

# Marriage Patterns in Local Minangkabau Novels in the Reform Era

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## ABSTRACT

For the Minangkabau community, there are forbidden marriages, ideal marriages and discordant marriages. The issue of marriage in Minangkabau society is also discussed by the author in literary works as a manifestation of phenomena that develop in society. Literary works that raise the issue of marriage in Minangkabau culture have appeared since the establishment of the Balai Pustaka force with the story of *Siti Nurbaya* by Marah Rusli until now. The purpose of this paper is to describe the pattern of marriage in local Minangkabau novels written in the reform era. This study uses an objective approach with an inductive design model. The data sources for this paper are local Minangkabau novels written during the reform era including; 1) *Bulan Susut* by Ismet Fanani, 2) *Rinai Kabut Singgalang*, by Muhammad Subhan, 3) *Mengurai Rindu* by Nang Syamsuddin, 4) *Persiden*, by Wisran Hadi, 5) *Rumah Mande* by Irhayati Harun. Based on the results of the study, it was concluded that the marriage pattern in the local Minangkabau novels written in the reform era had an ideal form of marriage, discordant marriages and forbidden marriages carried out by the characters of the story. In the novel, the author describes a cultural shift in society. Society is no longer bound by the rules of the recommended form of marriage. This will certainly have an impact, both positively and negatively on the pattern of life of the Minangkabau community itself. On the other hand, the form of changing marriages and going home to the father's sister as the ideal form of marriage that is recommended is not found in local Minangkabau novels written during the reform era.

**Keywords:** Marriage, Minangkabau, Novels, Reform Era

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Literary work, whatever its form, is a reflection of the culture of a society where the author comes from or lives. Literary texts are a place for authors to represent culture, education, values, economics, politics, and all aspects of a society's life to the reader. Through literary works, readers can also find out various forms of cultural wealth and values that belong to a group. Ratna (2005) explains that there is an essential relationship between literary works and society. The relationships in question are caused by (1) the literary work produced by the author, (2) the author himself is a member of the community, (3) the author utilizes the wealth that exists in society, and (4) the literary work is reused by the community.

Various cultural issues are discussed in literary works. The issue of ideology, women, and marriage are

important themes that are discussed in cultural studies in literary works. Cultural studies are discussed and understood along with changes in behavior and perspectives of cultural owners and readers of literary works. This is influenced by the development of technology and science, and the intersection of two different cultures, both coming and being brought by someone in a different cultural group.

These different views also occur in the marriage system in the Minangkabau culture. Over time, there has been a shift in the pattern of marriage in Minangkabau's society. This is also an important theme that the author discusses in his work.

The marriage system in Minangkabau, in fact, is recommended and some is forbidden. The two marriage systems have their own goals which are considered to have a positive impact on the survival of the tribes in Minangkabau. One of the recommended forms of marriage is to change the mat (get out of bed).

A type of marriage that changes the lineage is carried out when the husband or wife dies and the husband or wife remarries with the husband's or wife's siblings. Such marriages aim to ensure that children from previous marriages do not have mothers or fathers in people outside the clan, but remain within the clan as well.

Examples of prohibited marriage cases include marrying someone outside the Minangkabau culture. The taboo aims to keep the lineage matrilineal and inheritance rights do not fall into the hands of others. In addition, it also has an impact on family relationships and the preservation or inheritance of Minangkabau culture to the next generation.

Minangkabau's culture related to marital problems is still held by the community and still valid today. It is even discussed in literary works such as in novels. The novel as a literary work provides an opportunity for the author to convey various problems that he observes, finds, and feels as positive and negative effects in the pattern of marriage. This is partly due to the existence of the author as a social being. Esten (1988:12) explains that the existence of an Indonesian writer is an artist from two worlds, namely the world of regional culture and the new world of Indonesia so that the works he creates will never be separated from the influence of the cultural value system of the area where the writer comes from.

It is only natural that in the realm of Indonesian literature there are writers from the Minangkabau ethnicity who talk about issues of the Minangkabau tribe, even though they received education outside the Minangkabau area. Even Minangkabau people who received education in cultural centers outside the Minangkabau world brought progress and creative reflection. One of those creative reflections is contained in a literary work in the form of a novel. Indonesian writers who used the richness of Minangkabau culture as a source of creation, including Marah Rusli with his work *Siti Nurbaya*, Writing Sutan Sati with his work *Sengsara Membawa Nikmat*, Hamka with his work *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck*, AA Navis with his work *Kemarau*, and Wisran Hadi with his work *Orang Orang Blanti*. Apart from the aforementioned writers, there are many other authors who create works with nuances of Minangkabau's culture.

Literary works (novels) that explore the problems of Minangkabau society as a matrilineal society and discuss marriage issues in Minangkabau culture have appeared since the 20s. Precisely when the term

romance was first used in Indonesia. The literary works (novels) in question include *Siti Nurbaya* who talks about the marriage of Dt. Maringgih with Siti Nurbaya who was used as the author to discuss the problems that arose as a result of the marriage. Furthermore, the novel *Salah Asuhan* which questions the form of marriage of different nations which also triggers other cultural problems. Both novels are romances that have big names and make marriage to carry the storyline from the beginning, climax, and to the end. One of the reasons for this is the controversial form of marriage in the Minangkabau ethnic group, causing debate. By reading these two novels, there will be a change in the mindset and orientation of the reader's culture to a more open direction. This proves that the novel is not only based on the author's imagination, but also based on the reality that develops in society.

Many literary works that discuss the issue of marriage in Minangkabau's culture have been published and received various awards. Based on this, the writer wants to examine the expressions of Minangkabau's culture related to the marriage system in literary works, especially in the form of novels. The selection of the novels is based on the cultural issues raised by the authors. The analysis of novels with local Minangkabau nuances in the reform era aims to see the marriage system that occurred in Minangkabau society at that time. The novels that are used as objects of research are novels written during the reformation era. These novels include, *Mengurai Rindu* by Nang Syamsuddin (2012), *Bulan Susut* by Ismet Fanany (2005), *Rinai Kabut Singgalang* by Muahammad Subhan (2011), *Persiden* by Wisran Hadi (2013), and *Rumah Mande* by Irhayati Harun. and Agus (2013).

The researcher choses these novels because they discussed issues of Minangkabau's society and culture. The selection of the object of this research is also based on the relationship between the literary work and the author, the background, the creativity of the elements contained in the work, the period, the flow, and so on which is a talk about culture. In other words, the content of literary works is culture, so there is an opinion which states that to know the culture of a society, it must be understood through literary works and the background of the author.

This is because the author lives socially and socially in the place where he lives. Luxembourg also expressed the same opinion. Luxemburg (1989:5-23) explains that literature is a creation, a creation, not merely an imitation. The object is the experience of everyday human life, especially regarding socio-cultural. Literary works can be seen as a social

symptom of a society because they are directly related to the norms and customs that existed in society at the time the work was written by the author.

Furthermore, Junus (in Atmazaki, 2005:59) states that the relationship between literary works and society stems from the assumption that literary works are a reflection of the state of society or a reflection of a period. Literature is a social reflection. Literary works are considered to imagine or refract people's lives. According to Wicaksono, (2014), to understand a literary work as a reflection of reality, it is also necessary to consider literary works as fictional works. Thus, literary works are imitation of reality through the author's imaginative creative process.

Thus, literature is part of culture. That is, when studying culture, it cannot be seen as something static (not changing), but as something dynamic (always changing). The relationship between culture and society as a whole, where the social system itself is a part of culture. Culture itself is a value system, namely in the form of rules that determine an object or action that is of higher value, more desirable, than others.

## 1.2 Theory Study

In this study, the researchers made several theories related to the marriage pattern that should be according to Minangkabau customs and culture as the basis for benchmarking. In this theory, the forms of marriage are discussed, namely, 1) ideal or recommended forms of marriage, 2) prohibited or prohibited forms of marriage, and 3) discordant forms of marriage. The forms of marriage are described one by one in the following description!

### 1.2.1 Recommended Marriage

The validity of marriage according to Minangkabau customary law is in accordance with the provisions stated by Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage Article 2 paragraph (1), namely the validity of marriage based on each religion and belief. For the Minangkabau community who are Muslim, the validity of marriage is in accordance with what is determined by Islamic law regarding the legal requirements and pillars of marriage. Marriage according to customary law is a matter of relatives, family affairs, community affairs, personal affairs with each other in very different relationships.

In customary law, marriage is not only a matter of the individuals who carry out the marriage, but also includes the problems of the families concerned,

starting from finding a partner, engagement, even to the consequences of the marriage. Marriage in customary law is not only a matter of the bride and groom, but also the family problems of both parties and the prevailing social system.

There are three marriage systems that are the most ideal for the Minangkabau's community. *First*, marriages between close families, such as marriages between children and nephews or with the term *pulang ka bako*. *Second*, *ambil mengambil/timba baluak*. This means that brothers and sisters A are cross-married with brothers and sisters B. *Third*, marriage with people from the same area, *sekampung, senagari* and other Minangkabau people. In other words, the ideal marriage for the Minangkabau's community is the marriage of *awak samo awak* (Navis, 1986:194).

### 1.2.2 Prohibited Marriage

Marriage law in addition to having prohibitions there are also forms of forbidden marriage and discordant marriages (Navis, 1986: 196). Marriages that are prohibited for the Minangkabau community are marriages that are prohibited according to marriage law in Islam. Marriages that are prohibited according to general Islamic marriage law, such as marrying a mother, father, children of the same mother and father, mother and father, brothers and sisters, in-laws and son-in-law, children of wife and mother or stepfather, siblings of wife or husband, and father's brother's son.

Abstinence marriage is a marriage that will destroy their customary system. Abstinence marriage is a marriage of kinship according to matrilineal kinship, ethnicity, and ethnicity, even though there is no kinship and not the same hometown. Marriages that are prohibited for the sake of maintaining social harmony, namely (1) marrying people who have been divorced by relatives or friends, (2) bringing together women who are related or related, (3) marrying people who are engaged, and (4) marrying stepchildren of siblings.

### 1.2.3 Donate Marriage

In addition to abstinence marriages, discordant marriages are also encountered, in which there are no prohibitions and taboos, but they are not carried out. A discordant marriage that will damage social harmony is more about keeping people's self-esteem from being offended or feeling humiliated. According to their teachings, the most important thing is to maintain self-respect. For this reason, the teachings of *raso jo pareso* (taste and check) or *batenggang raso* (tolerance) are exalted as expressed in the teachings of marriage law.

Sanctions or punishments imposed on violators depend on the decisions made by the deliberation of their people. As for the level of sanctions given, among others, dissolving the marriage, throwing out the law by being expelled from the village or being excommunicated from the association, can also be carried out with a fine by apologizing to all parties at a banquet by cutting one to two livestock.

### **1.3 Relevant Studies**

Research on local Minangkabau novels has previously been conducted by the researcher herself, Zulfikarni (2021) with the title, *The Minangkabau Community Marriage Pattern in Wisran Hadi's novels written by the Reformation Era*. In this study, it was found that there were forms of abstinence marriage in the form of marrying people of different religions, ideal marriages according to Minangkabau society, and discordant marriages, namely marrying people whose origins were not clear. Meanwhile, the recommended marriage in the form of going home to bako and changing the table was not found.

Furthermore, research conducted by Asmaniar (2018) with the title "*Minangkabau Traditional Marriage*". In this study it was found that for the Minangkabau community who are Muslim, marriage is carried out in accordance with the provisions of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage. There are 2 (two) types of marriages for the Minangkabau indigenous people, namely: 1) The ideal marriage is marriage between close families such as children of nephews; 2) Abstinence marriage is a marriage that cannot be carried out like a child of the same mother or father. However, in practice, there is a shift in form caused by the times. Asminar's research has similarities with the research that the researchers did, namely they both looked at the form of marriage in Minangkabau society. In Asminar's research, she talks about marital problems that actually occur in society. While this study examines the form of marriage in literary works.

Furthermore, research conducted by Kurnia, (2019) with the title "*The Struggle of Customs and Religion (Marriage of Sasuku in Minangkabau in the Salah Pilih Novel by Noer Sutan Iskandar)*". In Kurnia's research, it was found that there were ethnic marriages and were allowed in religion, but that was opposed by custom. Thus there is a discrepancy between custom and religion, even though syarak is the basis in the implementation of adat. Through this novel, the author raises the issue of differences in views between customs and culture through a marriage which triggers other major problems in Minangkabau society. Kurnia's

research and the research that the researcher carried out both examined marriage in a novel with a Minangkabau background.

## **2. RESEARCH METHOD**

This study uses a mimetic approach, with an inductive design model. The use of an objective approach is considered suitable because the researcher only researches, finds, discusses and concludes based on the novel alone. Researchers do not associate research with things outside of literature. The determination of the inductive design in this study is because the objectives, processes, and data are verbal, including the theoretical references of fiction, semiotics, and stylistic analysis that underlie the analysis and have qualitative content. Operationally, this research also uses the principles of content analysis methods, particularly the qualitative content analysis method, which is a method commonly used to understand symbolic messages in literary works in the form of novels. The symbolic message can be found from the analysis of the intrinsic elements, especially the conflicts experienced by the story characters in the novel which is used as a source of research data.

The research data was taken by *purposive sampling* in accordance with the research interests. Taking the object of this research is in accordance with the opinion of Sugiyono (2010) that to determine the research sample by *purposive sampling* with certain considerations that aim to make the data obtained later can be more representative. Thus, sampling is based on the research objectives that have been set. The data of this research are words, phrases, clauses, and sentences that state the marriage system that occurs in Minangkabau society in the novels set in Minangkabau which were written during the Reformation era. In addition, research data is also in the form of data generated intuitively by researchers and triangulated to experts in the field of literature and culture.

## **3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **3.1. Expression of Marriage Systems**

#### *3.1.1. Expression of Marriage Systems in Megurai Rindu Novel by Nang Syamsuddin*

Marriage for the Minangkabau's community is something important for a people. If there are men and women who have not married while it is time, then it is a disgrace to the family. Even to get a mate, the

members of the clan do not hesitate to pawn their inheritance to seek marriage for their children. This can be seen through the following quote.

*“Aku malu juga kalau kau tidak kawin-kawin. Kalau perlu harta pusaka itu akan aku gadaikan. Malu kalau ada “gadiah gadang indak balaki”, kata mamaku. (Syamsuddin, 2012: 18)*

For the Minangkabau’s community, the pattern of marriage must also be according to the Minangkabau cultural order. In this case there is a marriage that is recommended and there is also a marriage that is forbidden. If there is a marriage that is forbidden according to custom, then those who violate it will not be recognized by custom and will even be expelled from the people. As seen through the following quote.

*Bukan hanya dari keluarga mamaku, keluarga papa pun menentang hubungan mereka. Kedua keluarga sama-sama keras. Papa dan mamaku pun sama kerasnya. Akhirnya mereka menikah tanpa restu pihak keluarga. Bisa kamu bayangkan, Lela, apa yang terjadi?”*

*“Mereka dibuang keluarga.” (Syamsuddin, 2012: 42—43)*

*“Di situlah kekuatan mereka. Kedua orang tuaku keluar dari rumah keluarganya, mengontrak sebuah kedai kecil di Tanah Kongsu. Di sana mamaku mulai membuka usaha kue-kue. (Syamsuddin, 2012: 43)*

In addition to not being recognized in the family, those who violate are also unable to have good relations with members of their clan. The existence of marriages of different cultures (outside the Minangkabau community) is a disgrace for a people. They are considered to have violated the customary order, so they have no place in their people. As in the following quote.

*“Bagaimana hubungan mamaku dengan keluarganya?”*

*“Putus sama sekali selama bertahun-tahun. Baru mulai agak membaik ketika aku sudah di kelas enam SD, Siska kelas dua, sementara Koko Leng kelas dua SMP. (Syamsuddin, 2012: 43)*

In the novel *Mengurai Rindu*, there has been a cross-cultural marriage between Minangkabau and mixed ethnic Chinese. For a people, marriage like this is considered an unequal or equal marriage. Marriage

for nephews in Minangkabau society is expected to marry fellow Minangkabau people who are clearly ethnic, clans, and relatives. As seen in the following quote.

*“Mereka mengatakan Bu Lela dengan kakak Bu Siska tidak setara?”*

*“Dalam hal apa?” “status sosial.” “Apa perbedaannya?” “Pada dasarnya etnis Bu Siska menganggap etnis Bu Lela sedikit lebih rendah dari mereka.”*

*“Orang mana dia? Kemenakan siapa dia? Apa sukunya?” tanya Angku Datuk bertubi-tubi. Adikku memandang padaku, menunggu reaksiku. “Dia orang Padang. Suku Melayu. Dia kemenakan Angku Rajo Junjungan.” (Syamsuddin, 2012: 68)*

Although this intercultural marriage is opposed by uncle, family, and people around Siska's character, she will still maintain the marriage. Siska's character tries to give various arguments to her mother and the people around her to accept her marriage, even though many parties do not want the intercultural marriage. The members of the clan are still trying to maintain the form of the marriage of *awak samo awak*, as shown in the following quote.

*“Begini Angku. Bapaknya memang keturunan Tionghoa. Tapi mamanya asli Padang. Jadi dia campuran Padang dan Tionghoa.” Angku Datuk terkejut dengan penjelasanku. Mengapa dia yang kau pilih Lela?” “Apa salahnya kalau dia Angku?”*

*“Apa salahnya kata kau, Lela? Banyak salahnya. Pertama mengapa laki-laki campuran itu yang kau pilih. Mengapa tidak dari suku Tanjung atau Pili yang banyak di kampung kita ini!” (Syamsuddin, 2012: 69)*

*“Bu Lela. Keluarga Minang pun banyak yang berpendirian seperti itu. Aku setuju dengan bu Susi. Sebaiknya Bu Lela tidak meneruskan hubungan itu. Semuanya demi ketenangan kita.” Sekarang Bu Rima bicara. (Syamsuddin, 2012: 74)*

In various ways, the Siska’s figure succeeded in influencing members of the clan to accept the marriage. However, Mamak (Angku Datuk) still refuses the marriage. As a result of the marriage, Angku Datuk did not come to the wedding and did not want to meet lela. As in the following quote.

*“Keluarga sudah sepakat menyetujui pilihanku. Tinggal mengatur siapa-siapa saja*

yang akan ikut terlibat. (Syamsuddin, 2012: 88)

*Angku Datuk sengaja tidak mau bertemu denganku karena ia memang tidak menyukai pilihanku. Waktu aku menikah dan baralek pun beliau tidak datang. (Syamsuddin, 2012:125)*

With the marriage carried out by Siska's character, it can be seen that there is a change in the pattern of marriage in Minangkabau society in this novel by Nang Syamsuddin. The marriage pattern which was originally expected to be in the form of a crew of samo crew marriage, changed to a consensual pattern of marriage despite different cultures. Marriages like this also get support from some family members in the clan, but there are still those who vehemently reject the pattern of abstinence marriage as practiced by Siska's character.

### 3.1.2. Expression of Marriage Systems in *Bulan Susut* Novel by Ismet Fanany

The marriage that is expected for within one tribe is the marriage of the Minangkabau community but of different ethnic groups. Not only that, the marriage must also be carried out as well as possible by both parties of the family. In this marriage, it is usually approved by the members of the clan, especially the mamak who is fully responsible for the marriage of women in the people they lead. Meanwhile, in the novel *Bulan Susut*, there is a marriage that is not in accordance with the procedures according to custom. This also has a negative impact on the unfair treatment of mamak towards nieces or sisters themselves.

*“Sebenarnya yang tidak disukai Datuak Malik adalah cara mereka kawin. Memalukan keluarga, pikir Datuak. Sekalipun ini juga kesalahan Rohana, bukan kesalahan laki-laki itu saja, Datuak Malik membenci suami Rohana itu. Kalau dia mau jujur, Datuak Malik sebagai Penghulu dan Mamak dalam keluarga besar mereka itu juga ikut bertanggung jawab. Dia pilih kasih. Saudara-saudara perempuannya itu tidak diperlakukannya dengan sama dan adil.” (Fanany, 2005: 17)*

The opposite happened to the uncle within the clan itself. He runs a marriage system that is recommended according to the Minangkabau traditional order. One form of marriage is going home ka bako, where a child marries the child of his mother's brother (anak mamak) with the aim of keeping the kinship relationship unbroken. When the recommended marriage was

carried out by the mamak in the tribe, but from that marriage they did not find happiness. As in the following quote.

*“ Kasihan Datuak itu, Wan,” cerita Laili berlanjut. Dia tidak bertanya kenapa dia kasihan karena dia tahu Laili akan bercerita juga. “Dia kan kawin dengan anak pamannya seperti kamu kalau kawi dengan Yumna itu. Tetapi dia bilang kepadaku kenikmatan di ranjang tidak ada. Seperti kewajiban saja. Tugas membuat anak. “ (Fananny, 2005: 105)*

Thus, it can be seen that there are two forms of marriage in *Bulan Susut* novel. First, the occurrence of an ideal marriage according to custom, but the absence of harmony from the result of the marriage. Second, there was a marriage that was not approved by the members of the clan and they were ostracized from the clan, but from this marriage they lived happily.

### 3.1.3. Expression of Marriage Systems in *Rinai Kabut Singgalang* Novel by Muhammad Subhan

Furthermore, in *Rinai Kabut Singgalang* Novel, the expected marriage according to Minangkabau` customs and culture is also not found. The characters in the story get married to a partner of their own choosing, not looking for their mamak. In this marriage, clan members disapprove of their relationship. Because it was not approved, they did a series of marriages or with the popular term "nikah eloping". After that they left the village and never came back. As in the following quote.

*Sejak remaja menjalin kasih dan memilih kawin lari lantaran pihak keluarga ibunya tidak restu.(Subhan, 2011: 17)*

*Namun akhirnya, ia dan Munaf memilih. Jalan mereka sendiri, menikah dengan tidak mendapat restu pihak keluarga. Untung abang suaminya mau menikahkan mereka. (Subhan, 2011: 32)*

Furthermore, in the marriage of Munaf's children, there is also no interference from clan members. In choosing a husband or wife, they do not look at their ethnicity, culture, origin, and occupation. They determine their own partners and then get married. After marriage they do not live in the house of a woman's family, but accompany their husbands wander. In this marriage there is no need for the intervention of mamak or clan members. If both

parents are compatible with their child's choice, then the marriage can take place. In this case, it can be seen that in a marriage like this there is a change in the pattern from the matriarchal pattern to the patriarchal pattern. As in the following quote.

*Rahmah dapat suami seorang pemuda yang bekerja sebagai tukang bengkel sepeda motor dan ikut suaminya merantau ke Jawa Barat.*

*Sedangkan Annisa menikah dengan seorang guru mengaji, kemudian ikut suaminya pula keluar kota yang tidak jauh dari kampung tempat tinggal mereka. (Subhan, 2011: 18)*

Although marriage in the way described by the author through the previous quote occurs within a tribe, the Minangkabau community in general still does not accept this form of marriage. The community considers the marriage to be a forbidden marriage. If it continues to be done, then it is a disgrace in a people and will be remembered by people for generations to come. As seen in the following quote.

*Sebagian ada yang mencibir mengenang kejadian beberapa puluh tahun silam kala ibu anak muda itu menghebohkan kampung yang beradat itu lantaran kawin lari dengan pilihannya sendiri. Ibunya itu dianggap tidak beradat, membuat aib, hingga kedua prangtuanya kedua orangtuanya menanggung sakit lalu meninggal dunia. (Subhan, 2011: 79)*

Furthermore, it was also found that marriages occurred on the basis of reciprocity. Rahima's sister has owed someone. The debt will be considered paid off if he wants to marry his sister to the person who owes the debt. In this marriage, the selection of a mate is no longer in accordance with the form of marriage recommended in Minangkabau` customs. Rahima's sister is more concerned with material, rank, and position, not origin, nation and nobility. As in the following quote.

*Di kemudian hari, barulah Rahima tahu bahwa pertalian jodoh yang diikatkan Ningsih dengan suaminya itu lantaran balas budi karena Ningsih punya utang yang cukup besar nilainya. ( Subhan, 2011: 338)*

Also in the next quote.

*Dicarinya jodoh yang lebih pantas, lebih berpangkat dan berharta untuk menjadi suami si gadis. Maka masih banyaklah terjadi kawin*

*paksa ala Siti Nurbaya di jaman sekarang. (Subhan, 2011: 340)*

Based on these two quotes, it can be concluded that there is another purpose of the marriage. Marriage is no longer based on noble values to build a happy household so as to give birth to a quality generation, but marriage for the sake of wealth alone. So to achieve the goal, the match making is based on solely on property.

### 3.1.4. *Expression of Marriage Systems in Persiden Novel by Wisran Hadi*

Furthermore, the *Persiden* novel also found a form of marriage that was not in accordance with the marriage pattern recommended in Minangkabau`s culture. The Malati`s character marries a man of her choice without the knowledge of her uncle and other clan members. They had committed adultery with the man they loved and were forced to marry in secret. This marriage is only known by Malati's parents. In this case, it can be seen that the marriage of a child is no longer dependent on the mamak in his clan, but is determined by the couple themselves and their parents. As in the following quote.

*“Yang penting saat ini bukan prosedur apa yang telah mereka tempuh. Melati telah nikah dan melahirkan secara tidak wajar.”  
“Lalu?”  
“Persoalan ini telah menjadi aib. Apakah kita akan menutupnya untuk menjaga nama baik keluarga?” (Hadi, 2013: 63)*

*Secara lebih jelas dikatakan Pa Mikie bahwa Ci Inan dan suaminya membenarkan perzinahan terjadi di dalam keluarga Rumah Bagonjong. (Hadi, 2013: 64)*

Furthermore, there are also forms of marriage that are prohibited by religion and cultural customs. A man marries a widow and then divorces her again with the aim that the widow can remarry her ex-husband who has given her three talaqs. By sharia, marriages that are planned for divorce are strictly prohibited, automatically also prohibited in Minangkabau customs. As in the following quote.

*“Seperti janda-janda yang kunikahi itu, Rau. Mereka mau merujuk kembali dengan suaminya. Tetapi karena sudah melakukan perceraian sampai tiga kali, mereka langsung terhalang hukum pernikahan. Karenanya aku diperlukan sebagai suami selingan.*

*Menikahinya kemudian menceraikan. (Hadi, 2013: 116)*

After marrying the man of her choice in an unnatural way, then news also spread that Malati also remarried to a batik trader in Jakarta. This marriage also brings down the good name of a people in the eyes of other people. As in the next quote.

*Kabar yang disiarkan Comaik bahwa Malati telah menikah dengan pedagang batik sangat menusuk perasaan. Tidak masuk akal sama sekali. Ini pasti sebuah fitnah yang sengaja dilemparkan, sehingga citra keluarga Rumah Bagonjong semakin turun dimata masyarakat. (Hadi, 2013: 354)*

According to Navis (1984: 196), marriage of abstinence according to Minangkabau's custom is a marriage that is prohibited in Islam, namely marriage before marriage or in other terms adultery. In addition to forbidden marriages, Malati also performs abstinence marriages, namely marrying people who come from outside the Minangkabau culture. Traditionally, Malati should have been punished by being expelled from the village. This sanction could not be given to Malati because she was protected by her father and mother.

### 3.1.5. *Expression of Marriage Systems in Rumah Mande Novel by Irhayati Harun dan Gusrianto*

Unlike the previous novels, in this novel *Rumah Mande*, a child's marriage is not determined by parents, clan members, or uncle. The decision with who one will marry rests entirely with the child regardless of ethnicity and culture. As seen through the following quote.

*“ Nak! Kau berhak menentukan hidupmu. Mande tak akan memaksamu lagi. Lebih baik Mande melihatmu tak jadi menikah daripada harus ditinggalkan kau, Layla.”*

*“Meskipun Bagindo Sulaiman marah dan memberhentikan Mande dari pekerjaan, Mande akan terima. Layla, Mande sayang padamu. Apa yang mande lakukan semata-mata karena Mande tahu ini baik bagimu.” (Harun, 2013: 41)*

Furthermore, no problems were found in a person's marriage when he/she married someone outside the

Minangkabau's culture. This form of marriage is based on consensual basis. No one will question with whose child and which tribe one will marry. As in the following quote.

*Hingga aku memutuskan untuk menikah dengan seorang gadis berdarah batak. Awalnya rumah tangga kami baik-baik saja, tapi lama-kelamaan, aku tahu kalau dia tidak mencintaiku dan sering berbohong padaku. Sebelum menikah, aku sudah mengatakan padanya, bahwa setiap bulan aku harus menyisihkan gajiku untuk dikirim pada keluarga di kampung, dia setuju, tapi dengan syarat dia yang akan mengirimkan uang itu. (Harun, 2013: 101)*

From the two quotations presented above, it is found that in marriage there are no longer found forms of marriage that are recommended according to custom. If it is in accordance with the pillars and conditions, a marriage according to religion, then the marriage can be held without considering customs. This form of marriage is also not recommended in Minangkabau's culture, as stated by Navis (1984: 195) that if a man marries a woman who is not from Minangkabau, then this marriage is considered an unfavorable marriage because the children born of the marriage these cannot be considered as Minangkabau people.

## 4. CONCLUSION

The ideal marriage system for Minangkabau society in literary works is the same as the ideal marriage system for Minangkabau society in general. The Minangkabau community described by the authors in his work does not accept marriage within tribes, between cultures, let alone between religions. For those who violate this marriage rule, then in Minangkabau custom they are not recognized as traditional people. If they are not recognized by custom, it means that they are not entitled to inheritance of pusako land, the title of penghulu, and are not allowed to live in a rumah gadang, let alone build a gadang house or be subject to sanctions according to customary rules. In the novels *Persiden*, *Mengurai Rindu*, dan *Bulan Susut*, and *Rinai Kabut Singgalang*, there is a forbidden marriage, namely marrying someone who is not from Minangkabau. As a result of this marriage, those who marry do not receive good treatment according to custom, do not get the right to opinion and inheritance and they are forced to leave their hometown because these people feel ashamed of other people.

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