
Changes in the Matrilineal System within Minangkabau Children's *Carito*

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the transformation of the matrilineal system within Minangkabau children's *carito*. In general, children's *carito* are considered bedtime stories that convey positive values; as such, research into them has focused on values. Children's *carito* have been collected through interviews with storytellers who retain the *carito* within their memories. The memories of these storytellers have changed together with changes in the storytellers themselves and in their environments. To explore the changes in the matrilineal system within the *carito*, one story has been analyzed over three generations (from grandparents, parents, to children). Changes in the matrilineal system are evidenced through the *carito* characters' emergence and disappearance, their actions, and their interactions with their mothers, who—as in the matrilineal system—are central within the *carito*. Changes, differences, and behaviors within the *carito* indicate the dynamic transformation of communal families to conjugal families and ultimately nuclear families.

Keywords: *Minangkabau children's carito; social change; matrilineal system; storytellers; characters*

INTRODUCTION

In the Minangkabau language, the word *carito* has the same denotative meaning as the word *cerita* in Indonesian or *story* in English. However, in Minangkabau culture, a *carito* is not always fiction; a *carito* may also be news or information that may or may not have an element of truth. 'Story', in this case, thus refers to narrative that is conveyed orally. In Minangkabau culture, there are two types of *carito*: stories for adults and stories for children. Stories for adults are known as *kaba*, take the form of lyrical prose, and tend to function as entertainment (Navis, 1984, p. 243; Junus, 1984, p. 17). Presently, many *kaba* have been written and even translated into Indonesian (Yusuf, 1994; Djamaris, 2001). Stories for children, meanwhile, are more properly known as *carito*, and thus in this article are referred to as such. Minangkabau children's *carito* tend to be oral (except for *Carito Malin Kundang*) and widely known, with many retellings and transformations into new stories or works (Navis,

1999; Junus, 2011; Ronidin, 2011). Some Minangkabau children's *carito* have been written in Jawi, with examples being held at the Leiden University Libraries; however, these have not been used by the Minangkabau for over a century (Djamaris, 2001, p. 12).

Minangkabau children's *carito*, as with other forms of traditional literature, are intended to convey positive values and messages to their audience (Koster, 1995, p. 51; Sikana, 2007, p. 15; Sukatman, 2009, p. 8; Tulus, 2012, p. 23). Interestingly, many Minangkabau children's *carito* tell of a child who does not respect or ethically behave towards his/her mother—despite Minangkabau being known for its matrilineal culture that greatly honors women. Such a phenomenon is found in *carito* through all parts of the Minangkabau realm, from the *luhak* (highlands) to the *rantau* (diaspora) and *pesisir* (coast).

The traditional Minangkabau kinship system was matrilineal and communal, with the division of

inheritances, fields, and housing being prioritized for women and supervised by the *mamak* (male sibling of the mother). The settlement patterns under this matrilineal system were bilocal, with power in a single *zuriat* (extended family) being held by the *mamak* (Benda-Beckmann, 1981; Navis, 1984, p. 126; Yunus, 2015, p. 51; Kato, 2005; Jamaris, 2004, p. 15). The Minangkabau are devout Muslims, even though Islam is firmly patrilineal (Kahn, 1980, p. 6; Benda-Beckmann, 1981 and 2012; Azra, 2003, p. 45; Nizal, 2008, p. 68), and are prominently characterized by the diaspora culture known as *rantau*, in which persons travel away from their home villages or homelands (Kato, 2005; Naim, 1985; Iman, 2013). Over time, these two systems brought significant changes to the matrilineal system, influenced by the dynamics of the Minangkabau society (Martono, 2012, pp. 17–18). It can be assumed that changes in the matrilineal system can be seen in Minangkabau children's *carito*.

Presently, social interest in Minangkabau children's *carito* is limited, both among the older and younger generations; as such, the researcher had difficulty identifying informants. Members of the older generation refused to be interviewed, citing an inability to remember the *carito*, while the younger generation (the children/grandchildren) refused because they had never been told these *carito*. However, using an intensive approach and after a considerable amount of time, finally informants who were accurate, credible, and capable of retelling the *carito* well. The selection of informants was important for this research, as oral culture contains the information and collective social values of the society in which it exists (Teeuw, 1994, p. 22). As such, informants were needed who were indigenous Minangkabau, who lived (and long resided) in areas where *carito* were told, and were traditional leaders, religious leaders, social leaders, or *bundo kanduang* (the oldest woman in a *rumah gadang*).

Intense research into oral Minangkabau children's *carito* has yet to be found, indicating the increased marginalization of these stories. Research has been conducted into a literary work inspired by a Minangkabau children's *carito*, a short story by A.A. Navis (2005) titled "Malin Kundang, Ibunya Durhaka" ("Malin Kundang, His Mother was Faithless"). *Carito Malin Kundang* (The Story of Malin Kundang), as a traditional *carito*, can be examined within its own time, because *carito* are not monolithic (Junus, 2011), and the *carito* does not always tell of a faithless son. According to Ronidin (2011), Navis' story is a parody of *Carito Malin Kundang*.

Research into children's literature has generally examined works of children's literature that were written based on oral tradition. Children's *carito* and

children's literature have several similarities, such as easily understood and transparent stories/plots and a lack of adult or sexual elements (Noderman, 2008, p. 143; Sarumpaet, 2010). The main difference is their dissemination; children's *carito* are spread orally, while general children's literature is written. Research into traditional literature outside of the Minangkabau context has been conducted, for example, by Musfiroh (2008), who has examined the techniques for choosing, preparing, and presenting fairy tales to young children. Fairy tales can inspire children's imaginations and teach them positive values. Supartinah (2013), in her examination of the classical children's literatures of the Indonesian archipelago, has analyzed the values of these literary works, their role in shaping children's characters and identities, and the extent to which they inspire creativity in schoolchildren. Riyadi et al. (1995) examined Javanese-language children's stories using a structural approach. These works of children's literature have been transcribed and published in Javanese-language media.

Unlike previous research, this article attempts to analyze Minangkabau children's literature by comparing the versions of *carito* told by different generations, with a focus on shifts in the matrilineal system. Changes are made to *carito* by their storytellers in accordance with contemporary trends when the *carito* is told. In oral literature, memory and verbal abilities are valuable assets (Ong, 2013, pp. 85–87). The quality of a storyteller is determined not by the ability to formulate a plot, but by their narrative ability (ibid, 2013, pp. 215–218). The memories of storytellers are dynamic and are influenced by their social conditions; as such, the memories of storytellers of different generations differ (Tumblety, 2013; Ahmadi, 2009; Walgito, 1980). Research into memory has developed as interdisciplinary study, intersecting with social studies, the humanities, the natural sciences, media studies, performance arts, etc. Memories contain within them incidents and events that may be forgotten, and given the mental limitations of individual people certain activities are necessary to ensure these things are remembered (Jones, 2007; Erll, 2011). In oral literature, memory is important, and one characteristic of oral literature is variability in performance and form, with stories being similar but not the same. Such form provides a basis for most of the texts that are analyzed (Finnegan, 1992, p. 150). Changes and differences in oral literature are things that occur naturally, and follow developments in society and its thought (in Esten, 1992, pp. 16–17; Junus, 1986). Presently, many works of oral literature have transformed into modern forms using technology, presenting what is known as secondary orality

(Ong, 2013, p. 7 and 31). However, a negative effect of this secondary orality is the disappearance of oral tradition and the erosion (or even erasure) of social contact. As a result of such changes in media, children (audience) do not communicate sufficiently with storytellers and their environment (Sugihastuti, 2013). As such, research into oral literature is urgent, to ensure that the memories of older and younger storytellers are preserved and parents interact with their children.

The theoretical frameworks of this research are oral literature, memory, and social change. As a form of oral literature, children's *carito* have the following characteristics: 1) do not use written media, but are conveyed orally, 2) are developed in simple, undeveloped, illiterate, rural societies, 3) express certain cultures, 4) have no specific author, and thus are found in many versions, 5) have a lengthy history, 6) do not emphasize facts, but entertainment and education (Sikana, 2007, p.16; Endraswara, 2009; Taum, 2011; Mursini, 2011; Simatupang, 2011).

This research provides a qualitative study using the *snowball* technique for sampling (Miles, 1992, p. 47). Data was collected from a 'chain' of subjects over time, with respondents leading to further respondents. A total of ten *carito* are used as samples, collected from the three traditional Minangkabau territories (*luhak*, *rantau*, and *pesisir*). The *carito* collected from the *luhak* were *Carito Sapan Mandidiah*, *Carito Aia Mangalogak*, *Carito Boncah Tangkuluak*, and *Carito si Buncik*. Four *carito* were collected from the *rantau* territories, namely *Carito Bancah Biunguik*, *Carito Batu Bangkai*, *Carito Bukik Balacan*, *Carito Batu Manangih*, and *Carito Tobek si Ombie*. From the *pesisir*, meanwhile, one *carito* was collected: *Carito Awang Tingkuluak*. These *carito* were conveyed orally and recorded using a digital camera and handycam, and were also noted manually. The recordings were then transcribed and translated into Indonesian. Analysis of shifts in the matrilineal system could only be conducted if versions of each *carito* were collected from members of three generations (grandparents, parents, children), with an estimated chronological gap of twenty years or more. The informants selected from the grandparents and parents' generations were *niniak mamak*, *alim ulama*, *cadiak pandai*, *bundo kanduang*, or other social figures, while informants selected from the children's generation were students in elementary school and junior high school.

This analysis was supported by interviews, as written sources were either lacking or non-existent. Interviews were conducted with older informants or other persons who experienced *bacarito* tradition, story telling

tradition in the past, as appropriate for historical studies (Koentjaraningrat, 1990, p. 252). Before communities became literate, oral tradition was used to document the present and to present the past in the present (Vansina, 1985).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Memory and Change in Minangkabau Children's Carito

In oral literature, the concept of "memory" is important because texts are conveyed orally based on memory. The act of remembering is used by storytellers to obtain materials from other storytellers, and to pass these materials to their successors. All forms of storytelling activities are held within their memories (Teeuw, 1980; Koster, 1995, pp. 39–40). In oral tradition, stories are told verbally, from the easiest to the most complex forms, and used to present teachings, morals, and life problems (Finnegan, 1992, p. 150; Taslim, 2010, p. 19). However, humans may forget certain things because they have a limited ability to remember things, and owing to such physical conditions as exhaustion, illness, lack of sleep, or emotion (Ahmadi, 2009, p. 73). One benefit of memory is the ability to recognize and remember (but you just said they might forget, maybe change the word into "select") things (Walgito, 1980, p. 162; Ahmadi, 2009, p. 73). According to F. C. Barlett, when telling a story there are many changes, and these changes to stories (as familiar narratives) lead to new versions. As such, elements of an oral story may disappear or fall out of favor, indicating a transition from earlier versions (in Finnegan, 1977, p. 143).

Owing to individuals' limited memories, the telling of *carito* is strongly influenced by the storyteller's age. This reality is seen in the field, where many informants—particularly from the older generations—had difficulty recollecting the desired information. The researcher thus had to use various approaches to collect the information sought from their memories. In one case, an informant was able to remember a *carito* and begin telling it. However, in the middle of telling the story the informant was no longer able to remember the story. At the time, the informant was about 60 years old. The informant's inability to remember the remainder of the story is evidenced in the informant's responses during the interview, as follows:

Informant : *Sahinggo itu dek den takona caritonyonyo. Sudah itu ntah baaa.*

Researcher : *Akhirnyo baa lai? Carito nan potang?(...)*

Informant : *Iyo nyo kadang-kadang dapek pangkanyo hilang tongahnyo. Jadi dek urang nan pandai, bisa panjang, tapi dek awak saketek-keteknyo.*

Researcher : *Ado carito dari urang gaek yang lain ndak? Salain carita itu?*

Informant : *Salain carita itu, ndak tau lai.*

Translation

Informant : That's as much as I remember of the *carito*. After that, well I don't know.

Researcher : And what else? The earlier *carito*? (...)

Informant : Yeah, sometimes I get bits and pieces, with parts missing. So a smart person could tell it at length, but I know just a bit.

Researcher : Are there any other *carito* from your parents? Other than that story?

Informant : Other than that *carito*, I don't know.

Traditions are ever changing in response to changing perspectives, knowledges, and technologies, although they cannot always satisfy all stakeholders. However, these changes must not be too extreme, as otherwise they may be rejected by members of society; changes, at the local, regional, and global level, can only be accepted to a certain extent (Rubin, 1995, p. 10; Salim, 2014). Change is an unnegotiable fact of life, for humans as social beings must interact with the world outside them, either directly or indirectly; as such, change can happen at any time. Change is not a single physical *entity*, but rather a series of interlinked processes, traditions, material artifacts, and ideas (Sztompka, 2014, p. 3 and 73; Soekanto, 2015, pp. 17–18). The more developed a society, the more obvious the change. A person's memory is also influenced by the social changes experienced by the society around him or her. One female informant, who had been a teacher in her youth, was unable to retell the *carito* she had heard from her grandmother (whom she called *Mayai*) in her youth. It had been a tradition for the informant's grandmother to tell a *carito* in the *rumah gadang* to the informant and her siblings and cousins. However, when interviewed, she was unable to retell the *carito* she had heard in her youth because she had already forgotten them. The informant had also not continued the tradition of *bacarito* to her grandchildren because the situation had changed. Her grandchildren were calm and even lulled to sleep while watching television, be it

either their television program “Upin dan Ipin” (Upin and Ipin) or other cartoons. Before, children would go to sleep while listening to *carito* or being carried by their parents and listening to their songs, something known among the Minangkabau as *manjunjai* (Yunus, 2015, p. 252). This is indicated in the following quotation from her interview:

Researcher : *Ado carito nan takona dek ni Yen?*

Informant : *Ndak, orang kini ndak bacarito do. Kalau dulu mandiang Mayai iyo bacarito. Baaitu nan kau yo. Ntu awak lah takolok sajo dalam itu lai. Kini anak lah nonton tv. Lahtakolok sajo di muko tv lai. Nan ba tipe. Kalau dulu baendong-endongan. Kini endong-endongan ndak ado lai.*

Researcher : *Dulu urang gaek iyo bacarito iah Ni?*

Informant : *Iyo. Mandiang Mayai dulu. Caritonyo itu baa awak ndak elok laku. Jan ditiru. Modelitu Kalau nan buruak nan dicaritoannyo ado akibatnyo (...)*

Translation

Researcher : Are there any *carito* that you remember, *Uni Yen*?

Informant : No. People today, they no longer *bacarito*. Before, my late *Mayai*, yeah *bacarito*. Like that. Now, we just go to sleep at that time. Now children are watching television. They just go to sleep in front of the television. Before, they were carried in slings. Now there aren't any more slings.

Researcher : Before, your parents *bacarito* then Ni?

Informant : Yes. My late *Mayai* liked to *bacarito*. The *carito* was all about how we could behave well. Not mimic certain things. The bad things, in the *carito*, they all had consequences (...)

From the colonial period and into the present day, education has influenced the everyday lives of Minangkabau society. The Minangkabau have shown a strong interest in and desire for education, even in the most rural areas. Anybody who is well-educated would be “respected” by society (Azra, 2003, p. 121; Graves, 2007; Dobbin, 2008; Effendi, 2016, p. 17). The influence of education was also used to convey memories to children,

which in memory theory is known as “cultural memory”, a process through which the experiences of individuals are shared with other individuals and subsequent generations (Erll, 2011, p. 28). The tradition of telling *carito* changed. Before, it had been done in the *rumah gadang* (for female children) or in the *surau* (for male children) (Hadler, 2010, p. 193), but now the tradition is also done at schools. Child informants for the *Carito Batu Bangkai*, *Carito Bancah Biunguik*, *Carito Bakik Balacan*, *Carito Tobek si Ombie*, and *Carito Si Buncik* stated that they had heard and memorized these *carito* while in school. Their teachers had taught them these stories while they were in kindergarten and elementary school. Schools, thus, have become effective institutions for conveying *carito*, replacing the *rumah gadang* and *surau* that had been used by the grandparents' and parents' generations. The *rumah gadang* and *surau* are no longer inhabited, and many have become dilapidated as a result of disuse (Stark, 2013).

Changes in language use have also been found in child informants' telling of *carito*. These changes have occurred because the children's generation, even in rural areas, has become used to speaking Indonesian at home and in their everyday lives. According to one study into the use of the Indonesian and Minangkabau languages in Padang, the use of Indonesian has increased, particularly among the younger generation. These children perceive the use of Indonesian as politer than the use of Minangkabau (Marnita, 2015). Similarly, in rural areas, a questionnaire distributed among seventeen third-year elementary school students found that four of them communicated with their parents in the Minangkabau language, twelve used both Indonesian and Minangkabau, and one did not respond. As such, the Indonesian language has become commonly used in rural villages, and it is thus possible that Minangkabau children's *carito* are no longer being told in Minangkabau but in Indonesian.

Changes in the Matrilineal System in Minangkabau Children's Carito

Carito, as cultural products, change over time together with their society; a tradition that does not change will be abandoned by its society (Rosidi, 1995, pp. 125–126). Several observers have noted that the matrilineal system in Minangkabau society has begun changing, but has yet to be erased (Azra, 2003; Erwin, 2006; Benda-Beckmann, 2012). If the matrilineal system were to disappear, so would Minangkabau. People may change their lifestyles, citizenships, and even their religions; however, they may never change their origins or their roots (Anwar, 1995, p. 16).

There is little written testimony of Minangkabau culture before the arrival of Dutch colonialism. However, there is a traditional oral history, or *tambo*, that is frequently told in traditional ceremonies (Kato, 2005, p. 18; Djamaris, 1991). It is possible that the matrilineal system was first implemented when men began going on the *rantau* (diaspora), expanding their agricultural lives. As women were frequently left by their husbands, they were the ones who became closest to their children, over time creating a matrilineal system (Naim, 1984, p. 59). In the matrilineal Minangkabau tradition, the *mamak* (older brother of the mother) is the leader, providing guidance, support, and supervision, as well as maintaining the family's wealth and heirlooms. As such, the character of a Minangkabau child was *shaped not only by his/her parents, but also by his/her mamak* (Navis, 1984, p. 130; Erwin, 2006; Chatra, 2015).

The matrilineal system has several characteristics: a) lineage following the matrilineal line, b) matrilineal marriage, c) kinship rooted in a shared fate and honor, d) essential power being held by the mother and technical power being held by the *mamak*, e) bilocal residences, f) the *paruik* as the smallest family unit, g) passage of inheritance from the *mamak* to his nieces. The *mamak*, thus, served as the male authority, but lived with his mother; although he was part of the lives of his wife and children, he remained a part of his mother's family (Navis, 1984; Jamna, 2004, pp. 35–36; Hadler, 2010, p. 9; Benda-Beckmann, 2012). In such a matrilineal society, daughters were very important, as they were the ones who would continue the family line. As such, they were honored and *protected* (both physically and mentally). The importance of women in Minangkabau culture is also evidenced in the *carito*. In essence, all of the *carito* used as samples convey the importance of honoring and respecting one's mother. If this is not done, the consequences may be fatal for the child, as shown in these *carito* by children turning into stone or being buried in mud. All of these *carito* have a mother as a main and central character. The dominance of female characters is also shown in the presence of daughters in four of the *carito*, namely *Carito Sapan Mandidiah*, *Carito Bancah Biunguik*, *Carito Batu Bangkai*, and *Carito Awang Tingkuluak*; meanwhile, male children are only found in *Carito Si Buncik*, *Carito Batu Balacan*, and *Carito Tobek si Ombie*. *Carito Batu Bangkai* has the most male characters—the child, husband, *mamak*, and gambler—while the other *carito* have no male characters. The dominance of female characters can be seen in the following table.

The lives of the Minangkabau changed with the entry of Islam into the region and institutionalization of

Table 1: Dominance of Female Characters in *Carito*

<i>Carito</i>	Female		Male			
Sapan Mandidiah	mother	child				
Batu Biunguik	mother	child				
Batu Bangkai	mother	child		husband	<i>mamak</i>	gambler
Awang Tingkuluak	mother	child				
Si Buncik	mother		child			
Bukik Balacan	mother		child			
Tobek si Ombie	mother		child			

the *surau*, which initially served as a place for teaching Islam but has been left gradually (Azra, 2003, p. 7; Nizal, 2008, p. 75). Furthermore, social change occurred in Minangkabau society as a result of numerous factors, including education, migration, finance, government, and technology (Naim, 1984; Manan, 1995; Erwin, 2006; Arifin, 2009; Hadler, 2010). As a result, the matrilineal family system of the Minangkabau experienced several changes:

- a) the family structure became oriented towards the nuclear family; b) the reduction in the number of traditional houses, which were centers of education in matrilineal families; c) the reduction of the *surau*'s function as a center for religious and physical education; d) the reduced attribution of traditional values to the practice of *rantau*, replaced by economic factors and a desire for self-development; e) the integration of Islam, the only religion of the Minangkabau, into tradition; family members' emphasis of matrilineal lines in their interactions shifting to schools, workplaces, entertainment, and other venues (Jamna, 2004, p. 5).

In accordance with these changes, there were shifts in the family bonds and responsibilities, in which responsibility for children became "dominated" by their parents. The *mamak*, as a result, no longer had full responsibility for their nieces and nephews, as these nieces and nephews had their fathers (Azra, 2003, p. 17; Yoeti, 2017, p. 119). Similarly, grandparents and mothers' sisters began paying less attention to children, as they were no longer living and sleeping in the same *rumah gadang*. Family members who had lived in a *rumah gadang* together lived on their own, particularly those who were well-to-do, given the material cost of maintaining a *rumah gadang* (Salim and Zulkifli, 2004,

p. 47). In Islamic teachings, the parents are responsible for the education and future of the family, and the father is the head of the family. Because of this teaching, Minangkabau men became more responsible for their wives and children than their communal families and their nieces and nephews (Nizal, 2008, p. 72; Azra, 2003, p. 47).

In several *carito*, father characters do not play a role in the plot, but it is stated that these characters have died or that the mother character is a widow. This indicates a belief that the father is responsible for the lives and prosperity of their families, as the family fell into poverty after the father character's death. These father characters, thus, are very important, as in death these father characters cannot ensure the prosperity of their families, as seen in the parents' version of *Carito Bancah Biunguik*, parents' and children's version of *Carito Tobek si Ombie*, and the parents' and children's version of *Carito Awang Tingkuluak*. In this research, parent informants were assumed to have been born c. 1975 and aged between 30 and 45, while child informants were born after the 2000s. In both of these periods, the nuclear family model was dominant in Minangkabau society, and the communal family was less involved in everyday life. The communal family would only become involved in family life during traditional ceremonies and during times of joy and grief (Anwar, 1995). In these *carito*, the father characters were thus important, fully responsible for their nuclear family, as found in Minangkabau families today. The following table shows other parts of the *carito*, which show the importance of the father character. See table 2.

In the grandparents' versions of *Carito Bancah Biunguik*, *Carito Tobek si Ombie*, and *Carito Awang Takuluak*, no father character is present or referenced. These informants were born and raised before or around the 1950s, at a time when fathers had yet to take a dominant role (as in the time of the parents and children). In the grandparents' childhoods, the sense of communal

Table 2 a: Parts of Carito regarding Father Characters

Carito Bancah Biunguik (Parents' Version)	Carito Tobeh si Ombie (Parents' Version)	Carito Awang Tingkuluak (Parents' Version)
<p><i>Ado induak baduo baranak yang ndak ado puno ayah. Jadi anakno ko maleh-malehlah karajo, dimanjoanlah inyo dek amaknyo ko. Inyo yo lai bantuaknyo rancak. Jadi apopun karajo urang tuo jo ngarajoan sado alahnyo. Atulah lamo, dek indak baayah ado, tu kehidupan makin lamo makin payah.</i></p> <p>(There was a mother of a child who had no father. So her child was lazy all the time, spoiled by her mother. She was quite pretty. So whatever work there was, the mother did everything. Over time, because there was no father, of course the two of their lives became harder.)</p>	<p><i>Nyo kan carito e si Ombie ko durako ka ibu e. Nyo dari ketek jo ibue ndak ado jo ayahe, keceknyo do. Jadi ibue yang manggadang-annyo tinggal di ateh bukik Koto Aua. Jadi tulah dek payah di kampuang pai marantau ka Medan</i></p> <p>(This is the story of Ombie, who was unfaithful to his mother. From youth, he had been with his mother, not with his father, he said. So his mother had raised him, living there atop Mount Koto Aua. Because things were so hard in the village, he went on the <i>rantau</i> to Medan)</p>	<p><i>Ado anak gadih, inyo tu dek anak surang tantu sayang bana urang gaeknyo, urang tuo laki-lakinyo alah maningga. Jadi dek anak iko anak surang sayang bana urang gaeknyo iko khan?, jadi anakko agak kurang tau diri jadinya</i></p> <p>(There was a young girl, and as a daughter of course she was loved by her parent. Her father had died. So because she was the only child, of course she was loved by her parent, right? So the girl grew up not really knowing her place.)</p>

Table 2 b. Father Character in Carito

Carito Tabek si Ombie (Children's Version)	Carito Awang Takuluak (Children's Version)
<p><i>Lai dulu sabuah kampuang di ateah dakek Tanah Gani. Di sinan tinggal omak jo anak e. Ayahnyo lah maningga. Dimanjoannyo anaknyo sampai godang dek omak e du. Tu marantau anak e siap tu. Tu mintak pitih e ka omak nyo, ndak amuah amak e magiah do.</i></p> <p>(There was once a village up top, near Tanah Gani. There lived a mother with her son. His father had died. The child was spoiled rotten by his mother. After that, the child was ready to go on the <i>rantau</i>. After that, he asked his mother for money, but she wouldn't give it to them.)</p>	<p><i>Ado urang jando. Nyo baranak surang. Anaknyo ko ancak. Satiok hari anaknyo ko ndak nio manolongan induaknyo ko do. Satiok disuruh induak nyo ko nda nio nyo do. Karajo anak ko bagaya sajo.</i></p> <p>(There was a widow. She had one child. That child was so pretty. Every day, child wouldn't help her mother. Everything her mother asked her to do, she refused. Her only work was acting out.)</p>

family remained strong, and responsibility for the family was not borne entirely by the father.

In the parents' version of *Carito Batu Bangkai*, there is a *mamak* character that speaks to the mother character. However, in the children's version of *Carito Batu Bangkai*, the *mamak* character does not appear; instead, he is replaced by a husband character. In the children's version, there are thus two significant changes. Where in the parents' version the mother became pregnant outside of marriage, in the children's version the mother became pregnant with her husband. In this story, this

woman's mother forbade the pregnant woman from taking rice to her husband in the field. The pregnant woman did not listen to her mother's instructions, and thus showed more concern for her husband. Her unwillingness to listen to her mother led to them fighting. In Table 3 below, it is shown how these versions of *Carito Batu Bangkai* presented the characters.

The description of events in the children's version of *Carito Batu Bangkai* shows the strong bonds within the nuclear family (between wife and husband). This is shown from behavior of the woman, who refused to listen

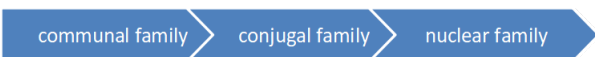
Table 3: Carito showing the Mamak and Father Characters

Carito Batu Bangkai (Parents' Version)	Carito Batu Bangkai (Children's Version)
<p><i>Jadi kato mamak now jo induak nok</i>, "Kalau kau soman iko, waden diusia," kato amak now. Jadi, pado induak now to tausia, jadi anak ko diusia now. Disuruh now pai anak now ko.</p> <p>(So the <i>mamak</i> told the mother, "If you do this, I'll be chased out, she said. So, rather than her being chased out of the village, the child was sent away. They told the child to leave.)</p>	<p><i>Inyo padusi sadang hamil. Laki now mambajak di sawah di Batu Bangkai. Now pai mantaan nasi ka laki now ka sawah tu. Jadi lah disiap ie now nasi tuak laki now cako. Dilarang now dek amak now, "Jan pai lai laiek." Tapi nyo taruih jo pai tu.</i></p> <p>(She was a woman, pregnant. Her man was plowing the rice fields in Batu Bangkai. She went to take the rice to her husband. She went to the fields. So she prepared the rice for her husband. She was forbidden from doing this. "Don't go to see your husband". But she still went).</p>

to mother and decided to take the rice to her husband. The strength of these nuclear family bonds is made clearer in the description of the husband plowing the fields. Traditionally, in Minangkabau society, during the day a husband would work the fields or at their parents' home, rather than stay at home or at the home of the wife's family (as seen in *Carito Batu Bangkai*). The husband did not work the fields of the wife's family because this was done by the *mamak*. The *mamak* was responsible for working, monitoring, and protecting the communal family's fields (Tanner, 1982; Navis, 1984, p. 153; Kato, 2005; Hadler, 2010, p. 9).

From the activities done by the characters, it is seen the change of matrilineal family type in Minangkabau from communal to extended family, i.e. nuclear family added with grand mother, *mamak* (uncle) and, cousins, and etek (aunt) (Sudiharto, 2007), to batih family by the presence of a husband in children's version story. The following is the sequence of change (Gayatri, 2017).

Grandparents' Version | Parents' Version | Children's Version



In traditional Minangkabau families, the behaviors and attitudes of nieces and nephews were shaped by their parents and their *mamak*, as taught in the Minangkabau idiom *nan sakik kato, nan malu tampak, malu indak buliah diagiah, suku indak buliak dianjak, malu surang malu basamo* (the pain is said, the shame is shown, shame must not be brought, the group must not be changed, the shame of one is the shame of many) (Zainuddin, 2013, p. 19). If a member of society behaves in a way

that violates traditional norms, that person will receive social or material sanctions. As in the *carito* above, the mother and *mamak* would be driven out of the village because the daughter/niece became pregnant outside of marriage. This was a social sanction of the communal family. A daughter becoming pregnant outside marriage would bring shame to the whole family, especially the *mamak*, because the *mamak* would be seen as incapable of teaching his niece. As such, if an individual violated social norms, the *mamak* would be blamed because the individual would have been taught by their *mamak* and parents (Yunus, 2015, p. 27).

The shift in emotional ties between mothers and children is seen in *Carito Bancah Buinguik*. In the grandparents' version, the mother character allows her daughter to be buried in mud, screaming and cursing, and is unwilling to help the daughter as she is covered. The attitude of the mother differs in the versions of the parents and children. In these versions, the mother exhibits a dependence on and responsibility for the daughter, even though her daughter treats her like a servant. The behavior and attitude of the child does not change her mother's love and concern for her. The mother attempts to help her daughter and protect her from being covered in mud, even though the daughter is ultimately swallowed by the mud.

By examining the incidents in the *carito* and comparing the attitudes and behaviors of the characters, a shift in the 'emotional' bonds between the parent (mother) and child can be seen. Before the 1980s, when Minangkabau society was not heavily influenced by globalization and the traditional Minangkabau family remained common, children did not only have 'emotional' bonds with their mothers but with the community as well.

Table 4. The Return of Si Buncik

Carito Bancah Buinguik Parents' Version	Carito Tobek si Ombia Parents' Version	Carito Awang Takuluak Parents' Version
<p>Jadi lah baliaknyo ka Mokah. Amaknyo iko lah bansaik didapati, rumah gadang lah dipaluk aka, kok lamannyo lah rimbo, kok inyo rang tuo lah bansaik. Jadi dek lah tadonga urang pulang dari Mokah</p> <p>(So he had returned from Mecca. He found that his mother had fallen poor, the <i>rumah gadang</i> was covered in vines, the yard was a jungle, and the elders poor. So it was heard that he had returned from Mecca.)</p>	<p>Sudah itu. "Ndeh ndak takona Amak lai nak, lah lupu jo Amak tu?" keceknyo. Iko Amak Ang ma, Amak Peto," kecek into. Kudian inyo mangamuak-ngamuak. Ditendangnyolah napan nan baisi lopek itu. Tu manangih amaknyo. "Baa ang kok model iko, padohal dulu ang santun, keceknyo. "Kau ndak Amak den bagai do, Amak den rancak den tinggaan dulu. Amakko iyo lah gaek. Ndak juo inyo nomuah mangakui do. "Kok ndak nomuah ang mangakui bialah</p> <p>(After that, "Ondeh doesn't remember Mother any more... you have forgotten your mother?", she said. "This is your mother, Emak Peto," she said. And then he got angry. He kicked the <i>napan</i> that was filled with <i>lepat</i> (k.o. food). Of course his mother cried. "Why are you like this now? Before you were so polite," she said. "You are not my mother! My mother was beautiful when I left her. This woman is old." But he didn't want to recognize her. "If you don't want to recognize me, fine.").</p>	<p>Waktu inyo pulang itu ibunyo poi kadokek inyo. Siap itu ndak picayo si Buncik bahaso itu ibunyo. Dulu ibunyo masih rancak, masih mudo, ndak picayo inyo do itu ibunyo. Ndak picayo dek dulu ibunyo masih rancak ndak tuo, tapi kini kok bontuak iko kini</p> <p>(When he was going to go abroad, his mother was still beautiful, not old. Si Buncik couldn't believe that she was his mother, such was her form now.)</p>

At the time, communal, social, and emotional bonds were still strong, with less of an emphasis on the individual. A daughter would be taught not only by her birth mother, but by all of the women living together in the *rumah gadang*, who shared the responsibility of shaping the character of the child. Care, education, and motivation could be received from one's grandmother, one's grandmother's sisters, one's mother's sisters, or one's mother's brothers (*mamak*). They provided not only moral guidance, but also material guidance, to all of the members of the communal family in the same *paruik* (Anwar, 1997, p. 9). Emotional bonds were shaped because, at the time, the *rumah gadang* was not only inhabited by one nuclear family, but by several families (Navis, 1984; Kato, 2005; Tanner, 1982). Likewise, the male children would not only receive education and care from their parents, but also

their communal families. After reaching *the age of ten*, male children would *no longer sleep in the rumah gadang, but in the surau*. In the *surau*, they would be taught by all of the older men from their family (Azra, 2003, p. 119; Nizal, 2008, p. 75). Presently, life in the *rumah gadang* and *surau* has changed. Communal families no longer live together in these places, and thus the nuclear family is responsible for caring and teaching children.

Life in matrilineal families, as it occurred in Minangkabau culture, was closely linked to three topics: 1) heirlooms and land as the source of the matrilineal family's economic wealth, 2) the *rumah gadang*, where the communal families lived and where family members played their roles, 3) the actualization and implementation of traditional teachings. All of these elements were linked to the socio-economic function of

the matrilineal communal family (Erwin, 2006, p. 123). The *rumah gadang* of a family was a symbol of that family's existence. Traditional activities and ceremonies were conducted therein. However, today the *rumah gadang* no longer represent the family, and many have been abandoned by their families. Traditionally, the construction of the *rumah gadang* was done communally, through mutual assistance, and as such the *rumah gadang* was also maintained and inhabited together. However, by the late 20th century, the building of *rumah gadang* no longer reflected the spirit of Minangkabau tradition. The *rumah gadang* are now built by people with strong financial capacity and with political interests (Vellinga, 2004).

In the grandparents' version of *Carito si Buncik*, it is said that, when Si Buncik returned from the *rantau* in Mecca, the *rumah gadang* was dilapidated, and as such Si Buncik was unwilling to recognize his mother. He had hoped that the *rumah gadang* and his mother would be the same as when he had left his homeland, with the *rumah gadang* standing strong and his mother young and wealthy. However, as reality did not meet his expectations, Si Buncik refused to recognize his mother. In the parents' and children's version, there is no description of the condition of the *rumah gadang*; there is only description of Si Buncik's mother as old, poor, and tired. This reflects present-day Minangkabau society's tendency to show little concern for the *rumah gadang*. The return of Si Buncik is told in table 4.

CONCLUSION

This research has shown the new reality of the Minangkabau children's *carito*, which may be considered fairy tales, without conveying serious information. The approach used in this research can be used for other children's stories from throughout the Indonesian archipelago. It has been shown that Minangkabau children's *carito* reflect the social change that has occurred in Minangkabau society.

This research has shown that two aspects of the *carito* have changed, namely the selective memories of the storytellers and the matrilineal system. Changes in the memories of the storytellers have been caused primarily by the aging process, although they are also influenced by changes in society. The matrilineal family system of the Minangkabau has also changed in these children's *carito*, for there has been a shift from the communal family model to the nuclear family model. Changes in the *carito* can be seen in their characters and these characters' attitudes and behaviors, as told within the stories.

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