary rules for women. The data were taken from customary advice by Dt. Parpatiah Yus in a form of video entitled “*Pitaruah Ayah*” especially “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*”. This study applied a descriptive-qualitative method. In “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*”, there are metaphor and non-metaphor proverbs. It used Conceptual Metaphor theory by Lakoff (2003) to analyse the metaphor forms since the proverbs using metaphor form and used Cognitive Linguistics theory to analyse the non-metaphor forms to explain the

cultural phenomenon of the proverbs. To analyse the data, the researcher identified the metaphor use in the proverb of “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*”. Then, the researcher analysed the meaning of the proverbs by the metaphor use that explained how speakers used linguistic expressions to convey meaning related to the cultural context. Finally, after discovering the meaning of each proverb, the researcher figured out the role of Minangkabau Women represented in the proverbs of “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*”.

### 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1 The Concept Meaning of “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*”

##### 3.1.1 *Sumbang Duduak* (Sitting)

- (1) “*Duduak sopan bagi padusi iolah basimpuah, bukan baselo co laki-laki, apo lai mancangkuang, batagak lutuik bak gaek duduak dilapau. Nyampang duduak di kurisi, bae manyampiang, rapekan pao arek-arek. Jikok bagonceang, usah mangkangkang abih-abih, manjajokan dicaliak urang.*”

<i>Batagak</i>	<i>lutuik</i>	<i>bak</i>	<i>gaek</i>	<i>duduak</i>	<i>dilapau</i>
Standing	knee	like	elderly	sit	At the stall

Translation: “A good manner of sitting for women is kneeling sit, not cross-legged like men, especially squatting posture or lifting up the knee, like elderly sit at the stall. When sitting on the chair, sit sideways, put your thigh together with no space anymore. If being a passenger in a motorcycle ride, don’t astride too much, it is disgusting to look”

Based in datum (1), it shows the manner of sitting to Minangkabau women. It says how the bad manner of sitting of Minangkabau women using simile. It says “*Batagak lutuik bak gaek duduak di lapau*” which means “like elderly sit at the stall”. The metaphorical thing here is defining the same concept for a woman who sits lifting up the knee with elderly sitting at the stall. It uses metaphor to convey meaning about the similarity of wrong way to sit for Minangkabau women with a certain group of people’s sitting habit. It signifies that how the elderly sit, lifting up the knee, is not a good manner if carried out by Minangkabau women. The proverb implies that the polite sitting of a Minangkabau woman is to maintain all possibilities, so that people who look at her do not feel uncomfortable and disturbed, thus bringing up all the bad possibilities, or at least, negative perceptions that can bring down her image as a woman.

##### 3.1.2 *Sumbang Tagak* (Standing)

- (2) “*Usah panagak tantang pintu atau janjang turun naiak. Ijan panagak ditapi labuah kalau ndak ado nan dinanti. Sumbang tagak jo laki-laki apo lai bukan muhlim.*”

Translation: “Don’t be a person who likes to stand in front of a door or going up and down in the stair. Don’t be a person who likes to stand in harbour if not having someone to wait. It is wrong to stand with men if not having a blood relation.”

In datum (2), the proverb tells how a good manner of standing for Minangkabau women are. It contains the rules related to standing manner such as not standing in front of a door, not going up and down repeatedly in the stairs. It implies that Minangkabau woman would appear inappropriate if seen standing on the side of the road when there is no one to wait for, or inappropriate if standing in front of a door. This means that it is an inappropriate custom for a woman to stand anywhere without regarding for her safety. Because as what explained before, that as Minangkabau women, because they hold crucial roles, they have to think about their safety.

3.1.3 *Sumbang Jalan* (Walking)

(3) "Bajalan musti bakawan, paliang kurang jo paja ketek. Usah bajalan bagageh-gageh, malasau, mandongkak-dongkak. Alu tataruang pantangnyo patah, samuik tapijak indak nan mati. Jikok bajalan jo laki-laki, malangkahlah di balakang. Usah maampang jalan waktu bajalan sasamo gadang."

<i>Alu</i>	<i>tataruang</i>	<i>pantangnyo</i>	<i>patah</i>
<i>Penumbuk padi</i>	<i>tertendang</i>	<i>pantang ia</i>	<i>patah</i>
Rice huller	got kicked	never	broken
<i>Samuik</i>	<i>tapijak</i>	<i>indak</i>	<i>nan</i>
<i>Semut</i>	<i>terpijak</i>	<i>tidak</i>	<i>yang</i>
Ant	got stepped	no	that
			<i>mati</i>
			<i>mati</i>
			die

Translation: "When walking, there must be someone who accompanies, at least with younger person. Don't walk in rush, walk while looking up and walk waltzingly. Rice huller got kicked but never be broken, ants that were stepped on will not die. If walking with men, walk behind them. Don't blocking them while walking."

In datum (3), it shows how the manner of standing that should be owned by Minangkabau women. It is represented in the use of metaphor, "*Alu tataruang pantangnyo patah, samuik tapijak indak nan mati*". It means that rice huller never be broken even if it got kicked and ants will not die even if they are stepped on. The metaphorical mapping here is the understanding about the similarity between the level of being careful with not causing any harm even the tiny one. Indeed, in Minangkabau, the level of being careful is often equalized with the distress to others even to the tiniest creature. It implies how careful a Minangkabau woman should walk so will not harm and give distress to others.

3.1.4 *Sumbang Kato* (Talking)

(4) "*Bakatolah jo lamah lambuik. Duduakan hetong ciek-ciek nak paham mukasuiknyo. Ijan barundiak bak murai batu, bak aia sarasah tajun. Jan menyolang kato rang tuo, dangakan dulu sudah-sudah. Jan manyabuik kumuah waktu makan, manyabuik mati dakek sisakik. Kurang elok, indak tapuji maminta utang di nan rami.*"

<i>Ijan</i>	<i>barundiak</i>	<i>bak</i>	<i>murai batu</i>
<i>Jangan</i>	<i>berbicara</i>	<i>seperti</i>	<i>murai batu</i>
Don't	talk	like	stone magpie bird
<i>Bak</i>	<i>aia</i>	<i>sarasah</i>	<i>tajun</i>
<i>Seperti</i>	<i>air</i>	<i>terjun</i>	<i>terjun</i>
Like	water	waterfall	fall

Translation: "Talk softly. Talk clearly point by point so that it can be understood. Don't talk like stone magpie bird, like waterfall. Don't cut elderly talk, listen to it first. Don't talk grossly when eating, talk about death near a sick person. It is not good, collecting depths in a crowd."

In datum (4), it says about the manner of talking for Minangkabau women. It is showed in a form of simile "*Ijan barundiak bak murai batu, bak aia sarasah tajun*". The simile, in this case, involves understanding how the qualities associated with "bird chirping and waterfall" (e.g., fast) are likened to the concept of "talk". It implies that it is not good for women talking fast and unclear. In short, when talking, Minangkabau women must pay attention to the following: what topic she communicating is, who the speech partner is and must be good at take care of the heart and feelings of the person she is

talking to.

### 3.1.5 *Sumbang Caliak* (Seeing)

(5) “*Kurang taratik urang padusi, pamana pancaliak jauh, pamadok arah balakang, pamatuik diri surang. Nyampang pai ka rumah urang, pajinak incekmato, jan malanja sapanjang rumah, bantuak urang panyalidiak. Usah pancaliak jam, wakatu ado tamu. ljan panantang mato rang jantan, buang pandangan ka nan lain, manakua caliak ka bawah.*”

<i>Pajinak</i>	<i>incek mato</i>
<i>Jinakan</i>	<i>bola mata</i>
Tame	eyeballs

Translation: “It is lack of discipline of women if always look into other people’s bad, just look into ourselves. If going to other people’s house, maintain your gaze, don’t see all the sides of the house. Don’t look at to the time when having a guest. Don’t against the eye of a man, look away to other thing, look down.”

In datum (5), the proverb says about the manner of eyesight for Minangkabau women. It uses metaphor “*Panjinak incekmato*”. The metaphorical thing here is the similarity of Minangkabau women with “*incek mato nan jinak*” (a tamed eyesight) which is can be controlled. It implies that for Minangkabau women, the ability to control their eyesight is very important in order to maintain a glory. Also, in viewing a problem, it is not only the ability of the eyes that is needed, but more importantly, the discernment of the eyes of the heart will be very decisive. Therefore, in this “*sumbang caliak*”, it is not only the sight in literal but also non-literal meaning which is beyond the literal meaning such as being aware of ourselves bad than see the bad things of others.

### 3.1.6 *Sumbang Makan* (Eating)

(6) “*Usah makan sambia tagak, kunyah kenyoh sapanjang jalan. Mangunyah tutuikan muluik jan tadanga capak dek urang. Nyampang makan jo tangan, ganggam nasi jo ujuang jari, bao ka ateh lambek-lambek, usah mangango gadang-gadang. Nyampang makan jo sendok, agak-agak malah dahulu, nak jan balago sendok jo gigi. Ingek-ingek dalam batambah, kana-kana manyudahi.*”

<i>Nak</i>	<i>jan</i>	<i>balago</i>	<i>sendok</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>gigi</i>
<i>Mau</i>	<i>jangan</i>	<i>bertengkar</i>	<i>sendok</i>	<i>dengan</i>	<i>gigi</i>
Want	don’t	fight	spoon	with	teeth

Translation: “Don’t eat while standing, chewing while standing. If eating with hand, handheld rice with the tip of finger, bring it up slowly, don’t open your mouth too wide. If eating with spoon, considering it first, in order to not clash spoon with teeth. Remember to stop when eating more than just one serving.”

In datum (6), the proverb says about how eating with a good manner for Minangkabau woman. It uses metaphor to convey the meaning deeper. It is “*Nak jan balago sendok jo gigi*” which means don’t let spoon fight with the teeth. The metaphorical thing here is defining a touch between tooth and spoon as a fight which is making a sound and contacting each other in a bad way. It means that don’t let spoon got stucked by the teeth when eating because it will make a sound and. In Minangkabau, making a sound when eating is not a good behave so Minangkabau women is absolutely not allowed to do so. It implies the necessity of being careful when eating to avoid something bad happen.

### 3.1.7 *Sumbang Pakai* (Wearing)

- (7) “*Jan babaju sampik jo jarang, buliah ndak nampak rasio tubuah, Satantang mode jo potongan, sasuaikan jo bantuak tubuah, sarasikan jo rono kulik, sarato mukasuik ka di tuju, buliah nak sajuak dipandang mato. Kulik nan karak-karak angek, mako warna piliah nan agak amba. Usah dipakai baju sirah, dendeang balado cek urang”*

<i>Kulik</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>karak-karak</i>	<i>angek</i>
<i>Kulit</i>	<i>yang</i>	<i>kerak-kerak</i>	<i>panas</i>
<i>Skin</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>crusted</i>	<i>hot</i>
<i>Dendeng</i>	<i>balado</i>	<i>cek</i>	<i>urang</i>
<i>Dendeng</i>	<i>bercabai</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>orang</i>
<i>Dendeng</i>	<i>chili</i>	<i>say</i>	<i>people</i>

Translation: “Don’t wear a pressed body clothes and revealing clothes, so that the secret of the body can be covered. The model of the shirt that matches the cut, make it suit with the body posture, match it with skin color, also the purpose of going, in order to be good to look. A hot crusted skin, then choose a light color. Don’t wear a bright color, people say looking like a “*dendeng balado*” (name of Minangkabau food).”

In datum (7), the proverb says about the dressing up manner for Minangkabau women. It uses figurative language form, simile. “*Kulik nan karak-karak angek*” and “*dendeang balado cek urang*”. “*Kulik nan karak-karak angek*” means a tan skin color that is liken to hot crusted. The metaphorical mapping of the metaphor is defining skin as hot crusted which is dry and rough. It means a skin that is dry and rough. Then, the metaphorical mapping of “*dendeang balado*” is equalizing someone who wears a not matching color with the skin color with “*dendeang balado*” which is a food having clashing colors. So, “*dendeang balado cek urang*” means people will say it looks like “*dendeang balado*” if using a not matching color with the skin color which it is liken to food. It implies about Minangkabau women should keep their self-worth through how the way they dress. It represents their manner as a woman.

### 3.1.8 *Sumbang Karajo* (Working)

- (8) “*Kakok karajo rang padusi iolah nan ringan jo nan alui, sarato indak rumik-rumik. Cando padusi mambajak sawah, manabang, jo mamanjek. Jikok ka kantua, nan rancak iyo jadi guru.*”

Translation: “If working, a woman, is the light one and the soft one, also, not complicated. Like women plowing the rice field, cutting, and climbing. If want office, that is good, be a teacher”

In datum (8), the proverb says about the forbidden things related to work for Minangkabau women. “*Sumbang*” for a woman in Minangkabau does work that is generally only done by men, such as difficult and heavy work, carrying heavy things, jumping, running, climbing. This is also based on the possibility and appropriateness of the situation and conditions. Because women in Minangkabau is fundamental so they should be protected as best as possible.

### 3.1.9 *Sumbang Tanyo* (Asking)

- (9) “*Barundiang sasudah makan, batanyo salapeh arak. Alun taacah ikuanyo duduak, sambia tagak lalu batanyo, samo jo buruak angkuah namonyo awak tu. Nyampang tasasek karantau urang ijan batanyo bakandak-kandak.*”

<i>Samo</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>buruak</i>	<i>angkuah</i>	<i>namonyo</i>	<i>awak</i>
<i>Sama</i>	<i>dengan</i>	<i>buruk</i>	<i>angkuh</i>	<i>namanya</i>	<i>kita</i>
Similar	with	bad	arrogant	named	us

Translation: “Talk after eating, ask after the event. The bottom doesn’t meet floor yet, while standing then asking, similar with bad arrogant, it is called. If being lost in foreign place, don’t ask with a whim.”

In datum (9), it explains about the manner of asking something to people. It is represented in a form of metaphor. The metaphorical thing of “*samo jo buruak angkuah namonyo awak tu*” is equalizing between women who do the “*sumbang*” with “*buruak angkuah*”, crazily arrogant. It implies that don’t ask something carelessly without considering the surroundings, without thinking other people’s feeling. In short, the proverb is used to tell Minangkabau women to avoid the prohibition about asking that is explained in the “*sumbang tanyo*” and to behave well when asking something with considering everything. It is because women in Minangkabau should be a good role model that is why they have to avoid the “*sumbang*”.

### 3.1.10 *Sumbang Jawek* (Answering)

- (10) “*Jaweklah tanyo elok-elok, jan sambia malengah, itu jawek sengkang namonyo tu. Buruak muncuang dilayani urang. Cilako gadih mudo matah, jauh jodoh tinggi rasaki, alamaik sangsaro iduik awak.*”

<i>Buruak</i>	<i>muncuang</i>	<i>dijawek</i>	<i>urang</i>
<i>Buruk</i>	<i>mulut</i>	<i>dijawab</i>	<i>orang</i>
Ugly	mouth	answered	people
	<i>Gadiah</i>	<i>mudo</i>	<i>matah</i>
	<i>Gadis</i>	<i>muda</i>	<i>mentah</i>
	Girl	young	uncooked

Translation: “Answer the question politely, don’t answer while looking away, it is called random answer. Ugly mouth responded by people. Unlucky an uncooked young girl, far from the soulmate, tall fortune, very unlucky our lives”.

In datum (10), the proverb about the wrong things to do when answering other people’s question. There is metaphor use says “*buruak muncuang dijawek urang*” which defines someone who cannot say things nicely similar with ugly mouth (unpleasant, nasty, unattractive). It means a mouth that cannot say good thing or say things politely. Also, In Minangkabau, there is metaphor use says “*muncuang bacirik*” (pooped mouth) which means a mouth which cannot say nice things, it says many bad things. So, it is similar with “*buruak muncuang*” (ugly mouth). Then, the second one, it says “*gadiah mudo matah*” which concepting the same meaning between young woman with *mudo matah* (young uncooked). It implies a woman who still young and immature. Thus, in Minangkabau, women have to answer other people’s questions nicely and avoid answering question in a bad way.

### 3.1.11 *Sumbang Bagaua* (Interacting)

- (11) “*Usah bagaua jo laki-laki kalau awak surang padusi. Awak anak gadiah jan bagaua jo paja ketek, manyuruak bakuciang-kuciang, main kalereang balari bakaja-kaja. Awak pacaran bagaua lah sarupo laki bini. Ilia mudiak indak lakek lakang sarupo jawi di lapek buruak*”

<i>sarupo</i>	<i>jawi</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>lapek</i>	<i>buruak</i>
<i>serupa</i>	<i>sapi</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>lepas</i>	<i>buruk</i>
like	cow	in	lepas	bad

Translation: “Do not hang out with men if you are the only woman. Don’t hang out with a kid, playing kid games around. Don’t have a married-like relationship if he is still your boyfriend. Downstream going home no attached behind, like a cow in a bad “*lapek*”.

In datum (11), the proverb says about the wrong things to do when be friends with other for Minangkabau women. There is use of metaphor in the proverb to convey the meaning of the proverb better. It is “*jawi di lapek buruak*” which equalizing between an unmarried-relationship of woman and man with the relationship of animal in the bad way which is wild and inappropriate. It implies how nasty a married-like relationship of unmarried couple is. In Minangkabau, there are many times of animal equalization to the bad attitude. The proverb tries to convey how to behave in the issue of interaction or be friend for Minangkabau women with avoid the “*sumbang*” that is explained in the proverb.

### 3.1.12 *Sumbang Kurenah* (A Behavioral Trait)

For the Minangkabau people, *Kurenah* is defined as a behavioral trait, which can reflect a person's psychological factors. The use of this term usually coincides with the fact that an action should no longer be done by that person. This assessment usually relates to factors such as age, education, status, and so on (Rahmat & Maryelliwati, 2019).

(12) “*Kurang patuik, indaklah elok babisiak sadang basamo. Usah manutuik hiduang di nan rami, urang jatuah awak tagalak, galak gadang nan bakarikiakan. Bueklah garah nan sakadarnya, buliah ndak tasingguang urang mandanga. Jikok mambali durian, usah kuliknyo ka laman urang. Paliharo diri dari talunjuak luruih kalingkiang bakaik, nan bak musang babulu ayam.*”

<i>Nan</i>	<i>bak</i>	<i>musang</i>	<i>babulu</i>	<i>ayam</i>
<i>Yang</i>	<i>seperti</i>	<i>musang</i>	<i>berbulu</i>	<i>ayam</i>
That	like	weasel	hairy	chicken

Translation: “Less polite, it is not good whispering when together. Don’t cover nose in a crowd. People fall, we laugh, laugh big that is giggling. Make a joke that is sufficient, so that people will not feel offense when hearing it. If buying *durian*, don’t throw the peel to other people’s yard. Maintain ourselves from straight pointing finger and attached little finger like a chicken feather weasel.”

In datum (12), the proverb says about the wrong behave to have as Minangkabau women. There is use metaphor to give more understanding about the meaning of the proverb says. It is “*nan bak musang babulu ayam*”. It equalizes someone who appears to be good but have ulterior motives behind it with a chicken feather weasel which means two-faced personality. It represents how Minangkabau women’s nature should be.

## 3.2 *The Role of Minangkabau Women Represented in Sumbang Duo Baleh*

Minangkabau culture, indigenous to West Sumatra, Indonesia, places women in significant roles as educators, household regulators, and role models for the community (Dewi et al., 2019). It is proven in “*Sumbang Duo Baleh*” that everything is regulated for Minangkabau women in the case of behaving according to customary and religious rules. Traditionally, Minangkabau women were described as compassionate, loyal, tough, independent, and knowledgeable about their culture (Penghulu, 2004). They were symbolized as “*limpapeh rumah nan gadang*” and “*sumarak anjuang nan tinggi*,” representing their high role and position in the community. By holding many roles in several aspects of life in Minangkabau culture, women are in a high position in Minangkabau community which also has something to do with the hereditary system in Minangkabau custom, Matrilineal. It is one of the reasons why women take crucial roles in Minangkabau culture. It does not mean that men do not have crucial



roles in Minangkabau culture, however this *Sumbang Duo Baleh* talked about how important women roles are in Minangkabau culture.

Minangkabau women are regarded as the educators of children and play a crucial role in regulating the household. They are responsible for passing down cultural values and traditions to the next generation, contributing to the preservation of the Minangkabau culture. In addition to their responsibilities within the household, Minangkabau women serve as role models for the community. Their behaviour, values, and actions influence the social and cultural fabric of the society. By upholding traditional customs and embodying the characteristics of compassion, loyalty, and independence, they set an example for others to follow. As ruled in "*Sumbang Duo Baleh*", sitting, standing, walking, talking, seeing, eating, wearing, working, asking, answering interacting and behaving habit.

The Minangkabau culture is characterized by a matriarchal system, where women hold significant power in marriage, family matters, and property customs. This "mother right" system emphasizes the importance of women in decision-making and societal balance. Educated urban Minangkabau women have advocated for women's rights to education and encouraged others to become good mothers, reflecting a broader movement of representation and advocacy for women's empowerment within the culture. In short, Minangkabau women play pivotal roles as educators, household regulators, and role models within their culture. Their influence extends beyond the family unit, shaping the cultural values and traditions of the community. The matriarchal system and emphasis on female rule underscore the significance of women in decision-making and societal balance, highlighting their role as role models and leaders within the Minangkabau culture.

After analysing the data, there are ten *sumbang* out of twelve *sumbang* that use metaphors in the proverb. There are in *sumbang duduak* (sitting), *sumbang jalan* (walking), *sumbang kato* (talking), *sumbang caliak* (seeing), *sumbang makan* (eating), *sumbang pakai* (wearing), *sumbang tanyo* (asking), *sumbang jawek* (answering), *sumbang bagaua* (interacting) and *sumbang kurenah* (behaving). There is no metaphor use in two *sumbang*: *sumbang tagak* (standing) and *sumbang karajo* (working). It showed that the use of proverbs in Minangkabau culture is an important aspect of guiding women's behaviour. The "*Sumbang Duo Baleh*" is a set of twelve wrong things that Minangkabau women should avoid. Each of the "*sumbang*" provides guidance on how women should behave in different situations, such as sitting, standing, walking, talking, seeing, eating, dressing up, working, and asking. The proverbs use metaphors and similes to convey deeper meanings and emphasize the importance of maintaining good manners and avoiding inappropriate behaviour. After discovering the meaning of the proverbs use in "*Sumbang Duo Baleh*", it can be seen how women roles in Minangkabau community which represented their culture in treating different gender by giving many rules for the women. Compared to different culture which having different hereditary system, it made the women roles are different to different culture. While in "*Sumbang Duo Baleh*" the proverbs reflected the cultural values of Minangkabau society, such as the importance of being careful, respectful, and considerate of others. From the explanation above, it implied that Minangkabau women are expected to meet all societal expectations to be respected in their society due to their significant roles as leaders and role models.

According to Nwoko (2011), the findings showed about marginalization of women and portrayed women as "The Other" in Ndebele society represented in the Ndebele proverbs and idioms. Then, the findings of Rasul's study (2015) showed that the Urdu and English proverbs portrayed women as weak, inferior and subsidiary. Also, women are represented as negatively beautiful, fragile, unintelligent, untrustworthy and talkative. Next, in OTISO's study (2019) portrayed men and women are strong but there is the negative nature of women emphasized too such as ungrateful and careless in speech while there is none for men in Ekegusii proverbs. Furthermore, in the findings of Q. Khan's study (2015) showed about men domination, gender imbalance and age-old gender inequalities in the Pakhtu proverbs. Then, Dzahene-Quarshie & Omari's study (2021) showed in Akan and Swahili proverbs that men are often portrayed as strong, dominant, assertive, and managers of assets. Women are frequently portrayed as both dependent and clever, but they are also recognized as influential and deserving of admiration, particularly in their capacities as mothers and household caregivers. Moreover, in Punjabi proverbs that was studied by L. A. Khan et al. (2017) showed about gender inequality and patriarchy such as women as the face threatening and men as the face saving. Then, the findings of Gani's study (2020) showed that Minangkabau women should be knowledgeable, religious and civilized because they hold a highly respected position that will cultivate a competent younger generation of Minangkabau.

#### 4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the paper delves into the cultural values and expectations for women's behavior in the Minangkabau community through the analysis of the proverb "*Sumbang Duo Baleh*." The study highlights the significant roles of women as educators, household regulators, and role models in the matriarchal Minangkabau culture. By employing Conceptual Metaphor theory and Cognitive Linguistics theory, the study effectively analyses the proverbs and their cultural significance, offering a comprehensive examination of the behavioural guidelines for Minangkabau women. The use of proverbs and metaphors in conveying these cultural norms emphasizes the importance of proper behaviour and manners for women in various aspects of life. The analysis also underscores the cultural significance of women in decision-making, societal balance, and leadership within the Minangkabau community. Overall, the paper sheds light on the intricate cultural norms and expectations for women in the Minangkabau society, providing valuable insights into the roles and behavioural guidelines that shape the community's social fabric. In short, the findings provide valuable insights into the cultural norms and behavioural expectations for Minangkabau women, using proverbs and metaphors to convey the message. There is also implicit meaning about how under pressure Minangkabau women is to not be look down in the society by meeting all the requirements by the society itself. Overall, the analysis of the proverb "*Sumbang Duo Baleh*" offers a rich understanding of the cultural values and expectations that shape women's roles and conduct in the Minangkabau community, shedding light on the intricate societal norms and behavioural guidelines that define the community's social dynamics.

#### References

- Cuddon, J. A. (2013). *Literary Terms and Literary Theory* (Fifth). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Dzahene-Quarshie, J., & Omari, S. (2021). Viewing Gender Through the Eyes of Proverbs: Reflections of Gender Ideology in the Akan and Swahili Societies. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 174, 128–142. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2020.12.020>
- Gani, E. (2020). *Sumbang Duo Baleh : Education-Valued Expression for Minangkabau Women* . 485(Iclle), 142–146. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.201109.024>
- Hasibuan, A., Ningsih, A. M., & Wahyuni, S. (2023). Metaphors in Minangkabau Language: Meaning Shift and Change. *International Journal of Research and Review*, 10(1), 520–527. <https://doi.org/10.52403/ijrr.20230160>
- Khan, L. A., Razai-Mustafa, & Ali, G. (2017). Punjabi Proverbs and Gender : Construction of Multiple Identities. *NUML Journal of Critical Inquiry*, 15(I), 67–90.
- Khan, Q., Sultana, N., & Naz, A. (2015). The Linguistic Representation of Gender Identities in Pakhtu Proverbs. *NUML Journal of Critical Inquiry*, 13(December), 73–87.
- Morelent, Y., Isnanda, R., Gusnetti, G., & Fauziati, P. (2021). Pembentukan Karakter dan Implementasi Budaya Perempuan Minang melalui Aturan Sumbang Duo Baleh di Sekolah Menengah Sumatera Barat. *JSHP: Jurnal Sosial Humaniora Dan Pendidikan*, 6(1), 41–49. <https://doi.org/10.32487/jshp.v6i1.1246>
- Nofiadri, N. (2021). *Rundiang, Minangkabau Ritual Speech: Methapor, Meaning, and Cultural Cognition*. Deakin University.
- Nwoko, K. C. (2011). Portraying Women as the Other: Ndebele Proverbs and Idioms in the Context of Gender Construction. *Africana (2155-7829)*, 5(3), 126–142.
- OTISO, Z. K. (2019). Gender Portrayal in Ekegusii Proverbs. *International Journal of Language & Linguistics*, 6(2), 76–84. <https://doi.org/10.30845/ijll.v6n2p11>
- Rahmat, W., & Maryelliwati. (2019). *Minangkabau (Adat, Bahasa, Sastra dan Bentuk Penerapan)*.

- Rasul, S. (2015). Gender and Power Relationships in the Language of Proverbs: Image of a Woman. *FWU Journal of Social Sciences*, 9(2), 53–62.
- Storm, H. (1992). Women in Japanese Proverbs. *Asian Folklore Studies*, 51(2), 167.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1178330>