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Territorial Form Transformation of the Dayak Kancik'ng Traditional House: A Behavioral Perspective

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ABSTRACT
The Dayak Kancik'ng traditional house in Leminang Hamlet, West Kalimantan, is one of the traditional houses that has endured despite the pressures of modernization, although its form has undergone transformations from its historical configuration. According to accounts from traditional elders, the Betang house was formerly highly enclosed by wooden walls; today, however, more areas are open, allowing people to enter the traditional house more freely. This transformation has been associated with changes in the indigenous community's perception of outsiders, which in turn have influenced community behavior and the form of the traditional house. The behavioral changes referred to here include the abandonment of intertribal warfare and the *ngayau* tradition, which were practiced more frequently in the past but are no longer practiced today. *Ngayau*, a practice involving the taking of an enemy's head, is no longer practiced among the Dayak Kancik'ng community because outsiders are no longer perceived as enemies but rather as friends. The abandonment of warfare and *ngayau* has been influenced by the spread of religion, which introduced knowledge, promoted values of compassion, and contributed to economic and technological development. Consequently, outsiders came to be perceived not as enemies but as companions who could contribute to the well-being and advancement of the indigenous community. Changes in the community's perception of outsiders subsequently influenced community behavior and the territorial form of the traditional house. This study aims to examine how the territorial form of the traditional house has changed as a consequence of changes in the community's behavior and perceptions toward the presence of outsiders within the community.

KEYWORDS
Transformation, Territory, Behavior, Dayak Kancik'ng

Introduction

Traditional houses are manifestations of culture that reflect the social values, beliefs, and systems of life of a community. As one of the indigenous peoples of Kalimantan, the Dayak have diverse traditional houses rich in meaning and function. One such house belongs to the Dayak Kancik'ng community in Leminang Hamlet, Sekadau Regency, West Kalimantan, and is known as Yumah Botang Omuh. The Betang house remains standing today despite having undergone

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several revitalization processes and relocations. Over the past several decades, the form of the traditional house has changed due to various factors, including modernization, technological development, and social change, particularly changes in community behavior and everyday practices. The current transformation is particularly evident in the walls of the traditional house, where larger areas are now left open without enclosing walls, creating a more spacious appearance. This differs substantially from the form of the traditional house in the past as described by community elders. Traditional houses in the past were highly enclosed by walls and had only a limited number of door openings, with simple steps made from small tree trunks that could be easily removed.

One factor contributing to the transformation of the territorial form of the traditional house is the change in the community's perception, or way of viewing, outsiders, which has indirectly influenced community behavior. In the past, members of the indigenous community regarded outsiders from other tribes as enemies, although not every outsider was necessarily perceived as an enemy. For example, the conflict between Dayak and Madurese communities in Sampit has been attributed to intercultural communication failures, limited knowledge of other ethnic groups, and accumulated long-term conflicts [1]. This indicates that hostility was not necessarily inherent but could be triggered by external factors and misunderstandings. Communication problems often arose from differences in language, resulting in misinterpretation and eventually conflict. This is consistent with

the account of a traditional elder in Leminang, who explained that inter-village warfare in the past often occurred when two tribal communities encountered one another and spoke different languages. Conversely, when two tribal communities met and shared the same language, they would unite and form a larger community because the Dayak Kancik'ng believe that people who speak the same language share common ancestry and are therefore relatives. This corresponds to the kinship principle held by the community, which compares their kinship system to a single coconut palm. This expression signifies that the Dayak Kancik'ng originate from one extended family, whose descendants subsequently dispersed into separate groups and villages while remaining connected to a central kinship core. This also corresponds to the history of the formation of Leminang village by the Dayak Kancik'ng, which was established when several community groups met upstream along the Leminang River and discovered that they spoke the same language because they shared the same ancestry or tribal origin, namely Kancik'ng. The situation would have been different when two tribes met and spoke different languages. In that case, they were considered to have different tribal or ancestral origins and were therefore regarded as enemies. This negative perception of outsiders subsequently contributed to inter-tribal warfare. During warfare, the *ngayau* tradition, involving the taking of an enemy's head as a symbol of victory and pride, could extend the conflict to the traditional house. Consequently, the Betang house served as the final line of communal defense. This relationship is important to examine because, at first glance, warfare practices, *ngayau*, and traditional houses appear unrelated: one concerns traditional architecture and its transformation, while the other concerns customary warfare behavior. However, these phenomena are in fact interconnected.

This study aims to examine changes in the territorial form of the Dayak Kancik'ng traditional house and their relationship to changes in the community's perceptions of outsiders, including the causes and consequences of these changes and their relationship to the form and meaning of territory in community life. Thus, the study provides insight into the extent to which local culture, particularly traditional architecture, persists amid changes in indigenous community behavior associated with changing times and modernization. The research is expected to provide insights, particularly for the Dayak Kancik'ng community and for practitioners and scholars of Indonesian architecture more broadly, regarding the development of Betang houses, particularly in West Kalimantan, including their various transformations. It is also expected to contribute to the preservation of the values and richness of Indonesian architectural heritage through academic documentation that can serve as a reference for future architectural studies.

Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach using a descriptive method. This approach was selected to develop an in-depth understanding of the transformation of territorial form in the Dayak Kancik'ng traditional house from a behavioral perspective. Sandelowski explains that qualitative descriptive research aims to provide a comprehensive account of an event based on the conditions and terminology used in everyday contexts [2]. Accordingly, this study describes empirical conditions based on information obtained from community members and participants, as well as direct observations of the traditional house. The research was conducted in the traditional settlement of the Dayak Kancik'ng community in Leminang Hamlet, where the traditional house served as the primary object of study. The research subjects consisted of craftsmen involved in constructing the traditional house, traditional leaders, and local community members who possess knowledge of the traditional house and the history of the village.

The research data consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through interviews, direct observation, and documentation. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected informants. Informants were selected using purposive sampling, namely the selection of participants based on their knowledge, experience, and direct involvement in the phenomenon under study. Patton explains that qualitative research generally focuses on relatively small samples that are deliberately selected because they can provide rich information about the research problem [3]. Based on these considerations, the informants consisted of traditional leaders or individuals familiar with the history and customary requirements of traditional-house construction, craftsmen or traditional-house builders who possess knowledge of materials and construction systems, as well as community members or traditional elders with experience of using the traditional building in the past.

Data obtained from traditional leaders and elders consisted of narratives concerning the history of Leminang village, the history of the Kancik'ng people, and descriptions of the traditional house in the past. Based on these accounts, the author sought photographic references from the internet and from colleagues. The photographs obtained were then shown to traditional elders, who confirmed which images most closely resembled the historical form of the Dayak Kancik'ng traditional house in Leminang. At this stage, data on changes in the physical form of the traditional house between the past and present had been obtained. Data collection then

continued through interviews with traditional elders concerning the causes of these transformations.

The next stage of data collection involved direct observation of a traditional house under construction. The observation focused on the types of materials used, spatial functions, building form, spatial organization, and territorial characteristics of the traditional house. Documentation in the form of photographs, videos, field notes, and other visual data was used to support the interview and field-observation findings. Secondary data were obtained through a literature review of scientific journals, books, documents, and other written sources relevant to traditional-house architecture and the history and development of Dayak communities, particularly in West Kalimantan.

Data were analyzed using a qualitative data-analysis model consisting of data reduction or condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification [4]. Analysis was conducted progressively throughout the data-collection process. The first stage involved reducing or condensing the data by selecting, focusing, simplifying, and organizing information relevant to the research focus. Interview data were transcribed and then coded according to research themes, including spatial organization, territorial transformation, changes in indigenous community behavior, the causes and consequences of behavioral change, and its effects on the spatial organization of the traditional house. The coding process was used to identify patterns and categories emerging from the research data [5].

The second stage involved data display. Categorized data were organized into descriptive narratives, tables, comparative matrices, and visual documentation to facilitate the identification of patterns linking community behavior with transformations in traditional-house architecture. Comparisons focused primarily on the former traditional house and the house currently under construction within different social contexts.

The third stage involved drawing and verifying conclusions. Conclusions were formulated based on patterns, relationships, and tendencies identified through interviews, observations, and documentation. Preliminary conclusions were subsequently verified by comparing them with data obtained from different sources and data-collection techniques, thereby providing the final conclusions with an adequate empirical basis [4].

Data validity was assessed based on the principle of trustworthiness in naturalistic inquiry [6]. Credibility was examined through source triangulation, methodological triangulation, and member checking. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing information obtained from traditional leaders, craftsmen, and community members. Methodological triangulation involved comparing interview findings with direct observations and documentation of the physical condition of the traditional house [7]. Member checking was conducted by reconfirming specific information and interpretations with the informants who provided the information. This process was undertaken to ensure that the researcher’s interpretation of information concerning the historical building form and village history was consistent with the informants’ knowledge and experiences. Thus, the findings were examined through multiple sources and techniques to enhance data credibility.

Result

The territorial form of the Dayak Kancik'ng traditional house in the past was highly enclosed. All sides were bounded by walls, with only very narrow doors and windows. The main access stairway generally consisted of a relatively small wooden trunk shaped into steps and was not permanently attached to the house; in other words, it could be easily removed at any time. The building stood on high posts that were deliberately designed for several reasons. The design of the traditional house was intended to ensure the safety of its occupants from wild animals, flooding, and enemy attacks. In the past, Dayak communities were frequently involved in intertribal warfare, which had become part of their traditions and culture. One activity associated with warfare was *ngayau*, the taking of an enemy's head. *Ngayau* held important cultural significance during warfare because it represented victory and individual pride. It involved war expeditions undertaken to take an enemy's head and bring it home as a symbol of victory and strength. The head was believed to possess magical and spiritual power that could strengthen the defense and well-being of the community [8], Consequently, warfare could extend to the traditional house in the pursuit of an enemy's head.

In the past, before Dayak communities encountered modern religions introduced by foreign traders and Catholic missionaries, many Dayak communities maintained a strong resistance to outsiders from beyond their own communities. Outsiders could be perceived as enemies and threats. Such negative perceptions could emerge from differences in language, which could lead to misunderstandings and conflict. Dayak communities in Kalimantan are divided into approximately 405 subgroups distributed throughout the interior of Kalimantan [9]. Each subgroup has distinctive customs, cultures, and languages, although similarities exist in their social and cultural structures. Kalimantan itself has 57 regional languages, most of which are spoken by various Dayak subgroups. In Central Kalimantan alone, Balai Bahasa records approximately 37 languages associated with different Dayak groups that remain in use [10]. Misunderstandings in communication between tribal communities could lead to conflict and intertribal warfare, and *ngayau* was consequently prominent in historical accounts of the period. *Ngayau* refers to the practice of taking an enemy's head using a machete known as a mandau. Because Dayak communities at that time were relatively closed to outside cultures and people, the form of their traditional houses was likewise enclosed as a form of communal defense. The Betang house of that period was a highly enclosed stilt house, with very few windows and only one small entrance door. The main entrance stairway was also very small and easily removable so that, when enemies approached, it could be lifted and brought inside the house, preventing them from climbing up into the building.



Figure 1. Traditional House in the Kudangan Area, West Kalimantan. Estimated Historical form of the Dayak Kancik'ng Traditional House, as Confirmed by Traditional Elders in Leminang (Source: Andika)



Figure 2. Current form of the Dayak Kancik'ng Traditional House (Source: Author)

Ngayau was closely connected to the leadership system and customary structure of Dayak communities. It was not carried out arbitrarily but involved consideration by customary authorities and adherence to customary rules and prohibitions. *Ngayau* also had spiritual and courage-related dimensions, reflected in rituals performed to seek strength from ancestral spirits. Thus, *ngayau* was not merely an act of violence but part of a warfare tradition governed by customary rules, collective interests, and the spiritual beliefs of Dayak communities [11]. The practice was directed not only toward other tribes but also toward groups within Dayak

sub-ethnic communities in the context of internal conflicts, such as disputes over territory and power [12].

Ngayau has a profound philosophical meaning and cannot be narrowly understood as merely a violent practice, because in Dayak society, ngayau encompasses broad social, spiritual, and cosmological dimensions. These dimensions include its function as a symbol of courage and social maturity, in which the successful completion of ngayau is part of a rite of passage or a requirement for a man to be considered an adult and eligible for marriage [12]; a means of community protection by placing the heads of enemies in the Betang house or sacred sites to ward off calamities and strengthen the spiritual power of the region; a source of natural fertility—based on the belief that the blood and heads of enemies are closely linked to agricultural rituals intended to enrich the soil [11] as well as an expression of cultural identity and sovereignty that affirms territorial authority, ethnic identity, and a narrative of resistance against external powers.

Table 1. Changes in the behavior and perceptions of the indigenous community toward the presence of outsiders within their community
(Source: Author)

Theme	Aspect	Past	Present
Presence of outsiders	Community perception	Regarded as enemies	Regarded as friends
	Causes	Misunderstandings due to language differences, territorial disputes, etc.	Introduced religion, education, health services, and agricultural knowledge
	Consequences	Warfare and *ngayau*	Improved the economy and quality of life of the indigenous community
***Ngayau* tradition**	Community perception	Symbol of spirituality, identity, sovereignty, and victory	Historical symbol of past violence
	Causes	Demonstrated tribal strength, male courage, and spiritual power	The community had adopted modern religions and teachings of compassion
	Consequences	During warfare, efforts were made to pursue the enemy's head even into the enemy's Betang house	The practice of *ngayau* gradually began to be abandoned

External influences, social changes, and shifts in cultural values contributed to the gradual abandonment of the practice of ngayau by indigenous communities toward the end of the 19th century through various complex historical processes. This process of transformation included the 1894 Tumbang Anoi Agreement, which involved Dayak tribal leaders and resulted in a shared consensus to end ngayau, while also marking the beginning of a collective consciousness of peace [13]; the implementation of Dutch and British colonial policies that banned ngayau and replaced customary institutions with Western legal systems, military authority, formal education, and village administration [14]; the introduction of new religions (Christianity and

Islam) and modern education through missionaries who taught values of peace and love thereby accelerating a shift in the community's views on violence and supernatural powers [8]; and the wave of modernization and urbanization that brought the younger generation of Dayaks into a new socioeconomic structure, where ngayau is no longer viewed as a source of social legitimacy but rather as a relic of the past; consequently, narratives of ngayau now appear primarily in folklore and symbolic rituals without any actual physical violence.

The introduction of religion in West Kalimantan, particularly among inland Dayak communities, resulted from a long history of colonialism, religious missions, and cultural contact beginning in the nineteenth century. This process is considered important in the transformation of indigenous community characteristics and in the formation of contemporary perceptions of outsiders.

Before the arrival of major religions such as Christianity and Islam, Dayak communities already had strong traditional belief systems, commonly referred to as Kaharingan, characterized by animism, ancestral-spirit worship, and a cosmological relationship between humans and nature. The spread of Christianity into the interior of West Kalimantan intensified in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through Christian missionaries. Historical documentation indicates that Catholic missionaries from the Capuchin and Jesuit orders were among the pioneers in introducing Christianity to Dayak communities in areas such as Sekadau, Sintang, and Melawi [15]. An important development was the establishment of a mission station in Sekadau in 1906 by priests of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD), which subsequently became a center for religious dissemination in the region. Missionary activities were not limited to religious instruction but also included education, health services, and the introduction of new agricultural systems. This made their approach more readily accepted by Dayak communities because these activities addressed aspects of everyday life. The success of the Catholic mission was also influenced by missionaries' adaptation to local culture, including the use of local languages and the incorporation of customary elements into religious practices [16].

The introduction of Christianity and Islam into inland Dayak communities significantly influenced the practices and values underlying *ngayau*. Religious teachings introduced by missionaries from the late nineteenth century emphasized compassion, forgiveness, and peace, contrasting with the headhunting tradition, which relied on violence as a means of demonstrating strength and honor.

Missionaries not only introduced religion but also established educational and health institutions that broadened Dayak communities' perspectives on the importance of peaceful living, cooperation, and mutual respect among groups [15]. This Christianization process contributed to a reinterpretation of customary values, including *ngayau*, which came to be viewed not as a symbol of glory but as a legacy of past violence that should be abandoned. Many traditional leaders began to align traditional values with Christian teachings through processes of cultural syncretism. For example, guardian spirits formerly associated with enemy heads were increasingly replaced by Christian symbols such as crosses or images of saints in spaces dedicated to ancestral reverence. This indicates a fundamental transformation in spiritual perspectives.

These changes affected not only the culture of warfare but also how Dayak communities perceived outsiders. In traditional communities that strongly valued communal and territorial identity, outsiders—particularly those who were unfamiliar or had no kinship ties—were often perceived as threats. This perception was reinforced by histories of intertribal or territorial conflict, in which outsiders were regarded as potential enemies who could disrupt village harmony. However, with the introduction of religion and modern education, these perceptions began to change. Religious education and the introduction of humanistic values helped broaden the perspectives of Dayak communities. Churches and schools became new social spaces where Dayak communities encountered the outside world peacefully and on more equal terms. This process contributed to a new pattern of social relations, shifting from communal exclusivism toward intercultural inclusivity [14].

The acceptance of missionaries, teachers, and health workers from outside the village became an early indication of a changing indigenous perspective: outsiders were increasingly viewed not as enemies but as carriers of knowledge and blessings. In some cases, outsiders who made substantial contributions to village development were recognized as "honorary relatives" and given a place within the local social structure.

Table 2. Factors contributing to changes in indigenous community behavior through the gradual abandonment of the *ngayau* practice, alongside changing perceptions of the presence of outsiders within the community
(Source: Author)

Causal factor	Values introduced/taught	Impact on the community
Tumbang Anoi Agreement of 1894	Ended the practice of *ngayau* and promoted unity among Dayak tribes throughout Kalimantan	The practice of *ngayau* was gradually abandoned, and Dayak communities no longer regarded one another as enemies
Colonial government policies	Introduced Western law, prohibited *ngayau*, and introduced education and village administration	Customary systems became more structured, and communities became more orderly because of the law
Introduction of modern religions	Compassion, health, education, and agricultural knowledge	Enemy heads were no longer regarded as spiritual symbols. Spiritual symbolism gradually shifted toward religious symbols, such as crosses and images or statues of Jesus. Communities became more knowledgeable, healthier, and more prosperous, while outsiders increasingly came to be perceived positively.
Modernization & urbanization	Ethnic diversity, economic development, and advances in knowledge	Indigenous communities encountered outsiders more frequently, broadening their knowledge, perspectives, and social outlook. As a result,

	communities became more open toward the outside world, while *ngayau* increasingly remained only as part of the historical memory of past violence.

Discussion

Changes in community social behavior resulting from changing perceptions of outsiders subsequently influenced how the indigenous community interpreted the territory of its traditional house, leading to transformations in the house's form to accommodate the needs of its occupants. The following are several changes in the community's interpretation of the territory of the traditional house.

1. From Defensive Fortress to a Center for Arts, Culture, and Social Activities

When the *ngayau* tradition was still practiced, the Betang house had a defensive structure: it was elevated on high posts, had only one or two narrow entrances, and featured stairs that could be withdrawn at night or in dangerous situations [14]. This indicates a concern about external attacks, particularly from intergroup enemies. As perceptions of outsiders changed, the Betang house no longer functioned solely as a defensive structure but became a more open dwelling that welcomed guests and communities from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. The Betang house increasingly served as a venue for intercultural encounters, religious celebrations, and the reception of honored guests from outside the community. The central hall, known as sowah, which was formerly used for rituals, storing heirlooms, and displaying enemy heads, is now more commonly used for social, artistic, cultural, religious, and other customary activities. As a result of this functional transformation, the spatial form has also become considerably more open and is almost entirely without enclosing walls. This corresponds with changes in community behavior, as residents are now more open to the outside world and more accepting of outsiders.



Figure 3. The central space known as the *sowah* in the traditional house of the Dayak Kancik'ng (Source: Author)

Military and spiritual elements associated with *ngayau* are also no longer evident in this space. In the past, certain parts of the Betang house were used to store enemy skulls (pantak) or as ritual altars commemorating success in *ngayau*. With the introduction of religion and the transformation of cultural values, these spaces underwent desacralization. In many cases, they were replaced by religious altars or spaces for storing ancestral heirlooms.

As Dayak communities became more open to the outside world, the Betang house also became a venue for social activities such as education, health services, and accommodation for outside guests. In some communities, additional spaces were constructed to support these activities. Betang houses in West Kalimantan, including those in Sekadau and Kapuas Hulu, have undergone modifications to accommodate religious activities, village deliberations, and agricultural training [15].

2. The Function of the Terrace as a New Social Space

The terrace of the traditional house in the past differed from the terrace found in traditional houses today. In the past, the terrace was very small and located on the side of the house. Its function was limited to providing a transitional access route from the outside to the interior, without serving as a social space. The front terrace (pontant) commonly found in contemporary Betang houses is considerably larger and located at the front of the building. This terrace has an important social function. In addition to serving as a place where household members gather in the afternoon, it has become a symbolic space for receiving guests from outside the community, including government officials, clergy, traditional leaders, tourists, and researchers. The emergence of the terrace as an open social space represents a profound cultural transformation from exclusivism and defense toward inclusivity and dialogue. The terrace also accommodates new social activities such as community training, health education, collective Christmas or Eid al-Fitr celebrations, and interethnic customary ceremonies. This indicates that the Betang house has undergone not only physical transformation but also changes in function and meaning within the social structure of Dayak communities.



Figure 4. Traditional house in the Kudangan area, West Kalimantan, showing the position of the small side veranda as a transitional access space into the house
(Source: Andika)



Figure 5. Current terrace of the traditional house of the Dayak Kancik'ng
(Source: Author)

3. The Function of Permanent Stairs

The stairs (onyah), which were formerly made only from small removable wooden trunks, have now been transformed into wide, permanent stairs that are easily accessible to anyone. Stairs made from whole tree trunks have also been retained but with larger dimensions to facilitate passage. This transformation signifies that people are now permitted and welcomed to enter freely by the indigenous community. This differs substantially from the traditional stairs of the past, which were designed to restrict access. At certain times, such as at night or when danger was perceived, the stairs would be removed and brought inside the house so that no one could access or enter it.



Figure 6. Permanent stairway of the current traditional house of the Dayak Kancik'ng
(Source: Author)



Figure 7. Solid-log stairway of the current traditional house of the Dayak Kancik'ng
(Source: Author)

Table 3. Changes in Spatial Territoriality between the Former and Current Traditional Houses of the Dayak Kancik'ng in Leminang Village
(Source: Author)

Territorial Area	Aspect	Former traditional house	Current traditional house
Central space (sowah)	Form & dimensions	Elongated and relatively spacious, enclosed by solid walls made of wood or woven bamboo	Memanjang dan cukup luas, tidak terdapat dinding solid, hanya railing kayu sebagai pembatas yang berfungsi untuk keamanan saja
	Location	In the main interior space of the building	In the main interior space of the building
	Function	Used for rituals, displaying enemy heads and heirlooms, and everyday activities	Used for social, religious, educational, artistic, cultural, and ritual activities
Terrace (pontant)	Form & dimensions	Rectangular and relatively small, only as wide as the side of the house	Extends along the front of the house and is considerably larger
	Location	On the side or shorter side of the building	On the front or longitudinal side of the building
	Function	Used as a transitional area leading into the house	Primarily used for drying rice, receiving guests, social activities, etc.
Stairs (onyah)	Form & dimensions	Small, made from a whole wooden trunk, non-permanent, and easily removable	There are two types of large stairs: a simple permanent conventional stairway and a stairway made from a large whole wooden trunk
	Location	At the small terrace on the side of the building	The conventional stairway is located on the side of the

			building, while the whole-trunk stairway is located at the front of the building
	Function	Access into the house	The conventional stairway provides direct access into the house, while the whole-trunk stairway provides access to the terrace

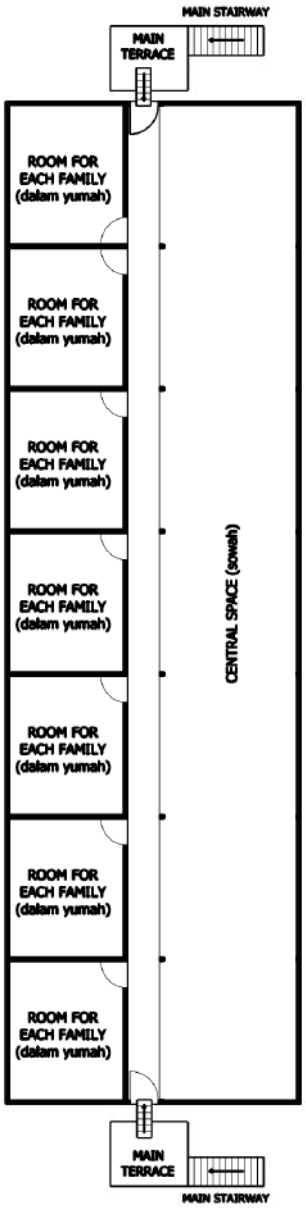


Figure 8. The layout of traditional houses in the past, according to the accounts of traditional elders (Source: Author)

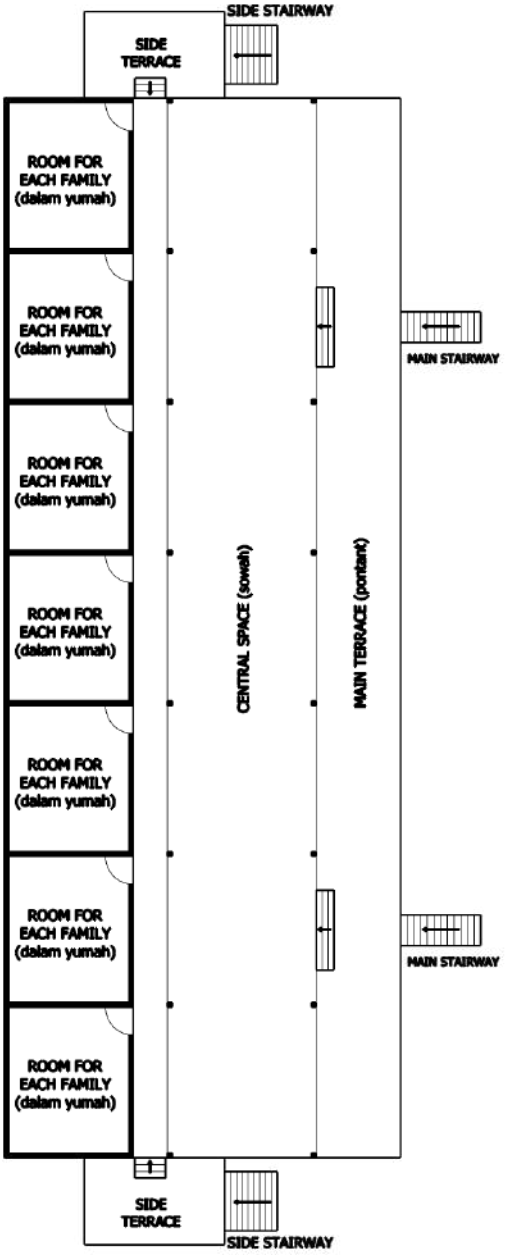


Figure 9. Current traditional house floor plan (Source: Author)

Conclusion

The first transformation in the Dayak Kancik'ng traditional house concerns the walls. The walls of the current traditional house are highly open, allowing anyone to enter through the wide and permanent main stairway, which provides easy access. In the past, the walls were highly enclosed, with only one or two small doors and portable stairs that could be easily removed. In the event of an enemy attack, the stairs could be removed and brought inside the house to prevent enemies from climbing into the building. The highly enclosed walls also served to protect residents from enemy attacks, as intertribal warfare was frequent in the past and was associated with the *ngayau* practice of taking enemy heads.

The second transformation concerns the terrace area of the current traditional house. The traditional house in the past did not have a large terrace like that found today; instead, it had only a small side terrace serving as a transitional area toward the stairs providing access to the house. The terrace, or pontant, of the current traditional house functions as a space for receiving guests entering the traditional house. In everyday use, it also accommodates activities such as drying rice, making bamboo crafts, children's play, and other community activities.

The third transformation concerns the access stairs, which were formerly small and easily removable but are now larger and permanent.

The transformation of the traditional house was influenced by changes in the community's perceptions of outsiders. These changing perceptions subsequently influenced and altered indigenous community behavior, and warfare and *ngayau* are no longer practiced. Changes in perceptions of outsiders can be traced, in the context of this study, to the Tumbang Anoi Agreement of 1894, which was attended by Dayak tribal leaders from across Kalimantan. Subsequently, during the nineteenth century, the spread of religion, particularly Catholicism, further influenced and changed indigenous perceptions of outsiders. Missionaries introduced religious teachings, compassion, peace, education, agricultural knowledge, and health services. Their presence was accepted by the indigenous community as that of companions who brought benefits and development to the community. Consequently, perceptions of outsiders, who had initially been regarded as enemies, began to change. Outsiders increasingly came to be accepted as friends, resulting in a broader transformation in indigenous perceptions of outsiders.

When the indigenous community no longer regarded outsiders as enemies, the territory of the traditional house also began to change. Stairs that were initially very small and easily removable are now wider and permanent, facilitating ascent and entry. Walls that were previously enclosed are now open, creating a more spacious interior. Entrance openings that were formerly small and enclosed are now no longer closed off, allowing people to enter the traditional house more freely. A terrace has also been added to support collective activities.

The transformation of the traditional house was influenced by changes in the community's interpretation of its territorial meaning. When intertribal warfare and *ngayau* were still frequently practiced, the indigenous community interpreted the territory of the traditional house as a defensive fortress, and the building was therefore designed to be highly enclosed.

The territory of the traditional house was understood at that time as the last line of defense against enemy attacks. After *ngayau* and warfare were abandoned as perceptions of outsiders began to change, the community's interpretation of the territorial meaning of the house also changed. The traditional house increasingly came to be understood as a center for gathering and unity, not only for members of the same tribe but also for the wider public across ethnic and religious groups. The traditional house came to be regarded as a center of culture, arts, education, health services, and a symbol of unity. Consequently, it is frequently used for a range of community activities, from everyday activities such as playing, making crafts, drying rice, and producing tuak, to customary ceremonies and activities related to government programs, such as program outreach, immunization, health services, and other activities.

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