



## **Matrilineal Marriage System in AR Rizal's Novel *Limpapeh*: A Literary Socio-anthropology Study**

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### **Abstract**

**Keywords:**  
Marriage;  
Matrilineal;  
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This research is motivated by the existence of a unique marriage system in the matrilineal tradition in Minangkabau society which is found in local Minangkabau color novels. Based on this background, this research examines the form of marital relations in local color novels in Minangkabau as a matrilineal tradition. The novel studied in this research is the novel *Limpapeh* by AR Rizal. Regarding the matrilineal marriage system, it is worth researching because since the era of modern literature in Indonesia, Minangkabau literature has been famous for ironic stories related to marriage and customs. After reform through his novel, AR Rizal displays the current state of society with a marriage system that still maintains the system of the past and is still often found in the reality of today's society even though it is only expressed in the form of works of fiction. This research is a qualitative research using the content analysis method. The results of this research show that the forms of the marriage system in the novel *Limpapeh* by AR Rizal are marriages within the tribe, marriages outside the tribe, and marriages using the traditional system of collecting money. These three things are unique to Minangkabau traditions and customs which are still maintained today and are expressed in novels as literary works. The benefits of this research are theoretically useful for multidisciplinary research in literary research, namely studying literary anthropology as a combination of literary science, sociology and anthropology. Practically it can be a reference for other researchers and a further basis for further research.

### **Abstrak:**

**Kata Kunci:**  
Perkawinan;  
Matrilineal;  
Novel;  
Sosioantropologi Sastra.

Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh adanya keunikan sistem perkawinan dalam tradisi matrilineal masyarakat Minangkabau yang terdapat pada novel berwarna lokal Minangkabau. Berdasarkan latar belakang tersebut, maka penelitian ini mengkaji tentang bentuk hubungan perkawinan dalam novel lokal berwarna di Minangkabau sebagai tradisi matrilineal. Novel yang dikaji dalam penelitian ini adalah novel *Limpapeh* karya AR Rizal. Mengenai sistem perkawinan matrilineal patut untuk diteliti karena sejak era sastra modern di Indonesia, sastra Minangkabau terkenal dengan cerita-cerita ironis terkait perkawinan dan adat istiadat. Pasca reformasi melalui novelnya, AR Rizal menampilkan keadaan masyarakat saat ini dengan sistem perkawinan yang masih mempertahankan sistem masa lalu dan masih sering dijumpai dalam realitas masyarakat saat ini meskipun hanya dituangkan dalam bentuk karya fiksi. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan menggunakan metode

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analisis isi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa bentuk-bentuk sistem perkawinan dalam novel *Limpapeh* karya AR Rizal adalah perkawinan dalam suku, perkawinan luar suku, dan perkawinan dengan sistem adat yaitu mengumpulkan uang. Ketiga hal tersebut menjadi ciri khas tradisi dan adat istiadat Minangkabau yang masih dipertahankan hingga saat ini dan dituangkan dalam novel sebagai karya sastra. Manfaat penelitian ini secara teoritis bermanfaat untuk penelitian multidisiplin dalam penelitian sastra, yaitu mengkaji antropologi sastra sebagai gabungan ilmu sastra, sosiologi dan antropologi. Secara praktis dapat menjadi referensi bagi peneliti lain dan landasan bagi penelitian selanjutnya.

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## INTRODUCTION

Literary works are a reflection of the society and historical documents in which they were written. In this regard, research on literary works is important because it can open the door to critical thinking to solve society's problems. This means that solving social problems in society which are analyzed using sociological and anthropological approaches to literature can also be done through literary studies.

Indonesian novels by Minangkabau authors are important to study because they provide alternative scientific studies to solve women's problems in matrilineal marriages, especially socio-cultural problems in the West Sumatra region. This can be seen from the works of Minangkabau authors which are full of customs and traditions. Meanwhile, in the period starting from *Balai Pustaka*, until a hundred years have passed, customs are still found. However, the current writer, AR Rizal, still associates customs with different colors.

In literature learning, there is not much teaching about the works of local writers because the focus is more on national literature. However, the values of local novels can be adapted to the cultural context of learning. Likewise, reading materials about local literature are still rarely provided in schools and universities. On the other hand, local works are better understood as character studies, especially about social factors displayed through literary works. These works can have good values regarding local color and socio-cultural systems in society. Previous research looked at the kinship system which is the basis for looking over the marriage system.

Research on literature is not something new. Likewise with research in literary sociology and literary anthropology. Research in literary sociology and literary anthropology usually proceeds separately. Literary sociology studies society and its problems, while anthropology is often related to culture. This research is a combination of looking at problems in society in prose and also observing the culture that is still carried out in prose as literary works. This can be considered as a novelty of research because

there are still few combination studies found for the interpretation of a literary work. However, in this section the researcher would show the novelty or differences between this research and previous studies. For this reason, the following presents several previous studies related to this research.

First, *Analysis of the Metamorphosis of Father's Pitaruah for Minangkabau Padusi Children Regarding the Concept of Women: A Study of Cultural Wisdom* (Kurniasih, 2016). The results of this research show that the metaphor in the Father's Pitaruah for Padusi Children in the data analyzed above shows the interaction or closeness of the Minangkabau people with nature. What this research has in common with the research to be conducted is that they both look at social and cultural wisdom as seen in the life values of Minang women so that they become religious, civilized and respectable women. The difference between this research and the research conducted is that the use of metaphors describing women's character shows experiences in the form of activities in the world so that the metaphors that emerge are also the result of continuous interaction between the Minangkabau people and their environment, both physical and cultural.

Second, *Women and Marriage: an Analysis Comparative Literature on the Novel Indonesia, England, and America* (Syahrul, 2017). This research is a literary sociology research that examines three novels from different countries and social backgrounds, namely from Indonesia with the novel entitled *Kalau Tak Untung* (Selasih), from England namely the novel *Far from Mading Crowd* (Thomas Hardy), and America namely the novel *The The Great Gatsby* (F. Scott Fitzgerald). These three novels both look at the image of women, both in the form of positive and negative images. The relevance to the research being written is that the research topic talks about social issues that are confined to conditions in society. The novels from Indonesia also feature female characters. from Minangkabau, namely Mrs. Rasmani. The difference is that this research explains the image of women in a positive way, namely that women will behave better if they are educated, will have the enthusiasm to work hard if they are involved in unpleasant situations, and appreciate material things because they have tried to get them. Meanwhile, the research that will be carried out is related to conditions in society.

Third, *the Matrilineal Kinship System in Minangkabau Customs in the Novel Siti Nurbaya: Love Doesn't End* by Marah Rusli (Setiawan, 2019). This research looks at the novel *Siti Nurbaya* with a matrilineal kinship system which is typical of Minangkabau which reveals a very strong kinship system, namely women play a role in the family and take part in making decisions within the family. What this research has in common with the research to be conducted is that they both look at the role of Minang women in their

families. The difference between this research and the research that will be carried out is that the research that will be carried out raises a more complex problem which does not only look at Minang women in terms of kinship but more comprehensively, namely as a Limpeh (bundo kanduang), in marriage, and in inheritance. The novel under study also had a different time of publication, namely the novel *Siti Nurbaya* which appeared in the *Balai Pustaka Class*.

*Place, Traditional, and Religious Struggle: Sasuku Marriage in Minangkabau in the Novel Mistake* by Nur Sutan Iskandar (Kurnia, 2019). The results of this research show that there is criticism regarding customs when *syarak* (religion) and customs are considered to go hand in hand. The novel *Wrong Choice* by Noer Sutan Iskandar shows that things that are considered contrary to custom are actually not contrary to religion. What this research has in common with the research that will be carried out is that both still find disparities regarding rules related to habits or customs in Minang social society in the novel. Meanwhile, the difference is apart from the fact that the novel to be researched is a novel from a very different era, namely published in the reform era, in terms of the problem to be researched there are also differences because it is more complex.

The focus and process of literary anthropological analysis can be subjective, meaning researchers can use their imagination to interpret cultural phenomena in literature. According to Reed (Spradley, 2016), the peak point in the focus and process is making cultural conclusions. In order to explain the experience of someone parachute, researchers don't need to be parachutists; instead, they may visualize the act of leaping into the air and comprehend the parachutist's mental state. Indirectly, socio-anthropological research on literature can be based on three things, namely: humans, literary articles, and bibliography. These three sources can be used as a basis for a literary researcher to uncover the meaning behind a literary work. These three sources can be viewed as documentation resources, which means that literary works can actually also be called sources of information.

Marriage in the life of Minangkabau people is a transitional period in order to form a new family. For Minang men, marriage is a process of entering into a new environment, namely his wife's family. As for women, marriage is a process of adding new members to *Rumah Gadang*. The wedding procession in traditional Minangkabau society is called *Baralek Gadang* (big party), which consists of a procession of wedding preparation, wedding implementation, and after the wedding. The procession of wedding stages in the

Minangkabau tradition contains local wisdom values, namely religious values, social values, knowledge values, language values, and art values (Ramanta & Samsuri, 2020).

The novel chosen in this study is *Negeri Perempuan* by AR Rizal, which looks at marriage as a legacy of matrilineal customs. Marriage in the Minangkabau custom sometimes invites other interpretations from people from outside the Minangkabau tribe who do not understand how the marriage system in Minangkabau is also unique, which is displayed by the author in the novel. This becomes another rationale for looking at literature by combining sociology, which contains problems in society, and anthropology, which contains cultural values and traditions, making literary anthropology studies.

Traditionally in anthropological studies, a woman in Minangkabau is called *Limpapeh Rumah Nan Gadang* and becomes the foundation of the strength and decoration of Rumah Gadang (Minangkabau traditional house). In the public sphere, Minangkabau women have roles and functions as *bundo kanduang*, respected mothers, elders as leaders, decision makers, and recipients of care. Meanwhile, men are not entitled to receive high *pusako* inheritance but can manage their family's inheritance based on their matrilineal interests. Men have a position as protectors, with *ninik mamak* (uncle) for nephews and *sumando (semenda)* for female family members (Diradjo, 2016, pp. 352-354). Minangkabau kinship is matrilineal, but this does not mean that men do not have a role in the household. Men who are in the same lineage as women have a heavy responsibility to continue the generation of Rumah Gadang, depending on their respective roles as husbands (Gneezy et al., 2009). Saovana-Spriggs (2007) states that a man must not only be an ideal husband like *urang sumando* and maintain the dignity of the nation in the home of his children and wife, but also has the obligation to maintain the dignity of the nation in the household of his matrilineal family or his mother's family, the home of his children and wife, he says he must also be responsible as a *mamak* (uncle) of his blood sister's sons and daughters. This can be seen from the figure of Pian who is the husband of Mandeh Piah. Pian's position of having to live at his in-laws' house makes Pian feel responsible for earning a living not only to feed his wife and children, but also to pay for the food of his wife's brothers.

A man's ability to balance these two responsibilities is crucial to a successful marriage. The authority of a husband in Minangkabau is not only to make his children and wife happy as emphasized in Islam, but also to be able to divide time and emotions as a father and mother (Abdullah, 1987, p. 111). The novel *Limpapeh*, Pian's role as Mandeh's husband and also the role of Mandeh's brother named Sjam who has three roles, namely as a husband and *urang sumando* in the scope of marriage. In addition, the roles that can

be left by a Minang man when he is married are the roles of *mamak* (uncle) within the tribe, outside the tribe, and the tradition of *uang jemputan*.

This research is expected to introduce more local writers and their works as well as to show the matrilineal system as a social culture in society from the other side. All of these social realities are expressed in novels by Minangkabau authors. Matrilineal system issues, especially marriage is an important issue in West Sumatra society because it is the character values of the community as a way of life which is an alternative to scientific studies in accordance with the cultural context of learning which is also in accordance with the Minang philosophy of Adat Basandi Sarak, Sarak Basandi Kitabullah.

## METHOD

The method used in this research is content analysis. The use of this content study method is based on the target to be revealed. Content analysis is used when the researcher wants to reveal, understand, and capture the message of literary works. The understanding in question relies on literary interpretation, which means that the researcher has built the concept to be revealed, then enters the literary work (Endraswara, 2008). Content analysis in this study utilizes data obtained qualitatively. Qualitative data is meant in the form of quotations related to the problem of matrilineal marriage in the novel *Limpapeh* by AR Rizal which was published by Erka publishing house in 2017.

The data collection techniques used in this research are documentary study techniques and note taking techniques. Thus, to generate a deep understanding of the focus of the problem being analyzed, namely the novel *Limpapeh* by AR Rizal. The data in this study is a matrilineal marriage system related to the research subfocus, namely tribal marriage, out-of-tribe marriage, and the tradition of *uang jemputan*. The data in the form of phrases, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs quoted in relation to the matrilineal marriage system are words and actions, the rest is additional data such as written documents in the form of books, scientific articles, data sources from archives, official documents, personal documents, photos or recordings, and can also be transcript of interview. All of these things are used to obtain valid data by using data triangulation techniques. Researchers use the appropriate procedures to conduct inspection techniques in order to ensure the objectivity of the data gathered for this study. Data must qualify credibly, meaning that it can be trusted based on the perspective of participants, especially qualitative research (Creswell, 2013).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of this research found three marriage patterns, namely tribal marriages, marriages outside the tribe and the tradition of *uang jemputan* (invitation money). These three things are analyzed based on research data that has been found, then discussed one by one and explained based on relevant theories.

### Tribal Marriage

In Minangkabau culture, marriage is organized according to the matrilineal system, every child born from a marriage in Minangkabau will enter the parent tribe, then where the marriage is a family affair according to the following *mamangan* custom; *kawin jo niniak mamak*, *nikah jo parampu*, which means from finding a mate, making an agreement, holding an engagement, until the marriage is carried out must be a family affair. After marriage, the husband comes or lives in his wife's house (matrilocal) because women in Minangkabau are *bundo kanduang*, who are in charge of *pusako* property and Rumah Gadang (Navis, 1984, p. 193). Minangkabau society adheres to an exogamous marriage pattern system, meaning that marriage must leave parents (Anisa et al., 2021).

The ideal marriage for Minangkabau people in the past was the marriage of *pulang ka bako*. In Minangkabau, *bako* is the paternal family. Mandeh's children have a close relationship with her *bako*. When Mandeh's husband died, Mandeh and her children remained close to her late husband's family. Moreover, Mandeh has decided to remain a widow and does not want to betray her late husband. Ikkal's closeness to his *bako* and *bakonya's* children was planned by his *bako* since Ikkal was a child who would later be matched with his own cousin, Suti. Mandeh initially disapproved of this because she thought that Ikkal and Suti were family like brother and sister. In addition, with this matchmaking, it is the same as not developing their offspring because it only revolves in that small area. Follow the excerpt below.

Perjodohan Ikkal berakhir di pelaminan. Ia meminang Suti, anak bakonya sendiri. Mandeh yang mendorong pernikahan itu. Suti menjadi menantu kesayangan Mandeh. (Page, 114)

Based on the quote above, it can be seen that Mandeh finally accepted her son Ikkal's marriage to return home to *ka bako*. This cannot be separated from the thoughts of his mother, Uwak, who has always understood the meaning of her grandson's *bako*, who is so close to his grandson. Uwak supported the match when Suti's family finally came to Mandeh to discuss the match between Ikkal and Suti's son. Mandeh, who already

considered Suti as his daughter, finally accepted Suti and made her his favorite daughter-in-law.

In general, marriages in communities outside the Minangkabau tribe carry out the application process by the man's family to the woman's family. However, in the matrilineal system the opposite happens, namely the woman's family is the one who comes to propose to their daughter's future husband, initiated by the mother or uncle. The marriage that is considered the most ideal marriage is returning home *ka bako*, making the marriage carried out by Ikbal as Mandeh's son considered to bring good luck because it brings closer the kinship relationship. Socially, the marriage process is something that is commonly carried out by humans. However, according to custom and culture, there are unique values in the ideal marriage tradition, namely returning home to *bako*, which is still within the realm of ethnic marriages.

When Mandeh and Sjam's mother was looking for a husband for her younger sister Ijah, Sjam's mother had tried and even set a date for the celebration. However, Sjam, as a vigilant sister who thinks about her sister's future, rejects what her mother says about the proposal that her mother will make to Maran, her sister's future husband. Sjam thought that a man who wanted to be a husband must be a hardworking man. In addition, he must be an intelligent man.

Hah! Si Maran? Aku tidak setuju! Dia itu bodoh-bodoh tanggung.  
Reaksi Sjam sungguh di luar prasangkaan uwak. Sjam menentang perjodohan Ijah dan Maran. Alasan laki-laki itu masuk akal. Sjam kenal betul dengan Maran. Kalau pulang ke rumah gadang, ia selalu mendapati pemuda itu berada di sawah. Kadang tidak ada musim membajak, menyang atau musim panen. Maran selalu berada di sawah. Kebiasaannya adalah menangkap belut, puyu, atau menjerat burung ruak-ruak. Maran itu pendek kecerdasannya. Bagi sjam, pemuda itu tidak pantas untuk adik perempuannya. (Page: 26)

For Sjam, the candidate that his mother had found for his younger sister was not suitable for his sister. Finally, Sjam's mother canceled the event for her sister out of respect for Sjam's words and decision. Tribal marriage is indeed preferable in Minang custom, but of course it must also consider the quality of the man as a prospective husband.

In the kinship system, there has been no shift in the tribe inherited from the mother's lineage or matrilineal until now, unless a Minang man marries a non-Minang woman, he does not have a tribe because his mother is not Minang, but kinship rights or *bako* still exist because *bako* is from the father's kinship. The matrilineal Minangkabau custom makes the mother the caretaker and person in charge of a family accompanied by the *mamak* (mother's brother), while the father is only a guest. In marriage, according to Minangkabau custom, it is not the man or his family who proposes but the woman. In the

distribution of inheritance according to the tribe/tribe, it belongs to women, while men do not get a share. Women occupy a special place (Ilyas, 2006, pp. 7-9). In the Minang tradition, an individual from birth has been part of his mother's matrilineal family which is associated with the *mamak* (brother of the mother). In addition, to commemorate important days ranging from *aqiqah* to marriage ceremonies, the father's family (*bako*) is considered a guest. Take a look at the picture below.



Figure 1. Individual Relationships in Minangkabau with Various Member Parties

Sjam is the eldest brother of Mandeh. As the eldest child, he is considered the *mamak* of the house whose words and actions are a reference for his younger siblings. Sjam is a very responsible man. Especially when it comes to the Gadang inheritance of his female relatives. Sjam is an irritable and sometimes authoritarian person, but cannot be angry with Mandeh as his younger sister. Instead, he did not hesitate to get angry with his wife who was considered disrespectful to his relatives. When Sjam's daughter wanted to marry a man who was still tribal to her, Mandeh as Sjam's younger sister was the *bako* of her son asking to rent a *bendi* (delman) for the bride and groom.

Mandeh marah kepada Sjam, tentu saja tak sebenar-benarnya marah. Mana mungkin Mandeh marah kepada saudara laki-laki tertuanya itu. Tapi suara mandeh terdengar keras pada saudara laki-lakinya itu ketika berbicara dengan Sjam dari telpon di rumah Ikbal.

“Uda kira aku ini janda kaya? Berlimpah harta yang diwariskan kepadaku?”

Mulut Sjam tersekat dari balik telpon. Sewibawa apa pun laki-laki itu di mata adiknya, kalau diamarahi adik perempuannya, Sjam tak berkutik dibuatnya.

Brak! Sjam meletakkan gagang telpon dengan keras. Sayup-sayup ia memaki-maki seorang perempuan. "Hei Tini! Kurang ajar kau menyuruh-nyuruh anakmu diarak-arak pakai bendi. Kaukita harta kaumku berlimpah, Hah? Pakai otakmu, Tini!" (Page 19- 20)

The pattern of relationships that occur between kin groups that make this marriage alliance as a contract is a transaction of the results of the relationship as a contract. So, each kin who enters into a marriage will transfer the rights of the partner equally through materials and services. This could be in the form of money, livestock, or other valuable objects. Thus, the "adaik" of marriage is seen here as a set of normative rules regarding the ideology that regulates the behavior that applies to the pattern of relations between two kinship groups that establish a marriage and the consequences arising from these rules. The actors involved in marriage (actors) and the *adaik* rules that surround them (structure) are a continuous relationship. Thus, there is no structure without actors and no actors without structure (Priyono, 2016).

Giddens' view of duality has been used in analyzing marriage practices in Minangkabau society. It is assumed that the marriage practices that occur in Minangkabau society tend to show the nature of duality because *adaik* as a rule (structure) tends not to be run but is very likely to experience reinterpretation by the actors themselves. They are also not entirely free to make political movements to influence the customary rules that are carried out in a marriage practice. However, they can be restrained in carrying out existing customary rules so that they are even labeled as people who do not know about *adaik*.

The Minangkabau culture is that a man must migrate and return to his hometown every year to meet with relatives. The dispersal of Minangkabau people away from their home areas is due to the urge in themselves to migrate, which is caused by two things; first, their desire to gain wealth without using existing lands, this can be connected to the actual situation that a man does not have the right to use inherited land for his own benefit, he can use the land for the benefit of his matrilineal family. Secondly, disputes led to the defeated person leaving the village and family to settle elsewhere. This situation is compounded by the circumstances created by recent developments (Koentjaraningrat, 1990).

In Minangkabau, it is a custom that a man who does not marry a woman from the same village is not considered a perfect man because of where he wants to turn. While the prevailing system in Minangkabau is Matrilineal which means that men follow their wives and Minangkabau has a cultural system with its own way of managing and utilizing inheritance. This also applies to the marriage system. *Pulang ka bako* is a marriage that is preferred which aims to keep the heirloom property from falling into the hands of others.

Minangkabau marriages are generally tribal exogamous. This can be seen from the prohibition on marrying people from the same tribe because usually people from the same tribe are related. Although marriage between members of the same tribe is legal according to Islam, it is strictly prohibited by custom because it is considered a crime of blood (incest). Violations of this custom will be punished with severe punishment, such as excommunication. Due to the exogamous nature of marriage, in one *nagari* there must be a minimum of four different tribes for marriage to take place. Apart from tribal exogamy, there is also the term state endogamy, which is the obligation for people to marry people from the same country; for example: *Koto Gadang* people in Agam must marry *Koto Gadang* people too.

### Out-of-tribe Marriage

Over time, there have been significant changes in the matrilineal principles embedded in the Minangkabau traditional marriage system and application. Matrilineal. Genealogy is not entirely practiced anymore. There is no need to marry someone back to *bako* or back to *mamak* (Faith, D. T., & Mani, 2017). Minang women are more-free to marry outside the tribe because they still have a tribe from their mother's side and can be continued to their children. This is illustrated in the novel *Limpapeh* when Ikbal, who is the son of Mandeh, marries his *bako*'s daughter or the daughter of his father's sister.

Unlike the case with Sutan Miang who became the younger brother of Sjam or Mandeh's second brother. Miang married someone from outside the region, namely from Java, which indicates that matrilineally, Miang's children are not of Minang descent. When Miang's daughter was to be matched, Miang had a headache because she got a prospective mother in law who was from the same village as Miang. Miang's daughter's marriage also requires a pick-up fee. Take a look at the quote below.

“Untuk apa pula uang jemputan. Anakmu itu kan bukan perempuan kampung. Lahirnya di Jawa, ibunya juga orang Jawa, mana pula terikat ia dengan adat jemputan.  
“Tapi, calon suaminya orang sini. Kalau tak dijemput, mamak-mamaknya tak akan merestui.” (Page. 81)

In the matrilineal system, a man is morally bound to all members of his tribe within a *Nagari* (*malu satuntuik - utang sabaie*) meaning that shame is equally closed / kept debts are equally paid, but materially financially he is only bound to the *Jurai* level (*anak dipangku-kamakanan dibimbiang*) which includes; his grandmother, his mother, his mama, his mother's sisters including his daughters and sons, his brothers and sisters and

his male and female nephews. But outside his tribe a man is only bound to his wife and children.

The attachment of a man according to this matrilineal system is realized by the two functions he carries out in the midst of society, namely; as Rang Sumando or head of the family in his wife's tribe, and as Mamak Rumah in his own tribe. As Rang Sumando a man is fully responsible for his children and wife, working to earn an income, providing for raising and educating his children to adulthood and until the child is able to stand on his own. This is what is meant by the child being held in his lap or carried in the sense that his feet should not touch the ground. The results of the household's livelihood are the inheritance rights of the children, not the inheritance rights of the his nephew as written in much Minangkabau literature these days. Therefore, the responsibility and attachment of a man to his children and wife according to the matrilineal system is very large and strong, not as many people describe it like ashes on the stove in the wind he will fly. This is the teaching of Minangkabau custom that is considered pure.

For a man according to the Minangkabau Matrilineal teachings there is no absolute power, his power is limited democratically he leads only elevated *sarantiang-didahulukan selangkah, high karano dianjuang-gadangnya karano diam*, power is not received because of descent from the father but because it is democratically elected within his family. Fathers and mothers cannot allow or order their biological children to marry if there is harm, because of the presence of a *Mamak* who has the right to refuse. This is the first sign of Minangkabau custom to prevent polygamy because polygamy in Minangkabau in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was very fertile, as if all men had more than one wife.

If you look at the Minangkabau villages today. In the villages of the construction of Surau, Gaduang and Rumah Gadang almost nothing is found is the former Surau, Gaduang and Rumah Gadang which have been severely damaged, weathered and some have even collapsed. In the same area at present, it is witnessed the construction of houses in the style of big cities, wall walls, tile roofs, ceramic floors, bathrooms inside, electric lights, televisions and refrigerators in a row, so that there is no longer the need for residents outside their homes.

In the process of modernizing the nation's life, the pattern of inheritance and education of Minangkabau customs as described above is still possible. If new patterns and methods are found that can continue the original values contained in Minangkabau customs and culture. Thus, the matter of Matrilineal in Minangkabau, which will be faced with the modernization of national life in the future, and henceforth requires the wisdom

and determination of young scholars of Minangkabau community members in contributing the noble values of Minangkabau customs to make part of national culture in the future.

They also oppose the practice of men having more than one wife, which often causes the fragility of the household ark and the Matrilineal marriage system, which has made many Minangkabau migrants reluctant to return to the village. This reluctance is due to their freedom of association, especially *urang sumando*, and isolation from their own parents' homes. Such customs cannot be maintained because customs are the result of engineering and then institutionalized in social life because all human engineering is not standard and permanent, only God's law is permanent and cannot be changed (Yaswirman, 2019).

The sister of Mandeh Piah is shown to have married outside of the Minangkabau tribe, namely the Javanese tribe. When viewed traditionally, it can damage the customary order, namely children from mixed marriages, namely between the Minang pocket and outside the Minang tribe, resulting in children born without a tribe if the marriage is a Minang man and a woman outside the Minang tribe because the inheritance of the tribe in Minangkabau comes from the tribe and the mother's descendants. However, in today's modern society, non-tribal or mixed marriages are commonplace for Minang people, the important thing is that they are still of the same faith and remember that the soul mate is the provision of God.

Marriage outside the tribe or Minang people marrying Minang people is a reality that must be faced because the soul mate is the secret of God and many Minang people marry non-Minang people. Rahman, Jamal D (2014) stated that a marriage is not just a biological bond but must also be seen as a social relationship that creates differences in the grouping of rights associated with the marital bond. These rights include power over children who are born, the right to control the sexuality of the spouse, the right to domestic service or labor, the right to ownership and management of joint property (heirloom property), and the determination of the form of relationship between husband and wife's brother.

The Minangkabau culture is that a man must migrate and return to his hometown every year to meet with relatives. The dispersal of Minangkabau people away from their home areas is due to the urge in themselves to migrate, which is caused by two things; first, their desire to gain wealth without using existing lands, this can be connected to the actual situation that a man does not have the right to use inherited land for his own benefit, he can use the land for the benefit of his matrilineal family. Secondly, disputes led to the defeated person leaving the village and family to settle elsewhere. This situation is

compounded by the circumstances created by recent developments (Koentjaraningrat, 1990).

In the matrilineal system, a man is morally bound to all members of his tribe within a Nagari (*malu satuntuik - utang sabaie*) meaning that shame is equally closed / kept debts are equally paid, but materially financially he is only bound to the *Jurai* level (*anak dipangku-kamanakan dibimbiang*) which includes; his grandmother, his mother, his mama, his mother's sisters including his daughters and sons, his brothers and sisters and his male and female nephews. But outside his tribe a man is only bound to his wife and children.

The attachment of a man according to this matrilineal marriage system is realized by the two functions he carries out in the midst of society, namely; as *Rang Sumando* or head of the family in his wife's tribe, and as *Mamak Rumah* in his own tribe. As *Rang Sumando* a man is fully responsible for his children and wife, working to earn an income, providing for raising and educating his children to adulthood and until the child is able to stand on his own. This is what is meant by the child being held in his lap or guided with the understanding that his feet should not touch the ground. The results of the household's livelihood are the inheritance rights of the children, not the inheritance rights of the his nephew as written in much Minangkabau literature these days. So, the responsibility and attachment of a man to his children and wife according to the matrilineal system is very large and strong, not as many people describe it like ashes on the stove in the wind he will fly. This is the teaching of Minangkabau custom which is considered pure (Hasanuddin, 2020).

In this case, in accordance with Hasanuddin's opinion, Kurnia (2019) revealed that there is a balance in conflict that must be based on harmony in life, namely tolerance, mutual respect for the position of each member of society. Is this still in accordance with the needs of modern society as it is now. Tribal marriage from different *nagari* is allowed as a solution given by traditional leaders, as an answer to the growth of the era, as well as accommodation to the thought of Islamic marriage law, albeit with strict provisions, to protect the existence of customary law (Sopyan & Suryani, 2020).

They also oppose the practice of men having more than one wife, which often causes the fragility of the household ark and the Matrilineal marriage system, which has made many Minangkabau migrants reluctant to return to the village. This reluctance is because they are free in their relationships, especially *urang sumando* and isolated from their own parents' homes. Such customs cannot be maintained because customs are the result of engineering and then institutionalized in social life because all human

engineering is not standard and permanent, only God's law is permanent and cannot be changed (Navis, 1984).

There has been a significant shift in the matrilineal principles embedded in the Minangkabau traditional marriage system and application. Matrilineal lineage is not entirely practiced anymore. There is no need to marry someone back to *bako* or back to *mamak*. For a woman who is already married to a man within their ethnic group, custom must always be respected. Failure to follow this procedure can invalidate the marriage arrangement (Iman & Mani, 2017). Therefore, out-of-tribe marriages are mostly performed by Minang men who have migrated and found women outside the Minang tribe who become their partners.

### **Tradition of *Uang Jemputan* (Invitation Money)**

*Bajapuik* is a tradition carried out by the original Minangkabau people of Padang Pariaman Region in the traditional marriage procession, because in the matrilineal system. The husband's position is *urang sumando* which is the one who comes. Therefore, coming to the deck *dipanggia tibo*, *geladak dianta*, meaning coming because it is called, arriving because it is delivered, that is an example of *urang sumando* in Minangkabau. Where the *Bajapuik* tradition in the special marriage customs of the Padang Pariaman community does not harm any party, the goods / pick-up given to the man are then returned to the woman in the form of family gifts from the groom to the bride. Then the tradition continues to this day (Anisa et al., 2021).

The relationship between children, in-laws and sons-in-law in every marital relationship generally experiences ups and downs. This was also the case for Mandeh's brother Syam. Syam is married to Tini. Uwak, who is the mother of Syam and Mandeh, has badly labeled her daughter-in-law named Tini. Uwak considers that Tini does not like Uwak's arrival when asking for shopping money or snacks to her son, Sjam. In fact, Uwak had misunderstood his daughter-in-law.

In the end, when Sjam was angry with his wife, he chose to stay at his mother's house and finally Tini came to her in-laws' house while begging the in-laws to tell Sjam to come home to his own house. Uwak, although easily angered, was also easily moved. In fact, Uwak scolded Sjam to go home to his wife. Sjam did not move because he felt that this was his fate as a man who had been bought. This means that traditionally when they wanted to get married, Tini's family had picked Sjam up with a sum of money as is customary for men in coastal Minangkabau. Follow this excerpt.

“Makanlah semua pencarian oleh istrimu itu! Uwak menimpakan sakit hatinya kepada Sjam. Sjam marah besar kepada Tini. Istrinya itu dihardik. Bagi Tini hardikan Sjam sudah menjadi hal yang biasa. Tetapi ketika Sjam memilih tidak pulang berhari-hari, hatinya gundah gulana. Tini akan datang bersama ibunya ke rumah gadang. Dengan mengiba-ngiba akan meminta kepada Uwak untuk menyuruh Sjam pulang. Kemarahan Uwak kepada Tini tiak pernah panjang. Kalau perempuan itu telah mengiba-ngiba, giliran Uwak yang marah-marah kepada Sjam. “Pulanglah! sampai hati kau menelantarkan anak istrimu!”  
“Sjam jadi serba-salah dengan tabiat ibunya itu. Mau apa lagi. Begitu pula suratan adat sebagai laki-laki yang sudah terbeli. (Page, 76)

The quote above shows that Sjam as Mandeh's brother who sometimes feels helpless because he feels like a man who has been picked up by his wife's family. This value, when viewed from the human side in the current era, is certainly a taboo because it is a culture that is rarely practiced by the general public in Minangkabau. Only certain areas apply the issue of pick-up money as a custom that is maintained. Whereas at present, these customs are starting to erode. For those who still want to maintain the custom as a culture, it is the male party who gives pick-up money to the female family, which will later be returned to the male family to fill the custom.

The matrilineal Minangkabau custom makes the mother the caretaker and person in charge of a family accompanied by the *mamak* (mother's brother), while the father is only a guest. In marriage, according to Minangkabau custom, it is not the man or his family who proposes but the woman. In the distribution of inheritance according to the tribe/tribe, it belongs to women, while men do not get a share. Women occupy a special place (Ilyas, 2006, pp. 7-9).

The pattern of relationships that occur between groups of relatives who make this marriage alliance as a contract is a transaction of the results of the relationship as a contract. So, each relative who enters into marriage will transfer the rights of the partner in a balanced manner through materials and services. This could be in the form of money, livestock, or other valuable objects. The "adaik" of marriage is thus seen here as a set of normative rules regarding the ideology that governs the behavior that applies to the pattern of relationships between two kinship groups that enter into marriage and the consequences that result from these rules.

In Minangkabau culture, marriage is organized according to the matrilineal system, every child born from a marriage in Minangkabau will enter his mother's tribe so that his marriage is the business of his mother's family according to the following *mamangan* custom; *kawin jo niniak mamak*, *nikah jo parampu*, which means from finding a mate, making an agreement, holding an engagement, until the marriage is carried out must be a family affair. After marriage, the husband comes or lives in his wife's house (matrilocal) because women in Minangkabau are *bundo kanduang*, who are in charge of *pusako*

property and Rumah Gadang (Navis, 1984, p. 193). Minangkabau society adheres to an exogamous marriage pattern system, meaning that marriage must leave parents (Anisa et al., 2021).

Junus (1984) view of duality has been used in analyzing marriage practices in Minangkabau society. It is assumed that the marriage practices that occur in Minangkabau society tend to show the nature of duality because custom as a rule (structure) tends not to be run but is very likely to experience reinterpretation by the actors themselves. They are also not entirely free to make political movements to influence the customary rules that are carried out in a marriage practice. However, they can be restrained in carrying out existing customary rules so that they are even labeled as people who do not know about custom.

Bajapuik is a tradition carried out by the original Minangkabau people of Padang Pariaman Region in the traditional marriage procession, because in the matrilineal system. The husband's position is *urang sumando* which is the one who comes. Therefore, coming to the deck is called *tibo*, *geladak dianta*, meaning coming because it is called, arriving because it is delivered, such is the example of *urang sumando* in Minangkabau. Where the *Bajapuik* tradition in the special marriage customs of the Padang Pariaman community does not harm any party, the goods / pick-up given to the man are then returned to the woman in the form of family gifts from the groom to the bride. Then the tradition continues to this day (Amir, 2007).

This value, when viewed from the human side in the current era, is certainly a taboo because it is a culture that is rarely practiced by the general public in Minangkabau. Only certain areas apply the issue of pick-up money as a custom that is maintained. Whereas at present, these customs are starting to erode. For those who still want to maintain the custom as a culture, it is the male party who gives pick-up money to the female family, which will later be returned to the male family to fill the custom.

Pariaman people who are overseas, such as the city of Bandung, who have left the island of Sumatra, generally still practice the *japuik* money tradition. But its implementation is not as strict and thick as the original tradition. The *japuik* money tradition carried out overseas is only conditional or adjusts to the agreement of both sides of the family led by the woman's *mamak*. The absence of the involvement of *mamak* and *ninik mamak* in determining the goodness of a partner for their niece is the weakness of the *japuik* money tradition in overseas. Social status determines the amount of *japuik* money given by the woman to the man, and the higher the man's social status, the more *japuik* money he will receive. But social status is not solely motivated by a man's

occupation. It is possible for Japanese traditions to change in different places and times. Because the most important thing about the tradition is the noble values that must be maintained. Among the purposes of *bajapuik* and the tradition of *uang ilang* is mutual help between both sides of the family, to help their children in preparing for a new family life (Alfi, 2019).

## CONCLUSION

The novel *Limpapeh* by AR Rizal shows the ideal marriage according to Minangkabau society, namely the marriage of *pulang ka bako* which is included in the tribal marriage, namely the marriage of Mandeh's eldest son, Ikbal, who marries the daughter of his *bako* (daughter of his *ayanh* sister) named Suti. The occurrence of marriage outside the tribe can be the effect of the nature of the Minangkabau people who like to migrate, especially migrating outside the West Sumatra region. This can be seen in Miang, the brother of Mandeh, who married a woman from Java. Meanwhile, the tradition of the pick-up money system shown when Sjam's helplessness as a man who was picked up by his wife's family when he was proposed to symbolizes custom and tradition.

The matrilineal marriage system in Minangkabau local color novels in terms of socio-culture is the relationship between the author's worldview and the novel and in reality, the novel's worldview can only be seen through a strong social and cultural investigation and this is difficult to connect with the worldview in reality. Unique traditions that exist in novels as literary works can be a tool to introduce literature from a different perspective. The teaching of Indonesian literature, especially matrilineal novels, needs to be improved and adapted both in schools and universities. Therefore, reading materials for novels, short stories, poems with the theme of local color in Indonesia, especially Minangkabau culture, should be given to students as teaching materials in literature learning. This is a continuation of previous research looking at the kinship system which is the basis for looking at the marriage system which for further research looks at the division of inheritance which is a unique matrilineal system in Minangkabau society which can be seen in local Minangkabau color novels.

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