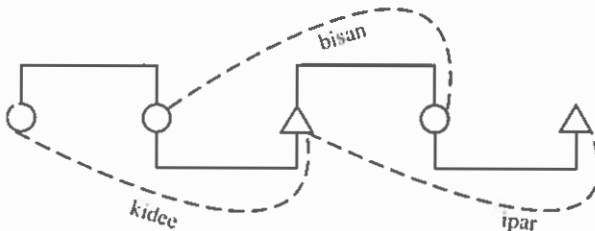


Appendix I

Affinal Terms

In the tables of reference and address I have deliberately refrained from listing affinal terms. The reason for this was that when trying to elicit affinal terms on several occasions I found that there was considerable confusion about their usage. In most cases people were satisfied to use the general term *ipar* to cover all one's siblings' spouses and all one's spouse's siblings. There was a vague memory that other terms had once existed, i.e. *bisan* and *kidee*, but no one seemed very sure how precisely they were applied. For the sake of completeness, however, let me now present an account of how I think these various terms might have been applied about forty years ago. My deductions are drawn from attempts in the field to penetrate contemporary confusion by collating and comparing the answer people gave me when I asked specifically about the obscure terms.

An illustration will help to make the following discussion clear.



All terms except *kidee* appear to be reciprocal. *Kidee* refers only to the WZ and may, in fact, only be applicable to an unmarried WZ. The ZH seems to be referred to as *ipar*. Terms of address between affines of the same generation follow the rules for address between siblings described in the text.

The *bisan* term in particular is puzzling, especially if one compares its usage in Kerinci to that in Minangkabau and other areas in Indonesia. If one looks at the useful list of tables taken from various sources by de Josselin de Jong (1960:45-49), one notes - ignoring the question marks in the list - that *bisan*

is used in different Minangkabau areas to refer to the following: BW, ZH, WZ, WB, HZ, HB, WZH, WBH, HZH, HBW. Thus it appears it can have a wide range of reference, and in this respect is similar to the term *ipar*. Within Kerinci there seems to be a geographical division between north and south which determines the usage. In the north (the villages for which I have information are: Sungai Tutung, Kota Baru (Rawang), Pungut Mudik, Belui, Siulak) the term *bisan* (sometimes, it should be noted *pabisan*, a contraction of *ipar bisan*) is applied to MB's children, i.e. *duo piak* in Pondok Tinggi. In the south (Semerap, Temiai, Pulau Tengah, Tanjung Pauh, Lubuk Paku) the term is reserved for WZ and WB. (I forgot to check whether the terms were reciprocal, except in the case of Semerap where I found that they were.) Only in Kota Baru (Rawang) could the terms apply both to MB children and to WZ and WB. This difference between north and south in the usage of the term seems to correspond to what we know from other sources about the different historical antecedents of the villages in the north and in the south, and, in particular, fits well with the absence in southern Kerinci of the strong matrilineal emphasis in descent which we find in northern Kerinci. In Kumun, which is contiguous with Pondok Tinggi, the MB children are known, interestingly, as the *anak bise*, the children of the *bisan*, implying that it is the MBW, and perhaps her family, who are the *bisan*. One final aside and we should be able to draw our observations on *bisan* to a close: in Java *bisan* is the term of reference between the parents of a married couple. What I conclude, then, from the preceding is that *bisan* is, in its primary meaning, a term to refer to one's affines without any implication of any prior premarital kinship relationship between the spouses. The equivalence that we find implicit in Kerinci, which is in fact directly expressed in the kin terms in Kota Baru, between the wife's siblings and the MB's children, both denoted by *bisan*, is a clear indication of preference for matrilineal cross-cousin marriage. As far as Pondok Tinggi is concerned, *bisan* seems to have been the general term of reference between ego and ego's spouse's siblings, and the *kidee* term refers to a special case of relationship within the *bisan* category. The confusion which I encountered among some informants who were unsure whether the correct term for WZ was in fact *kidee* or *bisan* would seem to substantiate this.

We now come to the significance of the *kidee* term. Its usage to refer to WZ is not confined to Pondok Tinggi and it is found (in the form *kido*) in many villages in northern Kerinci. The primary meaning of the word is left-handed. There is no reason to think that this is a case of homonyms and all my informants recognised a connection between the kin term and the idea of left-handedness although none could explain the significance of this. Although there is a stigma attached to the idea of left-handedness in Kerinci

and children are for example taught that their left hand is the *bad* hand (*buruk*), I have not come across any examples of the concept in myth or ritual. A Dutch administrator mentioned in his comprehensive report in the thirties that marriage with one's WZ (only permissible after the death of one's wife or after divorce) was known as *mengambil kidea* ("taking the *kidea*"), and although this term is not commonly used today, most of my informants recognised it and understood its meaning. The sororate and levirate are - incidentally, common institutions in Kerinci. There is then, a puzzle: why should the WZ be associated with the left hand? In Minangkabau as de Josselin de Jong notes (1960:62) marriage with the WZ seems in general to be prohibited. In conversation with Professor de Josselin de Jong in Leiden when I pointed out that this was not the case in Kerinci he suggested that herein lay the explanation for the use of the *kidea* term. Ideally, this type of marriage was prohibited but when it occurred in practice the slight stigma of such a marriage contract was expressed by the idea of left-handedness. This seems to me to be a possible explanation, but it still begs the question why marriage with the WZ was frowned upon. The answer appears to lie in the concept of marriage as an alliance between families and the idea perhaps that each daughter's marriage should be the occasion for the contracting of a separate alliance. Moreover, if there was some notion of magico-mystical power involved in the contracting of the marriage bond, then one might argue that there was some idea of magical impropriety in doubling the power which one passed on to a man by giving him two of one's daughters in successive marriages. I have not, however, been able to find any direct evidence to support this speculation.

The term *sadue* (cognate with the word *dua* = two) to indicate the relationship between men who have married two sisters provides no problems. It is still used quite commonly in the society.

Appendix II

A Wedding ceremony in Pondok Tinggi

The description which follows is of one particular ceremony which took place a few days after the end of Ramadhan in 1978, when the marriage of a girl from one of the most well to-do families in Pondok Tinggi was celebrated. The *akad nikah* ceremony for the couple had been held some months before, but because the husband had been studying they had decided to postpone the *adat* festivities.

Sporadic preparations had been going on for some days but things began in earnest on the Wednesday before the event which was to take place on Thursday. The girl's parents had both died fairly recently, and so the principal responsibility for the proceedings fell to her *mamak*, her mother's younger brother. This man is one of the two wealthiest individuals in Pondok Tinggi and a man of some influence. He had two wives, having married the second when it seemed that the first wife was unable to have children. It was these two wives together with the girl's sisters who organised the proceedings. Their main task was to see that the meal was properly cooked, and to this end they sought the help of neighbours and relatives. What happened was that the vegetables and spices were collected in the kitchen and women came to the house whenever they had time, and, sitting in small groups of three or four, they cut up vegetables and ground spices in great quantities while gossiping and joking together. Meanwhile, the younger relatives were getting the house in order, clearing away furniture and putting up decorations. Some of the latter items consisted of things which had been borrowed for the occasion from friends and relatives. One or two finely woven individual sitting mats (*lapik*) were, for example, borrowed from the house in which we were living. The young men were engaged in erecting a temporary stage in the small yard at the front of the house. They were also sent to deliver the printed invitations to the feast. These invitations which numbered about 300 were all addressed to the men of households. Women were invited separately and in a different manner. Relatives of the girl went round and formally announced that the celebration was to take place and at the same time offered some *sirih* to the woman invited.

A feast like this is a communal affair in which relatives and neighbours are expected to participate actively. In the first place this means being prepared to give some time helping and also to lend items both for decorations and for the purposes of cooking if called upon. In addition, close kinsmen and friends will offer to contribute to the expenses of the occasion by supplying wood for fuel or donating coconuts or vegetables. Within the last year or two, however, the custom has sprung up of putting these contributions on a more formal basis, at least this seems to be the case among the set of more well-to-do families. On this occasion a committee (*panitia*) was set up comprising not the immediate family of the bride but one or two more distant relatives and neighbours. This committee organised a list of contributors who were asked to give something for expenses. The way this was expressed was that a contribution was asked for *uang kayu* (cash for wood fuel) suggesting the link with the traditional practice of making a contribution in kind. This list was sent to close relatives and friends and contributions ranged from Rps.5000-500 depending on the degree of closeness the contributor felt towards the bride. About Rps. 15000 was collected in this manner. Although the list was ultimately shown to the bride's family no special note was made of who had contributed or the size of the contribution. In relation to the expenses it seems that the groom's family, although by no means obliged to, had made a contribution of Rps. 100,000 which covered about a third of the total expense.

On the Thursday morning everyone assisted in the cooking with great enthusiasm. The men began by cutting up the wood for the several fires burning outside on which enormous cooking pots were placed, next they cut up the meat which was then handed over to the women to dice properly. The women, meanwhile, were in two groups, one within the house preparing more vegetables and spices, and the other squeezing shredded coconut to make *santan* (coconut milk) and mixing the curries. Relatives and neighbours were equally prominent. By about 10.30 in the morning the men's work was done and they sat back to watch the rest of the proceedings. The women served them with a special curry (*gulai tanjung*) made out of the bones of the meat.

At about 11 o'clock selected members of the committee and one or two close relatives of the bride were invited to attend a ceremonial meal given by the groom's family. The groom was not, in fact, from Pondok Tinggi but from Kota Majidin about 11 kilometres away. It is customary for the groom's family to hold a small feast for their part with the intention of giving concrete expression to the alliance between the two families. It is a modest affair and concerns only close kin. In this case the man's family had been given the use of a house in Sungai Penuh quite close to the bride's

house and they held a meal there for about thirty men. There were no formal speeches on that occasion, although a prayer was said. The meal served the purpose of bringing the *teganai* of the two families together to make each other's acquaintance, and there was also an opportunity for making the final arrangements for the ceremony which would follow, that is the leading of the groom in procession from his house to that of the bride.

The bride's *teganai* then returned to their house and the guests began to arrive. About three quarters of an hour later the groom's procession came in sight. He was accompanied by a best man and several women who were carrying dishes of *sirih* when they came to the gate of the house they halted and there was an exchange of traditional speeches (*parno*). The bride and her party had appeared on the steps of the house. After the speeches, just as the groom was moving up to the bride, women from the bride's party threw yellow rice over him and poured water from a kettle on to his shoes.¹ Bride and groom then passed into the house where they sat in a place of honour. This sitting together is known as *bersanding* and is perhaps the most important feature of the *adat* ceremony, since it is the public declaration of the marriage to the community.

The order in which the various events in the ceremony were to take place was announced over a microphone by a master of ceremonies, and the speeches and the scenes were being recorded on tape-recorders, a cine-camera and several ordinary cameras. In the intervals when nothing was happening, cassettes of Kerinci songs were played. During all this time committee members and representatives of the bride's family were fussing around, making sure that everything was running according to plan.

When the bridal pair was seated the eating began, again with only the men sitting in the front rooms of the house. After the meal there were three formal speeches, all in Indonesian. The first was given by a man who was a relative of the family, a member of the same *perut*, who was an important figure in the community. The second speech was by the homopaternal brother of the bride and the third was by a respected religious leader. All three speeches gave general advice to the bridal couple. In addition, the first speech, since it was meant to be a speech on behalf of the hosts, also mentioned that the *kenduri*, besides being held to celebrate the marriage, was also for other intentions: it was the hundredth day after the death of the father of the bride and two members of the family were intending to go on the pilgrimage that year. Next, there was a prayer from the *kadhi*, and finally, the M.C. concluded the proceedings by asking pardon for any deficiencies in the ceremony. This was the signal for the guests to get up from their places and go and congratulate the couple before dispersing. It

was then the turn of the members of the committee who had been supervising all this time to eat.

An hour or so after the men had gone back to their homes it was the turn of the women to visit the house. Here the procedure was much less formal. A large number of women had been invited representing various sections of the society not only in Pondok Tinggi but in the whole Sungai Penuh township. They arrived in small groups of four or five friends dressed in brightly coloured clothes, the 'town' element carrying gaily wrapped presents, the village women often bringing plates of food covered with a cloth, their contribution to the feast. As they went in to the house individually they congratulated the husband and wife who were still *bersanding*, and at the same time they handed over the presents. Some of the village women, as they shook the bride's hand, pushed into her palm a small gift of money. Then they each went and sat down and were given something to eat. After that they stayed for a short while talking and then left to make room for other guests who were streaming in. The women who had brought plates of food were given their plates back on which had been put some of the *kenduri* meal for them to take back to their families. By about 5 o'clock the stream of visitors had come to a halt and members of the committee had drifted home. The house then began to get ready for the evening's entertainment.

If what has been described above represents if not always in style, at least in spirit, the traditional mode of celebrating a marriage, the events of the evening were something radically new and different. It was an occasion for the youth of the village. A modern band with electric guitars and drums had been hired for the evening and played popular Indonesian music throughout the night. Rows of seats had been set up for the audience in the front yard of the house facing the temporary stage. Young friends and relatives of the couple sat in these seats, and outside, around the gate to the yard, milled a hundred or more young people of the village who had come for the show. At about 7.10 the bridal pair emerged from the house, the groom wearing a dark greysuit and the bride dressed in a white bridal dress complete with veil. I was told that the idea to dress up in this fashion came from observing the manner of contemporary Chinese weddings in Indonesia which in turn were modelled on Western style weddings. To the strains of something like the wedding march the couple came slowly out of the house, stepped on the platform and faced their friends. At the instigation of the M.C. the husband then gave his wife a modest kiss on her forehead and the two of them went and sat in a specially constructed arbour on the stage, where they remained for the rest of the evening until 11 o'clock. Various people were then called out of the audience in turns and asked to sing a song on stage. Meanwhile, elderly members of the committee were keeping a lugubrious eye on the

proceedings from within the house.

The final event in connection with these celebrations was the disbanding of the committee the following night and the opening of the presents. It appeared that there were 50 presents and about Rps. 50,000 given in cash. On the whole everyone seemed to be very pleased by the way things had gone.

As far as our interest in the way in which important occasions are organised in the community is concerned, what these celebrations in particular reveal is that, for the well-to-do families at least, the scope of the events and the range of people which they are designed to cater for extends beyond the traditional universe of the village. The forming of the committee and the other rather self-conscious attempts at innovation point to the way in which it is not only the circle of kin, nor even of the village, to which it is important to demonstrate the fact of the marriage, but the larger community, too, to which one is linked through different networks. On the other hand, the preparations for the events and their execution also show that it is still very much close kin and friends and neighbours within the village which one relies on to be the mainstay of the celebrations.

Notes

1. It has been suggested to me that this ritual is a very recent practice adopted in imitation of what people have seen of weddings in Java and is not part of traditional Kerinci marriage rituals.

Appendix III

An Example of Current Procedure in the Sale of Land in the Village

Tino Nek who held a lot of property and had been involved in a number of disputes, both when her husband was still alive and after his death, felt that she wanted the documentation concerning the proposed sale of some land to Mak Tuti, who was, incidentally, her HZDD, to be as complete as possible. This was to forestall any problems which might otherwise arise. There had, some twenty five years previously, been some trouble over the land which she now wished to sell, but she hoped that the man who had created the difficulties at that time, Dul Karim, had given up all claim to the land. Since she was fairly elderly Tino Nek left the initial formalities to her daughter and son-in-law who lived with her. The first thing they did was to negotiate a price with Mak Tuti and her husband, and when this was agreed, the process of getting the documents signed began. This was in January 1979. For the *surat jualbeli* there was no difficulty. The people who signed as witnesses were: Tino Nek's two brothers (including the father of Mak Tuti) in their capacity as *teganai*, a son of Tino Nek's MZ, also as a *teganai*, Tino Nek's children who resided in Pondok Tinggi (with the exception of Mak Ujang as mentioned above) in their capacity as heirs, and the *nenek-mamak* of Tino Nek's *lurah*, in this case the Rio Temenggung. The document was taken to each of these in turn and was not signed all at once. As the daughter and son-in-law went to each person in turn they explained the background to the sale for those who did not know it already. It is apparently customary to give a small gift of money to the *teganai* who sign such a document, but I think that relations between Tino Nek and her brothers were so close that it was not thought necessary in this instance, since they tended to operate on a system of more generalised exchange. I do not know for certain, but I suspect a gift was given to the MZS. A payment of Rps. 1500 was also made to the Rio. The latter was, it seems, rather dissatisfied with this amount and said he should have been offered more, since the sum involved of the actual purchase was Rps. 2 million, but he and Tino Nek who knew each other well joked about this, and he had to accept it with good grace, although I suspect that he thought that Tino Nek was being rather miserly.

The next stage was to get the Akta document drawn up, and here Tino Nek and her family ran into some snags. First of all, Dul Karim had heard that the property was going to be sold and in an attempt to gain something to his advantage began to stir up trouble. He approached Mak Tuti and her husband and advised them against buying the land, saying that it was really his and had been misappropriated by Tino Nek. He also wrote a formal letter to the *kepala dusun* saying that the land belonged to him and that the latter should prevent the sale from going ahead. The *kepala dusun*, although he suspected that Dul Karim's story was false, felt that he had to appear impartial and so he would have to investigate the matter. Meanwhile, Tino Nek's son-in-law had approached the Agraria Department to see about getting an official sketch of the land (*surat gambar tanah*) drawn up as was required to fill out the Akta form properly. On an appointed day two officials came down from the Agraria Department and in the presence of one of Tino Nek's brothers measured the land very roughly with a long tape measure. The sketch map was then prepared and Mak Tuti paid Rps. 15,000 for this. (In the wording of the Akta it does not say who should pay the legal expenses incurred, but what seems to happen in general in Pondok Tinggi is that the buyer pays.) This sketch map had to be taken to the *kepala dusun* for his signature of confirmation - the Indonesian term is *mengetahui* = knowing, i.e. witnessing. Here the first major problem arose, since the latter felt that he could not sign in all honesty before the matter raised by Dul Karim had been cleared up, so he advised Tino Nek to come to some sort of agreement with the latter. At first she was disinclined to do so, since she felt that Dul Karim had been sufficiently paid off on the last occasion on which he had caused trouble twenty five years ago. She took some advice on the matter, however, and the general opinion seemed to be that she should pay out something. The way this was expressed was put in a beautiful example of Malay allusive reference (*sindir*). Dul Karim was said to be like *anjing menggonggong; kasih tulang lekas puas* (like a barking dog; give him a bone and he is soon satisfied). Tino Nek, then, began to consider how much she should give and a figure of Rps. 60,000 was mentioned. Eventually, however, this was not pursued since Mak Tuti and her husband did not like the idea of conceding any right to Dul Karim, which is what any sort of sub rosa payment would imply, and therefore it was decided to follow official procedure which meant winning the *kepala dusun* round. This was slightly difficult since he clearly felt that although a sub rosa payment was not entirely proper, nevertheless it was in line with the general tenor of *adat* practice which attempts to conciliate all parties to a dispute.

A month went by and nothing was done. Eventually the *kepala dusun* said that he would be willing to sign if there was an official letter from the

magistrate's office saying that they had no objection to the sale. This seemed a curious request, but it was, he explained, a way of letting him off the hook, so to speak, in the matter of responsibility should the matter ever be taken to court at a later date by Dul Karim. Tino Nek's DH wrote a letter to the magistrate through the intermediary of the *kepala mendapo*'s office. At the same time he went round to see one of the official attorneys to get his advice. In a few days a letter was received saying that since no action had been lodged to claim the land in question, then there was no objection to the sale. On the basis of this the *kepala dusun* signed the *surat gambar tanah* and everything seemed ready for the completion of the Akta document. There were, however, further hitches.

The procedure which the *camat*'s office usually followed in dealing with the signing of Akta documents, which directly contravened the procedure laid down by the law in this case, was for each individual to sign the document in turn at different times - the normal procedure as described above for *surat jual-beli* - and the final signature to be put by the *camat*. In such circumstances there could, of course, be no direct witnessing of the signatures which had been something stipulated by the new legislation. It took some time to persuade the *camat* and the other officials that the witnessing of signatures should take place in the proper way, but eventually they agreed and the documents were finally signed at the end of July almost four months after the draft of the first *surat jual-beli* had been drawn up.

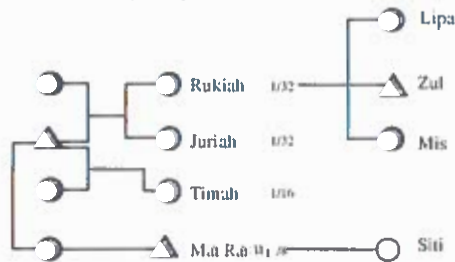
Although there are certain features of the negotiations in this account which are peculiar to the circumstances, nevertheless the details of other transactions which I collected suggest that the difficulties which people encountered in this case, and the range of officials and witnesses who had to be called upon to resolve them, are fairly typical of the way in which property negotiations are at present managed in Pondok Tinggi.

Appendix IV

The Allocation of Shares in a Water-Mill

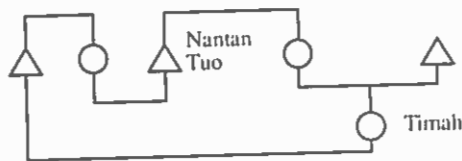
The following describes a system of rotating rights in connection with the profits from a water-mill (*kincir* or *lesung*). It is a long account but it is worth noting in all its detail since not only does it give a very good idea of the way in which the system of *giliran* operates, it also illustrates in a beautifully intricate fashion the way in which perceptions of kinship and rights and obligations are interwoven with matters of property and inheritance. Those holding shares in the water mill are entitled on a rotating basis to the rent which users pay for the use of the mill during the course of a week.

The *lesung* was built in 1934 on the initiative of Nantan Tuo. The idea was to combine with one or two people to find enough capital to get possession of a suitably located plot of land and build a mill. The people who provided the capital to erect the building were known as the *giliran kongsi*, that is the corporation of people who had rotating rights arising from their capital investment. Those who provided the land for the site were known as the *giliran tanah*, those with rights arising from the land. The way in which the shares were initially allocated, on the basis of being allowed to wait (*menunggu lesung*) at the mill and receive directly the payment of those who came to use it, was as follows. Of every four weeks those of the *giliran kongsi* were allotted three weeks, those of the *giliran tanah* one. Because the land belonged to a brother and sister it transpired that the *giliran tanah* share was further divided into two. The brother, however, had died when the mill was in the process of construction so his share was divided between the children of his two wives, each wife being entitled to a half of her husband's share for transmission to the children. As it happened, one wife had two children, both daughters, the other had one child, a daughter. Thus the picture which one gets relating to the ownership of rights of the *giliran tanah* is this. The total *giliran tanah* right is one quarter of the whole enterprise which is divided as set out in the following diagram



Thus Timah had 1/16 share, Rukiah and Juriah had 1/32 each and Mat Ram on the death of his mother inherited 1/8. In other words Timah was entitled to receive the hire of the mill once every sixteen weeks, Rukiah and Juriah once every thirty two weeks and Mat Ram once every eight weeks.

The *giliran kongsi* was split into three by four people according to their original investment. Nantan Tuo the mover of the whole enterprise had a third share, i.e. he was entitled to one week out of four; Dul Karim also had a third; and Pak Ujang and Tino Teh shared the last third equally between them, thus each being entitled to one week out of eight. Nantan Tuo was, however, closely related to Timah being both her MB and her HZH as illustrated in the figure below.



Timah was his only sister's only child, and given the matrilineal stress in matters of descent, weakly reflected in *pusaka* property arrangements, she was the only direct female heir to family property. He therefore felt particularly close to her. Furthermore, his wife's elder brother married Timah soon after the completion of the mill. Timah was, however, an orphan, since not only had her father died some time ago but so had her mother. Timah was therefore brought up by her grandmother, Nantan Tuo's mother, and even after she was married continued to reside with the latter as dictated by the usual uxorilocal rule of immediate post-marital residence. Nantan Tuo felt especially concerned about Timah and so he decided that he would divide his share equally between her and his wife. In 1939 when the mill underwent some repairs Nantan Tuo relinquished his share altogether, giving it entirely to Timah. She had thus acquired a quarter share in addition to the one-sixth she had through her father. Thus she received the hire of the *lesung* five weeks out of sixteen.

Some time during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) Dul Karim decided that he wanted to give up his share. Timah bought him out for Rps.10,000 (Japanese occupation currency) the equivalent of approximately 200 kaleng of rice (*beras*). (The daily hire of the mill can be computed to bring in roughly 1-2 kaleng of rice a day). Then some time between 1945-1950 Pak Ujang decided to get rid of his share which he sold to Tino Teh. (I do not

have any information about the price paid in this instance.) Tino Teh's share is thus a quarter which she retains today.

Meanwhile, there had been developments with the *giliran tanah* shares. Mat Ram had died in 1940 and his one-eighth share had passed to his only daughter Siti. Rukiah had died in 1950 and her share passed to her three children: Lipa (f), Zul (m), Mis (f). They each thus inherited a third of 1/32 but instead of each taking a turn once every 96 weeks they decided that it was more practical to divide the takings of one week between the three of them. In 1965 Mis died and her share passed to her son Man.

It was quite customary for the person whose turn it was to receive the hire of the mill, to sell her turn if she felt in need of ready cash. Siti used to do this quite frequently, selling her turn most often to Timah in exchange for rice. Thus before her turn came round, if she was in need, she would come to Timah with an offer to sell her turn. Timah, who had more interest in the mill than any other single person, was quite happy to take this turn, since it meant she could keep a proprietary eye on the mill which, if it was not looked after properly, ran the risk of falling to pieces. Lipa would have quite liked to buy Siti's turn but Timah prevented this, because she was afraid that Lipa would run the mill to its destruction. As it was, Siti felt obliged to Timah for various favours and so always turned to her first when she offered a turn for sale.

In 1974, however, Siti decided that she had had enough of the mill and looked round for someone to buy her out. There had at that time been some pressure put on Timah by Rukiah's children and Juriah to try to persuade her to let them invest further in the mill and thus earn a *giliran kongsi* share. They were unhappy with the arrangements as they stood, even though with respect to the division of shares between those who held *giliran kongsi* and those who held *giliran tanah* rights things remained exactly as they had in the original agreement. Unless Timah let them into the *kongsi*, this was the veiled threat, they would demand their share of the land on which the *lesung* stood, and this of course would mean dismantling the mill and giving up the enterprise. Timah decided that if she bought out Siti this would strengthen her hand, so even when Siti asked a relatively high price, an exchange of her share for a plot of *sawah* Timah was prepared to pay. One other reason, incidentally, why a *giliran tanah* right was especially prized was because owners of that type of share had none of the burden of investing more capital whenever the *lesung* was in need of repair or new parts had to be purchased. In this way Timah's share increased to 11/16, eleven weeks out of sixteen.

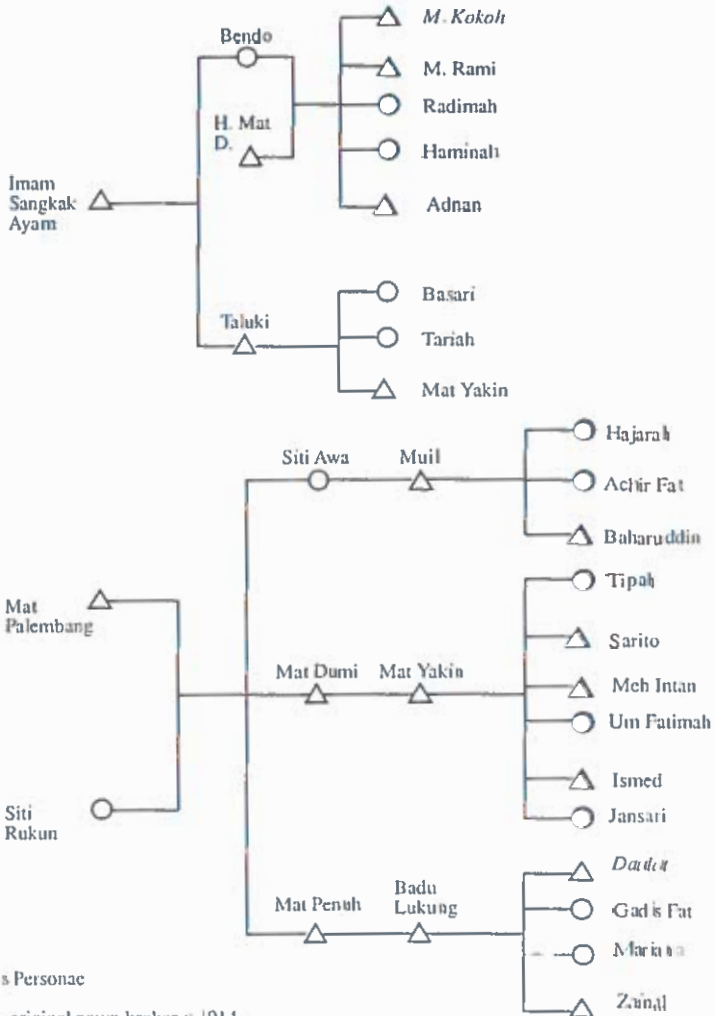
Thus the position today is that if one takes a cycle of thirty two weeks Timah is entitled to twenty two, Juriah one, Lipa, Zul and Man together one, and

Tino Teh eight. There is at the moment some attempt being made to ease out Tino Teh. Juriah in particular would like to buy her out and has tried to get Timah's help to persuade Tino Teh to sell. The situation is aggravated by the fact that Tino Teh does little to help if the *lesung* is in need of repair, although as a member of the *giliran kongsi* she should be contributing. Formerly, when her husband who was a carpenter was alive he often used to do the repairs and this helped. Now, however, when anything goes wrong Timah finds herself saddled with all the expenses, so in fact she would be quite happy to see Juriah buy out Tino Teh. She once approached the latter trying to persuade her to sell, but Tino Teh simply burst into tears asking Timah how she had the heart to get rid of her in this way, and saying that if they wanted to buy the share they should wait until she was dead, that it would not be very long now. So the situation has reached stalemate and each party, somewhat dissatisfied, works her own share, trying to get as much out of working the *lesung* as possible, hoping that structure will not collapse and the supply of water will be sufficient at least for their week. Sometimes there is some doubt about when a person's turn falls. Timah is now the only one who understands the full complexity of the arrangements and knows the history of the shares. Lipa once felt that she was being deprived of her share and challenged Timah who patiently explained what the situation was. Man, too, has often asked for the arrangement to be explained. Even Juriah, who is of the same generation as Timah, is not clear when turns fall due.

This extended example has illustrated several of the points which I made in the text. When shares are inherited and sub-divided arrangements can become exceedingly complex, and this can give rise to suspicion and distrust. On the other hand, as the shares become fragmented there is also a tendency for those who have a major stake to attempt to get a controlling interest by reaggregating shares. Furthermore, the various transactions of buying, selling and exchanging that have gone on in relation to turns at the mill, reveal very clearly how concerned the people involved are with flows of liquid assets. In the semi-barter economy which exists within the village rice is often the equivalent of ready money and indeed in these times of inflation often more highly valued than banknotes. And finally, the example has also shown some of the ways in which property may be transmitted over generations. One transaction worth noting was the example of the *inter vivos* transmission of Nantan Tuo's share to his ZD, a gesture which is fully in accord with the ideal conceptualisation of the link which should exist between this pair of relations but one rarely met with in contemporary times. In this instance one should note that there were special circumstances which made the relationship even closer than it may otherwise have been, in fact that Timah was the only *kemenakan* and the only one to carry on the line.

Appendix V

A Dispute About the Origins of Some Property



Other Dramatis Personae

1. Suka Rami - original pawn broker c 1914, grandmother of Badu Ketib.
2. H.M. Run - received the pawn from the above c.1919
3. Sjahbidin and Isah - received pawn from above c.1924 then returned it c. 1926 to H.M.Run and H.Mat Delir. S & I are parents of Idris.