

The Poetic Structure and Socio-Religious Functions of Traditional Healing Mantras

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe (1) the form of the treatment mantra, (2) the function of the treatment mantra, (3) the meaning of the treatment mantra in Semurup Community, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province. This research is of qualitative type. Data were collected through observations, interviews, and recordings. The data in this study are treatment mantras, namely: (1) Mantra for being poisoned by poisonous snakes; (2) Mantra for babies always crying; (3) Mantra for stomach pain due to something, and (4) Mantra for being hit by sparks. The source of the data is the ustad/shaman who knows the healing mantras in the Semurup area, Kerinci district, Jambi province. The figure in question is Mr. H. Mat Dani. The data collection method is done by observation, interview, listening, and listening, recording, and library data. The results of this study are as follows: (1) The form of the treatment mantra in the Semurup Community of Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province is in the form of poetry, (2) The function of the treatment mantra in the Semurup Community of Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province is for treatment and kinship, and (3) The meaning of the treatment mantra in the Semurup Community of Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province is social and divine.



1. Introduction

Although technology and culture have advanced rapidly, belief in the supernatural is still upheld by the Indonesian people, including the Kerinci community. Religious systems, beliefs, and religions in this world are often centered on supernatural entities considered to be immensely powerful and sacred by humans. For instance, traditional healing practices are used to cure certain diseases by consulting someone believed to possess healing abilities through the recitation of specific incantations and the fulfillment of particular requirements. According to Hotomo in Marwati (2015:4), *mantra* is a form of oral literature.

Healing incantations (*mantra*) are still regarded as the main medium for treatment, largely because they are deeply rooted in the beliefs of the Kerinci people, including the Semurup community. Nurjamilah (2015:2) states that in healing practices, as a form of oral expression, the sentences are uttered with varied tones—rising and falling, loud and soft—interspersed with pauses and concluded with a final intonation followed by silence, which prevents blending or assimilation of sounds or other phonological processes.

However, in certain parts, the *mantra* is recited loudly, especially at the beginning or end, particularly when invoking the name of Allah, the Prophet Muhammad, or specific parts of verses from the Qur'an, including powerful words. A *mantra* serves as a medium connecting the chanter to supernatural forces and contains two interpretations: linguistic elements and elements of belief. Therefore, *mantra* is monologic and one-directional; the recipient is

perceived as though present, listening to the chanter, and believed to respond to the chanter's request or hope.

For the Semurup community, *mantra* represents a living culture that functions as a means to lead a cautious and respectful life. Each linguistic element of the *mantra* reflects the experiences of the Semurup people, their origins, and the roots of their society, which they regard as a long-standing cultural heritage. Based on this explanation, it can be concluded that the language within *mantra* is closely tied to culture. In line with this, Sibarani (2004:3) states that in relation to culture, language embodies all characteristics of culture. Language is owned by members of society, is transmitted socially, is reflected in ideas, actions, and human creations; language is a medium for humans to act, interact, and function within social life. Language must be learned and can also bring joy to people through the messages it conveys.

The people of Semurup believe that healing *mantra* enables traditional treatment without medical assistance, as seen from the language used in the recitation. Healing *mantra* always contains both religious and intellectual values. This contrasts with other types such as red *mantra*, yellow *mantra*, and black *mantra*, which are driven not by conscience but by desire, lacking any noble intention. An interesting aspect is the form of payment given to the chanter; it must be made sincerely and without a fixed price. If someone has no money, they may offer a leaf as a symbolic payment. If no payment is made, it is believed that the illness may return to the chanter.

From the above, it is evident that *mantra* is a deeply embedded and sacred part of cultural life. It encapsulates human experience involving the self, society, and nature. This further supports the notion that language in *mantra* is intimately connected to culture.

Sibarani, as cited in Sukmawan (2015:1), explains that language is used as a means of expressing cultural values. These cultural values conveyed through language as a medium for transmitting culture can be divided into three interrelated components: expressive culture, traditional culture, and physical culture. The position of values in every culture is very important, as they serve to convey behavioral systems inspired by the value systems of the respective communities. From these expert views, it can be concluded that language is the primary gateway for studying the forms, meanings, functions, and values of culture that have yet to be fully uncovered. Therefore, language serves as a key in the domain of cultural studies. This explains that each individual or community member, in carrying out social activities, always acts based on and guided by existing values or value systems.

This example illustrates a part of culture that influences people's beliefs through language. Thus, the relationship between language and culture is very close and interconnected. In this context, Sibarani (2004:59) emphasizes that language is used as a means of expressing cultural values. These values, as transmitted through language, encompass expressive culture, traditional culture, and physical culture. The role of values within any given culture is essential for transmitting behavior systems rooted in that culture's values.

Literature, as defined by Warsiman (2016:1), is not the everyday language we use, but a form of language with distinctive features such as originality, artistry, and beauty.

Literature is a branch of knowledge, derived from the Sanskrit word *Castra*, meaning "writing." From its original meaning, literature encompasses all forms of human writing, such as scientific records, scriptures, letters, invitations, and so forth. Moreover, literature may refer to texts that contain instruction or guidance, or even refer to writings with particular meanings or aesthetic values, using language as the medium to express thoughts and emotions. This is in line with the root word "sas" meaning instruction or teaching, and "tra" meaning tool or medium (Surastina, 2018:3). Based on these definitions by experts, it can be concluded that literature comprises both oral and written works characterized by certain

features and originality, with beautiful language that positively impacts human life and is imaginative in nature. Literature includes all forms of human writing such as scientific notes, holy scriptures, letters, invitations, and so forth.

According to Marwati (2015:4), oral literature is fundamentally built on two core elements: ethics and aesthetics. Because of these elements, literature is considered a highly valued form. Literary works appear in two forms: oral literature and written literature. According to Teeuw as cited by Marwati (2015:4), written literature does not require direct communication between the creator and the audience, whereas oral literature usually functions as literature that is read aloud or performed collectively. Rahmawati, in Marwati (2015:4), defines oral literature as literature encompassing the literary expressions of community members within a culture, transmitted orally. This means that the work evolves through communication among its supporters.

2. Literature Review

Functions of Oral Literature

According to Horace, as cited by Marwati (2015:4), a literary work is considered successful if it possesses *dulce* (pleasure) and *utile* (usefulness), meaning it should be enjoyable and beneficial—engaging the audience without causing boredom, while also fulfilling their inner needs beyond mere entertainment. Furthermore, Apitulya (in Marwati, 2015:4) outlines the functions of oral literature as follows: (a) educational—to shape behavior, emotions, and moral values such as honesty and compassion; (b) preservational—to pass down ancestral life stories; (c) motivational—to inspire the younger generation through the values conveyed; and (d) recreational—to offer comfort and entertainment.

Types of Oral Literature

According to Bowra (in Marwati, 2015:4), oral literature, particularly myths and legends, continues to be transmitted orally from generation to generation. Marwati (2015:4) further explains that myths are not intended for entertainment, but rather to reduce or eliminate the confusion experienced by pre-scientific societies whose reasoning was not yet capable of grasping complex issues. Hotomo (in Marwati, 2015:4) classifies oral literature into two main categories: (a) purely oral literature, which is entirely spoken, including pure prose forms like folktales and stories, as well as lyrical prose conveyed through song, such as folk songs, *pantun*, *syair*, riddles, traditional expressions, and *mantra*; and (b) semi-oral literature, which is supported by other art forms, such as *ludruk*, *ketoprak*, and *wayang*. Based on these classifications, *mantra* is recognized as one form of oral literature.

Mantra

Etymologically, the word *mantra* comes from the Sanskrit *man/manas* meaning “to think/mind” and *tra/tri* meaning “to protect” (Putra, 2003:516). A mantra is a word or utterance believed to possess supernatural powers, often used for healing, protection, or even causing harm. It is a rhythmic composition with poetic elements, traditionally chanted by shamans to invoke or counter magical forces. Chulsum and Novia (2014:448) describe mantras as sequences of words or sounds with mystical power, chanted melodiously as prayers for either the speaker or the listener, requiring precise pronunciation to avoid misfortune. As a part of oral literature, mantras take the form of oral poetry—an expressive arrangement of words meant to evoke emotion, stimulate the senses, and convey deep human interpretations (Pradopo, 2005:6). Therefore, a mantra can be understood as a poetic and rhythmic prayer believed to contain magical force.

Mantras serve various purposes and can be categorized accordingly. Rusyana in Aswad (2018:1) identifies different types of mantras, such as those for healing, love, exorcism, invocation, empowerment, and enchantment. More broadly, mantras are divided into white

magic (used for good purposes) and black magic (used for harmful intents), depending on their goals. One specific form is the healing mantra, used as a medium of treatment by chanting specific words tailored to certain illnesses, such as fever, spiritual disturbances, wounds, or urinary issues. These healing mantras are part of white magic traditions. Novia (2020:2) emphasizes that mantras have a defined structure, much like a solid building, composed of interconnected elements. Key components include rhyme and diction, which directly influence the mantra's effectiveness. Rhyme refers to the repetition of sounds that occur either within or at the end of lines, contributing to the beauty and hypnotic quality of the chant. When arranged carefully, rhyme and diction can trigger a psychological effect or magical suggestion, enhancing the perceived power of the mantra.

Furthermore, Mulyanto and Suwatno (2017:78) explain that mantras appear in various literary forms, including *pantun* (quatrain), poetry, lyrical prose, sound repetition, and song-like chants. Regardless of form, the essence of a mantra lies in its rhythmic, poetic structure and its believed capacity to influence the metaphysical world.

Mantra

According to Sugiarta in Navia (2020:3), mantras function to influence the universe, rooted in the belief in supernatural beings—both good and evil—and sacred objects. These beings are believed to either harm or help humans. Mulyanto and Suwatno (2017:82–83) explain that mantras serve social functions based on their types and uses in community life. Each type of mantra carries specific benefits or efficacy, such as those used for family matters (e.g., childbirth), healing (e.g., for fever, nerve disorders, toothaches), pest control, protection or invulnerability, games, health, love, taming wild animals, and livelihoods like farming. Faisal (2018:32) further classifies mantra meanings into three domains: divine, social, and personal.

Historically, Kerinci had its own political systems before Indonesian independence, including the Manjuto Kingdom and Depati periods, with Pulau Sangkar and Kayu Aro as important centers (Surya, 2020:1). The Dutch occupation in 1914 reduced Kayu Aro's political role, and by 1958, Kerinci became a regency in Jambi Province with Sungai Penuh as its capital, later separated into its own municipality, while Kerinci's capital moved to Siulak. Culturally, Kerinci blends Minangkabau and Malay traditions, including in language, dance, clothing, and matrilineal customs. The Kerinci dialect—part of the Austronesian family—features unique phonetic shifts and varies across more than 30 villages, reflecting each village's cultural identity (Surya, 2020:1).

The Kerinci dialect is a branch of the Austronesian language family. While it may sound familiar to people from the western coastal areas of Minangkabau, it is considered unusual by other communities in Jambi, who are more accustomed to Palembang or Riau Malay. A distinctive feature of the Kerinci dialect includes shifting the vowel 'i' to 'ai' (e.g., "Orang Kerinci pergi ke Jambi" becomes "Uhang Kinchai lalau ka Jamboi") or 'a' to 'ea' or 'oi' (e.g., "bila" becomes "bilea", "atas" becomes "atoih", and "tadi" becomes "tadoih"). Kerinci itself has over 30 local dialects, differing from one village to another. For example, the word "you" is pronounced "Kayo" in Lempur village (Gunung Raya District) and "Kaya" in Sungai Penuh. These dialect differences also reflect the diverse cultural traits of each village in the Kerinci region (Surya, 2020:1).

Spells in the Kerinci Region

Spells are an important part of the religious life of the Kerinci people. They are used for various purposes such as rituals, warding off evil spirits, ancestor worship, healing, and obtaining supernatural powers. Among the types of spells practiced by the Kerinci ethnic group are *idu tawar*, which is used for healing; *cuco*, which functions to expel evil spirits; *lam*

jampi (also known as *luwak* or *duwak*), which is intended to gain supernatural strength for specific purposes such as protection or magical clothing, similar to *ajian* in Javanese culture; and *nyaho*, *nyaro*, or *nyeru*, which are spells that serve as praises to ancestral spirits or are used to summon them, as in the ritual of *asyeik* (Sunliensyar, 2017:1). These various forms of spells reflect the deep spiritual connection the Kerinci people maintain with the metaphysical world.

3. Method

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method to examine the form, meaning, and function of healing incantations in Semurup, Kerinci Regency. According to Soejono and Abdurrahman (2005:19), qualitative research generates descriptive data through written or spoken words and observable behavior, while Prastowo (2012:21) emphasizes its focus on interpretation rather than measurement. Using Tarigan's (2009:118) descriptive approach, the research investigates four types of incantations—snakebite, crying baby, stomachache, and burns—obtained from a local healer, H. Mat Dani, who inherited them orally from his ancestors. Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and the “listen, involve, and speak” method (Mahsun, 2005:91), supported by recording and note-taking techniques (Sudaryanto, 1993). Data validity was ensured through intrarater checking and expert validation by Suci Maiza, M.Pd. and academic supervisors. The analysis used a contextual method based on speaker-hearer interactions and categorized meanings into divine, social, and personal dimensions. Results were presented using formal and informal methods (Sudaryanto, 1993), with analysis steps including reading, identifying, grouping, and explaining the incantations.

4. Result

From the research that has been carried out, the results of this study can be described in accordance with the research questions that have been formulated previously.

Forms of Medicine Mantra in Semurup Community

Data 1

Chant for Snake Venom Poisoning

“Tik sigimitik turun snawan kesurgo

Ini tawa yang duo titik untuk pumadam sigalo biso

Biso Tedung agi ku tawa

Biso ula Lelimpung Ari agi ku tawa

Apolagi biso anak Adam

Lindap pumen batong keladi

Dengan berkat Lailaahaillooh.”

In the chant above, it is clear that the language used in the chant is bound by rhythm, meter, rhyme, and the arrangement of lines and stanzas. For example, the last words in each stanza share similarities between lines 1–2 and 3–4 (aabb). “Tik sigimitik turun snawan kesurgo, Ini tawa yang duo titik untuk pumadam sigalo biso” both end in the vowel “o”, and stanza 3–4 “Biso Tedung agi ku tawa, Biso ula Lelimpung Ari agi ku tawa” both end in “wa”. Therefore, the rhythm of the chant harmonizes from one stanza to the next. This is in line with Suwatno (2017:79) who stated that chants in poetic form are a type of literature characterized by rhythm, rhyme, and structured lines and stanzas.

Data 2

Chant For Stomach Pain Due To Foreign Substance

*“Tik sigimitik turun snawan pandak kaki
Ini tawa yang duo titik untuk pungambik sigalo biso
Berkat nenek uyud yang diam di Pulau Pandan
Kayo panda kakap panda jangkau
Aku kakap aku jangkau dengan tangan
Dengan berkat Lailaahailallooh.”*

In the chant above, it is evident that the language is bound by rhythm, meter, rhyme, and line-stanza structure. Although there is no clear rhyme in the endings of each stanza, there is a noticeable repetition of similar sounding words within the chant. This chant resembles an old poem that tells a story. This is evident in the first three stanzas, which mean: “Two drops of saliva fall to the ground, This is a two-drop chant to take away all poison, Because of the ancestor residing on Pandan Island.” These stanzas narrate how water falling to the earth becomes a healing medium for poison, caused by an ancestor from Pandan Island. Chants that tell stories or tales are categorized as poetry. This is supported by Suwatno (2017:80), who stated that chants in poetic form often contain narrative elements expressed in the lines.

Data 3

Chant For Constantly Crying Baby

*“Oo insan kumano insan,
kok insan surang ni lah,
apo sebab tango ni keno
Kok sehari hujan simalam apo lesung tiado bisi
Mako lesung tiado bisi insan pergi insan pulang
Insan pulang kupado aku
Berakit dari hulu berakit ke Batang Kandih
Anak slampung stanu guru
Aku munyampi insan punangih
Berakit dari hulu berakit ke Batang Asai
Anak slampung stanu guru
Aku munyamoï insan bangkai
Dengan berkat Lailaahailallooh”*

In the chant above, the language is clearly bound by rhythm, meter, rhyme, and the arrangement of lines and stanzas. Although the rhyme at the end of each stanza is not consistent, there are recurring sound patterns within the lines. This chant also resembles an old poem that tells a story. The first three stanzas describe how water falling to earth becomes a healing medium for all poisons, linked to an ancestor from Pandan Island. Chants that contain storytelling or folklore elements are categorized as poetry. This aligns with Suwatno (2017:80) who stated that poetic chants often include narrative expressions.

Data 4

Chant For Being Splashed By Fire

*“Kulnayanarukuni bardah
Selamat Nabi Ibrahim naki gunung Merapi
Sehingo berhenti memetik sirih ayi
Idak letut keno api, letut karno ayi
Masuk tawa kelua biso*

*Makbu kato guru, mustajab kato Allah
Dengan berkat Lailaahaillooh”*

In the chant above, the language is again bound by rhythm, meter, rhyme, and the structure of lines and stanzas. Although consistent rhyme is not present in every stanza, there are repeating sounds within the lines. This chant resembles a traditional poem that tells a story, which corresponds with Suwatno’s statement (2017:80) that poetic chants contain stories expressed as narrative sentences. Furthermore, the second, third, and fourth lines end with the same "-i" sound, as in “Merapi,” “ayi,” and “ayi,” creating a harmonious rhythm between stanzas. This supports Suwatno’s (2017:79) view that poetic chants are a literary form characterized by rhythm, rhyme, and structured lines and stanzas.

The Function of Healing Chants

The function of healing chants in the Semurup community, based on the analysis of four chants presented in Appendix 3 (page 79), shows that three out of the four chants serve as healing chants, while the second chant functions as a familial chant. This aligns with the research focus, which specifically selected healing chants. The first chant aims to cure various poisons, particularly those from venomous snakes, as seen in the lines referring to Tedung and Kelimpang Ari snakes, as well as poisons from humans. The second chant functions to remove poison from the body, illustrated through the imagery of holding and pulling the poison out by hand. The third chant narrates a story about a constantly crying child, with metaphorical references to rain and an empty mortar symbolizing sadness or hunger, where the chanter declares their role in comforting the child. The fourth chant begins with Arabic words as a prayer and tells the story of Prophet Ibrahim’s miracle of not being burned by fire, suggesting that the person receiving the chant may also be healed from fire injuries by divine will.

The Meaning Analysis of Healing Chants in the Semurup Community

Based on the data analysis table regarding the meaning of healing chants in the Semurup community, it is shown that three out of four analyzed chants carry social and divine meanings, while the third chant contains divine and personal meanings. All four chants hold divine significance because they end with the Arabic phrase *Lailaahaillooh*, meaning “There is no God but Allah.” Further explanation is as follows: The first chant is intended to heal humans from all kinds of poison, especially from venomous snakes such as the Tedung and Kelimpang Ari, and even poisons given by humans. Therefore, this chant holds social meaning because it aims to provide healing, aligning with Faisal (2018:32), who categorized chant meanings into three types, including those related to society. It also has divine meaning, as seen in the seventh stanza which recites *Lailaahaillooh*, referring to the Islamic testimony of faith. The second chant similarly portrays a narrative of removing poison from the human body, suggesting social meaning through its healing purpose, and divine meaning through the closing Islamic phrase. The third chant, which tells the story of a crying child, symbolizes sadness and hunger and reflects a personal meaning related to the child's behavior. It also holds divine meaning for including the phrase *Lailaahaillooh*. The fourth chant begins with Arabic words as a form of prayer for someone burned, and tells of the miracle of Prophet Ibrahim who was not harmed by fire, aiming to heal the burn victim. It thus contains both social meaning, as it aims to cure, and divine meaning, due to its religious reference. Therefore, all chants reflect social and/or divine significance as supported by Faisal’s classification of chant meanings.

Based on the data analysis table regarding the meaning of healing chants in the Semurup community, it can be seen that three out of the four analyzed chants possess social and religious meanings, while the third chant contains religious and personal meanings. All four chants have religious meaning because they end with an Arabic phrase, *Lailaahailallaah*, which means "There is no God but Allah." Further explanation is provided below: In the first chant, the translation of the phrases used in the chant shows that it aims to cure people from all types of poison (from the second to the fourth stanza), especially from venomous snakes. From the second to the fifth stanza, it is stated that the chant is used to remove poison, whether it is from a Tedung snake, other venomous snakes, or even poison given by humans. Since the purpose is to heal people, this chant holds a social meaning. According to Faisal (2018:32), the meanings contained in a chant can be grouped into three categories, one of which is the meaning related to society (social). Therefore, it can be concluded that this chant has a social meaning because it functions to heal. This chant also has a religious meaning because the seventh stanza states, "With the words *Lailaahailallaah*," which is part of the Islamic declaration of faith, meaning "There is no God but Allah SWT." According to Faisal (2018:32), chant meanings can also be related to divinity. Since this chant contains a reference to God, the meaning is related to religion.

In the second chant, the translation shows that it is intended to extract poison from a person's body. The poison is described as being held and removed by hand from the human body (the stomach). Thus, this chant also has a social meaning due to its healing function. Since its purpose is to cure illness, the chant contains social meaning. Again, as Faisal (2018:32) explains, one category of chant meaning is social, related to community welfare. This chant also contains a religious meaning because the sixth stanza says, "With the words *Lailaahailallaah*," indicating that it is associated with the shahada (Islamic creed). As it includes references to God, the meaning falls under the divine category. In the third chant, the language used appears narrative or storytelling. From the first to the fourth stanza, it says, "Oo humans, where are the humans, why is it only this one person, what caused this step to be disturbed, why did it rain all day and night, was the rice mortar not filled, thus the rice mortar was not filled, people came and people left." These stanzas narrate a crying child whose constant crying is symbolized by continuous rain. The question about hunger is symbolized by an empty rice mortar. The chanter then claims to be the one who heals or soothes the child. Therefore, the meaning of this chant relates to personality, as it aims to correct a child's behavior. Additionally, it holds a religious meaning because it includes a reference to *Lailaahailallaah*, the Islamic testimony of faith. Faisal (2018:32) confirms that religious meaning is one of the three types of chant meanings, especially when it contains a divine reference.

In the fourth chant, the language begins with Arabic intended as a prayer for healing burns. The chant then tells of Prophet Ibrahim (AS), who had the miracle of not being harmed by fire (as seen in the second and third stanzas, meaning: "Peace be upon Prophet Ibrahim climbing Mount Merapi, thus he stopped picking betel leaves with water"). The hope is that the person given the chant will immediately recover from burns just like Prophet Ibrahim (AS) was miraculously saved from fire. Therefore, this chant has a social meaning due to its healing function for those affected by fire. As its purpose is to cure, it belongs to the social category. Once again, according to Faisal (2018:32), the meaning contained in chants can be related to social aspects. The chant also has a religious meaning, as it includes the phrase *Lailaahailallaah*. Since it references God, its meaning is categorized as divine.

5. Discussion

The findings of this study are consistent with those of Mulyanto and Sawanto (2017), in their research titled *"Form and Function of Chant Texts."* Their findings show that the language of chants can take the form of *pantun* (traditional rhymed verses), poetry, lyrical prose, sound repetition, and *kidung* (songs). Chants serve various functions such as for familial matters, healing, pest control, invulnerability, games, health, love/romance, and livelihood. This aligns with the present study, which also found that healing chants in the Semurup community are expressed in the form of *pantun*, poetry, lyrical prose, sound repetition, and *kidung*, and function for both familial and healing purposes.

Meanwhile, regarding the function of chants, three out of the four analyzed chants serve a healing purpose, while one chant serves a familial purpose. According to Mulyanto and Suwatno (2017: 82-83), the functions of chants include: (1) familial, referring to matters related to family life—parents with their children and the entire household, extended family, relatives, and kin. For example, chants for childbirth or delivery; and (2) healing, such as chants to cure fever, nerve disorders, toothaches, swelling, headaches, colds, and others.

Faisal (2018:32) states that the meanings contained in a chant can be grouped into three categories: meanings related to divinity, meanings related to society (social), and meanings related to personal character. The findings of this study are also relevant to the results of a study by Faisal (2018) titled *"Structure, Meaning, and Function of Healing Chants in the Malay Community of Semitau, Kapuas Regency."* His findings show that the meanings of chants include religious meaning, social meaning, and personal meaning. This current study also found all three of these meanings as described above.

6. Conclusions

The form of healing chants found in the Semurup community, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province, is in the form of poetry that features similar end rhymes. The functions of these healing chants are primarily for medicinal purposes (to treat individuals suffering from ailments such as snake venom, burns from fire splashes, and stomach pain) and for familial purposes (to address family-related issues, such as a constantly crying child). The meanings of the healing chants in the Semurup community encompass social meaning (human-to-human relationships) and religious meaning (human relationship with Allah SWT).

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