

## 'Urf Analysis Study Of The *Salenan* Tradition After The Engagement

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### ABSTRACT

This article will discuss the *salenan* tradition after the engagement of the Duko Timur village community, Larangan District, Pamekasan Regency. This tradition is seen as an obligation that must be carried out by couples who have carried out an engagement. The focus of this study is to photograph the *salenan* tradition by tracing the people's understanding of the tradition so that the philosophical tradition of the tradition is revealed. Because of this, this article uses field research with data collection patterns in the form of observations and interviews. While this paper uses a sociological approach which will then be analyzed using the theory of Islamic law, namely Abdul Karim Zaidan's '*urf*' perspective. This paper finds that *salenan* is an '*urf shāhīh*' which can be used as a source of law for the surrounding community, this is found through the achievement of the requirements of a tradition that can be said to be an '*urf shāhīh*' in Abdul Karim Zaidan's perspective. In addition, it was also found that the *salenan* tradition was included in the category of '*urf fi'lī*' and '*urf khāsh*'.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The engagement has the meaning of conveying the desire to marry a certain woman by notifying the woman in question or her family (guardian) (Wahbah az-Zuhaili 2007). When a man likes a woman, then he must be engaged with the intention of marrying her in the near future. Engagement is something that is allowed as the first step to continuing the relationship in marriage. Thus, it is hoped that they can get to know each other with their potential partners before continuing the marriage stage. Engagement is also only a promise to marry, not a certainty to be married. Therefore, the engagement can be canceled at any time by one of the parties or both parties, because in this engagement contract there is still no obligation that must be fulfilled, and also not binding on either party.

In contrast to the engagement contained in Islam or in society in general, The engagement that occurred in Duko Timur village, Larangan sub-district, Pamekasan Regency, Madura required a man who preached to give rice according to the size of zakat fitrah to his prospective fiancé and intended for his own fiancé or his parents then given it to mustahiq. Not only giving rice but also giving clothes (*salenan*/angghuyan) to his fiancé (Mr. FA, Interview).

Different from the male fiancée, the female fiancé is only required to provide the iftar menu to his male fiancé by bringing it to his fiancée's house and at the same time breaking the fast with his fiancé's family. In the implementation of the *salenan* tradition, there is usually a man who buys his own fiancée's clothes and gives them directly to his fiancée, or invites his fiancée to the store to choose his own clothes, so that his fiancé can choose the clothes he likes (Mr. A, Interview). According to the people of the Duko Timur village, this tradition is something that must be done by the parties who have preached to the point of marriage or breaking up relations. This means that if the distance between the engagement and the marriage contract is two years, then the *salenan* tradition will be carried out. The time for the *salenan* is on the 15th of Ramadan or later.

Indeed, the *Salenan* tradition has its own uniqueness to be used as research, especially when it is linked to Islamic law through the *istinbath* method of Islamic law, one of which is the 'urf analysis study. Basically, research on the traditions related to engagement in the Madurese community is very numerous and phenomenal, such as Moh. Maqbul Mawardi and Imrotul Konita study engagement from the Madurese perspective. Both of them found that there was a tradition of riding with their fiancée, staying at the house of the prospective in-laws, and if the woman did not want it, it was a sign of problematic in it (Mawardi and Konita 2021). Next, Iwan Kuswandi and Lilik Fadhilatin Azizah about the myth of denial in the tradition of early engagement in Madura.(Kuswandi and Azizah n.d.)

Then the research was conducted by Nurmi Ariantika regarding the behavior of the prospective bride and groom after the marriage ceremony (*ghabai bhabhakalan*). In this study, Nurmi Ariantika used the theory of social behavior to conclude that engaged couples are allowed to ride together, watch together, and go out together. Because this method is considered normal and natural for the people of Lapa Taman, Sumenep Regency.(Ariyantika 2016) Then Abd Qorib Hidayatullah conducted research on the views of scholars on the association of men and women during the probolinggo period in Sumber Kerang Gending Village, Probolinggo. He found that the phenomenon of association between men and women during the Bhekalan period was so loose that it defeated religious law on the grounds that they knew each other's character.(Abd Qorib Hidayatullah 2010)

In contrast to previous research both in terms of objects and subjects studied, this article will explain the portrait of the *salenan* tradition in the Duko Timur village community, Larangan District, Pamekasan Regency. Do not forget that this tradition will certainly be analyzed using the 'urf perspective Abd Karim Zaidan' method (Zaidan n.d.). So that researchers have a tendency and also the basis of the 'urf motif in a real and complete way in the study of 'urf analysis of the *salenan* tradition.

## 2. METHODS

This research is a type of empirical juridical research. Researchers went into the field to meet directly with the community and have dialogue and direct interviews with the community to obtain the necessary data about the *salenan* tradition in the village of Duko Timur. This research uses a sociological approach, which is an approach that basically studies human social life in the common life system. Because the true sociological approach focuses its study on group life and social behavior complete with its life products (Rozali 2020) 89.

The data sources used by the researchers consisted of two types of data sources, namely primary and secondary data sources. Primary data sources in the form of interviews to get valid data, researchers look for sources of information by interviewing community leaders, village officials, parents of the bride and groom, perpetrators, and former perpetrators. While the secondary data

source, the researcher uses the library research method to obtain data that supports the research studied by the researcher. Among them are the books of *al-Wajizz fi Ushulil Fiqh*, *Waadillatuhu Islamic Fiqh*, *Sunnah Fiqh*, *Bulughul Maram*, Compilation of Islamic Law, Munakahat Fiqh, Islamic Law in Indonesia, and also books related to the research studied. In collecting data regarding primary data and secondary data. The data processing method is done by editing, classification, verification, analysis, and conclusion.

### 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### The Phenomenon of the Post-Engagement *Salenan* Tradition in the Duko Timur Community

The *salenan* tradition is a tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation by the Duko Timur village community, Larangan District, Pamekasan Regency. The term *salenan* comes from the word *salen* which means to replace. In terminology, it is usually interpreted as giving clothes or changing a set of clothes to a woman who is already engaged. *Salenan* is usually also known as *angguyan* which means clothes, clothes, or the like. But in its implementation, it is not only giving clothes but also giving rice and so on.

The *Salenan* tradition is a must and can even be said to be mandatory according to the Duko Timur village community for someone who is engaged to give something to each other. The tradition has a pattern of giving, namely giving rice according to the size of zakat fitrah to the prospective fiancé, later the rice is used as zakat which is intended for his fiancée or parents. Not only that, but this tradition also includes having to buy clothes or cash as a substitute if you don't buy clothes for Eid. However, the cash is adjusted to the portion of the potential husband's ability to the wife. Different from a male fiancée, a female fiancé only has to provide food for breaking the fast at the male fiancée's house (Mrs. WN, Interview).

In line with Mrs. WM, according to Mr. FA as the head of the RW, the tradition of *salenan* is a male obligation to his fiancé, usually, it gives clothes but if you give *salenan* it depends, because sometimes a female fiancée doesn't want to be bought but asks to buy it herself, and usually a female fiancée asked for some money and bought his own clothes at the market. The zakat fitrah in the form of rice is given directly in the form of rice, it cannot be in the form of money or anything else.

This tradition is a will from the ancestors that must be preserved so that it must be maintained so that it does not disappear. This tradition is inherited from their ancestors and it is believed that if it is not carried out it will wreak havoc on both fiancés. If the *salenan* tradition is not carried out, it will cause disharmony between the two families and will also be discussed by the community and neighbors, even to the point that it results in breaking off the engagement due to not implementing it. The people of Duko Timur village consider this as etiquette, while etiquette in society is an element of probability that must be possessed by each individual. Later etiquette is seen as being able to determine a person's behavior in new family affairs (female *bhesan*) (Mr. J, Interview).

According to Mr. HS as a former perpetrator, the *salenan* tradition is actually a tradition that must be carried out, because the community considers that tradition is their benchmark in behavior, so when they do not carry out the tradition they are considered impolite and irresponsible (Mr. HS, Interview). For the people of Duko Timur, they agree that *salenan* is a hereditary tradition that is always carried out by the perpetrators, the assumption is that tradition is due to the intense implementation carried out by people who have given sermons. Moreover, people are aware of the existence of the *salenan* tradition.

The time for the implementation of this tradition is usually carried out in the month of Ramadan. As stated by Mr A: "*Manabhi neng adet disah kak dintoh biasah elaksana aghi eantaranah tangghel 21, 25, ben 27 ebulen pasah, karna ngarep teppaknah malem bhekus lailatul qadar. Ben malam ghenikah biasanah e umum aghi bik para tokoh, sahenggeeh gempang e engak bik orang*" (Mr. A, Interview). It can be understood that the time of *salenan* is usually held on the 21st, 25th, and 27th of Ramadan, on which the traditional leaders will remind the perpetrators.

Mr. A's view is relevant to what has been conveyed by Mr. KA, namely that the Duko Timur people usually carry out on the 15th of Ramadan and above, especially on the 21st, 25th, and 27th. *"Guleh biasanah ngater aghi salenan ke bhekal nekah pas e bulan pasah tanggal 15 kabudih, selebbi tepak nekah neng e tanggal 21, 25, 27, karna biasana e tanggal nekah bhekal pon molean deri ponduk"* (Mr. KA, Interview). Thus, from all the presentations of the informants, it can be concluded that the time of implementation of this tradition is usually carried out on the 15th, 21st, 25th, and 27th of Ramadan, they hope for blessings on those dates because that date coincides with the night of lailatul qadar. In essence, this tradition is carried out on that night, namely as a momentum event to reach the night of a thousand months.

Thus, it can be understood that there is a compatibility between the understanding of the *salenan* tradition in the Duko Timur community both in terms of how and when it is implemented. They both agreed that *salenan* is buying clothes for women and paying zakat fitrah. While the time is between 21, 25, and 27 Ramadan which is an indication of the occurrence of the night of lailatul qadar. Various views regarding the *salenan* tradition that occurred in Duko Timur village, Larangan sub-district, Pamekasan district, will be described as follows;

**Table. 1**  
**People's Perspectives on Salenan**

No	Name (Initials)	Procedures	Times
1.	Mr. A	<i>Salenan</i> is a gift that must be done during the engagement period. Then also the will that must be carried out to get to know each other between fiancés	Above the 15th of Ramadan between the 21st, 25th, and 27th of Ramadan.
2.	Mr. FA	The obligation to give clothes to the woman when she is engaged, and to pay her zakat fitrah.	The 21st, 25th, and 27th of Ramadan.
3.	Mr. J	Giving clothes to women or replacing money as much as possible for men	The 21st, 25th, and 27th of Ramadan.
4.	Mr. HS	Giving clothes and rice for zakat fitrah to fiancée in the month of Ramadan	The 21st, 25th, and 27th of Ramadan.
5.	Mr. KA	Giving clothes and rice for zakat fitrah to fiancée in the month of Ramadan. Meanwhile, women give food to their fiancée men when breaking the fast	The 21st, 25th, and 27th of Ramadan.
6.	Mrs. JN	Giving food to the male fiancée at the time of breaking the fast.	The 21st, 25th, and 27th of Ramadan.
7.	Mrs. WM	Mutual giving between two fiancés but the gifts are different. Men provide clothes, while women provide iftar.	The 21st, 25th, and 27th of Ramadan.

According to the people of Duko Timor, this tradition is in the form of a will that must be carried out or carried out by their children and grandchildren, so that what is considered good by the ancestors continues and is not lost. According to the perspective of the Duko Timur community, the habits of the ancients or ancestors, if not done, can usually bring disaster or other bad things. That's why there are consequences if you don't do the *salenan* tradition.

The consequence is social sanctions by the surrounding community, namely in the form of ridicule and gossip. People and neighbors will talk about people who do not carry out this tradition. Because they think that they are not obedient to the will of their ancestors. This is like what has been said by Mr. J;

*"Engghi pakkun bedeh konsekuensinah nekah engak ekacaca sareng tatanggeh tor bhisn binik, soalah nekah masok ka wejiben otabel tengka sedangkan tengka nekah begi oreng kak dintoh nomer sittung se kotuh ekaandik soalah tengka nekah se nantoaghi ghulinah oreng neng urusen andep asorah oreng se bhekal masok dek ka keluarga anyar(bhisn binik)".* (Yes, there are consequences, it is like being discussed by neighbors and female friends, because it is an obligation or etiquette, while etiquette for people here is the main thing that must be owned because etiquette is what determines a person's behavior in matters of manners to enter into a new family (*bhesan* women) (Mr. J, Interview).

The above statement at least informs the public's understanding of the existence of social sanctions, not carrying out *salenan*. An understanding of the consequences seems to be developing in the realm of the formation of a family structure, namely household disharmony as a consequence in the future, or even the breakup of their fiancé's relationship. Mr. A revealed that;

*"Manabi oreng nekah tak alaksana aghi ponapah se biasah ekalakonih bengatoah e delem tradisi salenan panekah biasanah kaloar ocak otabel dedebuen se korang parjhugeh deri para tatanggeh saengghenah dekek nekah narosak de' ka bheguseh tengka antara duek keluarga deri calon bhisn lakek sareng binik"* ( If that person does not do what the ancestors used to do in the *Salenan* tradition, usually inappropriate speech comes out from the neighbors so that later it will damage the good etiquette relationship between the two families of the male and female *besan* candidates) (Mr. A, Interview).

Thus, it can be seen that the reason for the existence of social sanctions as a preventive measure for the occurrence of even more severe consequences, namely the breaking of the engagement band, or disharmony in the household because of the act of not doing the *salenan* on time. Finally, the people of Duko Timur could not help but carry out the *salenan* tradition in accordance with the inheritance and will of their ancestors.

### **Philosophical Contents of the *Salenan* Tradition**

In a tradition, it is certain that it contains the meaning contained in it, this is one of the reasons why people continue to carry out a tradition. This meaning can be said to be a philosophical value in the *Salenan* tradition. Because trying to understand the philosophical value of the *Salenan* tradition is the same as understanding the essence, essence, or truth about everything that exists in a tradition (Rozali 2020) 73. So they always do it consciously because there are meanings and goals to be achieved in the *salenan* tradition.

If the content of the philosophy of the *salenan* tradition in the Duko Timor community can be read and reflected on some of the values contained in it, namely; *First*, the value of *ta'aruf*. Is how *salenan* reflects an entity that knows each other and introduces each person. By selling the two couples who have carried out the sermon, they dig deeper into the character and behavior of the couple and their extended family. So that these efforts can create harmonization, prudence, and compatibility to take the next level. As stated by Mr. A. (Mr. A, Interview).

It is natural for *salenan* to have this value because indeed the engagement was carried out at a relatively young age, namely around the age of 17, where they did not have the courage to know each other more deeply and tended to be shy. Thus this *salenan* contains the wisdom of an engagement, namely to be able to clearly know the prospective life partner, such as his character, behavior, and morals, so that both of them can carry out a peaceful, comfortable life, love, mutual love, and happiness so that both achieve lofty goals and lofty dreams (Azzam, Abdul Aziz Muhammad 2009) 9.

*Second*, the value of *tabarru'*. This means that the *salenan* tradition displays the behavior of engaged couples to give to each other without any coercion. The people of Doku Timur consciously carry out this tradition simply because it has become a local custom of the surrounding community. The giving of clothes and sets made by men to women or giving iftar from women to men sincerely and with pleasure for the purpose of helping each other only proves the existence of *tabarru'at* in this tradition. The people of action have never questioned the amount of economic value issued in the *salenan* tradition, the most important thing is togetherness and mutual help between one family and another. Nothing but to build close harmony between male and female families.

*Third*, is the *mas'uliyah* value, namely responsibility. The presence of *salenan* also fosters the nature of responsibility between the two partners. Those who have preached are burdened to carry out the *salenan* tradition. This understanding ability has a great orientation in the future, namely so that in the future both of them are able to carry out their rights and obligations as a wife. This must be nurtured from the start so that they have mutual responsibility for their respective partners.

### **'Urf's Perspective of the Salenan Tradition**

Tradition is a translation of the word *turats* which comes from Arabic which consists of *wa-ra-tsa* elements. This word comes from the form of *masdar* which means everything that humans inherit from their parents, both in the form of wealth and from the rank of nobility (Riyadi 2007) 199. Tradition is also a legacy or customary norms, the rules that apply in society. Tradition is not something that cannot be changed, it is instead combined with a variety of human actions and adopted in its entirety. The man who makes it and also he who receives it, he also rejects it or changes it. That is why culture is a story of human changes that always give new forms to existing cultural patterns (Van Reusen 1992) 115.

In history, the dialectic between Islam and tradition has occurred in the early days of prophethood. Even Islam itself tends to appreciate the traditions of the surrounding community so that the derived Shari'a goes hand in hand with the cultural locality. At least there are several forms of Islamic appreciation of culture; 1). Appreciation in a negative form, namely the existence of rejection on the basis of the tradition deviating from the principles of the Shari'a, 2). Appreciation with a duplicative form, namely where Islam fully accepts the tradition because it is considered relevant to the principles of sharia, 3). Appreciation with a modified form, namely Islam took the tradition but modified its structure to make it more relevant to the principles of Shari'a, 4). Appreciation with the form of purification, where Islam accepts the tradition but is reconstructed and purified because it is considered that there are deviant elements in the tradition (Maimun 2017) 31.

In the context of Islamic law, the openness of Islam to tradition is manifested through 'urf which epistemologically becomes part of Islamic law. Because, after all, the area of the texts is very limited and does not provide details, not to mention people's lives that continue to develop and give birth to new problems. On the one hand, 'urf is seen as beneficial or good by people who have done it. Therefore, tradition in the context of Islamic law called 'urf becomes a basis for determining a law. (Yasir and Bendadeh 2021)

In general, jurists categorize 'urf into three variants (Zarqa', 1968) 844; first in terms of its form which contains '*urf qouly* (habits that apply in the use of words or speech) and '*urf fi'li* (habits in the form of deeds). Second, in terms of scope, namely '*urf 'ām* (applicable to the wider community) and '*urf khāsh* (applicable to certain communities). Third, in terms of validity, namely '*urf shāhīh* (tradition

does not contradict the text nor does it contain madharat) then *'urf fāsīd* (cannot be justified because it is contrary to the text) (M. Noor Harisudin 2016).

According to Abd Karim Zaidan, there are three conditions for a tradition to be used as a legal basis, as follows; First, there is no specific argument for this case either in the Qur'an or as-Sunnah. Second, its use does not result in the exclusion of the sharia texts, nor does it result in confusion, narrowness, and difficulties. Three, it has been generally accepted in the sense that it is not something that only a few people can do (Zaidan n.d.) 253.

In this study, according to the researcher, the *salenan* tradition is a law that can be described by a fiqh rule, namely *al'ādatu muhakkamatu*. The point is that the Shari'a makes custom as a basis and argument for legal problems that have no text (Ali n.d.). Because the *salenan* tradition is not explicitly stated in the texts of the Qur'an and hadith. To provide a light on the *salenan* tradition, the author uses the 'urf method which is the most appropriate manhaj to solve this social reality by considering the significance of 'urf so that the tradition can go hand in hand with Islamic law.

Then when viewed from the notion of 'urf according to Abd Karim Zaidan who said it is something that is not foreign to a society because it has become a habit and is integrated with their lives in the form of actions or words (Zaidan n.d.) 252. Then if it is traced from the side of the validity of the *salenan* tradition, it includes *'urf shāhīh*. *'Urf shāhīh* is a good thing that has become a habit of the people, but it does not justify what is unlawful and does not forbid what is lawful (Zaidan n.d.).

This *salenan* tradition is a tradition that is still going well in the people of the eastern Duko village, they carry out this tradition well without any conflict, because this tradition is a legacy from ancestors who have good intentions. The existence of this *salenan* tradition does not conflict with the textual arguments or the sunnah arguments. Looking at the purpose of this tradition, which is to get closer and closer and create a harmonious family when married, as stated in Q.S ar-Rum (30): 21 (Wahbah az-Zuhaili n.d.) 92. Meanwhile, the men did not object to giving clothes and paying zakat fitrah to the women because the gift was only based on the capacity possessed by the man. Likewise with the women who provide iftar dishes to the men.

As for judging 'urf, it is acceptable for Islamic law, the author uses the concept of Abdul Karim Zaidan in analyzing it. Meanwhile, Abdul Karim Zaidan has three concepts in determining it, namely as follows; *First*, there is no specific argument for this case, both in the Qur'an and Hadith. According to the interviewee regarding the matter of the fiancé's *salenan*, there is no detailed information in the Qur'an and hadith. However, this fiancé tradition has become a must in terms of areca nut, if this is not done then this will bring disrepute or ugliness in the eyes of the community, and the public will see the lack of seriousness in carrying out the fiancé. Moreover, there are values of *ta'aruf*, *tabarru'*, and *mas'uliyah* in *salenan* which are an integral part of creating a harmonious family in the future. With this, it can be understood that there is an encounter of benefit in the *salenan* tradition.

*Second*, its use does not result in the exclusion of the sharia texts, nor does it result in confusion, narrowness, and difficulties. Based on the search results, the writers of the Doku Timur community believe that there are benefits when carrying out this tradition, such as strengthening the relationship between extended families, getting to know each other from one family to another, especially couples who have given sermons, then training both partners to give each other and understand the rights and obligations of both. . Even based on the author's search through normative, the *salenan* tradition is relevant or in tandem with the universality principle of Islam in the Qur'an such as the principle of mutual help or partnership (Surah al-Maidah [5]: 2) to maintain good relations, the principle of knowing each other. each other (QS. al-Hujarat [49]:13) in order to build good communication, and the principle of being responsible so that they can carry out the mandate (QS. an-Nisa' [4]: 58) properly, namely the rights and obligations in carrying out *salenan*.

*Third*, It has been applied in general in the sense that it is not only something that can be done by a few people. Based on the results of interviews from informants, the authors stated that the *salenan* tradition has become a village community habit and has been carried out by everyone who has

become a legacy of their ancestors that must be preserved, and this custom does not only apply in one village but also applies in other villages. but different language and giving.

Thus, after analyzing the *salenan* tradition with a review of Abdul Karim Zaidan's theory of 'urf, the author concludes that the *salenan* tradition is in accordance with the concept of 'urf which can be accepted by Islamic law so that this tradition can be said to be 'urf which is *shāhīh* and can be used as a reference for juridical sources in the locality.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

This *salenan* tradition is an obligation for the engagement couple to carry out and is a legacy from the ancestors that must be preserved and guarded by the community so that what is considered good by the ancestors continues and is not lost. This tradition is believed by the community to contain goodness, namely to bring the two fiancés closer to create a good relationship so that when they get married they become a harmonious family, and also learn to be responsible. This *salenan* tradition has fulfilled the concept of 'urf which is accepted by Islamic law held by Abdul Karim Zaidan. This tradition is viewed from the material carried out including the 'urf *fi'lī*, because it is an act. When viewed in terms of scope, this tradition is included in 'urf *khāsh*, because this tradition applies to the entire Dukuh Timur community and also some villages in Madura, but only differs in language and giving. When viewed from its legitimacy, this *salenan* tradition belongs to 'urf *shāhīh*, because this tradition is carried out well without any conflict, and also in this tradition, there are beneficial values that can lead to household harmony when married.

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