

Food Dishes in the *Nyangahant* Ritual as Symbols of Nonverbal Communication in the Salako Community of Pueh Village, Lundu, Sarawak

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Abstract

For the Salako people in Kampung Pueh, Lundu, Sarawak, the *Nyangahant* ritual is a very meaningful ceremony. It is an offering and prayer dedicated to *Jubata*, their God, for help in times of trouble, protection from threats and calamities, blessings, fertility, and wealth. The presenting of food as an offering to *Jubata* is an important part of the ceremony. This study used theoretical semiotics, which focuses on deciphering food's meaning in nonverbal communication, to comprehend the relevance of food symbols in the *Nyangahant* ceremony. As part of an anthropological study, the researcher actively participated in the ritual ceremony and conducted interviews with *Tuha Adat* and ritual practitioners. The research uncovered the profound meaning associated with *Jubata's* meals. The food on the *Buis* tray carried numerous connotations due to its shape, colour, and processing method. It served as an icebreaker for conversations, symbolised masculinity and traditional Salako men's cuisine, represented purity and femininity, symbolised the blessings of the upcoming harvest, fostered bonding and friendship, ensured safety, served as sacrifices, and strengthened the spiritual connection. These discoveries shed light on the deep symbolism and cultural significance of food in the *Nyangahant* ritual. Understanding the deeper connotations associated with food offerings allows the Salako community to strengthen their spiritual connection with *Jubata* while also preserving cultural customs. Furthermore, this study lays the groundwork for future research by recommending that other components of the *Nyangahant* ritual be investigated in order to acquire a thorough understanding of its wider cultural context and significance.

Keywords: Symbols, Rituals, Food, Nyangahant Ritual, Salako

Introduction

The most important aspect of human activity is communication. In human life, messages interact to produce meaning. This explains why culture has rules about messages or texts. Messages with purpose are delivered in various forms and conveyed in many ways, such as speaking, writing, dressing, and behaving. For that reason, every action we take will affect others. This is due to the meaning that exists when humans interpret a symbol, which is one of the message's structural elements. This interpretation is influenced by the sender's and receiver's life experiences and culture, so there are subjective differences.

Communication is a social interaction of the entire message in every way, where the exchange places the individual as a member of a particular culture or society. Communication is used to create meaning. It is made through either verbal or nonverbal communication. The exchange of cultural messages is an essential aspect of communication. This is because cultural messages contain symbols or beliefs passed down from generation to generation.

Food is a part of a culture, and it is essential to note that it is viewed not only as a necessity but also in terms of its existence in the social context of our society. According to Sibal (2018), food is the quickest way to recognise a community's identity. Thus, according to White (2011), the food reflects and displays personal identity in life and symbolises a society's cultural identity. This practice is inextricably linked to belief and socio-cultural systems.

The Salako community regards food preparation for the *Nyangahant* ritual for *Jubata* as a pearl of local wisdom based on an ancient belief system. In the Salako community's traditional beliefs, the *Nyangahant* ritual is known as *Indu' Gawe*, which is the "mother" of all rituals in the Salako culture. Therefore, the *Nyangahant* ritual is a significant offering and prayer activity that must be carried out to ensure that every goal of organising a ritual is met. For that reason, the *Nyangahant* ritual will serve as an "opening" ritual in the execution of all critical rituals in Salako culture, such as *Gawe' Ka Padi* (related to rice) and *Gawe' Ka Manusia* (related to humans). This is consistent with the worldview of this society, which holds that every community member must respect and acknowledge the existence of other creatures alongside humans.

Traditionally, people expressed guidance through symbols, either through body movements, facial expressions, or objects (symbols) to convey meaning. As a result, the presence of symbols is generally regarded as a measure that carries a purpose that is blended according to the culture of the community that implements it. According to Nurhuda (2017), symbols are generally helpful in interpreting the ideas and thoughts that underpin a culture's conventional processes and physical objects. In the Malay community, for example, the food symbol complements a celebration such as *Hari Raya*, an event such as a wedding, a feast for the dead, a shaving ceremony for new-borns, and other traditional ritual activities. This statement is coherent with the Salako community culture, which uses food as a symbol and meaning in the *Nyangahant* ritual. For instance, dishes of *Sirih*, *Pinang* and *Rokok Apong* are symbols of bonding and friendship.

Salako Community

The Salako people are an ethnic minority in Sarawak (Maulana et al., 2020). According to Adelaar (2005), the Salako people who now live in Sarawak are from Mount Gajing. Mount Gajing is a mountainous area near Sungai Salako or Sungai Selakau, not far from the Singkawang district in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. Around the 1800s, many of the Salako community migrated to Sarawak due to political and geographical factors. Because of the

geographical proximity of Kalimantan, Indonesia, to the State of Sarawak, the process of migration and settlement construction by the Salako community in Sarawak became easier. According to Chang (2004), the Salako community's first settlements in Sarawak were in Sungai Pasir and Sungai Kayan. The impact of the first settlement has resulted in several new villages in Sarawak's Salako community today. Chang's (2004) claim is supported by Maulana et al (2020) who affirm that most Salako villages in Sarawak are in Sematan and Lundu districts, including Kampung Pueh, Kampung Biawak, Kampung Selabat, and Kampung Sebako.

The traditional Salako community, according to Hasmadi (1994), is firmly committed to *animism*. The Salako community's belief in *animism* has been the foundation for forming beliefs and a way of life since time immemorial. The Salako community believes in the existence of *Jubata* as a god in their community based on this traditional belief. *Jubata* is the owner of the universe realm and oversees managing it for the Salako community. Because of the Salako community's strong belief in *Jubata*, the Salako community's life in Sarawak is still governed by taboos that must be followed and obeyed to avoid *Jubata's* wrath.

The Salako community believes that violating or disobeying the taboo will cause *Badi* (disturbance from spirits), *Idap* (sickness), and *Tulah* (the plague) to a person or the community in a Salako community village. The Salako community's respect and fear of *Jubata* have been translated through the performance of the *Nyangahant* ritual by preparing offerings in the form of food objects and praying to obtain permission and blessing from *Jubata* every time they want to do something and beg always to be blessed with prosperity in life. As a result, Hasmadi (1990) claims that the Salako community in Sarawak continues to practise this ancestral belief even though the majority has embraced new religions such as Christianity and Islam. This occurred because the Salako community in Sarawak still firmly believes in the concept of *Parukunan Kita*. In the Salako culture, the idea of *Parukunan Kita* serves as a guide to the belief that supernatural powers exist. The Salako community also believes that everything or anything that exists in this world has a guardian, and the guardian in question is *Jubata*.

Maulana et al (2020) define ritual as a tool for social transformation, with each ritual containing symbolic elements that have meaning for the practitioners' community. Therefore, according to Maulana & Yatim (2012), human life cannot be separated from the symbols that influence a society's culture and life. However, the *Nyangahant* ritual performed by the Salako community in Kampung Pueh, Lundu, and Sarawak is always interpreted in an unlimited or general way by the younger generation and other communities without a deeper understanding of the meaning or purpose contained in the ritual performance processes that are carried out. Thus, there are many aspects of a ritual that are still unknown, particularly in terms of meaning and value, and there is no information in terms of clarity of meaning about the matter.

The matter effect, it is not impossible for an individual to express the appearance and shape of a societal ritual, but this does not imply that the important content hidden within it can be described well (Nurhuda, 2017). Furthermore, she claims three types of symbols will be used in traditional ritual behaviour: objects, verbal, and nonverbal. The existence of these symbols aims to keep humans and God on good terms. She also stressed that if things related to these symbols are not expressed comprehensively in terms of meaning, it is likely to result in vague understanding or simply being understood based on interpretation based solely on external circumstances.

Literature Review

From a cultural and social standpoint, Counihan et al (2017) define food as "food touches everything in life," implying that it plays an essential role in human socialisation. Koc & Welsh (2002) demonstrated that food has a direct impact and function in the lives of individuals or groups of individuals. Thus, according to Counihan's research, the role of nutrition in human life and culture is more about discovering new ways to cook and use food. Many researchers, such as Almli et al (2011); Cairns et al (2010); Flannery & Mincyte, 2010); Finucane & Holup (2005); Anderson (1994) explains how food serves as a gathering place and helps the community strengthen its social relationships. The food served at a social event significantly impacts the community. Food, for example, provides opportunities to build relationships and society at specific festivals (Muhammad et al., 2009).

This statement is supported by (Sarra and Maulana, 2020). They explain that culture in a society is a traditional heritage acquired through experience and the legacy of the previous generation, which is then practised in the community's life by their supporters. Furthermore, White (2011) contends that the food reflects and displays personal and cultural identity. In other words, based on the meaning of the food and the system of their beliefs and practises, food can be used as a symbol to represent a person or a society. This can be demonstrated by examining the string of studies related to food, such as food intake patterns until the food is lifted, as a symbol in the anthropological research pioneered by (Levi-Strauss, 1963).

As Levi-Strauss explained, food can be examined from various perspectives. Among those emphasised is the ability to uncover hidden patterns in rituals, meals, sentences, clothing, and other phenomena. These patterns did not correspond to the surface meanings observed. Deep structures, however, could be seen beneath the surface meaning. Sutton (2001);Counihan et al (2017) expanded on the research in 2013. Based on previous researchers' findings, it is possible to conclude that food is more than just a human need for survival. People used to express much guidance through symbols, such as body movements, facial expressions, or objects used to convey meaning (symbols). As a result, the existence of available symbols is designated as a measure that carries a meaning that is blended according to the culture of the community executor.

According to Nurhuda (2017), symbols are generally valuable for interpreting the ideas and thoughts behind a culture's conventional processes and physical objects. In Malay society, for example, the food symbol complements things like *Hari Raya* celebrations, ceremonies like weddings, feasts for the dead, shaving ceremonies (for new-borns), and other traditional ritual activities. These assertions are consistent with the Malay community's use of food as a symbol to convey meaning for a ceremony or custom. For example, oil rice has become a synonymous dish in Malay wedding customs, bringing the purpose of informing the community. Because according to Lewis (2006), food is the perfect symbol of forming an identity in the context of culture and individuality, as the statement "we are what we eat" implies. Furthermore, food plays a role in forming taboos that become guidelines for community life in most religions worldwide.

In this regard, Counihan et al (2017) argue that the community gives food symbolic meaning. How food is consumed is determined by the situation in which it is served and the function of the food within the context of the ceremony. In Chinese wedding ceremonies, for example, a red egg represents fertility, and the noodles served during a birthday ceremony represent a blessing and a long life (Pheng & Robbins, 1998). This is because symbols can be expressed by creating the meaning of form objects, actions, events, and properties that can act as conceptual tools about something. The term "conception" refers to the meaning of an existing

symbol. As a result, to comprehend a symbol's meaning, it is necessary to interpret the systems within which the symbol is embedded in its particular social context. According to Dillistone (1986), to create a pattern or system called culture, the understanding of symbols requires context. Similarly, symbols are regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by a procession of similar qualities or by the association in fact or thought. Symbols have a wide range of manifest functions and may differ depending on the background of the community represented. This occurs due to the studied ethnic group's cultural and religious influence (Abdullah, 2009). Therefore, each symbol in the ritual has its distinct meaning. Symbols serve as a mechanism for conveying a message or as a means of communication (Hazlina et al., 2019).

Bourdieu (1991) discussed the study of food as a social symbol in his analysis of Korean society. He explained that Koreans prepare to eat *ttuk kuk* (rice cake soup), a meal eaten to commemorate the Lunar New Year as a symbol of another year of age. They prepare traditional food known as *miyeok kuk* (seaweed soup) for birthday celebrations as a symbol of increasing age. As a result, the study is food-related, and the meaning it carries in the community of practitioners is closely related to how they see their world.

Previous research has shown that the type of food, how it is prepared, and the time it is served have a relationship with forming an identity in society. This statement is consistent with White (2011), who explains that food is essential in determining an ethnic group's cultural identity. This is because food not only represents one's identity but also reflects one's social identity. This food symbol also exists in a custom that expresses relationships between individuals and groups to convey specific meaning (Foster & Anderson, 2012).

Shuhirdy et al. (2013) investigated the role of food in ethnic formation as well. This study explains how food is rich in symbolism. Furthermore, the concept of food in life plays a role in custom and tradition, as well as the culture of a community. Other studies describe food as a bridge to the world's expression, culture, and production in society as written by (Welch & Scarry, 1995; Gutierrez, 1992; Freeman, 2002; Cusack, 2003; Gold, 2007; Quah, 2009).

Thus, food is not only referred to as a daily necessity but is far from it. This is because the meaning contained within the food served is communicated through nonverbal communication. This follows the definition of nonverbal communication, which is communication without words (DeVito, 2017). Besides that, nonverbal communication is defined by Seiler et al (2016) as "...all behaviours, attributes, or objects (except words) that communicate messages with social meaning." Nonverbal communication is also defined as generating meaning through messages that do not include words or oral speech. Deep process communication entails a series of actions with no beginning or end point and constantly changing, resulting in dynamic communication. If the process involves the sender and receiver of the message, communication terms will exist in the concept of nonverbal communication (DeVito, 2017). Communication is also systemic because it involves interconnected elements that create meaning.

Harrison & Knapp (1972), explain in their book *Toward an Understanding of Nonverbal Communication Systems* that "the term nonverbal communication has been applied to a broad range of phenomena: everything from facial expression and gesture of fashion and status symbol, from dance and drama to music and mime, from affect flow to traffic flow, from animal territoriality to diplomatic protocol, from the extrasensory perception of analogue computers, from the rhetoric of violence to the rhetoric of topless dancers."

Finally, nonverbal communication occurs through all sensory channels, including sight, hearing, smell, touch, and taste. Brower (2011) introduced the term "gustics" in his study about taste in the context of advertising ethics, which comes from Latin (*gusto*) or French (*goûter*) and means "taste." Gayathridevi (2013) uses the term *gustik* to refine the definition of nonverbal communication. This writing and research focus on Gayathridevi's symbol of sense meaning (*gustik*). The main point of this piece is to consider food as a form of communication because it is so closely linked to ritual and culture. Ritual is defined as a symbolic social drama in everyday life. According to Morgan (2010), "food is... vital to human health and well-being in a way that industrial products are not, and this remains the quintessential reason why we attach such profound significance to food."

Research Objective

This study was conducted to achieve the following goals

1. Investigating the meaning of food symbols in the context of the Salako community's nonverbal communication point of view presented to *Jubata* during the *Nyangahant* ritual's execution in Kampung Pueh, Lundu, Sarawak.

Research Methodology

This is a qualitative study that employs an ethnographic approach. Participation-observation and ethnographic interviews were used to collect data in this study. The participatory observation began on July 22, 2020 and ended on January 21, 2021. This research used the ethnographic interview method to interview traditional practitioners who still practice the *Nyangahant* ritual today. The interview is conducted in stages based on the informant's availability. The first interview was conducted in collaboration with the headman of Kampung Pueh, Mr Ramil Mina, and was followed by an interview with the Village Head, Mr Iran@Eran Suut. Besides that, to learn more about the *Nyangahant* ritual, the researcher met with the *Tuha Adat*, Ayahanda Nulos Anak Nimbun (89 years old), the Penghulu, and the Village Head. *Tuha Adat*, Ayahanda Nulos Anak Nimbun, who also comes from the same village, was interviewed in depth. *Tuha Adat* oversees directing the *Nyangahant* ritual. He descended from Salako and is a *Tuha Adat* or Head of Tradition with a thorough understanding and knowledge of the *Nyangahant* rituals. *Tuha Adat* introduced the researcher to other ritual supporters and practitioners, including Mr Sukor Anak Lauik (51 years old), Menghia Anak Mahli (57 years old), and Jala Anak Limbang (78 years old). They still practise the *Nyangahant* ritual to this day.

Analysis and Discussion

Food serving in the *Nyangahant* ritual ceremony is inextricably linked to Salako cosmology. *Babi*, *Tumpi'*, *Poe'*, *Bontonkng*, *Sirih*, *Pinang*, *Rokok Apong*, *Epit Nyangahant*, and *Ayam* are among the foods served to *Jubata*. Each of these foods has an unspoken meaning behind its selection.

a) *Pig (Babi)*

Figure 1.1 Pig (*Babi*)
(Source: Fieldwork, 2020)

The pig, or *Enyekng* in Salako, is a significant animal in the Salako community's way of life and is used as a sacrificial animal during the *Nyangahant* ritual. Pigs are also animals frequently used to hold essential ceremonies in Salako cultures, such as *Gawe' Ka Padi* and *Gawe' Ka Mensia*. Pigs have long snouts, fat bodies, and flat noses in appearance and shape. The meat has a slightly sticky and fatty flavour. According to *Tuha Adat*, in the execution of the *Nyangahant* ritual, a male pig with black fur is used. According to Iran@Eran Suut, male pigs were chosen because, in the Salako community, "*Jantan*" symbolizes strength, bravery, and being the head of the family. The color black represents strength and courage. A concept known as *Parukunan Kita* emerged from the Salako community's belief in *animism*. The idea of *Parukunan Kita* is a belief guideline in the Salako community that believes in the existence of a god, *Jubata*. Ramil Mina claims that the Salako people believe that *Jubata* is the sole ruler of the universe and everything in it. Thus, the Salako community believes that *Jubata's* power is limitless. Therefore, according to Nulus Anak Nimbun, the pig chosen as a sacrificial animal during the *Nyangahant* ritual is healthy because this performance is a form of purity offering to their god, *Jubata*. The pig chosen must have every inch of hair and be in perfect physical condition in terms of the physical structure of a pig that will be used as an offering in the ritual.

According to Nulus Anak Nimbun, some taboos must be followed during the processing of pigs during the execution of the *Nyangahant* ritual; for example, the pig will be slaughtered before the *Nyangahant* ceremony begins by the butcher (male) who was appointed during the *Nyangahant* ritual preparation phase meeting. Pig slaughtering must be done orderly with a special knife known as an *Ensaut Jubata*, and the method of slaughtering differs from average pig slaughtering for human consumption. Pigs used in the *Nyangahant* ritual are

slaughtered by simply poking the pig's chest with *Ensaut Jubata*. According to Nulus Anak Nimbun, after the pig is slaughtered, the hair is removed, cleaned, separated from its internal organs, and cooked in a socially responsible and cooperative manner, or "*Baaie*" by the Salako men. The Salako community's adherence to the taboo demonstrates the existence of the *Barakump* value, which is the value of togetherness and obedience between religious groups and those who believe in *animism* to ensure the presence of a form of unification resolve the crisis between the two groups. They are united to make the *Nyangahant* ritual a success to achieve prosperity in life.

The use of pork as one of the required foods in the *Buis* performance during the *Nyangahant* ritual in the culture of the Salako community in Kampung Pueh, Lundu, Sarawak is a symbol of the wall between the human realm and the supernatural realm. To connect with the phenomenal world, a pig must be sacrificed and used as an offering in the *Nyangahant* ritual to open the door between the two worlds and satisfy *Jubata*. Besides, the pig is a symbol of sacrifice and offering. According to Salako's traditional beliefs, the Pigs should be prepared to implement *Gawe* and traditional ceremonies in their community culture. The number of pigs that must be sacrificed is determined by the ability of a family to perform a *Gawe* and the formal ceremony. At the same time, emphasize the upcoming ceremony's customary provisions. Apart from that, the pig is also a symbol of carrying out the requirements of a traditional ceremony. To meet the needs and provisions of a formal ceremony, a sacrificial animal (pig) is generally required in Salako traditional ceremonies and traditions. The pig is interpreted as one of the *Nyangahant* ritual's implementation conditions. He must be obeyed and fulfilled to be used as a food offering to "invite" *Jubata*.

b) *Tumpi'*



Figure 1.2 *Tumpi'*
(Source: Fieldwork, 2020)

The primary ingredients used in its production are wheat flour, rice flour, sugar, and Apong sugar. The shape of *Tumpi'* resembles a *Penyaram cake*, which is flat and round, as if it were

a hat, and the edges are indented to form a flower-like shape. *Tumpi'* has a sweet, fatty, and brown flavour. *Tumpi'* is the result of Salako community food processing technology. Although the processing method is simple, it demonstrates creativity in food serving. *Tumpi'* is a mandatory offering in *Nyangahant* rituals, *Gawe'* ceremonies, and Salako traditional ceremonies. *Tumpi'*'s making process is only done by the women of the Salako community the day before the execution of the *Nyangahant* ritual in a socially responsible and cooperative manner, or "*Baaie*."

According to the Nulos Anak Nimbun, some taboos must be observed during the *Tumpi'*'s making process, such as menstruating women and men are not allowed to participate in the *Tumpi'* making process to avoid being affected by evil spirits, which will result in incompletely cooked *Tumpi'*, and women who are menstruating are considered "dirty". Besides, the cooking utensils used to prepare *Tumpi'* are special utensils that cannot be shared with humans for daily use. This is done to preserve the purity of the food served to their god, *Jubata*. The Salako community's adherence to the taboo demonstrates the existence of the *Barakump* value, which is the value of togetherness and obedience between religious groups and those who believe in *animism* to ensure the presence of a form of unification resolve the crisis between the two groups. They are united to make the *Nyangahant* ritual ceremony a success to achieve prosperity in life.

The use of *Tumpi'* as one of the required foods in the *Buis* performance during the *Nyangahant* ritual ceremony in the Salako culture of Kampung Pueh, Lundu, and Sarawak is a symbol of femininity. This is based on the *Tumpi'*'s flat and round shape, which is analogized to a vital part of a woman's body. Other than that, *Tumpi'* is a symbol of food purity, a symbol of traditional Salako women's Cuisine and a conversation starter for *Jubata* during the *Nyangahant* ritual ceremony.

c) *Poe'*



Figure 1.3 *Poe'*

(Source: Fieldwork, 2020)

The main ingredients in its production are glutinous rice, water, and bamboo. *Poe's* is long and round, and the contents are white as if they were *Lemang*. *Poe* has the same flavour as

rice but is slightly sticky and fatty. *Poe* is the result of the Salako community's local food processing technology. Although the processing method is simple, it demonstrates creativity in food serving. *Poe* is a mandatory offering in *Nyangahant* rituals, *Gawe'* ceremonies, and traditional Salako ceremonies.

According to Iran @Eran Suut, *Poe* must be prepared the day before the *Nyangahant* ritual ceremony in a socially responsible and cooperative manner, or "*Baaie'*" by only the Salako men. When the ritual ceremony is completed, *Poe'* will be distributed to all occupants and guests. *Poe's* use as an offering in the *Buis* during the *Nyangahant* ritual is *Poe's* cooked on the day of the *Nyangahant* tradition. At the same time, the *Poe'* that is eaten and given to guests is the *Poe'* that is cooked the day before the *Nyangahant* ritual.

According to the Nulos Anak Nimbun, the use of *Poe'* as one of the mandatory foods in the *Buis* performance during the *Nyangahant* ritual in the Salako culture of Kampung Pueh, Lundu, Sarawak is a symbol of masculinity. *Poe's* round and long shape are analogized as a vital part of a man's body. *Poe* is also a symbol of traditional Salako women Cuisine and a sign of blessing for the next harvest.

d) *Epit*



Figure 1.4 *Epit*
(Source: Fieldwork, 2020)

The *Epit* is a concoction of foods from the *Buis* during the *Nyangahant* ritual ceremony. According to *Tuha Adat*, there are two types of *Epit* during the execution of the *Nyangahant* ritual: *Epit PeNyangahant* and *Epit* for the occupation of the village and the guests involved. *Epit PeNyangahant* is usually larger than *Epit* occupation of towns and guests. Typical *Epit PeNyangahant* ingredients include pig skulls, thighs, *Tumpi'*, and *Poe'*. According to Iran's Eran Suut, the gift of a pig's skull in the *Epit PeNyangahant* is a sign of respect for him because of his ability to communicate with *Jubata* and thus succeed in the execution of the *Nyangahant* ritual. At the same time, *Epit* is served to villagers and visitors in the form of pork skin, *Tumpi'*, and *Poe'*. The process of division and distribution of *Epit* is carried out in a socially responsible and cooperative manner, or "*Baaie'*" by the men and women of the Salako community. Everyone, including the guests present, must be given *Epit Nyangahant*, and the *Epit* must be eaten. The *Epit Nyangahant* is a symbol blessing for the *Nyangahant* ritual's implementation.

Furthermore, the *Epit Nyangahant* symbolises fortifying the sting (spirit) to avoid being affected by disease and *Bala*.

Conclusion

This study's observations and findings explained how the symbols conveyed through food in a ritual are messages and interactions that provide meaning. Essentially, the presence of a form of reminder to the community of practitioners, the message delivered is mainly aimed at a positive way of thinking. The *Nyangahant* ritual's implementation refers to providing messages in various forms, either verbally or nonverbally. The statement translated through symbol analysis becomes a bond to a deep family relationship within the Salako community. This is due to the separation gap after migration or conversion to a new religion. However, implementing rituals resulted in a close bond, thus uniting the Salako community. Finally, shape the nature of love by preserving *Jubata* culture as an identity within the Salako community. The values fostered in society are translated through various understandings based on the spirit of family, purity, and harmony, which prioritises the principle of respecting family.

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