



# Toba Batak Folklores and Gender-Specific Issues: Woman's Roles and Positions

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## Abstract:

*The issues around gender equality and the role and position of women are big issues nowadays. It is the result of negative perspective toward the progress and the achievement of women. The similar case appeared within the society of Batak Toba. In a glance, the progress and the achievement of Bataknesse women can be seen in many social fields. It is a connective system, a frame of knowledge and belief that gives a direction to the orientation of every person who dwells in the culture. It is a collective knowledge that directs the perception and definition of the people about the reality and their existence on earth. The people of Batak Toba has many folklores where women are the main characters. The research attempted to find the meaning of those folklores that can be connected to the role and position of Bataknesse women. The used strategy was to find out their structure by using the theory of Structuralism, Literary Sociology, and Functionalism. The research was conducted on seven folklores. Then, the formulations of the problem were as follows: how about the role and position of Batak Toba women was portrayed in folklore, how about the role and position showed the logical mechanism, belief and custom of the people, how about the local wisdom dealt with the role and position of women in the folklores, and how about the attitude of the Batak Toba community toward the role and position of women. The finding showed that the role of woman was domestics, and they were dominated by men. They did not involved in making decision even for their own personal decision. In a glance the position of woman lower compared to man. Still, the social cultural research showed that the position of woman is actually very important due to the system of kinship in Batak Toba society which is called Dalihan na Tolu.*

**Keywords:** Role, Position and Dalihan na Tolu, Kinship system, Bataknesse

## 1. Introduction

Nowadays, gender equality and the role and position of women become big issues. There are various questions about an ideal role and position for women. Those questions appeared due to many theories about the suitable role and position for women that are filtrated into the lifestyle of women which is paralleled to the development of technology and communication. The culture of women is an active culture that works continually. Woman is a human creature who toils in all cultural aspects that without them social culture would be vanished. Many folklores that talk about the role and position of women had been expressed orally from the old generation to their next generation that can be found in written form. They have been forgotten just because their narrative style and language are not suitable for the generation of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Actually, the characteristics of literature which are universal, imaginative and aesthetic are able to enrich human mind and broaden his view about the universe and his existence on earth. Those characteristics make literature function as the source of knowledge about human values that later on enrich and empower culture. In reality, every tribe has its own tradition of creating stories about the role and position of women, orally or in written form. It is a tradition that is built within itself continually and recovers the important elements. Still, some of them have been forgotten.

Folklores of Batak Toba are very interesting to read. They talk about the actual socio-cultural aspects in Batak Toba community. They can be connected with woman characters. They tell the misery and sorrow experienced by women as daughters, wives, and mothers and their rebellion against custom and social norms that exclude them from the process of making decision, even for their own personal affairs. The research attempted to identify literary elements such as plot and style that present women of the past to talk about unpredictable way since they provide message like the feminists message that is the right to make decision for themselves, whereas their status as daughters, lovers, wives, and mothers is always connected with their relation to men.

Nowadays, there is a misconception on Batak Toba social structure. The development of technology and communication and the filtration of outer culture create controversial opinion about social structure, especially the role and position of women that have been held for a long time. The question like: Is it necessary to be bound to the social custom which has been social life philosophy of the people? It is not a question anymore. There are some changes dealt with the role and the position of women that create social conflicts. The role and position of women as daughters, wives, mothers, and a human creature are questioned. Those views become the basic background for the research on the role and position of women of Batak Toba in folklore. Batakese women have achieved many progresses in many aspects of life such as education, politics, and culture. There is an opinion which states that among the Batak community there is still gender discrimination and women are positioned far below man. The reason for this opinion deals with the social code of distributing inheritance. Parents' property goes down to sons whereas daughters do not have any right for inheritance. If their bothers have a sense of fairness and give their sisters a small part of the inheritance, they should be grateful.

Literature is a part of cultural structure which is believed as a cognitive system that is a knowledge and life diagram that creates a compass for the orientation of every person who dwells within the culture, and it is also a collective insight that decides the member's perception and definition toward reality. The Batakese own many folklores where women are the leading characters. The research attempted to find out the meaning within the folklores that could be connected with the role and position of Batakese women. Structuralism was used in finding the portrayal of the role and position of women. The research was focused on the text which were found in libraries. After having collected the folklores the researcher selected seven folklores to be studied: they were Si Boru Deak Parujar, Tunggal Panaluan, Si Boru Pareme, Si Jomba Ilik dohot Raja Marnubung di Langit, Porang ni Aji, Parboniaga Sipunjung dohot Si Tapiomas and Si Boru Tombaga. Field research was added to the understanding about social facts that explained the role and the position of the Batakese women.

In reality, tribes have their own tradition of creating story about the role and the position of women in written or oral literature, a kind of tradition which is continuously built within and refine the most important element. Still, some of them have been forgotten. The problems in the study were connected with the role and the position of the Batak women. In fact, these problems covered the social cultural aspects of Batak Toba. To describe the social cultural aspects, it is necessary to be focused on the cultural element within the works and among the society. Those views became the basic backgrounds for the research on the role and position of the Batak Toba women in folklores. The formulations of the problem were as follows: how about the role and position of Batak Toba women portrayed in folklore, how about these role and position showed logical mechanism, belief and custom of the people, how about the local wisdom dealt with the role and position of women showed in the folklores, and how about the attitude of the Batak Toba community toward the role and position of women.

## 2. Research Method

Sociological approach was used in this research on folklores. According to Mathew Miles et.al (1985:15), qualitative research is a research in social science and humanity in which the activities are

based on scientific discipline in gathering the data, clarifying and interpreting facts and interpreting the relation of natural phenomena, society, behavior, and human soul to find out the principle of knowledge and new method in an attempt to respond these things. Miles (1985) further points out that "...qualitative data, in the form of words rather than number, have always been the staples of certain social sciences...."

Semi (1993:23) points out that the object of research is literary works which are often related to human beings, human creativity, and art. Therefore, this research was very complex since it was related to human beings who had intellectual, emotional, social and spiritual characteristic development, besides physical development. One more thing which added the complexity of the research was the supporting science such as anthropology so that the method which was able to analyze the complexity of human social and cultural characteristics was descriptive qualitative method. By using qualitative method approach all human problem, including literature could be answered properly.

Bogdan and Taylor in Molyeong (1998:3), points out that qualitative research procedure yields a research which can reveal qualitative data through an approach which is led to the setting and characters holistically or completely although it is viewed as a complete unity. The source of data of research was primary and secondary data; the former came from Batak Toba folklores which had been written and which were orally expressed, such as Si Boru Deak Parujar, Tunggal Panaluan, Si Boru Pareme, Si Jomba Ilik dohor Raja Mrnubung di Langit, Si Porang ni Aji, Si Punjung dohot Si Sanggar ni Anian and Si Boru Tombaga. All the folklores above deal with the misery of woman, forced marriage, love affair between cousins and sexual abuse on step sister and the sorrow of a girl who has no brother. All of the folklores end with punishment on the women.

The method of gathering the data was by using library research that was literary documentation technique by gathering the data from written source, reading and recording. The researcher also conducted field research. On this occasion, the researcher acted as a direct main instrument that did her skill intellectually to record all the observed phenomena, particularly socio-cultural phenomena. The gathered data were analyzed by following the stage of Levy-Strauss' structuralism by using reading fact technique and the research was conducted by using thinking framework which the stages began with the analysis of the prevailing facts in the story and followed by the stages in the concept of theory.

The first stage was to divide the story into some parts of the episodes. The next stage was to identify the mytheme, the events experienced by the characters, to gather them and to arrange them in the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axis. The method clearly represented Leve-Strauss' theories which were influenced by Saussure's idea about syntagmatic and paradigmatic relation to language. The meaning of sign was determined by its relation to other signs. This indicated the influence of structural linguistics in which the essence of phenomena was basically the relations themselves. Therefore, these relations should be fully heeded. The gathered data consisted of seven folklores which have until now been very popular and believed by Batak Toba community. The sequence of the story was intellectually arranged from the oldest folklore, based on the content of the story: Si Boru Deak Parujar up to the last folklor: Si Boru Tombaga.

Data 1 henceforth Folklore I from Barita ni Siboru Deak Parujar (Salomo,19250). The story tells about the origin of man. It is told that the world was divided into two parts: the Upper World and the Under World. The first man was created by Mula Jadi na Bolon (god), through a hen with three eggs which hatch and become the first three human beings. Then, Mula Jadi na Bolon created three women to become their wives with their offspring. The problem rose when their offspring looked for wives and resulted in forced marriage. Data 2 Tunggal Panaluan, henceforth Folklore II, is derived from

Sejarah Batak (Batara Sangti, 1977). The story tells about incest between two twins so that they are cursed to be stucked on a tree and become a cane which is called Tunggal Panaluan.

Data 3: Si Boru Pareme, henceforth Folklore III is derived from Kisah si Raja Lontung (Situmorang, BH, 2010). The story tells about incest between siblings (brother and sister), Saribu Raja and Si Boru Pareme. Saribu Raja gets away and Si Boru Parme is evicted and goes to the forest. She delivers a baby boy in the forest who then becomes her husband. Data 4: Nan Jomba Ilik dohot Si Raja Marnubung ni Langit, henceforth Folklore IV, is derived from the book, TuriTurian Batak Toba (Siagian,1996). The story tells about incest between two cousins who are then evicted by the community. Data 5: Porang ni Aji, henceforth Folklore V is derived from Turi-turian ni Batak Toba (Siagian,1996). The story tells about incest between the twins who are cursed to be stones. Data 6: Parboniaga Sipunjung dohot Si Sanggar ni Anian, henceforth Folklore 6 derived from Turi-turian ni Batak Toba (Siagian,1996). The story tells about incest between a half brother and half sister who have the same father. The girl cursed herself to be a snake.

Data 7 Si Boru Tombaga tells the story of a full orphaned girl who has no brother. She fights alone to get his father's property which has been taken by her uncle from her father side. The custom cursed a girl who has no brother, and a man without a son is regarded as a dead man. Every ending of the discussed folklore portrays the gender condition. According to Endaswara 92006:162), the gender problem appears in various folklores. That is the reason why this problem is very important to be discussed to the direction of differentiating man from woman. According to Tuchman in Endaswara (2006:162), the traditional literary work from the past likes to emphasize the aspect of nihilising woman symbolically.

Still, according to Endaswara (2006: 163 ), the objective of gender study is on the content analysis. The concept of masculine and feminine is the basis of the analysis which, on the surface, it is not clear or pictured symbolically. The three aspects which become the direction of this kind of research are (a) patriarchal feminism, (b) ideological, and (c) radical feminism. In the analysis, patriarchal feminism was an analysis that attempted to differentiate the position of man and woman that appeared in folklore. In social conflicts such as incest, a woman becomes the person to be blamed and has to be punished, whereas incest has close relation to kinship. The role of women that will be discussed in the folklores is the role of women as daughter, lovers, wives, mothers, and as individuals.

### 3. Data Analysis and Findings

#### 3.1 Si Boru Deak Parujar

Si Boru Deak Parujar is a part of the story of Mula ni Jolma, the origin of man. Mula Jadi Nabolon created three men: Tuan Batara Guru Sahala, Tuan Harajaon Sori and Tuan Bala Bulan; he then created three women to become their wives. All of them dwelled in the Upper World. They have descendants, men and women. One day, Tuan Bala Bulan asked his brother, Tuan Harajaon Sori, "Do you agree if I marry off my son with your daughter?" The latter answered, "We should not forget that we still have an older brother, and I am in the middle; therefore, you should ask our older brother, Tuan Batara Guru Sahala, to let his daughter marry your son."

After that, both of them met with Tuan Batara Guru Sahala to ask him to let his daughter, Si Boru Deak Parujar, become the wife of Tuan Bala Bulan's son, Si Tuan Ruma Uhir. The question of Tuan Batara Guru Sahala to Tuan Harajaon Sori was that if it was good to marry off them since they were of the same blood. The three of them finally agree on Tuan Bala Bulan's son getting married with Tuan Batara Guru Sahala's daughter. This agreement was consented by Mula Jadi Nabolon. Tuan Ruma Uhir was skillful in engraving and became the engraver of wood and houses. Si Boru Ddeak Parujar who refused to get married with Si Tuan Ruma Uhir, gave various reasons. One of them was that she wanted to finish weaving an ulos (a hand made piece of cloth). Of course, it was never



finished since she always entangled it. The parents were very impatient; they forced her to go to Tuan Bala Bulan's house and got married with Si Tuan Ruma Uhir.

Early in the morning, when she woke up, she found her husband lying on a mat and his face resembled an ilik (lizard). Her husband had good name but ugly face during the night. She then escaped from the house, and she was the first wife who ran away from a husband. In Bataknese, it is called mahilolong. She came home to her parents's house and begins to herd buffaloes. One day, her buffalo gave birth to a baby. In that early morning, the calf began to grow up as big as a house. Around nine or ten o'clock, it became as big as a village, at noon it became as big as two villages, in the afternoon it became as big as three villages, and at dusk it fell down from the Upper World to the Middle World. Her parents and Tuan Ruma Uhir's parents became worried and thought that it was the punishment from Mula Jadi Nabolon because of her bad attitude. They reminded her about obligation as a wife, but she was adamant in her decision to leave her husband.

Si Boru Deak Parujar escaped from the Upper World to the Middle World by clinging to a thread which she has spun. She saw her buffalo swimming on the water and she herself was tossed about the waves, under sunshines, tossed about by the wind sitting on a stump which was sometimes slippery and sometimes dry. She suffered a lot. She then requests to Ompu Mula Jadi Nabolon to give her a piece of land for standing on. It was then sent from the Upper World, and this land became the Middle World, the place where she dwelled. When this world began to be crowded, the buffalo destroyed it. She asked Ompu Mula Jadi Nabolon to send her another piece of land, and he answered her prayers. On the first day, on artia (Monday), she asked for the land and on Samisara (Saturday) it became crowded.

Not long afterward, Ompu Mula Jadi Nabolon asked his messenger, Si Raja Indah Pati Leang-leang-Tuan Rumah Leang Mandi, to meet with Tuan Bala Bulan. He ordered him to kill and to slay his son, the husband of Si Boru Deak Parujar. The pieces of the body were put into a piece of bamboo which was thrown away through a hole from the Upper World to the Middle World. It broke down and a handsome young man appeared (mapultak sian bulu) that was called Si Bulu Gading. One day, Si Bulu Gading saw a bird and he ran after it, attempting to catch it although he failed. He finally arrived at a village where Si Boru Deak Parujar dwelled. They fell in love and decided to live together. She gave birth to six babies: Datu Sinomba Debata went to the east and settled there, Datu Rondang Nabolon went to the west, Si Parange Ulubalang went to the north, Datu Gumbot Nabolon went to the south, Datu Maraungaung went to the Upper World, and Nai Bala Tongtongan supported the Middle World on his head

## **Episodes in Si Boru Deak Parujar**

### **Episode 1.**

Ompu Mula Jadi Nabolon created three men through three eggs of a hen, Hulabu Jati. When the eggs cracked and three men emerged. Ompu Mula Jadi Na Bolon gave them names, Tuan Batara Guru Sahala, Ompu Soripada, and Tuan Manggala Bulan respectively. Manuk Hulabu Jati complained again about not having any daughter to be married by the three sons so that Ompu Mula Jadi Nabolon sent three women to be their wives. Tuan Batara Guru's wife gave birth to a son and two daughters, Ompu Tuan Soripada's wife gave birth to Si Raja Enda – Enda, and Ompu Manggala Bulan's wife gave birth to Tuan Ruma Uhir.

### **Interpretation**

According to Vergowen in Siahaan (2005:13-23), the primitif Batak people believed that the world was divided into three parts: the Upper World, the Middle World, and the Lower World. Ompu Mula Jadi Nabolon (god) dwelled in the Upper World, together with his created human beings. This part shows the image or the way of thinking of the primitif people in solving their conflicts about the questions around their existence.

### **Episode 2**

Ompu Manggala Bulan met his brother, Ompu Tuan Soripada, to ask his daughter to be his son's wife, but the latter refused it and suggested that the daughter of Ompu Tuan Guru Sahala be the wife of Tuan Rumah Uhir. Ompu Tuan Batara Guru Sahala refused it because he thought that their son and daughter would not get any gabe (having off springs). The three brothers then went to Ompu Mula Jadi Nabolon to ask his advice and the latter agreed on the idea.

### **Interpretation**

This part shows the position of the oldest son in kinshp system that has to be honored by his younger brothes. Another thing that has to be paid attention to is that a decision maker is a man, and a wife is allowed to interfere with it even it deals with personal matters like finding a husband for her daughter. Harahap and Siahaan (.....?) point out that hagabeon is having off- springs on the third position of the cultural value list of the Bataknese. If a father has no children, he will see his father-in-law and ask for his belessing. This shows the importance of the position of woman since if there is no daughter, a man cannot be the wife giver and will lose his function as the giver of blessing.

### **Episode 3**

The three brothers asked Si Boru Deak Parujar to become the wife of Tuan Ruma Uhir, but she rejected the idea. Her reason was that she had to finish weaving an ulos. The fact was that it was never finished since she always entangled it every night. Actually, she did not want to get married with her own causin.

### **Interpretation**

Among the people of Batak Toba, daughters of a father's brother is also our sister, and she is called iboto or sister. Every woman has to respect her brothers as they respect their father and a brother should love and honor his sister. Therefore, it is understood when Si Boru Deak Parujar rejects the idea to get married with Si Ruma Uhir since she honors him as a bother.

### **Episode 4**

Si Boru Deak Parujar was finally forced to marry Tuan Ruma Uhir. In the morning, when she woke up, she saw her husband's ugly face; it was like an ilik (lizard). She then ran away to her parents' house and began to herd buffaloes.

### **Interpretation**

The domination of man on woman, in this case, the relationship between father and daughter is vividly pictured in the folklore. Si Boru Deak Parujar has the daughter has no right to decide even for her personal matter that is to decide who would be her husband. The mother also is not allowed to enterfere the decision making process. The idea of Si Boru Deak Parujar to abandon Si Tuan Rumah Uhir is not a good idea and she should be punished. A woman is not allow to rebel and she should obey her father. She has no power to decide her own personal matter even in deciding who would be her husband. Pederson in Harahap and Siahaan (1987:70) says that Mula Jadi Nabolon is the cosmos itself, and as a god he decides life and death, also the attitude of Si Boru Deak Parujar that rejects the domination of her father is regarded as an unproper act and has to be punished.

### **Episode 5**

The baffaloe had a baby that grew bigger in only one day, and became as big as a village, and finally jumped into the Middle World. The parents advised that Si Boru Deak Parujar return to her husband because they believed that the baffalo incidence is the kind of punishment for deserting her husband. She, however, still refused it and jumped to the Middle World by clinging to a thread she had spun. She was tossed about by the wave and wind. She really suffered and asked Mula Jadi Nabolon to send her a piece of land for her to stand on. It was sent but destroyed by the buffalo. Finally, Tuan Mula Jadi Nabolon sent another piece of land and she planted it with trees and dwelled on it.'

Jumping onto the Middle World on one side shows the rebellion itself. Still, on another side, it means the punishment for she could not return anymore to his father, her identity.

### Episode 6

Mula Jadi Nabolon ordered Tuan Manggala Bulan to kill his son, Si Tuan Ruma Uhir, to slay him, to put the bodies pieces into a bamboo, and to throw it to the Middle World. The Bamboo broke into small pieces and suddenly a handsome young man, Si Bulu Gading appeared. He followed a bird which took him to the place where Si Boru Deak Parujar dwelled. They lived together and had six children.

### Interpretation

Si Boru Deak Parujar has to be successful in making decision for herself and then gets married with Si Bulu Gading, who actually the incarnation of her brother, Si Tuan Rumah Uhir.

### The Struktur of Si Boru Deak Parujar

Based on the explanation above, the plot of Si Boru Deak Parujar was as follows :

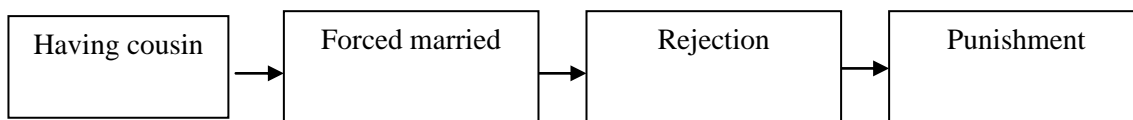


Figure 1. The Plot Structure of Si Boru Deak Parujar

The code of marriage was derived from parents; Si Tuan Rumah Uhir's parents wanted to get a woman as a wife for his son. Marriage arrangement came from parents. Si Boru Deak Parujar strongly rejected the idea, but she was helpless and forced to get married with her own brother, Si Tuan Rumah Uhir. She did not want that kind of marriage and was successful in running away but for this effort she had to be punished.

### Si Boru Deak Parujar

#### The Role and Position of woman in Si Boru Deak Parujar

At the beginning of the story, three women are introduced to fulfill the role of wives for the three first men, they are Tuan Batara Guru, Tuan Harajaon Sori and Tuan Bala Bulan. They give birth to babies for the three husbands. Up to the end of the myth, the three wives have no role in making decision for the family even for deciding to get husbands for their daughters especially the marriage of Si Tuan Rumah Uhir and Si Boru Deak Parujar, the characters that appear and have a dominant role in the story.

Si Boru Deak Parujar is portrayed as a smart and artistic woman who likes to weave. It is an important domestic role. Still, she had to succumb to her father's decision to get married to her cousin. Her rejection against the idea can be made only by putting off time. She fought but at last she had to obey her father's wish to get married with her cousin, Si Tuan Rumah Uhir. A girl had to accept her husband that had been chosen by her father. She had to bind to the decision that had been taken by her father if she did not want to be punished. Si Boru Deak Parujar is the representation of a daughter who has no right to make decision for herself. Her attitude of not lying to herself that she does not like her cousin to be her husband and rebels against her father's decision should be paid, and she has to be punished. She has to run away back to her village and her father's buffalo, and at last she has to be exiled to the Middle World and experiences miseries all the time.

As a woman, Si Boru Deak Parujar is an example of a girl who attempts to fight for her right to make decision for herself as the principle of feminism. As a consequence, she has to lose her identity. Based on the above story, it can be concluded that a woman has no right to make decision for herself and has no role and no voice in making decision in a family. Two kinds of woman representation in the story with domestic role are the wife who accepts her position only as a wife who has no right in making

decision and a woman on a position as a daughter who attempts to rebel in order to be honest toward herself to be allowed to make decision for her own self. The position of Si Boru Deak Parujar is very important in rejecting the incest itself. Her position becomes very important in establishing the structure of today's system of Batak kinship, for she is an instrument in representing the insight of the primitive people that incest, in this case marrying a cousin is not decent. Through her perspective and insight about her husband who in her eyes is ugly. The primitive people through the folklore draw their image of a community that an individual who marries her cousin, her brother is an undecent attitude.

Si Boru Deak Parujar is a representation and an instrument to rebel to an undecent thing and representation of an individual who sacrifices for something that she believes. Therefore, it can be said that she is an important figure or a pioneer in establishing code which deals with kinship and cultural institution. A conclusion is that since the primitive time a woman has had the position as a figure who fights for human dignity. Batara Sangti (1977:278) says that Si Boru Deak Parujar has a role in establishing Dalihan Natolu as the system of Batak kinship. The same procedures used in analyzing Si Boru Deak Parujar are also used in analyzing the other six folklores. Their meaning deals with primordial and kinship.

## 2. Tunggal Panaluan

### 2.1 The Role and Position of Woman in Tunggal Panaluan

In Tunggal Panaluan there are two women, Si Boru Jongjong Ni Anian and her daughter, Si Tapiomas Nauasan. Si Boru Jongjong Ni Anian as a wife becomes the person to be blamed for the lack of children. Still, after a long time, at last she gives birth to twins. She has no right to decide the fate of her daughter when at last it is revealed that her daughter is pregnant as the result of her love affair with her twin brother. Si Tapiomas Nauasan becomes the person that has to receive the consequence of the love affair between the twins. She has to be sent away to her uncle from the mother side and turns to be a different person. She and her mother, Si Boru Jongjong Ni Anian, represent the women who are housewives and have no role in making decision. They are on the position that have to be blamed and punished. The mother has to be punished by separating from her daughter whereas Si Tapiomas Nauasan also has to be blamed, for her brother loves her and she has to be sent away. In the folklore, the position of Si Tapiomas Nauasan is very important to support the function of the folklore as a tool to legitimize the kinship that is the unpromoted marriage with the same blood. Through the experience of Si Tapiomas Nauasan and her brother the function of the folklore strengthens kinship system and the folklore also functions as educational and controlling element.

### The Plot Structure of Si Boru Pareme

The same structure can be seen in Si Boru Pareme as follows :

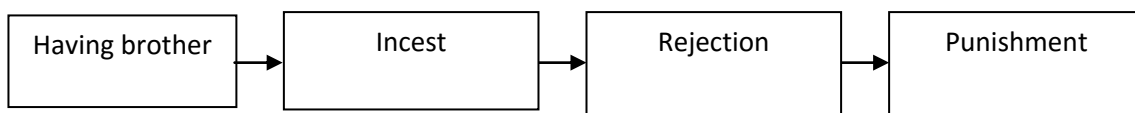


Figure 2. The Plot Structure Si Boru Pareme

Si Boru Pareme committed incest with her brother, Si Raja Lontung and she had to be punished. She lost her identity as a sister, for her other brothers even as a mother for her son because she got married with her own son.

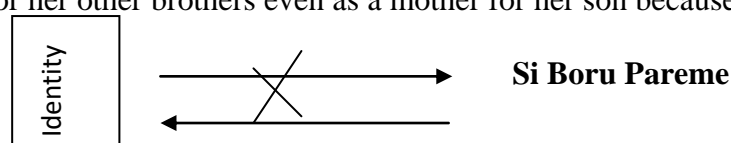


Figure 3. Punishment in Si Boru Pareme



### The Role and Position of Woman in Si Boru Pareme

There is no role of a mother in the story. It is only a figure of a woman as a mother that is regarded as unimportant figure. In the folklore, Si Boru Pareme at the beginning of the story is an ideal person, responsible for the household business, for she becomes the vena in the family life to handle all family needs. Still, after the accident of pregnancy, she becomes the person that has to be blamed and punished. She has to be sent away to the jungle, suffering and gives birth to her baby without any help. The misery of Si Boru Pareme is not only being sent away and to give birth to her baby but she has to raise her baby alone, and she has to answer her son, Raja Lontung's questions which deals with his existence. Another responsibility is that she has to decide to lie and sacrifice herself in order to avoid another incest that might be committed, by disguising as her brother's daughter and at last gets married with her own son.

Si Boru Pareme is the representation of a woman positioned as the person to be blamed and punished. On another hand, she becomes the presentation of a very persistent person in handling family affairs and deciding to sacrifice herself for a bigger goal, the continuation of incest. Her position is very important to empower the educational and cultural norm of society. She has to sacrifice in getting married with her own son to avoid the continuation of incest, and for that she has to be punished too.

### Si Jomba Ilik dohot Raja Marnubung Nilangit

The Structure of Si Jomba Ilik dohot Raja Marnubung Nilangit

Si Jomba Ilik who was sent away to the jungle, for she was ugly as a lizard, accidentally met with her cousin and they got married. They were punished and sent away from the village and assumed that they did not exist anymore.

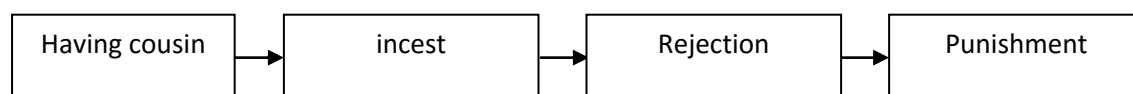


Figure 4. The Plot Structure of Si Jomba Ilik dohot Raja Marnubung Di Langit

Si Jomba Ilik experienced two kinds of punishment. The first she had been sent away to the jungle just because she was ugly like an ilik (lizard). The second, she had to be sent away and assumed that she and her cousin were not the member of the family anymore.

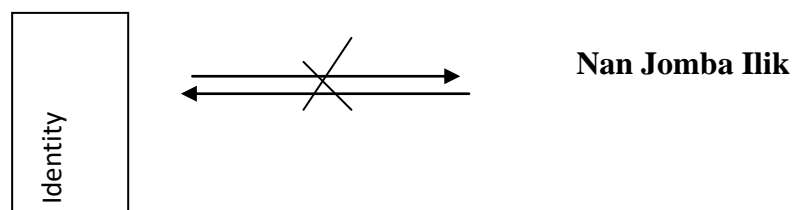


Figure 5. The Role and the Position of Women in Nan Jomba Ilik dohot Raja Marnubung DiLangit

There are two figures of women in this folklore; they are Parhophop Nauli and Nan Jomba ilik. Parhophop Nauli is the picture of a good wife on a very critical position when she is not able to give her husband any child. She is portrayed as a wife who is deserted by her husband, for he feels sad without any child, although at last her husband returns and brings her some red fruits. After Parhophop Na Uli eats the red fruit, at night she dreams of having sexual intercourse with a very handsome man. When she asks a datu, he tells him that he can help her make her dream come true that is having a baby. She obeys him and she is pregnant. When she gives birth to a baby, it turns to be an ugly lizard and it makes her shameful and agrees on her husband idea to send her daughter to the jungle.

Parhophop Nauli is the representation of a woman who has to be blamed when the business of having offspring does not have any successful result. She is the typical figure who has to attempt and experience difficulties for the dream to come true that is the existence of offspring. When she fails she does not only disappoint her husband, but also her parents as wife giver who function to give blessing who also fails, for it is not successful, and her daughter fails to give a baby as a wife. Si Jomba Ilik is portrayed as a weak person and as the improper effort of her mother to fulfil her duty as a wife; that is, to give her husband children since Si Jomba Ilik is born as a lizard. Si Jomba Ilik has to be ready to accept her destiny and existence as an exiled and unwanted daughter. She is the picture of a woman who has to be blamed and punished due to the incest that she commits accidentally. The folklore represents a weak position of woman, as a mother, a wife and a daughter. Through the character of Si Jomba Ilik, the function of folklore is fulfilled; that is, to legitimate the kinship system and cultural institution of the Batak people as well as the social control of social norms that have to be obeyed by the people.

### Si Porang Ni Aji

Si Porang ni Aji is the story of Si Aji who becomes the sexual object of her brother, Si Porang. She has to be punished together with her twin brother. They were cursed to be stones. The plot structure of the folklore is shown below:

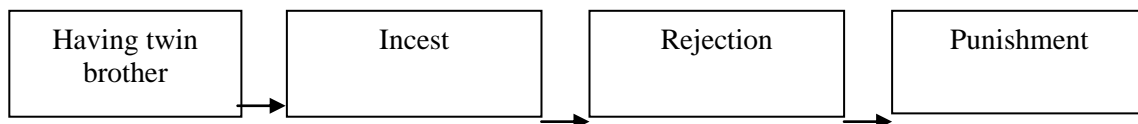


Figura 6. The Plot Structure of Si Porang Ni Aji

Aji had to be killed for a mistake which she did not understand.

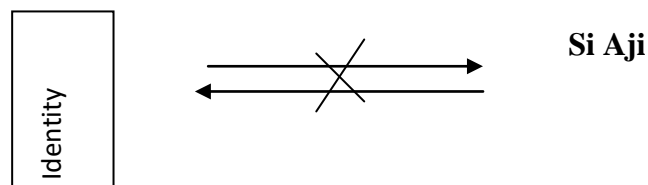


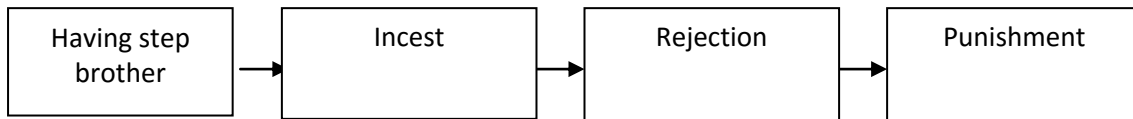
Figure 7. The Punishment in Porang ni Aji

### The Role and the Position of Women in Porang Ni Aji

The folklore presents us three women, Si Turiang's mother, Si Turiang's wife and Si Aji. The former two women, Si Turiang's mother and his wife are two unsuccessful women in their domestic affairs in giving the offspring; therefore, they have to ask for the datu's help; they are even ready to leave their village in order to be able to give their husbands children. They are typical women who succumb to their husbands and are ready to do everything for the sake of their having babies. Si Aji is the representation of a daughter who is positioned to be responsible for the household affairs, just like Si Boru Deak Parujar, Si Boru Pareme and Si Tapiomas Nauasan. As the result of her brother's bad attitude that makes her his sexual object, Si Aji Donda Hatahutan becomes the person to be punished. Still, through herself, the function of the folklore is fulfilled the educational and controlling functions; therefore, social and cultural norms would be obeyed by the collective members.

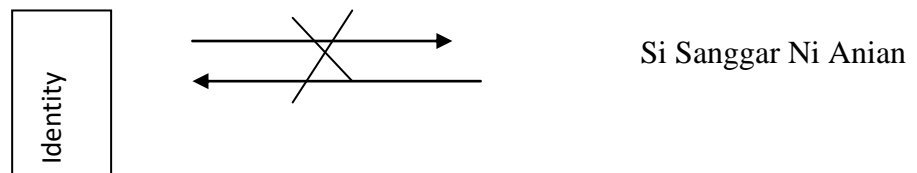
### Parboniaga Sipunjung dohot Si Sanggar ni Anian

Si Sanggar Ni Anian who was a full orphaned had to succumb to her brother's bad attitude. She had been treated as a commodity and his sexual object. For this misery she had to be punished and she became a snake. The structure of Parboniaga Sipunjung dohot Si Sanggar Ni Anian is seen below. She lost her identity as a sister, and she lost her identity when she could not go back to her village because she could not stand her people. At last, she lost her identity as a human since she cursed herself to be a snake.



**Figure 8. The Plot Structure of Parboniaga Sipunjung dohot Si Sanggar ni Anian**

Si Sanggar Ni Anian lost her identity as a sister, and she lost her identity when she could not go back to her village because she could not stand her people. At last, she lost her identity as a human being since she cursed herself to be a snake.



**Figure 9. The Punishment of Woman in Parboniaga Sipunjung dohot Si Sanggar Ni Anian**

### **The role and Position of woman in Parboniaga SiPunjung dohot Sanggar ni Anian**

Si Sanggar Ni Anian represents a critical position as a step sister who has to obey her step brother even though she has to act as his sexual object. In her ambitious brother, she is a kind of commodity. There is no information about Parboniaga Sipunjung's mother and his step mother, that is the mother of her step sister, Si Sanggar ni Anian's mother. The character of Si sanggar Ni Anian clearly shows the position of a woman after losing her parents. She has to depend on her father and her brother; domestically, she has to handle her brother's affairs. In other words, she is under the protection of her brother.

Si Sanggar Ni Anian represents a woman that has to be blamed and punished. Her brother becomes a rich person and gets married with Si Tapi Omas. He ordered her to return to their home town. She is the one who takes the burden on her shoulders for there would be no man who likes to marry her. Her step now has his own family since he has no role anymore, and she is not sure about her position. This condition puts into many quotes among the Batak people, to teach woman to behave and respect herself, and parents that have to take care of their daughter well for they are on critical position if that kind of thing occurs, the consequence will be on the woman as the person that has to be blamed and punished. The common saying about the position of woman is nasa baoa anak ni amana which means that all the men are their fathers' sons; it emphasizes the idea that all men are their fathers' sons so that if he does something bad sexually, he will not get social punishment, and women will be the persons to be blamed and punished.

Si Sanggar Ni Anian chooses to curse herself rather than return home to her country since she is a person without honor anymore and without position and identity in life. Another woman character is Si Tapi Omas who represents as a good sister-in-law acting as a mother Si Sanggar Ni Anian, who strives to cure Si Sanggar Ni Anian and to ask her to come home again which means that Si Paromas Si Sanggar Ni Anian has the position as a member of her family. Still, she rejects the idea because her step brother, Parboniaga Sipunjung does not agree on it even he asks her to return to their hometown, an idea which she could not accept. Si Paromas's effort reflects the meaning of sisterhood in feminism as a literary theory states that women have to help one to another if they want to win the fight against the hegemony of man. Through Si Sanggar Ni Anian, the function of folklore constitutes education and control and to empower the social norm so that people would stick on it.

### Si Boru Tombaga

The same structure can be seen in Ende Ni Si Boru Tombaga just because she made mistake, fighting for her right to have her father's inheritance. She had to be punished since she had no right to do that and had no anybrother. Then her father's property went down to her uncle from the father side.

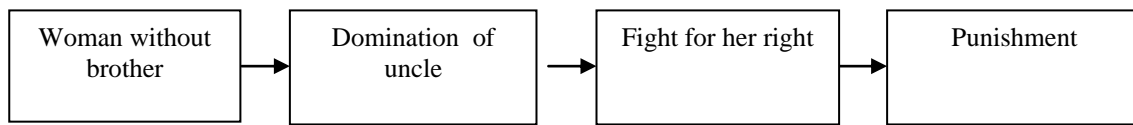
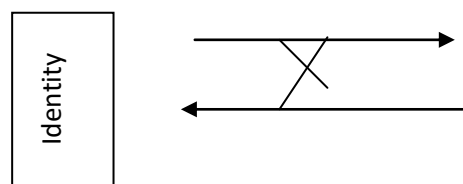


Figure 10. The Plot Structure in Ende Ni Si Boru Tombaga

The same punishment is undergone by Si Boru Tombaga and her sister. They had to be sent away. The people could not help them because it is a kind of adat that had to be followed by all members of Bataknese. Village is a part of identity, and they lost it for they had to leave it and they did not exist anymore.



### The Role and Position of Women in Ende Ni Si Boru Tombaga

Si Boru Tombaga portrays the position of women without brother. Every day they have to show the people that they have no brother by putting wringles on their left hands so that the people would know how to treat them for they are cursed women. Actually, Si Boru Tombaga asked her father to find another woman after her mother dies, but her father refuses. She and her sister have to fight to take care of their father when he is sick because of the age. Nobody will like to help them even their own uncle from the father's side. Their uncle wants him to die soon, for he will get his brother's property.

Batak custom holds the idea that a woman has no right on the wealth of their parents. If their brother likes to give them a little bit of it, they should be grateful. It is in accordance with the idea that descendant goes down through the son not daughter. She fights to reject the idea and attempts to hide the property. Still, her uncle punishes her and she and her sister have to hide in a cave where at last are met by a man who likes to help them since he loves Si Boru Tombaga. This folklore explains the saying that commonly heard among society which addressed to a woman who has no brother, molo mata amang mi maup tu ia na maho which means that if your father dies where will you go to be drowned. Having no brother or having no son is a kind of a curse for Batak people. A father without any son is regarded as a dead person. First, he has no son to be descendant; secondly, for brotherless woman, she would have no one to protect her when her parents die and her children will have no tulang, uncle that gives her children blessing.

Parents do not want their son to get married with any woman who has no bother, for their grandchildren will have no uncle, tulang is a figure that plays an important role in the system of kinship. He is the person who gives pasu pasu or blessings and one of the blessings is a pray for offspring that will continue the descendant. Based on the seven Folklores above, the discussion of the role and position of Batak women can be seen below.



**Table 1. Role and Position of Woman in Folklore of Toba Batakese**

Folklore	Domestic role	Decision maker	Rebellion	Punished
I	√	-	√	√
II	√	-	-	√
III	√	-	-	√
IV	√	-	-	√
V	√	-	-	√
VI	√	-	-	√
VII				

The seven folklores present the role of woman as daughter and wife in domestic role and always on the position which are excluded in the process of making decision and always on the critical position in the affairs of kinship and descendant. On the other hand, a woman as a wife or daughter is always on the position which is responsible for the household affairs. Based on the discussion, it has been showed that the function of folklore is education and legitimating the structure of kinship. Why the position of woman is necessary to emphasize can be answered with the kinship relation in Dalihan na Tolu. The following is the discription of socio-cultural reality of Batakese.

#### **Cultural and Social Reality of Batak**

All human activities are cultural. Since only small number of human activities, we have to study in order to be used is instinct. Among nine cultural values of Batakese, according to Siahaan and Harahap (1987), the concept of kinship is on the first position before the concept of Law. There are three elements that have to be discussed which deal with the system of Batakese kinship. The first one is what we call marga or surname, kinship system and custom. As it is found among patriachal society, marga or surname created a strong sense of unity in every social layer. Together with it, there is a strong understanding on the separation of interest according to descendant line and the concience of identity.

Marga is one of the mark of idenity. According to Siahaan (2005:12-13), Batakese tribe is incuded in Proto Malay who settled around Lake Toba in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and has been found ten generations before around Samosir Island in the center of the lake. Mount Pusuk Buhit becomes important for the tradition of marga which has been started from this place. Marga means a kinship group which is exogen and unlinear in patrilineal system of Batak kinship.

Batak is patriachalorparineal socety although they call the member of the marga with sabutuha or come from the same womb. Patriachal system manages the whole social life of the people. Horizontally, people in a group of marga come from the descendant line or ancestor and vertically, people of the same marga form a hearachy among them, based on the principal code of who was born first. Marga includes all segments of social life and it directs the existence and identity of the people. It is the guarantee of social life of the people, on the field of politics, economy, law, and religion of the people. Connected with marga and Dalihan na Tolu as a sructural concept of kinship marriage in Batak community is a symmetry exogamy (asymetry circulatieconnobium), and an ideal marriage which is matrimonial cross-cousin where a marriage between a man and a woman with the same marga is not allowed.

A system of kinship in the Batak community is divided into three functional groups. They are:

1. Dongan sabutuha (come from the same womb). men from the same ancestor follow the descendant line of father and all family members.
2. Boru (daughters) are daughters who include their husbands and their mothers-in-law or their husbands' parents and their husbands' dongan sabutuha.

3. Hula-hula. They are the parents of daughters or wife givers who become hula-hula for the ego.

The above description clearly shows that every community member who can be a boru and in different time and occasion will be hula-hula or dongan sabutuha for the ego. In other words, there is no one that positioned only as dongan sabutuha, hula –hula or boru. Dalihan na Tolu is translated as three stoves that hold the balance and continuously burn the spirit of solidarity among people.

As the basic concept of culture, of Bataknese Dalihan na Tolu is believed as a cognitive system that gives a direction for people orientation. Dalihan na Tolu is collective knowledge that leads to the perception and understanding toward reality. It become a power that can be used to know, to understand, and to become a basic idea in deciding attitude toward things that are needed to be understood. Adat has a broad meaning instead of habit or custom. It is a way of life and thinking of a tribe or a social group where they create their own world. It is a structure of life derived from norms which can be understood as a harmonious spiritual concept where peace wholly exists because there is conventional agreement.

It can also be seen as the important role of a woman since she creates, produces, or gives hula-hula wife giver. If a daughter makes a mistake, her parent who will be wife giver will lose his opportunity as the wife giver. The position of hula- hula is a very high; that is, the wife giver and blessing giver for the daughter the continuity of descendant of ego can occur. When a woman makes a mistake, the status of her parent which is high and honored as a wife and blessing giver will be distorted. It can be seen in Si Jomba Ilik and Raja Marnubung Di Langit where Si Jomba Ilik suffers and is miserable. Her grandparents from the mother side are told that their grandchild dies instead of being ugly. It means that their position a wife giver and blessing giver (pasu- pasu) fails because their daughter cannot give offspring to continue the descendant of her husband or their son-in-law.

In patriachal society, a son or a man who makes a mistake will not have a negative impact or any distortion on the system because he is always on the position of dongan tubu and the function of kinship is safe except he gets married with a woman of the same marga since she is regarded as his sister and then his position as hula-hula will be distorted.

Masihurhe manukna	Each of them calls his chicken
Unang teal bureranna	So that its craw will not be swollen
Masi ajar boruna	Each of them teaches his daughter
Unang suda napuranna	So that her betel will not use up

#### 4. Conclusions

1. The role of women in the Folklores of Batak Toba has domestic role.
2. Women are not on the position of making decision
3. Batak Toba folklores place women in the position of getting punishment which is in line with the function of education and control. The institution of kinship, Dalihan Na Tolu, considers the position of women as the provider of hula-hula, the position of providing wives and blessing. This kind of punishment is due to their important position as a creator of tulang, the wife giver who also the giver of blessing for having descendant.

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