



Article

Ethos, Ethics, and Spirituality in Minangkabau *Petatah-Petitih* : A Linguistic-Cultural Alternative to Weber's Protestant Ethic

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A B S T R A C T

The entrepreneurial culture of the Minangkabau is widely regarded as compelling, continually explored and discussed by scholars. It has long been widely recognized that this value system is embedded in a linguistic vessel known as *petatah-petitih* (traditional Minangkabau proverbs). These proverbs are often regarded as repositories of social norms, yet their role as a living linguistic system actively shaping everyday practices, particularly in the economic sphere, remains largely underexplored. Previous studies have tended to view *petatah-petitih* as static containers of moral prescriptions. However, their existence as dynamic catalysts of a community's lived values and guiding principles has remained largely untouched. In fact, *petatah-petitih* function as a living linguistic system, continuously activated through hermeneutic engagement and practical actualization by social actors within the flow of their daily lives. This article addresses that gap by investigating how *petatah-petitih* both live and are lived by Minangkabau traders as they negotiate meaning within their entrepreneurial journeys. Drawing on Hymes' ethnolinguistics and philosophical-phenomenological hermeneutics, the researcher conducted focus group discussions, participatory observation, and hermeneutic interviews with 14 informants across West Sumatra, Bogor, and Bali. Findings reveal that proverbs concerning Minangkabau entrepreneurial culture form an integrative whole, not operating as fixed prescriptions, but as a dynamic ethical framework continually reinterpreted through lived experience. Hermeneutic analysis shows that meaning is constructed dialogically, through a circular movement among text, context, and the interpreter's subjectivity. This study contributes to decolonial approaches in ethnolinguistics by centering Indigenous interpretive practices as the core of analysis, while also proposing a new methodological model for understanding *petatah-petitih* as vital resources for building national economic resilience and as a critique of the dominant currents of global capitalism.

I. INTRODUCTION

Indigenous entrepreneurship is one of the youngest fields of academic research, demonstrating that certain cultural values do not align with the foundational assumptions of mainstream entrepreneurship theory (Dana, 2015). The concept of entrepreneurship initially focused on marginalized and underdeveloped groups and

later expanded to include Indigenous populations. Consequently, Indigenous entrepreneurship is shaped by the contextual factors of Indigenous communities themselves (Croce, 2017), as well as by local place and history (Mika et al., 2018), rendering it heterogeneous and fragmented across sociocultural, geographical, individual, or communal contexts (Padilla-Meléndez, 2022).

Kinship-centered Indigenous families and local communities emerge as informal organizations surrounding enterprises (Tretiakov et al, 2020), though this model has also drawn gender-based critiques (Ratten & Dana, 2017).

Alongside Indigenous entrepreneurship, there has also been a resurgence of Islamic economics as a response to modern capitalism operating as the dominant paradigm. Islamic economics offers principles of inclusive economics, social equity and justice, ethical conduct, and environmental sustainability (Zauro et al, 2024). Islam integrates green accounting, ethical teachings, and social entrepreneurship, along with comprehensive strategies for policy development, education, and community engagement (Pandikar et al., 2022), emphasizing environmental stewardship, sustainable resources, social justice, and corporate social responsibility (Shamil Shovkhalov, 2024). The concept of Sharia-compliant economics, when wisely implemented by human agents acting as khalifah (stewards) on Earth based on the Qur'an and Hadith, can realize the goals of sustainable green economics (Mursid et al., 2024) and sustainable economic development (Raimi et al, 2024).

In the Indonesian context, entrepreneurship has been discussed since 1969, particularly in relation to innovation, risk assessment, and the management of economic, social, and political factors (Siregar, 1969). A study by Cahyono et al. concluded that ethnic and cultural groups significantly influence entrepreneurial decision-making. Their findings indicate that the Balinese, Batak, Chinese, South Sumatran, and Minangkabau ethnic groups tend toward entrepreneurship. However, a key distinction is that the Balinese, Batak, Chinese, and South Sumatran groups typically operate businesses near their places of residence, whereas the Minangkabau operate outside their home region (Cahyono, Syafitri & Susilo, 2021).

Being Muslim, entrepreneurial, and a *perantau* (migrant trader) constitutes core Minangkabau identity (Naim, 2020; Siregar, 2022). They possess a unique entrepreneurial perspective and are often compared to other distinctive ethnic or diasporic groups, especially the Chinese and Jews (Hasanuddin, 2018). They are a people of commerce, migration, adaptability, and cultural resilience (Games et al., 2020; Schraub, 2019;

Zwart, 2020; Bierer, 2020). In the early 19th century, Muhammad Saleh Datuk Rangkayo Basa (1841–1921) was recorded as a successful Minangkabau entrepreneur on the West Coast of Sumatra who outcompeted Chinese traders in Padang (Nagazumi, 1986; Zed, 2017). Among women, in the early 20th century, Ruhana Kudus emerged as a pioneering female Minangkabau entrepreneur (Hanani, 2020; Sari et al., 2024). Since then, Minangkabau women have also left their villages and districts to study, work, and travel far beyond their homeland (Iman, 2013). The Minangkabau people adapt to new cultures without losing their own cultural identity (Hasanuddin, 2018).

Thus, the Minangkabau entrepreneurial culture has deep historical roots. Their cultural choice to migrate (*merantau*) and engage in entrepreneurship stems from ecological constraints that limit reliance on agriculture, given that only 13% of West Sumatra's topography is suitable for cultivation (Hasanuddin, 2013; 2018). This culture is well preserved within their *petatah-petitih* (Minangkabau traditional proverbs). Their economic doctrine is rooted in Islamic values and local wisdom expressed through these proverbs (Mochlasin & Budiharjo, 2024). *Petatah-petitih* encapsulate numerous Minangkabau cultural values (Handoko et al, 2025; Sya & Attas, 2021; Silalahi & Nasution, 2017). Indeed, universal humanitarian principles can be found within them (Rusman et al., 2023), and these values do not contradict the Qur'an and Hadith (Putri, 2019). *Petatah-petitih* carry character education values and serve linguistic, educational, and cultural functions (Silalahi, 2018). Several case studies on keys to entrepreneurial success have been conducted, such as Minangkabau migrants in Bali (Hasanuddin, 2018) and Dharmasraya (Sari et al., 2024).

However, a critical issue remains: existing studies tend to extract *petatah-petitih* as isolated cultural quotations, detaching them from the hermeneutic lifeworld in which these proverbs are enacted. Yet, as vessels of values and behavioral norms, *petatah-petitih* are alive, they are lived, sustained, and integrally animate the culture of their bearers. Undoubtedly, research combining ethnolinguistics and hermeneutics to understand how *petatah-petitih* are internalized in entrepreneurial practice remains extremely scarce.

This study is multidisciplinary, integrating four

theoretical traditions of language: Hymes' (1996) Ethnolinguistics, Philosophical Hermeneutics (Gadamer, 1960; Brogan, 2020), Hermeneutic Phenomenology (van Manen, 2017, 2021, 2023), and Habermas' (1985) Critical Theory. This theoretical combination can be articulated as follows: Hymes views and treats language as a social practice, approachable through the ethnography of speaking. In Gadamerian Philosophical Hermeneutics, linguistic meaning is not static but dynamic, emerging from a dialogical process. Meanwhile, van Manen's Hermeneutic Phenomenology bridges phenomenology (focused on lived experience) and hermeneutics (interpretation of meaning), further integrated with Critical Theory (Habermas) as a foundation for uncovering ideology and advancing local cultural knowledge as an emancipatory contribution to global narratives.

The overarching aim is to understand *petatah-petitih* as a speech genre whose meaning emerges only when situated, analyzed, and interpreted within the actual entrepreneurial activities of actors through their interpretive reflections on these proverbs. This approach is relevant because *petatah-petitih* function as repositories of values and ideologies governing social practices, including environment and disaster predictions (Handoko, 2024; 2025), leadership and universal humanitarianism (Rusman et al., 2023), multiculturalism (Mulyani et al., 2024), and entrepreneurship.

The central questions are: How is the Minangkabau entrepreneurial culture constructed within *petatah-petitih*? How do Minangkabau traders interpret *petatah-petitih* in their economic decision-making?

II. METHODS

Research Design

This study is qualitative, multidisciplinary, and critically oriented, seeking to understand the Minangkabau entrepreneurial culture through a deep interpretive engagement with *petatah-petitih* which embody moral, cultural, and spiritual wisdom. The research was carried out the study between April to December 2025 which involved 41 participants: 27 Minangkabau traders who participated as respondents in an online survey questionnaire via WhatsApp (13 males [48.1%] and 14 females [51.9%]), seven UMKM (micro, small, and medium enterprise) practitioners as key

informants, and seven cultural validators consisting of customary leaders, religious scholars (ulama), and female community figures (Bundo Kandung). The research sites encompassed both the *ranah* (West Sumatra: Padang-Pariaman, Batusangkar, Bukittinggi) and the *rantau* (Bogor and Bali).

Data Collection

The data was collected several approach, including Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), participatory observation, and hermeneutic interviews. First, a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted with seven Minangkabau cultural informants, traditional leaders (*tokoh adat*), religious scholars (*alim-ulama*), and *Bundo Kandung* (respected female elders). The FGD aimed to validate the researcher's preliminary understanding (a Gadamerian concept), which was constructed from the researcher's cultural background, theoretical knowledge, and lived experience as an insider (adopting the principle of phenomenological reflexivity, van Manen) to minimize interpretive bias. This fore-understanding construct was formulated narratively based on *petatah-petitih* (traditional Minangkabau proverbs) concerning Minangkabau entrepreneurship. Through dialogue with the informants, this fore-understanding was tested, revised, and further deepened. The narrative substance of the fore-understanding consists of the values, principles, and norms of entrepreneurship as derived from *petatah-petitih*.

Second, observation was conducted through (1) an online survey using Google Forms, with links distributed via WhatsApp, and (2) participatory observation in traditional markets in Padang, Bukittinggi, and Batusangkar. Responsive participants were selected randomly, while interpretive participants were chosen purposively (from among survey respondents who expressed willingness to be interviewed). In the online survey, thematic *petatah-petitih* prepared during the first phase were shared with respondents. This step served as a pre-hermeneutic interview for selected respondents. Responses collected through this process were recorded in the Researcher's Reflexive Journal. Participatory observation aimed to capture the natural nuances of how *petatah-petitih* are used in buyer-seller interactions within traditional market settings.

Third, hermeneutic interviews were

conducted to gather life narratives through in-depth conversations aimed at achieving dialogical understanding (Gadamer, 1989). The fore-understanding formulated in the first phase served as a catalyst for dialogue. During the exploration phase, the following steps were carried out: inviting participants' narratives, delving into their meanings, uncovering cultural values, exploring transformations, and closing the circle of meaning. The findings from these hermeneutic interviews are presented in thick description, drawing on Geertz's 1973 (Geertz, 2008) conceptual framework.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was carried out in three steps: (1) verbatim transcription and translation from the Minangkabau language; (2) hermeneutic thematic analysis based on fore-understanding, taking into account the interaction between interpreter and text, what Gadamer terms the "fusion of horizons" (Warnke, 2021; Larrauri, 2022; Vigouroux, 2024), with a focus on dialogical-interpretive moments; and (3) collaborative member checking with cultural informants (participants from the first-phase FGD) for final cultural validation.

This research embodies circular hermeneutics a dynamic interpretive process wherein understanding of texts, actions, or cultural phenomena emerges through continuous dialogue between parts and the whole. This concept stems from Gadamerian philosophy, which posits that understanding is not a linear act of decoding but a circular movement between the interpreter's horizon and the text's horizon. Within this qualitative study, hermeneutic circularity is realized in three ways: [a] the researcher does not begin from "zero" but brings a fore-understanding shaped by cultural background, theory, and personal experience as a Minangkabau individual; [b] throughout the research, this fore-understanding is continually tested, revised, and deepened through engagement with data; and [c] the final understanding is not an "objective truth" but a fusion of horizons between the researcher and participants' world of meaning. This approach rejects the illusion of objectivism and emphasises the researcher's reflective involvement as an integral part of the knowledge-production process.

III. RESULTS

As a consequence of the research employing a critical multidisciplinary approach, three concepts

are eclectically adopted in this exposition: pure understanding (Gadamer, 1989), participant representation (Enworo, 2023), and thick description (Geertz, 2008). Initial understanding (pure understanding) → is tested and enriched by participants' voices (participant representation) → then elaborated in depth within the cultural context (thick description) → which in turn may lead to a revision of pure understanding itself.

As a consequence of employing a critical multidisciplinary research approach, this exposition eclectically draws upon three concepts: pure understanding, participant representation, and thick description. Pure understanding (as initial understanding) → is tested and enriched by participants' voices (participant representation) → then elaborated in depth within the cultural context (thick description) → which in turn may lead to a revision of the pure understanding itself.

Pure-Understanding (as Initial Understanding)

The data collection process and the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with the seven cultural informants yielded 41 (forty-one) *petatah-petitih*, which were subsequently constructed into a "pure-understanding." This pure understanding was thus formulated based on the researcher's cultural background, theoretical framework, and personal experience, and was verified by the aforementioned seven customary informants. The narrative construction of this pure-understanding regarding the *petatah-petitih* is in Appendix A.

The forty-one *petatah-petitih* listed above can be categorized into three thematic groups: ethos (23 data), ethics (10 data), and spirituality (8 data). Ethos refers to the values or spirit that drive and motivate a person's actions—in this context, entrepreneurial endeavors. Ethics denotes the values that serve as moral checks on one's ideas and behaviors—here, specifically in entrepreneurship. If likened to a vehicle, ethos functions as the "accelerator," while ethics acts as the "brake." Both are essential. Spirituality represents the highest-order value system that underpins both ethos and ethics—in this case, the ethos and ethics of entrepreneurship.

Participant Representation

The data from 27 respondents who are Minangkabau micro, small, and medium enterprise (MSME) practitioners, with the following findings.

Table 1. Business Scale

Business Scale	Number	Percentage (%)
Based on assets excluding land and buildings		
Micro (IDR 10–50 million)	12	44,44
Small (IDR 50 million–500 million)	8	29,62
Medium (IDR 500 million–10 billion)	7	25,92
Based on Annual Revenue		
Micro (IDR <300 million)	16	59,26
Small (IDR 300 million–2 billion)	6	22,22
Medium (IDR 2–15 billion)	5	18,52

Table 2. Respondent's Age Groups

Age Group	Number	Percentage (%)
Young adults (18–40 years)	10	37,03
Middle-aged adults (41–60 years)	13	48,15
Older adults (60 years and above)	4	14,81

Table 3. Respondent's Educational Background

Age Group	Number	Percentage (%)
Up to junior secondary school (SMP/equivalent)	3	11,12
Senior secondary school (SMA/equivalent)	10	37,04
Diploma/Bachelor's in Economics/Business	7	25,92
Diploma/Bachelor's in non-Economics/Business fields	7	25,92

Table 4. Reasons for Choosing Type of Business

Age Group	Number	Percentage (%)
Interest and innate talent	14	51,85
Formal education	9	33,33
Escape (e.g., from other circumstances)	1	3,70
Other reasons	3	11,11

The data above indicate that the business scale based on assets is inconsistent with the scale based on annual revenue (Table 1). Specifically, three entrepreneurs classified as micro-enterprises by asset size fall into the small or medium categories when categorized by revenue. Likewise, age group (Table 2) does not correlate with business scale: among medium-scale entrepreneurs, there is one young adult (18–40 years), two middle-aged adults (41–60 years), and two older adults (60+ years).

A further finding is that the success of Minangkabau entrepreneurs shows no significant correlation with formal educational attainment or with education specifically relevant to entrepreneurship (economics/business) (Table 3). The highest level of formal education among respondents is senior secondary school (SMA/equivalent) at 48.14%, while the remainder hold diplomas or bachelor's degrees (51.85%). However, only seven respondents (25.9%) have

educational backgrounds directly related to economics or business. Moreover, respondents' choice to pursue entrepreneurship is predominantly driven by personal interest or innate talent rather than formal education (Table 4). These data reinforce the assumption that, for the Minangkabau people, entrepreneurship is a genealogical aptitude strengthened by cultural.

Respondents' level of familiarity with the forty-one *petatah-petitih* provided to them through the online survey questionnaire shows that 9 *petatah-petitih* were fairly familiar (selected by 10–14 respondents), 17 *petatah-petitih* were barely recognized (selected by 0–2 respondents), and 15 *petatah-petitih* were recognized by only a few respondents (3–9 respondents). The nine *petatah-petitih* with the highest number of respondents who recognized them are as shown in the following bar chart.

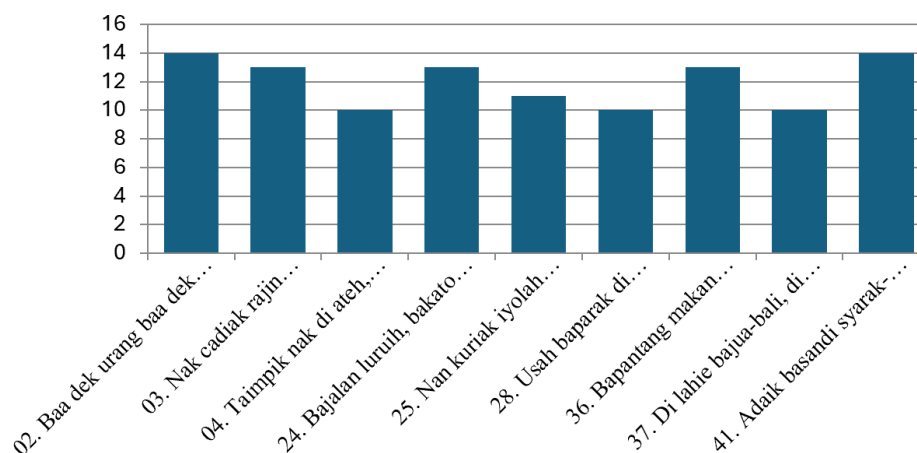


Fig. 1. Nine most popular *petatah-petitih* by respondents

The Thick Description

The nine *petatah-petitih* familiar to the respondents above are treated as representative expressions of Minangkabau entrepreneurial culture and are used as the focus of thematic analysis through philosophical and phenomenological hermeneutics. The nine *petatah-petitih* represent three thematic categories, including ethos, ethics, and spirituality.

Ethos

The *petatah* “*Baa dek urang—baa dek awak*” is interpreted in the pure-understanding as an “ethos of equality,” accompanied by “*kok indak kamalabihi sakurang-kurangnyo samo jo urang*”, which conveys competitive motivation. This ethos of equality stems from the understanding that all human beings are created equal, born of a man and a woman alike; equally endowed with complete physical faculties and senses; equally in need of food and drink, and so forth. Thus, all individuals are inherently equal and on the same footing. Awareness of this fundamental equality demands that each person actively uphold it. Upholding equality necessitates competition: failure to do so results in being labeled an “*urang kurang*” (deficient person) or “*pecundang*” (loser), terms considered deeply demeaning.

This meaning originally emerged in the economic and business domain, driven by a motivation toward equitable prosperity. Informants 08, 10, and 12 began their entrepreneurial journeys immediately after elementary school, sacrificing their youth due to poverty (including the early death of their fathers) while supporting families of six to ten siblings. Their driving question was:

“If others can succeed, why can’t I?” To answer this, they worked hard, diligently, persistently, with discipline, honesty, and full responsibility.

Over time, this meaning has evolved. For instance, the Young Adult group (Informants 11 & 14) reinterpreted the *petatah* into “*Jan kakalah podo se indak nio*” (“I won’t even accept a draw, let alone defeat”). Moreover, its application has expanded beyond business into other spheres, such as awareness of equal rights and fair treatment in government policy, equality before the law, and competitive drive in practical politics.

The *petatah* “*Nak cadiak rajin baraja, nak kayo kuaik mencari, nak mulie pahaluih budi*” (“To be wise, study diligently; to be wealthy, strive vigorously; to be noble, refine your character”) is understood in the pure-understanding as the procedural pathway and prerequisites for achieving success. The Minangkabau recognize three peaks of success: being renowned (*ternamo*), wealthy (*kayo*), and noble (*mulie*).

To become *tanamo*, one must master knowledge and technology. Notable Minangkabau figures who achieved renown include Muhammad Yamin, Mohammad Hatta, Mohammad Natsir, Sutan Sjahrir, Tan Malaka, among others.

To become *kayo*, one must be relentless in seeking livelihood (riches) or in entrepreneurial effort. Examples of wealthy Minangkabau entrepreneurs include Basrizal Koto (proprietor of businesses in property, media, printing, mining, and hospitality, owning 15 enterprises); Zairin Kasim (owner of hotels, hospitals, retail stores, automotive, and agriculture); Muhammad Kasmir (mechanic managing four companies); Nurhayati

Subakat (founder of the renowned Wardah Cosmetics brand); Asril Das (owner of hotels and a publishing house); and Emil Abbas (founder of EASCO Holding, overseeing 30 subsidiaries in mining, agroindustry, ports, forestry, and finance).

To attain *mulie*, one must cultivate refined manners and speech, becoming a moral exemplar. Renowned and noble Minangkabau figures include Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi (who served as Grand Imam of Masjid al-Haram in Mecca in 1892), Hamka (a leading Southeast Asian Islamic scholar), and female pioneers such as Siti Manggopoh, Ruhana Kudus, Rasuna Said, and Rahmah el Yunusiyah, heroes of independence, journalism, and education.

Thus, to reach the triad of *tanamo*, *kayo*, and *mulie*, a Minangkabau individual must be diligent in learning, strong in effort, and refined in character.

All informants interpreted this *petatah* accurately, not in isolation, but as an integrated whole. Entrepreneurial success, they affirmed, requires knowledge, skill, and good attitude. Among the seven entrepreneur informants, three held bachelor's degrees, while four had only completed junior secondary school (SMP). Of the three with formal higher education, only one studied a field related to economics or business. This illustrates that the call to *baraja* ("study") in the *petatah* does not exclusively refer to formal education.

Regarding *kuaik mancari* ("strive vigorously"), Informants 08, 09, 10, 12, and 13 reported never taking afternoon naps; even nights were used to manage household and business tasks. For them, there was no time for idleness. In contrast, Informant 11 (a young adult) managed operations more remotely—from home—using CCTV and other digital tools. Though appearing more relaxed and well-rested, this did not imply negligence; indeed, he successfully managed five stores with twelve employees.

The *petatah* "*Taimpik nak di ateh, takuruang nak di lua*" ("When squeezed, rise upward; when confined, break outward") is interpreted in the pure-understanding as an expansive motivation, moving from a distressing condition (described as "squeezed/oppressed" or "confined/imprisoned") toward a fulfilling state ("elevated" and "free"). Achieving this better state requires willpower, determination, and relentless effort.

This *petatah* often pairs with "*Bajalan surang nak daulu, bajalan baduo nak di tengah*" ("Walking alone, seek the front; walking with another, take the middle"). The latter conveys creativity and wisdom. The first clause "*bajalan surang nak daulu*" signifies creative innovation: an individual internally generates an "imaginary competitor," challenges their own ideas dialectically, and overcomes them to reach the forefront. For example, if Person A proposes an idea (thesis) but receives no counter-response (antithesis), they themselves construct the antithesis, then synthesize a resolution independently. The second clause "*bajalan baduo nak di tengah*" represents wise dialectical positioning: when faced with two difficult choices, the solution lies in a balanced middle path, achieved through consensus, assimilation, integration, or other prudent judgments.

The success trajectories of all seven informants, who began as street vendors, hawkers, itinerant traders, or low-level employees before rising to prominence, embody the spirit of *Taimpik nak di ateh, takuruang nak di lua*. Initially "squeezed" or "confined," they fought their way upward through hard work to achieve freedom and elevation. Regarding *bajalan baduo nak di tengah*, Informant 08 offered a compelling example: navigating the tension between communalistic Minangkabau values and his Japanese wife's more individualistic cultural orientation.

However, both *petatah* have increasingly acquired negative interpretations, seen as reflecting cunning or deceit. Informants 08, 09, 10, 11, and 13 expressed this view, noting that Minangkabau employees often display "disloyalty" by working only 3–6 months before leaving to start their own ventures, a practice framed as self-empowerment but sometimes perceived as opportunistic.

Ethics

The *petatah* "*Bajalan luruih, bakato bana, manimbang samo barek*" ("Walk straight, speak truthfully, weigh fairly") is interpreted in the pure-understanding as an ethical standard encompassing integrity, truthfulness, and honesty. *Bajalan luruih* means conducting business through proper, conventional procedures; *bakato bana* entails providing accurate, non-deceptive product information; and *manimbang samo barek* mandates honest measurement in transactions.

All informants embodied this ethic,

identifying it as key to their business success. Notably, Informant 08 shared that he learned disciplined, honest, and responsible conduct from his Japanese wife, carefully avoiding customer complaints, even though Minangkabau *petatah-petitih* already prescribe the same values. This reflects a meaningful intercultural dialogue, where traditional ethics are reinterpreted and reinforced through cross-cultural experience.

The pantun-form *petatah* “*Nan kuriak iyolah kundi—nan sirah iyolah sago, nan baiak iyolah budi—nan endah iyolah baso*” (“The black grain is kundi, the red grain is sago; goodness lies in character, beauty in speech”) is understood as an ethical standard emphasizing hospitality in business interactions. The underlying concept is that good character (*budi*, abstract) manifests concretely through beautiful speech (*baso*). This is reinforced by the complementary line: “*Muluik manih kucindan murah, budi baiak baso katuju*” (“Sweet words and easy smiles; good character yields pleasing language”), meaning that “beautiful speech” is actualized through kind words, warm demeanor, and ready smiles—qualities that customers appreciate.

Informants 08, 11, and 14 demonstrated that hospitality is crucial for attracting and retaining customers. This extends beyond face-to-face interaction to social media promotion, as practiced by Informants 09, 10, and 11. In today’s digital marketplace, where online platforms mediate transactions, Informants 11 and 14 emphasized that the measure of ethical conduct shifts from direct contact to digital presence: *nan baiak iyolah budi* (“goodness is character”) is implemented through honest product representation, while *nan endah iyolah baso* (“beauty is speech”) is realized through aesthetically appealing promotional content.

The *petatah* “*Usah baparak di ladang urang, Awak mandapek urang jan kailangan*” (“Do not plant in another’s field; gain for yourself without causing others loss”) prohibits sabotage and profit-seeking by any means necessary. While maximizing profit is a legitimate business goal, it becomes unethical and unacceptable when it harms or sabotages others’ assets or interests.

All informants understood and applied this principle in their trade. However, another *petatah*, “*manembak di ateh kudo*” (“shooting from horseback”, a metaphor for selling someone else’s

goods under one’s own name to retain customers), has undergone interpretive evolution. Informant 12 regularly engages in this practice, considering it acceptable since no party suffers loss. Yet in everyday usage, this phrase is often interpreted negatively—as synonymous with cheating or deception.

Spirituality

The *petatah* “*Bapantang makan masak-matah, tau jo hala dengan bata*” (“Abstain from consuming what is ambiguously halal or haram; distinguish clearly between lawful and unlawful”) is interpreted in the pure-understanding as a halal standard governing the input, process, and output of traded goods. A commercial product must be verified as both halal and wholesome (*thayyib*). This principle originates directly from *syarak* (Islamic Sharia), which mandates that all aspects of trade, materials, production methods, and final products, must comply with halal and ethical requirements.

For example, in food products, dog and pork are explicitly prohibited as inputs under Sharia. Moreover, even halal livestock (such as chicken, goat, or cattle) becomes haram if not slaughtered according to Sharia prescriptions, specifically, without proper slaughter (*dhabihah*) and without invoking the name of Allah. Similarly, otherwise halal ingredients acquired through illicit means, such as theft or deception, are rendered haram. Consequently, any product derived from non-halal inputs or processes results in a haram output. Because this *petatah* is directly inspired by Sharia, it admits little room for multiple interpretations.

Understanding this principle, Informant 05, together with Minangkabau diaspora leaders in Bali, pioneered the establishment of the Minangkabau Restaurant Association (ARMINA) and requested formal Halal Certification from the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) of Bali Province for members’ ingredients, production processes, and finished products as early as 2000. This initiative preceded by more than two decades the national policy issued by the Ministry of Religious Affairs on October 17, 2024, which mandates halal certification for medium and large enterprises (UMB), while deferring the requirement for micro and small enterprises (UMK) until October 17, 2026.

Currently, Informant 11 still sells vape products (classified as *makruh*, religiously

discouraged). Although the business is highly profitable, he is determined to gradually shift toward fully halal and wholesome products, following his parents' guidance. He has already begun opening a barbershop. Meanwhile, Informant 10 has established a communal family financial collaboration called "*Arisan Kontrak Kadai*," enabling participants to avoid interest-based (*riba*) banking systems.

The *petatah* "*Di lahie bajua-bali, di batin basilaturrahmi; Putiah kapeh dapek diliek, putiah hati bakaadaan*" ("Outwardly trading, inwardly nurturing kinship ties; white cotton is visible, but purity of heart depends on circumstance") is understood in the pure-understanding as a declaration that entrepreneurship or trade is not merely a professional transaction (*bajua-bali* – buying and selling) but, more essentially, a means of cultivating *silaturrahmi* (relational bonds). This *silaturrahmi* is not limited to formal interaction but refers to sincere, heartfelt connection. While sincerity (*ikhlas*) pertains to an abstract emotional state ("white heart," which is conditional and internal), it is not beyond concretization—just as "white cotton" (*putiah kapeh*) is visibly tangible. Therefore, every transaction must be conducted in a manner that fosters mutual goodwill and spiritual integrity.

In line with this understanding, Informant 05 recounted an experience with his grandfather, a traditional tobacco leaf (*nipah*) seller, who once hesitated to go to market due to heavy rain. Yet he went anyway, saying: "*Kok indak manggaleh awak, indak maisok pulo urang beko*" ("If I don't sell today, my customers surely won't get to smoke"). In 2010, Informant 05 himself had planned to retire from the restaurant business by selling all his assets (warung and land), but later reopened a small-scale enterprise, not for profit, but as a social space for community interaction. Informant 12, along with many traditional traders observed during participatory fieldwork, enacts this *petatah* through a verbal "akad", a mutual affirmation spoken after a sale concludes. They ask customers for gracious acceptance: "*Talabiah-takurang yo bakarilaan awak yo, nak samo-samo sanang kito, nak barakat timba baliak*" ("Whether overcharged or undercharged, let us mutually forgive one another, so we may both be happy and receive divine blessing"). This practice seeks the pleasure (*ridho*) and blessing (*barokah*) of Allah

Subhanahu wa Ta'ala.

Informant 11 expresses this emotional bond differently, by exchanging greeting cards or gifts with regular customers on special occasions such as birthdays, religious holidays, or year-end celebrations.

The *petatah* "*Adaik basandi syarak—syarak basandi Kitabullah*" ("Custom rests upon Sharia; Sharia rests upon the Al Quran") is interpreted in the pure-understanding as a solemn covenant affirming that all human activities must be grounded in Sharia, which itself is rooted in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). This is further reinforced by the complementary clause: "*Syarak mangato—adat mamakai*" ("Sharia decrees; custom implements"), meaning that whatever Sharia commands or prohibits must be adopted and enacted by customary practice (*adat*).

Informant 09 explicitly identifies with this second principle (*syarak mangato—adat mamakai*). He even offers a corrective interpretation of the commonly cited *petatah*: "*Allah bakato, manusia bakojo; Utang di awak bausao, nan rasaki pambarian Allah*" ("Allah speaks/command, humans must act; our duty is to strive; sustenance is granted by Allah"). While many interpret this as "first exert effort (*ikhtiyar*), then surrender (*tawakkal*)", Informant 09 reverses the sequence: *tawakkal* must precede *ikhtiyar*. Accordingly, he describes his business approach as "spiritual management."

All informants affirmed that the key to success is *sadaqah* (charity): since every possession contains the rights of others, one must give generously. Informant 09 further illustrated this belief with another *petatah*: "*Pikek balam jo balam, pikek pitih jo pitih*" ("Attract birds with birds, attract money with money"), reflecting the conviction that giving charity invites abundant divine provision (*rezki*).

The explanations above demonstrate that Minangkabau entrepreneurial concepts and principles revolve around three core themes: ethos, ethics, and spirituality. These themes collectively reflect the ideological foundation of Minangkabau entrepreneurs. Although interpretive dynamics have emerged in response to changing contexts, the essential ideological core remains intact and actively upheld.

An interesting finding is the absence of

generational conflict or divergence in interpreting the proposed *petatah-petitih*. Even where interpretive shifts occur, both younger and older entrepreneurs tend to move in the same direction, shaped by shared exposure to modernity. The most noticeable difference lies in work practices: older entrepreneurs, accustomed to never taking afternoon naps, maintain this discipline, whereas younger entrepreneurs adopt more relaxed and flexible time management, without, however, neglecting their businesses.

Another significant finding is the absence of gender-based distinction or inequality—neither in theory (*petatah-petitih*) nor in practice (entrepreneurial activity). The *petatah-petitih* do not assign different values or norms for men and women in business, nor do they contain gender-specific commands or prohibitions. In practice, both men and women in Minangkabau society freely choose their business types and compete equally for leadership positions in both traditional markets and modern retail enterprises.

IV. DISCUSSION

The use of the three concepts, pure understanding, participant representation, and thick description, in the findings described above reflects a multidisciplinary approach rarely applied to *petatah-petitih*. This understanding was achieved by integrating Hymes' (1996) Ethnolinguistics with Philosophical Hermeneutics (Gadamer, 1960; Brogan, 2020), Hermeneutic Phenomenology (van Manen, 2017, 2021, 2023), and Critical Theory (Habermas, 1985).

Through this approach, the study finds that Minangkabau *petatah-petitih*, particularly those concerning Minangkabau entrepreneurship, undergo reinforcement, evolution, and reinterpretation within a dialogical process among text, context, and actors as interpreters. The meanings of *petatah-petitih* are thus not static but dynamic and dialogical, shaped by the lived contexts and actual practices of the actors. Consequently, *petatah-petitih* are not merely folklore or cultural quotations selectively attached to fragments of behavior to legitimize character when convenient; rather, they function as a practical ethical framework guiding the conduct of Minangkabau individuals.

These findings broaden academic understandings of entrepreneurial culture, which

have long been dominated by Western paradigms emphasizing individualism, efficiency, and capital accumulation (Weber, 2013). In this light, Minangkabau entrepreneurs have long operated within a “Moral-Cultural Framework”—or “Value Orientation System”—as an overarching conceptual umbrella comprising three interrelated dimensions:

1. Ethos: the affective-cultural dimension (collective character, practical dispositions);
2. Ethics: the normative-reflective dimension (moral principles, justification of action); and
3. Spirituality: the transcendent-existential dimension (meaning, purpose, and relationship with the Divine).

Superficial Proverb Studies and the Critique of Hermeneutic Subjectivity

This study proposes a critical, multidisciplinary, thematically integrative research framework for reconstructing and interpreting oral language, particularly *petatah-petitih*, within their dialogical relationships among text, interpreter, and context, validated by customary stakeholders as traditional authorities. This approach necessitates treating *petatah-petitih* not as isolated oral folklore detached from the lived dynamics of the cultural actors who embody them. Researchers cannot merely collect proverbs or analyze compilations of sayings as if they were static oral artifacts and then subjectively interpret them as reflections of past cultural values, such as character, leadership, wisdom, humility, justice, thrift, prudence, truthfulness, and so on, as seen in studies by Endrika Widdia Putri (2019) and others that have been mentioned previously.

Although some recent studies have begun acknowledging critical dimensions, such as ideology, social dynamics, functional potential as social control, and even social capital in contemporary relevance, these analyses remain insufficiently inclusive and dialogical in uncovering the “deep dimension” of oral utterances: namely, their character-forming, educational, social, cultural, and ideological values.

Several researchers focusing on Minangkabau *petatah-petitih* have indeed advanced recommendations regarding contextual capitalist values (Mochlasin & Budiharjo, 2024), transmission through economic education (Armianti et al., 2018), cross-cultural relations (Moeis et al.,

2022), survival strategies (Betti Gama et al., 2018; Handoko et al., 2025), leadership, and non-Western urban development (Nanda & Permata, 2025). Yet none have attempted to apply these aphorisms practically as effective vehicles for cultural transformation, as this study consciously, though limitedly, does with its participants.

This research also directly addresses the longstanding critique of hermeneutic subjectivity, the suspicion that hermeneutics relies excessively on the researcher's personal interpretation. Here, meaning validation was ensured through participatory triangulation:

1. initial interpretations by the researcher were validated by cultural authorities, customary leaders, religious scholars (*ulama*), and female elders (*Bundo Kanduang*), resulting in the narrative of pure-understanding;
2. this pure-understanding was tested through the researcher's participatory observation in the field, via both surveys and in-depth interviews, during which *petatah-petitih* underwent dialogical reinterpretation with entrepreneurs across locations and generations;
3. this dialogical process revealed the ideological values embedded in the aphorisms and, often unconsciously yet effectively, enacted a mission of "cultural transmission"; and
4. collective member checking was conducted throughout.

This methodological rigor demonstrates that hermeneutics, when practiced dialogically and reflexively, yields deep, contextual understanding—not mere subjective projection.

Beyond Weber: Ethic Not Just Spirit but a Holistic Ethics

Max Weber (1930, 2013) linked the "spirit of capitalism", driving hard work, discipline, and capital accumulation, to the Protestant ethic. This study reveals that Minangkabau entrepreneurial culture arises from three interwoven value foundations: rational ethos (rationalistic drive, including capitalist motivation), tempered by social ethics (social consciousness and emotional intelligence), and grounded in transcendental awareness (Islamic spirituality). This integration affirms that Minangkabau entrepreneurship engages the full spectrum of human potential: intellectual

rationality (IQ), emotional intelligence (EQ), and spiritual intelligence (SQ).

High IQ alone is insufficient for managing social relationships or emotional regulation (Puspitacandri et al., 2020); EQ is essential for conflict resolution, healthy relationship-building, and teamwork (Chong et al., 2015). SQ correlates with life satisfaction and happiness, contributing to long-term career and relational success (Abdullah et al., 2023; Amirian & Fazilat-Pour, 2015). Individuals with high SQ tend to be more empathetic and socially adept. Together, IQ, EQ, and SQ form a complementary triad enabling holistic success (Alpissarrin et al., 2024).

This study focuses exclusively on entrepreneurship and economics itself is only one of seven cultural elements in Minangkabau society. Moreover, the Minangkabau represent just one of hundreds of ethnic groups in Indonesia. Thus, the findings are not intended for generalization. Rather, this focused inquiry deliberately avoids broad generalizations. However, the depth of local insight generated may serve as a foundation for identifying universal principles: namely, that sustainable entrepreneurship requires a dynamic, holistic balance among ethos (courage), ethics (wisdom), and spirituality (transcendental fulfillment).

Future research could develop character education modules for entrepreneurship based on *petatah-petitih*, enriching the Minangkabau Language and Literature curriculum already implemented or planned in several regencies and cities in West Sumatra. Longitudinal studies tracking young entrepreneurs raised with Minangkabau entrepreneurial values could yield deeper insights. Comparative studies with other cultural groups, such as Chinese, Jewish, Japanese, or others—on cross-cultural entrepreneurial culture would also be valuable.

The Minangkabau entrepreneurial culture, as reflected in *petatah-petitih*, offers an ethical and spiritual alternative to the dominant global narrative of entrepreneurship, often characterized by capitalist excess, technocratic reductionism, dehumanization, and secularization. It conveys a profound message: entrepreneurship is not merely a matter of profit and loss, but a holistic human endeavor encompassing material, social, and transcendental dimensions. Such local wisdom constitutes a vital moral resource that fosters both

horizontal harmony (among humans and with nature) and vertical harmony (between humans and God).

V. CONCLUSION

This research demonstrates that Minangkabau *petatah-petitih*, in their contextual application, advocate the integration of three fundamental human potentials in daily life, especially in entrepreneurship. This finding critically challenges the universalizing Weberian narrative that links religion, ethics, and capitalism in ways that advance capitalist rationality while weakening ethical and religious constraints. In truth, ethics and religion exist precisely “to balance the rationality of individual greed with social relationality and transcendental spirituality.”

The theoretical significance of this study lies in its successful reformulation of entrepreneurial culture as a distinct, contextually rooted cultural construct that enriches and colors the dominant global discourse. The combination of ethnolinguistics, philosophical and phenomenological hermeneutics, and critical theory reveals that economic meaning is constructed through everyday language and lived practice, not solely through formal institutions. This supports decolonial approaches in entrepreneurship studies that recognize non-Western epistemologies as legitimate sources of theory.

Practically, these findings can inform locally grounded character education materials for entrepreneurship, centered on Minangkabau *petatah-petitih*, for use in primary and secondary schools. For MSMEs, training programs incorporating this cultural content could enhance their capacity and competence. More broadly, policymakers might consider these insights in designing locally rooted, inclusive economic models. Such applications would strengthen local cultural identity and foster entrepreneurs who are not only successful but also ethical, empathetic, and spiritually grounded.

Ultimately, drawing on ethnolinguistics, philosophical and phenomenological hermeneutics,

and critical theory, the research moves beyond mere description to interrogate how local knowledge negotiates power, resists epistemic marginalization, and offers ethical alternatives within contemporary economic life. Through thick description, *petatah-petitih* are revealed not as static proverbs but as living guides that weave together collective character (ethos), normative reflection (ethics), and transcendent meaning (spirituality). In doing so, the study illuminates a culturally rooted model of entrepreneurship, one shaped by the intertwined legacies of Minangkabau adat and Islamic values.

ETHICS STATEMENT

This research was conducted independently with institutional support from Universitas Andalas (UNAND). Informed consent was obtained from all participants, and their identities have been fully anonymized to ensure confidentiality. The study adheres strictly to ethical standards and publication guidelines of peer-reviewed academic journals.

CREDIT AUTHOR STATEMENT

Hasanuddin conceptualized the study, collected and analyzed data, and was responsible for formulating findings and writing, reviewing and editing, project administration, and final validation. **Imelda Indah Lestari** contributed to theoretical formulation, field observation, and data analysis.

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DECLARATION OF COMPETING INTERESTS

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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APPENDIX A

Narrative Construction of Pure-Understanding Minangkabau Entrepreneurship Based on *Petatah-Petitih*

A Minangkabau entrepreneur must first possess a vision of emotional and social happiness, supported by material well-being as its prerequisite, as expressed in *petatah* (1): *manjilih di tapi aie maradeso di paruik kanyang* — “to cleanse oneself at the riverbank only brings comfort when one’s stomach is full (i.e., material welfare is secured).” To achieve this, an entrepreneur must embody competitive spirit and motivation, as stated in (2): *baa dek urang baa dek awak, kok indak malabihi sakurang-kurangnyo samo jo urang* — “as others do, so must we; if we cannot surpass them, at least we must be equal.”

The key lies in being knowledgeable, skilled, and virtuous, as captured in (3): *Nak cadiak rajin baraja, nak kayo kuaik mancari, nak mulie pahaluih budi* — “To be wise, study diligently; to be wealthy, strive vigorously; to be noble, refine your character.” Strengthen your resolve and work hard, as advised in (4): *Taimpik nak di ateh, takuruang nak di lua* — “If squeezed, struggle upward; if trapped, fight your way out.” Moreover, be creative and wise, as reflected in (5): *Bajalan surang nak dauhu, bajalan baduo nak di tangah* — “When walking alone, lead the way; when walking with another, take the middle path.” Trust that every effort carries its own sustenance, as affirmed in (6): *Ado paho ado kaki, ado usao ado rasaki* — “Where there are thighs and legs, where there is effort, there is sustenance.”

Remember that (7): *Alam takambang jadi guru* — “The unfolding universe is the teacher.” Thus, reflect deeply, as urged in (8): *Pikie palito ati, haniang saribu aka* — “Let thought be the lamp of the heart, stillness the thousandfold intellect.” Learn from experience and seek many teachers, as recommended in (9): *Maambiak contoh ka nan sudah, maambiak tuah ka nan manang, tau dek batanyo, pandai dek baguru* — “Take examples from those who have succeeded, draw blessings from those who win; knowledge comes from asking, wisdom from learning under guidance.”

When opportunity arises, trust yourself and mobilize all available resources, as suggested in (10): *Indak ado kayu janjang dikapiang, indak ado ameh bungka diasah* — “If there is no wood, split the wooden stair; if there is no raw gold, polish your gold bar.” Additionally, be creative in fulfilling consumer needs, guided by the principle in (11): *Condong mato ka nan rancak, condong salero ka nan lamak* — “Eyes incline toward beauty, taste leans toward deliciousness.” Yet remain adaptive to different environments, as noted in (12): *Lain lubuak lain ikannyo, lain padang lain balalangnyo* — “Different pools, different fish; different fields, different grasshoppers.” Also stay alert to extreme changes (in nature, policy, politics, security, technology, etc.), as warned in (13): *Sakali aie gadang sakali tapian barubah* — “Once floodwaters rise, riverbanks shift.”

Work diligently and strategically, as advised in (14): *Hari sahari diparampek, malam samalam dipatigo* — “Divide the day into four parts, the night into three (use it for working hard).” Cultivate multiple talents so that (15): *Sambie manyalam minum aie, sambie badiang nasi masak* — “While diving, drink water; while warming yourself by the fire, cook rice.” Do not waste time, as cautioned in (16): *Jikok duduak marauik ranjau, tagak maninjau jarak* — “If sitting, sharpen spears; if standing, survey distances.” Dare to bear risks, as declared in (17): *Tangan mancancang bahu mamikua* — “Hands chop, shoulders carry.” Stay optimistic, as affirmed in (18): *Ado kamauan ado jalan, indak ado karuah nan indak kajaniah, kusuik nan indak kasalasai* — “Where there’s will, there’s a way; no murkiness remains forever unclarified, no tangle unresolved.”

Strengthen networking, for (19): *Duduak surang sampik, duduak basamo lapang* — “Sitting alone feels cramped; sitting together feels spacious.” Support one another mutually, because (20): *Sagan bagalah, anyuik sarantau* — “Reluctance to paddle causes all to drift.” Mitigate losses or bankruptcy through (21): *Bakulimek sabalun abih, maminteh sabalun anyuik* — “Save before it’s gone, cross before swept away,” and (22): *Katiko ado ditahan, alah indak ado baru dimakan* — “When you have, hold back; only when gone is it fully consumed.” Minimize losses, as advised in (23): *Darpado tatungkuik, bialah tagendeang* — “Better to lean sideways than fall flat.”

In the competition for success, a Minangkabau entrepreneur must uphold integrity, truthfulness, and honesty, as instructed in (24): *Bajalan luruih, bakato bana, manimbang samo barek* — “Walk straight, speak truthfully, weigh fairly.” One must prioritize kindness and hospitality in service and partnerships, as expressed in (25): *Nan kuriak iyolah kundi—nan sirah iyolah sago, nan baiak iyolah budi—nan endah iyolah baso; Muluik manih kucindan murah, budi baiak baso katuju* — “The black grain is kundi, the red grain is sago; goodness lies in character, beauty in speech; sweet words and easy smiles, good character and pleasing language.” Practice empathy in business competition, as required in (26): *Raso dibao naiak, pareso dibao turun; sakik dek awak sakik dek urang, lamak dek awak katuju dek urang* — “Bring feeling upward, scrutiny downward; pain inflicted on oneself would also hurt others; what pleases us should please others too.” Negotiate reciprocally and non-egotistically, as guided by (27): *Tajua-tabali sasuai alua jo patuik* — “Buy-sell transactions must follow proper procedure and principles of fairness.” Avoid deceit, as warned in (28): *Usah baparak di ladang urang, Awak mandapek urang jan kailangan* — “Do not plant in another’s field; gain for yourself without causing others loss.” Adapt socially without losing one’s identity, as illustrated in (29): *Masuk kandang kambing mambebek tapi indak jadi kambing, masuk kandang arimau mangaum tapi jan jadi arimau* — “Enter the goat pen and bleat, yet remain not a goat; enter the tiger’s den and roar, yet never become a tiger.”

Collaboration in entrepreneurship is inevitable. In collaboration, one must contribute positively, as affirmed in (30): *Ka bukik samo mandaki, ka lurah samo manurun* — “To the hill, climb together; to the valley, descend together.” Be ready to share risks, as stated in (31): *Tatungkuik samo makan tanah, tatilantang samo makan ambun, tarapuang samo anyuik tarandam samo basah* — “Fall face-down, eat dirt together; lie back, drink dew together; float, drift together; sink, get wet together.” Ensure fair profit-sharing, as emphasized in (32): *Ati gajah samo dilapah, ati tungau samo dicacah* — “An elephant’s heart is shared equally; an ant’s heart is divided fairly.” Safeguard and nurture trust, as cautioned in (33): *Jan dek nila satititik rusak susu sabalango* — “Let not a single drop of ink spoil a whole pot of milk.”

A Minangkabau entrepreneur must recognize that Allah SWT has honored humanity above animal creations through reason. Therefore, reason must be actively used and gratefully coupled with faith, as expressed in (34): *Iduik baraka, mati bariman* — “Live with reason, die with faith” (Reason is life’s primary provision in this world; faith is the essential provision for the hereafter). Regarding entrepreneurship and sustenance, (35) states: *Allah bakato, manusia bakojo; Utang di awak bausao, nan rasaki pambarian Allah* — “Allah commands, humans must act; our duty is to strive; sustenance is granted by Allah SWT.” Engage in entrepreneurship to seek halal and wholesome livelihood, as directed in (36): *Bapantang makan masak-matah, tau jo hala dengan bata* — “Abstain from mixing halal and haram; distinguish clearly between lawful and unlawful.” The ultimate aim is to foster friendship [*silaturrahmi*] and attain blessed sustenance (*rezeki barokah*), as articulated in (37): *Di lahie bajua-bali, di batin basilaturrahmi; Putih kapeh dapek diliek, putih hati bakaadaan* — “Outwardly trade, inwardly strengthen bonds; white cotton is visible, but purity of heart depends on condition.”

Amid business success, one must always safeguard faith, for (38): *Mujua sapanjang hari, malang sakijok mato* — “Fortune may last all day, yet misfortune can strike in the blink of an eye.” Hence, (39) reminds: *Allah bakato, manusia bakasabuik* — “Allah provides, humans must give thanks” (Allah bestows sustenance; it is humanity’s duty to express gratitude).

Entrepreneurial effort fulfills individual, communal, and social responsibilities, as affirmed in (40): *Anak dipangku jo pancarian, kamanakan dibimbiang jo pusako, urang kampuang dipatenggang, tenggang nagari jan binaso* — “Children are held through livelihood, nephews/nieces guided through inherited wealth, villagers supported, and the community preserved from ruin.” Holistically and integratively, all dimensions of life [*adat*]—material, social, and cultural—must be grounded in Islam; thus, whatever Islam prescribes must be implemented in daily life, as summarized in (41): *Adaik basandi syarak—syarak basandi Kitabullah, syarak mangato—adat mamakai* — “Custom rests upon Islamic law; Islamic law rests upon the Book of Allah; Islamic law decrees, custom implements.”

(Validated by Informants 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, & 07)