

## ADAT RANTAU AS A SOLUTION FOR MULTI-ETHNIC MARRIAGE IN PASAMAN, WEST SUMATERA

Nofiardi

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Bukittinggi, Indonesia  
Jl. Paninjauan Garegeh, Bukittinggi, West Sumatera, Indonesia  
e-mail: nofiardi.drz@gmail.com

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**Abstract:** Inter-ethnic marriages involving the Minangkabau and Mandailing people in the *rantau* region of Pasaman is increasingly unavoidable, even though people of the respective ethnicities keep preserving their customs. The issue about inter-ethnic marriage tradition in facilitating these two different regions between Minang and Mandailing in the *rantau* region is an interesting academic analysis. A comparison between it's solutions with *fiqh* as well as the Compilation of Islamic Law (*Kompilasi Hukum Islam*) is also another issue that deserves a discussion. Therefore, the investigation of these issues applies a descriptive-qualitative research compiled through interviews with local figures and *bundo kanduang* and some sort of secondary sources. This article shows that *adat rantau* is a new alternative appeared as the solution raised from inter-ethnic marriages, especially between Minangkabau and Mandailing people. This emerging solution also opens up a pathway for the growth of bilateral or parental systems. This *adat rantau* is different from other regions in which inter-ethnic marriages occur, considering that some maintain the patrilineal system that resonates to *fiqh* and the Compilation of Islamic Law.

**Keywords:** Adat Rantau, Inter-Ethnic Marriages, Pasaman

**Abstrak:** Perkawinan antar etnis di daerah rantau Pasaman yang memiliki adat yang berbeda kadang tidak bisa dihindarkan, meskipun mereka berusaha mempertahankan adatnya masing-masing. Menarik untuk dianalisis terhadap solusi adat apa yang digunakan ketika terjadi perkawinan antar etnis Minang dan Mandailing di daerah rantau tersebut, serta membandingkannya dengan *fiqh*, Kompilasi Hukum Islam dan dengan daerah lain. Dengan tujuan tersebut artikel ini menggunakan deskriptif kualitatif dengan data hasil wawancara tokoh masyarakat dan *bundo kanduang*, serta data sekunder lainnya. Artikel ini menunjukkan bahwa adat rantau merupakan adat baru yang muncul sebagai solusi perkawinan antar etnis khususnya Minang dan Mandailing, dan menjadi cikal bakal lahirnya sistem bilateral atau parental di daerah yang kuat memegang adatnya. Adat rantau ini berbeda dengan di daerah lain yang juga

melakukan perkawinan antar etnis mengingat sebagian mengikuti kekerabatan patri-lineal, dan sejalan dengan fiqh dan Kompilasi Hukum Islam.

**Kata Kunci:** Adat Rantau, Perkawinan antar Etnis, Pasaman

## Introduction

Pasaman, from its location, is a part of West Sumatera. Since it is located at the borderline between West and North Sumatera, Pasaman becomes a multi-ethnic region, especially Minangkabau and Mandailing. For Minangkabau people (or better known as Minangnese), Pasaman is however considered as *rantau* or migrated customs; a term denoting to regions outside of the original lands of Minangkabau.<sup>1</sup> Minangnese, as a primary ethnic in *rantau* originally come from *darek* – the original lands of Minangkabau culture – i.e. Luhak Agam,<sup>2</sup> Luhak Tanah Datar, and Luhak Lima Puluh Kota.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, for Mandailing people, Pasaman also becomes their *rantau*. Accordingly, for both Minangnese and Mandailing people, Pasaman has become their ‘shared *rantau*’.

Both Minang and Mandailing people residing in Pasaman maintain their original culture with high regards, including in marriage affairs. Minangnese stick to their *sumando* tradition, in which men (husbands) come to the house of their wives and their children are culturally the members of wives’ clans.<sup>4</sup> On

the other hand, Mandailing people recognize a marriage tradition with opposite tradition; women (wives) would follow their husbands, and their children are culturally the members of husbands’ clans.<sup>5</sup> They call this marriage as *manjujur*.

For this reason, inter-ethnic marriage involving Minangkabau and Mandailing people would create cultural complexities, especially on the issue of to which of their parents’ children’s kinship is assigned. In the case of marriages involving Minang women to Mandailing men, both parents’ clans could claim the kinship of their children. On the other hand, in the marriages between Minangnese men with Mandailing women, children are the members of none of their parents’ clans. That is because, following each cultural tradition, for Minangkabau, children follow their mother, but the Mandailing, on the other hand, follows the opposite direction of that tradition.

Even though inter-ethnic marriages between these two tribes are relatively undesirable from both parties, the fact that Pasaman becomes a shared *rantau* makes it increasingly unavoidable. For this reason, this phenomenon deserves further scholarly attention. For the reason of kinship complexities as mentioned, inter-ethnic marriages in Pasaman would certainly influence the trajectory of *adat* in this *rantau* region, especially with regards to the marriage tradition and kinship of both Minangkabau and Mandailing.

Pasaman is selected as the research site because it is geographically situated at the

<sup>1</sup> Hafiz Awlia Ramadhan, “Darek and Rantau: An Identity through Diglossia,” *Jurnal Antropologi Indonesia* 37, no. 1 (2017): 17–28.

<sup>2</sup> Erwati Aziz, “The Acculturation of Islam and Customary Law: an Experience of Minangkabau Indonesia,” *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies (QIJIS)*, Volume 8, no. 1 (2020): 137.

<sup>3</sup> Rohilah Omar and Nelmawarni, “Negeri Sembilan: Rantau Minangkabau di Semenanjung Tanah Melayu,” *Historia Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah* 2, no. 9 (2012): 1–132.

<sup>4</sup> Puji Wulandari, Setiati Widiastuti, and Iffah Nurhayati, “Usaha perantau Minangkabau di Kota Yogyakarta dalam membina hubungan dengan kerabat asal,” *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan* 15, no. 1 (2018): 26–36.

<sup>5</sup> Masthuriyah Sa’dan, “Tradisi Perkawinan Matrilo-kal Madura (Akulturasi Adat dan Hukum Islam,” *Jurnal Ibdā Kebudayaan Islam* 14, no. 1 (2016): 129–138.

borderline between West and North Sumatera; a situation that enables an intense migration and acculturation. In addition to that, Pasaman is a *rantau* region that is typically considered distant by the people in *darek* Minang, so the transformation and the development of Minang *customs* is more likely to happen there. Pasaman is also a shared *rantau* between Minangkabau and Mandailing, both cultural systems are then the subjects to marriage acculturation.

From these rationales, the research questions of the current article are: *first*, how has Pasaman become a shared *rantau* for different ethnicities? *Second*, what are the solution and the adjustment of *adat* that is working behind societies' response to inter-ethnic marriages between Minangnese and Mandailing people in Pasaman, and how is the comparison between their solutions to *fiqh* and the Compilation of Islamic Law and other regions in which inter-ethnic marriages also occur? To answer these questions, this inquiry applies descriptive-qualitative methods.<sup>6</sup> The primary sources are the interviews results with local figures and *bundo kanduang* that are compiled through purposive sampling, and the secondary sources including books, journal articles, and other relevant materials.<sup>7</sup>

## The Migration of People from Different Ethnicities in Pasaman

There is no exact information about when people first come to Pasaman. Local folklore suggests that the first people coming into Pasaman were from Pagaruyung. Following the surge of gold trade in West Sumatera, around 14th century, group from Luhak Agam made Pasaman as their *rantau* (migration) destination. One of the factors leading to this migration was the availability of the lands in

Luhak Agam could not accommodate the growing density of the residents, so they moved up to the north, including Kumpulan, Air Bangis, and Sasak. As a result, they became the ancestors of most of the modern residents of Pasaman. Besides, Pasaman is situated strategically as an entry and exit point of inter-regional trade.<sup>8</sup>

After the arrival of Minang people in Pasaman, the Mandailing people from South Tapanuli also arrived in this region. That movement was caused by Paderi, an action for re-implementation of Islamic sharia.<sup>9</sup> To spread its thought, Tuanku Rao,<sup>10</sup> Tuanku Tambusai, and Bagindo Usman visited South Tapanuli. The successful Islamization of that region opened up the migration path for their people into Rao, in which those who converted to Islam were handed a reasonable size of lands.<sup>11</sup> It was the first wave of Mandailing people into Pasaman. It is different with Undri, Pelly, citing from Castles, suggests that the journey of Tuanku Tambusai in his struggle against the Dutch colonial across the *Bukit Barisan* (including Mandailing, Angkola, Padang Lawas, and Kota Pinang) was an important moment of Mandailing people's migration history. Tuanku Tambusai's path in

<sup>8</sup> Undri, *Orang Pasaman: Menelusuri Sejarah Masyarakat di Rantau Minangkabau* (Padang: Lembaga Kajian Gerakan Padri, 2009), p. 68.

<sup>9</sup> Some factors led to the Paderi movement, namely religious, social, and economic factors. Schrieke views that the Paderi is a reaction towards widespread unislamic practices in society, such as moral decadence, alcohol consumption, gambling, and cockfighting. The social factor was reflected by disunity between *adat* and religious authorities. As for the economic factor, it is concerned with the rise of the economic situation of society, for which reason many had gone to Mecca both for hajj and learning Islam. Murodi, *Melacak Asal Usul Gerakan Paderi di Sumatera Barat* (Jakarta: Logos, 1999), p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> Parlindungan entitled his book *Tuanku Rao*, for he played a critical role in the Paderi movement. Hamka, *Antara Fakta dan Khayal Tuanku Rao* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1974), p. 226.

<sup>11</sup> Syafwan Rozi, "Negosiasi Islam Kultur Dalam Gerakan Paderi Rao di Sumatera Tengah (1820-1833)," *Jurnal Kalam* 6, no. 1 (2017): 85.

<sup>6</sup> Emzir, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif Analisis Data* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2016), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Winarno Surakhmad, *Pengantar Penelitian Ilmiah Dasar Metode Teknik* (Bandung: Tarsito, 1990), p. 163.

that journey was later used by Mandailing people as the first period of their migration to East Sumatera.

The second period of the Mandailing people's migration took place in the 1930s, following the Dutch colonial's establishment of rubber plantation in Pasaman. This plantation required workers and some of them were the Mandailing people of South Tapanuli.<sup>12</sup>

In 1952, transmigration project was becoming a subject of much discussion... In the mid-year, several teams from Jakarta and Bukittinggi surveyed the potential regions for the transmigration project including Pasaman, Sawahlunto/Sijunjung, Pesisir Selatan and Kerinci. After conducting some meetings and surveys in Bukittinggi, Pasaman is a chosen region to implement transmigration project.

When the government was preparing to apply this project, there was resistance from local inhabitants, including the *adat* people and the religious elites of the western part of Pasaman, because they are the first to be affected by the project. Currently, this western part of Pasaman has become an individual regency, namely Pasaman Barat.<sup>13</sup>

After the national government managed to cope with the resistance and hence continued the preparation for the transmigration project, the local government also had their own idea, and it is called local transmigration. For this reason, in November and December 1952, further meetings were held in Pasaman regency and Bukittinggi. The result of these meetings generate solution; there should be a local migration involving Minangkabau peo-

ple from other regencies, especially Agam, or other regions around West Sumatera, before the arrival of the transmigrants from Java. Therefore, in 1953, 100 families from Agam and 80 families from South Tapanuli arrived in Sukamenanti, a village in Pasaman. While the Agam transmigrants were Minangkabau people, those from South Tapanuli were Mandailing people, not from Minang ethnic - as the primary ethnic in West Sumatera.

Different from the migration of Minangnese and Mandailing people into Pasaman, the migration of Javanese into this regency is strongly related with the arrival of capital holders in the early 1990s. This was not the first Javanese migration into the region; previously, the Dutch colonial brought many Javanese into West Sumatera for labour works. However, the population of the Javanese in Pasaman is rather small. The majority is constituted by Minangkabau people, followed by Mandailing. Thus, the focus of this article associated with main ethnic; Minangnese and Mandailing, and also the kinship and marriage are not the issues for the Javanese, because they assume a bilateral custom.

### Marriage Systems: A Comparative Overview

The basic difference between Minangnese and Mandailing, including those who live in this *rantau* region, is the kinship system. For Minangkabau, kinship line follows the matrilineal system,<sup>14</sup> termed by Van Dijk as *berumbi*.<sup>15</sup> With this system, the bloodline in the fam-

<sup>12</sup> Undri, "Migrasi, Perebutan Akses Tanah dan Penguatan Lembaga Adat: Resolusi Konflik Tanah di Rantau Minangkabau," *Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya* 11, no. 2 (2009): 177-200.

<sup>13</sup> Nunu Burhanuddin, Ahmad Ali Nurudin, Muhammad Irfan Helmi, "Religious Conflict and Regional Autonomy in Church Establishment and Islamic Clothing in West Pasaman and Dharmasraya West Sumatera," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 9, Nomor 2 (2019): 195.

<sup>14</sup> Elda Franzia, Yasraf Amir Piliang, and Acep Iwan Saidi, "Rumah Gadang as a Symbolic Representation of Minangkabau Ethnic Identity," *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity* 5, no. 1 (2015): 44-49.

<sup>15</sup> The metaphor is taken from a banana tree, because children normatively belong to the clan of the mother, and for the family of the father, they are called *anak pisang* (lit. children of bananas). Vandijk, *Pengantar Hukum Adat Indonesia* (Bandung: Sumur Bandung, 1979), p. 20.

ily is assigned to the line between women across generations; children are the members of their mother's family instead of their fathers. The father's family, in the Minangkabau system, is called *bako*. Hence, the members of a family in this system covers the following figures (assuming only four lines of generations): the mother of the mother (grandmother), her sisters and brothers – all in the first line, siblings of the mother (*mamak* and *etek*), sons and daughters of sisters of grandmother – all in the second line, sisters and brothers, sons and daughters of the mother's sisters – all in the third line, and in the final line, sons and daughters of sisters (*kemenakan*).<sup>16</sup>

From this relationship, it is seen that Minangkabau children only have kinship relationships with their mother and people who have kinship relationships with them, not with their father or father's relatives. The father of mother (grandfather), his siblings, sisters and brothers of father, sons and daughters of grandfather's sisters, and sons and daughters of brothers are out of kinship line in Minangkabau. *Paradise lies at the feet of mothers*<sup>17</sup> is strongly compatible with Minangkabau because it regards women with great respects.

The husband or the father in a nuclear family does not culturally belong to the family of his wife and children,<sup>18</sup> because marriage does not make him merge into the tribe of his wife. Likewise, children of a man (grandchildren from the son's side) are not in the same clan as him. For this reason, the existence of *keluarga batih* (nuclear family) is insignificant in the Minangkabau system. A nuclear family does not culturally constitute an absolute relationship between its members, despite its actual

role in the development and growth of children is undisputed.

Even though the husband does not merge into the clan of his wife and his children do not inherit his clan, his role as the father is important. Buya Hamka, one of the *ulama* in West Sumatera, described that he in his childhood lived with his father, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah or known as Haji Rasul, who taught Al-Qur'an from one to another *surau* before eventually settling in Padang Panjang.<sup>19</sup> He also revealed that his father expected him to be a well-known *ulama* in the future. In *Surau Jembatan Besi* of Padang Panjang, Haji Rasul taught children from different regions in West Sumatera; as the matter of fact, Padang Panjang is situated in a considerable distance from Maninjau, his original village. Hamka's case is not rare; many boys were brought by their fathers for knowledge seeking purposes and hence left their mothers' houses, clans, and villages. Nevertheless, such practice did not break the foundation of the matrilineal system.<sup>20</sup>

According to custom, the mother and her clan hold more significant responsibilities upon the children than the father and his clan.<sup>21</sup> In the cases where an individual does something good or otherwise embarrassing, society would identify him/her through the bother of his/her mother, locally called *mamak*; the identification typically uses a rhetorical question "*kemenakan siapa dia*" (whose *kemenakan* is he/she?). For the education of the children, a mother could fund it with the wealth of her

<sup>16</sup> Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 2004), p. 254.

<sup>17</sup> Arif Rohman, "The Comparison of Power and Authority of Women in China and Minangkabau Societies," *Jurnal SSRN Electronic* 12, No. 2 (2014): 141-45.

<sup>18</sup> Sudarsono, *Hukum Kekeluargaan Nasional* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1991), p. 235.

<sup>19</sup> Burhanuddin Daya, *Gerakan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam Kasus Sumatera Thawalib* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 1990), p. 85.

<sup>20</sup> Nofiardi Nofiardi and Syafwan Rozi, "Penerapan nilai toleransi antar budaya dalam pelaksanaan hukum kewarisan Islam pada masyarakat perbatasan di Rao Pasaman Sumatera Barat," *Jurnal Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 17, no. 1 (2017): 85-112.

<sup>21</sup> Nola Putriyah, "Perkawinan Eksogami: Larangan Perkawinan Satu Datuak di Nagari Ampang Kuranji Sumatera Barat," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 8, no. 2 (2016): 175.

family, which in principle is handed over her. On the other hand, a mother should not expect too much from her husband because his ultimate responsibility lies in his original matrilineal family instead of his wife and children. Nevertheless, the current trajectories saw a significant shift; the role of the father has greatly increased over time, and what used to be the burden of the mother and her family is currently becoming the affairs of the father, including in marriage affairs of the children.<sup>22</sup>

With respect to marriage, Minangkabau marriage is ruled by Islam and *adat* way. A marriage conducted solely through Islamic law (commonly called *kawin gantung* [a hung marriage]) is considered an unfinished affair of marriage. Minangkabau custom recognizes some types of marriage. The first is intra-*nagari* marriage, referring to the marriage involving parties within a single *nagari* (village). This is the most recommended type of marriage. Even more recommended is the marriage between closer relatives, such as a man is married to a daughter of his *mamak* (*pulang ka anak mamak*), or a female *kemenakan* of his father (*pulang ka bako*). In some regions, this type of marriage is still conducting until now, although in other regions no longer occurred. The second type is exogamy marriage (*kawin luar suku*), referring to the marriage between Minangkabau and non-Minangkabau people. The marriage of Minangkabau men to non-Minangkabau women is less desirable because it breaks the existing kinship custom; the children of this marriage would not have a clan for themselves. On the other hand, the marriage between Minangkabau women to non-Minangkabau men would not be much of a problem, because it does not affect anything on the kinship structure. The third type of marriage is *kawin pantang* (prohibited marriages), includes religiously or culturally invalid marriages. The notion of religiously invalid marriage refers to

the marriage regulation of Islamic law, such as marrying to mother, father, siblings, or step-siblings, and so on. It is the marriage that breaks *adat* system, such as the intra matrilineal family marriage, intra *kaum* or intra *suku* marriage, the prohibited marriage that is conducted to maintain a particular social order, such as marrying to a woman who has just got a divorce to a relative, marrying to two direct siblings, marrying to a stepdaughter of a sibling, or marrying to a woman that is under an engagement with another.<sup>23</sup>

For Mandailing people, despite living in a place near and even in a direct border to a *rantau* region of Minangkabau, kinship follows the patrilineal system<sup>24</sup> that assigns bloodline through fathers. A clan is assumed through one father, one grandfather, or one ancestor.<sup>25</sup> Included into this ethnicity are Batak Toba and Angkola, who could typically show their descent line up to twenty generations and even more. Hence, they know who an individual to whom one could marry.

This patrilineal system prioritizes kinship lines through men over women.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, the position of the son is much preferable than the daughter (and so does grandson over granddaughter, and so forth, because the one considered grandchildren is the boy).<sup>27</sup> A boy is the future inheritance of his father's kinship line, whereas a girl is prepared to be a daughter of the others who then would strengthen their kinship, and so forth.

<sup>22</sup> Muhammad Latif Fauzi, "Actors and Normas in an Islamic Marriage a Study of Madura Community in Rural Eastern East Java," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 13, no. 02, (2019): 315.

<sup>23</sup> Iva Ariani, "Nilai Filosofis Budaya Matrilineal di Minangkabau (Relevansinya bagi Pengembangan Hak-Hak Perempuan di Perempuan di Indonesia)," *Jurnal Filsafat* 25, No. 1 (2016): 32.

<sup>24</sup> Komari Komari, "Eksistensi Hukum Waris di Indonesia: Antara Adat dan Syariat," *Jurnal Asy-Syari'ah* 18, no. 1 (2015): 157-172.

<sup>25</sup> Taufik Abdullah, *Sejarah Lokal di Indonesia*, (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1985), p. 286.

<sup>26</sup> Muslim Pohan, "Perkawinan Semarga Masyarakat Migran Batak Mandailing di Yogyakarta," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 10, no. 2 (2018): 134.

<sup>27</sup> Hazairin, *Hendak ke Mana Hukum Islam* (Jakarta: Tin-tamas, 1976), p. 6.

Albani Nasution explains about the series of marriage events for Mandailing people, including engagements. For Mandailing people, engagement reflects one of the religious stipulations on marriage, that the father has the right of *ijbari* by which he can arrange the marriage for his daughter.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, Sutan Karitua believes that the engagement tradition in Mandailing is heavily influenced by customs. The ideas that influence the engagement in the Mandailing people are as the following; *first*, it is to strengthen the relationship between two families (*pasolkot parkauman*); an engagement would maintain a harmonious relationship between two families to the next generation and so forth. In the context of *pasolkot parkauman* the parents would arrange an engagement for his son with his *boru tulang* (*pariban*), whereas their daughter would be engaged with the son of her *namboru*. *Second*, marriage has an integral position in society. The *third* idea is related to economic well-being. In this context, there is a similarity between engagements in Mandailing with Minangkabau, especially with the case of *pulang ka anak mamak*. For this kind of engagement, Minangnese have an expression that goes *ta tunggang ka nasi, nasi ka dimakan juo*, which metaphorically describes a situation in which a son will get married while a daughter of his *mamak* will get married, too. The shift of the *mamak's* role, however, has made this type of engagement and marriage become scarce and considerably avoided, because, in unexpected situations, this would lead to disunity within the family or even divorced.

In patrilineal kinship, there are some considerations. The first condition is related to the agreement over the amount of wealth that should be handed over the prospective wife for the marriage. Typically, it would be adjusted to suit a specific situation or achievement of the wife, such as in education or work. The se-

cond condition is that there is a certain period during which the prospective husband and wife should not meet each other. Finally, only after all the marriage procedures, the series of visits between the two, as stipulated by the custom, should be conducted; typically, each one should bring something as defined by the custom to be handed over the other.

Albani states that Mandailing marriage recognizes *ombar do adat dohot ugamo* that literally means *adat* and religion run in coexistence. This means that when one manages to follow the *adat* procedures of marriage, it means that he manages to conduct the necessary procedures of marriage stipulated by the religion (Islamic law), and vice versa, when one follows *ugamo* (Islamic law), he preserves *adat* law. Inline with Ahmad M. Ayyub, he also suggests that *ombar do adat dohot ugamo* or *ombar do adat dohot ibadat* is a recognized local wisdom that did not exist in pre-Islamic Mandailing (during the animistic faith) that was called *Pelebegu*; they started to embrace it in the 18-19 centuries.<sup>29</sup>

Although currently they generally embrace Islam, Mandailing people still maintain their ancient custom of *Dalian Na Tolu*. In every procedure of marriage, Mandailing people preserve *Dalian Na Tolu* system as reflected during the meeting in which they would achieve the necessary agreements for a marriage. During this meeting, segments of relatives known as *mora*, *kahanggi*, and *anak boru* would perform *markobar* (*adat* speech) and *marpokat* (*adat* deliberation) over the marriage.

The other difference in the marriage system between Minangkabau and Mandailing is con-

<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Syukri Albani Nasution, "Analisis Kompilasi Hukum Islam Tentang Tipologi Pelaksanaan Hukum Keluarga Islam di Mandailing Natal," *Jurnal al-Manahij* 9, no. 1 (2015): 31-45.

<sup>29</sup> From 1820 through 1836, the Paderi troops in Minangkabau, under the command of hulubalang Tuanko Rao, attacked and ruled Mandailing. During this time, not all the *Kuria* (the chief of a village) who had held *adat* law converted to Islam. The Paderi movement shifted the social and political circumstances of Mandailing into Islamic reformism. Usman Pelly, *Urbanisasi dan Adaptasi Peranan Misi Budaya Minangkabau dan Mandailing* (Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES, 1998), p. 41.

cerned with the endowment of marriage. It is one of the important things of marriage because there is a significant difference between both cultures; many marriages should be cancelled because the respective parties fail to find the agreement about the detail of the endowment. Additionally, the marriage endowment reflects the seriousness and preparedness of the respective parties for the intended marriage.

Minangkabau custom generally does not recognize marriage endowment, because marriage is essentially an agreement between two families instead of between two individuals. Nevertheless, the prospective husband (*marapulai*), who would come into his prospective wife's house, would typically provide a *mahar* (following Islamic law) as well as several other goods for her, which locally called *panibo*. *Panibo* is typically constituted with a set of garments for the wife. However, each *luhak* or *nagari* (village) would have distinctive kinds of *panibo*. Some recognize thick blankets, especially in regions with the low temperature, or thick red garments (traditional clothes of Minangnese women) that are typically put on during parties, either her own parties or in the party of her family or relatives in which she becomes a companion.

Some regions, especially in the west coast or the coastline—which are also *rantau* regions—recognize *uang jemputan*, i.e. some amount of wealth or other valuable goods that are provided by the family of the prospective wife to the family of the prospective husband. *Uang jemputan* is typically provided if the prospective husband is a man with a considerable reputation, marked by traditional epithets, he is entitled such as *sidi*, *bagindo* and *sutan*. Having a *semenda* of such an individual would mark a certain degree of social prestige for the wife's family, further manifested through the inheritance of the similar respectable epithet

for the children born from the marriage.<sup>30</sup> If the prospective wife's family's could not fulfil *uang jemputan*, the marriage sometimes should be cancelled due to *adat* rules. However, in some occasions, the two families come up with a solution; the husband would hand a certain amount of *uang jemputan* to the prospective wife, which then the wife's family would formally provide it to the husband's family, just to follow the *adat* stipulation.

In Padang *kota* (city), *uang jemputan* should also be provided for individuals holding the epithet of *marah* and *sutan*. However, in some occasions, it might be different. In a situation where a man proposes a woman, the prospective husband also provides a certain amount of money to the family of the prospective wife, locally termed as *uang antaran*. In any case, either the endowment is provided by the husband or the wife, it would not have any effect on the matrilineal system. The children remain the members of their mother's tribe, and mother's family is culturally closer to the children than the father's family.

In contrast, in Mandailing people, the marriage endowment, which is locally called *jujur*, or *tuor*—how Albani calls it—is an obligation. Even *Tuor* is stratified following the educational achievement of the prospective wife. Johan and Gusni<sup>31</sup> reveals that the more advanced the educational achievement of the prospective wife, the higher the value of *tuor* should be; although she is unemployed during the marriage time. If she has a job, it is even higher; the more income she regularly gets, the higher the value of *tuor*. This stratification of the value of *tuor* has a social impact, especially for men with economic problems.

Hamim Lubis, cited in Albani, explains that the *tour* value provided for the women has both positive and negative impacts. From the positive point of view, this significant amount

<sup>30</sup> AA Navis, *Alam Berkembang Jadi Guru Adat dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau* (Padang: PT. Grafika Jaya Sumbar, 2015), p. 225.

<sup>31</sup> A personal interview with Johan and Gusni.

of money would be a basis for the family to fulfil their primary needs, such as housing, or simply to fund the wedding party. Conversely, there are also negative impacts. It is not rare that a man would decide to get a substantial debt to satisfy the *tuor*, and in this case, it would have a long-term impact on his family. He should satisfy the primary needs of his family, and at the same time, he also struggles to pay the debts. Besides, following the patrilineal system, the family is entirely under husband's responsibility.

The next difference between Minangkabau and Mandailing with regards to marriage is the issue of where the family lives after the marriage. Minang people recognize the matrilineal system, where the family lives on the wife's house. After the wedding, the husband moves into the house of the wife's family, or a house nearby. His arrival to the house should follow a formal traditional procedure, in which he is picked up by *ninik mamak*--the leadership structure of the family/clan--of the wife, and *ninik mamak from husband's family will also formally accompany to his wife's house.*

A woman is given a *bilik* (a room) in the house of her family, where this husband and wife would live. If a house does not have the sufficient number of rooms -- in case the family has the number of daughters that exceeds the available rooms -- it is the responsibility of her *mamak* to renovate and widen the house or build a new one for her. In the *bilik*, she would embrace her husband in the evening. Nevertheless, the current trajectory shifts this responsibility to the father, because most fathers should have built a sufficient house for his daughter(s), despite parts of the house are built in wife's land. The roles of *mamak* are obvious during the formal traditional procedures of the wedding.

The permanent residents of the house (*rumah gadang*) are daughters and granddaughters, including the house that is built by the fathers; indeed, they are the only legitimate

residents of the house.<sup>32</sup> While, the sons who have married should stay in their wives' house, whereas unmarried sons stay in *surau*, i.e. a public space where boys learn the Qur'an and gather.<sup>33</sup> However, nowadays, this situation is no longer happened, because not many unmarried sons are willing to stay in *surau* any longer.

Hadler explains that individual primary affiliation remains to his original *rumah gadang*, village, tribe, and maternal clan. A man is married to a woman of another family, but he remains bound to his older house, his mother's house. They come back to that house every morning and work at the fields or farms of his original family, they also heal themselves there when they got sick, and eventually buried in their maternal family graveyard. A husband/father is a mobile person, he sometimes comes, and sometimes he goes. According to local metaphor, *urang sumando* is like an insect that perches on the tale of a buffalo or dust on a stove; when the wind comes, dust flies away. A colonial officer described how men came back to his mother's house at dawn after staying at night in his wife's house. According to the custom, *mamak* (uncle from the mother's side) is the one holding authority in the life of the children, instead of their father. At this point, Minangkabau custom is called matrilineal because even though a man can be a part of his wife's and children's lives, the one who becomes an anchor of the family is the mother.<sup>34</sup> However, Hadler's explanation is hardly found nowadays; there has been a significant shift. Today, a father has an integral role for his wife and children, and he typically stays and remains in his wife house. Yet, this signifi-

<sup>32</sup> Tsuyoshi Kato, *Adat Minangkabau dan Merantau dalam Perspektif Sejarah* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2005), p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> Elizabet E. Graves, *Asal Usul Elite Minangkabau Modern Respon terhadap Kolonial Belanda Abad XIX/XX* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007), p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> Jeffrey Hadler, *Sengketa Tiada Putus Matriarkat, Reformisme Islam, dan Kolonialisme di Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Freedom Institute, 2010), p. 9.

cant shift itself does not break the foundational system of the matrilineal, where the relationships between children and mother are more meaningful than with their father.

For Mandailing people, on the other hand, after the wedding, the husband would bring his wife with him. Their future children will then follow his clan (*adat manjujur*). There is a slight difference with Minangkabau system mentioned above, it is from the issue of where to bring the wife after the wedding. If a family in a house has only one son, he would bring his wife to that house. But, if a family in that house does not have as many rooms as the boys, each boy and his wife would not get one specific room as in the Minangkabau case. Rather, some of the boys would bring their wives with them, they will stay in the other houses. Hendri and Gatot mention that the one who could stay in the house and who could bring their wives into the house are depending to each custom in their family. . Some would give preference to the oldest boy, but others will give to the youngest.

Apart from those differences, both the Minangkabau and Mandailing system of marriage share a common idea of prohibiting the marriage involving parties within a single clan.<sup>35</sup> This idea resonates to Islamic laws; in fact, Islamic law also prohibits the marriage between individuals who have gotten breastfeeding from an identical woman, it is fully unrelated to both matrilineal and patrilineal systems. A child breastfed by a woman is unrelated to her husband whatsoever. Furthermore, in Islam, there is also a prohibition in marriages between certain kinds of relationship which are formed from *persemendaan*. The Qur'an prohibits men from marrying a woman to whom his father had married, the mother in law, a stepchild, the former wife of the child, or marrying to two blood sisters. From this, it

<sup>35</sup> Muhammad Latif Fauzi, "Registering Muslim Marriages Penghulu, Modin, and the Struggles for Influence," *Al-Jāmi'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* Volume 57, no. 2 (2019): 416.

is clear that the kind of kinship approved by Islam is broad; no specification for either matrilineal or patrilineal.<sup>36</sup> It could happen because both ethnicities generally embrace Islam sincerely.

### Inter-ethnic Marriage Issues in the Rantau and its Solution

Nowadays, the marriage<sup>37</sup> from different ethnicities is ever increasing. It becomes a common phenomena in Pasaman regency. No matter how hard the people have avoided this kind of marriage, for the reason of the huge differences of their kinship system as explained, the number of this marriage type keeps rising.

The process of these two different cultural assimilation systems would require adaptation, and this adaptation has consequences. Those consequences could stimulate as conflicts, either between individuals within a single ethnicity, or individuals of different ethnic. This situation would certainly influence the decision-making process.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, there is a widespread assumption that those who are involved in inter-ethnic marriage are ready for all the consequences.

Interestingly, in the *rantau* region of Minangkabau, there are several ways of *adat* system that are commonly used for marriage. Some follow the Minangkabau system, while others use Mandailing tradition. There are even those who mix the marriage procedures with the local emerging system, which is varied from one region to another, such as in the

<sup>36</sup> Yaswirman, *Hukum Keluarga Karakteristik dan Prospek Doktrin Islam dan Adat dalam Masyarakat Matrilineal Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2013), p. 181.

<sup>37</sup> Fahmi Kamal, "Perkawinan Adat Jawa dalam Kebudayaan Indonesia," *Jurnal Khasanah Ilmu* 5, no. 2 (2015): 35-46.

<sup>38</sup> Yolanda Imelda Fransisca Tuapattinaya dan Sri Hartati, "Pengambilan Keputusan Untuk Menikah Beda Etnis Studi Fenomenologis Pada Perempuan Jawa," *Jurnal Psikologi Undip* 13, no. 1 (2014): 34-41.

district of Dua Koto. In this district, Mandailing people adopt a matrilineal system, even though they are originally patrilineal.

With their adoption of the matrilineal system, the original Mandailing patrilineal system disappeared. They are now following the kinship line of the mother. The social structure also shifts, following the increased role of *mamak* and also the decreased role of the father. Nevertheless, the terminologies used to signify each role of the kinship is varied from one village to another. Those terminologies use the mix of Mandailing and Minangkabau words.<sup>39</sup>

Those people are now becoming more institutionalized to the matrilineal system to the extent that they do not think of revitalizing the Mandailing custom. Parents that would prepare the marriage of their children are insisting on applying the *sumando* system, where the husband would stay in the wife's house. There is no longer a tradition where a wife would stay in the husband's house, as recognized by the Mandailing's *manjujur* system.

The *manjujur* system in the Cubadak village Dua Koto district applies generally to those who marry with individuals from outside of the village, such as with people from other districts of Pasaman Regency; it, however, certainly does not always apply that way. In other words, those who want to apply *manjujur* system could proceed with such preference; yet it is not widely practised, as conveyed by Yunaidi. Moreover, Azizan admits that somehow, he and the people in his village feel closer to the family of the mother.

Nevertheless, this seems to be an exclusive case of Dua Koto district. In other districts, the Mandailing people stick to their *manjujur* system, in which the husband brings his wife into his family. It is what makes it different from the *sumando* system, where the husband stays

in the house of the wife, and their future children belong to the wife's clan.

The contrast system between Minangkabau and Mandailing leads to the complexity in cases of inter-ethnic marriage. The marriage of Minangkabau men to Mandailing women would affect the way they situate the cultural affiliation of their children. *Ninik mamak* of Minangkabau people suggest that the children follow the clan of their mother, whereas, for Mandailing people, they belong to the clan of the father. Thus, there is a mutual rejection of the children cultural affiliation from both ethnicities. At this point, there is a high chance that the role of the *adat* significantly decreases.

The marriage between Minangnese women to Mandailing men would lead to another form of complexity. Minangnese women typically do not want to receive *uang jujur*, because she is not ready for its consequence, i.e. her husband brings her into his house and hence she leaves her house. Yet, the family of the husband would typically insist on applying the *manjujur* system. If a particular marriage successfully copes with this disagreement, it does not mean that the problem is over; there would typically be a reluctance from the husband's family to accept his wife.

On this kind of issue, *adat rantau* rises as the solution. In this system, the woman remains in her matrilineal family, and similarly, the husband sticks to his patrilineal family. There is no prohibition for the wife and the children who want to go to their matrilineal family. When they are in the house of the husband/father, there would not have been a concern for their original matrilineal family, because she initially did not receive *uang jujur*. The marriage through this procedure is the core of the bilateral marriage that would be suitable for the Indonesian context in general (Minang women + Mandailing men in *adat rantau* = bilateral system). The marriage system applied in Sungai Kakab district Kubu Raya regency is different. Inter-ethnic marriages in this region tend to apply a patrilineal

<sup>39</sup> The cultural change within the Mandailing people in Cubadak Dua Koto village, <http://www.duakotopas.com/2013/10>, p. 1-4

system, where the children would then follow to their father clan. How Islamic law and *Kompilasi Hukum Islam* (The Compilation of Islamic Law) respond to this issue?

Even though Islamic law does not specifically rule a particular kinship system, some indications lead to a conclusion that the kinship system in Islam is strongly related to the types of marriage that are prohibited.<sup>40</sup> The prohibition for a man to marry a woman indicates the kinship relationship between them, as stipulated by the Qur'an in *surah al-Nisā'* verse 22, 23, and 24.<sup>41</sup>

The regulation stipulated by the verses reveals that the kinship system approved by the Qur'an includes father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, sons, daughters,<sup>42</sup> brothers, sisters, children of siblings, siblings of the mother, and siblings of the father (uncle).<sup>43</sup> The marriage is allowed between the people outside of those mentioned, such as between a man with a daughter of the siblings of his father or mother. Hence, the children of two brothers do not have a kinship relationship. Likewise, a man is allowed to marry a daughter of the siblings of his mother, which means that they do not have a kinship relationship. This regulation does not resonate to both matrilineal and patrilineal systems, but the kinship relationship in Islam is parental aspect.

The Compilation of Islamic Law chapter 39 explains that a man shall not marry his mother, grandmother, his daughter, his granddaughter, and so forth to the next generations, siblings, sisters from the same father or the same mother, sisters of mother and father, daughters of sibling brother or from the same father or the same mother, and daughter of the

sister from the same father or daughter from sister from the same mother. This condition justifies that the kinship relation approved by Islam is the parental or bilateral system.

## Conclusion

In principle, natives attempt to maintain their custom, especially the wedding tradition for their children. It has an integral role in preserving each custom. When inter-ethnic marriages occurred, the wondering role of *adat* is questioning, even though such kind of marriage was normatively undesirable by the custom, such as Minangkabau. There are some solutions to deal with inter-ethnic marriage in Pasaman, which are different from other regions. For example, applying one preferred system that has widely been started to be accepted. However, when the two parties stick to their own cultural procedures, they could apply the alternative procedures system from *adat rantau*. This alternative procedure follows a bilateral or parental system, which strongly resonates to Islamic law and the regulations prevailing (Perundang-Undangan) in Indonesia.

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<sup>40</sup> Wahbah al-Zuhayli, *al-Fiqh al-Islāmī wa Adillatuh*, (Damshiq: Dār al-Fikr, 1989), Juz VII, p. 130.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid wa Nihāyah al-Muqtaṣid*, (Dār al-Fikr: t.t.), Juz II, p. 24.

<sup>42</sup> Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Umm* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1393), Juz III, p. 23.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Imām al-Mar'aynānī, *al-Hidāyah Sharḥ Bidāyat al-Mubtadī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2008), Juz II, p. 294.

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