

Paper Bamboo House

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The form of the traditional bamboo house in the Makassar culture: A cultural semiotic study

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Abstract: This study aims to explain (1) the form of a traditional house made of bamboo in Makassar culture; (2) the components of the traditional houses made of bamboo and their respective functions; and (3) socio-cultural dimensions of the shape and structure traditional house constructed of bamboo in Makassar culture. To discuss these problems, we used the Saussure's Structural Linguistics approach (semiology) and Levi Strauss' Structural Anthropology. Both are elaborated into cultural semiotics. The data collection methods used were field surveys (observation) accompanied by technical documentation, interviews, and records. Data were analyzed qualitatively. Results of the research indicate that the traditional house form made of bamboo in Makassar culture is generally divided into three parts, either vertically or horizontally. Vertically, the upper part is called *pammakkang* 'attic'; the middle part is called *kale ballak* 'house body'; and the bottom is called *siring* 'underneath.' Horizontally, the front is called *paddaserang ri dallekang* 'vestibule'; the middle section is called *paddaserang ri tangnga* 'living room'; the backside is called *paddaserang ri boko* 'back room.' The components of the upper, middle, and lower houses show opposition to each other. However, these components are logically related and related to one another so as to form a meaningful social and cultural construction. The shape and structure of traditional houses in Makassar culture is influenced by socioeconomic and socio-cultural factors (cosmology, belief, and social stratification).

Keywords: bamboo houses, Makassar culture, cultural semiotics

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1 Introduction

South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia, is inhabited by four major ethnic groups, namely, Bugis, Makassar, Mandar, and Toraja. Buginese generally live in Bone, Wajo, Luwu, Soppeng, Sidenreng Rappang, Pinrang, Barru, Parepare, Sinjai, and some areas such as Bulukumba, Pangkajene Islands and Maros. Ethnic Makassar generally inhabit the southern part of South Sulawesi, such as Gowa, Takalar, Jeknepono, Bantaeng, and some areas such as Bulukumba, Pangkajene Islands, and Maros. Mandar ethnics generally inhabit the district of Majene and Polowali Mamasa (now this area has entered the territory of West Sulawesi). The ethnic Toraja generally inhabit Toraja District, and some areas of Enrekang Regency. This paper focuses on the ethnic Makassar.

One type of cultural work of Makassar people is home construction. There are several types of houses in Makassar society. They are differentiated by the type of materials that become the framework of traditional or modern houses. Types of home in question include *ballak bulo* 'houses made of bamboo'; *ballak kayu* 'wooden houses'; *ballak kayu na bulo* 'wooden houses and other components made of bamboo'; and *ballak batu* 'houses made of stone.' The types of homes based on construction materials are, of course, influenced by the owner's economic level and environment. The shape and structure of the house is the embodiment of cultural systems and social systems that apply and develop in the life of the tribe of Makassar. These systems are a norm or rule that is believed and understood as a custom that guides work and social activity (Koentjaraningrat 1990: 187; Wiranata 2002: 104).

Based on the results of a literature search, we found some texts that have discussed the traditional houses of Makassar. Raja (2000) describe the uniformity of the concept of home, house shape, and function of each *paddaserang* 'room'; the diversity of *pammakkang* 'attic' functions; the function of the *siring* 'vault'; and the laying of the *degodego* 'terrace round the house.' Uniformity and diversity are caused by socio-economic and socio-cultural factors.

Ihsan (n.d.) describes the construction of houses by the Makassar tribe as being based on a conception of life harmony between macrocosm and microcosm. The macrocosm of the world consists of three parts, namely, the upper world, middle world, and the underworld. This macrocosm conception is aligned also with the structure of the human body and the microcosmic home form. The Part of *Ulu* 'kepala' in tune with the world above, the shoulder to navel aligned with the center of the world, and the navel to the feet aligned with the bottom of the world. The *pammakkang* 'attic' is aligned with the upper world, the *kale ballak* 'house body' or *paddaserang* 'floor of the house' is aligned

with the center of the world, while the *siring* 'vault' is in tune with the world of the bottom. Furthermore, the construction of the house can be described by the horizontal and vertically bucket arrangements, *sila* and *sambulayang*, respectively, that are used on the roof.

Raodah (2012) describes the form and function of *ballak Lompoa* 'The palace of King Gowa' as being composed of three parts: the upper part called *pammak-kang* 'attic'; the middle part called *kale ballak* 'house body'; and the bottom of the house called the *passiringang* 'vault.' The traditional house architecture adheres to the philosophy of *sulapak appak* 'rectangle/rhombus,' which describes all aspects of human life. The philosophy is reflected in the land area, house poles, windows, and rooms.

From some of these writings, it can be concluded that the traditional Makassar home in general is based on an architectural approach and is associated with the socio-cultural background of the Makassar tribe. Furthermore, this paper focuses attention on the traditional house frame construction made from bamboo. This object is studied using a cultural semiotics approach. Thus, some of the main issues in this paper are: (1) the form of a traditional house made of bamboo in Makassar culture; (2) the components of the traditional houses made of bamboo and their respective functions; and (3) socio-cultural dimensions of the shape and structure traditional house constructed of bamboo in Makassar culture.

2 Basic theory

Semiotics is the study of signs in human life (Noth 1990: 3; Maras 2002: 115; Hoed 2008: 3). If culture is considered a sign system (network of signs), the system serves as a means of structuring people's lives. Understanding of the citizens of the sign system prevailing in the society allows people to behave according to what is expected of them by their fellow citizens because there is conformity in the interpretation of signs (Masinambow and Haenen 2002: 13). Therefore, if behavioural norms are violated, this will cause a sense of unease in a person's mind (Wiranata 2002: 103). In other words, culture is a communal meaning system that provides a "tool" to translate society's needs into representational form (Geertz in Christomy and Yuwono 2004: vii).

Furthermore, according to Wiranata (2002: 96), "Culture is the whole system of ideas, actions, and the work of human beings in the framework of the life of a society that is made human by learning." In line with that opinion, Koentjaraningrat (1997: 5) argues that culture has at least three forms: (1) the

form of culture as a complex of ideas, ideas, values, norms, rules, etc.; (2) the form of culture as a complex of patterned behavior activity of people in society; and (3) the form of culture as objects of human works. The three forms of culture cannot be separated and influence each other.

One form of culture that can be observed is the shape of the house, especially the form of a traditional house constructed of bamboo in Makassar culture. This form is a blend of cultural systems and social systems (Rapoport 1969). In relation to this, Tobing (1961) explains that the people of Makassar divide the universe (macrocosm) into three parts: (1) the upper world refers to aspects of heaven, heights; (2) the world is referring to all social activities; (3) the underworld refers to aspects of humility and stupidity.

Furthermore, the cosmological conception is reflected in the construction of Makassar tribal house consisting of three parts: the top, middle, and bottom parts. The upper part, in Makassar is called *pammakkang* 'attic,' is the part of the house just under the roof, as a place to store crops and heritage items. The middle part, in Makassar called the *kale ballak* 'house body,' is just below *pammakkang*, and is the homeowner's residence with the family. The lower part, in Makassar called *siring* 'vault', is just beneath *kale ballak*, and is used as a place to store farming tools and livestock (Mattulada 1975; Raja 2000: 21). Furthermore, the various elements of residential buildings can be seen as part of a system, i.e. the residential building system, which consists of a roof, walls, windows, doors, and the floor. In the context of residential buildings, all of these elements have a certain "meaning" in accordance with its function in the culture of residential buildings. Each form of each group has a certain relation, both equations and the relations of difference, all of which occur in human memory. This network of relations is called the system (Hoed 2008: 11). Thus, the language and culture as a system of signs are two things that cannot be separated. Both are the result of the various activities that are essentially similar or identical. Levi Strauss mentions that both are constructed of the same material, namely, logical relations, opposition, and correlation (Putra 2006: 25). In relation to this, language categorizes cultural reality (Duranti 1997: 25; Foley 1997: 16). Language has a classification system that can be used to explore the cultural practices in a society.

3 Methods and techniques research

This research was done using the observation method, that is, by directly observing objects that become the research target. Implementation of this

method was accompanied by several research techniques, including interviews, documentation, and records. The interview technique is done by interviewing some people who have competence and skill about the structure and construction of houses. The documentation technique was done by documenting or photographing a traditional house with bamboo construction. The record technique was done by recording all information related to the intricacies of traditional houses with bamboo construction.

Data were collected from the field, then identified and classified based on the structure, components of each part of the house, and their respective functions. Furthermore, the data was qualitatively analyzed.

4 Results and discussion

4.1 Results

It is very difficult to find a traditional bamboo house in today's era of technological development. The authors worked together with a *panrita ballak* 'expert on the make/design of houses' to reconstruct the form of the house in question. Thus, the miniature form of a traditional house made from bamboo is shown in Figure 1.

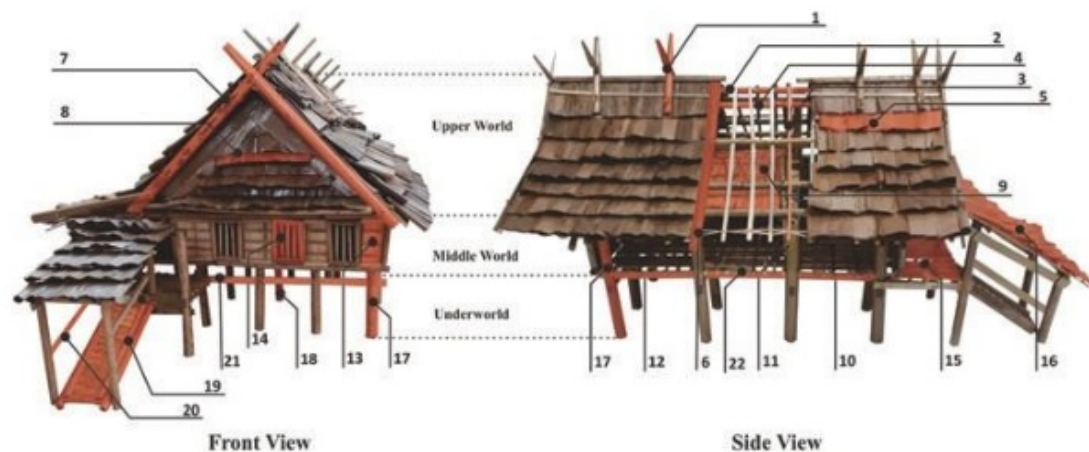


Figure 1: Components: (1) *Rakka-rakka* 'bamboo cross,' (2) *Sompoang* 'ridge,' (3) *Kaso* 'rafter,' (4) *Lilikang* 'curtain,' (5) *Pattongkok* 'a roof of palm leaves,' (6) *Kelu* 'frame,' (7) *Tappi* 'cornice,' (8) *Sambulayang* 'canopy,' (9) *Daserek* 'bamboo floor,' (10) *Paddaserang ri dallekang* 'vestibule,' (11) *Paddaserang ri tangnga* 'living room,' (12) *Paddaserang ri boko* 'backroom,' (13) *Rinring* 'wall,' (14) *Tontongang* 'window,' (15) *Paladang* 'terrace,' (16) *Pasilo* 'roof ladder,' (17) *Benteng* 'pole,' (18) *Benteng tangnga* 'middle pole,' (19) *Tukak sapana* 'bamboo ladder,' (20) *Coccorang* 'glide/bannister,' (21) *Pattoddok* 'peg,' and (22) *Pallangga* 'beam fastener.'

4.2 Discussion

In this section we describe the components of each part of the house and their respective functions, the shape and structure of the traditional houses made of bamboo in Makassar culture, and socio-cultural dimensions of the shape and structure of traditional houses made of bamboo in Makassar culture. For more details, please refer to the descriptions below.

4.2.1 Components of each part of the house and its functions

Each part of the house has a component that becomes the home building framework. The parts of the house in question are the top (*pammakkang* 'attic'); middle part (*kale ballak* 'house body'); and the bottom (*siring* 'vault'). Components that have their respective names and support each other or strengthen in accordance with their respective functions.

4.2.1.1 *Pammakkang* 'attic'

The components of the upper part and their functions include:

1. *Rakka-rakka* (K1) 'bamboo cross.' Its position is located at the top or straddling the ridge of the house; it serves to clamp or press the roof from the top so it is not easily opened by wind.
2. *Sompoang* (K2) 'ridge' is in the form of a whole bamboo bar. Its position is across the top of the house. It functions as a liaison between the front, center, and rear frame. In addition, it also serves as a holder for *rakka-rakka* 'bamboo cross' and the top end of the *kaso* 'rafter.'
3. *Kaso* (K3) 'rafter.' These are bamboo hemispheres with a width of ~2.5 cm. It sits on top of the curtain and under the roof, and serves as a binding place *pattongko* 'a roof of palm leaves.'
4. *Lilikang* (K4) 'curtain' is in the form of a whole bamboo rod like a *sompoang*. Its position is across the house, parallel to the ridge, and sitting on the shoulders of the frame. It serves as a seat for the rafters.
5. *Pattongkok* (K5) 'a roof of palm leaves.' This is a shaped webbing of nipa leaves or *rumbia*. Its position is tied to the rafters, and it serves as a cover for the house from above.
6. *Kelu* (K6) 'frame' is interspersed with a triangular patterned bamboo. It is positioned obliquely like one side of a triangle, and serves as a holder for the curtain.

7. *Tappi* (K7) ‘cornice’ in the form of a bamboo cleavage as wide as ~ 10 cm. Its position is attached to the end of the curtain in front and behind and follow the slope pattern of the roof. It serves as a cover of the ends of the curtain in front and behind to look more tidy.
8. *Sambulayang* (K8) ‘canopy’ is a triangular patterned bamboo frame, covered with a nipa or rumbian roof. It serves as a front and back cover.
9. *Daserek pammakkang* (K9) ‘attic floor’ is a bamboo hemispherical shape with a width of ~ 2-2.5 cm. Its position is between the middle and top of the house, precisely under the roof. It serves as the base or the attic floor of the house to store rice.

4.2.1.2 *Kale ballak* ‘house body’

The components of the central house and their functions include:

1. *Paddaserang ri dallekang* (K10) ‘vestibule’ is in the shape of a front/space plot and is bounded by a *passimbang/simbang* ‘divider’ between the front and center, as a living room.
2. *Paddaserang ri tangnga* (K11) ‘living room’ is a shaped plot/space of the middle house. It is limited by a *passimbang* ‘divider’ between the front and back room, as the core family room.
3. *Paddaserang ri boko* (K12) ‘back room’ is a shaped plot/rear house space limited by a *passimbang* ‘divider’ between the living room and the back room. It functions as a family room instead of the core.
4. *Rinring* (K13) ‘wall’ is a shaped, woven bamboo and is framed with bamboo as well. Its position is attached to the poles around the house. It functions as a cover or protective body of the house.
5. *Tontongang* (K14) ‘window’ is a rectangular, framed, and small bamboo truss ~ 1.5 cm in diameter. Its position is in the center of the wall, and it acts as ventilation for the house.
6. *Paladang* (K15) ‘terrace’ is in the form of an additional floor on the front part of the house. Its position is attached to the front of the house, outside the walls and the front door of the house. It functions as the seat of the family head and receives the distant family guests.
7. *Pasilo* (K16) ‘roof ladder’ is a shaped webbing of nipa leaves or rumbia. Its position is at the top of the stairs, and it acts as a protector of stairs from rain or sunshine.

4.2.1.3 *Siring* 'vault'

Components of the lower home and their functions include:

1. *Benteng* (K17) 'pole,' which is a large bamboo commonly called *bulo pattung* 'bamboo petung.' Its position is lined from right to left and from front to back so it is patterned rectangle. It functions as a support of all components of the top of the house.
2. *Benteng tangnga* (K18) 'middle pole,' is the same shape as K17. Its position is on the second column ladder from the front and from the left side. In addition to supporting the components of the upper house, it also functions culturally, i.e. as *soko guru* or 'home center marker.'
3. *Tukak* (K19) 'stairs' are bamboo-shaped and framed with bamboo intact. Their position rests on the terrace, and they act as a place to go up and down for homeowners and guests.
4. *Coccorang* (K20) 'glide/bannister' is shaped whole bamboo with a diameter of ~ 3 cm. Its position is attached to the pole ladder. It acts as a grip or hand glide for people who go upstairs or downstairs.
5. *Pattoddok* (K21) 'peg' is a shaped wooden block measuring ~ 3 cm thick and ~ 10 cm wide. Its position passes through the pole hole. It acts as a connector and binder lined poles from left to right to be sturdy.
6. *Pallangga* (K22) 'beam fastener' is a shaped wooden block measuring ~ 3 cm thick and ~ 10 cm wide. Its position passes through the pole hole. Its function is to connect and bind rows of poles from front to back.

As mentioned above, each component has its own name and function. However, if the component is no longer functioning properly or in other words has been detached from its position, its name will change also in accordance with the functions carried next. For example, a component called *rakka-rakka* 'bamboo cross' will change its name to *kayu pappallu* 'firewood' so that its function turns into fuel or firewood to cook rice or vegetables.

Furthermore, these components indicate difference in shape, size or position so that there appears to be a contradiction between the components with each other. In other words, the components each oppose other. It is said to be opposing each other because there are components that stand, transverse, slant, cross, some are sustained and supported, and some occupied.

Although these components are exhibited mutually opposite one another, they are interconnected to form a mutually reinforcing and supportive network. In other words, these components form a unified whole so that a construct of social or cultural meaning is built.

4.2.2 Shape and structure of a traditional house constructed from bamboo

Figure 1 shows that the construction of the house is in the form of a stage, standing on poles and rectangular. As described earlier, based on the shape, the structure of Makassar's traditional house vertically consists of three parts: the upper part is called the *pammakkang* 'attic; the middle part is called the *kale ballak* 'house body; and the bottom is called the *siring/passiringang* 'vault.' Furthermore, horizontally in general the house consists of three parts: (1) *paddaserang ri dallekang* 'vestibule'; (2) *paddaserang ri tangnga* 'middle room'; and (3) *paddaserang ri boko* 'back room.'

The division of the house is vertically influenced by the Makassarese view of the universe (macrocosm). Based on the macrocosmic view, the universe is divided into three parts: (1) the upper world (the world relating to something valuable, privileged, or sacred); (2) the middle world (the world relating to space of human activity); and (3) the underworld (the world relating to the storage space of everything used to support human activity). In addition, it is also influenced by the belief that humans live between heaven and earth. This is in accordance with the proposed by Setiawan (1995) that religious factors and beliefs affect the shape and pattern of the house.

Furthermore, the horizontal distribution of the house is influenced by the view of the human self (Microcosm). Based on the view of the microcosm, man is also divided into three sections: (1) the top (include neck and parts of the head) is a symbol of honor and human dignity; (2) the middle part (covering the shoulders, hands, back, and waist) is a symbol of the activity aspect; (3) the bottom (include groin to toe) is a symbol of humility. This view affects the distribution of *kale ballak* 'house body.' In general, the division of the body of the house is divided into three spaces: *paddaserang ri dallekang* 'vestibule' is associated with the head as a space to receive honorable guests; *paddaserang ri tangnga* 'living room' is associated with the shoulder and abdomen as a core family activity; *paddaserang ri boko* 'back room' is associated with the groin down to the feet as a space for non-core family and to store materials and daily necessities (see also Raja 2000).

As mentioned above that the form of a Makassarese house has a rectangular pattern, in Makassar called *sulapak appak* 'rhombic facet.' This pattern is influenced by the microcosm view of the human self that consists of four sides: right, left, on, and below. In addition, the human self is made up of four types of materials: water, wind, and fire. The fourth is a different element; it is an inseparable unity to form a whole human self. If one element of the four elements does not exist, then the value of humanity in the view of Makassar culture is considered incomplete or intact.

4.2.3 Some components of traditional houses made of bamboo based on socio-cultural dimensions

In this section we describe some components of traditional houses made of bamboo that have socio-cultural dimensions. The components of social and cultural dimension here are the components embodied because they are influenced by the social and cultural aspects prevailing in Makassar society.

1. *Sambulayang* 'canopy'. Based on the observation in the field, we found several *sambulayang*. House have between one and five stacking steps. The precepts of the five stele (usually the king's palace) indicate the social status of the homeowner among the kings. The precepts of the four stacks indicate the social status of homeowners of the nobility who hold high office in the kingdom such as *Karaeng Pabbicara Butta* 'interior minister.' Three steps establish the social status of the homeowner as *karaeng* 'raja' descendants. Two steps show the social status of homeowners as *tumaradeka* 'commoners.' One step corresponds to the social status of the *tubarani* homeowners 'guard' and *ata* 'servant' (see also Raja 2000).
2. *Tukak sapana* 'bamboo ladder two lanes.' At the bottom of the house there is a *tukak* 'ladder.' There are two types of staircase made of bamboo: (1) a two-lane staircase, usually called *tukak sapana*; (2) a one-lane ladder, commonly called *tukak biasa*. Traditional houses that use *tukak sapana* show the social status of the homeowners of the *karaeng* 'kings of royalty, nobility.' Houses that use the usual staircase show the social status of homeowners from the descendants of ordinary people.
3. *Benteng tangnga* 'middle pole.' Among the pillars of the house, there is a pole that is considered the *pocci ballak* 'home center' (K 18). The pole position is located on the second row of the second row from left. The shape of the house is the embodiment of the conception of microcosm so that the middle pole is a symbol of human center.
4. *Paladang* 'terrace.' A *paladang* is one of the components of the house. However, not all traditional houses use a *paladang*; it is more common among homes of the noble breeds. *Paladang* serves as a transit space for guests. If guests come from the descendants of the bodyguard, they just sit on the porch until the owners return home, and are not allowed into the *paddaserang ri dallekang* 'vestibule.' However, when a visitor arrives from a noble lineage or close family, guests are welcome to enter the vestibule.

5 Conclusion

In the concluding section of this paper are formulated some conclusions from the description that has been put forward in the previous section. Some of the conclusions in question can be seen as follows:

- the components of the house show opposition to each other, but have a unity that builds a construction that is socially and culturally meaningful.
- each component has its own name, but its name will change as the next function changes.
- some components of the house are symbols that shows the social stratification of the homeowner.
- the shape and structure of traditional houses is influenced by the conceptions of the macrocosm and microcosm prevailing in Makassar culture.

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