Chapter 2

The Conventions of Kinship

The temptation to consider kinship in Kerinci simply as a variant of a Minangkabau system which is found from Rao to Indrapura arises from the immediate similarities one observes. One perceives, for example, the central-ity of the *mamak* in family matters, uxorilocal residence, ascription at birth through the matriline to a descent group and the structural opposition between *anak* and *kemenakan*. But this superficial impression of similarity soon turns out to be deceptive as one comes across what are anomalies according to the Minangkabau view of things. There are no supra-village lineages or clans in Kerinci as there are in Minangkabau, simply local des-cent groups; children, it appears, inherit directly from their parents, and there is no question of inheritance by *kemenakan*; furthermore, in Pondok Tinggi there is a curious joking relationship between cross-cousins which seems to exist nowhere in Minangkabau.

At this point before abandoning the Minangkabau paradigm altogether one is still perhaps prepared to patch and stitch, since there are good historical rea-sons for thinking that there was a migration from the Minangkabau heartland to Kerinci. When, however, one discovers that despite the matrilineal princi-ple of descent group membership kinship itself seems to be recognised on the paternal as well as the maternal side,[1] and that, furthermore, there are curious kinship terms which seem to have no parallel elsewhere in Sumatra and which suggest a symmetrical system of exchange, then it seems advis-able to shift one's ground, and rather than describe the kinship organisation as if it were Minangkabau, omit the comparative dimension initially and simply analyse it in its own right.

I begin with a description of the kinship terminology because it seems to me to offer the most direct access to an understanding of the problems of kin-ship. Once the range of reference of the terms is understood various significant principles in the system of kinship begin to emerge, and this first grasp of the fundamental structure makes understanding of attitudes and behaviour all that much easier. I have kept the discussion as close to actual experience as possible by the use of several examples. From a brief exami-nation of the terminology the discussion moves on to a description of

specific pairs of relationships which illustrate some of the theoretical points. I have also paid more attention than is found in a number of kinship studies to the way in which various terms appear to be interiorised and their implications learned in a process of socialisation. The chapter as a whole, then, tries to strike a balance between a study of concepts and behaviour.

What's in a Kin Term

The kinship terms of reference and address are given in Tables 3–6. Before attempting to analyse the significance of all these terms one or two notes should be added to supplement the information given in the tables.

In the table of terms of address mention is made of a qualifier. This qualifier is appended after a kin term and indicates the rank in sibling order in which the person addressed falls.[2] The qualifier is used by juniors addressing their seniors in generation and is also used by a person to address those in her own generation who are senior to her in age - although, often, if the age difference is not great she may refer to her senior more familiarly, by name when young or according to a recognised teknonym in adulthood. The qualifier is not used for one's direct lineal relatives of either the patriline or the matriline. Thus one's MF and one's FF are simply *Nantan* irrespective of their place in the sibling order. Ego also addresses her father simply as *Apue*, but her patrilateral parallel-cousins, for example, would address him using the appropriate qualifier. The list of qualifiers and the way in which they are appended to kin terms is given in a separate table.

It should be observed that there are seven qualifiers in common use. Of these seven, three are by virtue of their meaning in greater use than the others: *tuo* indicates first born, *tengah* (= middle in Indonesian) refers to the second born and *nso* (*bungsu* (Ind.) = youngest) indicates the last born. I came across one case in which there were only two siblings in a family; the younger one was addressed by some relatives with the qualifier *ngoh* but more frequently as *nso*. Should there be more than seven siblings in a family ad hoc qualifiers may be invented to fill the gaps, an adjective appropriate to the physical features of a person often being seized upon to meet the purpose, e.g. *bungkuk* = hunchback, *hitam* = black. Sometimes the death of siblings in infancy is recorded by a qualifier being reserved for them and not being appropriated by the next born. This is particularly true of the term *tuo* which is always reserved for the first born.

In one family which I knew well there were seven surviving brothers and sisters and whenever I required some elucidation

Table 3: Kinship Terms of Reference

Generation removed from ego: ascending (A) or descending (D)	Sex of Ego	Term	Range of Reference in that generation
4A	m & f	nanggut	All
3A	m & f	munyan	All
2A	m & f	nantan	All males
	m & f	tino	All females
1A	m & f	apue, ayoh	F,FB,FFBS,MMBS,FMZS
1A	m & f	indauk	M,MZ,MMZD,FFZD,FMBD
1A	m & f	mamok	MB,FMBS,MMZS,FFZS,MFZS
1A	m & f	dateu (datung)	FZ,MMBD,FFBD,MFZD,FMZD
Ego	m & f	duo piak	MBS,MBD,FZS,FZD and children of anyone referred to as mamak or dateu
Ego	m & f	dusanak, spadik, kakak/adik	B,Z,MZS,MZD,FBS,FBD and children of anyone referred to as indauk or apue, but usually limited to those having a common ancestor with ego not more than 4 generations distant
1D	m	anak	D,S,BD,BS, and children of all male dusanak and all female due piak of ego
1D	f	anak	D,S,ZD,ZS, and children of all female dusanak and male duo piak of ego
1D	m	kernenakan	ZS,ZD, children of all female dusanak and all male duo piak
1D	f	kernenakan	BS,BD, children of all male dusanak and female duo piak
2D	m & f	cucu	All
3D	m & f	muyang	All
4D	m & f	piut (?)	All

Table 4: Terms of Address

Generation removed from ego: ascending (A) or descending (D)	Sex of Ego	Term	Equivalent term of reference or range of use	Notes
3A	m & f	nunyan + qualifier	nunyan	
2A	m & f	nantan + qualifier	nantan	Used without qualifier for ego's MF and FF
2A	m & f	Tino + qualifier	tino	Used without qualifier for ego's MM and FM
1A	m & f	ayoh (with no qualifier) (a) pue with qualifier	ayoh	qualifier not used for F
1A	m & f	indauk, mak + qualifier	indauk	qualifier not used for M
Ego	m & f	Tuo + qualifier	mamok	Always with qualifier
Ego	m & f	Tung (Tar) + qualifier	datung	Always with qualifier
Ego	m & f	Qualifier alone	e dusanak and duo piak	Qualifier occasionally preceded by kakak
Ego	m & f	Name	y dusanak and duo piak	Names rarely used beyond childhood, but in childhood sometimes used for e dusanak and duo piak
Ego	m & f	Teknonym Gynaeconym	y dusanak and duo piak	See explanation in text
All D	m & f	Name	all	When those addressed are still children
All D	m & f	Teknonym etc.	all	After those addressed are married

Table 5: Minangkabau Kin Terms in Use in Pondok Tinggi

Minangkabau Term	Range	Equivalent PT term
Mak	M	Indauk
Mak + qualifier	MZ	Indauk + qualifier
Ete + qualifier	FZ,MZ	Indauk Datung + qualifier
Pak	F	(A)pue
Pak + qualifier	FB(M's duo piak)	Pue + qualifier
Uni	eZ	(Kakak +)qualifier
Uda	eB	(Kakak +)qualifier

Table 6: Qualifiers

Note: the final vowels of qualifiers often alter according to complicated phonological rules governing acceptable combinations of sounds in sentences (see Usman and Prentice 1978)

Word	Indonesian equivalent	Meaning	Selected Combined Forms				
			Tuan	Pue	Indauk	Datung	Kakak
Tuao	tua	old	Tuo Ruao	Pue Tuao	Induk Tuao	Tarwao Tuao	Wo
Ngah	tengah	middle	Tuo Ngah	Pue Tengoh	Induk Ngoh	Terngoh	Ngoh
Nek	kecil (=Mn ketek)	small	Tuo Nek	Pue Nek	Induk Nek	Tung n*Nek	K'nek
Pandok	pendek	short	Tuo Ndok	Pue Ndok	Induk Ndok	Tung Ndok	K'ndak
Utai	putih	fair	Tuo Utai	Pue Utai	Induk Utai	Tung Utai	K'utai
Mbut	lembut	gentle	Tuo Mbau	Pue Mbeu	Induk Mbut	Tung Mbau	Mbeu
So	bungsu	youngest	Tuo n*So	Pue n So	Induk n So	Tung n So	n So

* The 'n' which we find preceding Nek is an abbreviation of the relative *nga* (= Indonesian *yang*). When it precedes *So* it may be an abbreviation of the relative or a contraction of the first syllable of *bungsu*.

concerning a kinship term I would often use them and their families as examples to explain points I wanted to make. The eldest of the seven was not the first born. He was always addressed by his juniors with the qualifier *utai* (= *putih* (Ind.) = white) and indeed he was rather fair. Observing the qualifiers used for the other siblings I noted that if the qualifier *tuo* was not in use then there would be a term short when it came to finding appropriate qualifiers for all. After some discussion I elicited the fact that the problem was avoided by using a common qualifier, *nek* (= *kecil* (Ind.) = little), for a brother and sister.

Although I have said that the qualifier is always used for non-lineal ascendants this statement should be slightly qualified. In conversation the qualifier may be omitted and simply understood. Thus ego talking to someone she should address as Nantan Nek may in fact call him either Nantan or Nantan Nek. The way in which she will refer to him if she is speaking to a third person will depend on her relationship to that third perdon or the third person's relationship to Nantan Nek. For example, asking a sibling about Nantan Nek's whereabouts she will ask specifically after Nantan Nek and, if necessary, since there may well be several to whom ego refers as Nantan Nek - this may be further qualified by a teknonym. Talking to Nantan Nek's granddaughter who is junior to her she would simply enquire after Nantan adopting the granddaughter's appropriate term of address. She might even enquire simply of Nantan from Nantan Nek's daughter if the latter is junior to her, and in saying Nantan she would simply be acknowledging the fact that Nantan Nek has grandchildren.

On one occasion I saw Ana's husband opening the door of Ana's house to Ana's FB. The latter wanted to see his brother (Ana's father). Normally he would simply have enquired whether he was in, referring to him by his common teknonym - in fact as Ana's father, since Ana was the eldest child - but since Ana had recently had a child making her father directly a grandfather for the first time and the community recognised this slight change in his status the enquiry was simply: "Is Nantan at home?"

I have included *duo piak* and *dusanak* in the table on terms of reference for the sake of convenience but in fact both of these are category terms rather than terms of reference. Some examples of usage should make this clear. On being asked what relationship a certain person is to her a woman might reply that the person is her *duo piak*, that is her cross cousin. This explanation serves to make clear to the enquirer a number of things: that a specific kind of behaviour is to be expected from the two people in question whenever

they meet (see the later section on joking relationships); that, if they are of different sex, they are potential marriage partners; that they are not direct rivals for the inheritance of property - though, as we shall see, there may be an indirect rivalry between them. The nature of the relationship between them alters with age and with the changes which occur in the domestic cycle, so that whenever one considers the existing relationship between specific *duo piak* one must always bear in mind not only the sexes of the people concerned but also factors such as their age, whether they are married or not and where they are currently residing. In referring to a specific *duo piak* in conversation a person will always mention the *duo piak* by name or teknonym, and will only make the point about the relationship between them if an issue regarding the rights and obligations of kin are being discussed. The term is never used in direct address and never combined with a qualifier. What we find among children, where the use of a teknonym is of course excluded, is that a person will address someone in the *duo piak* category who is much senior to her in age with the use of the qualifier tout court according to that person's position in the sibling order. Those who are more or less of an age with her will be addressed by name. In other words the practice is the same as if she was addressing her *dusanak* (real and classificatory siblings). In adult life the junior will usually continue to address her senior by the appropriate qualifier, but she will now address her contemporary and junior *duo piak* by a teknonym.

The category *dusanak* defines all those in ego's generation who are not *duo piak* and therefore stand in a relationship to her quite different from the latter: they are not potential marriage partners; their relationship is characterised by a measure of reserve and mutual respect; they are in rivalry for inheritance if they are immediate siblings; they have interests in common which it is their joint responsibility to take care of; they give each other mutual protection and assistance. Parallel cousins fall into this category as the table makes clear, and there are ways of distinguishing between the two sets. Patrilateral cousins are those who are the children of our fathers who are brothers (*ayah kamai badusanak*), matrilateral cousins are children of our mothers who are sisters (*indauk kamai badusanak*). This distinction is made however, only when elucidating a relationship in detail. Take an example. Ego may be asked by someone who a third person is. She will reply that he is a sibling saying "*kakak*" or "*adoik*" to specify younger or older. The enquirer may ask further whether they are of the same mother and father and ego will specify that, for example, *ayah kamai badusanak*, i.e. that the person is her father's brother's child. (If they are real siblings, incidentally, ego may remark that they are *dusanak kandao* = of the same womb, or *saindauk saayah* = of one father and one mother). In reply to the first question ego

might also have said "*kami badusanak*" (we are siblings, lit. we have a sibling relationship) and the same question and answer would have followed. Another explanation she might have used is "*kamai spadik*". (Again this means "we are siblings" - from "*se-per-adik*".) In my researches I found the "*spadik*" term in more common use when elucidating relationships between people not present. Thus it was usual to hear locutions such as "*nyo spadik*" (they're siblings) or "*ayahnyo spadik*" (their fathers are brothers). From the context in which I first heard these latter terms used I deduced that the expression meant real siblings, but in fact I was wrong: the expression could equally apply to parallel cousins. Only further elucidation would make this clear. I never heard the term *spadik* to refer to anyone outside the parallel cousin range. As concerns terms of address between *dusanak* the simple qualifier is used as described above. I did, however, come across one instance where younger siblings appeared to incorporate part of the term "*kakak*" in addressing their elder sibling. Again this was an example from the family of seven mentioned above. The eldest brother was addressed as "*kutai*" which seems to be made up of the elements "*kakak*" and "*putih*". The second sibling, a sister, was addressed by her juniors as "*kungoh*" from (sc.) "*kakak*" and "*tengoh*".

The term "*mamok*" is mid-way between what I have referred to as a category term above and a genuine term of reference. In conversation a person will refer to her MB either by talking of her *mamak* or by alluding to the form of direct address she uses in conversation with the latter, thus specifying him as an individual e.g. *Tuo ruwo* = eldest mamak. Although as in the case of the *dusanak* and *duo piak* categories there will usually be more than one person who falls into the *mamok* category it appears that nevertheless ego is some-times prepared to use this quasi category term as a term of reference and to let the context supply the information about who is intended. Since the MB is an especially revered figure as far as ego is concerned there is no question in this instance of her using his name and she would only use a teknonym if hard pressed and always as an adjunct to the term of address e.g. Tuo Ruo Pue Ida. Finally, I seem to remember occasionally having heard *mamok* as a term of address. The customary form "*Tuo*" derives from "*Tuan*" an alterna-tive term for *mamak* found in several Minangkabau areas in West Sumatra.

Marriage across generations is permissible in Kerinci and as a consequence this wreaks havoc for the anthropologist when one is trying to elicit kinship relations from informants by asking how they refer to specific individuals. Furthermore, there is an added complication because one may use a different term of reference towards a person after she is married, adopting that term which is congruent with the term one uses to address her spouse. Let me give some examples.

Ina's father was her MMBWeB. In fact the marriage between her mother and father had been arranged to bring the two families who had been brought together by the marriage of her MMB even closer. As a result of this doubly bound alliance the children of the two marriages had various options open to them in the use of kin terms. Ina referred to her MMB as *Nantan*, and so as a mark of respect she could have used the term *Tino* to refer to his wife, but since the same person was also her FZ she could refer to her as *Dateu*. In fact she chose the latter since it was felt that the FZ relationship took precedence because it was a more intimate relationship. Through her father's line her FZ children were her *duo piak*. Through her mother's line, however, the men were in an *ayah* category and the women - her mother's *duo piak* - were *dateu*. In the event because there was not much age difference between them they tended to treat each other as *duo piak* which meant that they adopted a joking relationship and used the terms of address suitable for *duo piak*. It was interesting, however, to note that Ina's FZ's children also treated Ina's mother in the same way, instead of perhaps adopting a more reserved attitude appropriate towards their MBW. They thus conducted a *duo piak* relationship with mother and daughter.

Once in conversation with Ira I asked her how precisely she was related to a certain woman. She replied that they were *tuto dusanak* - classificatory siblings - and explained the relationship. This confused me because I had always heard her refer to the woman as Tino Teh so I asked her to explain further. She replied that she used the Tino Teh form of address because the woman was married to someone who was closely related to her and whom she addressed as Nantan Nek. The children of the marriage were all considered to be of the generation above her (Ira), although the youngest children were much her juniors and not yet adult and so at the moment she still referred to them by name. Things might change after they have grown up and have families of their own. One of the children had in fact married Ira's sister and the relationship between Ira and him was curiously ambivalent - the stuff of an existential novel it often seemed to me -: he was her ZH and therefore someone from whom she had to keep her distance in a sort of avoidance relationship; he was also her mother's *duo piak* and therefore in the *ayah* category; finally through his mother she was of the same generation as he was and the relationship was *duo piak*. Ira's mother could regard him as *duo piak* and therefore someone with whom she should joke, but on

the other hand he was also her son-in-law and therefore someone she should more or less avoid.

These two illustrations have, I hope, sufficiently made the point about the potential confusion which may arise when there is a choice about the category of kin into which a person falls and how one should address him. I should, however, describe in more detail the principle which in most cases will determine the choice. As it was explained to me this was that when there was doubt one should seek the relationship which was the most "*berue*" (= *berat* (Ind.) meaning (lit.) heavy). When I first heard this explanation I thought that it meant one should choose that degree of relationship which gave the person addressed most respect. In fact it meant one should settle for that relationship which was the closest in terms of kin distance - the other idea of a respectful term is denoted by the phrase "*tuto tinggi*".[3] In case it might be thought by those who consider kin terms as all being category terms - as opposed to those who find that they are in a classificatory system expansions of primary kin terms - that in using a word like closest I am imposing my own conception on the culture, I must point out that the ideas close (*dekue* = *dekat* (Ind.)) and distant (*jaeu* = *jauh* (Ind.)) are used in the language to refer precisely to kin distance (cf. Djamour 1965:23). One says, for example, in explaining why, although one knows the correct form by which to address a person, one does not know how the kin link is established, that the relationship is a distant one. Although I could never discover a precise rule to determine who was "close", from the examples I culled it would appear that all who were descended from a common ancestress - not always named - of the fourth ascending generation from ego in her matriline fell into this category as were those descended matrilineally from the FMM and all those descended from the FM. In other words there were more of ego's close kin in her matriline than in her patriline, but I repeat there was no hard and fast rule about this, and some people drew different boundaries around the conception of "closeness", although all had some notion of such a concept.

The words tekonym and gynaeconym[4] used in the table of terms of address require some explanation. I think it fair to say that in most Malay societies the use of personal names in addressing adults tends to be avoided - as is the use of second person personal pronouns. The use of teknonyms is a strategy which avoids having to address people by personal names. It is common in Kerinci and in everyday conversation it is the term of address and reference most often employed.[5] There are one or two variants of the strict teknonym one of which I have called gynaeconym. The use of the latter seems to me a good indication of the way in which upon marriage a man is considered by the community to have become partially incorporated into his wife's kin

group and in some way to have lost his individual identity. Another common variant occurs at the birth of the first grandchild after which grandparents in the matriline gradually become known by the name of their grandchild. Very occasionally this type of teknonym is also extended when the birth of the first member of the fourth descending generation is born, but this is rare and confined to terms of explanatory reference rather than used as a general term of address.

It should also be noted that addressing a person by a teknonym is reserved for seniors in generation, or, if the people are of the same generation, seniors in age addressing their juniors. It would be considered slightly insulting if a junior addressed a senior by a teknonym. He would be expected to use the proper form of kin term, or the polite form of the second person pronoun address, *kayao*.[6]

Some mention needs to be made here of Minangkabau influence in the use of kin terms which has occurred within the last thirty years and has become noticeably pronounced in Pondok Tinggi. Minangkabau immigrants who started coming into the area after the arrival of the Dutch settled in Sungai Penuh and Pondok Tinggi in large numbers. Coming from various Minangkabau areas they brought their kin terms with them. Furthermore, the first school teachers were mainly Minangkabau and they too were influential in introducing Kerinci people to standard Minang terms. School children who went outside Kerinci for further education also learned the terms common in areas around Padang. I have therefore included a table of Minangkabau terms which are now often heard in the village. The use of Mak and Ete is especially common.

Brief Analysis of the Kin Terms

i) Ego's Generation

Within ego's generation the two terms *dusanak* and *duo piak* effectively dichotomize the universe of kin. I have already described the differing attitudes which ego has towards those who are subsumed under these categories. I want to stress this further here by suggesting that the attitude towards the *dusanak* is that they are of ego's group; a *dusanak* is to ego "one of us" even though, as may be the case with the patrilateral *dusanak*, they are not necessarily of the same group affiliation as ego. The *duo piak* on the contrary are "them, not us". It is, however, important to state that despite this dichotomy this is not a question of ego distinguishing between kin and non-kin, nor, since this type of distinction is also suggested by the anthropological concepts, is it a matter of differentiating between consanguineal and affinal relatives. Ego perceives members of both categories as being related

to her. This is not something which is immediately apparent from the terms, but it is at once observable from behaviour in the society. The idea that the *duo piak* category is alien and not related by blood or kinship finds no acceptance in Pondok Tinggi. For the purposes of constructing some sort of model of kinship organisation it would be valid to use concepts such as kin and non-kin (cf. the distinction between *saudara* and *orang lain* mentioned by Djamour (1965:24) in her description of kinship among the Malays in Singapore) but I draw back from doing this, because, even though a model, it implies a conceptual distinction on the part of the members of the society and therefore creates a misleading impression. My preference, then, is to retain the participant's notion of the distinction between the two categories. I am therefore going to risk introducing more confusion into the analysis by proposing to call the *dusanak* group and those with whom ego identifies the (a) group or the group of ego and the *duo piak* group and those associated with it as the (b) group or the group of alter ego. This for me captures both the dualism within the kinship terminology and the ambivalence of ego's attitude to the *duo piak* group.

It should also be noted that in the usage of both terms of reference and terms of address ego makes no distinction between the sexes.

ii) The First Ascending Generation

Here ego has four terms at her disposal: *induk, ayah, mamak, dateu*. There is a satisfying symmetry in the use of terms which acts as a key to ego both with respect to defining attitudes and helping to expand the appropriate kin terms for others. For example, ego knows that the wife of anyone whom she refers to as *ayah* stands in an *induk* relationship to her - even though, as we have seen, there may be reasons why she chooses to use another term of reference towards the latter depending on the closeness of the relationship. Furthermore, the child of an *induk-apue* couple always stands in *dusanak* relationship to her. The reverse of this is that anyone married to a *mamak* is a *dateu* and their children are *duo piak*. Where does this leave us with our (a) and (b) conceptual divisions? *Ayah* and *induk* and their children are of the (a) group and *mamak* and *dateu* of the (b) group. Note how this implies an incorporation of the man into his wife's group. The *mamak* by the rules of kinship and descent group affiliation is clearly of ego's group, yet upon marriage he becomes associated with the group of alter ego. For political and jural purposes he is of course still of ego's group, and he never gives up that political and jural membership which he enjoys by right of birth as an ascribed member of the group. Nevertheless, he is partly lost to ego's group even in a political capacity since he is now an *anak* betino of his wife's group, and certainly as far as perceptions of "them" and "us" are concerned,

for ego he is associated by the fact of his marriage and his children with the alter ego group. Ego's attitude to him differs according to the role which she perceives him to be playing at any one moment. The somewhat schizo-phrenic character of the relationship seems to be exactly mirrored in the movement of attraction and repulsion found in the everyday intercourse of ego and her *mamak*. He is a figure for whom she feels respect, yet towards whom she is simultaneously hostile, suspicious of his motives.

Conversely, ego's father is of the (a) group by virtue of his marriage to ego's mother, and ego associates him closely with herself, although here, too, there is an undertone of ambivalence since ego is aware of, and very much alive to, her father's closeness and attachment to the *dateu* who is of the (b) group. The uneasiness which she feels about her father, however, is not so acute as what she feels about her *mamak*, as will be seen in our discussion later of the joking relationship between *duo piak*.

The terms in the first ascending generation distinguish clearly between the sexes. Incidentally, this four-fold classification is unusual by comparison with Minangkabau terminologies and many other Malay kinship systems which do not distinguish between MZ and FZ.

Another point to be stressed is one mentioned earlier in passing. The use of qualifiers serves to distinguish between ego's real parents and her classificatory parents. Thus, although the substantive term does convey an idea of classes, one should not be deceived into thinking that in Kerinci members of society have no conception of a nuclear family or of the special closeness of their real parents to them. The absence of the qualifier in address is a reflection of ego's consciousness of an inner family circle.

A short coda on the term *dateu* may not be out of place here. It seems to be the same word as the Malay *datuk*. Usman and Prentice (1978:613) talking about the Sungai Penuh variant *datung* share my suspicions about this. But in most Malay terminologies *datuk* is used for males of the second ascending generation, and there is some evidence of this use in one or two Kerinci vil-lages (Semerap and Pulau Tengah). If the two words are the same this leaves us with a very puzzling example of skewing. Why should FZ equal MF (in Semerap sometimes MMB)? I have no answers.

iii) The Second Ascending Generation

For this generation there are only two terms and these distinguish between the sexes and not between the (a) and (b) categories. All males are *nantan* and all females *tino*. It should be observed that both these terms derive from the Malay words to distinguish between the sexes: *jantan* = male and *betina(o)* = female. Qualifiers are used except when ego refers to her father's

parents or her mother's parents. If ego wants to distinguish between these two sets then she must use some explanatory phrase, e.g. *ayah dari ayah* = father's father. (In some areas of Kerinci the distinction is made through the use of separate terms.)

iv) Above the Second Ascending Generation

There is only one term for the third ascending generation. This is *nunyan* (cf. Malay *moyang*). There is no distinction between male and female. The term for the fourth ascending generation is *nanggut*, but there seems to be some confusion here, since the term derives from the Malay *janggut* (= beard) and the implication is that men of this generation will be very old and have venerable beards. As such the term should be inappropriate for women, yet no separate term for women of the fourth ascending generation seems now to exist, and people do in fact happily apply the term to women. In many other Kerinci villages the fourth ascending generation term is *piut* and it is used reciprocally for the fourth descending generation. I suspect that this term was once used in Pondok Tinggi - at least as a term of reference - but it has now fallen into desuetude and been replaced by *nanggut* which seems less a kin term than a term commonly applied to old men - the one or two people I heard referred to as *Nanggut* in the village were in fact outsiders from other villages who were old men who had become associated with the village over the years.

Concerning further ascending generations there is also confusion. In another Kerinci village where I once enquired about terms somebody said in reply to my query about the fifth ascending generation "*entah*". I laughed since this is the abrupt Malay way of saying "dunno", and I assumed that he was joking; but then he went on to say that this is in fact the term: all those further ascending generations were *entah-entah*. I thought at first this was a personal idiosyncratic usage but it turned out in subsequent enquiries in other villages that the term was commonly used in this way, and in fact I later discovered that this usage is also recorded in the entry for *entah* in Iskandar's dictionary. [7]

v) The First Descending Generation

This generation is divided into two categories, *anak* and *kemenakan*. Here, however, it is the sex of ego which determines which of the two is the appropriate category. If ego is male then *anak* are his own children and the children of his brothers and the children of all his female *duo piak*. His *kemenakan* are his sisters' children and the children of all his male *duo piak*. If ego is female then *kemenakan* are her brothers' children and the children

of her female *duo piak*. The easiest way to conceptualise this - and this in fact is the way in which some do perceive it - is to think of the kinship organisation being dependent on a system of brother sister exchange. To give an example: ego perceives that any *duo piak* (male) of her mother was at one time a potential spouse of her mother - or if ages do not coincide at least in this category - and therefore might have been her father if the marriage had taken place. Thus it seems natural to address him as *ayah*. Conversely he looks on her as someone who might have been his child (*anak*).

vi) The Second Descending Generation

There is only one term used here that is *cucu*. For subsequent descending generations ego seems to use the same term, or one very like it, as she uses to refer to the equivalent ascending generation, e.g. the third ascending generation ego calls *nunyan*; the third descending generation she calls *muyang*. This identification of generations seems to imply a belief in the renewal of a family after four or five generations. Whether this renewal implies some sort of traditional belief in reincarnation of elders in their descendants is an open question. There is little evidence in contemporary belief and practice to suggest it. The nearest one comes to such traditions are a reverential respect for remote ancestors and a belief that certain qualities can be inherited from not so distant forefathers, for example powers of traditional healing. In the latter context of inheriting qualities one frequently hears conversations about grandchildren resembling grandparents or uncles and aunts without any ostensible bias of such similarities descending in either the patriline or matriline. De Josselin de Jong (1960:89) also mentions the fifth generation rule with respect to Minangkabau social organisation whereby it seems the procedure is not altogether clear from the literature - that after five generations families segment into separate *parui* (= Ind. *perut* i.e. sub-lineage). I think that the reciprocal terms for the generations must be seen in a similar way as an expression of the same idea of family unity or, better, what constitutes the family unit. Whatever one feels about the implications of this assumption of regeneration it seems clear that it does contain the idea that the limits of the extended family are five generations distant in the direct line, and this in turn seems to reflect the natural limits in the society where even with an early age for first pregnancy it is almost inconceivable for the number of living generations to exceed five.

General Conclusions From Kinship Terminology

The system of kinship terms in Pondok Tinggi shows a very satisfying symmetry. Once the basic dualistic structure is grasped then all the various kinship terms can be expanded quite easily. The two principal distinctions to get

hold of are: in ego's generation between *duo piak* and *dusanak* and in the first ascending generation between the *ayah* - *indauk* pair and the *mamak* - *dateu* pair. The structure of the descent group system seems to be an extension of this basically two-generation model to a large number of kin for the purposes of legal, political, and, occasionally, economic action. In questions of the transmission of property and joint economic activities it is the relationship between members of adjacent generations which is important, but this is to anticipate, and what I want to turn to now is a discussion of specific pairs of relations. I have been selective in choosing to describe only certain pairs but this selectiveness does not, I think, detract from the general picture I am trying to present of the way in which the society is organised.

The Reality of the Relationships
Kamai Badusanak ("We're Dusanak") - the Relationship of Siblings

Age and sex determine the types of relationships that exist between *dusanak*. When children are young they quickly learn to distinguish between those who are older than themselves and those who are younger. They note, too, that of their older generation siblings it is their sisters who give them the most attention before they are able to take care of themselves. Consequently the relationship between younger siblings and their elder sisters is close. As children grow up they tend to seek the company of their peers, but at the same time they are given domestic duties commensurate with their age. The nature of these duties brings the women in the family closer together. They prepare meals together or they take care of the younger children in the household. Thus a bond arising from this common experience grows between them. The boys on the other hand have chores which take them outside the house - running errands to the nearest small stall which sells sundry goods or going to someone's house to pass a message - and which they usually do on their own. They are thus rarely in the company of their brothers and sisters and much more so than their sisters are left to go their own way and are more indulged. Nevertheless, they realise that they stand in a very special relationship to their sisters whom they learn from an early age they should protect and whose welfare they must always concern themselves with.

> Buyung was nine years old, his siser Timah was seven. On her first day at school Buyung accompanied her. He was overheard to say to her that she was not to worry and that he would look after her. If anyone teased her or worried her she was to tell him and he would deal with the matter.

Taking care of one's sisters can also mean keeping an eye on the company they keep when they have reached puberty. A potential boy-friend can be made to feel very uncomfortable if the brothers take a dislike to him. At a more general level the teenage boys of the village consider it their duty to preserve the good name of the girls of the village, and this often involves discouraging suitors from outside the village from coming courting.

With a greater awareness of their separate roles more formality enters the relationship between brothers and sisters. This is immediately apparent in forms of address, younger siblings taking greater care to address their elders with the appropriate qualifier or elder sibling term i.e. *kakak*. After a sister is married her siblings treat her with more respect than before and a certain reserve enters the relationship. Since marriage is uxorimatrilocal, at least initially, the siblings are faced with the presence of the new brother-in-law, and because on the whole the relationship between in-laws is one of avoidance, members of the household tend to leave the newly married couple very much to themselves. There is thus a weakening of the bond between the married sister and her siblings which is particularly regretted by the latter who have often become quite dependent on her for help and advice. As the sisters get married one by one in sibling order they go off in turn to establish their own homes in new residences. The establishment of a neo-local residence in this way, often coinciding with the birth of the first child, is a means of bringing about a renewed intimacy between the sisters. Younger sisters will come to the new house to keep their sister company and to play with the new child which they feel belongs in part to them too.

In this way sisters tend to remain close to each other during married life and generally assist each other and keep one another company. In addition their common membership of the descent group frequently brings them together on ritual occasions and on feast days when they are expected to work together preparing meals and organising events. When one sister holds a *kaluhai* (= Ind. *kenduri* feast), for example, on the occasion of some special family intention, the others will be expected to help and together with her will be considered *sepangkalan* - part of the host group. This common participation in work of a domestic character, both within the family circle and on general village occasions, which the women experience right from an early age, through adulthood and into old age, works to reinforce the sibling bond between sisters even when they have left the parental home.

Of course there is also friction between sisters and the picture of harmony and common interest presented above should not obscure this. One frequent cause of dissension is the division of property among siblings. This is not the place to go into details about property disputes which form the subject of a

separate chapter, but it is worth noting here that disagreements about rightful shares of inherited wealth are often the cause of lasting differences between sisters which in some cases are never really resolved and are often inherited by the next generation. Outside the family the sisters present a common front but in fact there are cases where the divisions between them are so great that they rarely visit each other's families. But since property is not usually divided in a formal manner until the legatees are of an age to understand the complexities of the situation, such differences between siblings emerge relatively late in life.

In a family where there is a large number of siblings the nature of the relationship between particular brothers and sisters may differ considerably because of individual factors of personality and temperament as well as on account of difference in age and sex. The most junior sibling will usually have great respect for the most senior who may well be twenty-three or -four years older than her. Sisters who are closer to each other in age are more intimate with one another. They have the same friends, go to the same school and know each other's secrets. Two close sisters may often form a pair going round together and thus becoming associated together in the eyes of their family and society at large. Sometimes splits occur when in later life they become rivals and compete for prestige and social status, but more often the bond of affection keeps them together.

Brothers

We have discussed the way in which brothers are left much to go their own way. This takes them outside the house a lot and they do not often mix together. An elder brother will keep an eye on his junior and occasionally reprimand him, but this does not happen very often. In fact brothers are closer to their sisters than they are to each other. From an early age there is already a sexual division of labour: brothers will often ask their sisters to do some sewing for them or wash a shirt, particularly when they are pressed for time and cannot do the job for themselves. Conversely, sisters will ask their brothers to do the heavy work on occasions, such as fetch the water from the stream or chop the wood for the fire. Thus a willingly accepted mutual dependence grows up between brothers and sisters which persists in adult married life particularly when ritual family occasions are celebrated. Brothers on the other hand rarely do anything for each other.

When the boys are in their teens they become even more aware of their responsibilities with regard to their sisters. In this respect they have the example of their *mamak* very much before their eyes. They observe how he is a frequent visitor to their home, how he discusses domestic affairs with

their mother and how he takes a personal interest in his *kemenakan*. They note that in matters of importance concerning property, for example, he is always consulted, and they observe, too, how in discussions concerning their sisters' future spouses and offers of marriage from prospective suitors their *mamak's* opinion is the one most immediately sought. They thus perceive the implications of the institution of the *teganai*, the champion of the family. The *teganai rumah* is the man who is the family's representative to the outside world. In matters of dispute with other families he is their spokesman. Within the family his word is not absolute law but it carries a great deal of weight and anyone who ignores him - for example, an intractable brother-in-law - does so at his peril. In any matter of importance concerning the family it is he who must be the first to be consulted as the *adat* adage *dulu selangkah* ("the first by a step") makes clear. A woman's *teganai rumah* are in the first place her brothers but if these are not senior enough for their voice to carry weight in any *adat* affair - and seniority is often a function of marital status and experience as much as of years - then it is her *mamak* who performs this duty, or in some cases, her *mamak's mamak*, i.e. her MMB. The young brothers learn their future role by observing their *mamak* and gradually prepare themselves for the time when the latter becomes too old to do his job of representation efficiently and they have to take over. In particular, after their sister has married and had children and the brothers have thus become *mamak* in their turn the sense of responsibility becomes stronger. A brother will go and see his sister regularly and is always on the spot if there is any trouble in the family or if the marriage threatens to break up or if there are difficulties about financing a *kenduri*, for example. This is the ideal relationship of the brother to his sisters' families. This institution does closely resemble that in Minangkabau and has been described frequently in the literature on Minangkabau kinship. One fault of the existing descriptions, however, is perhaps that they tend to over emphasise the *mamak-kemenakan* pair without giving due weight to the close brother-sister relationship. It should be noted that the brother feels close to his sister not only because of the immediate affection he has for her - she is the person with whom he has been best acquainted for the first twenty or so years of his life -but also because they have economic interests in common.

It is, in fact, this involvement with their sisters' families in later life which may often bring brothers closer together than they have ever previously been. Should their sister face any major problems then the brothers must consult together to work out a joint strategy. Together they will look after not only her welfare but even the welfare of more distant kinswomen (*dusanak*). On the other hand, just as the closeness of the relationship between sisters may be jeopardised with respect to rights over property, so

conflict may arise between a brother and his sister about rights of access to family property, and particular disputes in which initially only two individuals are implicated may end up by involving all the siblings in major disagreements in which all take sides. For example, a brother who has acquired temporary rights of use over a plot of *sawah* belonging to a sister may be reluctant to yield these rights back to his sister when she feels that she needs the land. In such a case she must turn to her other brothers for help or appeal to her *mamak*. Consequently, there can often be rifts in the sibling group and these can be serious enough to cause a permanent breach in relationships, although every effort is made to restore things to their original harmony by holding ritual *kenduri* and through the reconciliatory overtures of the *teganai*.

This mention of friction within the family serves as a useful reminder that the ideal brother-sister relationship in which the brother plays the role of a responsible *teganai* is subject to the nature of individual personalities.[8]

Although it is often claimed that in modern Indonesian literature written about Minangkabau society by Minangkabau writers the *mamak* is a much resented figure - because among other things he is often the evil genius who arranges marriages for his *kemenakan* irrespective of their real wishes - in fact a close reading of the literature reveals that there are as many good *mamak* as evil ones. It is the structure of the social organisation which makes him such a focal figure in the society and therefore *a fortiori* so central a figure in the novels. That the institution of *mamak* is in itself neither good nor bad seems to be true both in relation to contemporary social organisation and in the conceptual ideology of members of the society. This certainly seems the case in Pondok Tinggi where there are good *mamak* and bad *mamak* and there are those who are sometimes the one, sometimes the other. What can be said about the institution per se is that it brings brother and sister into frequent contact in adult life and this close relationship inevitably has its troughs and peaks depending on the circumstances which arise.

Half-Siblings

Before saying something about half-siblings a few brief remarks about marital arrangements are necessary to put things in perspective. Kerinci is a Muslim society and therefore marriages are potentially polygamous. In fact few people have more than one wife, but divorce and remarriage are frequent and it is relatively easy for either partner to obtain a divorce. Although it is usually the case in Muslim societies that women have little power to initiate divorce proceedings - unless this is written into the marriage contract (for further information about this procedure in Indonesia see Snouck Hurgronje

(1913:16), Prins (1960:125-129) and Vreede-De Stuers (1959:13ff) - in fact
the economic position of a woman and her general status in society make it
relatively simple for her to get a divorce. It seems generally true of Malay
society that husbands will not hold wives against their will and this is true of
Kerinci. For one thing, as long as the marriare is uxorilocal if the wife
decides that she has had enough of her husband she can simply send him out
of the house and this indeed often happens. The precariousness of the
husband's position in these circumstances is again a frequent topic of
conversation in Minangkabau society where the same arrangements exist
and it is often mentioned in the literature. In Kerinci, too, one finds that peo-
ple allude to the well-known simile saying that a husband in his wife's house
is like *abu atas tungga* "ash on a hearth stone", liable to be blown away any
minute, though I got the impression that in Kerinci this was not such a dis-
turbing problem for the husband as it is often reported to be in Minangka-
bau. Nevertheless, when a man is sent out of the house it causes him great
embarrassment which his natal family also feels, and his mother and his sis-
ters may put pressure on him to divorce his wife. Unless the *teganai* of both
sides can convince the pair that they should be reconciled, the marriage ends
and each party is free to remarry.

After a divorce children are invariably retained by the mother. Since divorce
and remarriage are frequent there arises a situation which appears bewilder-
ing at first sight to the anthropologist confronted by half siblings and step-
children, and desperately trying to work out not only degrees of kinship but
respective property rights. In such situations it is important to distinguish
between full siblings and homopaternal (of the same father) and homo-
maternal (of the same mother) half siblings because, since men and women
can inherit almost equally, parentage is an important factor in determining
property shares. On the other hand, when it comes to behaviour and attitudes
to young children in individual households one notices very little discrimina-
tion in attitudes to step-children and half-siblings. For example, homomater-
nal half-siblings who grow up under the same roof treat each other to all
intents and purposes as full siblings, although the families of the respective
fathers still maintain an interest in the children.

> Sari's mother was married twice. The son of her first marriage was
> Rusdi. After the death of Rusdi's father she married again and had
> another child, Sari. Shortly after Sari's birth her mother and father
> died in quick succession. Rusdi and Sari were then brought up by
> Sari's MM. When they were young the brother and sister were
> especially close to their *mamak* who had no other *kemenakan*. For
> the most part, it seems, they were brought up as full siblings. Sari's
> father's family was, however, very anxious to maintain the family

link with Sari and when it came to dividing the property of her father's parents they consulted her about the share due to her through her father whose property she shared with her half-siblings of a marriage of her father before he married her mother. There were two possibilities: to give her a rice-granary full of stored rice, or to give her a right to use a certain plot of *sawah* according to a fixed rota of turns. Eventually, the latter was chosen, for the reason that it was felt that after the rice in the granary had been consumed there would be nothing left to indicate the family tie, and so the connection between the families would be broken. On the other hand a permanent right to *sawah* would perpetuate the bond.

It is tempting for the anthropologist when observing these arrangements of the division of property and the ways in which the custody and care of children of divorced marriages are organised to look for some general principles which underlie behaviour and attitudes, but in fact there is little of a general nature which can be said since what happens turns so largely on individual circumstances. This may appear a weak surrender to relativism, but this seems preferable to distorting the evidence to make it fit some scheme. Perhaps one general point can, however, be made: homomaternal half-siblings are closer than homopaternal ones. In part this is a consequence of the fact that the former have usually grown up together and shared common experiences under the same roof, thus the closeness is a consequence of patterns of residence. But in addition to this, there seems to be a closer affective bond between homomaternal half-siblings both because of the accepted ideology in society that children born from the same womb are closer than homopaternal siblings to one another, and also because tracing descent group membership through the matriline inevitably means that homomaternal siblings are bound to one another by a number of reciprocal rights and obligations - a brother, for example, as *teganai* to his sister - which do not bind homopaternal siblings. Furthermore, in adult life the common membership of a descent group which homomaternal half-siblings share brings them together in mutual cooperation in corporate activities.

The same argument hold true of the two types of parallel cousin. Here again there is good reason for one to feel closer to the matrilateral *dusanak* than the patrilateral *dusanak*. Not only does the focal figure of the mother in the kinship ideology stress this, but even in day to day practice one finds oneself more frequently meeting one's matrilateral cousins both on formal ritual occasions involving the descent group and informally in reciprocal visits to one another's houses.

Duo Piak

It is not until children are about six or seven that among their playmates they learn to distinguish between *dusanak* and *duo piak*. It may well be, of course, that there are those of the same age as themselves who fall into neither of these categories because they are of a different generation, but the attitude of respect which marks behaviour towards a person of a senior generation and which is always signalled by the use of the appropriate term of address does not come into force until the children are much older. Thus, when they are young, kinsmen of different generations who are more or less the same age refer to each other quite happily by name or by using the terms or qualifiers for older or younger. The language of play makes all equal. A change comes, however, when the children are about seven and are gradually initiated into the complexities of the kinship system through a series of informal ad hoc instructions which are carried on over the years until it is felt the child has grasped precisely what is involved in her relationships with others. other, particularly if they are roughly the same age, and often confide in one another. The tensions that exist within the family, particularly rivalry between siblings, are off-loaded on to the *duo piak* who becomes confidant and counsellor at a very early age. The two will often be seen together in each other's houses, helping in the cooking, repairing a dress, doing homework together. As the two grow older, however, they become more aware of their separate interests and different allegiances. The fact that her friend is constantly being paired off in a jesting way with her brother by other members of the family causes a girl to smile, but she feels that this potential marriage relationship puts her friend in a rather uncertain position vis a vis herself.

Furthermore, as the childhood companions grow into maturity they also become sensitive to the tensions which separate their families. Since between adult brother and sister there are often disputes about property, inheritance and various rights and obligations, ineluctably the *duo piak* become involved, being asked to support the claims of either their parent or their *dateu* or *mamak* as the case may be. In their early teens the *duo piak* become aware of conflicting obligations which inevitably affect their own relationship. Of course they have known from a far earlier age that they belong to different families each following her own matriline. This realisation is, however, only fully brought home to them when on ritual occasions the *lurah* or *perut* act as corporate institutions and they see their playmates assigned functions in groups to which they themselves do not belong. To a certain extent this identification with the descent group can be intensified by mock rivalry which at times takes on earnest proportions. A child will try to advertise her own *lurah* to her *duo piak* and claim its superiority over that of

the other. In doing this, she will describe all the features which make her *lurah* superior, such as the number of educated people in it, the number who hold positions of responsibility, the particular services which they have rendered the conmunity in general, the solidarity which exists between *lurah* members and so on. Although these claims are usually made in jest there is an underlying seriousness to them, each child being convinced of the superiority of her own group. This is illustrated clearly if there is a quarrel between the *duo piak*. In the course of an argument both sides will make offensive remarks about the other's *lurah* and place of origin: "You're only from *larik dahot*; you're all paupers! you've only got prestige by marrying into our family."

This group identification although always latent only manifests itself on specific occasions: during ceremonial feasts, whenever there is a quarrel, in jest. It is not something which appears to affect the *duo piak* relationship between girls in any thorough going way. The fact that they belong, in most cases, to different *lurah* is simply accepted and does not have any material effect on their day-to-day activities nor on their general social mixing whether in each other's homes or in play or in public forums. The quarrels between their parents do, however, affect them when they are in their teens, and the issues of dispute and conflict which arise are not simple incidents which are easily resolved.

There also exists an institutionalised joking relationship between *duo piak* which brings out the curious ambivalence of their relations in an especially striking way. In many ways this joking relationship is the measure of social relationships throughout the community and it is worthwhile spending some time on a description of what exactly occurs and then to look at the implications of this joking for inter-family relations.

Joking Relations Between Cross-Cousins (*Duo Piak*)

The anthropological literature on joking relationships is rather sparse on jokes and rather thick on theory, and, consequently, it is sometimes difficult to understand what precisely constitutes the nature of the joking. One might be led by the term joking relationship to imagine people rehearsing some comic routine whenever they meet, but in fact the best way to conceive of joking relationships is to see them as the converse of avoidance relationships, in other words relationships of intimacy rather than distance. The idea of avoidance is more easily apprehended by Europeans because there are still vestiges of it in European kinship systems: if one does not these days avoid one's father-in-law, for example, one nonetheless still feels twinges of uneasiness in his company. And in general we still feel we ought to pay

some deference to a senior person, and it is precisely because we feel somewhat awkward about this that we may try to avoid occasions of meeting. So much is familiar and such behaviour is common in numerous societies. It becomes strange or unusual only when it takes on a formal institutional character, for example the rule in Batak society which strictly prohibits a man from being in the same room alone with his mother-in-law. Joking on the other hand arises from intimacy, possibly best defined as the absence of any social imperative to behave in a deferential manner, and thus the joking relationship can best be considered a relationship of intimacy and informality characterised in its extreme forms by patterned humour on specific occasions.

In Pondok Tinggi (and in Sungai Penuh but nowhere else in Kerinci as far as I could discover) the relationship that exists between all cross-cousins does have such ritual institutionalised dimensions. Although there is general informality between all *duo piak*, and this is noticeable in the pronounced lack of respect for the social barriers created in other circumstances by differences in age and sex, the actual parameters of the joking and ritual exchange of humour are determined in the first place by relative ages and then by differences in sex. Let me illustrate this with some examples.

Young children of the same sex who are *duo piak* to each other do not engage in any unusual joking, nor in fact does their behaviour differ very much from the way they behave towards their *dusanak*. Girls may, as we have seen, be close companions. Young *duo piak* of different sexes who are roughly of the same age are often the subject of mild teasing from their elder relatives. The two are paired together as potential marriage partners and allusions are made as though there were a romantic attachment between them. Both tend to become a bit embarrassed by this teasing as they grow older. Teenagers seem particularly sensitive and I have seen a girl teased by elder sisters in the presence of a *duo piak* flounce out of a room. When this phase of teenage awkwardness has passed the joking changes in form and the *duo piak* begin to joke with each other. One mode this takes is that they mildly ridicule their parent to whom the *duo piak* is related: with one's matrilateral cross-cousin one makes an allusion to one's mother and the cousin responds with a disparaging reference to her father. All this is conducted in good humour and, in fact, asked to give an explanation of such behaviour people will say that the intention is to promote good relations between the two cousins.

> I went with Ani to visit her *duo piak*, Saleha. We stayed for a while and then got up to go. As we were leaving Ani said to Saleha; "You should come and visit us. There's an old man in our house (her

father, Saleha's MB) who can never find his glasses (a reference to
a certain incident in the past). He needs help." Saleha laughed.
"There's a woman here (Ani's FZ)", she replied "who's so fat she
can't get up from her seat once she's sat down." Ani smiled.

After they are married and settled each with her own family the joking rela-
tionship between *duo piak* persists, particularly between those of opposite
sexes, and takes the forms often described in the literature on joking rela-
tionships: mild horseplay, humorous sexual innuendo, mutual teasing. The
joking is very open and public and is in marked contrast to the fairly formal
behaviour which is customary between adults.

Rusli, a married man of about fifty, came to visit his *duo piak*, a
woman a few years older than himself. When he came in the house
she happened to be eating a banana, and he immediately mumbled
some dead-pan joke of a phallic kind which made everyone laugh
and there was an exchange of banter for a few minutes.

The same Rusli also had a party piece anecdote about the woman's
brother, also of course his *duo piak*. The story concerned them once
having gone to the market together and the *duo piak* meeting there
his second wife, which chance encounter resulted in one or two
amusing incidents in which the man came off quite badly. This
story was often told in company when the man concerned was
present and was taken in good part by him - although I remember
his first wife not being so amused when once the story was related
in front of her.

On the occasion of funerals there occurs another example of recognised jok-
ing. When a man dies the mourners of the generation below him split into
the two camps of the *anak* and *kemanakan* of the dead man. The funeral pro-
cession will usually leave from the man's house, and after the burial the
close relatives will come back to that house. There then occurs an exchange
between the *anak* and *kemanakan* who are of course *duo piak* to each other.
The object of this light-hearted conversation between the two groups is to
relieve the atmosphere of mourning and raise people's spirits. What usually
happens is that the *kemenakan* demand something which once belonged to
the dead man, their *mamak*, as a keepsake. This might be an item of clothing
or some trinket. The *anak* pretend to be reluctant to part with anything and
consequently there is the usual banter. An account I heard of an incident
which once occurred at one of these sessions was as follows.

H. Achmad had died. He had been an important figure in the com-
munity with the title of Depati and a large number of people
attended the funeral celebrations. The men split up into the two

parties of *anak* and *kemenakan* and there was the usual humorous exchange of conversation between them. At one point a close *kemenakan* made a semi-formal ritual speech saying that as representative of the *kemenakan* he had come to ask for a souvenir of the *mamak* something which according to the common linguistic formula, "did not crack in the sun, nor rot in the rain", in other words something which would be of some permanence. One of the *anak* came back very smartly. Well, we've given you the Depati title (transmitted from MB to ZS). What more do you want? This reply evoked much laughter and the *kemenakan* were stuck for a comeback.

There is another aspect of this informal *duo piak* relationship which should be mentioned here. A man can often act as a *teganai* (mediator) in his *duo piak's* household. He is not the first mediator to be consulted, but he may be called in when an issue cannot be resolved by the *teganai rumah*. As mediator the *duo piak* is known as a *teganai tuo*. Rusli in the examples above often acted in this capacity in his *duo piak's* household, particularly when it came to disputes between brother and sister. The *duo piak* is often in a good position to perform such a service because his intimacy with the people involved not only gives him a good knowledge of the pertinent family history but also gives him the liberty to express himself in ways which would not be tolerated in others.

Bearing the above examples in mind we can now see the significance of the joking relationship in the context of social organisation. In the first place it is an expression of the dichotomy imposed on categories of kin. The very different type of relationship one has with one's *duo piak* puts into sharp relief the relationship with one's siblings. At a deeper level it is apparent, too, that the possibility of the intimacy of the *duo piak* relationship is premised precisely of an awareness that one's *duo piak* is of the alter ego group and therefore does not stand in a potential position of rivalry vis a vis ego. Because the *duo piak* is not a competitor for the same resources and has different interests at heart he or she may be befriended with impunity. The only way in which the *duo piak's* group may be approached is through an alliance and hence the stress on marriage between *duo piak*. What I am trying to suggest by this is that the nature of *duo piak* relationships seems to me to hark back to an earlier stage of social organisation in which dualism in the society was more pronounced and richer in conceptual and symbolic forms which realised the reality of such an organisation. The social organisation which one finds today still preserves distinct traces of this dualism, particularly in the organisation of kinship relations, but subsequent developments and accretions have led to an abandonment of the earlier principles according to

which the society operated - one of which, for example, may well have been descent group exogamy. Following this train of thought I see the joking relationship as being the equivalent of the well-known anthropological adage - "we marry our enemies". As far as Pondok Tinggi is concerned not only do we marry them, but we do everything possible to keep in with them by obliging people to remain on terms of good humoured intimacy with their cross-cousins. There seems to be some justification for what I am saying in the explanation for this special joking accepted in the society - not of course that this *ipso facto* proves my point - namely that the good spirits and humour helps to keep the two families in harmony and promotes tolerance and understanding.

One feature of the joking illustrated in one of the examples above deserves to be dealt with in more detail. When joking occurs in which a *duo piak* pre-tends to slight her own parent she does so because of the close relationship of the *duo piak* to that parent. The fact that she is prepared to ridicule the parent in mock fashion seems, paradoxically, an indication of the confidence which she feels in her own relationship with that parent. This is a fairly straightforward psychological principle. If there were any uncertainty on ego's part of the degree of commitment which either parent has to her then this relationship would not be put into jeopardy within ego's own conscious-ness by risking belittling remarks. On the other hand it is precisely because ego does feel uncertain of her MB, her *mamak*, that she cannot tolerate him being ridiculed. The *mamak* is both of her group and, through his marriage, out of it. He is a figure whom she must respect and who is her representative in family matters, yet whom she also distrusts because of his known attach-ment to the alter ego group. From this uneasiness springs the ambivalence - respect yet suspicion - and in older to hide this or suppress it in her own consciousness ego becomes upset when her alter ego relative is mocked.

I have spent some time on this joking relationship because it is central to understanding kinship in operation. Not only is one constantly coming across public encounters between *duo piak*, but one also sees the drama of inter-family relations played out in an elaborate and sophisticated form through the modulated rhythms of *duo piak* relationships in which changes of fortune, alterations of mood and shifts in attitude find sensitive and subtle articulation in everyday social intercourse.

Male *Duo Piak*

Two boys who are *duo piak* to each other do not feel as close to each other as their female counterparts. To some extent this is again related to the very different domestic duties of boys and girls. The latter tend to spend longer in

the house attending to various chores helping each other to get the tasks done. The kitchen, the river bank and the water fawcets at the mosque are their meeting places and they are brought together by the work they do in each other's company. Boys on the other hand are allowed much more freedom and are often more solitary than the girls. Although they too will visit the houses of their *mamak* and *dateu* it is not so much to see their *duo piak* or to join in the household activities but simply to enjoy the atmosphere and to be treated with a favoured consideration which they do not perhaps receive in their parental home. In their early teens, for example, when boys most often come into conflict with their fathers and elder siblings it is quite common for them to spend the nights at the houses of their *dateu* or *mamak*. They know well that they will be indulged by their relatives.

Furthermore, it is not ties of kinship which bind the groups of boys who play together, as it often is with girls. The boys' groups are small gangs the composition of which is more flexible and more open to change and rearrangement. It may be that some of one's *duo piak* are in one's group, but not much is made of the fact of kinship. Of course the joking relationship is sometimes alluded to, but usually when other members of the family are present, since it is in its way something private to the family. Two *duo piak* of the same age may find, however, that as they grow older they are brought more together by, for example, being involved in petty trading together or playing in the same football team, and again these connections may prove the basis for a deeper friendship such as that which obtains between their sisters.

One thing to note is that with increasing age the gap of years which may exist between *duo piak* becomes less important. The junior who may have been in his earlier years the butt of his senior *duo piak's* jokes learns to respond in kind. The relationship then becomes one of good-hearted tolerance between the two. Should quarrels break out between their families they try not to become implicated although they may at times be forced to arbitrate in a way which brings them into conflict with each other.

The development of the relationship between men is often the inverse of that between women. Whereas the women were close when they were girls and were constantly with each other during childhood and adolescence, the relationship between boys was more or less one of indifference. After the girls have got married and established their own separate households their meetings are less frequent, although they still get together for ceremonial occasions. As married women and mothers they enter into new relationships with their neighbours and their husbands' families and friends, and thus the bond with the *duo piak* tends to go slack. Men, on the other hand, once they are

married find that besides their work which often requires participation in joint activity, they are also expected to assist in various village welfare projects which brings them together on numerous occasions to discuss, for example, the upkeep of the mosque, the collection of *fitrah*, the appointment of a new village head, the time to begin planting etc. As a consequence of these meetings they see each other frequently and regularly visit each other's houses. In these circumstances the *duo piak* link is strengthened and one finds in discussions and debates one turns for support to the person with whom one has this special relationship of mutual understanding.

Duo Piak of Opposite Sexes

As described above *duo piak* of the opposite sex of more or less the same age are often jokingly paired off together. This leads to embarrassment, and consequently, the pair tend to avoid each other.

> We were all sitting in the kitchen together one evening talking about this and that when Tung'mbut, the *dateu* of the children of the household, knocked on the door accompanied by her son Ujang who was about 15, the same age as Upit with whom he was always jokingly paired. Upit wasn't in the room at the time and Boi and Ira her younger siblings went off to fetch her in great glee. "Ujang's come to see you, Upit," they shouted. Upit who was very embarrassed by the whole business could be heard swearing at them much to the amusement of the family and eliciting a rather sheepish smile from Ujang. Boi and Ira continued the fun telling her that her boyfriend had come. Upit became more and more angry and started blasting off at them taunting Boi about his *duo piak* pair, Ani, and Ira about her boyfriend, Piet. Although Boi and Ira kept up the banter for a little while longer they clearly didn't like having their own *duo piak* relationships alluded to, and they soon came back and joined the company. Upit stayed away for the whole time Ujang was in the house.

Although there is a lot of joking about potential marriage there is often, in fact, a genuine desire on the part of the two households that at least one pair of the children will get married. Often circumstances will prevent this: pairs who are suitable as far as age is concerned may not be suited by temperament or differences in educational attainment, or they may already have tacit understandings with other people. Nevertheless, a large number of people do in fact marry their *duo piak*, although this was probably commoner a generation ago. Even though the *duo piak* may marry other partners the relationship between them remains friendly and intimate, and indeed the very fact that

they are now free from all the innuendoes regarding their potential marriage means that they are more relaxed in each other's company.

One interesting aspect of this relationship is the way in which the children of one's *duo piak* stand in a special relationship to oneself. Consider for example the following relationship, which we referred to earlier above (Figure 1).
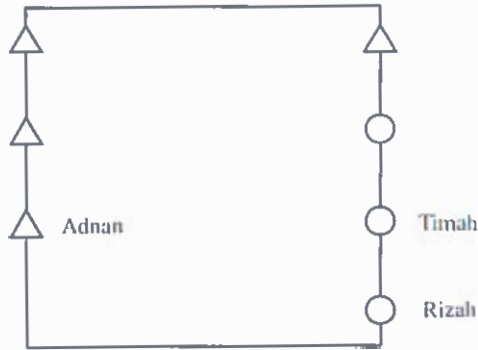
Timah and Adnan were *duo piak*, and although there was an age difference of about twenty five years between them they occasionally used to tease each other. Timah's daughter Rizah was almost the same age as Adnan and when they were married it was considered from the kinship point of view an ideal marriage, because Rizah was marrying her mother's *duo piak*. From the view of kinship terminology, however, the marriage seemed slightly strange since Rizah was marrying someone she should have addressed as *ayah* (= "father"). It seems, then, that marriage with one's mother's *duo piak* is a preferred type of marriage since one is making the desired alliance that was not consummated by one's mother. Finally, one should note the way in which relationships between *duo piak* alter if a cross-cousin marriage does occur uniting their families. It has already been said that the in-marrying husband is expected to have considerable respect for his parents-in-law and this is true irrespective of whether the marriage is uxorilocal or not. He is obliged to be very *segan* (respectful) towards his in-laws in general and in the initial months of the marriage this may often entail direct avoidance.

This attitude of deference overrides any other expected forms of behaviour which might have been contingent on the husband's kin status vis à vis the parents before the marriage. Consequently, in the example just given, although Adnan's mother-in-law was his *duo piak*, the joking and intimacy which this relationship usually implied was suspended once he became her son-in-law, although occasionally there might still be flashes of humour in which the joking was temporarily resumed.

Coming to live in his wife's house the husband will of course come into contact with his brothers- and sisters-in-law. These are his *duo piak* with whom before his marriage he had an easy joking relationship. Now that is altered. Conversation between brothers-in-law is rather formal and marked with respect and unease on both sides. Outside the house brothers-in-law do not have much to do with one another and are reluctant to be seen in company together. With his sisters-in-law the new husband is even more reserved. Whereas previously he may have joked with them, now that he has married their sister they are slightly embarrassed in his company and he in theirs. His own siblings share vicariously this embarrassment. Although the two families have been brought closer together the quality of the relationship has altered. It is as though with the achievement of the desired union of the two families another stage in the development of their relationship has been reached demanding different forms of reciprocation. The families are now closer knit together but their mutual obligations take on more serious dimensions. The sisters of the husband may be pleased that their brother has married their childhood playmate, but to a certain extent, at least initially, that playmate is now lost to them, since the marriage bond is such that she will be extremely reluctant to involve her sisters-in-law in her marital affairs. Particularly during the first few years of marriage when there is an inevitable period of adjustment and a likelihood of quarrels and disputes being quick to surface, both households tread very carefully and warily lest their own interference be a source of friction.

Comparing the *dusanak* and *duo piak* relationships we see that, broadly speaking, one quarrels with one's *dusanak* and jokes with one's *duo piak*. It is, after all, the *dusanak* who come into conflict from an early age, both in the domestic household where each rivals the other for protection of her own interests and the attention of parents, and throughout later life when issues connected with the rights of disposal over property and questions of inheritance become dangerously divisive. With one's *duo piak*, on the other hand, one lives in a state of relative harmony, provided one stays out of the quarrels of one's parents.

Mamak and Kemenakan (Male)

A *mamak* and *kemenakan* belong to the same *pintu* (segment of a descent group) and both realise that the *mamak's* rights in the *pintu*, for example his use of a *gelar* (title) and his obligations to look after the interests of the members of the *pintu*,will eventually devolve upon the *kemenakan*. Thus, although the pair do not belong to the same nuclear family there is a close tie between them particularly in the liminal area between matters of kinship and matters of government. And whereas the relationship between father and son within the confines of the domestic household often erupts into conflict when the father tries to impose his authority on the son, between the *kemenakan* and *mamak* there is no such tension.[9] This is so precisely because they live apart from each other and there is a certain formality in the relationship, and because the authority of the *mamak* when it is exercised has the sanction of the *pintu* behind it. The *mamak* is both individual uncle and representative of the wider family, and to ignore his authority would be to risk being ostracised from the immediate community to which one is most close. The father belongs to another *pintu* and his authority over his sons draws its sanctions solely from his position as head of the domestic household. As far as *lurah* membership goes the father is somewhat of an outsider. The others in the family, i.e. the mother and children, are by birth members of the group holding certain rights within it, whereas the father at best is only an *anak betino*, a status he has acquired through marriage. In these circumstances it is very easy for a son to defy his father and ally himself with his *mamak*, and indeed this often occurs. Although this is not given any ritual expression, the relationship of the *mamak* to the father has something about it of the superiority of the wife-giver to the wife-taker. Not only has the father been given a bride by the *mamak* and his family but he may also be living in the house of his wife, hence a *mamak* may sometimes be inclined to think of the father as a dependent and of inferior status, an attitude which may occasionally creep into the feelings of the recalcitrant son. Thus when the affairs of the son-*kemenakan* become a matter of contention between *mamak* and father the former feels compelled to defend his heir and fellow *pintu* member against what may be represented as the arbitrary authority of the father.

The tie between *mamak* and *kemenakan*, then, is a close one. The *mamak* is able to enjoy a position of influence over the *kemenakan* without the arduousness of being responsible for the boy's day to day disciplining and instruction. The boy on the other hand realises that he can play *mamak* off against the father with impunity and is thus prepared on occasions to defy his father. Should he defy his *mamak* as well he would risk finding himself without allies. A *mamak* often has several *kemenakan* but he will usually develop a special relationship with only one of them, all things being equal,

usually the eldest, whom he will look upon as his heir. A good *mamak* will try to instruct the boy properly and give him a sense of responsibility, transmitting to him an awareness of the importance of being a *pintu* head concerned with the welfare of his sisters and the interests of all the members of the family in general. A bad *mamak* will be indulgent, spoiling the boy, deliberately belittling the father's authority and trying to monopolise the boy's affections. The actual degree of involvement of the *mamak* in the upbringing of the *kemenakan* varies in relation to the prosperity of the *mamak*, relative to that of his parents. A *mamak* who is wealthy might be expected to give a financial contribution to the boy's schooling or help to finance a small trading venture. If he owns a business or is engaged in a trade he might be expected to apprentice the boy, encouraging him to follow in his footsteps. If he owns property he might be expected to get the boy to help him work his land. A *mamak* and *kemenakan* pair is often, for example, to be found in the hills together clearing a plot of land. The nearest equivalent I can think of in European terms to the figure of the *mamak* is that of the benign godfather who is both a spiritual mentor and at times a patron trying to mould the boy into his own image.

On some occasions a *mamak* may assume an even greater authority over his *kemenakan* bringing him into his own family almost as an adopted son. When a family moves away from Pondok Tinggi temporarily, say, to set up house in Padang or to work in Java for a few years, a man might decide to take his *kemenakan* along with him to give him the benefit of experience in the *rantau*. Or a family going away may decide to leave their son with his *mamak* for convenience. In these cases the *mamak* takes over the role of father and this can lead to the same type of conflicts which arise between father and son, although the *kemenakan* will perhaps be more guarded in the open expression of anger.

Mamak and *kemenakan* are very concerned about each other's reputations. A *kemenakan* is highly embarrassed if his *mamak* is ill-spoken of in the community and will do his best to defend his name, even though he may privately agree with the criticisms being made. Furthermore, even though the relationship between a particular *mamak* and *kemenakan* may never have been close, the *kemenakan* will take it as a personal slight if anyone maligns his *mamak* in front of him.

> Husein and his wife came back to Pondok Tinggi after a long period in Jakarta. Husein had as a boy experienced a lot of hardship since his parents were poor, but because he was very bright and worked hard he'd managed to do well. His *mamak* who was a wealthy businessman had never bothered to help him during the

difficult times. When Husein came back to visit as a man who had
been abroad and made a success out of life, everybody from high
officials to remote relatives were falling over themselves to claim
acquaintance with him. Most prominent of these was of course the
mamak who wanted to share in his *kemenakan's* glory. He was the
first to invite Husein and his wife to a big *kenduri*. Husein's wife
who knew exactly how Husein had been treated by his *mamak*
when he was a boy was disinclined to go, but Husein insisted, say-
ing that after all the man was his *mamak*.[10]

A *mamak*, too, will be displeased if a *kemenakan* brings disgrace upon him-
self since this reflects on him. In such circumstances it often happens that the
mamak and the father each hold the other responsible: his *mamak* always
spoiled him; his father was too severe. *Kemenakan* will often find them-
selves caught between father and *mamak* listening in turn to the one's criti-
cism of the other.

Mis was constantly hearing her father berate her *mamak* saying that
the latter had no education, didn't know how to look after his
money, was easily influenced etc. Now Mis agreed with all these
criticisms but she was embarrassed to hear her father make them.
She was upset for her own sake and for her mother's who had to
hear her brother interminably criticised. One day she spoke quite
sharply to her father when he was about to begin on the same
catalogue of her *mamak's* faults. Her father took her point and was
silent.

As far as the descent group is concerned the importance of the *mamak-
kemenakan* relationship is that on it depends the continuity of responsible
anak jantan (males of the descent group) who will concern themselves with
the welfare of the women folk and the group in general. Thus, the *mamak*
must teach by example in the conducting of domestic affairs which will
serve as the model for the way in which matters involving the *perut* and
lurah should be managed. In this respect the most important ongoing task of
the *mamak* is to look after the economic interests of the *kemenakan*, particu-
larly in so far as these are tied in with inherited wealth and landed property.
The day-to-day food and clothing of the children are the parents' responsi-
bility. Should any friction in the marriage arise, however, and should there
be any danger of the children's interests being neglected it is the *mamak* who
steps in to protect the latter. One rather neat way of expressing this responsi-
bility of the *mamak* as distinct from the parents is summed up in the adage
often addressed to fathers: "They may be your children, but they are our peo-
ple" - the people of the mother's *pintu The mamak* may interfere, then, to

safeguard the "people" of the *pintu*, although in everyday affairs the father's rights over his children are not disputed.

There are times, however, when in protecting the interests of his sisters and their children a *mamak* may find that he is working to his own economic disadvantage. At least this is the way in which it is often interpreted today, especially in issues concerning the transmission of inherited wealth. This will be dealt with in a later section in some detail but one or two brief remarks are called for here. When the property of the dead parents of the *mamak* and his sister are to be divided officially - this may not happen until some years after the death of the parents - it is the *mamak* who must settle the division with a particular view to the welfare of his *kemenakan*, but also bearing his own rightful share in mind. The more he allots to his sister, however, the less he has for himself and his own family. There is thus a conflict of loyalties which can lead to injustice where unscrupulous men are concerned. It is precisely over such issues as allegations of unfairness in the division of property that the most bitter family disputes arise dividing brother from sister and brother from brother, each accusing the other of greed and selfishness. Disputes over property, domestic arguments, divorces and separations are forever occurring and the *mamak* is always implicated in the issues which arise.[11] In his actual conduct during these situations he is very conscious of the need to set an example and even though his own actions may fall short of the ideal he is nonetheless trying to suggest what the ideal is by constant reference to adat sayings and to adages which represent the conventional wisdom of the community. Learning from their *mamak's* example the *kemenakan* begin to adopt a progressively more protective attitude to their sisters. Ultimately, when the *kemenakan* reach adulthood they, too, participate in the marriage negotiations of their younger sisters, and if they are in a position to do so, contribute to the expenses which the family will incur for the wedding. Ideally, the brother should wait until all his sisters are married before he himself marries but if there is a great gap in ages between the siblings this is not always practicable. The brother in imitation of his mentor thus gradually assumes the mantle of *teganai* and when his sisters have children he slips naturally into the role of *mamak*.

Learning the Code

In learning how to use kin terms successfully a child learns not simply how to apply the correct labels by which to address others, but, more significantly, she learns also a set of behavioural rules with which she must operate in relation to those others. It is for this reason that one should conceive the process of learning as the gradual acquisition of a code which both makes explicable to a child the relations she observes among others, and

gives her a set of references according to which she can assess her own interactions with others in the community. In Pondok Tinggi two structural principles of this code which the child must learn to handle are kinship distance and the idea of the symmetrical contrast of pairs discussed above.

In the initial stages of learning, when the child is surrounded not only by parents but by aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters and grandparents they learn that all except their parents and grandparents are addressed by employing a category term followed by a qualifier. In the case of siblings and cousins the qualifier is a personal name, for others it is the appropriate term according to sibling order. The category terms are quickly mastered and the child learns to use them early on, particularly in relation to those with whom she comes into fairly frequent contact. Some time later after the terms themselves have been properly grasped, it is expected that children should be able to distinguish the different behavioural roles which are expected from them in relation to particular categories of kinsmen, and to that end they are tutored by their elders. Categories, then, become associated with certain patterns of behaviour, and the idea of the contrasting pair cogently expresses this.

We have seen, for example, the way in which young children learn through the joking relationship to distinguish between *duo piak* and *dusanak*. They also learn the difference between other pairs: someone they address as *dateu* is likely to be more indulgent than someone addressed as *indauk*; a *mamak* more easy going than an *ayah*. One contrasting pair the differences between which they soon come to appreciate is that of the (real) parents and grandparents. As in many other societies there is in Pondok Tinggi a very close identification between alternate generations, i.e. between grandparents and grandchildren. Grandparents not only indulge their grandchildren but are very intimate with them and together they share a joking relationship in which the parents are often the implicit butt of their shared intimacies. The grandparents do not encourage opposition to parents, but they have much sympathy with their grandchildren and will often act as buffer between the parents' wrath and the children's misdeeds.

Regarding general behaviour what the child learns is that she must be respectful towards all senior relatives but that among her seniors there are those with whom she can be relatively casual and at her ease and those before whom she must be more reserved and subdued in her behaviour. There is, however, no emphasis on either patriline or matriline in this early learning, and it should be stressed that it is the distinction between categories not between father's or mother's relatives as such which is made in the early years. A person related to either one's mother or one's father is automatically a person to be respected, and the closer the relationship the

more that is expected of the child's behaviour. The principle is inculcated into children in a variety of ways: through admonition, instruction, ad hoc advice, teasing. Some examples here can perhaps best illustrate the way in which the learning takes place.

> Maria told me how as a child she and her friends used to tease a certain man in the village making fun of his hunched back and the way he walked, and jeering at him. One day when Maria was by herself she happened to meet him and he talked to her explaining who he was and why it was disrespectful of her to make fun of him. Apparently he stood in the relationship of *mamak* to Maria's grandfather and was therefore someone for whom she should have had the greatest respect. Maria felt very ashamed of the way she had behaved and thereafter acted towards him with considerable deference.

This slight incident captures in a striking fashion the way in which the child is made aware of her social identity, made to feel that no longer is she to consider herself as an unattached individual but is a member of a kin group with responsibilities to others in that group. The days of waywardness and enjoyment of smiling indulgence are passing and the child learns that her egocentric behaviour will no longer be tolerated.

Teasing contributes to the child's awareness of her relationship with her *duo piak*. As she grows older, however, she will also learn that some of her coeval playmates turn out to be of a senior generation to her and although this makes no difference to the way in which children behave towards each other, this awareness becomes significant as the children enter into their teens.

> I asked Ita about her relationship with Eka. They were roughly the same age but Eka was one of Ita's *dateu*. I wanted to know if when they were children Ita had always referred to Eka as *dateu*. She replied no. As children she had simply called her by name. The change had come when Eka had got married. Ita had begun to refer to her and address her as *dateu* then, but she said that even if Eka had not got married as early as she had done - she was married at fifteen - she would have probably begun to refer to her as *dateu* when they had both reached the age of 16-17 since this would have been expected of her according to social convention.

The child becomes aware of categories of kin and appropriate forms of behaviour through regular and frequent meeting with a limited number of close kin. There is, however, a very wide range of kin whom the child is expected to address in the correct way, but since she does not meet them so

often, there has to be a method of aiding the child's perception and memory. What happens is that adults on meeting children - or for that matter other adults - whom they think may not be aware of, or may have forgotten the kinship link between them, will make an effort to introduce themselves by going through kinship details at length, a process in which the others present will assist by adding pertinent pieces of information. Furthermore, there are regular annual occasions on which families visit each other, in particular on Idul Fitri and the two or three days following, when the intention is deliberately to renew family connections. Again this is an opportunity for young children to get to know more of their family. By the time a child is about fourteen she is expected to know all her relations in the village and even though she may not know precisely how she is related, she should at least know the proper term of address for all. If she does not she is likely to be mildly rebuked. A person, for example, says to her: "You know what I am don't you?" There is a slight hesitation. "Oh you don't? Have you really forgotten" There is an embarrassed pause. "I'm your grandfather's brother's daughter. You should call me Tung Mbut." A smile of recognition. After numerous encounters such as these the child gets to know a wide range of kin and by the time she is in her early teens carries round in her head a series of very complicated genealogical tables by means of which she is able to explain relationships quite readily to the poor anthropologist, who has to rush to pen and paper and set things down in diagrams so that he may remember.

In a community of the present size of Pondok Tinggi the process of learning never ends. The teenage child, for example, has no sooner learned the range of her own kin when upon marriage she must make herself familiar with her husband's family. Again the procedure of constant introduction and reintroduction is the same, especially in the first couple of years of marriage after which one is expected to know the various relationships. A wife or a husband who makes no attempt to become acquainted with a spouse's kin will be more or less directly criticised by senior relatives.

> Mahmud and his wife came back from a few years in the *rantau* and were in Pondok Tinggi for Idul Fitri. They went round to visit Mahmud's *duo piak*, his FZD. In the house they met Mochtar his *duo piak's* brother, his FZS. Mahmud's wife knew the family quite well, but perhaps she had forgotten the exact relationship of one to another. She was trying to instruct their son how he should address Mochtar. "You must call him Pue Tuo," she said. There was an immediate bellow of scorn from Mochtar. "Rubbish," he said, "You must call me Tuo Ro. I'm your father's *duo piak*." "Oh yes," said Mahmud's wife covered in embarrassment.

Senior relatives are not obliged to be familiar with all their juniors of descending generation, and in fact many of the elderly people in the community understandably lose trace of the children of their more distant *dusanak* and *duo piak*. Nevertheless, whenever a person meets a young child she will try to establish her relationship to her by asking about her parents. Thus: "And what's your name, child?" "Am." "Am. And who are your parents? Who are Am's parents?" (The question is usually addressed to a third person, since a small child may not know the actual names of her parents or may be too embarrassed to mention them.) "Her mother's the daughter of so-and-so, and her father's so-and-so's *kemenakan*." "Ah yes. Well Am's mother calls me *nantan*, so that means you must call me *nunyan*, Am. Nunyan Tuo."

From the limited number of category terms and qualifiers available it should be clear that there may be several people in a senior generation whom ego may refer to by the same address: there will, for example, be several whom she can address as Nantan Tuo. In these circumstances there has to be a way in which she can specify the particular individual she means at any one time. Often the context will make it clear, but sometimes it will be necessary to be more specific. There are two or three strategies which may be resorted to. A teenager or adult familiar with a lot of genealogical information will use a teknonym, thus: Nantan Tuo, Pue Rizah (Rizah's father or Nantan Anwar (Anwar's grandfather). For children whose knowledge is limited and who may not know who Rizah or Anwar are, some other means of identification has to be devised. The most often employed is to specify the geographical location of the person's residence:"in larik Temenggung", "below the mosque," etc., or to mention some individual characteristic, e.g. "the man with the gammy leg." I once witnessed a good example of the confusion which may arise and a way of dealing with it.

Dewi's mother was talking to her about Nantan Tuo. Dewi was six and had just returned to Pondok Tinggi after a few years away. She had quickly become familiar with a range of relatives and now she said to her mother, "Which Nantan Tuo?" There were four or five people whom she so addressed and whom she knew quite well. Her mother turned to Dewi's grandmother and said, "She's right you know. We'll have to find a way of referring to them all. I know. We'll call Pue Rizah, Nantan Tuo di bawah mesjid (below the mosque); Pue Ita Nantan Tuo yang punya ayam (the one with the chickens); Pue Ahmad we'll call Nantan Tuo Nantan Ely because Dewi knows Ely and her grandfather; and Pue Zul Nantan Tuo di sawah (at the paddy fields)." This was the system adopted and Dewi seemed quite happy with it.

There are other occasions on which one might use a geographical location as a descriptive phrase to specify a person. In a conversation between parents and children, for example, where there is a tendency for the parent referring to a relative to adopt the term of reference proper for the child to use, and where there is a general avoidance of possessive pronouns the situation easily arises where there is doubt about to whom reference is being made. Does the *nantan* mentioned by the father refer to his own grandfather or to the daughter's grandfather? Whenever uncertainty arises in this way it is common to add some qualifying phrase of the kind just described. Sometimes the qualifier may not refer to place of residence, but simply be a descriptive epithet commonly associated with the person, e.g. Nunyan Gadang - the "important" great-grandfather.

The second important principle upon which a proper understanding of kinship terminology was premised, it was suggested above, was that of kinship distance. By this I mean that within the wide range of people to whom various kin terms are applicable a person learns to distinguish between those who are close and those who are not so close (see the explanation above). In addition to using words such as *dekat* to explain the notion of distance, there is a term, *tuto*, in common use which carries connotations of distance with an implied idea of real and classificatory kinsmen. *Tuto* seems to derive from the Malay word *tutur* which means to speak or say; but in Pondok Tinggi it is used to mean the kinship relationship one has with another. For example, if one wants to know how Ali is related to Khalid one asks Ali: "*Ikao tuto apo ngusi Khalid?*" - How do you refer to (how are you related to) Khalid? The answer may be "*Akao tuto mamak ngusi nyo.*" - He stands in *mamak* relationship to me. One should note that in fact this use of the word *tuto* expresses in most instances what is a classificatory relationship, and that if Khalid for example had been Ali's MB Ali would have said: "*Sidie mamok akau*" - He (respectful pronoun) is my *mamak*. There is thus a difference as expressed in this use of *tuto* in the way in which close kin and distant relatives are perceived and again this suggests very strongly that the range of kin terms does apply initially to a close set of relatives and then by extension to wider kin. Let me give another example.

> I ask Mis who a certain person is. She replies that he is *tuto mamak kepada kita* i.e. I refer to him as *mamak*. I ask her to explain the connection and she is not quite sure and says she will have to ask about it. She is sure, however, that he is *tuto mamak*. On another occasion I ask whether there is any chance of Dul and Epi getting married. She says of course not, they are *tuto dusanak*. I reply, feigning ignorance, that they are not *beradik-kakak* (siblings). She emphasises that they are *tuto dusanak* not *dusanak kontan* (real

dusanak) and she explains that their fathers were parallel cousins.

Tuto, then, is used as a linguistic marker to indicate a certain distance between ego and the person to whom reference is being made. This seems to suggest that there is a conception in the society of an inner family circle and beyond that of an extended range of kin.[12] When in fact informants are asked to which categories of kin they feel especially close there may be some hesitation in their reply but all would agree on the following: their parents, parents' parents, parents' siblings, parents' siblings' children, own siblings, children and siblings' children. And in fact it is the emotional cohesiveness of the family at this level which appears to be the strongest principle of social organisation within the community. Thus although one may apply kin terms to address those outside what I have called the inner circle, it is rare that one thinks of them as being particularly close unless there are supervening contingent circumstances, for example, proximity of residence, which brings one into closer association with them. The descent group structure, then, which exists in Pondok Tinggi - and for that matter throughout Kerinci and possibly Minangkabau - in so far as it suggests a united corporate descent group in which affiliation to the group is the paramount principle of organisation is misleading. It is the inner family which takes precedence and only the senior male members of it have any sort of authority over members of the family. It is the failure to perceive this which has caused the frustration of several attempts by successive colonial and national governments to administer the region through nominal heads of descent groups. But to consider this further would take us into questions of administration which are not relevant here. I did, however, wish to draw attention to the unity of the sibling group of one's parents and their descendants. By its nature the corporate unity of this group is remade anew in every generation, thereby creating what are for each generation ad hoc alliances and sets of close kin which being transient in character present a very different picture in their internal dynamics from the permanent self-generating structure of the descent group.

Summary

An examination of the principles of kinship in Pondok Tinggi suggests, then, that the most enduring characteristics of the structure is the closeness of the small family. The composition of this small group is signalled for the individual within her own family of origin by either her not addressing senior relatives (M,F,MM,FM, MF,FF) by qualifiers in addition to the substantive kin term, or, in the case of parents' siblings, by the ready identification of the latter with her parents. The junior members of the inner family circle, conversely, do not address her with a qualifier. Although the boundary which

divides those who are "close" from those who are "distant" is not rigidly defined and can be stretched or tightened as individual circumstances demand, nevertheless the implicit recognition of a relatively small family group as the locus of values around which individuals orient their lives is the single most important concept which underlies the organisation of the community and the one which seems the most impervious to change. It is important to note, too, that upon marriage both husband and wife, in particular the former, have also to include the spouse's family as part of that close circle to which decisions should be referred.

Within this range of intimate kin - and indeed this can be extended to all to whom kin terms are applied - we have seen how there is a symmetrical opposition in the way in which individuals put into categories members of three generations: the first ascending generation, their own generation and the first descending generation. I have called the two groups into which individuals fall that of ego and alter ego to suggest the equivocal feelings which a person has to these groups, recognising a line of kinship connecting her with both, but at the same time feeling more at ease within her own group and yet more indulged by the other. The *dateu* term, denoting the class of FZ, is especially significant in this respect, since it appears to be unique to the Pondok Tinggi area, and enables one to distinguish between FZ and MZ, something which does not seem possible in most Minangkabau terminologies.

The fact that Minangkabau terminology is creeping into Pondok Tinggi usage, in particular the widespread use of Ete to cover MZ and FZ classes, might suggest that in fact change is occurring not only in terms of address but also in affective attitudes to members of the "close" family. One might be led to conclude that the failure to distinguish between MZ and FZ indicated a blurring of just that symmetrical opposition which was said to be an essential feature of concepts of kinship in Pondok Tinggi. In fact, however, we find that the Minangkabau terms are used invariably for more distant kin. And this is as we might expect. The outer circle of kinship, although recognised, always seems to have been peripheral to the concerns of the small family, and the descent group structure is only rarely used to mobilize cooperative endeavour. Changes in this interstitial space between kinship and village government which is the area covered by this structure can occur without the principles of organisation within the small family being very much affected.

Recent developments which might initially appear to indicate that dramatic changes are occurring in kinship organisation on closer inspection are seen to be merely contemporary expressions of this looseness of the descent

group structure. As we shall see in the next chapter the readiness of those living in the areas on the periphery of the village to organise on a territorial basis, rather than on the basis of common descent, is similar to the impulse which led in the past to segments of descent groups breaking their link with their original villages and settling elsewhere. Futhermore, although it is true that many of the functions of village government formerly performed by descent group elders have been taken over by new institutions this again seems hardly to have affected relations between kin within the smaller family.

The way in which the organisation of the family continues to persist according to principles and values within the context of a changing social environment, in which other institutions do alter their character or disappear altogether, can best be viewed through a description of the life-cycle of families within the village. There we shall see how the cohesive unity of the inner family manages to accommodate innovations which arise in the community without the central values which inform ties of kinship being displaced.

Notes

1   It should be noted in relation to this phenomenon - a matrilineal descent group structure coexisting with a system of tracing kinship cognatically - Kerinci seems similar to several other societies. It is important, therefore, that one distinguishes between principles of descent group membership and kinship, cf. Schneider and Gough 1962:ix.

2   In cases where I refer back to a person or to ego I have chosen not to follow the usual convention of regarding the referent as a man. It seemed more appropriate in a description of a matrifocal society like Kerinci to consider the referent a woman. In discussions of kinship among the people of Kerinci themselves problems of relationships are usually considered from the point of view of a woman.

3   There also exists a principle similar to that found among the Tallensi (Fortes 1959:207) according to which, when there is a choice among alternative forms of kinship address and appropriate inter-personal behaviour, it is often the context of the meeting between kinsmen which will determine which must be considered operative. This principle is summed up in the saying *"adat di atas tumbuh, lembaga di atas tuan"* (literally *"adat* on top of what grows up, institutions on top of masters").

4   I use the term gynaeconym to refer to the form of address by which a man is referred to and addressed as his wife's husband e.g. *"laki* Ana" "Ana's husband".

5   The system seems identical to that described by Whittier referring to the Kenyah of Borneo (King 1978:112).

6   The extensive use of *kayao* in Kerinci is a source of amusement to the Minangkabau who think of the word as being derived from the Indonesian *kaya* meaning rich (*kayo* in Minangkabau) and thus are constantly making bad puns about a lot of Kerinci people being *kayo*. Drs.Amir Hakim Usman the compiler of a Kerinci-Indonesian dictionary has suggested to me that in fact the term may derive from Sanskrit and mean simply body. He compares the use of *awak* in Minangkabau which also means body as a personal pronoun of wide application.

7   It is interesting to compare this usage with the following Chinese anecdote.

Some time later Wan asked his father "What is the son of a son?"
"A grandson", was the reply.
"What is the grandson of a grandson?"
"A great-great-grandson."
"What is the grandson of a great-great-grandson?"
"I don't know."
(Szuma Chien 1974:70)

8   I feel that most ethnographic accounts of other societies fail to discuss adequately individual variation within a social system. It seemed to me from my own fieldwork that this is an important issue. One anthropologist who does take note of the problem in a way which I endorse is Firth. See, for example, his remarks in Firth 1963:147 and throughout that book.

9   In the literature on Minangkabau society, - see, for example, Radjab (1969:31.) and Kahn (1980b:45) -, the tension between *mamak* and *kemenakan* is emphasised in contrast to the indulgent attitude of the father to his son, and indeed this is what one would expect in a society which is organised on matrilineal principles. This, then, would appear to be a major difference between kinship organisation in Kerinci and Minangkabau, but I prefer to regard it more as a difference of emphasis in the ethnography rather than of principle. I am inclined to think in this respect that even in Minangkabau the attitude of a *mamak* to his *kemenakan* while the latter is still young is more indulgent than the literature would have us believe.

10 I note that Kahn has a very similar example from Minangkabau (Kahn 1980b:45).

11 I suspect on the basis of casual observation that the *mamak* plays a very similar role in Minangkabau and that Kahn (1980b:45) is mistaken in suggesting that that role is limited solely to "the administration of his sister's ancestral property."

12 Pursuing comparisons with societies in Borneo I was tempted to borrow the terms kindred and personal kindred used in the descriptions of the social organisation of some of those societies (see Leach 1950:61f.,68; and Freeman 1970:66-70) to describe the range of what I call close kin. After reading King (1978:6-12), however, and seeing the confusion which had arisen over their use I thought it best to retain my original descriptive terms.