

THE COMMUNICATION MEDIA OF *DALIHAN NA TOLU* IN THE MARRIAGE TRADITION OF MANDAILING ETHNIC IN MANDAILING NATAL REGENCY

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This study aims to discover the communication media *Dalihan Na Tolu* in the marriage tradition of Mandailing Ethnic in Mandailing Natal regency. This study applied descriptive qualitative. The direct observation in the field was employed to obtain the data by doing a sequence of stages namely observing and watching the marriage tradition procession from the beginning until the end, in-depth interview to some traditional figures and documentation related to the research. The result of the study demonstrates two media are used in the communication media *Dalihan Na Tolu* in the marriage tradition of Mandailing Natal ethnic, they are traditional media and modern media. The traditional media consists of *sirih* (betel), *salipi*, *gondang tunggu-tunggu*, *ogung*, and *pangupa*. Moreover, the modern media consists of wedding invitation card, flower board, telephone, smartphone, social media and radio.

Keywords: Culture, *Dalihan Na Tolu*, and communication.

INTRODUCTION

Tradition and culture in the Indonesian society exists since long time ago, namely it starts from Polynesian-Malay period. It is caused by the origin of descent, residence/location, natural environment and the effect of some religions such as Islam, Hindu, Buddha, and Christian which are mixed with the local wisdoms.¹ Tradition or habits among society transform into norms, values, regulations which are effectively applied from generation to generation. According to Astuti, she stated that values of tradition and culture are very useful to realize the aesthetic values in life and they also function as guardian instrument of identity and to strengthen the unity of a nation.²

In keeping with the discussion of culture and traditions in detail and effective, it must be initiated from a clear definition. Cultural definitions have some similar points in terms of acknowledging the principles that the culture is humans' creatures.³ Bernet Kempers cited by Sidi Gazalba in his book entitled *Antropologi Budaya* (Cultural Anthropology), his premise accurately turns back from the question: "what is culture" into the question "What is human". The essence of each definition is human which obviously states that only human lives culturally.⁴

The culture begins from humans in a certain place where they appear or the first time in his world. Then, the culture develops, spreads, and splits into some new cultures due to the effect of condition of environment and time.⁵ The influence of the condition of environment and time caused the culture breaks based on the ethnics where the culture begins to spread. Those ethnics continuously move, connect and influence each other which eventually give significant effect on the development of culture over the globe.⁶

Culture is also a dynamic process that has living values and norms that are applied among certain humans' social life. From that culture, then generates a variety of society's habits namely traditions, local language, arts, dances, music, communicative and social norms, and traditional ceremony. Those are results of culture. Tradition is actually human's habit. The traditional law comes from human's personality which generates personal habit which is imitated by other humans due to its proper and it turns to tradition which is effectively applied among society and becomes law and regulation for that society.⁷

The land of Mandailing is inheritance of ancestors of Mandailing ethnic. Based on Emil Nasution, Mandailing ethnic is a nation, not an ethnic or tribe. Nonetheless, along with the time flies and the development of government, Mandailing exists as ethnic or tribe, not as a nation. The Mandailing ethnic lives in Mandailing area, the Angkola ethnic lives in Angkola area and Minangkabau ethnic lives in Minangkabau area. For example, in the administrative region of Mandailing Natal regency which four main ethnics live. The Mandailing ethnics live around the Mandailing area, coastal ethnics live in Natal area, Lubu ethnics lives Tor Sihite area and Ulu ethnic lives around Muara Sipongi. Each of them has same traditions with some differences, certainly in the implementation of the traditions.⁸

Mandailing ethnic has less number of clan than Batak Toba ethnic has. It is because of the Mandailing ethnics do not apply the procedure of clan inauguration as Batak Toba do. There are just a little number of clans or family names among Mandailing Angkola, they are *Nasution, Lubis, Siregar, Harahap, Hasibuan, Batubara, Dasopang, Daulay, Dalimunthe,*

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Dongoran, Hutasuhut, Pane, Parinduri, Pohan, Pulungan, Siagian, Rambe, Rangkuti, Ritonga, and Tanjung. Meanwhile the clans or family names that exist in Mandailing Natal regency are *Nasution, Lubis, Pulungan, Rangkuti, Batubara, Daulay, Matondang, Parinduri, Hasibuan.* From the clans or family names mentioned clearly shows that the number of clans or family names among Mandailing ethnic is not many. The reason is Mandailing society never concerns about the clans and genealogy of clans generating.⁹

The religion of majority of Mandailing ethnic is Islam. Islam has great influence on the implementation of tradition among Mandailing society, mainly in relation to death (*mambulungi*) and heredity law. Among Mandailing ethnic, there is a principle mentions: *hombar do adat dohot ibadat* which means tradition and worship are inseparable, tradition may not conflict to Islamic religion. When the process of tradition breaks the Islamic religion values, then the tradition is no longer implemented.

The society of Mandailing ethnic have values system namely *Dalihan Na Tolu* which means a forum to arrange life by applying *olong* (love, affection) *antara mora, kahanggi* and *anakboru*. *Dalihan Na Tolu* is a tradition that can break the barriers of religion into social unity.¹⁰ However, some people beyond Mandailing ethnics disagree with the system of *Dalihan Na Tolu*. They assume that it is not suitable with the principle in the society and it also divides people into some social classes.

Dalihan Na Tolu consists of three aspects namely *mora, kahanggi* and *anakboru*. *Dalihan Na Tolu* among the Mandailing society has meaning three fundamental principles. In the traditional ceremony of *Dalihan Na Tolu*, it has significant role to determine decisions. Three aspects in *Dalihan Na Tolu* have differences of position and function dynamically based on situation, condition and place. That is why Mandailing people can adapt when the situation, condition and place requires them to do so.

The working mechanism of *Dalihan Na Tolu* is just like a system which is connected, correlated and supporting to one another. In implementing the traditional ceremonies, three aspects of *Dalihan Na Tolu* must remain *Mardomu Ni Tahi* (Consensus based on discussion). A consensus is reached by unity, responsibility and sense of belonging. The success of a work is also determined by unity, sense of belonging and responsibility.

The implementation of *Dalihan Na Tolu* is always conducted based on affection, unity, discussion and consensus in taking a decision on a certain agenda. It is in line with the decree in the Qur'an Surah Ali Imran chapter 3 verse 159:

Meaning: *And by the mercy of Allah, you dealt with them gently. And had you been severe and hars-hearted, they would have broken away from you; so pass over (their faults), and ask (Allah's) forgiveness for them; and*

consult them in the affairs. Then when you have taken a decision, put your trust in Allah, certainly, Allah loves those who put their trust (in Him).

This verse explains about behaving gently to all mankind regardless their social status, position, job, and the like. When quarrel and unfair thing happens among them, it is solved by discussion to figure out the relevant solution. Discussion to reach a consensus is highly recommended in Islamic religion. Among the Mandailing ethnic, such discussion to reach a consensus is called *mora*, *kahanggi*, and *anakboru*.

The life of human as social creature is absolutely related to cooperation with other humans to achieve the life's objective. The cooperation is done by some people in many activities to ease the goal's achievement. Working cooperatively is much more effective than it is done by oneself. The process of working cooperatively sustainably is then called organization. Thus, organization means a group or a constitution that help some people to obtain something which is not reached by individual's work. Organization is a unit consists of two or more people that has function to achieve a certain goal or objective.¹¹

The process of marriage tradition dealing with the *Dalihan Na Tolu* has some differences due to different place (*luat*) from one to another. In addition, the differences regularly do not cause a problem because the problem of differences is always overcome by implementing local tradition.

By considering the implementation of marriage tradition which is far from the original tradition by now and assuming the advantages of each sequence of that tradition, the writer needs to turn the process of traditional marriage *Dalihan Na Tolu* back to the real and original tradition because the recent process of marriage tradition is affected by external cultures (out of Mandailing ethnic culture) and many local meanings and Islamic values are neglected in implementing it. In the procession of marriage tradition of Mandailing ethnic originally is influenced by values of Islamic teachings and at the same time, the religion of Mandailing ethnics is Islam.

LITERATURE REVIEW

a. The Definition of Communication

The term of communication derives from Latin *communis* which means same or has same meaning.¹² Based on Rochajat Harun and Elvinaro Ardianto, communication is an effort to achieve common goal. Other definition of communication is a process of information exchange between individuals through system, signs and behaviors.¹³ According to Nuruddin, communication is a process of transforming ideas from a

certain source to one or more recipients with the goal to change the behavior.¹⁴

b. The Media of Communication

Media is a tool or Medium to deliver a message from a communicator to public. The media becomes the main tool to know, experience, and learn many things around the world. The media connects people into a unity, notably when revolution and coup happen all over the world. Media is not merely mass media. Media can be categorized into four categories; (1) interpersonal media, (2) group media, (3) public media, and (4) mass media.

- (a) **Interpersonal media.** The relevant medias used for the relationship of individuals are messenger/delegate, letter, telephone. In the rural area, many people still utilize messenger/delegate to deliver a message, for example to deliver condolence information, wedding invitation and the like delivered to the destination by a person who is going to market in the certain days, by driver, and by inter-village trader. Meanwhile, letter is used for inter-individuals and it is used by many people. A letter can contain private message, confidential and spaceless and timeless. People also use telephone to deliver message. In the development of telephone, it is fast media to deliver information and the receiver can respond by giving feedback directly right when the message arrives.
- (b) **Group media.** This communication involves many people around 15 individuals and the relevant media for communication is group media. The examples of this kind of communication are meeting, seminars and conference. All those communications are organized to discuss important things by a certain organization or certain group. The group media is also used by traditional group/ethnic group to discuss something important regarding traditional activity for instance wedding agenda.
- (c) **Public media.** The public media is used to deliver message in form of ideas, thoughts and information for public people. The public media has wider scope than mass media. The mediums are used for this kind of communication are oration in general meeting, demonstration action, social medias, emails, sms, letters, reader's letter, advertisement, banner etc. This kind of communication media also requires oral and written skill to deliver messages effectively and in efficiently.
- (d) **Mass media.** This kind of media is used when the receivers are unknown their position. This kind of communication media is used to deliver a message or information from the source to public recipients by utilizing newspaper, films, radio, television, and the internet. Mass media is an institution that is playing a role as agent of

change, namely the initiator of changing. This is the main paradigm of mass media.

c. Recognizing the Mandailing Ethnic

Mandailing is written in history as an important region in Indonesian archipelago since around 1365 CE. It is recorded by a historian of Majapahit Mpu Prapanca in his historic book entitled *Negarakertagama*.¹⁵ The record of history shows that Mandailing is well known by other nations since long time ago. Even before the expansion of Majapahit, other nations know the existence of Mandailing and it stimulates Majapahit to conquer it as its vassal out of Java island.

There are many theories and opinions regarding the origins of name of Mandailing. However the theories still need certification, improvement and further scientific research about the name of Mandailing. The most possible origin of name of Mandailing Natal is written by Z. Pangaduan Lubis in his book about the history of Mandailing. For example when Dada mentions that *Mandailing* is derived from word *Mande* means lost. In Minangkabau language, the word *mande* means lost mother. Other opinion stated that 'Mundailing' means *Munda* who are fleeing by effect of being defeated by Aria in India. Moreover, word 'Mandailing' comes from word 'Mandalay' from Burma language which is similar with Mandailing in south Tapanuli.¹⁶

The source of law of Mandailing is *Surat tumbaga holing*, the unwritten law but it is a must to read by the heart (*roha*). The law of Mandailing can be elaborated within the concept of *patik*, *uhum*, *ugari*, and *hapantunon*. *Patik* is the highest source of law, just like UUD (national acts) in the Indonesian law concept. *Patik* refers to the concepts of glorious values within the traditional society of Mandailing namely *holong dohot domu*. *Uhum* is implementation rule of *patik*. *Uhum* contains technical rules and procession, for example the rule of *horja* (wedding party), *penabalan marga* (inauguration on title of nobility), and so on. *Ugari* is additional set of rules which is agreed by the common on undecided rule in *patik* and *uhum*, for example the rule of same clan due to the change of values among society¹⁷.

d. Dalihan Na Tolu

Each group of society has a system of order which must be obeyed by its citizens with the goal to achieve prosperity. The order is based on the paradigm and philosophy of life (*levens beschouwing*) and also derived from the values of society. *Dalihan Na Tolu* is a concept of cultural social related to the culture Mandailing. *Dalihan Na Tolu* becomes framework encompassing the relationship of blood relatives and relationship of wedding which bonds one group. In Mandailing tradition, *Dalihan Na Tolu* is determined by three functional social which become three main fundamentals.

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Dalihan Na Tolu literally means three-legged furnace. The definition of *Dalihan Na Tolu* in terms of its terminology is place for crutch where cooking pot stands on it. The crutch is illustrated as three big stones with same distances of them three. The use of terms *Dalihan Na Tolu* is different from the meaning of *Tiga Dalian*. The use word: *Dalihan Na Tolu* to emphasize that *dalian* is officially called *dalian* if the components/aspects consist of three aspects.¹⁸ *Dalihan Na Tolu* means three-legged furnace, not four legged or five legged furnace. Three-legged furnace needs absolute balance. If one of them fails or is broken, then the furnace or fireplace is no longer useful or cannot be used anymore.

Meaning of *Dalihan Na Tolu* denotatively is three crutch of fireplace/furnace with same size and power. Connotatively, it means three crutch or three legged of furnace/fireplace that each of them has same power in Mandailing society. The three powers are illustrated as three legged furnace that have same strength and *Tiga kekuatan tersebut diibaratkan seperti tiga tungku yang masing-masing kekuatannya sama, sehingga kalau ketiganya telah dipadukan akan menghasilkanfi they are combined/united, the power they have automatically bigger. The three powers or three aspects of Dalihan Na Tolu are kahanggi, mora and anakboru. When the three aspects emerge and agree about something, wthey can do everything. Everything is done well regarding traditions and daily life.*¹⁹

The term *Dalihan Na Tolu* according to Z. Pangaduan Lubis in his masterpiece entitled: *Dalihan Na Tolu dalam kawasan budaya Mandailing (Dalihan Na Tolu Within the area of Mandailing Culture)* stated that those two words (*dalihan* and *tolu*) is united with connecting word '*na*'. *Dalihan Na Tolu* means place or pot for cooking. The term of *Dalihan Na Tolu* is special term and it is used for activities or other things related to tradition which considered as foundation. The foundations are *kahanggi, mora, and anakboru*.

Dalihan Na Tolu in the tradition of Mandailing is traditional institution or traditional forum which allows people to use it for arranging the life in implementing *olong* between *mora, kahanggi* and *anakboru* in real life. *Olong* In Mandailing society is not only restricted by utterance or empty verbal or lips service, it must be conducted by all people of Mandailing within the family and relative relationship of *mora, kahanggi, and anakboru*. Moreover, *Dalihan Na Tolu* is also must used in applying *olong* during traditional processions.

The aspects of *Dalihan Na Tolu* are: (1) *Kahanggi: Suhut, Ombar suhut, Kahanggi pareban*, (2) *Anakboru: Anakboru bona bulu, Anakboru busir ni pisang, Anakboru sibuat boru namely anakboru*, (3) *Mora: Mora mataniari, Mora ulu bondar, Mora pambuatan ni boru*. The three aspects of *Dalihan Na Tolu* must always involve in discussion before conducting a work, either big work or little work. In consequence, the success of a work depends on

the unity, solid cooperation, society's support and participation and sense of belonging. The function of *Dalihan Na Tolu* clearly used in implementation and finishing of an activity or an agenda which requires much energy, much budget, and thoughts/ideas mainly related to the traditional society for example organizing a traditional agenda (*horja*), death ceremony (*siluluton, mambulungi*), entering new house, birth and so on.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study applied qualitative approach which concerns on study on descriptive data namely written words and witten utterances taken from observed participants²⁰. The method of qualitative research in this study can be categorized into ethnographic traditions and field research by the perspective of anthropology and sociology²¹. Field research in this study was designed based on naturalistic setting.²² This study is also cetagorized into naturalistic inquiry which strives to understand the object of study as it is naturally without any manipulation and to understand through natural analysis.²³ Syukur Kholil in his book entitled: *Research Methodology of Communication (Metodologi Penelitian Komunikasi)* explained that qualitative research is as certain tradition in social sciences which is fundamentally depending on human's observation in his own area, people and their languages.²⁴

The qualitative approach aims to obtain in-depth analysis on utterances, written data and behaviors of the objects (individual, groups, organization, society) in a certain setting and to analyze from the comprehensive perspective. In this study, the subject to be analyzed and to be comprehended in a whole by the researcher is the pattern of communication *Dalihan Na Tolu* in the traditional marriage of Mandailing ethnic in Mandailing Natal regency either related to the verbal communication verbal or non-verbal communication pattern.

Result and Discussion

The Communication Media used in *Dalihan Na Tolu* in the Traditional Marriage of Mandailing Ethnic in Mandailing Natal Regency

Media is medium or tool used by a person or a group to communicate. to make the communication more effective, we have to utilize appropriate media because it is urgent factor in communication. The communication media used in the communication is various, depending on the model and form of communication. The role of media becomes an interesting problem to be analyzed. The problem of media is problem about the advantages of tools or mediums in the process of socialization or delivering a message.

Based on the interview with the elder and traditional figures of Mandailing ethnic namely respondent Mr. Emil and Mr Ali Rachman, the media used by traditional figures or *Dlaiha Na Tolu* in the traditional ceremony is two types. They are traditional media and modern media. The traditional media as follows:²⁵

(1) *Burangir* (sirih or betel)

Burangir holds important role. Its presence shows that the work or job is well conducted within the corridor of tradition. *Burangir* as media is used to invite traditional kings or in the context of traditional council, it is symbol to unite thoughts and making unquestionable decision. In terms of tradition language, *Burangir* is called as *napuran*. *Burangir* in terms of traditions is not only *sirih* (betel), but it must be accompanied by a set of complements namely gambier, lime betel, areca nuts and tobacco. In traditional language it is called *opat ganjil lima gonop* means equipment of five materials must be completed, then it is called even and enough. If it is less even only one material, it is called odd. Based on its necessity, betel is four types:

- (a) *Burangir karopit*, namely *burangir* that is presented (*disurduhon*) *pataon* (ask) assistantship and also used for traditional ceremony of *pasahat mara* or *mangupa boru*
- (b) *Burangir panyomba* (offerings) that are presented/offered to the kings (traditional kings) in the agenda of *marpokat*.
- (c) *Burangir pataonkon*, is presented when inviting the kings (traditional kings)
- (d) *Burangir pataon tondi* is presented to the bride by the parents and in the ceremony of *anakboru* in the moment of *mangupa boru*.

(2) *Salipi*

Salipi is putting the betel and its completions is used in the moment of traditional agenda (*manyurdu burangir*). *Salipi* is used in *Dalihan Na Tolu* as the communication media to invite kings. Beside the wedding invitation card, as in the modern way by now, on the wedding invitation card is also put *salipi* or betel on it as the symbol of respect and honor. *salipi* and betel as compulsory media in inviting kings by *Dalihan Na Tolu*. There are two *salipi* which are regularly used, namely:

- (a) *salipi* with circle form and it has handle. It is commonly used by the bride when heading to the house of bride groom.
- (b) *Salipi* with square form which is made of pandan weave and sewn on it *tonun patani* (traditional cloth) and it is regularly used in the traditional agenda of *manyurdu* and inviting kings.

(3) *Gondang tunggu-tunggu dua, gordang sambilan and ogung*

Gondang tunggu-tunggu dua is communication media which is used in agenda of traditional wedding of Mandailing ethnic. *Gondang tunggu-tunggu dua* is sounded as the sign that the honorable or respectable guests and kings have attended in the traditional council or traditional meeting such as *Markobar* and the sound of *Gondang tunggu-tunggu dua* is also the sign of the agenda is getting started.

Gordang sambilan is sounded as the sign of joy. In the wedding ceremony, the *gordang sambilan* is sounded as the sign that the *manortor* ceremony is started with the *tortor suhut*, *tortor raja-raja*, *tortor mora*, *kahanggi* and *anakboru* until the end family of both brides. The *Tortor* of brides is aimed to take leave (say goodbye) by preceding of asking permit and blessing from parents and all families and relatives of both brides. *Tortor* is also aimed to announce to all audiences and all people that the couple of bride (bride groom and bride) are officially and legally bonded within marriage relationship as wife and husband.

Ogung is also communication media which is used in marriage agenda of Mandailing ethnic. *Ogung* is sounded following the rhythm of *gendang tunggu-tunggu dua* or *gordang sambilan*. *Ogung* is sounded to welcome the guests in the traditional ceremony. *Ogung* is also sounded in the traditional wedding ceremony to welcome the honorable guests. *Ogung* is sounded not only to announce something bad or danger. *Ogung* is sounded rushing around as the sign of the wedding ceremony is immediately started.

(4) Interpersonal Media

The relevant and appropriate interpersonal media to use is by utilizing an messenger. It is still used in the moment of traditional ceremony of wedding in Mandailing ethnic to invite or to inform some related wedding agenda namely *markobar adat boru* or agenda of *adat haroan boru*. It is used to deliver a message related to wedding agenda to families and relatives who live far away out of village. The aspect of *Dalihan Na Tolu* is responsible for ensuring the invitation or message delivery related to wedding agenda. It will determine who is responsible to deliver that message to closest family, relatives, close friends, friends, and kings. The three aspects of *Dalihan Na Tolu* will organize discussion whether *kahanggi* or *anakboru* will go to deliver the invitation.

(5) *Pangupa*

Pangupa is tool or medium which is read during the *mangupa* ceremony. *Mangupa* is a traditional ceremony by delivering messages and advices to the one who is targeted by that agenda or it is familiar known as *diupa*.²⁶ The goal of agenda *pangupa* is *tondi*. *Tondi*

is abstract or conceptual thing which fills and leads the physical body and soul with *tuah* (magic power) so that the one who is targeted *tondi* appears charismatically and majestic personality. The Objective of *Mangupa* is to strengthen *tondi* so that a person can face the hard challenge of life and can be restored the energy as fit as previous time when *tondi* is gone. The materials presented in the agenda of *pangupa* are meat, fish, vegetables, egg and rice.

Pangupa is also communication media which is used in the wedding ceremony. *Pangupa* has some levels namely level of egg, level of chicken, level of goat and level of buffalo. *Mangupa* is accomplished in the moment of wedding ceremony with the goal the couple (bride and bride groom) have aura of authority. It also functions to restore the dignity and aura of authority if the couples (bride and bride groom) have experienced something dangerous in the previous time before the day of wedding. *Mangupa* is the moment to restore the positive energy and aura in accordance with the moment of starting new life with mercy, blessing and safety.

Pangupa is read by all audiences during the wedding agenda. It is started from parents, *kahanggi*, *anakboru*, *mora* and *harajaon* based on capacity and position in the family. At the same time, the audiences listen and pay attention and become witnesses of the *Mangupa* agenda. The messages delivered in the *Mangupa* agenda is intended the couple are always healthy, safe, loved by everyone.

(6) Leaves of young coconut and banana tree.

Leaf of young coconut is hanged above the door of house. It is a sign that one of family members is going to have married and there will be a wedding party in that house. In addition, the banana tree is planted in the right and left position nearby the door of entrance to the house.

The modern media in recent time, notably for modern communication media regularly used in agenda of traditional wedding of Mandailing ethnic are as follows:

- (a) Invitation letter or also known as invitation card. This is used to invite family, friends, and other relatives.
- (b) Flowers board. This has function to announce the public that there will be a wedding party between A and B (example of name of bride and bride groom)
- (c) Telephone or smartphone. This has function to invite the family or relatives who live far away from the host of agenda.
- (d) Radio is also used to invite and to announce the public about the wedding agenda.
- (e) Social media such as *facebook*, *whatsapp*, *line*, *instagram*, *messenger*.

The Mandailing Society do not use all modern communication media above for agenda of traditional wedding. In recent time, most people of Mandailing ethnic use letter (also card), flowers board, telephone, smartphone, and social medi to inform or to invite the family or relatives who live in long distance from the inviter. The use of radio to inform or to invite such agenda is in the lowest number of users than the users' number of other modern media, it is due to limitation of the society, where it is mostly used by family of kings, high rank officials and wealthy man/rich man who are going to organize the agenda of wedding of their sons and daughters.

CONCLUSION

The traditional communication media usually used by *Dalihan Na Tolu* in the agenda of wedding traditional ceremony are sirih (betel), *salipi*, *gondang tunggu-tunggu dua*, *gordang sambilan*, *ogung*, *pangupa* and interpersonal media. Those media are used by *Dalihan Na Tolu* in implementing the wedding traditional ceremony by recent time, mainly by kings and king's descendants in Mandailing Natal regency. The modern communication media used by *Dalihan Na Tolu* are invitation letter (invitation card), flowers board, telephone, smartphone, radio and social media.

Endnote

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¹⁹ Parlaungan Ritonga dan Ridwan Azhar, *Sistem Pertuturan Masyarakat Tapanuli Selatan* (Medan: Yandira Agung, 2002), h. 8.

²⁰ Kholil, *Metodologi*, h. 32.

²¹ Syahrur, *Metodologi Penelitian*, (Medan: IAIN SU, 2005), h. 29.

²² Jalaluddin Rakhmad, *Metode Penelitian Komunikasi Dilengkapi Contoh Analisis Statistik* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 1984), h. 25.

²³ Deddy Mulyana, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Paradigma Baru Ilmu Komunikasi Dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2004), h. 157.

²⁴ Kholil, *Metodologi*, h. 121.

²⁵ Emil dan ali Rachman, *Ketua Dan Sekretaris Forum Pelestarian Dan Pengembangan Adat Budaya Kabupaten Mandailing Natal*, Panyabungan 19 Maret 2018

²⁶ Pandapotan, *Adat*, h. 172

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