

## Kinship in the novel *limpapeh* as a post-reformation Minangkabau local color literature

Zulfitriyani, Nuruddin, Zainal Rafli

Pascasarjana, Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Jalan Rawa Mangun Muka Raya No.11, RT.11/RW.14, Rawamangun, Kecamatan Pulo Gadung, Kota Jakarta Timur, Indonesia

<sup>1</sup>zulfitriyani\_7317167384@mhs.unj.ac.id, zaidarnur@gmail.com<sup>2</sup>, zainal.rafli@gmail.com<sup>3</sup>

\*Corresponding author: zulfitriyani\_7317167384@mhs.unj.ac.id

Article History Received: August 31, 2022 Revision: October 12, 2022 Available Online: October 31, 2022

### ABSTRACT

This study aims to gain knowledge and discoveries about kinship in Minangkabau local color novels represented by AR Rizal's *Limpapeh* novel. The author's social background indirectly influences this. Concerning kinship is worth researching because, since the time of modern literature in Indonesia, Minangkabau literature was formerly famous for its ironic tales related to marriage and customs. Meanwhile, through his novel, AR Rizal shows the condition of today's society with a kinship order that still maintains the past system, and it turns out that it is still often found in the reality of today's society even though this is only expressed in the form of works of fiction. This qualitative research uses the content analysis method, namely research that discusses information in depth and then marks it in the form of quotations in the novel as data marked in the text. The results of this study found that the form of kinship in the novel *Limpapeh* by AR Rizal is in the form of *suku* and *sako*, *mamak* and *kemenakan*, *bako* and *anak pisang*, *andan* and *pasumandan*. In terms of kinship, it shows that ethnic issues and the role of *Mamak* are still essential and are used today in Minangkabau society. This indirectly shows that mimetic elements in fictional literary works can still be found in society.



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**Keywords** Kinship relationships, Literature, Minangkabau local color, Novel, Post-reformation

**How to Cite** Zulfitriyani, Nuruddin, & Rafli, Z. (2022). Kinship in the novel *limpapeh* as a post-reformation Minangkabau local color literature. *KEMBARA: Jurnal Keilmuan, Bahasa, Sastra, dan Pengajarannya (e-Journal)*, 8(2), 458-471. <https://doi.org/10.22219/kembara.v8i2.22416>

## INTRODUCTION

Minangkabau, one of the areas on the island of Sumatra, which is now synonymous with West Sumatra, has a unique culture regulating people's lives. Minangkabau is a society that still adheres to the matrilineal system (kinship according to the mother's line). Anthropologists note that currently, there are less than ten ethnic groups that still maintain a matrilineal system, including Minangkabau in West Sumatra, Indonesia, Campa in Vietnam, Muangthai in Thailand's Golden Triangle, ethnic groups in India, Africa, and Bedouins in the Middle East (Ariani, 2015).

Minangkabau custom, which is matrilineal, 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, the one who proposes is not a man or his family but a woman. The division of inheritance according to ethnicity belongs to women, while men do not get a share. Women occupy a special place (Ilyas, 2006).

If we look closely, novels with Minangkabau local colors cannot be separated from things within the scope of culture and matrilineal kinship. At first, matrilineal can be understood as the process of inheritance of tribes based on line of descent from the mother. However, it turns out that the issue of matrilineal can not only be seen based on the mother's role as a *bundle kanduang* who can advise her children regarding any problem. Besides that, a young woman is a niece (nephew) who has the right to be cared for by her mother, at least as a companion, to participate in finding a mate (Widihastuti, 2019). A woman can also find a mate and fill in customs as a

responsibility to become *bako* for the child of a sibling -the boy. The role of in-laws from either the husband's family or the brother-in-law's wife, Minang women also has moral obligations and responsibilities. This is described by many novelists related to local colors in writing. Especially novels that have a cultural background in Minangkabau. So, it can be said that there are contradictory ideological and social situations and conditions in which the authors of the novels concerned live (Faruk, 2002).

Writers from West Sumatra or Minangkabau have revealed much about the other side of the unique Mining community regarding kinship related to stories in local color fiction. Asri is still a cousin of Ansah. Religiously, Asri and Ansah can marry. However, Asri and Ansah are brothers and sisters of the same ethnicity, so according to custom, they are the same as siblings, so they are not allowed to marry. Finally, Ansah had to be willing to marry Asri someone else because ethnic marriage was not approved by custom (Kurnia, 2019).

In the '80s, Darman Moenir's novel *Bako* was also awarded the Jakarta Arts Council for clearly revealing the role of a father's sister towards the children of a brother or niece (*Anak Pisang*) because an uncle (*Mamak*) also must help guide and even finance the sister's nephew (Elvira, 2019). Many works produced by authors from Minangkabau also include elements of Minangkabau customs. The two novels above discuss a lot about the marriage and kinship system.

The existence of a patriarchal ideological system and familialism makes Minangkabau society carry a matriarchal ideology. In the Minangkabau community, the matriarchal ideology is known as the matrilineal kinship system. Conceptually matrilineal comes from the term *matriakat*, which means mother in power (Winstar, 2007).

Matrilineal kinship in Minangkabau has established rules that inheritance, agricultural resources, agricultural products, and the inheritance of the clan's family are the inheritance rights of women. Women are called *limpapeh Rumah nan Gadang*, the foundation of strength and decoration in the *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 provisions. Men do not have the right to take over the inheritance and management of family heirloom lands for one-sided interests. Men have the position of protectors, *ninik Mamak* (uncles) for nephews, and *sumando* (*semenda*) in the wife's family (Diradjo, 2015).

Although Minangkabau kinship has a matrilineal pattern, this does not mean that men do not play a role in the household. Following their respective roles, men who are genetically the same as women have strict responsibilities as the next generation in the *Rumah Gadang*. Husbands have involved themselves in new forms of conflict (Gneezy et al., 2009).

Savana-Spriggs (2007) said that a man must be an ideal husband as *urang sumando* and obliged to maintain the dignity of his people in the home of his wife and children. He is also responsible as the *ninik Mamak* of his sister, son, and daughter of his sister in the same line of descendants of a single matrilineal line.

The husband's ability to maintain a balance between these two responsibilities is highly demanded his marriage to be successful. The husband's authority in Minangkabau is not only able to make his wife and children happy, as emphasized in Islam, but he must also be able to share his time and feelings as a father and mother (Abdullah, 2007). This can be a compassionate issue in Minangkabau society. How can a person fulfill multiple responsibilities without full authority in his wife's house and no more than a manager in his sister's house (Johns, 2009)? In this context, for the time being, it can be assumed that the entry of Islam into Minangkabau did not change the nature of the conflict but instead added new aspects to it.

The birth of a son does not mean anything as a continuation of the lineage. If he is married and has children, then the child is not included in the line of kinship but the family kinship of his wife. Therefore, the community highly covets the birth of a daughter as a continuation of kinship



and the holder of rights to family property. Because women are included in the family's wealth, their position becomes central to internal and external affairs.

The system in Minangkabau society, called the matrilineal, actually enriches the novels of Minangkabau authors who came and worked after the reform, of course, with a different storytelling model. The female characters told, on average, are modern female figures still surrounded by the matrilineal system, namely the problems of *bundo kanduang* (birth mother) and *Rumah Gadang*, customs, marriage, and heirlooms. Women in Minangkabau also have an essential role in the economy. Following its nature, which is considered more economical and more thorough, it is entrusted to him to regulate the use of rice and field products. This is revealed by a traditional saying: "*Umbun puruik the key, umbun puruik aluang bunian,*" which means that the financial result as the key is *Bundo Kanduang* (women). *Ranking*, which serves to store the results of the fields, is located in the yard of *Rumah Gadang*, occupied by *Bundo Kanduang* (Yolanda et al., 2013).

Matrilineal kinship ties are fundamental to Minangkabau customs, with the mottos of the child being on the lap, *kamanakan dibimbiang, urang kampung dipatenggangkan* (children are on the lap, nephews are guided, people in the village are considered). The principle of this relationship regulates the relationship between father and son, the relationship between *Mamak* (uncle) and nephew, the father as *urang sumando*, the family of the father of the *besan*, the mother of *Bako, Anak Pisang*, and relations with the village people (Fitri, 2013). According to Navis (1986), matrilineal kinship brings consequences to the pattern of relationships between all relatives in the Nagari. In general, there is a pattern of kinship in Minangkabau society. The kinship patterns are (a) tribal-*Sako* ties, (b) *Mamak*-nephew ties, (c) *bako-Anak pisang* ties, and (d) *andan-pasumandan* ties.

AR. Rizal makes a story that places cultural locality in the kinship system. The events and scenes of the story are prevalent in society, especially in the Mining community. Therefore, when reading the *Limpapeh* novel, the things told can be immediately imagined by readers born and raised in the Mining area. Especially for readers categorized as active readers of local colored literary works.

The main character told in the novel *Limpapeh* is about the life of a woman named *Mandeh*. *Mandeh* has several brothers who have various characters. In addition, *Mandeh* also has one sister. The word *Limpapeh* here can be interpreted as a guard. Guard means that a daughter and her descendants must remain in the house of hereditary inheritance, which will later be passed on to her daughter.

The kinship between *Mandeh* and his sister and daughter is related to ethnicity. The relationship between daughters and sons and their brothers is the relationship between *Mamak* and nephew. *Mandeh* is considered *bako* by his brother's son. In addition, there is a relationship related to the marriage ties of his brothers, so there is a brother-in-law relationship called the *andan pasumandan* relationship. All things can be revealed in the novel as a literary work. Literary works reflect people's lives and historical documents because they are written. Related to this, research on literary works is necessary because it can open the door for critical thoughts to solve social problems. Literary studies can also solve social problems as an analysis in the sociology of literature approach.

AR Rizal's novel *Limpapeh* is essential to study because it provides an alternative to scientific studies to solve kinship problems, especially for the West Sumatra region. Especially for the West Sumatra region and generally as a comparison material for matrilineal kinship traditions in the Asian region with fellow matrilineal and patrilineal. This can be seen in the works of Minangkabau authors in the pre-reform era, which was full of customs and traditions. Meanwhile, in the post-reform era, although still associated with custom, there were different colors displayed by young writers who lived and worked after the reformation because the spirit of reform itself influenced them.

Previously, a novel research article related to Minangkabau kinship had been written by Setiawan (2019) with the title Minangkabau kinship system in the novel Siti Nurbaya: Kasih Tak Sampai by Marah Rusli. Setiawan revealed that the Minangkabau kinship system, namely

matrilineal, relies on the roles of mother and Mamak. The lineage makes the mother's role dominant, so the male has almost no role. In addition, the existence of high heirlooms as an inheritance for women's descendants makes women in Mining special.

Even in Asian countries, including Indonesia, patriarchal and familial ideologies are dominant and reconstruct women's roles in the household as housewives, good wives, and good mothers for children. Indirectly, this perspective has shown the role of women in the domestic sphere, thereby closing access to the public sphere (Yulianeta, 2016).

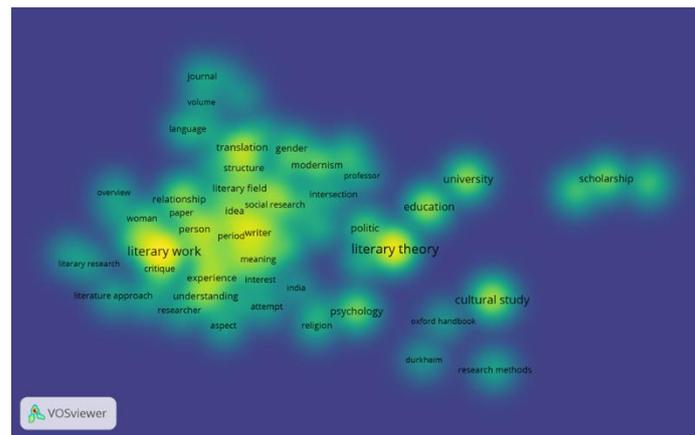
This research can also reveal the matrilineal concept in Mining kinship and analyze the meaning of kinship itself. There are several things behind the research on the kinship system in AR Rizal's novel *Limpapeh*, namely AR Rizal often raises the problem of the reality of the Mining community in his works, starting with the novel *Maransi* which received an award nomination for the 2016 Jakarta Arts Council Novel Competition, then the novel *Perempuan*. Bath, the novel *Nilam* (the chosen match), and the novel *Kenduri* arwah. This *Limpapeh* novel is investigated because it explicitly reveals a woman's role in kinship. For the Minangkabau community, women are the primary source, so a matrilineal system makes things different from the ethnic groups in Indonesia.

The results of this study can provide a meaningful contribution to the world of education, especially for the Indonesian language and literature education study program for the literature course, namely the study of prose. Specific courses at universities on literature are about prose studies aimed at enabling students to appreciate literary works. The works produced by writers in prose, ranging from short to long stories (novels), allow students to have a positive attitude toward the development of Indonesian literature (Zulfitriyani, 2020). However, literature with local colors is more difficult to find in bookstores than in famous literary works. In addition, in the learning process, they tend to discuss literary works of a national nature rather than local color literature. Finally, it can be understood that students do not even know writers who come from their own (local) country.

The existence of literary analysis can be based on the assumption that literature reflects social life in a society. Studying literature is the same as entering a forest. The deeper the search goes, the denser it will be. According to Endraswara (2011), there are complex humanitarian phenomena in society.

Kurniasih has previously studied the kinship system and the sociology of literature. The results of this study show that the metaphor in *Pituah Ayab* for *Anak Padusi* in the data analyzed above shows the interaction or closeness of the Minangkabau community with nature. The background analysis of the metaphorical description of women's character shows that experience is in the form of activities in the world, so the metaphor that appears is also the result of the continuous interaction between the Minangkabau people and their environment, both physically and culturally. Cultural wisdom can be seen from the life values of Mining women. to become religious, traditional, and honorable women (Kurniasih, 2016).

This study uses a sociological review of literature focusing on kinship, especially local color novels written by West Sumatra or Minangkabau authors. Through the VOSviewer application using the keyword *sociology of literature*. Based on the VOSviewer, it can be seen that the development of literary sociology research is still tiny. Through this application, the following visualizations are obtained.



## METHODS

This research is qualitative, and the method used in this research is the content analysis related to theories, concepts, and methods. In addition, this study also utilizes the theory of literary reception to examine literary texts by considering the reader as the giver or responder—the use of this qualitative approach with the following limitations.

First, "data that appears in the form of words and not a series of numbers" proposed by Miles & Huberman (1992). This means the possibility of data to be collected in various ways, for example, through observation, interviews, document digests, and tape." In this research plan, the researcher uses a third method: document digest. This document digest will be processed through recording, typing, and writing experts, while the analysis also uses words arranged in the form of an expanded text.

Second, in this case, there are three lines of analysis: data reduction, data presentation, and concluding/verification. Data reduction is the process of selecting, focusing on simplifying, abstracting, and transforming "rough" data that emerges from written records in the field. The data reduction referred to in this study will occur continuously throughout the research process, even though this reduction occurred before the data was collected. The following steps in data reduction are making a summary, coding, tracing themes, and making clusters. Create partitions, and write memos.

The study of content in the field of literature also departs from the axiom that the author wants to convey a hidden message to the reader. The message in question is the content (meaning) that the researcher must track. Content analysis (content analysis) or content analysis is used to analyze the content of discourse (e.g., literary works). Alternatively, it can be said that the content of the analysis is used to develop an appropriate and comprehensive interpretation of the research. Furthermore, it is said that the analysis content is context-sensitive and, therefore, can be used to process symbolic forms (Krippendorff, 2012).

Likewise, in this study, the researcher intends to reveal and understand literary phenomena, primarily to open the veils of literature related to kinship ties in the post-reformation Minangkabau local color novels, which are devoted to the novel *Limpapeh* by AR Rizal. This is quite reasonable because every use of language by writers contains symbols and meanings.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

*Limpapeh*'s writer, AR Rizal, tells the story in the *Limpapeh* novel as part of his past, who lived and became part of the *Rumah Gadang*. This novel was inspired by his grandmother, who became the main character in the *limpapeh* novel, namely *Mandeh Piah*. Several family heads live together in one house, an old house called *Rumah Gadang* in the outskirts of Padang city called

Kuranji District. That piece of memoir is told quite nicely in the novel *Limpapeh* so that it becomes a story close to the kinship life of the general community in Minangkabau.

Reading and understanding family ties in the novel *Limpapeh* get several aspects which eventually become findings and discussion of problems related to the family system. Furthermore, these findings and results are linked to the relevant theory. Based on the actions, thoughts, words, and dialogues of the characters in the novel, four things can be related to the kinship ties in matrilineal society contained in the novel as data, namely (1) tribal and *sako* ties, (2) *Mamak* and nephew ties, (3) the relationship between the *bako* and the *anak pisang*, and (4) the relationship between *andan pasumandan*.

### Sako and Tribal Ties

One tribe is a relationship that arises from blood ties between a person by referring to a woman positioned as the same *inyiak* (ancestor). *Sako* is a legacy that is more in the form of non-material such as traditional titles (*datuak*) with all the attributes of greatness. Consequently, everyone from the same ethnic group or ethnic group has the right to control and use the title of greatness owned by that ethnic group.

This tribal and *Sako* relationship starts from the one-house Gadang environment to the one-Nagari neighborhood. In a one-house environment, the new family usually will live and settle in his wife's house. If the children from the nuclear family form a new family again, the original home is considered the home with the mother as the reference. Over time, when the offspring have grown up to three generations, the mother's house was considered a typical home for this group, with the grandmother as the glue.

The first incident related to kinship in the tribe and the *Sako* of the *Limpapeh* novel was when *Mandeh*, as the main character, received an invitation to marry his grandson. The thick tribal ties have the effect that being a tribe that comes from the inheritance of mothers, grandmothers, and great-grandmothers from female descendants is something that becomes a strong bond.

*According to village customs, marrying off a daughter is the responsibility of her grandmother. Mandeh strongly believes in the custom. Nevertheless, Ikbal was worried; Mandeh had to handle all the business himself. Where did his mother get the money from? For marriage, the cost is not small. "Let me help with the expenses." (Rizal, 2017, p. 88)*

The quote above shows that according to the customs and habits of the matrilineal people, the aqiqah obligation of a child can also be an obligation of tribal ties, especially the closest tribe, namely the mother's descendants. However, the most specialized aqiqah is for female offspring (girls). The hereditary habits inherited by the *Mandeh* family are like ingrained habits. This, of course, has begun to differ and shift with the current state of Minangkabau society. Although sometimes, this is still found in some places that still firmly adhere to customs.

Tribes and Nagari have an essential meaning in the kinship system in Minangkabau. The tribe is the smallest unit in the Minangkabau kinship system, while the Nagari is the largest unit, a collection of people in the entire Nagari. Nagari is an indigenous territory that is socially and politically self-governing. An area can be called a Nagari if it already has several physical requirements, such as the First: *Basobok Bajurami* (border). The Nagari has a border determined through deliberation between the penghulu. Second, *balabuah batapian*.

The form of family and society in Minangkabau can be divided into (a) extended family and (b) nuclear family. The clan family is a family that is gathered starting from the *samande* (one mother from one mother), the *spark* from one grandmother (*sajurai*), and the *sakaum* from one family group (*sasuku*) from one tribe or social system (Nurwani, 2020). The clan family is led by a penghulu given the title of Datuk. Natural designations or measures, namely measure closeness in



kinship: *sajari* (the closest/those who are one mother), *satampok* (such as one grandmother), *sajangka; sa beto* and *sadapo* (people a bit far away/one ethnic group).

A clan that has developed, or if there are members of the clan who want to change the level of life, they start a new place of residence (*taratak* or a new hamlet, or move to another country). They will continue to name their original ethnic group (for example, if in their place of origin, they are Santiago, in a new place, they will still use the name of the tribe. Those who move are called *balaban*, (bolahan, the Caniago tribe from their home country. Their relationship with their family in the country of origin (*dunsanak*) is maintained, that is, they always visit: "*Tumbuh dikaba baik baimbauan, Tumbuh dikaba buruak bahambauan*". Humans can adapt to their environment and involve nature development to meet their life needs. This process is considered humanist because it is based on ideas translated into action to produce works, as with culture (Kuswarianandhika, 2017).

The *Bath* family consists of husband, wife, and children. The nuclear family is a family structure known to the general public, which the husband leads. The connection and involvement of an individual Minangkabau to the two forms of the family is equally vital. Even though a woman is married, she cannot be separated from the ties of her people, as well as a man who has become a husband and remains bound to his people. The position (*sumando*) is highly respected by the wife's side but does not have the authority to regulate the family of the wife's side.

Factors that bind the clan: (1) *urang sakaum sakatururun* (bloodline); (2) people from *Sakaum sabino*/slight (shame cannot be divided, tribes can't be stepped on); (3) the *sakaum sapandam sapakuburan* (grave: ustano: jirek); (4) people patient, strainer (light beef barek, serving); (5) the *Sakaum Sabarato Pusako* (*harato Mutuka clan, adat Mutuka Nagari*) (Nurwani, 2020).

### Mamak-Kemenakan Relationship (Uncle and Nephew)

The relationship between *mamak* and *kemenakan* is the relationship between a man called *Mamak* and his sister's children. A man has two functions in his life: *the Mamak* of his sister's children and the nephew of his mother's brother. A *Mamak* is responsible for nurturing, educating, protecting, and directing her niece toward a better and more prosperous future. The nephew always keeps the good name of his mother. This function of a man as a *mamak* can only be done because a man is positioned as a leader for his group. Every male is principally a leader for his sister's children. The mother's oldest brother is usually called *Mamak Kapalo Warih, Mamak Rumah*, or *Tungganai*. At the tribal and tribal level, the position of the Mamak is as a leader and *penghulu*. Usually, the *penghulu* is chosen and then celebrated and announced to the entire Nagari community. It was on this occasion that Mamak got his tribal title.

The role of the Mamak is significant, namely the mother's brother. However, of course, an uncle with a good and affluent life is more appreciated because the role of the Mamak is almost the same as the role of the father, namely helping his nephew (his sister's son) when he needs something. *Pian* (*Mandeb's* husband), who cares about other nephews, makes her jealous because she prioritizes her nephew more than her child.

*"My nephew has already started school. He can go by bicycle, so he doesn't walk any more."  
"Uda bought his only niece to buy a bicycle. But, many times Nina, Ikbal, and Idrus asked for a bicycle, Uda never took it." (Rizal, 2017, p. 112)*

Based on the quote above, it can be seen that *Pian's* role as Mamak is following the Mining community concept that the child is on the lap, the nephew is *dibimbiang* which means that the child is carried while the nephew is still guided by his hand. In addition to being responsible for children, a Mamak also has an essential role in his sister's children. A man in Mining is considered *urang sumando* by his wife's family. *Urang Sumando* cannot make decisions if there is consensus or deliberation on the part of his wife's family, even if it is related to matters that must be decided for his biological child. For example, consensus on the dowry of his daughter. A Mamak is even more

entitled to give an opinion regarding his niece (nephew). So, he will be considered necessary for his own family, namely as the *Mamak* of his family.

Men in Minangkabau are not as humble as some outside Mining think. There is also the principle of balance in conflict. At first glance, he may be seen as not having a home, but he has two houses, namely a family house on a matrilineal basis and a wife's house as a marriage. Besides working in the fields belonging to his people, a Mamak also does the same thing with his wife. First, he acts based on the function of *Mamak* and, secondly, as his children's father.

Furthermore, in real life, the theoretical conflict between adat and Islam may not occur in practice for individuals and groups. He even questioned the legitimacy of the person who contradicted it (Asnan, 2007). The function of *Mamak* (uncle) in the past was crucial, only to find a mate, the first *Mamak* who intervened with the term *manyalangkan mato* (raising the eyes), which means Mamak does things from the woman's side to see who is suitable for her nephew's future husband (her nephew). This is done so his niece can get a suitable and proper husband. However, nowadays, making mato sad is now done by the father, brother, friend, or the woman herself. Moreover, now with the advancement of IT, something is done through viewing photos or social media. The thing that should be done is to restore the function of Mamak in finding a mate for his nephew, but for now, fathers are also given a role. This effort can be made through socialization or mutual agreement with *niniak Mamak* in the Nagari, as well as local regulations that contain the preservation of local wisdom.

Calling *Mamak kemenakan* can be likened to uncle or uncle to a man in Mining with his nephew. This meaning is not just like a hierarchy for the meaning of greeting and descent, but its meaning is very complex, including the matrilineal Minangkabau cultural context. *Mamak* is considered a person who is responsible for the future and progress of his nephew (Syahrul, 2017).

*Gadang, basa, batuah* are symbols of *niniak mamak* in Minangkabau. *Gadang* means big, namely, people who are elders and become role models in their people. *Basa* means leader and ruler in his tribe. *Bath* means a wise person. So, all the actions and words of a *Mamak* are significant in adat and Nagari. *Ninian Mamak* is not just a title given to someone.

Moreover, *niniak Mamak* is considered the reins of traditional leaders and the pillars of the Nagari. People with a firm attitude in thinking, have principles and opinions, are consistent in speaking, and are responsible for acting. This shows the importance of the role of *niniak Mamak* in adat and the magnitude of the responsibility of *niniak Mamak* in fostering, nurturing, and guiding nephews in Minangkabau (Putra & Supanggih, 2017).

Change is constantly happening. After the nephew grew up and was brilliant, *Ninik Mamak* was no longer sovereign. The old way of consensus that *ninik Mamak* formerly held was replaced by an elected representative. *Ninik Mamak*, or traditional heads, no longer have a decisive function. The title that is still functioning is taken by a nephew whose way of thinking has changed considerably (Mardiati, 2021).

Previously, the leader's prestige, not custom, had declined. This happened not because of their inability to carry out tasks related to adapting but because they supported forced cultivation, forced rosi labor, and taxes that caused unrest. The authority of the *penghulu* decreased due to the appointment of people chosen by the colonial government as *penghulu*, even though, according to their customs, they had no legitimacy (Sari, 2020).

### The Bako-Anak pisang Relationship

The father's sister is called *Bako* by the child, while for a woman, the child of her brother is called the *Anak Pisang*. In its development, *Bako* refers not only to the father's sister but all members of the father's family, including men, all relatives, and those of the same ethnic group. *Bako's* relationship with *anak pisang* is very close. *Bako* becomes the second parent of *Anak Pisang*. *Bako* gives a lot of advice to *Anak pisang* and *Bako* can also fight to educate *Anak pisang*. *Bako* is a place to share information, so *Anak Pisang* is not awkward at home. Many benefits are obtained



based on the relationship between the *Bako* and the *Anak Pisang*. Both male and female banana children get attention from their families, their pulmonary family (mother), and their father's family. This situation makes the child close to his father's family, and the father is also respected in his wife's family. *Bako* was often expressed as the father's sister in the past. However, the meaning of *Bako* is getting fresher. *Bako* can also be a father's brother or paternal family nickname.

One day Mia came to *Mandeh* as her *Bako*. It was clear that the girl was close to her *Bako*, namely *Mandeh*. While hugging her *Bako*, Mia asks her *Bako* for something so that when she gets married, her *bako* rents a horse-drawn carriage as a vehicle to visit the groom as her husband later.

*Mia brought her body closer to the mandeh. Spoiled, the young woman massaged the mandeh's lap (Rizal, 2017, p. 19).*

*Etek* is the name of her father's sister, and Mia asks for her *Bako* wine with a *bendi*. A very crucial thing as *bako* is giving a gift for his *Anak Pisang*, namely *Mande (Bako)* to Mia (*Anak Pisang*).

*Mandeh is Mia's bako mother. On her wedding day, the girl asked for a bako. As a Babo tradition, Mandeh has to buy a gold ring to let Mia go to a new life. Not only that, you must be prepared to take the bride to her heart's favorite house. (Rizal, 2017:20)*

Based on the quote above, it is shown that the task of a *Bako* is also almost the same as that of a *Mamak* (uncle) who has been considered to take care of his nephew (nephew). It is just that if *Mamak's* tasks are more complex or can be categorized as more, remember that *Mamak* has taken care of her niece (the child of her sister) from childhood to the point of finding a mate for her nephew. This is especially true for nieces and nephews because women are considered the *Limpapeh* (guards) of the nan Gadang house, passed down from generation to generation.

*Opet is Sonton's wife and Mandeh's younger brother. Mandeh's love for Laila is not equal to his. Opet is already considered like his own little sister. If Opet does not come to visit, Mandeh has lost Sonton. (Rizal, 2017:66)*

*Ikbal* is a *Mandeh* boy. Since childhood, *Ikbal* was happy visiting his *Bako* (his father's family). A brother from his father called his uncle (the youngest child) is named *Pin*. *Pin* likes to tell stories, and *Ikbal* likes stories from his *uncu*. Whatever the *uncunya* tells him is something new to him and exciting to listen to. Follow the following quote.

*"Then, how is that man now, Uncu?" Ikbal called Pin, Uncu. That man is why Ikbal feels at home in his bako house for a long time. Every night, there was a story he told. (Rizal, 2017:111)*

Even though *Uncu Pin* could not see because, since childhood, he had had a high fever for almost a week, after recovering from a fever, *Uncu Pin* suddenly lost his sight. However, behind his shortcomings, *Uncu* has a steadfast heart and is always cheerful.

*Mandeh's* husband, *Pian*, has a nephew who is his sister's son. They are pretty close and familiar with the *Mandeh* family. *Mandeh* was quite aware of the closeness of his son with his cousins and *bako* children. One day, his brother-in-law (his husband's brother) took the initiative to match his son *Ikbal* with his cousin *Suti*. From the start, *Mandeh* did not agree with the idea of matching his son *Ikbal* with his cousin, the daughter of his *bako*. *Mandeh* thought that going home ka *Bako* made the lineage only revolve within a small family circle so that it did not develop. However, it turns out that the mother of *Mandeh*, who has guessed that *Ikbal's* closeness to his *bako* family since childhood, will end up with *Suti*, the son of his *bako*, and maybe that is what is called a *mate*. Note the following quote.

*Ikebal's matchmaking ends at the aisle. He proposes to Suti, his bako son. It was Mandeh who encouraged the marriage. Suti became Mandeh's favorite daughter-in-law. (Rizal, 2017:114)*

Regarding *bako*, the unique thing about urang Mining is called *pulang ka bako*, namely marrying a daughter to her father's nephew, the son of her *Bako*. Minangkabau has a cultural system with its way of managing and utilizing heirlooms. This also applies to the marriage system. *Pulang ka Bako* is a prioritized marriage that aims to keep the inheritance from falling into the hands of others. The term is *kuah tatuang ka nasi*, which is gravy (for food) poured into the rice. That is, when you want to eat rice, you automatically eat the gravy that has been sprinkled on the rice (Asri, 2013). In addition, what can be said that the good thing in marriage is the marriage of taking and taking, namely the existence of a married brother and sister crossing, which in Mining custom is called *ciek naiak* and *ciek turun*, which means two brothers and sisters are both married. The son-in-law means that he will live with his wife's family, and the son will live in the house of his wife's family. Which eventually became a marriage of *sekorong*, *seluhak*, and *senagari*. Although it is not forbidden to marry outside Mining people, it is still recommended to marry people who are still from Mining because they are still related to almost the same customs (Asmaniar, 2018).

Not entirely matrilineal kinship here switches to bilateral parenting whose kinship system draws a father and mother line because matrilineal kinship is only limited to the preservation of tribes and inheritance as successors of descent (Syibly & Mu'allim, 2020). The existence of a *bako* and *Anak pisang* relationship between the wife's family and the husband's family, as well as separating high inheritance from low inheritance with various consequences, is evidence that this matrilineal kinship is a response to the development, and this is evidenced in the distribution of common inheritance, which is where men and women get the same rights as heirs (Emmery & Dahlan, 2017).

In the *Limpapeh* novel, it is seen that the responsibility of the mande character as the *Bako* to his *Anak Pisang* is when his *Anak pisang*, the daughter of his older brother, asks *Mande* as his *Bako* to be able to buy a gold ring as a sign of letting his *Anak Pisang* (his nephew) become a prospective bride. A common thing that still happens today is that *Bako* must give his *Anak pisang* something considered the most valuable sign of affection, including later when the *Anak Pisang* gives birth.

The ideal of marriage is not evenly applied in Minangkabau. Ideally, this is limited to the marriage of *Bako Anak Pisang* (the system of marrying back *ka Bako*), not in a general sense. The ideal marriage applied like this has a clear purpose, only to preserve high heirlooms. If the wife dies and leaves a daughter, then the high inheritance will surely fall into her child's hands as *Bako's* grandson and the grandson from matrilineal kinship. Along with the decrease of high inheritance property and the strengthening of low inheritance position in the family (husband and wife search property), it will also impact the ideal marriage. Other factors can also prevent the relationship between *Bako* and *Anak Pisang* from breaking in the event of a divorce (Yaswirman, 2017).

### Andan-Pasumandan Ties

The relationship between *andan Pasumandan* in Minangkabau society is a kinship relationship between family members and other family members resulting from marital relations. According to Navis, the pattern of relationships between members of a *Rumah gadang* or another village. *Pasumandan* ties refer more to the relationship between the pulmonary family and the *besan* family or the husband and wife family of his siblings. At the same time, the *andan* relationship refers more to family relationships (*paruik*, *clans*, and *tribes*) with families who become *pasumandan* for the extended family (Africa, 2009).

The *andan-pasumandan* relationship is more communal and horizontal because it connects two different families and between the same generation, so this relationship shows a form of cooperation rather than a commanding relationship between people who feel older and those



below them. This is very visible when there is a marriage in one family. The son-in-law (*sumandan*) will invite his family of origin to attend the family. So this makes the family relationship even closer when the existence of the son-in-law can connect his family with the husband or wife's family.

When there is a marriage between a man and a woman, the relationship will expand between complex families. Not only in the form of the relationship of children, in-laws, and in-laws. However, a relationship will occur because of the blood relationship between the husband's brother or the wife's brother called brother-in-law. In Minangkabau society, a brother-in-law can be referred to as *pambayan*, who has an attachment to *andan* and *pasumandan*.

Furthermore, in the Minangkabau country, the direction to the coast can be categorized as bridesmaids. However, if there has been a marriage and a woman become the daughter-in-law in day-to-day matters within her husband's family relatives, her own family, and the community, she has the right to become a nanny who can accompany the bride as a lady-in-waiting, which means that she had had a broad function in society when she was married—compared to when he was unmarried.

The relationship extends, which can be a relationship as a son-in-law or a relationship as a son-in-law. Sometimes each region has a different meaning in interpreting the function of *andan* and *pasumandan*, which means it can function as a son-in-law and a brother-in-law.

In the nuclear family, namely the father, mother, and children, small or large disputes often occur. Brothers and sisters also sometimes do not have the same idea, or there are differences of opinion. Likewise, the relationship that exists because of the relationship between siblings' marriage affects other people, namely the relationship between in-laws. Note the quote below.

*Mandeh's anger has not subsided. He was still waiting for Sam's words to cool his heart. "Maybe Uda's wife instigated." (Rizal, 2017, p. 20)*

*Mandeh*, who serves as a housekeeper for his family, often feels displeased with the presence of his brother-in-law (wife of his older brother) because sometimes he feels that his brother sometimes does not pay much attention to his nephew (nephew) even though in Mining taking care of his nephew is also an uncle's obligation (*Mamak*), especially again with the state of *mande* who is a widow. *Mandeh* feels that his brother-in-law often forbids his brother so that he forgets his obligations as a *Mamak*. In addition, with the *mande* being difficult or not having a job, he must carry out his function as a *bako* who must give his *Anak pisang* a request as a wedding gift later. *Mandeh* felt that the child's mother-in-law instigated the banana cub's request.

Another relationship also occurred with the wife of another *mandeh* brother named *Buyus*. Respect should not only be applied to people who are considered older. However, respect must also be shown to people younger or the same age because of the effects of kinship ties. For example, even though there is a niece (nephew) who is older than the uncle (*Mamak*) or aunt (*etek*), because of family ties, a nephew still uses greeting words that age the function of the uncle or aunt. The same is true of the in-law relationship. Even though a brother-in-law is younger or the same age, he is still called by the greeting words *Uda* (brother) or *Uni* (sister) because he is the wife/husband of the older brother. Note the quote below.

*Sona is Buyus' wife. He is the same age as Mandeh. Nevertheless, because she is his brother's wife. Mandeh calls him Uni. "Did you get what Uni was looking for?" (Rizal, 2017, p. 92)*

*Mandeh* and *Sona* are playmates and friends. Made. Before *Sona* married *Buyus*, *Mandeh* only called *Sona* by her name. However, when *Mandeh's* older brother, *Buyus*, married *Sona* as a sign of respect or appreciation, the nickname was finally added with *Uni* or sister.

The existence of men in matrilineal society is weak, so it is likened to ashes on ateh *Tunggua* (ash on a wooden stump). This reflects the strong position of women in a matrilineal society

(Diradjo, 2015). In addition, the men's position is also considered an outsider to his wife. So the existence of men is not considered so important. In addition, at this time, many wives are asking for a divorce because they are already working and can support their children (Jelly et al., 2019; Kusniarti, 2018). However, along with the times, many customs have begun to be abandoned because they are deemed inappropriate for the times. However, good things can still be held which aim to preserve culture as an ancestral heritage. Such custom cannot be maintained because custom is 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. (Hanifuddin, 2015).

## CONCLUSION

Based on the novel researched, it can be concluded that aspects of the kinship system are from *Suku* and *Sako*, *Mamak* and *kemenakan*, *bako* and *Anak Pisang*, *andan* and *pasumandan*. Most factors related to kinship are related to the role of *bako* and *Anak Pisang* and *Mamak* because the kinship system presents a typical relationship between characters in the story and human problems. Things related to the past in the relationship between *Mamak* and *kemenakan* in the present have begun to shift. In the past, the term *Anak dipangku*, *kemenakan* *dibimbing* meant that the child is carried and the nephew is guided was the obligation of an uncle who was also responsible for their sister's children because his children were also the responsibility of his wife's sister. However, nowadays, fathers in Minangkabau society must put their children first and take full responsibility for their children. The problem of kinship in the matrilineal system is an essential issue for the people of West Sumatra because this is the character values of the community as a way of life.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This article is part of my dissertation research on *Matrilineal Issues in the Minangkabau Post-reformation Local Color Novel* as local-based women's education in modern Indonesian novels with the study of Literary Socioanthropology. Therefore, I would like to thank all parties who have helped in the process of this research, namely; (1) Education Fund Management Institution (LPDP) Ministry of Finance The Republic of Indonesia, which funded this research through the Indonesian Lecturer Featured Scholarship Program; (2) Promoter and Co-promoter II who have facilitated all processes of scientific consultation for this research; (3) Postgraduate Program Academic Section, Jakarta State University; and 4) all parties who have helped during the research process.

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