

The Shackle of Patriarchal Culture Toward the Position of Batak Toba Women as Reflected in "Nyawa Sisa" by Sebastian Partogi

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Article Info

History Articles
Received:
17 September 2021
Accepted:
20 October 2021
Published:
30 December 2021

Keywords:
Batak Toba women,
patriarchal culture,
short story, sociology
of literature

Abstract

This research examines social conflict related to the patriarchal culture in Batak Toba society and describes how patriarchal culture discriminates, weakens, and shackles Batak Toba women as reflected in the short story entitled "Nyawa Sisa" by Sebastian Partogi. The writer conducted library research using contextual methods combined with the sociology of literature to analyze the social issues in this short story. The results show how "Nyawa Sisa" reflects that the patriarchal culture indirectly oppresses and discriminates against women. Men dominate women physically and non-physically, both in the personal and social aspects. Men with special privileges often use their power to commit violence against women and make them the second class.

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INTRODUCTION

Short stories are products of literary works created by the author to reflect the dynamics of life in our daily lives. The author tries to translate everyday human behavior and conflicts into literary works, including depictions of socio-cultural conditions arranged fictitiously but still bound to the existing culture. As a country famous for having a variety of tribes and cultures, Indonesia has one of the largest tribes renowned for still upholding their customs and culture called the Batak tribe, with one of the clans named Toba. Batak Toba society has a system of kinship between their community named patriarchal culture. This type of kinship system draws according to the father's lineage. This culture is a social structural phenomenon in which males have power and privilege of dominance in personal life and various sectors such as education, politics, social, law, and economy.

In various literary works, talking about women always becomes an interesting topic. Many women tend to be victims of injustice because of their physique, which is considered weaker and softer than men. Those gender stereotypes believe in the psychological traits and characteristics, and it encourages us to think about women and men are different kinds of people; femininity and masculinity. An article written by Widyaningsih (2000) states that "perempuan" comes from the word "empu," which means master, someone who is capable, powerful, honorable, or glorified. Moreover, the word "perempuan" is often associated with the word "pu" or "empu" which means a highly respected person. Based on that statement, a woman should become the master of herself and has the right to determine her way of life or be freely responsible for her choices.

However, we often find women helpless when faced with the complexities of patriarchal culture, as in the short story "Nyawa Sisa" by Sebastian Partogi. The story tells about Reva and her mother (Emanuela), women of the Batak Toba, who have experienced gender inequality. Because of gender inequality, women

are put in second class and are inferior to men. The division of roles and rights creates gender privileges, man's control over woman's body, and structures of gender oppression, thus placing women in a lower status than men. The existence of special authority possessed by men seems to make women an "object" so they can be treated arbitrarily, including violence against them (Zuraida, Sumartini, & Qomariyah, 2013). According to Fakhri (2007), forms of injustice against women are manifest in various examples such as marginalizing women, giving stereotypes, subordination, workload, violence, and socialization of gender role values. Those injustices caused social paradigms and conflicts that can be analyzed using the sociology of literature. Wiyatmi in Hariyadi (2018) states that the sociological approach is a mimetic process that understands literary works, reality, and the social aspects surrounding them. From this statement, we can find that the correlation between literary works is closely related to the social fact that occurs in society.

This article will describe how the patrilineal system in Batak Toba is considered to weaken the position of women and will examine the effects of patriarchal culture towards women using the point of view of the sociology of literature. The explanation results become the answer to how the patriarchal culture that shackles Batak Toba women affects their position and becomes a social conflict as reflected in "Nyawa Sisa" by Sebastian Partogi.

METHODS

Conflicts that appear in literary works reflect people's lives. Based on Damono (2003), we can observe the sociological aspects of a literary work by examining various aspects of society concerning human relations with their environment, community structures, institutions, and social systems. According to Ratna (2003), the sociology of literature is an understanding of literary works by considering social aspects. This research used "Nyawa Sisa" by Sebastian Partogi, which presents social

conflicts regarding with patrilineal system of Batak Toba society.

This research applied a contextual analysis method by using relevant relationships outside the short story and combining them with the text's various elements. This research used written sources such as the short story itself, books, and articles with similar themes carried out with the descriptive analysis method to describe the facts found in the short story and analyze the relationship between humans, society, and literary works.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Summary of "Nyawa Sisa" by Sebastian Partogi

This short story narrates a woman named Reva Situmorang, the sixth daughter of a married couple from Batak Toba. Her mother, Emanuela, considered Reva to bring terrible luck to their family because her husband almost divorced her. The family got angry because she had been pregnant six times and had not given birth to a son to continue their clan. Meanwhile, Emanuela herself only graduated from junior high school because her family thought there was no need to send her to high school. That has commonly happened because the customary said a daughter would leave her family and move to her husband's family clan after marriage. Emanuela became the inferior person in her husband's family and surrendered when her father-in-law scolded her. Emanuela became helpless when her husband's family forced her to be pregnant until she gave birth to a son. After her seventh pregnancy, Emanuela gave birth to a baby boy named Bori.

As a patriarchal family, Reva did not get special facilities like her brother. Even though Bori often rioted and was dropped out of the campus, Bori was still pampered by his family. Meanwhile, when Reva grew up and wanted to continue her education at the university, her parents refused her wish. Time passed by, Reva got married to Richard and now she must join the Sianturi family kindship. In her new family, Reva got scolded by her father-in-law for giving

birth to a daughter. It happened the same as her mother years ago, when the Sianturi family did the same as the Siagian family, wanted a son's presence to continue the family lineage.

Batak Toba Society

According to Baiduri (2015), the Batak community with a patrilineal system has the principle of Dalihan Na Tolu which regulates relations between members in the social structure. The customary principle contains three elements, namely hula-hula (the giver of the wife), dongan tubu (brothers of the same clan), and boru (the recipient of the wife), whose distribution is based on the marriage system and lineage. The Batak Toba society's Dalihan Na Tolu customary principle is considered unfair to women because this system places men in the main class while women are only complementary. This statement is in line with Hutabarat's (1999) opinion about the realization of the Dalihan Na Tolu system, which structurally weakens the position of women because they are only followers of male leadership by making men the center of the authority. Dalihan Na Tolu indirectly indicates that daughters are only considered princesses of the king called boru ni raja (daughter of the king). The utterance of boru ni raja implicitly shows that the one who is respected is his father (the male side) by being referred to as king, while women are never called queens (Siregar, 2017).

Furthermore, Siregar (2017) stated that there is an element of patriarchal culture in Dalihan Na Tolu when managing the position of each individual in everyday life. This system regulates kinship relationships changes after someone in the family gets married. After marriage, a woman has to leave her family and join her husband's family kindship. That case indirectly put women in the second class by following men as the central power leader. For them, respecting and obeying Dalihan Na Tolu is the same as respecting customs, so women must accept it as destiny without questioning the reason. This phenomenon illustrates that gender is the result of social construction.

By marriage, people can trace the kinship lineage through the Dalihan Na Tolu. Giving sinamot (payment of uang jujur or tuhor) as one of the terms in Batak Toba marriage is also regulated in Dalihan Na Tolu. Sinamot, the hallmark of Batak Toba marriage, is a dowry from the groom-to-be family paid to the bride-to-be family, which can be paid in the form of money or other valuable things based on the agreement of the two families. Before marriage, a daughter is counted as a member of her father's group until she is married. By giving sinamot, a husband can call his wife na hutuhor which means "the one I bought" (Vergouwen, 2004).

After the wedding and giving sinamot from paranak (man's family) to parboru (woman's family), the woman officially becomes a member of her husband's family. Providing sinamot as dowry (uang jujur) or tuhor is often interpreted as the woman has been confirmed "bought" (dituhor) and joined as a new member of the men's kinship (Manurung, 2006). Although using the word "purchased or been bought," there are no transactions with negative connotations regarding this tradition. In other areas, sinamot known as mahar (dowry), is one of the conditions for marriage. The sinamot payment phenomenon makes men tend to be more powerful and feel more entitled to women. That is in line with Simone De Beauvoir (1989) statement in her book entitled "The Second Sex," which says that women are taken from their families and then put into their husbands' kinship. A man considers he has bought a woman and treats her like a slave, forcing domestic chores on her, and the child she conceives belongs to her partner's family.

Batak Toba society has a philosophy of life which is summarized in hamoraon (wealth), hagabeon (having descendant), and hasangapon (honorable/noble), which is related to Dalihan Na Tolu. One way to make those goals of life happen is through marriage. According to Tius (2018), marriage will produce a new lineage that can continue descendant and maintain the line of a family. Maintaining genealogy for the Batak Toba people means maintaining the continuity of the clan. Sianturi (2017) stated that sons'

presence in the Batak Toba family plays an essential role in continuing the family clan.

Furthermore, Batak Toba families will feel incomplete and haunted by a fear of the extinction of their lineage due to not having a son. Therefore, commonly if a family does not have a son, they keep trying to get one even though they already have many daughters. The absence of a son in a family can be considered nupunu, which means that they cannot continue the generation of his father's clan so that later it will not be considered in the Batak Toba kinship tree.

Patrilineal and Man Superiority

Gender inequality is easy to find in a society that adheres to a patriarchal culture. The patriarchal culture forms two categories in social life: masculinity (male stereotypes) and femininity (female stereotypes), which cause gender stereotypes that strengthen gender inequality. The existence of an assumption based on these two gender categories refers to the biological differences in the characteristics of men and women to affirm men's authority, authority over women, weaken the role and position of women in social life (Barli et al., 2017). As the source of the ultimate power, men carry certain privileges and rights that give many disadvantages to women.

Meanwhile, Johnson (2014) stated that culturally trapped people in a patriarchal society promote male privilege, such as male-dominated, male-identified, and male-focused control obsession. Johnson also stated that patriarchy is dominated by male authority, covering politics, economics, law, religion, education, military, and managing households under their control. Rich (1976) stated that patriarchy means the power of a father is included in the political, social, family, and ideological system. Through rituals, tradition, law, language, customs, ethics, education, and division of work, men use their power to position women below them.

Marga or clan in the Batak Toba lineage is defined as a person's identity marker of a kinship unit or group owned by those from the

same line. In the Batak Toba society, clans aim to build cohesiveness and uphold a sense of solidarity among clan members as descendants of the same ancestor. The clan also functions as a determinant in marriage and the continuity of the lineage.

Conflict starts when a grandfather from the Siagian family, the father-in-law of Emanuela, is annoyed with his daughter-in-law for not giving birth to a son. The grandfather became an example of a Batak Toba male figure who was afraid and worried his family was labeled nupunu. He was angry because his daughter-in-law had given birth six times and there was no grandson's birth as his family had hoped. He forced his son to divorce his sick wife and considered Emanuela to give no benefit to the Siagian family. It can be seen in the passage below:

Damn it! Why girl again!

....

It has been six times to have a child and it turns out that it is a girl again! Listen, Em, before you could give birth to a son, you still owe the Siagian family!

Then I heard my grandfather chattering again. This time he spoke to my father.

So, think again, Jong. You should just divorce Emanuela. Mamak already knows another woman named Reva.

....

She is fat and fertile. She definitely can produce a boy quickly. Unlike Emanuela, who is sick and weak, that is why she has given birth many times, and all her children are daughters. Worthless! People that are just waiting to be bought (dituhor)! (Partogi in Jurnal Perempuan, 2016).

In that part of the story, it can be seen that man's superiority in the patrilineal family has an important role. Emanuela's father-in-law forced his son to leave his wife and marry another woman to get a son. Emanuela had no chance to fight back because of "her mistake" of having six daughters. Emanuela is depicted as a woman who has no freedom over her own body in a society that adheres to a patrilineal system. Emanuela's father-in-law shows the superiority

of men over the sexual exploitation of a woman's body.

The patriarchal culture also causes inequality for women; they become marginalized, have limited chances to grow, and are vulnerable to discrimination. Emanuela has no chance to claim their rights. Thus, the men get absolute authority over the marriage life and everything related to it to make women inferior. Patriarchal culture has positioned women as inferior people and makes their lives depend on men's decisions.

My mother was defended after crying desperately, begging my father not to divorce her, and promising to give her a son as their seventh child. They tried to make another child, and it turned out to be a boy. They cheered. In the end, after six mistakes, the desired "item" appeared, the successor of the Siagian clan.

...

I cannot make a living on my own. If my husband divorces me, I will die. You, the source of the disaster that made my breath almost stop from fear! Son of a bitch! (Partogi in Jurnal Perempuan, 2016).

Being naturally considered under men's domination can affect women physically and mentally. Her husband's final decision had a crucial effect on her life. Moreover, Batak Toba society has a term called pardibalian, which means to advance family affairs outside the household or earn a living for the family is a masculine job; in this case, it is intended for men. At the same time, women are juxtaposed with the term partalaga, which means as the bearer of household works.

Emanuela implicitly becomes a victim when her husband controls the fulfillment of her financial needs, which indirectly also controls her life. As a housewife, Emanuela only does domestic works and those activities do not generate money that can be used to meet her daily needs. Therefore, Emanuela was frightened of being divorced by her husband.

Another part that represents how important of having a son to save the family tree can be seen in the passage below:

I have been married to Richard for three years and I have also given birth to one child, a girl named Hotna.

Before you gave birth to a son, you still owed the Sianturi family.

My father-in-law said the exact words like my grandfather did to mama when I was born (Partogi in *Jurnal Perempuan*, 2016).

Based on that passage, the patrilineal system has been passed down widely from generation to generation. Richard's father was scolding Reva for giving birth to a daughter, the same as her mother before. Reva reflects a woman of Batak Toba descent who is indirectly required to create a prosperous family according to the standard version. One of the requirements to be considered a prosperous family is to fill the values of hagabeon or to have descendants. Hagabeon, if it is aligned with the patrilineal line system of the Batak Toba means the family must have children who can inherit the family clan name, which means having a son is a must.

Women Position in the Patriarchal Culture of the Batak Toba

The belief of Batak Toba ethnic group that having a son is more important than daughters indirectly affects the position of women in everyday life. For example, after getting married, a woman has to leave her parents and family to join her husband's family. It can be interpreted as a man who has the right to lead, decide everything, and the wife follows him as a member. This understanding affects inequality in rights and provides educational facilities for women, as reflected in the following passage:

You are a source of shit! Because of your birth, your father was almost forced to divorce me and marry that damn woman named Reva! I only graduated from a junior high school because my parents thought women were just property to be paid for, so why send them to higher education. I cannot make a living on my own. If my husband divorces me, then I can die (Partogi in *Jurnal Perempuan*, 2016).

Emanuela represents that women do not have a chance to get higher education from her family because they believe someday daughters will leave their families. After getting married, a

daughter will leave their parents' families to take care of domestic needs and serve her husband yet his family in the future. Unlike girls, boys from the Batak Toba families usually get much better facilities.

My little brother, Bori, is always pampered by my parents. All his wishes were always fulfilled and it happened until he grew up. Even when he damaged father's official car by crashing it into the church wall while he was drunk, Bori was not scolded (miraculously, he did not die in this accident).

Meanwhile, I always get scolded, considered an unfavorable child.

God damn it! Why did you break my favorite porcelain! Watch your move! If I knew that a daughter's lump would come out, which was troublesome and almost caused me to divorce, I would have killed you long ago by eating durian! (Partogi in *Jurnal Perempuan*, 2016).

It shows the emotional outburst and fear of Emanuela as a victim of the patrilineal system in the Batak Toba family. Emanuela must obey the customs and follow men's decisions, which made her unable to express her anger and anxiety to her husband or father-in-law. Because of it, Emanuela vented her anger on Reva, her youngest daughter. Meanwhile, Reva's younger brother has always been spoiled by the family even though he is a naughty boy. Reva has to accept different facilities and treatment from her parents just because she was a girl. As a daughter, Reva becomes a victim of verbal and psychological violence by her mother.

After graduating from high school, my father and mother did not want to send me to college because they had "run out of money." At the same time, they do not stop buying Bori's luxury goods: the newest car, a private house with a swimming pool, and supply him monthly pocket money (Bori is jobless and dropped out of college because he was caught smoking marijuana. Now he became grumpy and refuse to go to college) (Partogi in *Jurnal Perempuan*, 2016).

Even though Bori has a bad temper, his family still prioritizes his needs and wishes. Since the day of his birth, the Siagian family put

high hopes for this clan's successor. Emanuela and her husband send Bori to college, hoping that one day he becomes a leader who is continuing the family clan and gets society's respect. The expectations of Bori's parents are in line with the cultural value of the Batak Toba society, namely *hasangapon*, which means having honor and glory because of having a high social status and being respected in society.

Moreover, by using their power, men with bigger and stronger bodies dominate women in personal and public aspects. Men exploit the physical weakness and position of women as in the following example:

When I was 20 years old, Bori accidentally tore up my favorite book to make me cry. I got angry and slapped his face. He responded by choking my neck.

Do not mess around, girl! Remember your place! You have no value in our eyes other than as a servant and child-making machine!

He grabbed my neck so hard that I struggled and slapped his arm. He let go of his grip when he was satisfied to see my face turning red like a crab. Instantly I threw up (Partogi in *Jurnal Perempuan*, 2016).

From the state above, it can be seen how men use violence to threaten women. Even though Bori is younger than Reva, but his authority is higher than her. Bori positioned himself as dominant to keep Reva stuck in fears. By trapping her in a state of fear also means clarifying women's subordinate status. Bori's action represents a patriarchal society where men members have the power and control to act harshly against the weaker (women). Bori told Reva that she is merely just a servant, second class in society.

Besides getting physical and verbal violence from her younger brother, as a woman, Reva also gets sexual violence from her male friend, as reflected in the following:

I walked out of Peter's apartment with pain in my lips and pain all over my body. Before we had sex, he kissed and bit my lip so hard and made it bleed. Then he beat me many times before finally raping me (Partogi in *Jurnal Perempuan*, 2016).

As a woman considered weak and powerless, Reva had to become a victim of sexual abuse. Furthermore, a woman's position, which is not equal to men's, is influenced by the assumption that a woman must obey her husband after being "purchased" with *sinamot* (uang jujur) in their marriage. The existence of this procession causes the woman to be a follower of man leadership. This customary ritual indirectly affect the rights, position, and treatment received by a woman as follows:

I was also constantly insulted by my father.

This child is so ugly. Her skin is black and dark like Dakochan. No one in the Siagian family has dark skin like this. How can you be sold in the future? How will another family give us expensive sinamot (dowry) to pay you? You are so ugly! (Partogi in *Jurnal Perempuan*, 2016).

Utterances above confirm the expression that a son is the family's pride while having a daughter is a source of sustenance. This expression refers to the Batak Toba culture, which inherits the family clan to the son as the next leader. At the same time, the daughter will create new relationships with another family/group. In a society with patriarchal culture, the idea of women (daughters/wives) as their family's property still lingers on the culture and beliefs. People believe it will be a matter of pride if their daughter is "purchased" (*dituhor*) with an expensive *sinamot*. Many things become benchmarks for getting large amounts of *sinamot*; the girl comes from a good family or by her appearance.

By receiving a high *sinamot*, they will receive great appreciation and compliments from society too. That tradition causes Reva's family to worry if one day there will be no man who will provide Reva with an expensive *sinamot* because of her physical appearance. According to the *Dalihan Na Tolu* system, Reva will open new relationships by becoming a new member of her husband's kinship.

CONCLUSION

The short story entitled "Nyawa Sisa" by Sebastian Partogi narrates that a patriarchal culture can shackle women's lives. The author gives examples of inequality and discrimination in a patriarchal culture that throws women down to the lowest place. Partogi portrays the patriarchal culture ties down women, considers

them as property, and controls them. "Nyawa Sisa" is an example of literary work representing the negative effects of patriarchal culture against women. The table below summarizes how the patriarchal culture shackles many aspects of the women characters' lives in the short story "Nyawa Sisa" by Sebastian Partogi:

Economy	The husband prohibits his wife from having a job and get income to fulfill her needs or savings. As a wife, Emanuela does not have much money and must depend on her husband.
Psychology	Vulnerable to feeling angry, afraid, sad, anxious, and disappointed but cannot express it and resist the culture. Feel pressured and frustrated by the burden of domestic works. Become victims of physical and verbal abuse. Women have no right and control over their bodies.
Education	Compared to sons, daughters do not have enough education.
Social	Women are considered as "property" that can be "paid or exchanged" with a dowry. Women get different rights, treatment, and facilities rather than men. Women become followers behind men's leadership.

The patrilineal kinship system has been used as a guide by members of society to take action, make decisions, and decide how to behave in everyday life. This tradition has long been passed down from one generation to another and makes a complexity of social institutions. In addition, men suppress women in many aspects that cause the feeling of insecure emerge. Ironically, the suppression is mainly conducted by men in the family as acts of dominance and submission. Because men are physically stronger than women, society puts men as the superior, which causes them to use their privilege to dominate women at their will.

Emanuela and Reva, as the representation of Batak Toba women, became victims of patriarchal culture due to traditional restrictions, stereotypes, and societal norms that put women second. Patriarchal culture has influenced society by positioning men as leaders in the family and society with all the privileges that come with it. Sebastian Partogi shows that every community group has social complexities or problems related to its customary rules and culture, including the Batak Toba society.

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