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Local Wisdom of Giving Ulos in The Adat Ceremony, *Sari Matua*, in Batak Toba Community

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Abstract

Ulos is a specific Batakese handmade piece of cloth which symbolizes the bond of love and affection between parents and their children. *Sari matua* is a deceased person whose some of his off spring are still single. *Ulos* and *sari matua* are closely related in the Batakese adat ceremony, and special ulos is given to a deceased widow or widower. The objective of the research was to find out the procedure of *sari matua* ceremony and the ways of giving *ulos* as a local wisdom. It was also aimed to inventory the giving of ulos as a local wisdom in the *sari matua* adat ceremony and to conserve the Batakese culture as the national one. According to Robert's theory (2012: 114), local wisdom is local ideas and knowledge which have wisdom, good values, and good character which should be owned, guided, and implemented by certain community members. The research used descriptive method; it was conducted based on the empirical facts and phenomena found in their speakers so that the result was like a picture, as if it was real. *Sari matua* adat ceremony is not the same as *saur matua* adat ceremony. The former is can be held when some of the descendants are unmarried yet while the latter was held when all of the descendants are married and have their children and grandchildren. There were 19 pieces of *ulos* in the research, along with *sortali*, headbands for men and women worn in grief and joy adat ceremonies. The types of *Ulos* given by *hulahula*, *tulang*, *tulangrorobot*, *binatulang*, *bonaniari*, *mataniaribinsar*, *hulahulanaposo*, and *hulahulanamarhamarangi* are varied, depending on who is giving it. *Jambar* which has to be conveyed to all *hula hula* should be in accordance with *ru ria raja* (mutual agreement or consensus). The output of this research is the indexed proceeding seminar, reputable international journal, and textbook.

Keywords: Ulos; Sari Matua; Adat.

1. Introduction

Regional culture needs to be nurtured, fostered and displayed and preserved as stated in the 1945 Constitution Article 32 part of the explanation which reads:

"National culture is a culture that arises as an effort of the Indonesian people as a whole. The old and original culture that still exists as the culture of regions throughout that Indonesia is counted as the national culture. Cultural efforts must be lead to the progress of custom, culture, and unity by notrefuse materials from foreign cultures which can enrich the nation's own culture and enhance the humanitarian degree of the Indonesian nation".

One of the local cultures that live and exist in North Sumatra is the Batak culture which examines the giving of ulos to the community. The norms of giving ulos are local wisdom that must be implemented as a part of the traditional Batak ceremony. So ulos is very important because it has a high meaning in every implementation of traditional ceremonies, especially in the implementation of the *sari matua* traditional ceremony.

In the Toba Batak community, death ceremonies are always held even though they are overseas and not only in the area of origin. Every time there is a Batak death, it is not always the Batak traditional ceremony, the Batak community always see the condition or situation of the death. Gultom (1992) said that the bago death of the Toba Batak community consists of:

1. Martilaha means that the children who died and have not married.
2. Mate mangkar means that husband or wife who died, but did not have descent.
3. Matipul ulu means that husband who died leaving behind small children.
4. Matompas tatarang means that the wife who died first and left behind the small child.
5. *Sari matua* means that husband or wife who pass away and already have grandchildren, but there are still children who are not married.
6. *Saur matua* means that husband or wife who passed away and have children and grandchildren.

Of the six types of death above, not all of them use Batak traditional ceremonies, the ones that have Batak traditional ceremonies are sari matua and saur matua. In this research, according to the title above, the writer takes the number five. Every one that is an sari matua must have the term like a dalih na tolu that means, a furnace which consist of three: hulahlula, boru and dongan tubu. Hulahlula means that from the wife's side must respect both of joy and sorrow. Boru means, on the part of brothers, they must also respect each other, while dongan tubu means friends of the same family. As the motto of the Batak community says that somba marhulahlula, elek marboru, manat mardongan tubu, it means to be careful of the hulahlula, good at persuading women, and being careful with all clans.

There are many types of Batak ulos, of which the type often used by the Toba Batak community is ulos ragidup which has the highest meaning. Ragidup is looked upon carefully and attentively, then the colors, the appearance of the paintings as well as the variety (hues) are all very impressive, they really appear "alive". That is why the ulos was called "ragidup" (ragi hidup) and was made a symbol of life (livelihood). Apart from being a source of life, the ragidup also becomes a symbol of blessing for happiness in life, especially regarding to the matter of many descendants (the term of Batak gabe) which means the descendants of boys and girls, because all are married it called "saur matua". To find out the meaning of ulos in the traditional ceremonies of the Toba Batak community, especially the sari matua ceremony, needed a deeper study. In this case, the researcher will study in depth about the lokan wisdom of giving ulos in the traditional of sari matua ceremony to the Toba Batak community. From this background, the author examine the giving of ulos at the Toba Batak sari matua ceremony as a local wisdom.

Traditional culture is a human culture in the past. Today's culture is considered with the past culture from the point of view of the future. So, traditional culture is a culture that still uses traditional models, methods, types, functions and forms, compared to the next generation's culture. Traditional culture is owned by all ethnic groups in Indonesia. Each tribe has a specificity, so that be different from one tribe with another (Isma Tantawi, 2016: 121).

2. Literature Review

Koentjaraningrat (1970: 193) said that culture is a whole system of ideas, actions and work in the framework of life which is made the property of humans by learning. Human ideas that are systemic and intertwined live together in a society and at the same time give a soul to the community. With the existence of ideas with local wisdom, it will certainly appear that humans are getting closer to their environment like the term of human being and human society. The human tradition invites humans to unite system. Humans interact, relate, hang out with one and another. From day to day, it is always according to the certain systemic patterns which are entirely based on customs and behavior and at the same time make a birth to a broader system, cultural systems that include social, livelihood, organization, economy, as well as what is commonly known as culture.

Wisdom in Greek society at that time was the indigenous knowledge of the local community as happened to Indonesians who lived in rural areas about 5 generations ago. Original local wisdom will be useful to organize a better human life, both between human relations in society and human relations with God. Such genuine knowledge at ancient times will be passed from generation to generation from one generation to another.

Derivatively, the term local wisdom consists of two words, namely wisdom and local. The word of wisdom means policy, while the local word means of the same place. Thus, local wisdom can be understood as a ideas and local knowledge that are wise, full of wisdom, good value and virtuous owned, guided, and implemented by community members. Local wisdom is obtained from cultural traditions or verbal traditions, because local wisdom is the content of verbal traditions or cultural traditions that have been inherited from generation to generation and used to organize the social life of the community in all areas of their lives or to regulate the order of community life. The understanding of local wisdom really needs to be understood so that it can be extracted from the verbal tradition as an ancestral cultural heritage. Many opinions regarding the term local wisdom are based on an understanding of local wisdom, namely: 1) Local wisdom is the original wisdom or knowledge of a community that comes from the noble values of cultural traditions to regulate the order of community life. 2) Local wisdom are local cultural values that can be used to regulate the order of people's lives wisely (Sibarani, 2012: 111-114). Local wisdom is a local knowledge that is used by local people to survive in an environment that integrates with belief systems, norms, culture and its expressed in traditions and myths through the verbal traditions (folktales) and literary works, such as *saga*, *lontar*, *babad*, *suluk*, *tembang*, and others (Gunawan,2008).

Every culture that exists in the Indonesian ethnic group has a moral values, called norms. Norms that come from culture such as legal norms, norms of decency, norms of decency, and norms of habit, while the religious norms taste from God. Cultural norms can meet the spiritual needs of every human being. Humans are physical and mental. The inner world is filled with the value contained in within these norms.

Ulos is a typical Batak woven fabric in the form of a shawl and *mangulosi* that means of giving *ulos* (Sihombing 1986: 42).

Culture in a narrow sense is a culture that contains artistic values. Each tribe has a different art expression. For example, each tribe has a place to express art. The Javanese have the art of *Wayang* story, the Batak tribe has *tortor* art, the Malay tribe has *Serampang Dua Belas* dance, the Gayo tribe has *Saman* dance, the Minang tribe has *piring* dance (Isma Tantawi: 122).

Dalihan na tolu as the basis of a philosophy of life and a strong foundation for social relations and interaction of the Batak

community. Based on *Dalihan na tolu* (DNT) the Batak community can determine their status, function and social attitudes.

The components of the *dalihan na tolu* are:

1. *Hulahula* namely clans from the wife's side (the wife's family). This *hulahula* occupies the most respected position in the association and customs of the Batak community, so that all Batak tribes are ordered to respect the *hulahula*.
2. *Dongan sabutuha* (family relatives/clan) has the same meaning with *dongan tubu* (*haanggi*) is a brother of one clan.
3. *Boru* is a family party who takes a wife from one clan. *Boru* occupies the lowest position if it implements Batak customs, there will be a reciprocal relationship one day (Siahaan, 2018: 3).

3. Research Method

Methods are ways of acting according to the certain systems or rules (Sudarto, 1995: 41), while according to Nawawi, Kartini (1994: 71) methods are procedures (series) of systematic ways of exploring scientific truth. This research method is carried out by means of the descriptive method, which is to suggest that the research carried out is solely based on existing facts or phenomena that are empirically alive in the speakers, so that what is produced or recorded is in the form of a language that is usually said to be like a portrait: exposure as it is (Sudaryanto, 1992: 62). So it can be concluded that the research method is an attempt to collect the necessary data in research will provide guidance on the implementation of research.

4. Result and Discussion

Sari matua is someone who has passed away but there are still family members who are not married. Gultom (1992) said that *sari matua* is a person who has died, has children and grandchildren, but there are still children who have not married. *Saur Matua* is someone who has passed away have married, both sons and daughters and children and grandchildren. *Sari* is there are still not married, therefore the parents who give a birth to a children are still have the responsibility of parents to carry out Batak customs. The difference between *sari matua* and *saur matua* is if the father dies first: the *ulos sapot* from the *tulang* (uncle) of the father who died first. *Ulos* until old namely, from *hulahula* (uncle put on the shoulder of the widowed mother). *Ulos tutup batang* is, from the *hulahula* (uncle) of the first child same as all the *hulahula* of the child. This is what needs to be conveyed to all who have passed away. When it about *parjambaran* (meat), namely the head of a buffalo from an uncle who passed away, a buffalo tail from an uncle who passed away, and possibly to the *hulahula* (uncle) of our mother's brother. *Ulos* until the old times from the parents-in-law (parents of the mother who died), but sometimes there are someone who carry out from the father's uncle. *Ulos tutup batang* of the *hulahula* (uncle) of that child of the youngest is the same as the *hulahula* (uncle) of all the children. The *ulos* that needs to be conveyed if it is already *sari matua*. About *parjambaran* (meat) that is distributed, namely: the head for the sister who died (*hulahula*), the tail to the *hulahula* of the youngest child.

If there are *sari matua* and *saur matua*, a large party is generally held, and there is usually a custom to eat together every night. In general, if the boy parents die, the biggest girl to wake up the people who guard or are present at the night, if the parents of women who died first, it's the youngest girls to wake up at night. After a few days of planning to give *ulos saput* and *ulos tutup batang* to the traditional *sari matua* ceremony, the *sari matua* was carried out tomorrow. *Mompo* means, to put the corpse in a chest. Until now there is still a *mompo* event in the Toba Batak community, if the person who has passed away has *sari matua*. The *mompo* event was attended by *suhut* "the family party" who was left by the deceased, "*boru*" the female side of *Suhut* ", *hulahula*" uncle ", *pangurus huria*" church administrator "and *raja ni dongan sahuta*" the king of friends of the village ".

Local wisdom of the traditional *sari matua* event in the Toba Batak community:

4.1. Words of Consolation from Hulahula

First of all, we should thank of God and also to you. In the morning, good month, we are from your *hulahula* together with your fellow villagers, sisters and nieces. We saw that this *naboru* had passed away and has *saur matua*. Therefore, we are standing in front of you in the yard of *Amang Boru's* house. Here we bring the fruit of the spirit, so you can give us time, so that we will mention the meaning of spirit rice to our women.

After you finish to mentioning the spirit rice to the women and nephews, speak *hulahula*. Thank you to our *amang boru*, here we come *hulahula*, standing in front of you, in the yard of the house, because *Naboru* has passed away and has this *saur matua*. We were bring spiritual fruit, such as the Batak which says:

Be hard at the *pongki* of the barn for the closure, be tough on our *amang boru* spirit, especially the descendants of the *nambaru* who have the essence of this *sari matua*, often get the good fortune.

We are carrying a lot of rice, a Batak expression that says:

That rice which adds to the aging of the ulcer, God gives old, and salvation, hopefully we will be protected.

So *amang boru*, we have to delivered the good advice, and we delivered another one that better, namely: a good *ulos* with many signs for all our descent of *naboru* who has *sari matua*. We have listened to what the second party reads our *naboru* life

history, already having children and daughters, also having grandchildren from children, and grandchildren of daughters, but there are still have the one who are not married. Yes, our descendants of *naboru* are 79 people, all of them we will mention the descendants of *naboru* when we reading the curriculum vitae. But there are still our nephews who are not married. We pray to God, through our prayers so that our nephews will get a mate soon. After being prayed for, the ulos was delivered:

- A collection of the grand children 4 pieces of *ulos*.
- A collection of the granddaughter 4 sheets of *ulos*.
- The unmarried brother or sister 1 sheet of *ulos*.
- A collection of brothers 1 sheet of *ulos*.
- We will delivered again to the sister 1 sheet of *ulos*.
- One more to the protocol / speaker that regulates customary 1 sheet of *ulos*. Total 12 sheets of *ulos*.

So that *amang boru* that we can convey to the descendants of the *naboru* who has *sari matua*. One cooks sweet potatoes, two cooks puli, even if our delivery from the *hulahula*, all get blessings. Answering the second party's family: Thank you to our *hulahula*, we did not reject what *ulos* will convey to your nephews and to us, we are ready to accept.

- Elephants' feet to hora's feet, the son of your king, *hulahula*, is good at looking for hearts.

Convey to our king. *Hulahula* wants to convey *ulos*, he asked for a drum. father that good at musicians and good at cooks are picked up in the morning accompanied by the sound of music and we'll hear.

If this is the case of a musician, *Sianjur mula-mula*, *Sianjur mula jadi*, chops and turns his back to the mainland looking at the Lake Toba, because we feel happy and healthy, you make the drum first and at the same time the drum of respect. You have already made the first drum and drums of respect, make a traveling drum, hopefully a round of happiness, a health tour to all descendants of *naboru*. For the drummer around, it mix the wisdom when it play. After being surrounded once, the *ulos* of all the descendants of this *ulos* were presented. Thank you *Amang Boru*, we have delivered a long *ulos* with many signposts to all of our descendants of *naboru* who already have the essence of *sari matua*.

Long live and full of happiness, long message of salvation, to all of our descendants of our *naboru*. Like *ulos* with many hairs, I hope the love of God will have many descendants of our *amang boru*, and descendants of children to our nephews. Likewise to our nephews who do not have a mate yet, we pray to the Almighty God, through long haired of *ulos* that we convey to our nephews. Hopefully our nephews call from far and near to our nephews to get married soon. Likewise to all our daughters' nieces as well as all our grandchildren, to whom that we have conveyed the fruit of the spirit and the thick *ulos*, so that you will be happy, even though our *naboru* has passed away from this house. What we will say to our nephews is that you and your grandchildren are congratulated, for those who work to increase their fortune, for grandchildren who go to school to be smart and smart, for those who work, God will add His blessings. Above all, we are from our uncles implore our nieces and nephews, when we are done, we will take our *naboru* to a temporary resting place, remain one heart for all nephews, so that you will be happy to receive blessings from God. As the old saying goes:

- In the well water, the water length of the ditch, the same person's parents must be long live and long descent.
- The bottom of the pulley water in *sitapongan*, where you go to our descendants of our *naboru*, that's where you get sustenance.

Thus *amang boru*, we are happy to carry out the traditional *sari matua naboru*, can you as the old man said:

- Looks like an old house on a parade, congrats *Amang Boru* with the siblings because we saw they are each other together.

That is *Amang Boru*, which we have conveyed about the fruit of rice, *ulos* with many signs, and the delivery of blessings in our traditional *sari matua naboru*. The parental phrase says:

- The ring that was hammered, the ring finger that was established, No matter how much we convey the fruit of rice, *Ulos* which has many signs, God bless.

- Until the boat, arrived at its destination, arrived at the pronouncement of blessing, a kind statement to this descendant of *Naboru*, There has been happiness, and until you have safe.

Responding to the extended family: We would like to say thank to the *hulahula* who has conveyed the fruit of the rice, the *ulos* with many signs, that namely of our parents' traditional *sari matua*. We have received a blessing from the *hulahula*, as the old man said: Take the *mallo* rattan to make a *hite-hite* stick at the base, congratulations for us who receive it, the *hulahula* is multiplied to gives.

That's how we are happy for the *hulahula*, because we have finished the full custom of these parents, we will come to respect the *hulahula*. Our king, the hand that holds it, the tips of the fingers, some of the fingers are long, some are short, if only the hand respects and the head submits, accept the king of the *hulahula*. After finish it, we will take this mother to a temporary resting place, we invite the *hulahula* to come to the house to accept the custom that is to open to our mother's savings. Answer *hulahula*: yes *amang boru*. Then the family answer: Asked for the sound of drums or music, our musicians, because we want to respect the

king of the *hulahula*, sound the drum that according with that, and once you walk the *pagori* (meat), namely the tail of the ox along with the clear water.

That's how *hulahula*, we have come to face the king, it is not that we are stingy, we hope that we are brought in prayer, hopefully we can get many blessings in the future. Next, we will give *juhut* (meat) and clear water. As an expression says: The point in the hammer, the rings to tie it, no amount of the king that we give, God bless. That's our king. Then the *hulahula* answering, we were thank you to *Amang Boru*, for coming to respect us, we feel happy and feel our hands like flowery flowers through the money that the government has asked and we are happy to also receive the *juhut* (meat) that feel brothers and clear water. With God's love, you are step to forward and we get a lot of fortune, you walk to the mountainous area to get a clean water base. As old people used to say:

- The knife that Marimbalo, who lives above the *salesalean*, congratulations that we were accept, add up to *Amang Boru* who gives.

- Until the boat reaches the bottom, we live for a long time while being blessed by God.

We will dance, our musicians so that we take the clean water for the *panuhatan*, put on the last music.

4.2. Words of consolation from Uncle

Our thanks to the God, and also to all those present in this good morning and month. Here we come from uncle to Amang Boru's house, which is a large yard in front of the public. At this time we are standing in front of you, because our *naboru* has already passed away, which has had the *sari matua*. Here we are bring the spirit of rice and rice from the ceremony of *Sari Matua Naboru*, glad that Amang Boru accepts. Hopefully it can be like the expression:

- Hard *pongki* the rice place, hard the spirit of *Amang Boru* and all the descendants of *Naboru* who have this *sari matua*, often get the good luck.

- The rice that is getting older is the shelter in *Siborok*, God gives you old age, congratulations that you are protected.

- The point on which the rings are tied, the rice that we don't give so much, God who adds the blessings to the descendants of *Naboru*.

Amang boru, good addition and more, we convey that *ulos* to the descendants of *naboru*. Earlier we have heard the life history of *Naboru*, who already had children and had daughters, but there are still children who are not married, therefore we will convey *ulos*:

- To the descendant of *naboru*, 5 pieces of *ulos*.

- To the descendant of *naboru* of girls 5 pieces of *ulos*.

- The collection of children 1 sheet of *ulos*.

- The collection of daughter 1 sheet of *ulos*.

- The collection of the grandchildren of children 1 sheet of *ulos*.

-The collection of the grandchildren of a daughter 1 sheet of *ulos*.

- The children of *naboru* who are not married 1 sheet of *ulos*.

Total of *ulos* 14 pieces.

That is the *ulos* that we will convey to our descendants of *naboru* who has *sari matua*. Answering the family; Yes, our king, we are very happy to hear that the *ulos* will be conveyed to the descendants of our parents, and we have arranged who will receive our king first. Asked for the sound of drums or music.

Our musicians, *sianjur mula-mula*, *sianjur mula jadi*, please play the drums or music at the same time and at the same time music to respect, so that we convey *ulos* to our descendants of *naboru*. Sound the drums or music, I hope all these descendants of *Naboru* are healthy. *Ulos* was delivered according to the names that called, then line up to who that would receive the *ulos*.

Answering the family: Thank you king uncle, we are happy to receive the good fruit and rice and a long *ulos* that signs in the customs of our parents. May the love of God, and our spirits be safe, as well as the signs of the good *ulos* and long *ulos*, long news of happiness, long health to all the descendants of our parents. As the old saying goes: - The itching sap tree on the top of the robe, congratulations we received, our uncle gives us doubled.

That's the king of uncle, after we finish taking our parents to a temporary resting place, we will invite uncle to come to the house to accept the full of custom.

4.3. Words of consolation from Tulang Rorobot

We should say thank you to Amang Boru, we came, uncle *rorobot*, to convey our *naboru* tradition of *sari matua*. Here we stand in the large yard of our *naboru* house, we are bring the rice, hopefully in the future, the spirit of Amang Boru is strong and all the descendants of this *naboru* that has *sari matua*. Then there can be a blessing through the following parental expressions:

- Be hard *pongki* the rice bowl, be tough your spirits, and often get sustenance.

- The roof house is opposite with the *gorga* house, to our grandchildren, we wish you a smart child and a kind girl.

The discussion on the fruit of rice that we have conveyed, uncle Rorobot, has been overridden by us. As the old saying goes:

- The point that is hammered, the bracelets that tie it, more or less what we give, God bless.

Through our traditional ceremony of *naboru sari matua*, we will convey *ulos* to the descendants of *naboru*, hopefully through this *ulos* you will be happy, and hopefully God will give you happiness for the next day. We will submit 4 pieces of *Ulos*, namely:

- The collection to the descendant of children 1 sheet of *ulos*.- The collection to the descendant of girls 1 sheet of *ulos*.

- The collection to the grandchildren of children 1 sheet of *ulos*.

- The collection to the grandchildren of a daughter 1 sheet of *ulos*.

Total there are 4 pieces of *ulos*.

Thus the *ulos* that we will convey from uncle *rorobot*, wish you are happy to accept it. Answering the speaker from the family: We are happy, king, thank you, we are happy to hear what uncle say. Ask for the drums or *tulang rorobot* music: our musicians, *sianjur mula-mula*, *sianjur mula tempah*, because it is related to happiness and safety, please sound the first drum and continue with drums or respectful music, so that we will surround happiness and safety. When you want to convey *ulos* to the descendants of this *naboru*, sound the drum or music around and at the same time while you giving the *ulos*.

That is our *tulang rorobot*, we are very happy because it has reached us the descendants of this old man, therefore we come to respect the king. It is impossible to be *pudung*, even though it is not involved in being *palia*, and it is impossible for us to come to respect your uncle, even if we don't give it much, please our uncle. We want to come to respect *tulang rorobot*, please play the drums or music, so that we will respect this *rorobot uncle*.

Thus our king, we have to come to respect the king. As the old saying goes:

- The point that is planted by the roof, whatever we give, hopefully many blessings. *Tulang rorobot* answer: Thank you we say to *Amang Boru*, we are happy that *Uncle Rorobot*, come to respect us, you give us money and flowery hands, and you give your brothers *juhut* (meat) and clear water. As the old saying goes:

- Like a sharp knife, living above the *sale-salean*, congratulations we received, the multiplying of fortune to the descendants of *naboru* who give.

- Until the boat reaches its destination, we will live for a long time, as well as being blessed by God.

The family asks for drums or music: Take the clean water, make it to a suitable place, sounds the good drums or music and continue with the last drum or music. Save us!

5. Conclusion

Sari matua is someone who has passed away but there are still family members who are not married. *Sari* means there are still unmarried, therefore parents who give birth even though they are adults and working, parents are obliged to give Batak customs to their children.

Sari matua and *saur matua* there are differences in carrying out the customs, namely: *sari matua* when the mother previously died was conveyed by *ulos saput (ulos sibolang)* from the uncle of the mother's sibling. If the father who previously passed away, conveyed *ulos saput (ulos sibolang)* from the uncle of the father. *Moppo* means putting the body in the chest, then the *hulahula* party gives the last *ulos* to the *naboru* that had *sari matua*. After finishing the *Moppo* traditional event, it is continued with a *parrapotan* (deliberation) event to prepare for the *Sari Matua* traditional event. The *Hulahula* component consists of 3 parts, namely:

1. *Hulahula*, namely clans from the wife's side (the wife's family). This *Hulahula*
2. occupies the most respected position in the Toba Batak society and customs.
3. *Dongan sabutuha* or *dongan tubu* (clan relative), namely the brother of one clan that born from the same mother's.
4. *Boru*, namely the family who took a wife from one clan. *Boru* occupies the lowest position, if it implements Batak customs.

Local wisdom the *sari matua* customs are:

1. Word of consolation from *hulahula*
2. Word of consolation from *tulang*
3. Word of consolation from *tulang rorobot*
4. Word of consolation from *bona tulang*
5. Word of consolation from *hulahula bonaniari*

6. Word of consolation from *simatuani boru, boru tubu, bere/ibere*.**References**

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