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THE ENCULTURATION OF AGGRESSION IN A BRUNEI MALAY VILLAGE

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Linda Amy Kimball, B.S. Ed., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1975

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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to present a basic ethnography of Brunei Malays with focus on enculturation, especially the enculturation of aggression. These data are presented as a basic ethnography because other Malay groups are very different (c.f., Djamour 1959; Raymond Firth 1946; Rosemary Firth 1943; Fraser 1960; Gimlette 1929; Gullick 1958; McHugh 1955; Skeat 1900, 1901, 1906; Swettenham 1895; Wilkinson 1906; Winstedt 1925, 1961a, 1961b). The present study centers on one village because, as the historical studies of Brown (1970, 1974) make clear, Brunei Malay culture was and is a large complex whole. At one time the Brunei empire encompassed the entire west coast of Borneo and part of Sulu Island in the Philippines. Even today in areas as far apart as Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, and Kuching, Sarawak, there are enclaves identified as Brunei Malays whose members can trace their genealogical descent to prove their social identity. Obviously, no single study can deal with the entire Brunei Malay culture, but must concentrate on a limited area. Since the primary focus of the field study was enculturation, a prime consideration was selection of a locale in which the observer could be in close daily proximity to children of all ages. The setting finally chosen was a village of approximately 263 persons in Temburong District, Brunei. Fieldwork took place in a twenty one month period between November, 1969, and September, 1971. During this time some comparative data
were obtained through visits to households in Bandar Seri Begawan, the capital of Brunei, but most data were gathered in the village. This original material was recorded as fieldnotes during the research and constitutes the data base of the dissertation presented here.

The two main divisions of the dissertation are a basic ethnography and a description of enculturation with a subfocus on the enculturation of aggression. The ethnographic background presented is limited to setting a general picture of village life. Details of fieldwork procedure, kinship terminology, and linguistic affinities of Brunei Malay are treated as appendices. In focusing on child development the stages of development are presented as the villagers themselves name and describe them. As a source of comparison the stages of development are also described in terms of psycho-sexual and Gesell-Ilg norms of child development. But use of the Gesell-Ilg norms in the village setting presents certain difficulties. In consequence, an alternate set of norms for use in the village is set forth as a suggestion of how more appropriate norms might be developed. However, limited observation and sample size mean that the proposed norms may not be considered a standard until special research provides the requisite systematic verification. Turning to the more specific topic of the enculturation of aggression, no assumptions are made concerning a human aggressive instinct. Nor is the term "aggressive" itself analyzed, the Whiting and Child (1966) definition being taken as sufficient for present discussion. Rather, description of aggression and its enculturation is limited to three readily observable behaviors, hitting, pinching, and shooting, because this makes the present study
one which independent observers could replicate both in the setting studied and in other settings.

Partial funding for the fieldwork was provided by a travel grant from Ohio State University and by a grant from the National Academy of Sciences—Division of Behavioral Science, Committee on ADCA Support of Dissertation Research.¹ Fieldwork was done under the auspices of the Brunei Museum. I conducted my research as a graduate scholar and was not in the employ of or acting on behalf of the United States or Brunei governments. My statements and conclusions in this dissertation are solely my own and not those of the institutions supporting my research. Since completing the field study I have spent two years as a Fulbright Exchange Lecturer at Universiti Kebangsaan, Kuala Lumpur, West Malaysia. During the university vacations I enjoyed three brief social visits in Brunei with my host family.

Many thanks go to those in Brunei whose help and cooperation made this study possible, Pengiran Sharifuddin, Lim Jock Seng, the Government of Brunei, officers and staff of the Brunei Museum, the state Secretary, Fire Rock villagers, and my host family. I wish to express my thanks also to the members of the dissertation committee, Dr. Thomas R. Williams, my adviser, Dr. Henry Schwarz, and Dr. Erika Bourguignon for their guidance.

¹ The ACDA of the U.S. State Department has sponsored dissertation research on problems concerned with peace and aggression and administered this program through the National Academy of Sciences. My grant for dissertation support was part of the ACDA program of sponsorship for Ph.D. dissertation research.
II. ETHNOGRAPHY

The present study took place in Fire Rock Village, Temburong, Brunei.¹ Temburong is situated between 4°16' E and 5°N latitude, between 115° E and 115°30' E longitude, and is a microcosm of Borneo geography. Inland are mountains and hills interspersed with river valleys descending to a small area of fertile flood plain which quickly gives way to the coastal mangrove swamp that covers about one-fourth of Temburong. This rampant mangrove swamp, the inland mixed tropical forest, and the rice field vegetation thrive on approximately 131" annual rainfall.

Temburong is the least populous district of Brunei, both in absolute numbers and in average population density. However, no exact figures are at present available. The interior forest reserve areas are uninhabited. Ibans, Muruts, and Kadayans live along the rivers and on the floodplain. Malays dwell only on the floodplain within reach of the tides. A few Chinese are dispersed throughout the district; but the mercantile and official life of Temburong centers in Bangar, the district capital. In Bangar a row of Chinese shops and

¹ An extensive bibliography on the people, history, society, culture, and ecology of Brunei may be found in Cotter and Saito (1965). Works of particular interest are: Annandale and Nelson 1904; Brown 1970, 1974; Brunei Annual Report, 1909, 1910; Tom and Barbara Harrison 1971; Lee 1970; Sandin 1968; and Williams 1969.
one Malay shop constitutes the commercial district. Behind the shop-houses are some eating stalls and the fishmarket. Administrative offices, an army post, fire station, hospital, and rest house form the physical expression of the governmental establishment.

**SETTING**

Far smaller than Bangar is Fire Rock Village (see Maps 1 and 2, Table 1). In order to protect the anonymity of the village and its inhabitants pseudonyms are used in place of real names. Hereinafter references to "the village" should be understood to mean "Fire Rock Village." The village is located on the downstream portion of the Fire Rock River valley floodplain. In typical Temburong fashion the village is strung out along the river and its tributaries which are the main transportation arteries.

Brunei Malay habitation of the village is comparatively recent. The early history of Brunei is obscure although the sultanate once ruled considerable areas of Borneo and Sulu. The most thorough studies of Brunei history have been made by Brown (1970, 1974) who concludes (1974: 116) that Brunei society arose from internal conquest and differential borrowing of Indian and Arabic cultural features.

A century ago the village housed an estimated 500 Muruts who lived in a longhouse that stood on the floodplain. These Muruts feared Kayan headhunters who might come overland to prey on them, yet were themselves headhunters of renown who might at times attack the Malays.

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2 A description of the villagers named is found in Appendix A.
in their town on the Brunei river; at other times they traded with Brunei Malays who ventured upstream under a trading amnesty. Around 1910 smallpox and cholera decimated the Murut longhouse. Soon afterwards Europeans established a commercial rubber plantation in the village and surrounding areas. A Temburong free from headhunters and with cash jobs available on plantations attracted many people including large numbers of Brunei Malays who moved into the village between 1914 and 1928. Village history since that time falls into three main periods: the time prior to the Second World War when the large Fire Rock Rubber Estate was the social and economic focus of village life; the Second World War when sheer physical survival was difficult; and the post-war period.

The period of the large rubber estate as an economic foundation of village life extended from approximately 1911 until the outbreak of World War Two. During this time many Malays from Bandar Seri Begawan (then named Bruneitown) moved into the village. Many Kadayans, Javanese, and Tamils also came. Wages paid to the laborers on the estate formed the basis of a cash economy which sustained the laborers as well as many other people. Chinese merchants gained income from selling goods to estate workers and their families. Some Malays fished and sold their catch to villagers; others did small-scale trading with the villagers, thus obtaining income from the estate. Though a large portion of the income earned from the rubber estate went directly to

---

3 The Kadayans are Islamic rice farmers who speak a language very closely related to Brunei Malay.
the overseas owners, the total income from rubber was sufficient so that substantial amounts went to local inhabitants directly through wages paid, and indirectly, through the purchases of wage earners.

During this time de facto political control centered in the rubber estate management because of the estate's economic power. At that time, the village population was large, over 2,000, and included many Javanese laborers and Tamils who worked on the rubber estates. No fast transportation was available; travel by boat from the village to the national capital required fourteen hours hard paddling; and a trip to the district capital took five or six hours paddling. The prime locus of economic control lay in the rubber estate company which owned most of the local land. A village council administered the village. The headman settled minor disputes among the villagers and served as a communications link between them and the national government; but the estate manager settled disputes arising among laborers living in the labor lines. He also arranged periodic entertainment for the villagers, such as Javanese shadowplays, and decided which holidays would be observed with vacations and which would not. Indeed, the real government of the village lay in the dicta of the estate manager whose political power ended only with World War Two.

During the Second World War, referred to locally as the "Japanese War," survival was the prime village concern. The Japanese controlled the rivers and forbade villagers to trade their rice to starving relatives in the capital. But clandestine trade to the city and clandestine migration from the capital into the village helped many survive.
The aftermath of the war included a realignment of political power largely resulting from changed economic circumstances. Some of the rubber estate was still owned and operated by an estate company which thus had economic and political power. But much of the rubber land now lay in the hands of local owners who employed tappers on shares or wages. Although the estate manager wielded political power within his circumscribed domain, until 1968 the main locus of control resided with the village council composed of all adult male villagers.

Currently, the only remaining locus of village political power rests in the headmen. The Iban longhouse downstream, the Muruts, and the Islamic villagers reach have their own headmen. Except for the Iban, most villagers deal with the Islamic headman, in part because he has a relative who is important at the national level, and so has by reflection the highest political and social status in the village. The following discussion deals with the Islamic headman only.

Villagers maintain a civil demeanor toward the headman regardless of their personal feelings toward him. He, likewise, maintains a civil manner toward them in any gathering. The headman may call upon village men to help with some task and expect them to respond. However, since the district government now undertakes most tasks formerly done by the village, such as constructing a new public dock, this interaction is no longer active. The headman does at times ask men to help in some unexpected emergency on his farm, such as butchering an injured cow, and he will reciprocate if asked, although because of his high status he and his wife receive more help than they provide. However, in his wife's case, the social reciprocity is more nearly
equal. Her status among women arises largely from her position as the wife of the headman and she has certain duties associated with the outward expression of her husband's position.

In particular, the headman must be a good host. This implies that all visitors are offered something to eat and drink, since Brunei Malay custom demands that all visitors be shown hospitality in accord with their status. For example, officials are given fruit, eggs, or other food to take home when they leave the headman's house. But an official of national importance must be accorded special treatment, the usual coffee, crackers, and fruit snack are considered inadequate for such a personage. Expensive soft drinks, cookies and candy from the store, plus prize fruits honor such a distinguished visitor who departs laden with gifts of fruit, eggs, rice, and fowl. Through such hospitality the headman reinforces the official contacts he needs for his duties as a village leader.

The headman serves as a formal intermediary who passes government decisions along to the villagers and is their spokesman in government affairs. As a representative of the villagers, the headman usually communicates with the District Officer's headquarters, but also speaks to the district religious or educational officers in matters that fall under their authority. Should the affair require assistance from someone high up in the national government, the headman consults his distant kinsman who is one of the Sultan's officers. In one local case a high minister was consulted over a land dispute that the district administration did not handle to the headman's satisfaction. Headmen
In other villages also have or attempt to establish connections to high level government.

Not all the villagers will directly approach the headman for help. Those who are his relatives, or who often come to the house and have frequent interaction with his family will approach him directly. Others, Malay or not, will enlist the aid of someone who does have such ties to accompany them for discussion of a problem.

A typical case in which the headman helped one of the Brunei Malay villagers concerned a government pension. All women over 55 and all men over 60 who are Brunei citizens are entitled to a $20 per month pension from the national government. Eligibility is determined by inspection of the person's national identity card. One particular woman claimed that she was eligible for the pension but could not receive it because her identity card showed her to be ten years too young. She and her husband put her case to the headman, who said that they must go to the district capital to discuss the matter with the appropriate bureau. On the pre-arranged day the woman, her husband, and the headman went to district headquarters at Bangar where they had interviews and discussions. Finally, they were given forms and instructed to have the woman examined at the hospital in Bandar Seri Begawan to determine her age. When the headman's wife next went on a shopping trip to the capital, she took this would-be-pensioner to the hospital for a physical examination by a woman doctor who after examining the woman certified her to be of pensionable age. Now that woman, like other villagers who are eligible, comes once a month to
the house of the headman to collect her pension money. The doling out of pensions is one of the present-day tasks of headmanship.

Until five years ago there were few policemen. An important function of the headman was settlement of disputes based on occurrences such as insulting women, drunken disorderliness, and adultery. The offenders paid a fine which the headman turned over to the government. But now increased numbers of policemen in Temburong, including one stationed in the village police barracks, and improved transportation have ended this function of the headman. Minor offenders are dealt with at Temburong police headquarters; serious offenders are jailed in Bandar Seri Begawan. Offenses are dealt with in accordance with the Brunei statues. The most serious cases are adjudicated in Bandar Seri Begawan. Although the headman no longer performs a policing function, he does still act as village spokesman.

The main way in which village opinion affects politics is through the headman. That is, he expresses the opinions of the village at the monthly meeting of the headmen in the district capital. The population of Temburong is small, some 4,000 (informal estimate); hence the net effect of informal discussions and meetings is that the opinions of the people in the district can be heard by the district government. For such a small population an informal system with crosscutting lines of communications serves adequately. But in 1971 completion of the trans-Temburong highway changed the role of headman as political liaison.

\[4\] See the *Enactments of Brunei* for a digest of current laws.
The trans-Temburong highway is an all-weather, two lane, hard surfaced road linking the many valleys of Temburong District and has shortened travel time from the village to the district capital from an hour by fast speedboat to fifteen minutes by car. This transportation has affected the village political structure. Now, many villagers go to Bangar and deal directly with the officials there. They also talk directly to district officials over coffee rather than channeling their opinions through the headman. Thus, although a few remaining administrative duties of the village remain with the headman, his position is now primarily a titular one.

Village men still meet casually to talk about local matters. Within the village there are two main places where informal discussions take place: the public dock, in front of the school playing field; and on the front porch of the mosque. The groups that congregate in these two places are different. The mosque discussion draws together only Islamic men who gather there every Friday for weekly prayers, or for prayers on religious holidays. The discussions on the dock involve a more heterogeneous group; any man who happens to be passing by may stop for a while to join in the talk. Three or four village men, not always the same ones, often spend time on the dock, then pass on some of the news and gossip learned there to others in the village and thus perform an important information transmitting service. Since the real locus of political power now lies outside the village, the political effect of anything transpiring in these discussions is at best an indirect one.
At present, the village is not a functioning political entity, largely as the result of increasing centralization of government functions in Temburong following the 1962 Azahari Rebellion. However, a major factor contributing to the loss of real political activity in the village has been the departure of the most able and energetic young men to work elsewhere, in Bandar Seri Begawan, at the Seria oilfields, or in the army. They have departed primarily because the village offers few economic resources and very limited, constantly diminishing, means of earning cash income.

Post-war village economy prospered most during the Korean War when good rubber prices made possible high incomes from rubber tapping. Present inhabitants estimate that at that time the village population was 600 adults. As a result of this prosperity several villagers obtained enough money to make the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca. During this period two families amassed the funds for building luxurious houses (by village standards) on concrete pillars. Income derived from small holdings was of two types: direct and indirect.

Tapping rubber and selling the product yielded direct income. Owners of large small-holdings did not tap all their rubber trees but rather had many people tapping on shares. That is, in lieu of wages the tappers received half of all the rubber they tapped and helped process. They sold this rubber for cash.

Indirect income from rubber tapping was that paid to day laborers engaged in such tasks as farming and construction. Other indirect income was received by those who sold goods or services to villagers. As long as rubber prices were high both direct and indirect income
sources yielded well the village had a fairly substantial population. However, as rubber prices declined so did the population. Then, in 1971, rubber prices fell so low that tapping rubber ceased to be a satisfactory source of income. Since my fieldwork took place during this time when income from rubber small-holdings was an important source of cash, that period will be discussed in the ethnographic present.

The village has a total population of approximately 200 and is heterogeneous in economic terms; villagers differ in economic resources, but as a whole have enough food to eat by Asian standards, a roof over their head, adequate clothing, medical care, plus time and energy for fun and merriment on such happy occasions as weddings. They live in wooden houses set five to seven feet above the ground on posts. Many of the houses have the traditional palm leaf roof; some have tin roofs which display affluence. But the real sign of wealth is an

5 Villagers estimate that total population was approximately 1,000 at the height of the post-war rubber boom.

6 The unsmoked ribbed sheet rubber sold by villagers brought income of only 16¢ per catty (one catty equals one and one-third pounds) Brunei. Consequently, a hard full day of tapping would yield at the most $1 to $2 Brunei, that is, less than one U.S. dollar per day. By contrast, during the height of the Korean War rubber demand one catty sold for $2.50 Brunei and the Brunei dollar at that time had considerably more buying power than it does now. In 1971 the average wage for a day laborer in the village was $7 plus meals; however, jobs were sporadic.

7 But are in many respects not as good as a well made leaf roof. A well made atap (leaf roof) will last seven to ten years with virtually no repairs, is cool under the sun and does not leak. By contrast, a tin roof makes the house extremely not at midday, tends to leak after a year or two, and because of its drum-like acoustics makes the house incredibly noisy in a tropical downpour.
asbestos lined tin roof such as is found on the house of Haji Mohammad and the house of Haji Tuah. Another indicator of affluence is the dress of women. Well-to-do women have several outfits of good cloth while poorer women have fewer outfits of cheaper cloth. Size and number of boats as well as size and brand of outboard motor also indicate relative wealth. Less readily obvious indicators of material status are: amount of land owned; size and quality of feasts given at weddings, deaths, and other life crises; as well as the amount and weight of gold jewelry a family possesses.

Unlike westerners, or western educated Bruneis, villagers do not use banks as their repository of wealth. Rather, they handle finances themselves or work by informal agreements through local Chinese merchants. Many villagers invest their surplus cash in gold jewelry and retain it until they need cash. Then they sell the ornaments to Chinese goldsmiths who buy the jewelry at the current market price for that weight of gold, less ten percent for workmanship. Thus Chinese goldsmiths serve as cash bankers for most villagers. Other Chinese merchants give credit. For example, most villagers make purchases at a Chinese store on account, then just before the Chinese New Year they pay off all of their debts. The merchants are skillful at gauging a family's cash resources and do not let them run up debts so large that they will be unable to pay the bill due. Major credit is also arranged through Chinese merchants who sell goods such as outboard

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8 This Chinese tradition of starting the New Year with no debts is insisted upon by the local shopkeepers.
motors for a down payment plus monthly installments; the interest rate on the unpaid balance often is twenty per cent.

Two Chinese merchants are a key factor in the village economy. One derives his income almost entirely from his store and the investments he has made with money earned over the years. The other merchant supplements retailing with a mixed economy of farming, merchandising, and doing contract jobs. Formerly both merchants did a thriving business from their retailing alone. But as the village became depopulated it could not support both stores at a prosperous level. The last flush of prosperity from merchandising for the two shopkeepers came from the trans-Temburong highway construction workers who were quartered near the stores. But with the completion of the highway about one year after the beginning of the fieldstudy, these revenue diminished. Additionally, the villagers began to spend more money in the district capital and less in the village. This downturn of business for the two local shops is reflected in their partly empty shelves. The shopkeepers now maintain a low inventory in order to free capital for investment in other enterprises. The Chinese merchants keep records in Chinese script. This means that villagers cannot check their accounts. But even literate villagers do not keep financial records. Rather, they remember financial transactions. Customarily, wives hide cash and valuables in various places about the house and farm. Should a wife suddenly die or forget where she put the valuables, they are lost beyond recall. Unlocked doors are a commonplace; simply shutting the front door and perhaps propping a stick against it indicates that the householder is absent; usually no
one enters the empty house. An exception to this is the government built house of the village school teacher which has locks on front and back doors.

The grade school teachers, the religious teacher, and men engaged in path and school playing ground maintenance are the only salaried villagers. Formerly a man was salaried to keep up the village assembly hall. But in 1971 the district government funds were cut and his job was eliminated as a necessary economy measure. The man who formerly held the assembly hall maintenance job then turned to occasional part time jobs for cash. The path maintenance jobs serve an important function in keeping village communication links in condition. However, a prime purpose of that work is also to provide a source of cash income for some of the villagers. These salaried persons all grow their own rice.

When possible, the school teachers also plant their own rice. This eliminates a heavy food expense from their budget and makes more money available for other uses. On the other hand, gaining access to land for planting is a problem unless they have landed relatives in the village. However, the Ministry of Education rotates teachers tri-annually. Thus, a school teacher is apt to be teaching in a village where he has neither land of his own nor relatives who either own or have access to land. Sometimes local landowners give teachers permission to plant rice on their plot if given a gift in kind or paid cash. Government owned tracts can occasionally be planted with special permission. But in general, the salaried professional, such as a school teacher, has to buy his rice. The other salaried villagers
raise their own rice as do the villagers whose cash income derives largely from rubber tapping or minor jobs.

Local men do miscellaneous work and carpentry for cash anywhere that they can obtain employment in Temburong district. Most frequently, the men work for relatives or in an enterprise supervised by a co-villager. Thus, Awang Abu helped with the carpentry when Haji Mohammad's family built a new addition onto their house in preparation for a wedding. At other times Awang Abu worked on construction in Bangar which was contracted out to a co-villager. Hajiah Ramlah's brother steers her boat to the capital when she goes shopping. He does this partly as a kinship obligation and partly because she gives him a little money each trip.

The cash gained from such enterprises is used to buy goods from one of the two local stores. Knives, pots, cloth, lamps, kerosene, and many other goods not produced in this village are present-day necessities which can be obtained only through purchase. Near harvesting season some families run out of rice; in years of bad harvest virtually all the families of the village may not have enough. Fifty years ago this would have meant hunger, or the necessity to shift to a diet of sago until the next harvest. But now families buy rice at

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9 Edible sago, *ambuyat*, is from a variety of palm *Metroxylon sp.* The sago is prepared by grating up the heart of the palm trunk, then stomping the wet mash on a mat. The liquified sago drops down into a trough below while the inedible portions remain on top of the mat. The collected liquid is dried and appears as a fine powder. When this powder is boiled in water it turns into an edible gelatinous mass which is either eaten as is with curry gravy or made into one of several sweets.
the store to tide them over until the next harvest. Also, a family seeking to improve its rice harvest may purchase seed to plant in the hope that the new stock will have a better yield than the one they were using. The stores also sell vegetable seeds for use in the kitchen gardens that form a substantial part of the subsistence farming in the village.

Subsistence farming, in Brunei terms, means the raising of rice and mixed gardening. For example, Haji Mohammad raised bananas, rambutans, oranges, castor limes, peppers, cucumbers, pomellos, Chinese cabbage, lettuce, radishes, and string beans. Most households own a few chickens, which are allowed to run about the village. Chickens are a source of protein reserved for special occasions but their eggs form a regular part of the village diet.

In addition, most villagers fish. The staples of diet for Brunei Malays are rice and fish. The importance of fish in the diet may be seen from the fact that to ask, "what is for dinner?", one asks, apa lauk?, what fish? An occasional additional source of protein is provided by game and birds from the jungle. However, such treats are very rare. The Malay villagers do little hunting or trapping apart from setting occasional snares for canary-like birds; but the non-Malay villagers hunt considerably more.

The prime subsistence crop is rice. Villagers grow one crop a year because they must depend on rain for the water, but say that with irrigation they could double-crop. Magic carried out by dukun, ritual
specialists, is associated with some stages of the cycle. Since this falls outside the ken of the average villager it will be treated in a separate work. For present purposes the important aspects of rice agriculture are first, it sets the rhythm of village life and second, the rice is believed to have a spirit like that of a child and must be treated accordingly.

Traditionally the Brunei Malays did not farm but traded. However, straightened economic circumstances in the early part of this century and threatened starvation during the Second World War forced some of them into subsistence agriculture. This agricultural cycle is important in present day enculturation because during planting and harvesting time children are tended almost exclusively by elder siblings while their adult relatives are off in the fields. The annual rice cycle begins in the post-harvest season when families decide where they will plant the next crop and make any special arrangements or agreements that may be necessary with the land owners. During the seasonal drought of July or August many conversations center on speculations about the weather. Will the dry spell hold or will rain come? If the dry spell will continue, a family waits longer before burning fields in preparation for planting so that the burn will be better. But if the dry spell will break the family burns fields immediately before the rains makes burning virtually impossible. If the rains prevent a good burn, the fields are not sufficiently fertilized with ash and

These dukun may be either Malay or Kadayan, male or female. The Malay dukun who know the rituals have learned it from Kadayan ones.
sometime not sufficiently cleared of debris for planting to take place. After the fields have been ignited, clouds of smoke billow into the sky. Whenever they spot a cloud of smoke villagers try to decide from its location and from what they know of planting locales, whose field is burning and how well. During this period the smoke of rice field fires towers up into the daytime sky throughout Brunei.

These tremendous fires need to be skillfully set and managed. Wind direction and force are of major importance. If the day is too windy, burning cannot be started because the fire will be impossible to control. Backfires are used to control the main burning and prevent it from running wild. Such field fires are so intense that even several hundred feet away their heat is too great for comfort.

Planting begins once the fields are burned. This is work that must be completed in a very short time. Like other such tasks requiring massive labor and quick completion, planting involves neighbors and relatives. Villagers use three planting techniques, broadcast sowing, planting in dibble-stick made holes, and transplanting from nursery patches into the main rice field. Only one type of planting is used in each plot. One of the most difficult jobs involved in planting rice is the transplanting of seedlings from the nursery to their places in the field. Both men and women do this work but it is predominantly a task for women. The transplanting routine is monotonous: bend down, pull up the seedling and gather it with others into a bunch; take the bunches to the riverside; wash the roots in the river; trim off the tops and stack the remaining root stock neatly; take the rice seedlings back to the field; bend down and hand-set
each one into place. Almost the only time people complain of backaches is after they have spent a day transplanting rice. Transplanting requires skill, plants set too deep in the ground will die, and plants set too shallowly will float up to the top of the water (transplanting from nursery fields into main rice fields is done only in areas where the rice can be flooded for part of the growing season). Working in a flooded slash and burn clearing is not easy. Many of the plants in the clearing have thorns which are invisible under water. Transplanterers work barefoot and occasionally have to stop to pick a thorn out of their feet. And at times, insects, or leeches in the water bite people.

Once rice seeds are in the ground villagers begin a long time of intense concern, daily noting and discussing the weather. Has the rice sprouted? Once the sprouting begins how high does the crop grow? Is it green and healthy or yellow and dying? Are the seedlings ready for transplanting?

About three months after sowing (and two months after transplanting of wet rice) the rice grains begin to develop. Now the watchfulness over the crop increases and gains in intensity until the harvest is over. Malnourishment of the crop may cause poor grain development; but the primary hazards are blight, insects, rodents, and birds. Guarding the crop is so important that a temporary shelter is erected in the field. Here women, children, and sometimes old men guard the crop. If the shelter is far from the family dwelling, the people in it will take lunch with them to eat in the field. The guards watch out for birds and wild pigs which may destroy the crop.
At night no one can see to guard the rice; and much pig depredation occurs which is only discovered when the fields are inspected the following morning.

Today village farmers turn to the government Agricultural Department for help in repelling insects, wild pigs, and vermin. Formerly, certain magical practices were used in an effort to cure such ailments of the rice; but people say they now use agriculture department cures because these cures are more effective than the traditional ones. A prime destroyer of the crop that neither Agricultural Department nor traditional Brunei practices can effectively cope with is rodents, particularly rats and mice. In 1971 only Haji Modhammed had a good rice crop. Almost all the other crops were decimated by rats and mice. Rats and mice continue their destructiveness even after rice is in the storehouses. Birds are also a major crop pest. The Kadayans deal with this pest by erecting large networks of strings and cloths which center on the field shelter. From the shelter strings or sticks can be pulled which will set the entire network in motion and thus scare off the birds. The Malays use no such string and cloth network, but instead rely on chasing off the birds. Before the 1962 rebellion the situation was simpler because a shotgun blast sufficed. But now that guns and their use are strictly controlled birds are a harder problem to handle. Wild pigs are another menace because they come rooting into the rice field at night and destroy large areas of the crop. In areas of Temburong where the population is entirely Islamic wild pigs are a serious crop threat since the Islamic villagers will not touch or approach such an "unclean" animal.
But in areas such as Fire Rock Village where the population has mixed religious affiliations, Islamic and non-Islamic, wild pigs are much less of a problem; here people in the non-Islamic portion of the population find someone authorized to use a gun and periodically have pig-hunts, followed by roasted, barbecued, fried, and curried pork.

During the long hours spent in the field shelter women and children talk, sing, and play games. Younger sisters often tend their infant siblings. Sewing, basket and mat making are work activities done in the rice guarding shed. But no activity must be so engrossing that eyes stray from the fields where birds and other pests may be attacking the crops.

Finally the grain is ripe and the harvest season begins. Now, the entire life of the village centers on this key part of the economy. All but the youngest and oldest villagers harvest rice. Formerly, rice harvest was one of the few chances for young men and women to meet openly. Then the young men and women went to the harvest dressed in their finery. Men often selected their prospective brides at this time. Harvest is a happy time, and the harvesting is done to the accompaniment of singing, joking, and merriment. The villagers believe that the rice spirit, *semangat*, likes to have the rice harvesters happy.

Belief in a rice spirit is widespread in Borneo. Both Islamic groups, such as Brunei Malays and Kadayans, and non-Islamic peoples, such as Muruts and Ibans, have beliefs concerning the rice spirit. The total complex of rice growing activities, including associated beliefs concerning the rice spirit, is oriented toward the practical
problems of stomach filling. Islam, on the other hand, deals with the higher concerns of the soul. Hence the co-existence of Islam and beliefs in the rice spirit.

Today harvesters work in relatively small groups. The largest number of people who engaged in the harvest with the headman's family was about thirty and this was only on one day. Formerly a hundred or more people might congregate to harvest. At present, harvesting is much less a social occasion than previously; singing and merriment are minimal. Much of the harvesting in 1969 and 1970 was done by members of the nuclear family and those living in the nearby houses. Sometimes village Ibans and Muruts helped the headman's family with the planting and harvesting. Those who help plant a rice crop are likely to be invited to help harvest. This is not merely a social sharing but a real economic protection since, by local tradition, harvesters keep half the amount they gather. If the rice fails in one area of the village the people dependent on that rice can help with the harvest in places where the crop was successful and thus not be altogether without the crucial cereal food. Rice is cut head by head; each stalk is cut just below the "head" (which corresponds to the "ears" of wheat). The explanation given by villagers for this technique is that any other method would make the rice spirit be either angry, or crying and sad. In economic terms, the effect of the head-by-head harvesting is twofold. First, the gentle cutting ensures virtually no losses due to shattering and permits a selective cutting of ripe grain, although the slowness of harvest probably causes a greater loss by lodging than would be the case with a faster method.
which would not leave heavy ripened grain standing for so long a time.
Second, the slowness of the work necessitates bringing together and
feeding large groups of people to help in the task and share the yield.
As noted, the resultant spreading of risk gives the village subsis-
tence base more stability than it would have in the absence of such
rice spreading, because should rice fail in one field the people de-
pendent upon it have an alternate source of supply obtained by help-
ing others harvest. If all the fields fail the villagers must de-
pend upon imported rice sold in the village store, sago, and any
supplies or rice remaining from the previous year. The harvested
grain is stored in storehouses that look like gable-roofed boxes set
up on stilts. When needed the rice is taken down, thrashed, winnowed,
and sun dried on mats. It is then pounded in the wooden mortar with
wooden pestles. Women do all the work once rice has been removed
from storage. In the last ten years villagers have been taking rice
for milling to the diesel engine run rice milling machine operated
by a local Chinese merchant who charges by the hundredweight for
milling. About fifty percent of the villagers regularly use the mil-
ling engine. If the rice is hand milled, only enough is prepared for
two or three days, because the physical effort of pounding rice is
so great that one or two people can do only a limited amount of
pounding in any one day. However, if the machine milling is used
about a month's supply is milled at a time. Formerly, in preparation
for a wedding or other large feast, many women came to the festive
house to pound rice in several mortars. Since each house had but one
mortar several would have been borrowed for use during wedding
preparations. But now people simply load a boat with sacks of grain and go to the Chinese merchant's milling engine which can polish the rice pure white in the Chinese style, removing all the B-complex vitamins in the process. Villagers say that polished rice is tasteless. However, unpolished rice, like hand milled rice, requires winnowing to remove the chaff. So if a major feast is in preparation, the villagers usually have the rice polished to save the work of winnowing.

In terms of the work involved in planting, guarding, harvesting, and preparation for use in edible form, rice is a labor-demanding grain. For example, the amount of time involved in rice pounding and winnowing by two people averages twelve hours a week to hull enough grain to feed a family of six. This time included that needed to dry rice, carry it from the rice storehouse, and do preliminary winnowing plus winnowing while pounding. If young children do this work the time can easily be doubled or trebled. Rice preparation by two adults for a household of twelve adults and adolescents takes some eighteen to twenty-four hours weekly if done entirely by hand.

Rice is so important that it is surrounded by beliefs and ideas which directly affect people's behavior. Interestingly, the great attention needed by rice is seen by adults as analogous to the great attention needed by children. Rice is considered to be, "like a child," for it has a childlike spirit which frightens easily. One must strive to please the rice in every way. Just as babies must never be dropped, so too rice seed must be carried carefully in a basket and not allowed to spill. Proper magical formulae recitation
must accompany the planting of the first rice seeds, and all planters should be in good humor.

Harvest season is an especially critical period. Many events can ruin the grain. A sudden plague of insects or birds can decimate a crop; or heavy rain and lack of sunshine may delay or prevent the harvesting. Hard driving rain can flatten the crop so that it is difficult to harvest and, because much of the grain is lying in puddles and never dries out, a large portion rots in the field. Such potential calamities are a constant source of worry during the harvest season.

Ceremonial first cutting of the rice gentles the rice spirit so that it will not take fright and flee in fear before the harvesting knife. The first heads of rice are gathered together in a bundle of seven, tied with thread, chanted over in a special manner, and then cut with a bamboo knife. In the past, all rice was harvested with a bamboo knife. Even today the first ears of rice are cut with bamboo because villagers believe that the rice spirit will run away if it is cut with the iron or steel it fears. Older villagers say that if the rice spirit runs away the rice will not satisfy the hunger of those who eat it even though they consume a large quantity. Harvesters must stay in a straight line because the rice spirit will be displeased if they harvest in an uneven line with some people going too far into the rice field.

During the harvest season all preparation of the grain is critical. Thus, in winnowing and pounding "old" rice, exquisite care is taken that not one grain is lost in the processing; even the
flour-like material that mixes with the chaff after milling is separated out and saved. Should such care not be taken, the rice spirit will think that it is not wanted and run away. But once the harvest is complete elaborate precautions are abandoned as no longer necessary because the rice is no longer being subjected to the trauma of harvest. The spirit of the harvested rice resides in the padi (un-milled rice) storehouse.

Once the rice is in the storehouse, it still requires special attention; grain must be removed in a special way. Villagers explain that one may scoop up the rice with the sides of the hand and scoop it in with sweeping sidewise motions; but the rice must not be scratched and pulled loose with a raking action of the hand. Further, the fingernails must not be used to scoop out the rice because under the fingernails there is "fire" and the rice will not last long if fingernails scratch out the rice. The person scooping out the rice must, at the start of the procedure, make palatal-apical clicking sounds to call the rice spirit so it will be happy like a child. However, such sounds are never used in calling or soothing human children. People scooping out the rice should not show anger or displeasure, for the rice spirit is like a spoiled child and must be so treated. Villagers usually carefully follow this and all traditional procedures for planting, harvesting, and carrying rice.
Rice is planted immediately after the fields are burnt over in July or August. The remainder of the rice cycle follows the maturation of the plant. Villagers measure absolute time by the Gregorian solar calendar which they use to ascertain the dates for school vacations and government meetings. However, the traditional calendar of the Brunei Malays is the Arab lunar calendar. Base points in the observation of the lunar cycle are: full moon; crescent moon; and sun or moon near the horizon. Observing the rising of the new moon was and is very critical at the end of Ramadan, the fasting month. If the moon is not seen on the night that it is expected, as can easily happen in Borneo if there is a rainstorm, the fast must continue another day until the moon is actually observed.

The names for the days of the week come from the Arabic. The days of the week are: Isnin, Monday; salasa, Tuesday; rabu, Wednesday; kamis, Thursday; Jumat, Friday; sabtu, Saturday; and ahad, Sunday.

In colloquial speech days of the week are often referred to by

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11 See Table 2 for a calendar-round chart of village events in 1970.

12 The count of the lunar month is shown in Table 3.

13 The spellings given here represent the actual pronunciation as used in the village. The romanized Jawi spellings are: ithna, Monday; thalatha, Tuesday; rabu, Wednesday; khamis, Thursday; juma'at, Friday; sabtu, Saturday; and ahad, Sunday.
numbers, thus: hari satu, first day, Monday; hari dua, second day, Tuesday; hari tiga, third day, Wednesday; hari empat, fourth day, Thursday; hari lima, fifth day, Friday; hari anam, sixth day, Saturday; and hari minggu, week day, Sunday. Daylight hours in Brunei are virtually the same length the year around; and villagers know quite closely what time of day it is from the position of the sun in the sky. Brunei Malays divide the day into periods based upon the position of the sun.  

A different division of the solar day is that associated with the Islamic prayer times. The first daily prayer period of the human biological diurnal cycle is suboh which starts before sunrise. Indeed, one of the Islamic admonitions is to get up and pray before sunrise. However, this is the coldest time of the day. Some people get up, pray, then go back to bed again. During suboh villagers observe the stars to look for the first rising of the Pleiades which signals the time to begin rice planting. Since the schedule of prayer periods differs by only a few minutes throughout the year, any day can exemplify them all. Beginning at noon on June 16th, 1971, and ending in the early morning of June 17th, 1971, the prayer periods began at the following times: dzohor, 12:27 p.m.; asar, 3:47 p.m.; magrib, 6:38 p.m.; isha, 7:50 p.m.; imsak, 4:37 a.m. (no prayers said); suboh, 5:52 a.m.; and sunrise was at 6:07 a.m. on the 17th of June (Pelita Brunei: 3). The Islamic calendar day starts just after sunset and for this reason the magrib prayer is considered the most important of

14 These periods are shown in Table 4.
all. But fixed divisions of the solar day and night are not the only diurnal time cycles.

For villagers the ever shifting tidal cycle is crucial. Malays equate the ebbing of the tide toward the sea and the ebbing of the tide toward the west. They also equate the flowing of the tide upstream and toward the east. Such equations are perfectly sensible in terms of the west coast of Borneo where in fact "upstream" and "east" coincide, as do "seaward" and "west." Much of west coast Borneo is accessible only at high tide when shallow draft boats can float over the mud flats, sandbars, and other obstructions that block river mouths. Malays are obliged to contend with the tidal cycle and the limitations it imposes on the times that they can maneuver boats in and out of the shallows and mud flats upon which the water village of Bandar Seri Begawan is built and which make access to Fire Rock Village docks difficult at low tide. The critical importance of the tides to the Malays is reflected in their extensive terminology for phases of the tides. 15

The region beyond the reach of river tides is ulu, a fearsome place to Brunei Malays who say they cannot live there because they cannot stand the cold. This "cold" of upstream is not like the English "cold" which is due to ice. Haji Tuah said that many Malays died in ulu because they could not stand "cold." Kadayans, Ibens, and Muruts can all stand the upstream "cold" but the Sea Muruts,

15 The complete tidal cycle nomenclature is shown in Table 5.
Villagers say that if Malays go to ulu they get sick and even if they go back downstream they will still die.  

Village Malays believe that any unusual or untoward circumstances are personally threatening, that is, harm is everywhere in the air and will quickly affect people unless countermeasures are taken. Such untoward threatening events are: a child cutting upper teeth before lower ones; a large vulture venturing into the house; the twinning of normally single fruit, such as pineapple; a large snake getting into the house; or a frog going onto a sleeping place. To avoid personal harm, a ceremony of tulak balak, pushing away harm, is held at the house where the threatening event occurred. Here, the householders prepare yellow rice and other special foods. The village medicine man chants to get rid of the potential harm and then leads a prayer of farewell to ensure continuing health of the household. The tulak balak incantation is not effective without ceremonial food. However, a householder can give money and no food to the medicine man providing yellow rice is present at the ceremony. If there is insufficient money or food the ceremony will be "not full laden;" this means that it will be ineffective. All the food and money used at the ceremony is given to the person who recites the prayer to "push away harm."

16 The Brunei Malays have an extensive system of "cold and hot." The few examples cited here are presented without analysis of the extensive symbolic system involved.

17 Yellow rice is rice which has been mixed with saffron. The saffron affects the color but not the taste of the rice.
A much more important source of personal harm and illness are hantu, evil spirits which threaten everyday life. They lurk in dark places and at a distance from man, in the night and in the river, in the ocean and in the jungle. Villagers sleep with a light on at night so that hantu will not enter the house. The more unknown a place the more are its hantu who are found in even so sacred a place as Mecca. But there is one circumstance under which hantu are so imminent that villagers claim one can, "just feel them lurking about," ready to pounce on them. This is at the times when a yellow glow accompanies or immediately proceeds sunset. For example, one day when most of Haji Mohammad's family were gathered under their house a yellow glow pervaded the day. All were afraid and kept close to one another because in such a glow hantu are very close and become bold enough to pounce on men. When the glow ceased the family was relieved because once more the hantu were at a distance and not so bold. Villagers noted that Europeans are not so afraid of these spirits. But, they added, the explanation is simple. Europeans have white skin just like hantu; and although they lack the glowing red yees of hantu, European eyes are pale, unlike Malay eyes; so of course Europeans do not fear hantu because they look much like one. Nevertheless, say villagers, hantu can make even white people sick.

The traditional Brunei Malay etiology of illness is that hantu, evil spirits, and saltan, Satan, cause illness. Thus, the village medicine man explained, "Satan is sickness; you are walking along the road, Satan says, 'hey, where are you going?' and enters you. You cannot see him, then you are sick." In the traditional belief
sickness enters through the ears and eyes and exits through the feet. If a person is sick his blood "flees" all through his body; but if they are well their blood is normal.

Consistent with traditional etiology, treatment is designed to banish evil spirits from the sufferer's body. The words of curing incantations order the evil spirits to leave the body of the patient. Additionally, physical treatments are applied to make the patient's body an undesirable place for the evil spirits. One of the most common cures consists of rolling a pea under the nails of the patient's hands and feet, causing displeasing pain that makes the evil spirits depart. Drinking water which has been chanted over by medicine men, imbuing it with the power of the chant, also makes the body a hostile place for evil spirits.

Curing a sick person is a serious but not necessarily solemn act. A good example is a curing ceremony which took place on Tuesday, February 24, 1970, and the ceremonial bathing which followed on the next day. The medicine man knelt by the head of the patient, held a dry pea in his hands, and alternately incanted over it and blew on it. Then he rolled the pea on the patient's forehead. Occasionally he blew on the patient's forehead, mumbling magic formulae. Then he rolled the pea under the patient's fingernails. Sometimes he blew on the patient's finger; frequently he mumbled formulae. Various family members watched the proceedings. Some children blew toy instruments while watching the curing; but the medicine man told them to go away because the sound of whistling summons evil spirits. The next day the patient was much better. The medicine man then gave the
patient a ceremonial bath to ensure that all the evil spirits were gone and would stay away. On the dock he had the patient sit facing upstream. He filled a bucket of water in the river, placed it on the dock, squatted by the bucket, chanted over it, and blew into it. With a small plastic pan he dipped the water over the patient. This ceremonial bath water would wash away any remaining traces of the illness; and as the water vanished downstream with the ebbing tide, so too would the sickness.

But villagers also utilize western medicine for traumata and physical illness for they recognize that it is often faster or more effective in such cases. But they firmly maintain that although indigenous healing techniques do not always succeed in treating insanity, western medicine in such cases always fails. Perhaps the most terrifying illness is running amok.

The amok condition is classically described by Bruneis in these terms: his face is red, his eyes like mirrors and popped out a little (bug-eyed). He runs out of the house and through the village trying to kill people with a bush knife. If someone runs amok, villagers say, they try to capture him and shackle his (or her) feet. In the past the victim reputedly was placed in an earthen storage jar and daily given food and Malay medicine until he died. At present there are very few reported cases of running amok. Villagers explain that this is because people who otherwise might run amok are afraid of being captured by soldiers. A person who is angry or has had an argument or fight may run amok without first becoming insane.
Sometimes a person who is about to run amok will be figety and nervous, but usually there is no warning.18

Indigenous treatment of amok and all other serious complaints is done by ritual specialists, and is somewhat of a mystery to the average villager. The medical system is detailed and involves an interplay of physical diagnosis, medicines, and other therapies, plus secret knowledge concerning the supernatural. Description and analysis of this system lies beyond the scope of the present work (see Kimball, forthcoming). The main body of medical lore seems to be indigenous Bornean practices and beliefs with some Indian and considerable Islamic overlay.

Religious mixture is also found in the demographic patterns of the village. Five religions now co-exist in the village: the three "great tradition" religions of Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism; and the "little tradition" religions of Murut and Iban. Major religious holidays are times of social interaction.

Most of the villagers go to the Chinese stores on Chinese New Year to greet the shopkeeper and in return be treated to soft drinks, pastries, and candy. In turn, non-Islamic as well as Islamic villagers go visiting the Moslem villagers on the three days of active Hari Raya celebration at which time many villagers pay their respects to the headman.

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18 One modern medical explanation of causality for amok is malfunctioning of the amygdaloid nuclei. (Personal communication, Dr. S. Sithanandam, August, 1974. Dr. Sithanandam is the District Medical Officer, Hospital Bangar, Temburong, Brunei. The discussion between us occurred in Bangar.) The relevant anatomy and physiology is discussed in Doty 1967.
Islam surrounds and suffuses the village, sets the tenor and tone of village life. Islam is a religion, a way of life, a manner of being, an ideology, an attitude toward all creation and man's place in the universe. The daily prayers divide the day into five portions. The dietary laws decree the manner of slaughtering meat and the types of flesh that are edible. The ideology sets out man's place in the world of today and in the hereafter. The importance of the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca makes villagers aware that there is a great Islamic world whose center is the sacred city of Mecca. But there are no Islamic brotherhoods or societies in the village.

Both the Kadayans and the Malays are Moslems. They observe the fasting month, Ramadan, and the joyous week of hari raya puasa which follows the feast. If their financial resources permit, individuals from both groups go on pilgrimage to Mecca. As a case in point, the village headman and his wife plan to make a second pilgrimage when their finances and demands of child rearing permit. The second most important holiday in the village Moslem social calendar is hari raya haji, the day on which pilgrims reach Mecca.\(^{19}\)

Islam is the national religion of Brunei and all government offices are closed on Friday, the holy day of the week for Islam. All adult males have a religious duty to say Friday noon-day prayers at the mosque, but women seldom attend.

\(^{19}\) In Kelantan, West Malaysia, hari raya haji is the major religious holiday with the celebrations at the end of the fasting month being secondary.
The present village mosque has been standing eight years. The money for construction materials was raised by subscription in the village. The villagers built the mosque with their own labor.

Islam requires five daily prayers; but the practical demands of farming and making a living often do not permit the saying of all the daily prayers. Half or more of the village men, and about two-thirds of the women, do regularly pray at sunset, which they consider the most important of all the daily prayers. Before praying a Moslem bathes ceremonially, bekaut. This bathing is a *sine qua non* observed by everyone. The person about to pray wears slippers into the house, dons special clothes, and takes off his slippers just before stepping onto the prayer rug. He faces Mecca and goes through a series of ritual stances and prostrations accompanying the Arabic language recitation. The words plus the actions constitute the prayer.

While Islam makes the demand on all followers of five daily prayers and the pilgrimage, many of the ceremonies of Islam as realized in the village are essentially occasions of male group assemblage. Thus the men pray in the mosque on Friday. When a special prayer is offered in the mosque or at someone's house it is the men who come together for the occasion. At feasts for the dead, except for the

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20 In West Malaysia such small local prayer houses are called *surau* with *masjid*, mosque, being restricted to larger edifices in towns and cities.

21 This is one of only two occasions when a Malay may break the prohibition against wearing shoes in the house; the other occasion is that of a person dressed in state for the wedding *betinganding*, ceremonial sitting in state on a dias.
forty days' feast, it is primarily a group of men who come to the house of the deceased to pray and then eat the feast.

On ordinary occasions close male and female relatives interact rather freely. But at the times of Islamic feasts, separation and avoidance between men and women becomes very marked and consciously observed. However, at an Islamic wedding the separation is for the most part informal and strictly marked only on the day and at the particular time of the great wedding feast and sitting in state of the bride and groom. Quite commonly, a circumcision ceremony, the major Islamic rite of passage, takes place concurrently with a wedding in order to avoid the expenses of a separate feast. (This is described under "life cycle"). However, the conversion of an outsider to Islam would always take place as a separate ceremony. Under Islamic law conversion requires but the saying, in Arabic, of the phrase, "There is no God but Allah; and Mohammad is his prophet," in the presence of witnesses. But villagers feel that feasting is a necessary part of so great an event.

As discussed earlier, Islamic villagers use two calendars. The Gregorian calendar marks the passage of the year in terms of civil affairs, such as taxpaying and official meetings. But the Arabic lunar calendar is used to determine the auspicious months for weddings and to determine religious holidays. The Moslem year has four major religious occasions. The first is the feast in honor of the dead which precedes the fasting month. This feast also marks the end of the month of Shahban, the favorite time for weddings. The second major religious occasion is the month of Ramadan which follows
immediately after the feast in honor of the dead. Ramadan is the fast­
ing month; no food, drink, or smoking is permitted the faithful from
sunrise to sunset. The majority of villagers observe this fast. After Ramadan comes the third major Islamic religious occasion, Hari
Raya Puasa, the great celebration to mark the end of Ramadan. The
fourth major event is Hari Raya Haji, the day of feasting in honor of
the pilgrims who have on that day reached Mecca. For the Islamic
villagers these religious events divide the years one from another.

Moslem villagers also observe a number of food taboos which set
them apart. Of all the tenets and requirements of their religion the
only one observed one-hundred percent by all the villagers (apart
from circumcision) is the taboo on eating pork. Most villagers ob­
serve the taboo on alcoholic beverages; but a few of the men like to
drink beer. Villagers also admit that men in the army drink beer and
perhaps other alcoholic beverages.

Less tangible, yet very real, is the feeling of many Moslem
villagers that they, as followers of Islam, are special persons set
apart from all others. They believe that their religion is the one
and only true religion of God. They want all non-Islamic people to
convert to Islam and so be saved from Hell in the hereafter. However,
a few of the villagers are "nominal Moslems." Although Islamic

22 But Islam forbids menstruating women, who are ritually
impure, from fasting. However, they must make up the missed fast days
after Ramadan.

23 This term is often used in English language discussions
of Islam and is henceforth not italicized. The same is true of the
major holiday and month names.
villagers live in the everyday world of Brunei, Borneo, their spiritual attachment is to the sacred Arabic of the *Holy Koran* and all it represents. Many works from Arabic occur in the Brunei Malay lexicon and probably came in with the entrance of Islam. The traditional Brunei Malay views Arabia as the pure source of all religious knowledge and indeed of knowledge in general. The Arabic language, because it is the language of the *Koran*, is esteemed above all other languages at the same time that the practicality of English is recognized. Arab customs and manners are admired. For centuries Arabic was the script of all Malay dialects.

But other cultural values are also important for Islamic villagers. Thus, showing good hospitality to visitors is a paramount requirement of behavior as is dressing properly to pay visits or take trips. Maintaining a clean house, cooking well, praying regularly, and taking good care of children are other important values. The principle social control mechanism regulating these values is gossip.

The social control power of gossip is seen most clearly in its use to enforce the observance of fasting during Ramadan. During the fasting month Islamic villagers greet each other with the phrase, *puasa kah?,* are you fasting? Those who answer in the negative show embarrassment when they do so. Also, non-fasting villagers are often teased and made fun of by their contemporaries. If someone

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24 This is especially true for women. Since women are forbidden to fast during menstruation for them the admission of non-fasting is tantamount to an admission that they are menstruating, a most embarrassing fact no woman likes to have made public.
often fails to fast he (or she) knows that the villagers are deriding him behind his back.

In a similar manner gossip serves to keep children from playing truant in school and ensures the observing of many social conventions. However, such social control has its limits. For example, some men occasionally beat their wives in a fit of anger. Here gossip as a means of control does not prevent the act. However, it may be that these men's awareness of villagers' disapproval causes them to beat their wives less frequently or less severely than they might otherwise. In addition, since the gossip network makes the villagers constantly aware of each other's movements and activities theft and vandalism are minimal. A negative side of such gossip and surveillance of one another's activities is that privacy, in a western sense, is virtually unknown; this disturbs some of the higher-school educated village youth.

On the lighter side of life are the recreational activities of gossiping, attending cockfights, watching the movies shown by the Brunei Government, attending ceremonial occasions such as weddings, and listening to the radio. Conversational groups sometimes pun and joke. Laughter accompanies such joking, which is often ribald in nature. However, men do not tell ribald jokes in the presence of women, nor vice versa, with one rare exception: youths who are of the same extended family (including second cousins). But most gossip and conversation is limited to the weather, the rice crop, children, and the analysis and re-analysis of other people's activities and words.
One main recreational interest is cockfighting. The Moslem villagers come to socialize, watch the fights a bit, eat noodles, and depart. But other villagers, as well as the many non-Islamic persons from all over Temburong district who come to watch a cock fight, drink beer, socialize, place bets on the fight, and often return home penniless.

In 1971 two cockfights were held in the village on a hill near the then uncompleted trans-Temburong highway. From far away the sound of crowing cocks directed all comers to the place of the fight. On the hill some enterprising merchants and several itinerant peddlers, as well as some villagers, set out wares and food for sale. The fighting ring consisted of a square of bare level earth surrounded by a picket fence. During a cock fight, the heaviest betters sat inside the fence while lesser betters sat on the fence and everyone else, including all women, even though they had bet, stood on the outside. Each of the two fighting cocks had one man who was the trainer-owner and handled the cock during the fight. A referee ensured that the fight was fair. Fighting cocks had razor-sharp spurs attached to their legs. Consequently, the inevitable outcome of a fight was death for one of the birds unless it cowered and refused to fight. During the actual bouts, which seldom lasted more than five minutes, loud shouts of the spectators rang out and carried far along Fire Rock River valley.

25 Just before the fight begins the referee wipes these spurs off to remove any poison that might have been put on them.
Cockfighting is a traditional Borneo sport. A modern recreation is the movies which the Brunei Information Service shows every other month in the village. The boats which bring the movies are equipped with gasoline generators to supply the needed power. Many people from neighboring villages also come to see the movies. All enjoy watching up-to-date newsreels and high quality movies; but they grumble about low quality movies and Hindu films.

CHANGE

Intertwined through all aspects of village life, social and economic, runs the pervading influence of changing technology. The most striking element of this is motor power. The movies are one example. Another is the Iban longhouse and the Chinese merchant who have motor driven water pumps for irrigating their wet rice fields. This enables them to farm the land intensely and gain a high yield per acre. Such use of wet rice irrigation may be related to the fact that these two users of irrigation technology have less access to farmland, in proportion to the amount of rice they want to raise, than do other members of the village.

Both the family of Haji Mohammad and the Chinese merchant who owns the irrigation pump have Kubota diesel powered hand-pushed tractors which symbolize the ties of western technology and commerce that link the village to the outside world. The Kubota itself is a Japanese product designed and developed for use in small-sized rice fields where large western tractors cannot be used. But mere possession of
a Kubota in and of itself means little. The tractor must be main­tained in working order in a climate where vehicle maintenance is difficult.

Maintaining a machine in working order implies availability of the necessary parts and skills to repair breakdowns. Neither of these is easy in upriver Borneo. One of the most uncommon breakdowns of the Kubota is flat tires; and even this "simple" repair presents problems. The flat tire, still mounted on a wheel rim, is placed in a boat and taken to a shop in Bandar Seri Begawan which specializes in mending tires and inner tubes. Villagers estimate that the tire plus wheel to which it is attached weigh about a hundred pounds; the placing of them into the boat and lifting them out up an inclined back is accom­plished by sheer brawn. However such a task is relatively simple com­pared to the problems involved in repairing a mechanical breakdown. The spare parts for the Kubotas are available only from a dealer in Bandar Seri Begawan who orders them from overseas on demand. In 1971 Haji Mohammad's Kubota refused to start. Haji Mohammad and several men, including one government-trained outboard motor repairman, assem­bled to undertake repairs. The English language owner's manual gave no relevant instructions. First the men disassembled the engine, carefully noting the position from which each piece had been removed. Haji Mohammad bathed all the moving parts in oil, scrubbed them to re­move dirt, fungus, and whatever other foreign matter adhered, then put them into an oil soak. The assembled men discovered the faulty part but also noticed that the drive chain had worn in one place and need­ed replacing. The parts which needed to be replaced were scrubbed in
the river with detergent. On the next trip to town Haji Mohammad's eldest son drove to the Kubota dealer where he showed the clerk the clean parts and ordered replacements. More than a month later the parts arrived. Once again the men assembled at Haji Mohammad's house. They put the engine back together successfully, after attempts in which some parts were left over or the engine did not function properly. Several hours later the engine was correctly assembled and lubricated, the men washed up in the river and ate dinner.

The logistical difficulties involved in maintaining so basic an implement for mechanized agriculture as a Kubota tractor explain why the villagers do not make more extensive use of motor power even if they are financially able to do so, as was Haji Mohammad's family. Rather, they use motors only where maximal energy benefit is obtained.

Modern devices also affect social life, although the village is virtually untouched by western communications technology; and no telephones or televisions disrupt the network of interpersonal communication. However, the use of outboard motors does facilitate visiting upstream and downstream. Yet the main form of river travel within the village is still hand-paddled dugout canoes and temo' (a boat consisting of a dugout keel and plank sides). Nonetheless modern

26 One part was still left over; but the engine worked satisfactorily. In 1974 the left-over part was still sitting in an oil soak and the tractor still running.

27 In 1974 three families bought televisions sets and the gasoline generators to power them.
technology links Fire Rock Village to the greater political sphere of Brunei. Of most immediate impact to the village is the newly completed (1971) trans-Temburong highway from the village to Bangar. From Bangar to Bandar Seri Begawan travel is by helicopter or riverboat.

Another aspect of modern technology is its impact on fighting and defense. In former times, prior to about 1850, daggers, spears, poison, and brass cannon were the main instruments of political violence in Brunei; but in the present century guns, bombs, and airplanes of various types have become the fighting weapons. This change, especially to the use of helicopters for military maneuvering, has affected the village in two ways. First, the village is one of the places soldiers start from, or bivouac in, during jungle training. Secondly, the village is in contact with the outside world through military-civilian official radio. The radio is located in the village assembly hall and run on electricity generated by a Honda gasoline powered generator. This radio is of use not only should it be needed for defence purposes, but also in case of medical emergency. Thus, when one of the village women had trouble in childbirth the villagers radioed for a helicopter to come to evacuate her to the hospital in Bandar Seri Begawan.

From an overall point of view the village is less isolated today than in former times with regard to transportation and communications.

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28 Some Temburong taxi drivers like to speed at 90 miles per hour on the mile-and-a-half straightaway in the road between the village and Bangar. At each end of the straightway is a sharp curve.
Some services, such as medical aid and maternal and child health clinics are brought to the villagers. But by comparison with the national capital, the village is in many respects more a backwater and a place differing from the outside world than it was two or more decades ago. For example, in all of Temburong district there is no movie theater, good restaurant, or news-stand. The village has no electricity or piped water; and the goods available in the local Chinese shops are distinctly limited. For young Brunei citizens movies and reading of movie magazines constitute a major recreational activity which, however, is not available in the village or in Bandar. Older villagers are well aware that at night it is much simpler to flip a switch to obtain light than to use lamps and candles. Also, in the past villagers could earn about as much as city dwellers. But now virtually all well-salaried jobs, both in government and in the private sector, are located in the large towns and in the cities. Yet, despite the backwater status of the village, its occupations have been influenced by western technology (including the production of synthetic rubber which made the local rubber holdings unprofitable).

Even so mundane a concern as cooking has been affected by change. Foreign bushknives are now used for fishcleaning. A hundred years ago the Bruneis smelted iron and made their own iron for blades. But now the blades are imported from overseas; traditional Brunei knife and dagger makers no longer work at their trades. Likewise until twenty years ago virtually all cooking was done in Brunei-made brass pots; but with the importation of cheap aluminum cooking pots
the Brunei crafting has virtually ceased. Rice is less likely to burn in a Brunei-made cooking pot than in an aluminum one; but the brass pot is heavier to handle and much more expensive to buy than its imported aluminum counterpart.29

Of all the village enterprises religion is the least affected by modern technology. True, prayer rugs are machine woven; the mosque keeps time on a pendulum clock and not just from the position of the sun; the official end of Ramadan, the month of fasting, is marked by the call to prayer on the radio rather than from a village mosque official beating a drum; and the children learn religion from lithographed books in school rather than from oral tradition. But in its essentials, Islam in the village is unchanged and untouched by modern technology.

However, villagers say that modern technology has greatly increased the ease of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. In the 1950's a pilgrimage took six months by sea. Village pilgrims had to arrange for the housing of their children so that if they died on the pilgrimage, the children would have permanent homes. Today stringent health measures observed by both the Brunei and Saudi Arabian governments ensure the relative health of pilgrims. Air travel has reduced the duration of the pilgrimage to two months and thus make

29 The only brass foundry which is a going concern in Western Borneo is a Chinese run enterprise in Kuching, Sarawak, which makes such traditional objects as betel nut boxes and cooking pots.
it feasible for many to go who would not be able to arrange their affairs to take a six months journey.\textsuperscript{30}

In sum, direct observation in the village today shows many ways in which modern technology has affected everyday life. Yet, many aspects of the daily round are the same as in the past. The interpersonal communication network is essentially unchanged except for the lack of night time socializing. Some everyday first aid does come from drugstore boxes; but most is still the traditional Brunei first aid; such as blowing on the hurt place to make the hurt go away, or rubbing saliva on stinging ant bites to alleviate the pain. Women haul water from the river for drinking and dishwashing in buckets, usually ones made from old kerosene tins; and villagers bathe in the river. Children study at night by a candle or lamp-light. Still, one learns of national and international news from the radio rather than from asking those returning from the capital. But this is as much a result of the depopulation and consequent decreased visiting back and forth as of the presence of radios. Custom decrees bare feet in the house; but outdoors villagers wear

\textsuperscript{30} Well salaried government jobs plus the rapid transportation and the relative safety of the pilgrimage have led to an important change in the demographic composition of those making the trip. In the past pilgrims were mostly old people who had no family and economic obligations which prevented them from taking a six months trip. Additionally, the possibility of death of the journey prevented many with responsibilities to their children from going. Hence, twenty or thirty years ago most of the pilgrims were older people. But in the two groups of returning pilgrims observed during fieldwork quite a number were young adults. Hajiah Ramlah, Haji Tuah, and Haji Din, each of whom had seen many groups of pilgrims, concurred that there were more young people going today than formerly.
Japanese or Chinese rubber thong slippers. Imported machine woven cloth instead of Brunei hand-loomed kinds is used for garments, but sewing is done in traditional Brunei style. And imported spices season food as they have done for hundreds of years. Indeed, the entire economic pattern of mixed indigenous and imported goods is a traditional Brunei pattern.\(^3\)

The essential difference between the pattern of village technology today and as it existed in the village fifty years ago lies in the types of goods involved rather than in the presence of a mixture of foreign and native made goods. Although the village is not as self-sufficient as traditional Kadayan and Murut villages, the Malays are more self-sufficient in terms of rice production than were the Bruneis of the traditional water village who did not raise their own rice but traded for it with the Kadayans. It is against this background of technology that village Brunei Malays live their lives.

**LIFE CYCLE**

General description of the life cycle is a necessary background against which to set specific description of enculturation in terms of indigenous and western schemata and thence to focus on the enculturation of aggression. Villagers know that their place in society is largely determined by their position in the network of

\(^3\) See the discussion in Brown, 1970: 63-75.
kinship ties. Two individuals who have never before met will often discuss their relatives in order to find a common kinship link. Many rights, duties, and obligations devolve upon kinship ties. A fixed position in the genealogy, which will change after marriage, awaits the unborn village child.

The stated ideal family pattern is to have many children. However, some women say privately that many children are difficult to care for and that it is difficult to earn enough cash to supply all their needs. Villagers claim that women sometimes go to a dukun, practitioner of indigenous medicine, to terminate an unwanted pregnancy. The dukun uses home-made ink to write a prayer on a dish, dukun washes the ink off into a saucer, and has the woman drink the inky water from the saucer. Next, the dukun takes a leaf rib and wraps all but the last half inch or so in cloth (to prevent the stick from breaking). The dukun applies hot medicine to the tip of the leaf rib and with that tip pierces the amniotic sack. Then the foetus spills out with the waters. Informants say that if a person does not know how to do this there will be serious hemorrhaging and the mother may die; but if the dukun is expert the procedure succeeds and the mother is healthy. Gossips say that drinking large quantities of a certain tonic induces abortion. Occasionally there were rumors that so-and-so had drunk large quantities of this tonic to induce a miscarriage.

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The kinship terminology is described in Appendix B.
On the other hand, childlessness is a great sorrow often corrected by adopting a child or children, sometimes from a family that cannot afford to support another child. In one case the seventeenth child of a family was adopted by its maternal uncle. Childless women visit Malay or Kadayan medicine men, western physicians, and Chinese traditional medical experts in an attempt to become pregnant. Virtually no woman wants to remain childless because the stigma of childless marriage outweighs the fear of childbirth. Mixed joy and fear characterize a first pregnancy.

Malays say that a woman knows she is pregnant because she has no more menstruation, ails variously, and does not want to eat. Many women suffer morning sickness. Informants say that all day long the pregnant woman is lazy, she does not want to work or cook. A woman knows that nine months from her last period she will give birth.

Many pantang, forbidden actions, surround a woman's first pregnancy. When a husband learns that his wife is pregnant, he must not cut his hair for nine months and ten days lest he destroy the child. He must not kill animals, or childbirth will be hard. He should not build a house lest blood not clot properly. The pregnant woman must not sew, make pillows, or make mattresses for fear of sewing up the cervix. Nor should she make mats, for fear of slow urinating and defecating. If she enters a house by one door she must leave by that same door. People passing fire or water from one to another must pass it in front of the pregnant woman and not behind her. Should someone pass water behind a pregnant woman, it
is believed that excessive water will burst out during childbirth. Should someone pass fire to the rear of a pregnant woman, they say that the child will be red from being burnt by the fire. A pregnant woman should stay indoors lest an evil spirit get her, because her "meat is sweet" and hantu as well as other evil spirits like it.

Fear of difficult delivery motivates several special pre-natal behaviors. The expectant mother must eat well, not from big dishes, only from small ones. She cannot eat a lot of food at any one time or the child will grow large in the womb and consequently be difficult to deliver. She eats a little at a time but eats many times; and she eats much oil so that the child will come out easily. Old women massage the pregnant woman's abdomen almost daily with coconut oil. Late in pregnancy a midwife comes to massage the expectant mother's abdomen so that childbirth will be easy.

Village women say that in the past people feared childbirth because many died in childbed. People believed that if the prohibitions were not followed a woman was likely to die in childbirth. But informants say that now giving birth is easy, and, so they claim, the prohibitions are not followed any more. The claim of easier childbirth now is a reference to the obstetrical help which is available in the case of difficult delivery. In fact, however, most of the nantang are still observed, particularly during a first pregnancy. Informants report that in later pregnancies a woman does not need to follow all the prohibitions so strictly because her birth canal has become large. This is true even if her first delivery was a stillbirth, because she already "knows how to give birth."
An unborn child is considered to be the child of both its parents. Villagers explain that in procreation the man is *beguasa*, the possessor of creative power, while the woman is *bayong*, merely the place the child enters and leaves.  

As the time of delivery grows imminent, the midwife palpates the pregnant woman's abdomen to ascertain the position of the fetal head. If the head is not seated against the mouth of the cervix, elderly female maternal relatives massage and manipulate the foetus in order to position the head for delivery. From about one week before birth is due the woman's husband stays home lest he be away when it is time to call the midwife. Old female maternal relatives stay at the house to help with housework and watch over the pregnant woman. When she goes into labor she knows that the child "wants out." Her husband calls relatives and sends for the midwife.

Birth takes place on an elevated wooden platform which is specially built in the house for the delivery. Village midwives, and sometimes a hastily summoned professional, government trained, midwife, are in attendance. The woman in labor lies flat on her back with her knees flexed. As the contractions become severe the midwives bear down on her abdomen to "help the baby come out." There is a prohibition on looking under the delivering woman's skirt which covers her legs. Thus the midwife cannot gauge when the neck of the cervix has dilated sufficiently for the child to emerge except by

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33 This is evidence for the existence and meaning of patrilineage in Malay ideology.
the strength of the woman's uterine contractions. Childbirth is con­sidered imminent when the bag of waters bursts. Women are afraid of giving birth alone and want to be surrounded by relatives; but they say that they do not want to give birth in the hospital because the doctors often perform Caesarean sections. During labor relatives, both male and female, maternal and paternal, sit about smoking cigarettes, drinking coffee, chewing betel nut, and dis­cussing all the difficult deliveries they have attended. As the baby presents, the local midwife places one hand with the finger tips touching the delivering mother's coccyx and with the other hand presses on the abdomen to expedite delivery.

After birth the umbilical chord is tied with thread near the child's abdomen, then cut with a bamboo knife. The child is bathed, powdered, and fine ash from the kitchen stove is put over the severed stump of the umbilical chord. A belly band sewn from any cloth available is put on the abdomen. Then the infant is swaddled in pretty cloth and an Islamic prayer said over him. The severed chord and afterbirth may be hung high up in a tree, in which case it is

34 The pregnant woman will tell those present when the bag of waters has burst.

35 The women's conclusions about the hospital's tendency to operate are accurate in view of the fact that village women in labor arrive at the hospital only if there is serious difficulty in delivery.

36 The midwife judges when the baby is presenting from the size and shape of the abdomen, as well as from how much of the fetal head she can feel above the pelvis. A western trained physician told me that the practise of pushing on the abdomen to expedite delivery carries the danger of rupturing the womb.
believed the child will be able to ascend mountains, hills, and high places. More commonly, the chord and afterbirth are put on a small piece of wood and the raft set afloat on the river. The child's father, grandfather, or uncle (usually maternal), in that order of preference, attends to the severed chord and afterbirth.

Before the civil rebellion of 1962, a shot was fired when the child was born so that he would not be startled ever after when hearing gunshots. But now guns are forbidden so this custom is observed only at royal births. The village medicine man claims that, traditionally, chalk was put on the arms of a newborn boy to make his arms strong. This custom is no longer followed and the medicine man points out, the arms of men now are weak by comparison with his own strong arms.

The newborn infant is placed on a floormat with his head on a pillow and two cloths laid over him as blankets. Old women claim that traditionally the infant was not suckled for a day or more. If he awoke, people bathed him and gave him a little honey to drink. But now right after the child is born maternal relatives feed him. But, continue the oldsters, children now are more alert right after birth than they used to be. The father of the newborn gives a small sum of change to children who come to visit. This is to preserve the health of the new infant. Mothers often feel a sickness after birth because the menstrual blood does not break loose all at

37 The increase of neonatal alertness might be explained by the elimination of endemic malaria, and through improved maternal health resulting from a monthly pre-natal clinic in the village.
once, but comes out little by little. As mentioned earlier, the house must be kept quiet lest the mother be afflicted with "navel chord madness," a post-partum insanity. Ideally a primaparous woman rests for forty days with her back to a fire so that the "heat will shrink the womb." People frequently visit her. The new mother eats only foods classified as "hot." The new mother eats many foods with pepper. Pepper is put around the stump of the baby's chord so that it will quickly become dry and well.

In the post-partum period of her first two or three deliveries the new mother drinks a potion made of forty different leaves and herbs, daun mandi empat puloh. On the fortieth day after her first child is born a ceremonial sitting in state is held for the mother. She is powdered with powder of seven colors and sits in state dressed in finery. There is a feast and traditionally there was ceremonial music, as at a wedding, but for one night only. In the past female infants were "circumcised" and had their ears pierced on the fortieth day. But now the ceremony takes place when the

38 Many foods are classified as "hot" or "cold." The Brunei Malay conceptual system of "hot" and "cold" is too extensive for analysis in the present discussion.

39 This brew ideally should be consumed after each childbirth but especially after the first birth. However, some women cannot stand the evil taste and do not drink the mixture even after their first delivery.
infant is about two years old. After bearing two or three children, a woman is said to have "borne her fill," and no longer needs special medicine and elaborate care in childbirth. Gathering the "forty ingredient" medicine mentioned above is a major task involving an extensive network of paternal and maternal relatives to collect the needed ingredients. Malays explain that this medicine is no longer necessary after two or three births because the mother is experienced in delivering children. However in structural terms, after two or three children the new nuclear family is well set in its pattern and solidly fitted into the social structure. Consequently, the involvement of many relatives in obtaining ingredients for a special medicine, an activity that emphasizes the relationship of those relatives to the nuclear family involved in birth, is no longer necessary.

During the first few days of life an infant is cared for by the women attending his mother. When the infant is about a week old his mother begins to assume more of the care. Whenever the infant eliminates, she changes the cloth in which the infant is wrapped (no diapers are used). She rocks the infant in a baby sling to put him

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40 The girl is "circumcised" because the Malay villagers maintain that it is a tenet of Islam that females should be "circumcized." The child's ears are pierced in order that she may wear earrings. Both operations are performed by an old female relative, usually maternal. The "circumcision" operation technically is not a clitoridectomy (excision of the clitoris), but a clitorodotomy (incision of the clitoris). See discussion on pages 66-67.
to sleep or suckles him to satisfy his hunger.\footnote{The baby sling is a sarong, tubular skirt, hung on a hook suspended from a spring which is tied at one end to a house beam. The traditional baby sling was fastened to a rope which was tied to a flexible branch which lay athwart two roof beams, the rope being tied to the central portion of the branch; the springiness of the branch permitted gentle squeaky rocking of the baby sling in a vertical up and down motion.} Visitors admire the newborn infant but do not lift him up and handle him; they admire him where he lies.

A first infant is dressed in new cloths and given new toys. Parents and relatives give later infants fewer clothes and playthings. Visitors coming to a house admire and comment on an infant. A typical fond remark is, "pretty, fine."

Abnormal infants are said by informants to be treated in the same way as normal infants. But in village living conditions only healthy normal infants usually survive into childhood. Villagers stress that an infant's every whim must be catered to lest he become sick and possible die from excessive crying. Villagers do not slap infants to make them stop crying, but cradle and rock them. Adults attempt to satisfy the wants of infants and to be extremely patient with them. However, elder siblings are often a bit less patient. But in general infants and toddlers who can not talk have their own way and do not throw tantrums.

Parents differ widely in the amount and type of affection they show their children. Mothers lovingly handle and tend their infants. The attitude toward children is that they are a natural part of life and will in the due course of time become adults. Young children

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are allowed to play and generally do as they please, so long as they
do nothing to hurt themselves or others. If a child becomes dirty
he is bathed by the person attending him. Normally a child's con-
stant attendant, usually a sister or adult female maternal relative,
is engaged in some other activity and leaves the child to his own
concerns. The attendant intervenes with the infant or toddler only
if he is about to hurt himself or is interfering with the activities
of the attendant.

Once a child learns to talk, an event taken for granted and not
particularly noted by parents, he begins to associate with other
children as part of a child play group. Such groups of village
children regularly interact with each other and with older child-
ren rather than with adults. Parents interact with these child
groups only if their quarrels get out of hand or if they want the
children to do some work. Within each group the older children
discipline and guide the younger ones. The members of the groups
are children of all ages, but individuals who appear physically
mature associate with adults rather than with child play groups.
The youngest members of the playgroup may be infants carried by
their sisters, or, more commonly, toddlers just beginning to talk.

Throughout childhood no one makes any effort to coach the child-
ren in particular skills. If children want to learn certain skills
or to be able to do what someone else does they learn on their own
or seek adult help. If the children have no desire to learn a skill
they do not learn and no one becomes concerned. Parents do note
what their children are doing and sometimes express a wish, so the
child can hear it, that one of the children would learn more or were 
more industrious; but they do not openly pressure or force the child 
to learn a skill. Indeed, the first formal demands and pressures a 
child meets are those arising in the classroom.

The village school teachers recognize and state that the children 
are in a very different circumstance at school than that found 
at home. Thus, the teachers take much time emphasizing how impor­
tant it is to be orderly, to being the right books to school, and not 
to come to school ill-prepared. In teaching the children to use note­
books the teachers stress over and over how important it is to rule 
the margins correctly, copy the date and subject heading neatly, 
and pay attention to what is going on in class. The village 
teachers use standard Malay rather than the Brunei Malay dialect 
the children speak at home, but often explain in Brunei dialect what 
they are saying so that the children fully understand. Thus, 
children are gradually accustomed to school rather than being over­
whelmed or repelled by it.

As noted, children learn by example at home. They also learn 
from overheard conversation. Most of the child lore and later adult 
knowledge comes from this type of informal learning. For example, 
kinship terminology develops gradually as the child hears relatives 
referred to and addressed by varying terms and then tries to apply 
them himself. However, when a child errs in use of kinship termino­
logy and is corrected he is being taught.

42 The notebooks are lined only horizontally; students rule 
in their own vertical margins.
Parents consider pre-adolescent children as listeners, not as participants in their conversations. Parents occasionally answer questions of children, but not in any consistent manner. They give an answer usually to stop the child from being a bother (c.f. Ward 1971). Adults including parents, are neither condescending nor indulgent with children but take an interested although formally neutral attitude toward them. As children mature, adults accept each new stage of maturity and begin to talk a bit more with them, thus gradually accepting them into adult society.

As children grow into adolescence (the concept of adolescence is not recognized as such by traditional Brunei Malays) they are informally taught household chores (girls), and farm duties or fishing (boys). They learn largely through trial and error imitation of the work they see done, and through asking occasional questions. The learning occurs largely because adults expect children who are beginning to show signs of physical maturity to take on adult tasks.

Adolescents learn about the "facts of life," birth, death, and procreation, from close relatives of their same sex and of approximately equal age. Malay language sex manuals, bought in Bandar Seri Begawan and carefully hidden from adult view at home, also supply sex information. By the time they are adolescent most village children have seen birth and death. They have seen animals mating and drawn inferences about the process in humans.

West Malaysian movie magazines and women's magazines give village adolescents a set of Western-oriented values and ideas about life. However, many of those ideas can never be realized in the village.
Still, the girls do use Hong Kong or European produced make-up and many of the boys want to wear clothes like those of the Malaysian male movie stars.

A village adolescent may begin to acquire a stock of esoteric knowledge. For example, a boy may seek virility magic. Or, in order to make herself beautiful, a girl may not be content merely to put on western-style make-up but may also use the "method of making the face sweet." To learn the technique she goes to someone who knows it and gives that person powdered sugar and bananas to obtain the "power" of the formula. The teacher accepts the ceremonial gift and transmits the knowledge. The teacher tells the girl to rub face powder in the palm of her hands, hold her hands palm upwards as though to pray, then repeat thrice:

In the name of Allah the Gracious the Merciful, 
stars shine on my face 
sweet pollen on my lips 
Sirius star in my eyes 
new moon on my forehead; 
luminescent the view of my face; 
human predecessor, human children, none bowed to, none loved as I; 
even though the tigress is with her young she helter-skelters to obeisance at my feet.

Finally the girl rubs the powder on her face. Acquisition of esoteric knowledge is an inward concomitant of approaching maturity.

The first major ceremony in the life of a child or adolescent is circumcision. For boys it usually occurs when they are about twelve

43 If the learner did not give the requisite gift, nikanas, the knowledge would be ineffective. Most esoteric knowledge can be obtained only in exchange for a specific type of gift; the greater the gift given the more powerful the knowledge obtained, particularly if one is learning to make amulets.
years old. In the past the ceremony was done at home, but now many boys go to the hospital. One village family planned to circumcise their son during his older sister's wedding. But the boy disappointed his tradition oriented parents by going to the hospital prior to the wedding and being circumcised there. He gave as his reason that he wanted to enjoy his sister's wedding.

The traditional circumcision ceremony was similar to a wedding. The boy was dressed in finery and for two days before the operation there were singing and traditional amusements. Before the day of operation the boy was hennaed and powdered with powder darker than that used in weddings. On the day of circumcision the boy wore small gold flowers in his hair. After sitting in state he was taken into a room and circumcised sitting astride a banana tree trunk. The traditional fee to the circumciser - not a close kinsman but a specialist - was ten Brunei dollars and one chicken. Some claimed that if the chicken were not given the boy would hemorrhage. Village Malays explain that circumcision is an important ceremony and so should be done while the boy is wearing his best finery.

Circumcision ceremony and the wearing of finery also applies to girls. However, most girls are "circumcised" very young, at the age of two or three. Girls this young are operated on while they sleep. It is said that if the operator, an old woman not necessarily closely related, is skillful the small child will not awaken when the act is performed. "Circumcision" for girls is actually a symbolic clitoridectomy which must be performed in the presence of a witness. The circumcisor takes a knife or razor blade and nicks the very end of
the clitoris until a drop of blood is drawn; this constitutes the operation. After this ritual act, the girl's ears are pierced with a large needle and thread is put in. The thread is left in the ear for one week during which time it is rotated to a new position quite frequently so that it does not grow into the wound. After the thread loop has been cut and her first earrings put on the girl, the ceremony of "circumcision" and ear-piercing is complete.

Rather than go to the expense of a special ceremony, however, many families wait to "circumcise" their child, boy or girl, when a sibling or other relative is marrying. In this case the wedding festivities supply the requisite feasting and the only expenses involved are for the child's finery and a fee to the person performing the operation.

Girls are "circumcised" so young that no behavior change is expected after their operation. But boys are expected to do more work and act more mature after their circumcision. However the rite by no means constitutes an abrupt transition in the life of a boy except that it is now incumbent upon him to attend Friday prayer at the mosque. Indeed, the first abrupt transition in the life of an individual, apart from that of formal schooling, is the key ceremony of marriage.

Marriage is the central and most important social ceremony of life. The time, effort, concern, expense, and general agitation

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44 Informants explained that the handmotion symbolic of female circumcision is that used to harvest rice.
associated with marriage far exceeds that for any other ceremony. The marriage ritual itself lasts almost more than a week, far longer than any other rite. Marriage is central because it institutes an extensive alteration in the kinship network whereby the relatives of one marriage partner are aligned to relatives of the other marriage partner through the link of the marriage. The relatives assembled at a wedding represent the physical reality of the new social alignment. Also, a large portion of the extended kinship network of both marriage partners must be activated in order to make the necessary wedding preparations.\(^45\) But most important of all, a wedding establishes a new procreative unit.

Extensive discussion, comparison, and analysis of genealogy takes place in connection with a wedding. The most important discussion of kinship occurs during selection of a marriage partner because the preferred marriage is with a first cousin.\(^46\) Both cross and parallel cousins are permissible marriage partners. However, an important consideration is that the parent of the groom should be the elder sibling of the parent of the bride. Marriage with a first cousin once removed, that is, of a senior generation, is also a good marriage if the husband is the partner of the senior

\(^{45}\) Various relatives help with the actual work involved in the ceremony, others lend objects for use at the wedding or supply part of the food, still others are involved in religious and ritual aspects of the ceremony.

\(^{46}\) Perhaps only one-fifth of marriages are with first cousins while some three-fifths are with second, or third cousins or their descendants.
generation, is also a good marriage if the husband is the partner of
the senior generation. A first cousin marriage in which the parent
of the bride is the elder sibling of the parent of the groom is per-
missible but inauspicious.

Incestuous marriages are those with one's true parent, one's
half-sibling by the same father or mother, one's own sibling, or
one's child's spouse. Unlike incestuous marriages "despised marriages"
are permissible. However, they are with relatives who are considered
geneologically too close for marriage, and so are extremely inaus-
picious. An example of a "despised" marriage is that of a woman
wedding her step-father who had begotten no children of her mother.
No villagers cited any cases of despised marriages actually occurring.

Regardless of what type or marriage takes place a shift in
social reality occurs in that the responsibility for the woman shifts
from her father to her husband. Some man is always responsible for
a woman as a social and economic person. A father or eldest brother,
but not a step-father, is responsible for an unmarried woman. If
those men are not alive the eldest brother of the father or the eld-
estest son of the eldest brother of the father is responsible.
For example, if a woman's father and brother were dead the son of
the dead brother would act as the representative of the dead father
at the woman's marriage. A second cousin or other close male paternal
relative can assume responsibility for an unmarried woman in case of
need. A male child of the woman cannot be responsible for her, but
her sibling's male child or grandchild can be. These men are also
responsible for divorced or widowed women. The responsibility for a married woman rests with her husband.

A traditional Brunei Malay marriage takes place in several stages. In order of occurrence these are: informal inquiry about the prospective bride; formal inquiry about the prospective bride; arrangement for the engagement day; the engagement day; giving of the hand; bringing the brideprice; presentation of the engagement gifts; and the wedding ceremony. The wedding ceremony is spread over more than a week and consists of: powdering; hennaing; signing of the marriage contract; formal sitting in state; and taking of the bride.

Villagers claim that before the marriage ceremony girls used to sit and cry; even fat girls became thin because they just sat and cried; they did not want to marry.47 For forty days before the wedding the bride was kept in strictest seclusion. One result of this seclusion was that her skin became pale and, by Brunei standards, beautiful. The pre-marriage seclusion is still observed. Woman who are employed take marriage leave beginning more than a month before their wedding and stay at home during that time.48

Preparations for the actual wedding ceremony are expensive, time-consuming, and involve activation of the extended kinship network. In the past many poor families arranged marriages five or

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47 By contrast, in one case observed during fieldwork a girl who was frightened of marriage ate six or seven times a day in reaction.

48 The Brunei government gives all its civil servants, male or female, a sum of money at the time of their marriage to help out with the wedding expenses.
six years in advance because they needed that much time to accumulate the money for wedding expenses.

In preparation for the wedding the bride's family buys yards and yards of cloth to make the curtains for the marriage bed. The old style marriage bed was a large bed in a large room with cloth hung all along the walls and two or three layers of curtains screened off the bed. Twenty or thirty people came to help with the sewing. Now, as then, curtains for the marriage bed itself must be sewn in one day. It is forbidden for the marriage bed curtains to be left unfinished overnight. In addition, four or five sets of clothers are sewn for the bride.\(^4\)

One to two weeks before the wedding amusements begin. These consist of gong playing, song singing, versification, and other entertainments that accompany a wedding.\(^5\) Many friends come to eat and drink. People sleep in the morning and stay up all night. Women gather at the bride's house and men at the groom's house. People

\(^4\) When Haji Mohammad's family was preparing for the wedding of Leila they made numerous boat trips to town to buy furniture, dishes, spices, cloth by the bolt, soft drinks, pots and pans, glasses, spoons, and so forth. They enlarged the house to accommodate guests. Some months before the wedding day they began to fatten up a water buffalo and a steer in preparation for the feast. Regalia and ceremonial objects were borrowed for use. Awang Abu's wife made the special powder to be used at the wedding. Hajiah Ramlah arranged for numerous relatives to come and help with the housekeeping chores and cooking during the wedding.

The initial ceremony, the powdering of the bride, was a quiet one attended only by people from the village. But the next day wedding guests began to pour in. Hajiah Ramlah estimated that for two nights more than three-hundred people slept in the house.

\(^5\) But many weddings now have such festivities only one or two nights before the ceremonial sitting in state.
old and young join in the fun. For example, at Leila's wedding two versification experts were hired from Limbang; Hajiah Ramlah said that they were distant relatives. For three nights from 10 p.m. until 4 a.m. they sat under Haji Mohammad's house and made verses. Several hundred people from all over Temburong came to hear them. Once such traditional entertainment was common at weddings; but now it is rather rare.

The week of marriage festivities commences with the powdering of the bride and groom. Separate and parallel ceremonies for the bride and groom take place at their respective homes. The powdering ceremony commences with the bride or groom being led out into a main room of the house, dressed in state. She or he kneels on a new rug or a white mat. Various guests ceremonially put daubs of powder on the bride. Then the bride is led back into her room. While the guests are served refreshments the bride is undressed, dressed in a white wrap-around, and powdered all over her body by two old women. Then she is ceremonially bathed by an old relative while four attendants hold lighted candles at the four corners of the square in which she sits.

Sometime during the week of the marriage the groom and the father of the bride sign the marriage contract either at the local mosque,

51 Ceremonies will be here described for the bride only; those for the groom are identical unless otherwise noted.

52 These relatives involved in marriage ceremonies can be either maternal or paternal. Given the high rate of in-marrying one person is frequently both a maternal and a paternal relative of the bride or groom.
or at the house of the bride or groom, always in the presence of a religious official, juru nikah, who is in charge of marriages. Signing the marriage contract is followed by a meal for the men taking part. Ideally, the contract is signed on the day of the sitting in state ceremony. The marriage contract, akad nikah, in and of itself is sufficient to constitute a marriage in the eyes of Islam and of the government. But a wedding with contract signing alone is not really considered a proper marriage.

Staining of the hands and feet with henna takes place on the night before the final day of the marriage week. Guests assemble. The bride, dressed in finery, is led out. Various of the guests ceremonially stain her hands and feet with henna. They take a pinch of henna paste, holding it near their mouth recite a prayer, "In the name of Allah, the Gracious, the Merciful," then put the henna on the bride's foot or hand, and rinse their fingers in water. Then the bride is led back into her room. While the guests are given refreshments, old women stain the palm and fingertips of the bride's hand and the soles of her feet with henna. This staining is done by taking pounded-up henna leaves mixed with a little water and putting it on the skin surface. The leaf pulp is left to dry. Then the leaf pulp is scraped off the skin leaving a reddish stain behind. If the old women attending the bride do a poor job, so that the resultant stain is not a deep brownish red they are much criticized in gossip. In the old days brides did not wear shoes at their wedding; the henna formed the ornamentation of the foot. It is said that once the henna stains wear off, the couple are no longer newly-weds.
On the day following the staining with henna, the bride and groom meet for the first time in the sitting in state ceremony, standing. Guests assemble and eat a large meal. Then the party of the groom leaves his house and comes to the house of the bride. This party consists of the groom, dressed in his wedding finery, plus numerous of his maternal and paternal relatives. Some of the young men carry the candles used at the groom's ceremonies and his luggage since he is moving in to live at the house of his wife. Because the village is only accessible by boat the groom's procession comes in a water cavalcade. Sometimes a groom's party will rent one of the government barges which they decorate in style. The groom walks under a bedecked umbrella which is carried by an attendant as symbol of the groom's status of rajah for a day. Wearing traditional Malay dress plus a crown, waistcloth, and dagger fastened at his waist, the groom is indeed a prince. Meanwhile the bride sits on a dais waiting. Dressed in finery, doing nothing for herself but having everything done for her, the bride is symbolically a princess for the day. Indeed, informants say that through the week of wedding ceremonies the bride and groom are as royalty, served elaborate food on fine brass trays in traditional style, dressed, bathed, their whims catered to by all and sundry. This representation of the bride and

53 Traditionally this might be the first time the bride had ever seen her husband. Now, however, fiancees usually meet, but always in the presence of chaperons.

54 Traditionally the bride was carried by her father or eldest brother; but now she walks out conducted by two women.
groom as royalty culminates in the enthronement on their betandoing
day, when the groom comes and sits beside his bride. He first leads
her to the front of the house so that guests assembled outside can
see the bridal pair, then to her room; he himself goes to a separate
room. As many women as possible crowd into the house to see the
nuptial pair sitting in state; but only a very small proportion of
the guests, and none of the men can see the couple thus enthroned.55
Inevitably at a present day wedding a cluster of amateur photog­
raphers scrambles to take pictures from the time the groom arrives,
through his ceremonial welcoming into the house with scented water
and thrown flower scented rice, to the sitting in state and presenta­
tion to the assembled guests.

In the evening the groom goes to the bride's room and conducts
her to the marriage bed. In the past this "taking" was often the
first time the bride really saw her husband, because throughout the
betandoing she sat with downcast eyes. They spent the night on the
the marriage bed talking and becoming acquainted. Relatives gathered
round carrying on horseplay, pinching the couple, making suggestive
gestures, and indulging in coarse jokes. Near the marriage bed sat
the chaperon of the groom and the chaperon of the bride. However,
at present the couple often just sits in chairs and talks. If the
couple know each other fairly well, for example cousins, the "taking"
may be nothing more than a conducting of the bride to the nuptial

55 But male photographers do enter. The one sure way to
get a good view of the wedding is to work a camera.
chamber where she sits in state and then leading her back to her own room.

On the day after the wedding the bride and groom sleep late. That night the bride once again goes to the nuptial bed with the groom. Once again they sit up talking. By tradition only on the fourth night after the betrothal do the couple commence marital relations. Staining of the white sheet of the nuptial bed is looked for as proof of virginity. The following day the couple sit together for a ceremonial bath which officially closes the wedding festivities.

The stated post-marital residence is uxorilocal, the couple living in the house of the bride's parents. In all Malay marriages in the village residence is indeed uxorilocal for one week after the ceremony. However, many women now go to live where their husband lives or else the couple live neolocally. Virtually all the village houses are neolocal residences.56

Newly-weds behave toward one another formally and respectfully. The wife expends great care on cooking tempting dishes for her husband who is assiduous in his religious duties. After a couple have been married for one year or more, particularly if they have a child, their behavior becomes informal. However, a husband and wife do not have a joking or teasing relationship.

Although Islam permits a man as many as four wives all the Islamic men of the village are monogamous and none are divorced. They

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56 Except the house of Haji Mohammad which as of April 1972 housed Haji Mohammad, his wife, and their ten children. In addition, Haji Mohammad's eldest son's wife and daughter were resident in the house as was the husband of Haji Mohammad's eldest daughter.
say that it is difficult enough to support one wife and children; they could not afford to support more. Should a husband wish to divorce his wife he can do so by reciting thrice, "I divorce you," the classical Islamic divorce. The wife would then return to her natal family (or her husband move out of it) and be free to remarry. But a divorced husband forfeits the bride-price unless his wife has been guilty of adultery. Villagers say that this forfeiture of bride-price is the reason for their low divorce rate.

As adults progress through marriage and child rearing, to old age, they continue to learn parts of their culture, particularly the more esoteric aspects. For example, an adult will already know that the rainbow is an evil spirit which makes people sick if they meet where it touches the earth and "drinks" water. An adult will also know that "rainbow sickness" has a number of symptoms: weakness, inability to bend the legs, arms limp as flax like a person who has not eaten for five days, and fever. If an adult wants to learn how to cure the illness he will go to a ritual specialist, dukun, to whom he gives a gift of iron, and learns the cure. The specialist teaches the learner an incantation:

Peace be with you.
Four travels,
four standing up,
open door or the earth,
yak juida yak juida.
Incant, maharaja, incant;
I shall know your origin.
Your beginning comes of sea origin,
return to the sea;
of earth origin, return to the earth;
do not pinch;
the same you children of Abdullah;
descend all harm and enter.
All is neutral, well neutral.

The dukun will teach an adult learner to say the incantation and then blow on the patient suspected of having rainbow sickness. The incantation is to be repeated three times, followed each time by blowing on the patient. While reciting each incantation the curer must touch the ailing part of the patient with the fingers of his right hand. The dukun teaches this action by demonstrating it on the learner. The patient sits with his face toward the rising sun during the cure. After the treatment is over no one may step over the legs of the patient nor may his face be shaded lest his recovery be slow. Such esoteric knowledge is imparted only in private sessions. Knowledge that a given person is learning the techniques of a dukun spreads very slowly in a community. Once the adult learner has fully mastered the curing techniques he (or she) does not immediately treat people. Only after a person is "long in years and so strong in life," does he become an active dukun. When a person is older he can be reasonably sure that his "vital force," and soul are strong enough to deal with the supernatural.

With the onset of old age a Brunei Malay reaches the final recognized stage of the life cycle. The terms for stages in the Malay life cycle, in order of occurrence, are: anak baru keluar, newborn; anak damit, baby or toddler; anak, child; orang muda, young person; orang basar, mature adult; orang tua, middle age or early old age; tua banar, old person. An "old person" is less active than a younger one yet still participates fully in society. Perhaps an old woman
can no longer see to do fine sewing and crocheting; but she can
still cook and help tend children. An old man can still paddle a
boat and fish. Brunei elders like to sit around, chew betel nut,
smoke cigarettes or pipes, and talk. Old people are recognized by
younger people as a repositories of knowledge concerning traditional
rites and customs. Hence, they are often consulted by younger adults.
And in the nearly universal manner of the aged, village old men and
women complain that, "the young folks today just do not really do
things the proper way that they were done when we were young." Old
people have the privilege of joking and teasing freely with any
other person in the community. But ultimately old people become
ancestors.57

When it becomes apparent that a person is near death relatives
assemble.58 A Brunei Malay dies as he was born, circumcized,
made, and lived, not alone but surrounded by kinsmen.

In common with all other major events in village life, burial
is marked by a gathering of kinsmen. The deceased is bathed, dressed
in unsewn white clothes, or white clothes with the seams undone,
and shrouded in white cloth in accordance with Islam. A person is
buried on the day that he dies, as Islam enjoins. If a person dies
at night he is buried before noon of the next day. The shrouded

57 Some old people become senile, lali lali, before they
die. However, these people are proportionately few, perhaps because
the average of death is in the fifties and sixties. Senility is not
a cultural expectation of aged behavior.

58 This occurred twice during the time of the study. Three
unexpected deaths also occurred.
corpse is placed on a bier and covered with all the fine cloths and mats in the house. Relatives come to attend the funeral prayer service. The body is carried to the Moslem grave yard and after final prayers buried in the ground. Immediately after the grave is filled all return to the house of the deceased for the funeral feast.

Three, seven and forty days after death, memorial feasts and prayers are held in honor of the recently dead by members of his or her household or other close kin. Village men attend the three and seven days feasts where they pray for the newly deceased. The major feast of the dead is the makanan empat puluh hari, the feast of the fortieth day after death. Family members from far and wide, male and female, young and old, attend the fortieth day feast. Thereafter the deceased is honored annually at the feast of the dead immediately preceeding Ramadan. This day of honoring the dead is the most solemn holiday of the year.

A month after a person dies his close kinsmen gather to divide the estate. The only relatives who can inherit property in the Brunei Malay interpretation of Islamic inheritance law are: husband, father, son, brother, wife, daughter, mother, sister, father's brother and father's sister. Each of these persons is entitled to a fixed portion of the estate. The estate is divided into "portions."

59 Before entering any other house all those who have been to the house of the dead must bathe and wash all the clothes they were wearing.

60 The only inheritance divisions that occurred in the village during fieldwork took place when I was away. Consequently, no detailed documentation is available on actual division of inheritance.
Husband, father, son, and brother are entitled to one-half of a portion apiece. Father's brother and father's sister are entitled to one-fourth of a portion apiece. The division is effected by adding up all the fractional shares that must be handed out. This sum then indicated the number of portions into which the estate must be divided. Each person is then given his or her share of the estate. A relative unable to be present at the apportionment sends someone to represent him. In the village the only substantial goods to be inherited, apart from cash sums, are houses, boats and motors, land, and perhaps a car.

Some time after a person's death relatives place a marker over the tomb. The village Islamic cemetery is on top of a hill about one mile from Fire Rock River. Many of the graves are unmarked and untended; some have wooden markers; only a few have stone markers. Few markers in the cemetery carry the names of the deceased. Rather, graves are remembered by relatives. The graveyard is deserted and empty, for none dare to go there save in groups to bury someone or to honor the dead. Thus, buried in a grave which sooner or later is forgotten, the village Malay completes the cycle of life. This life cycle and the setting in which it takes place provide the backdrop for study of enculturation with a subfocus on the enculturation of aggression.

Now that the trans-Temburong highway is complete five villagers have purchased cars, four used, some on the installment plan. Two of the cars belong to the Chinese merchants; one old car usually will not start.
III. CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND ENCULTURATION

Child development will be discussed in terms of three schemata: the indigenous schema; the Gesell-Ilg schema; and the psycho-sexual psychoanalytic schema. Then the enculturation of aggression will be described in terms of specific actions. The first developmental scheme to be considered is the indigenous one.

BRUNEI MALAY SCHEMA

The Brunei Malay classification of human development from childhood on is phrased in terms of physical development or, in the case of youth, marital status. The classification of the stages of early child development is based on a description of the successive achievements of motion and locomotion.

The earliest recognized phase of human development is anak di dalam parut, child in the abdomen. This comprises the embryonic and fetal phases from the time of conception to the time of delivery.

The earliest recognized stage of human infancy is anak baru keluar, newborn child.¹ The newborn is characterized as being usually red and passive, spending almost all his time asleep. A newborn child is shown off to all who pay a visit to the mother. Visitors

¹ All terms apply to both males and females unless specified to the contrary.
usually do not handle the baby but admire him from a distance.\textsuperscript{2} The newborn child is tightly swaddled except for the few minutes when he is bathed and changed after he has soiled his swaddling cloths.

Informants say that when an infant is seven days old all of the neonate membrane is gone from his lips. At this time the infant begins to have periods of wakefulness. However, an infant still remains swaddled except when being bathed or changed. Visitors may occasionally hold the week-old infant to admire him, but usually do not. The infant is no longer so red and wrinkled. People remark on the appearance of the infant and upon any of his physical defects or markings. A common birth mark is the "mongoloid spot." Folk tradition attributes the presence of "mongoloid spots" to the fact that at some time the mother violated the prohibition against eating food from cooking vessels (always black from being used over wood fire). At this age infants are rocked frequently in a baby sling. People tend the infant, but seldom talk to him or play with him at this early stage of development.

A three months old infant begins to respond to people, tau diasah, gurgles, melangut, and is then considered a human being. As the infant now responds to people, so do people now respond to the infant. At bathing and changing times, the person attending the infant smiles to him, talks to him, and plays with him. For example, she may say, \textit{ev lapar ey, hey, hungry huh!} in a special intonation

\footnote{The term "he" should be taken to mean "he" or "she."}
pattern. Now the infant is left unswaddled for short periods of time. By this time the infant's mother has fully resumed housework and her other tasks. Older siblings and adult females co-resident in the house begin to take over part of the infant care. Thus, at about three months the infant becomes acquainted with a wider range of individuals serving as parent surrogates. Visitors now pick up the infant and play with him. They coo to him and may speak to him in baby talk. An infant that responds happily to such attention draws out more of the same attention. In contrast, an infant that is not responsive to such treatment eventually gets little attention. The infant now knows how to roll onto his side and begins to play when being bathed and swaddled. Sometimes he rolls onto his side instead of merely remaining passive while being bathed and wrapped. The person tending him will often make a comment and smile or laugh in response to this rolling behavior.

The four months old infant is able to raise himself up on his hands, tjaran, and to survey the surrounding world. He is no longer constantly swaddled, but often spends an hour or more naked on the floor under the watchful eye of a relative. Many four months old infants cry if their arms are bound into the swaddling cloths. To prevent the crying response, the person swaddling the infant leaves his arms outside the swaddling.

Sliding forward by creeping on the stomach through pulling the arms, menyurong, is the first form of self propulsion accomplished
by an infant, generally at about five months of age. Soon thereafter the infant learns to creep backwards, *maundor*.

An infant becomes more mobile at about seven months of age when he pulls himself forward rapidly on his stomach by putting his hands palm downward on the floor and pulling. With this relatively rapid motion the infant can move away from his attendant and investigate her near environment, but might hurt himself during such investigation. To prevent this the attendant constantly picks up the infant and turns him away from objects. If the infant protests such treatment by crying, the attendant jounces him or tries to divert his attention with some object. All in all, a village infant has little opportunity to complete any exploration of his surroundings because most exploration is thwarted. But visitors frequently jounce him. Traditional belief holds that such jouncing, bouncing the infant up and down on his feet, strengthens his legs for walking. During this time visitors also continue an adult practice of talking about, but not to, the infant.

At approximately seven-and-a-half months of age the infant learns to *betimpok*, bend his legs to one side of himself. Soon afterwards he learns to kneel, *merungzau*.

After mastering kneeling, an infant masters sitting, *dudok*, then progresses to sitting up straight, *dudok berdiri*. An infant that

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3 The age of developmental events cited here is that given by village informants as the average age at which such development occurs. Discussion of people's reactions to these developments is based on the field study observations.
can sit up is played with by siblings, parents, and relatives rather than merely tended. However, adults and older siblings still strictly limit the infant’s range of exploration. If he starts to wander off or examine something that those in attendance do not want him to touch, he is pulled away from the object, or the object pulled away from him. If this halting of exploration brings tears the infant is cuddled, jounced, or given a substitute plaything. If all else fails, he is given a bottle or the breast to still his crying. Visitors also play with an infant of this age and jounce him a great deal. Mothers sometimes talk to their baby, particularly in connection with feeding; but by-and-large the infant is still talked about rather than talked to by those near him.

The method by which an infant is carried changed once he can sit erect. An infant that is not able to sit up, or is less than a year old, is carried craddled in the arms or lying in a sling fastened over the shoulder of his mother or other persons doing the carrying. But once the infant can sit up he begins to be carried sitting astride the carrier’s hip, kipak. Being carried on the hip quickly becomes security to the infant. If he is tired or fussing the attendant picks him up and puts him on the hip to comfort him, as is also done when danger threatens or some unpleasant situation arises, such as hurt or fear. Sitting astride a hip is not an innate behavior but involves an element of learning, specifically,

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4 But not until the infant is at least one year old. Informants say that if the child is carried on the hip earlier his legs will become permanently splayed out because his hip joint will not align properly.
learning to hold on with the legs rather than gripping with the hands or arms. Infants of this age come to make a set of muscular responses when they are lifted up onto a hip. They arch their back slightly forward, and lift their legs horizontal to the ground in a bowed position suitable for grasping the hip. At this age the infant also crawls.

After sitting erect an infant learns to stand up while holding onto something, bediri pelulatai. Admiring relatives and visitors often hold the child in a standing position. Children who are beginning to stand erect frequently topple over. Relatives often react to such a topple with the phrase, gugol, which is baby talk for gugor, fell down.

Standing still without holding onto anything, belapas, is the next recognized accomplishment. Then the infant, jalan rabah, walks but falls down when he tries to walk. Walking usually commences during or just before the second year of life.

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5 Siti, raised by a city mother, was carried in the arms rather than on the hip. After she had learned to speak she saw me carrying Ramlan on my hip and wanted to be carried too. But she kept sliding down. Finally I told her to hold on with her legs, and pushed them gently to indicate how she should grip. She did and after that did not fall down. The grip become an automatic reflex; children often fall asleep still gripping a hip.

6 This motion was most clearly noticeable once in the Banggar hospital. A father had brought in his very young daughter whose hand was burned. He started to put her down on a chair; but she made the arching motion of the back and encircling motion of the legs that a child does in response to being lifted. Her father interpreted these motions to mean that the girl did not want to sit down but wanted to be carried on the hip. He wordlessly put the child back on his hip.
When the infant is approximately one year old he, *pantas beialan*, walks about energetically. Observation reveals that infants who walk well are treated differently by parents and other adults from infants taking their first halting steps. An infant that walks well is no longer treated strictly as a baby but rather in many ways begins to be treated as a child. In particular, visitors and relatives no longer dote on him as they did when he was younger. Often, his mother is pregnant again and nearing the time for delivery. If a "walking energetically" infant has older siblings, he is now entrusted to their care much of the time.

When a toddler is about two years old he can go up and down stairs well. At this stage the young Malay has become a small child, *ia damit*, he is little.

Only with the attainment of speech is the young Brunei considered a child, *anak*. Siblings will react to the young one as a "kid" brother or sister and not as a baby or toddler. But until the child has been speaking for about six months to one year the parents will say of him, *ia lakat damit*, he is still little.

From about three or four years of age until the child has matured physically into an adult he is considered simply as *anak*, child. Once the child has matured physically people will say, *bukan anak lazi, basar sudah*, not a child anymore, he is big. With the introduction of universal free schooling in Brunei a new category of development has arisen, *basar sudah, tani masah berskolah*, he is big (physically an adult) but still in school.
Village mothers pay little attention to a child's chronological age, but are very aware of his developmental age. The Brunei Malay classification of early child development does not mention vocalization. Rather, the ability to speak coherently is taken as the criterion for having become a full-fledged child.

As noted, infants and children are sometimes spoken to in baby talk; but adults give comparatively little attention to the child's attempts at vocalization, except for the first coherent words of a child, particularly an eldest child. Even a doted upon child is spoken to very little. In many situations where a middle class American mother would talk to her infant while tending to his needs or playing with him, a village mother will carry out these tasks in silence or while talking to another adult. For example, Ramlan often played games with other children or with adults. The conversation as a general rule was limited to the immediate needs of the game. There was not the incessant stream of chatter that would have accompanied such playing in middle class America.

When questioned about the age at which children learned to talk village mothers said that it depends on the child. Some learned early, at a year and a half, other learned late, not until they were three or so. These mothers concurred that a child's first words were the names of the people around him and such labels as *mama*, mother, *bapa*, father, and *ninjin*, grandparent. However, such identification of a child's early utterances may well be more an interpretation of what

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7 With the exception of gurgling, *melangut*, in the three month old.
children ideally say first rather than a valid identification. Observations indicate that a child's speech attempts are generally ignored until he produces recognizable words which are relevant to the context in which they are used.\footnote{For a detailed account of one village child's learning to speak see Kimball, 1970, 1971, 1972.}

Once a toddler begins to speak he is considered a child and much infantile behavior is no longer condoned. Village Malays maintain that once a child can speak he understands, \textit{ia mrati}, and can now be subject to discipline because he understands what is expected of him. Children and siblings also begin to change their attitude toward a child that can speak. They no longer view him as a tiny child to be tended and carried, but rather as a younger child to be fitted into their games. Parents expect their children to make allowance for the young age of the new speaker and to give him preferential treatment in their games and play; but they also expect the youngster to adjust himself to the demands of siblings and fit into their activities.

The Malays say that a child who has learned how to speak soon toilet trains himself without anyone instructing him in the matter. However, this is not quite the way it takes place. Whenever a non-speaking infant eliminates in the house the mess is washed up with no fuss. Islam holds that even feces of a two year old child are not ritually impure if that child is drinking milk. Village Malays
view the feces of any pre-speech child as not ritually impure. However, once a child begins to speak, the mother or other relative attending the child makes exclamations of disgust every time the child soils the house. The child soon perceives that soiling the house is disapproved of and begins to modify his behavior. Also, a child is encouraged to eliminate after eating and before going to bed; at these times whoever is attending the child takes him to the appropriate place to perform these functions. In the daytime urination takes place in a latrine or at a quay, or squatting on special tree roots that overhang the river. At night urination is usually done on the ground near the house. Indeed, many houses have a special hole in the kitchen floor where one may urinate day or night. Defecation takes place only in a latrine, squatting on special tree roots overhanging the river or squatting over the edge of a quay. No particular tension is associated with toilet training.

A child who has learned to speak becomes part of a group of children with their own activities. He then has his first real

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9 Ritually impure feces must be removed and the spot where they fell washed seven times with water, one of those times dirt must be mixed with the water. But the place where feces that are not ritually polluted fell need only be washed clean with water.

10 The tree roots and latrine are always downstream of the family dock so that the ritually impure material will go away down­stream and not contaminate the family drinking and bathing water which is fetched from the dock. Of course, one man's downstream is another man's upstream.
opportunities for exploration. He may talk to himself; but such talking often passes unheeded.

Childhood today is quite different from what it was reported to be even twenty years ago when there was no school in the village. Children then learned their culture from their contemporaries and from some contact with adults in the course of passing their days helping with chores or playing games.

Old people state that when they were young, they played many more games than children play now. Old people describe their playing in detail as a major part of growing up. But village children still enjoy a number of traditional games, except that in the past hoops of grass or other material were used instead of rubber bands.

Quoits incidentally helps develop eye-hand co-ordination and is played with rubber bands. Two or more people play; each one throws a rubber band so that it lands in contact with another the thrower takes the rubber band that he threw plus all the others on the ground except one. Then the next person throws. The object of the game is to see who can get the most rubber bands. "Capturing" is the situation in which the thrown rubber band is in contact with one or more other; the thrower then takes n-1 rubber bands from the ground (n = number of rubber bands on the ground) and the game continues.

Rubber band quoits is a very popular game. Indeed, rubber bands are one of the favorite children's toys. The newspaper wrapping of most store purchases is secured with rubber bands which the children assiduously collect. Rubber bands can also be bought, by weight or
by the bag. Making rubber band chains and wearing rubber band "bracelets" constitute two favorite manners of playing with rubber bands in the village. Often school boys boast rubber band chains over six feet long. Sometimes school boys wear a hundred or more rubber bands on their wrists.

Particularly among girls another favorite game is "push off to the opposite side." The hands are held palms together so that the hands form one scoop. From within this scoop between two and a dozen pebbles are tossed up all at once. The girl then reverses the position of her hands, so that the back of the hands are uppermost. She attempts to catch all the pebbles on the back of her hands. The process is then repeated with the pebbles landing in the hands which are formed into a scoop palm side up, the starting position. The challenge factor in the game involves the number of pebbles which can thus be tossed and caught, or the number of times the player is able to toss a given number of pebbles, and constitutes the measure of which player is better than another.

Bouncing a single pebble up and down in the hand is basically a solitary diversion. However, if two or more players compete, the measure of who is the more skillful rests in the height of the tosses and the number of successful consecutive tosses.

"Rubbing thread" is a game often played at night when candles supply the illumination for village houses. Although involving luck it also helps develop tactile co-ordination and requires preparation of the apparatus used. Children select lengths of thread which are then doubled once or twice and rubbed back and forth through the soft
wax of a lit candle. The playing apparatus is now complete. Each player holds one end of his thread in each hand; the threads of the two players are looped over one another so that when the players pull their threads back and forth in a sawing motion the two threads will saw upon one another. The two threads saw back and forth until one breaks. The thread that breaks is that of the loser; the thread that remains intact is that of the winner. Much of the outcome depends upon chance. However, the children carefully wax and double their thread because they feel that proper waxing increases their chances of winning. In addition the type and amount of pressure and tension applied to the thread during the contest affects the outcome. Different children have different methods of handling the threads during the sawing process. If a participant refuses to put tension on his thread the other will accuse him of not playing the game.

A hopping game that helps develop motor co-ordination is brungao. The players position themselves stooping over with the palms of their hands and the soles of their feet touching the floor. They then jump the feet forward while the hands remain in position on the floor. Then while the feet remain stationary the players jump their hands forward on the floor. The most successful player is the one who continues this manner of progression forward the longest or with the greatest speed, or both. A variant is played in the identical manner except that motion is backwards instead of forwards.

"Balloon" is a boisterous free-for-all. One player stands in the center of the room and the others try to get past him without being caught. A player who is caught is "dead" and consequently
becomes the player who must stand in the center of the room and catch the passing players.

One of the more hilarious games the children play is "blindfolded." One player is blindfolded. The others then join hands and form a circle around the blindfolded one. They then break the circle and sit on the floor. The blindfolded player crawls about on the floor, tries to catch one of the other players and identify the caught one. The non-blindfolded players try to crawl away to avoid being caught. A player who is caught and correctly identified by the blindfolded one then becomes "it" and must in turn become the blindfolded player. This game encourages stealth, to avoid being caught, and use of audible cues to detect the direction of evasive motions.

Playing "burial grave" consists in piling pillows atop a player to "bury" him. The "buried" player then jumps out with a shout and the buriers run away shouting, antu, evil spirit. Often the "buried" player starts to throw pillows at the other players and the game becomes a wild pillow fight.

Hide-and-seek is a perennial favorite of village children. One player closes his eyes while the others hide. After counting to ten or twenty "it" shouts, "ready?" If he gets no reply he starts to hunt the other players. A player not yet hidden will shout, "wait;" and "it" waits before beginning the hunt.  

11 Alternatively, a child may suddenly run off from another, hide himself and shout, chari ku, search for me. Ramlan delighted in running away from me, hiding, then shouting at the top of his lungs, chari ku ka lin, search for me Linda, I would then search for him until I found him. As he grew older Ramlan became skillful at hiding in seemingly impossible places, making finding him very difficult.
But childhood activities are not all limited to such games. Much play involves imitation of adult activities, and through such imitative play, acquisition of adult skills. For example, a group of children will often play house. The girls "cook" while the boys "fish" and "housebuild" (with the girls often aiding in the "housebuilding"). If an older girl who does really know how to cook is playing, the children may make their own fire, cook their own rice and greens, and eat them. Interestingly, the greens in such play cooking are boiled with onions and garlic only, not spiced with pepper, ginger, or condiments. Older villagers stress the importance of such imitative activities as an important part of child development.

Children also play with words. One type of verbal play is calling someone by a funny name, as in ramlan chantak, cachem itek, Ramlan is pretty, like a duck. In adult life playing with words will take the form of pantun, impromptu verses recited back and forth.

Girls of about twelve to fourteen years of age are expected to be able to cook and serve meals without adult help. Boys of the same age are expected to be able to go fishing and return with reasonable catches to feed the family; but this often entails considerable discomfort. One of the best times to fish is on a rainy night because, say villagers, the dark prevents the fish from seeing the boat and the rain beating on the water brings the fish to the surface. A throw net is the most common fishing tool, although hook and line as well as nets strung across the river are also used. This
nocturnal fishing benefits the family stewpot but interferes with boys' schoolwork.

Traditionally, the only formal schooling that children experienced was learning to read the Koran; but now all children go to free government schools. One result of this change has been that where formerly there was a rich culture of childhood with many games, riddles, songs, and amusements there is now, in traditional terms, a comparatively poor childhood culture. Many older inhabitants of the village commented on this loss of childhood culture and the fact that most of the games and verses children use at present in the village come from the schoolroom or from radio and books. During recess at school children play ball or wander in groups. Sometimes they teach each other ribald verses in fun. Recess is much quieter than recess in a school of comparable size in America.

A major social impact of formal schooling has been to widen the circle of acquaintances of children and the circumstances under which they meet non-relatives. Where formerly the children met other children who were not close relatives only in occasional visits with their parents or at major social occasions such as weddings and the great festival week of Hari Raya Puasa, children now are in everyday association with many different kinds of children at school. And, where children once met distantly related or non-related children only in the company of adult relatives, they now meet daily, often without even older siblings present.

When the village had a much larger population people went visiting at night after dinner following sunset prayers. They told
stories and read epic poems while children listened till they fell asleep. This oral literature depicted the outside world as a hostile and frightening place. As they grew older children began to retain more of this literature until they also could tell the tales in turn. But now that the population has declined the people live too far apart for easy visiting back and forth at night and these tales are seldom told.

When Hajiah Ramlah was asked to tell a tale her children eagerly gathered around to listen. They often fell asleep before it was done, particularly since Hajiah Ramlah had to tell the tale slowly so that it could be written down in fieldnotes. In the theme of many tales a peasant reports his trouble to a noble who in turn reports it to a higher noble or directly to the sultan. Each of these accounts of reporting the trouble deals with a different status of noble and entails different expressions in the language for "I," "speak," and so forth. That is, in order to tell such a tale, one must have a reasonable command of the royal language, bahasa raja. Through hearing such tales those who listen learn the proper expressions one uses to varying degrees of nobility and royalty. It is through listening to tales that in the past individuals who might never have any dealings with higher nobility and royalty learned the courtly speech forms.

As children progress into physical maturity they are expected to begin behaving like adults. Their demeanor changes. They must not hit at, or pinch each other like children although they may, trade taunts. A typical taunt might be, "you are stupid;" to this
the rejoinder might be, "you are a monkey." They begin to fill adult roles. The girls assume responsibility for housework and the boys attend Friday mosque regularly.

Ideally, older girls should be circumspect, modest, and stay close to home or not wander out from their school dormitories. But many girls are not so circumspect nor do they stay at home or in their dormitories as much as their parents might wish. Part of this behavior is the result of the influence on unmarried young men and women of Malay movie magazines which depict the activities of the Malay movie stars who have westernized ideas of social behavior. Unmarried youths of both sexes are classified as adults upon marriage or upon passing out of physical youth, whichever comes first.

Education has a major impact on marriage. Formerly, on reaching puberty girls were considered ready for marriage. For example, one woman in the village was married at about fifteen and had her first child at about sixteen (her reckoning). This was not unusual in the past, since a woman of that age had all the knowledge necessary to be a wife and mother. Men often married at eighteen or twenty, for at this age they had all the knowledge skills needed to provide a living for a family.

But now with the importance of a formal education for a salaried job there is a strong pressure for marriage to take place at a much later age after formal education has been completed; this especially pertains to men. Most young married people want to live in Bandar...
Seri Begawan where many material goods are for sale which are not readily available to those who live in the village and on the farm. The process of enculturation does not end with the attainment of adulthood and marriage. Rather, new types of learning take place. For example, only a woman who has borne several children would begin to learn the skills of a midwife or to regularly assist other women at childbirth; the attendants as childbirth are usually close to menopause or older. Likewise, only a man who is fully mature will learn to become a slaughterer of large animals such as water buffalo and cattle. Even in the matter of killing chickens, if a younger man and an older man are present it is considered appropriate for the older man to do the slaughtering. Only those in their twenties and older learn to direct and manage major rituals such as weddings and funerals. This they learn through close observation and active participation. The main authorities on ritual matters are middle-aged and old people who have seen numerous ceremonies.

A few older men and women, well on into middle years, begin to practice formally as medicine men and women, dukun. When the present study began, the village had two dukun, one male and one female.

12 There is economic justification for this attitude: a man's earning potential in the village now is small and constantly declining since tapping of rubber is no longer a viable source of cash income.

13 In West Malaysia one type of medicine specialist is called a pawang. But in Brunei Malay pawang simply means the leader of a group, as the leader in a hunting or fishing group. The Standard Malay term for "medicine man" is bomoh. Brunei Malay ritual specialists who diagnose and treat illness while in trance or orang behantu or orang bemambang, depending upon whether the main possessing spirit is a hantu or a mambang.
female. Many of the needed skills may be learned in young adulthood, but are not actively practiced until the person who learned them is a senior person in the village. Such traditional knowledge is transmitted privately from one person to another. In exchange for each bit of knowledge a traditional gift must be given by the learner to the teacher in order to acquire the "power" of the knowledge. This puts the economic constraint of ability to pay on the learner and thus limits the pool of possible trainees. The learner writes down this knowledge in a book, using Arabic script, or retains it in his head. Some of the amulets the qualified person can be called upon to make are quite esoteric and must be written down for reference as they are too complex to remember.\(^{14}\)

An important aspect of amulet making is the comforting talk and advice that accompany the selecting and making of the amulet.\(^{15}\) As he looks through his book of esoteric knowledge, the medicine man asks about the details of his client's problems. A major therapeutic value comes from this talking out of the problem and from the knowledge that something is being done about the difficulty. As an older, respected member of the community the medical practitioner can often work effectively to negotiate solutions to difficult social problems. People are ambivalent toward a medicine man because of

\(^{14}\) The designs for amulets seen in the village were very similar to those found in Moorish amulet books.

\(^{15}\) Amulets may be worn for many reasons, to give good luck, to protect one on a voyage, to prevent illness, to make one strong, to ward off evil, and so forth. Amulets are commonly worn on a thread around the neck, tied onto the wrist or upper arm, or tied around the waist.
the amount of supernatural force and power he represents. Villagers say that there are bad medicine men who practice black magic which kills people and cite one practitioner of black magic who lived in Bandar Seri Begawan a few years ago. They say that in his section of the water village there was an extra death each year because in order to retain his power he had to kill a victim annually. But villagers claim that the people who really specialize in black magic are certain non-Malays, although none were ever mentioned by name or singled out in any way. The most respected Malay medicine and ritual specialists are old but still mentally alert.

Adults are referred to as orang basar, adults, until they become orang tua, old people.16 Being "old" means that one looks aged and has become a grandparent or is contemporaneous with a generation of grandparents.

As a Brunei Malay adult grows into old age he is no longer actively learning his culture but rather is a transmitter and a source of memories of the culture. At almost all weddings the old people sit around and say that, "This is not really the proper way to do things but rather the way of the young people."17 Perhaps such rumination reflects the last bit of enculturation as elders see what the younger people are doing and how they are interpreting the culture. Only with senility or death does the enculturation of the

16 Brunei Malays recognize no "middle-aged" period of life.

17 Doubtless all through Malay history there have been old people sitting about at weddings and other communal occasions making the same complaint.
individual cease to take place. Then the survivors carry on with life as new generations grow and develop.

Thus, village delineation of the stages of human development is descriptive and has inherent to it a loose conception of what the "usual" process is. This norm is stated in terms of physical and social development rather than being measured against a scale of chronological age. Another way of viewing child development in the village is by comparison with Western norms. Two such schemata are of interest here, the Gesell-Ilg and the psycho-sexual.

GESELL-ILG SCHEMA

The Gesell-Ilg Behavioral Norm Development Schema (Watson and Lowrey 1967) would seem to serve well since it is based on a large sample of American children. It is not without problems in cross-cultural comparison.

One difficulty involved in cross-cultural use of the Gesell-Ilg Developmental Norms is the emphasis placed on the precise age of the informant being tested. The Gesell-Ilg norm has developmental criteria for infants of 4 weeks, 16 weeks, 28 weeks, 40 weeks, 52 weeks, 15 months, 18 months, 2 years, 3 years, 4 years, 5 years, and 6 years (op. cit. 155-159). However, in the village, chronological age is of relatively little importance. In the course of

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18 Villagers say that senile people are childish. They get angry (though young children do not get angry, say villagers); if they defecate they play with their feces; and in general they act childish. That is, senile people lack control over themselves.
fieldwork the only valid age identifications obtained from adults were those of one month, approximately a year old, approximately a year-and-a-half old, approximately 2, 3, 4, and 5 years. Consequently, only those age categories are suitable for use in the present study. Any more detailed comparison between American children and village children would necessitate a long term study so that a significant sample of children could be studied in the specific age categories of the Gesell-IIg norms.

Another difficulty in cross-cultural use of the Gesell-IIg schema is that certain of the criteria in the schema clearly are for clinical testing. For example, a test item for one-year-olds is, "Releases cube in cup (after demonstration)" (op. cit. 156). Many of the Gesell-IIg criteria involve manipulation of standard clinical testing objects such as cubes and pellets under controlled conditions. Such controlled conditions are not directly applicable cross-culturally.¹⁹ A limitation of the village study, from an experimentalist point of view, is that it involved no formal testing, although the investigator frequently played with and observed village children. But from an ethnological point of view the data so gathered approached the ideal of no observer influence. The point is that the Gesell-IIg schema involves items which are not obtainable in many anthropological fieldstudies and hence have limited usefulness. But one might argue that this could be overcome.

¹⁹ Difficulties in such cross-cultural testing are discussed in Cole, Gay, Glick, and Sharp 1971, and in Mead 1946.
A more serious limitation of the schema in cross-cultural use is that many of the items are culture-bound. On the other hand, many of the initial motor-control items are universal.

For example, a one-month (4 weeks) old village child does have the gross motor development of, "Asymmetric tonic neck reflex position predominate" and, "head sags forward in sitting (op. cit. 155) of the norm for American infants. Further, the child's hands are usually fisted, clench upon contact with another hand or an object, and fail to grasp items placed in them; this accords with the Gesell-Ilg norms.

By the time an infant is one year old he has had extensive exposure to his culture and has begun the process of enculturation. In the Gesell-Ilg schema several test items for the one year old are quite culture-bound. However, the motor control items are not.

The gross motor skills listed by the Gesell-Ilg schema for one year old children are walking and pincer gripping. Village children differed widely in their ability to walk. On the other hand, most of them could neatly pincer grab items (but had no exposure to the kind of pellets listed in the norm) and thus match the American norm for fine motor movements.

20 "Culture bound" means that they are particular to the culture in question, or that they depend upon certain features of the culture in question. By definition, the culture-bound items are not suitable for cross-cultural research. The usefulness of the Gesell-Ilg schema in anthropology is discussed in Mead 1947. Mead views the schema in broad cross-cultural perspective; the present discussion is narrowly limited.
But the Brunei children cannot be directly compared with Gesell-Ilg norms for adaptive motor development because the test criteria are culture-bound. Building a tower of two cubes is a culture-bound test item because village children simply do not play with blocks. Nor is releasing a cube in a cup a relevant developmental marker for children who do not habitually (or even ever) play with cube-and-cup-like objects but whose main type of play is jouncing and assorted body contact manipulation by other people. However, if this criterion is changed to "serial play with objects" it becomes applicable to the local situation. A village one year old in a free play situation often turns his attention to first one object then to another object. In this sense he engages in serial play.

Observation of language development in village one year olds is very difficult for an outside observer or even a close relative who is not in prolonged day-to-day contact with the child observation. This difficulty is a result of the child rearing methods employed by village Malays. A young child is constantly handled and tended. He is not encouraged to interact with visitors. If a visitor makes some attempt to interact with the child and the child begins to cry or to give other signs of displeasure, the visitor ceases efforts to interact with the child; and the child himself is picked up and fondled by the person tending him. There is not an emphasis on having the infant verbalize, and little remark is made if he does; infants are played with, not talked to. However, as noted earlier, parents say that the first words a child learns are, "mother," "father," and "grandparent." They also claim that a child learns the
name of his siblings very early in life. Field observation seemed to show that village children to not really begin speech at one year old but commence between eighteen months and two-and-a-half years.21

A comparison is possible for language development norms, but not for such items as "Gives toy on request or gesture" (op. cit. 156). The entire pattern of village infant care is one of catering to the infant's wants and needs. The idea of coaxing an object away from such a young child is so foreign to anything in his experience that the inevitable result would doubtless be total refusal to give up a toy on demand. Such a result would indicate not slow development on Gesell-Ulg terms, but cultural experience different from that of American infants.

Similarly culture-bound is the test item involving a child offering a toy to the image of himself that the child sees in a mirror. The use of a mirror in the test makes an assumption that the child has had some experience in seeing his own image in a mirror and reacts to the image qua image rather than to the image as movement, color, shininess, or some other perception.

Nor is the "Co-operates in dressing (op. cit. 156) an American norm met by village children. This is not a sign of developmental retardation but is rather a normal behavior of the village one year old. Co-operation in dressing assumes that certain types of clothes have been worn by the child regularly over an extended period of time.

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21 But once they do start to speak they learn rapidly and become competent language users. (See Kimball 1970, 1971, 1972 for a detailed case history.)
and that the child is consequently able to respond to the motions of
the mother or other person dressing him with the appropriate co-opera-
tive responses. By contrast, the one-year-old village child spends
most of his time naked or covered with nothing more than an apron-
like bib. Thus, he has comparatively little experience in being
dressed, diapered, and so on. As a result, the child may very well
not co-operate in dressing, in the sense of donning shirt and pants
or pinafore, a seldom done and hence unfamiliar process. It is per-
haps reasonable to expect that a child might remain still while the
apron is being tied onto him; indeed, village children of about one
year old often do remain still while the apron is being put on them.

The next age category of the Gesell-IIg schema applicable to
village children is that of eighteen months. At that age village
children walk quite capably and seldom fall; but this is well in
accord with the Gesell-IIg developmental norms. However, where the
norms are based on eating in a high chair, sitting on chairs to work
on a table, and so on, most village children would not meet the
standard because they have had little or no experience using chairs.
Village children eat sitting on the floor, play, work, and live on
the floor. Consequently, they would fail the norm of, "Seats self
in small chair" (no such thing exists in the village) "and climbs
into adult chair" (op. cit. 157). Similarly, most young village
children have not had a ball to play with in the course of their life
and thus have no conception of throwing a ball; inevitably they do
not meet the norm, "Hurls ball in standing position" (ibid.)
Culture-bound definitions similarly affect the measurement standard for language development in the eighteen month old, "Looks selectively at pictures and identities" (ibid.). Whatever books a village home may have are kept high or locked up and well beyond the reach of an eighteen month old child. Further, the children do not have much experience of seeing their parents or older siblings reading a book. Whatever books such a young child might accidentally have to play with are objects for investigation and not objects which the child has consistently seen used in a certain manner. He has no example of page turning to imitate and so will fail the motor development test as well as the language test.

The Gesell-Ulg test for adaptive motor development of scribbling spontaneously and copying a crayon stroke is also culture-bound. Village children do not have the extensive play periods which involve playing with writing instruments that a middle class American child has had at the same age. Again, the notion of copying a crayon stroke implies experience in imitating writing motions or encouragement to do so. This encouragement may also affect speech development.

Comparison of linguistic development in village children with the Gesell-Ulg norm of ten words for an eighteen month old suggests that the Malay children do speak at a later age than the children upon whom the norm is based. However, the almost total lack of interest in a child's pre-speech verbalizations and the lassiez-faire attitude of parents toward the acquisition of speech by children may well account for this difference. A similar lack of concern marks parents' attitudes toward children feeding themselves.
No direct observations covering the Gesell-Ulg personal-social norm of self-feeding habits of eighteen month old village children are available. However, some eighteen month old children observed in the water village of Bandar Seri Begawan did attempt to feed themselves and were quite messy in the process. Village children did meet the Gesell-Ulg personal-social norm of holding and carrying dolls, stuffed toys, or some other favorite plaything. However, village children did not have toys pulled on a string; hence that criterion is inapplicable. But once village children are older and can make such a toy for themselves or have someone make one for them, they do play with pull toys.

The drawbacks of a culture-bound test in cross-cultural comparison are not only those associated with failure of the non-western test subjects to meet certain norms. The reverse also applies in that the non-western children may be ahead of the western norm on certain types of test items. This occurs in the village situation in connection with the gross motor test item for two year olds, "Runs well, no falling,... Walks up and down stairs alone." (op. cit. 157).

Two year old village children run very well. Furthermore, they cannot only navigate stairs but are ahead of the norm on which the Gesell-Ulg schema is based. Specifically, many two year old village children live in houses whose front stairs are nothing more than a runged ladder and whose back steps to the ground are in fact a log with notches cut into it. Two year old children are quite able to climb easily up and down these ladders and notched logs. But a child from the norm sample would probably not be able to climb up
and down such stairs alone because he has not had the requisite practice.

Lack of experience also affects village children in meeting the norm, "Kicks large ball on request" (ibid). However, if this is reinterpreted to read, "responds to simple command involving performance of a task which necessitates gross muscular co-ordination" the village children who have learned to understand speech by the age of two could respond satisfactorily.

The entire "adaptive" norms category for the two year old in the Gesell-Ilg schema, "Builds tower of 6-7 cubes...Aligns cubes for train... Imitates vertical and circular strokes" (op. cit. 158), is culture-bound. Similarly, the language developmental norms are based on English and so do not apply directly to a child whose first language is Brunei Malay. The personal-social norms are also culture-bound.

A village child of two is often not fully toilet trained, although once he has become toilet trained he does quite consistently verbalize his toilet needs. Thus, the average village two year old will not meet the Gesell-Ilg norm, "Verbalizes toilet needs consistently" (ibid. 158); because that training occurs later for him than for the American child.

Similarly, the social-personal American norm of a two year old child dressing independently (though not necessarily alone) is alien to village child rearing methods. Some two year olds do wear pants much of the time rather than an apron; they will help in the process of dressing by stepping into the pants which are held for
them by adults, but at this age they are not expected to dress independently.

However, two year old village children often do imitate those they see around them and so meet the Gesell-Ilg norm. This imitative play becomes more frequent when the child is about three. Cultural bias in the gross motor criterion, "Alternates feet going upstairs" (ibid.) is not obvious; but the criterion does have an implicit assumption of a standard stair-step size. However, whether or not a three year old village child alternates feet in going upstairs depends primarily upon the type and size of steps involved. Village three year olds will regularly jump from the bottom step or notch of a ladder they are descending.

On the other hand, village children do not ride tricycles because they have none. The fine, adaptive, and language norms in the three year old category of the Gesell-Ilg schema also are culture bound and consequently not generally applicable to village children. The language test is culture-bound in a manner that involves both linguistic and non-linguistic factors. The language norms for three year olds are "Uses plurals...Gives action in picture books...Gives sex and full name...Obeys 2 prepositional commands ('no,' 'under')" (ibid.). "Pluralization" is a culture bound linguistic factor. The use of plurals does not apply to a Malay speaking child because the Malay language has no system of plurals comparable to that used in English. A non-linguistic culture-bound factor in the linguistic test is the criterion that a child can state his own name and sex. In the village children are not asked, "What is
"your name? Are you a little boy or a little girl?" Such questions, if asked at all, would be directed to the parent, elder sibling, person tending, or other relative of the child and not to the child himself. Normal conversation ignores the child in the sense that the child is not directly involved in the speaking nor is he expected to take any interest in it. Rather, a child becomes able to respond to, "What is your name?" only at an age when he has learned to participate in adult discourse.

The Gesell-Ulg personal-social criteria for a three year old are also minimally applicable to a village child, again because of the culture-bound nature of the criteria. Thus, a village child may not be able to feed himself well because he has been fed by others until he is three years old. However, at about this age the children are taught to feed themselves. Independence training, of which self-feeding and dressing are measures, varies widely from family to family and child to child. A child who is one member of a large family and has a younger sibling close to his own age may be quite independent in the matters of feeding and dressing. But a child who is the first, the youngest, or who has no younger sibling near his own age may be tended extensively; such a child will acquire independent habits at a relatively late age.

One of the Gesell-Ulg personal-social criteria for a three year old is, "taking turns." This criterion does not apply to village three year olds. The explanation lies in methods of child rearing and cultural attitudes toward a child's wants and desires. Brunel Malays believe that a young child should be permitted to have his own
way and to have all his wants satisfied. They maintain that if a child is not permitted to have his own way he will cry a lot and may die as a result of the crying because, "his liver is sad." Parents insist that the older siblings of the child must always let the child have his own way and not expect him to share anything with others. A child is expected to begin sharing only after he can speak well, and so understand what is demanded. Here too there is a wide variation in the degree to which children share. Those who are the middle children in large families share somewhat more than other children.

Many of the difficulties involved in the use of the Gesell-Ulg schema for two and three year olds also arise in its application to four year olds. But, it is true of village four year olds that they do have quite good muscular co-ordination and do play actively as a member of their sibling group. However, the Gesell-Ulg norm for four year olds states that they descend the stairs alternating feet. But if children live in a house whose entrance ladder has widely spaced rungs they are physically not able to descend the ladder by alternating feet because their legs are too short to reach the next rung in that manner. However, if the ladder has closely spaced rungs or the house has a staircase, the children do alternate feet in descending. Village children do no "broad jump" per se, but of necessity are able by the age of four to jump over ditches and other obstacles in their path. However, most four year old village children have had no experience in playing with a ball and so probably could not throw a ball overhand, thus failing the motor development norm,
"throws ball overhand" (op. cit. 159), which pertains to something outside their culture.

The adaptive and language portions of the Gesell-Ilg developmental schema for four year olds is culture-bound. For example, four year old village children sometimes cannot name colors correctly, not because they are developmentally slow, but rather because naming of colors is not taught to them the way it is taught to young American children. Likewise, obeying prepositional commands reflects the importance of prepositions in English and so is culture-bound for a Malay-speaking child whose language has prepositions but not as a key structure comparable to English. On the other hand, four year old village children can probably name far more people correctly than their American counterparts. For example, common questions asked by Ramlan at the age of four were, siana me?, who is that?, and siana nunya?, whose? He was thus learning to identify people where an American child would be identifying colors or objects.

The Gesell-Ilg personal social norms for a four year old are culture-bound in that they are dependent upon the type of clothing worn by American four year olds and upon the type of independence training given to four year olds; a factor that is not universal but is culturally determined. The Gesell-Ilg four year old personal social norms are, "washes and dries face and hands; brushes teeth... Distinguishes front from back of clothes...Laces shoes...Goes on errands outside of home" (op. cit. 159). For example, many Brunei
Malays brush their teeth sporadically, if at all. A young child has his hands and face washed by others; he does not wash them himself although he may learn to help rub his face as someone else is pouring water over it and washing it. On the rare occasions that a village pre-schooler wears shoes, they are not of the lace-up type. The village child consequently has no experience of lacing up his own shoes. Only children of more than six or seven years old are sent on errands outside the home. The four year old is still kept close to the house. He goes outside the home only in the company of elder siblings or an adult.

A good example of a culture-bound Gesell-Ilg test norm is, "Skips, alternating feet" (ibid.). Skipping, that most normal of American childhood activities, is quite foreign to village five year olds. One day for the sheer fun of it I skipped on the village path while walking back from Leila's house with several children. They all tried to imitate this activity they had never before seen. Man succeeded in skipping rather well; and Ali finally skipped in a rather clumsy manner. Zainab who is twelve and a good athlete was unable to do the skip jump successfully.

Also culture-bound is the Gesell-Ilg five year old motor test item, "Stands on one foot more than 8 seconds" (ibid.). The only children in Brunei observed playing hopscotch or other games demanding prolonged standing on one foot were some Chinese children in

22 Toothbrushes are a relatively new item. Traditional methods of teeth cleaning involved rubbing with ashes using the finger and rubbing with the chewed end of a twig.
Bandar Seri Begawan. Thus, the motor developmental norms of the test are culture-bound at the five year old level.

Similarly the adaptive norms for the five year old in the Gesell-Ulg schema are culture-bound. These norms assume that the child has been given certain types of training and practice in formal activities such as counting, drawing, and copying. Consequently, they are not applicable to village five year olds who lack that type of training.

The criticism of culture-boundness applies also to the language test norms for five year olds in the Gesell-Ulg schema, "Knows 4 colors...Names penny, nickel, dime...Descriptive comment on pictures...Carries out three commissions" (ibid.). Probably Malay five year olds recognize the names of four colors passively; but many would not successfully identify these colors in a test situation. As for identifying sounds such as "penny," "nickel," or "dime," there is the cultural difficulty that Brunei has analogous coins, but gives them no special names. Rather, all coins are lumped categorically as "broken money;" no special name is given to any coin within that category. Thus, a village child cannot identify a "dime" because his language has no equivalent or analogous term. Some children were observed making descriptive comments on pictures; but these were city children who had received comparatively extensive exposure to books or newspapers. Village children made no such comments. Village five year olds are able to perform a number of tasks upon request and

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23 Coins are identified only as, "five cents," "ten cents," and so forth.
thus meet Gesell-Ilg norms. The criticism of culture-boundness which applies to the Gesell-Ilg linguistic norms for five year olds are also true for the personal social norms of the same age category. The personal social development norms are, "Dresses and undresses without assistance...Asks meaning of words...Prints few letters" (ibid.). Village five year olds are at the age where they are expected by adults to dress and undress themselves; they can do so. The children only occasionally ask the meaning of words. This rarity of inquiry is a product of the cultural attitude that the child is supposed to find out such things for himself and not bother people with questions (e.g., Ward 1971). As in many matters concerning child rearing, some children are less discouraged from asking questions than are others. For instance, Ramlan knew that I would answer his questions and listen to his talking more than others in the family but expected him to do more for himself than did other family members. Unless they have started to school, village five year olds do not print letters.

Similarly culture-bound are the adaptive norms of the Gesell-Ilg schema in the six year old age group which require a type of training that a village child receives only upon beginning to study in school. These norms are, "Builds 3 steps with blocks...Draws man with neck, hands, and clothes...Adds and subtracts within 5...Copies diamond" (ibid.). Most village children begin school at age six. Test and observation items involving use of numbers, drawing and copying, therefore become relevant only at the seven year old level when the children have acquired some experience in such matters.
The language norm for six year olds in the Gesell-Ilg schema depends upon use of Stanford-Binet vocabulary items. Since no equivalent test exists for Brunei Malay, the item is inapplicable.

The personal social Gesell-Ilg schema norms for six year olds are, "Dresses and undresses without assistance...Ties shoelaces...Differentiates a.m. and p.m...knows right from left...counts to 30" (ibid.). Village six year olds do distinguish day from night but Malay has no formal a.m., p.m. equivalents. Many six year olds can count, but not to thirty unless they have learned such counting in school. Likewise the formal distinction of left from right is variable in its occurrence among village six year olds. In sum, the culture-boundness of the social-personal norms for six year olds makes them generally inapplicable to village children.

The foregoing attempt to apply the Gesell-Ilg developmental norms to the village children indicates a limited cross-cultural usefulness for this developmental schema. The problem lies in the fact that the test is culture-bound. This is not a criticism of the Gesell-Ilg standards themselves, but rather is to say that if a Gesell-Ilg type schema of normal development is to be applied to other cultures it must be applicable in terms of the culture under study.

Table 6 is a Gesell-Ilg type schema, specially devised by the writer, which would apply to the Brunei Malay children of Fire Rock Village. The schema is suggestive, not definitive, and is based on two years of observation of a limited sample for each age level.24

24 The total number of children observed for more than one year each is less than fifty.
Although applicable to the culture for which it was devised, it is not immediately applicable cross-culturally, being subject to the same limitations of culture-boundness as were pointed out for the American version of the table.

The implications of a Brunei Gesell-Ilg-type schema are several fold. First, such a schema constitutes a tool which might be used by several independent workers to determine whether or not given Brunei Malay children are average or not in the developmental terms of their own culture. Second, the schema tacitly assumes that measurement of development against a chronological yardstick is important in the understanding of child development.\textsuperscript{25} Third, the very use of certain categories in the instrument implies that these categories are significant parameters in child development. Finally, what is omitted from such a schema may seriously bias interpretation of development.\textsuperscript{26}

\textbf{PSYCHO-SEXUAL SCHEMA}

The "measuring stick" approach of the Gesell-Ilg schema is very different from the sequential schema of psycho-sexual development. One may well question the utility of a "classic" psycho-sexual development scheme in the context of Fire Rock Village. However, such a

\textsuperscript{25} This assumption is open to question. One might well state that the prime consideration in the study of child development should concern sequential development and that the insistence on using precise time intervals as a yardstick is merely a culture bias of western thought.

\textsuperscript{26} An obvious omission is type and nature of body contact.
schema occurs so frequently in discussions of child development that it is helpful to present it at this juncture. The viewpoint taken here stresses two factors: first, the importance of learning in psycho-sexual development; second, the degree to which psycho-sexual development is culturally shaped. The psycho-sexual phases discussed are: first, oral; second, anal; third, genital; fourth, latent; fifth, adolescent. These are followed by a brief discussion of independence training because independence is an important concept in both Gesell-Ilg and psycho-sexual schemata.

During the first year of life most Brunei Malay children are breast fed. Only if the mother lacks milk is the child fed exclusively from a bottle. The mother's reaction to an infant's cries is that he wants the breast or bottle. A nursing mother sits on the floor and cradles the infant in one arm. With the other hand she gives the infant the breast. Once the infant is nursing the mother may coo to him if she is alone. More often she will converse with those around her. During his first year the child is not weaned. However, once the child is three months old or older he is gradually introduced to solid food. Many village children now are introduced to solid food in the form of imported infant cereals.27 The young infant is spoon fed the cereal and gruel. Much coaxing and cooing surrounds the eating of solid food. The Brunei mother giving her infant solid food talks to the infant, handles him, and pays exclusive attention to him.

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27 Traditionally the first solid food the child encountered was rice gruel.
Particularly if the child is an only child a great deal of attention centers on the taking of solid food. By contrast, sucking at the breast is rather taken for granted and no great amount of attention is paid to the suckling infant.

Once the child begins to teeth he is given more solid foods. In addition to the earlier gruels and mashed bananas the child now eats soft rice. Rice and other truly solid foods are hand fed to the child. The mother or other person attending the child takes a small portion of rice in her fingers and puts the rice into the child's mouth. The child is coaxed, and urged to eat, but never forced to consume food. Conversely, a child is never denied oral satisfaction.

Some Malay mothers in the village now use pacifiers, bought at the stores, and some do not. Traditionally, pacifiers were not used. Those mothers who use pacifiers often give the child a pacifier rather than a bottle when he cries. Very young children who cry are almost always given the bottle. Village toddlers often play with a bottle clenched between their teeth. The bottle may contain milk (rarely), tea, coffee, water, or some sweet beverage favored by the child.

The most frequent reaction to a crying toddler or young child is to put a bottle or breast to his mouth and try to introduce the nipple.

28 A noticeable cultural difference between Malays and non-Malays is that non-Malay mothers in the village often feed such food with spoons while the Malay mothers almost always use fingers to feed solid food. This reflects a cultural difference in eating habits. The Malays in the village use their fingers for much eating; the other villagers use spoons almost exclusively.
between the child's lips so that he will begin to drink or else take hold of the bottle or breast. Often, of course, the child is crying for some reason other than that he wants to suck. In such a case the child will vigorously tug his head from side to side in an effort to avoid taking the nipple. Sometimes this strategem is effective. More often it is not and the child ends up with an unwanted nipple in his mouth. No village mother would think of going anywhere with a child who is not weaned from the bottle unless she had the bottle along with her.

Bottle care is casual. If the bottle is dirty the person attending the child washes it with water from a rainbarrel, or, more commonly, from the river. The nipple is also washed in this way. Most mothers make no effort to boil or otherwise sterilize the bottle. As the child grows older he may insist that an attending person wash the bottle before refilling it. Children are not forcibly weaned from the bottle or breast but, according to their mothers, wean themselves. A child is increasingly teased and made fun of by older children and adults for sucking the bottle or pacifier as he grows older. Eventually, the child finds that he is being teased for using the bottle or pacifier; and the discomfort at such teasing outweighs the pleasure of the bottle or pacifier. He then stops using the bottle and pacifier when other people are present. Finally he abandons the bottle altogether because whenever he sucks on it he is teased. It is not uncommon to see children of four sucking a bottle; but by five years old they have usually given up the bottle. Such weaning is gradual and not traumatic. The real trauma in oral
development comes during the first year of the bottle. Weaning is accomplished by persistently denying them the breast and substituting the bottle. Efforts of the child to reject the bottle and reach for the breast are foiled.

Children who no longer suckle will occasionally make an attempt to suckle at their mother's dry breast. Such a child may be as old as four. Indeed, one mother said that one of her children even at six years old wanted an occasional suck from the breast which had milk for a younger sibling.

None of the village children observed between 1969 and 1971 sucked their thumbs or fingers. This probably resulted from the permissive attitude toward bottle sucking. The only case of thumbsucking observed was that of a child in Bandar Seri Begawan who was weaned from the bottle at about two years of age.

Adult attitudes toward the eating of solid food are also permissive. The young child is allowed to eat or leave rather much as he chooses with one exception - rice. If the young child does not like a certain fish or vegetable he simply does not eat it. But all young children are urged, "Eat your rice!" This reflects the Malay equation of rice and food: rice is food; other edibles are accompaniments for rice. If a child is not very hungry he is urged to eat his rice and leave the other food on his plate. However, the child often eats the other food and leaves the rice. The importance of rice as food is emphasized to the child in another way: the child who eats all his rice is emphatically praised for the accomplishment, the
eating of any other food goes unremarked. Similarly permissive are attitudes toward toilet training.

The child does not respond to toilet training in the manner that many western children do because the nature and circumstances of such training are quite different in the Malay village from those in western culture. A child is not expected to become continent until he understands enough language to know what is expected of him. The child commences to learn toilet behavior when he sees that elimination in the house is frowned upon and that indications of displeasure are made when he is incontinent in the daytime. However, there is no set toilet training schedule. Rather, the child is taken when he indicates his needs. A child learns to indicate verbally when he needs to eliminate.²⁹ The child is then conducted to a hole in the house floor to urinate or to the river bank to defecate. Girls must always wash their genitals after urination; boys should, but often do not.³⁰ Proper defecation behavior is taught by successive approximation. At first the child is encouraged merely to defecate outside the house. Then the child is encouraged to go to the proper location on the river bank where tree roots or an outhouse extend out over the river. Both adult males and females must always wash with water after defecating and this is stringently observed.

²⁹ He says bokami, urinate, or bria, defecate. Baby-talk euphemisms exist, but are seldom used. Only at a later age will the child learn politer expressions and circumlocutions.

³⁰ This is both for cleanliness and so that the smell or urine will not attract kontianak, illness causing spirits. People who urinate on land usually spit on the spot the liquid fell so that kontianak will not come.
Finally the child is taught to wash himself after eliminating. Following Islamic custom, this washing is always done with the left hand (just as eating is always done with the right hand). If the child starts to wash with his right hand the person attending reproves him and forcibly grabs the errant hand away simultaneously putting the child's left hand in place to do the washing.

Toilet training is low-keyed and gradual. If the child has soiled the house floor the area is sloshed down with water. A village home has only wooden floors or, occasionally, linoleum. There are no rugs or carpets to be soiled by the child and consequently soiling on the floor is not the major cause of upset that it is in middle class America. Similarly, the village child is usually naked or wearing no more than an apron at this age. Thus, there is no soiling of clothing to cause upset.

Oral and anal training are the same for both girls and boys; but genital training is not. The distinction commences in babyhood. Mothers often play with the genitals of a male baby, but seldom with those of a female baby. Siblings and relatives also play with the genitals of a male baby.

Once the infant reaches the crawling stage the male may be allowed to crawl about without any clothing on but the female infant almost always is garbed in an apron. By the time the child walks freely the difference is marked. The female always wears at least an apron, whereas the male child is often totally naked.

The only time mothers are perturbed by the un-toilet trained child is when he eliminates while being carried or, more disturbingly,
in a store or other public place. Such annoyance is markedly displayed if the child is at the age where he is being toilet trained, three to three and a half years old.

Together with toilet training the Malay child learns Islamic revulsion toward pigs. He learns that pigs are unclean not merely from words and actions but from intonation patterns. The same voice pattern and intonation pattern which indicate displeasure at feces soiling the house is also used in reference to pigs. Further, a common admonition used to stop children from playing with something their elders disapprove of is, ev tai tu, ugh, that's feces. The same phraseology and intonation are used in referring to pigs, ey bai tu, ugh, that's a pig. Furthermore, every time that the word "feces" or "pig" is mentioned it is said in a deprecating, disapproving tone of voice. Thus the child learns revulsion toward pigs and feces simultaneously.

Girls cease to bathe naked in the river at about four years of age. But boys swim naked until they are circumcised. Boys and men often go about bare-chested. But girls wear clothing from about five years of age; that clothing covers their chest all the time that they are not bathing. Girls start to wear clothing that covers their chest when they are bathing at about ten years of age or at the very latest when their breasts begin to develop.\(^{31}\)

When girls are pubescent they become modest and begin to wear a covering over their shoulders when walking about in a bathing sarong.

\(^{31}\) Old women occasionally go bare chested in the privacy of their own home.
For Brunei males the bare shoulders of young women are sensual objects, hence the modesty of young women in keeping their shoulders covered. Such modesty is very different from the ribald action sometimes taught male toddlers.

Young boys just learning to understand speech may be taught to do pelvic thrusts as a joke by their siblings. However, the toddlers soon learn that the joke is on them and cease such behavior. Girls of the same age may be teased about being "uncircumcised" but are not teased into pelvic thrusts.\textsuperscript{32}

During the latency phase of psycho-sexual development such genital play does not occur. However, children in the latency phase may encourage younger siblings to indulge in sexual play, stimulating themselves or making pelvic thrusts while they, the older children, watch and mock. Only small boys are egged on into such behavior, not small girls. Parents publically disapprove of such activities but privately may laugh at them.

Villagers say that a girl is becoming pubescent when her breasts become noticeably large. No particular ceremony marks menarche but the girl learns to use folded cloth or store-bought pads to soak up the flow and during menstruation observes the prohibition on picking certain fruits, such as pomellos, lest her ritual impurity cause the

\textsuperscript{32} Girls not "circumcised" in very young childhood are ashamed of the fact. Girls "circumcised" in adolescence feel ashamed because this is something that is normally done to small girls.
tree to wither. The ritually impure menstruating Islamic girl or woman cannot pray or fast during her period.³³

No comparably dramatic physical change marks the onset of puberty for boys. Rather, their physical development is gradual, but the social symbol of male puberty is circumcision. Ideally, circumcised boys act more mature than uncircumcised ones, but in fact they often do not behave in mature and expected ways. However, adults may make more work demands of a boy once he has been circumcised.

Adolescents begin to indulge in sexual joking, but only with close relatives of the same sex and age. Adolescents are circumspect in their behavior toward adolescents of the opposite sex. In the past both male and female adolescents were fully participating members of the village economy. They had all the requisite skills for adult life. However, at present, most adolescents are still in school.

Adolescent boys begin to discuss various girls as possible wives and girls begin to discuss various boys in terms of what sort of husband they would make. Parents also begin to cast an eye about to see who might make suitable marriage partners for their adolescent children.

Marriage marks the individual as a full-fledged adult. Thus is completed the sequence of psycho-sexual development. Another aspect of enculturation is independence training.

³³ Fasting missed during Ramadan, for any reason whatsoever, must be made up later.
A Brunei Malay child in the village learns both independence and dependence. Before a child can talk he is to a large extent master of the house. What the child wants to do is done. If the child is tired if visiting at someone's house with his mother or other relatives and wants to go home, the visiting party will go home to satisfy the child's desires. This practice results from or is explained by the belief that it is not good for a child to cry; because a child who cries too much may die.

Similarly, when an infant begins to cry he is tended immediately. Instant attention to infants is characteristic of Brunei Malays and does not apply in all the other cultural groups represented in the village. This cultural difference was strikingly evidenced one day at the Chinese store. The infant of the storekeeper was sleeping in a crib in the store. A number of Malays were in the store shopping. In the middle of one such transaction the Chinese infant woke up and began to cry. The storekeeper's wife kept on with the business transaction. But immediately several of the Malay women present spoke up pointing out that the baby was crying. The implication of their statement was clearly that the storekeeper's wife should instantly stop her business and tend the infant. The intention of the storekeeper's wife was clearly that the infant must wait until the business transaction was finished. But the Malay women ceased their business; this obliged the shopkeeper's wife to tend the infant. After that business resumed.

This example is important in two ways. First, it clearly shows that the Chinese infant was learning not to expect immediate
gratification of his demands. On the other hand, a Malay infant learns to expect instant attention to his wants. But the example is important in another way. Such action showed older children present in the store an attitude toward life and toward the relative importance of the infant's demand and the business in hand. Repeatedly, Chinese children are told that business takes precedence over instant attention to an infant's demands. But Malay children see that an infant's demands take precedence over whatever business may be in hand. Thus, child and infant training has two important aspects. The first is the impact on the child or infant being trained. The second is its effect on older children. These older children learn attitudes and habits toward people and events in life not only from the training that they themselves have received, but also from the training that they see being given to others.

A young Malay child in the village is given extensive dependency training. He is always watched. His range of explorations is limited; and he is often picked up and played with to stop his exploring. The young child sleeps beside his mother, by an older sibling, or beside some adult or older child.

Once a child learns to talk, the constant handling, picking up and carrying, and other behavior conducive to dependency shifts toward the encouragement of independence. A child is no longer dressed as a passive object but is expected to begin to cooperate in his dressing. A child is no longer fed but is expected to feed himself. By the time the child goes to school, age six, he may be expected to wash his own clothes and help with household chores such as doing the
dishes, preparing meals, house cleaning, pounding rice, gathering eggs, and so forth. However, these mild expectations, which are in no sense demands, are often not met. In the traditional village, children of this age learned most of their skills from each other, by trial-and-error imitation and were the main disciplinarians of one another. However, in modern Fire Rock Village the elder siblings who traditionally watched over the younger ones are away at boarding school most of the time. Thus, the traditional enculturation pattern of elder siblings and relative teaching and guiding younger ones is seen mainly at holiday time when the children are home from school.

As the children grow older their behavior and abilities approach that of adults. With the attainment of adulthood, marriage, and the establishment of a family, the new adults in turn begin the repetition of the childbearing and enculturation cycle as they set up and maintain independent families.

It must not be overlooked that insistence on early independence by a child is a Western cultural value. Malay parents emphasize the child doing certain things and helping with certain kinds of work but do not stress his independence. Rather, the child is taught to work in a cooperative environment. However, there is an age range during which parents expect that their children will be able to do certain tasks independently. Similarly, throughout life a villager is subjected to influence of enculturation and so must continue to develop in certain ways.

Thus, Brunei Malay children learn independence within their culture in several principle ways. First, they imitate what they see
and hear about them such as climbing a guava tree to get the fruit. Second, they read, hear people talk, and ask questions. In this way, children learn about the political and ideological system. Third, they imitate or are specifically taught; in this manner children learn the basic technological and economic tasks of life. Fourth, they invent and make things for themselves; thus children develop games and in later life, decorations and versifying. Fifth, they conform to group norms to avoid unpleasant disapproval of their contemporaries of their parents and elders. Such group pressure frequently suppresses overt temper displays. And sixth, village children face daily the basic fact of life that if they do not cook, garden, fish, or raise rice, there will be nothing for them to eat; because in a subsistence farming economy such as that of the village, food comes from one’s own toil and in no other way.

Thus human development in the village can be looked at from the viewpoint of western developmental schemata or in strictly Brunei Malay terms. Each approach has its strengths and weaknesses, but combined they present an adequate picture. Turning from general development, the focus of discussion may now center on one particular aspect, the enculturation of aggression.

ENCULTURATION OF AGGRESSION

Here "aggression" will be taken to mean specific behaviors without any assumptions regarding "aggressive instinct." Whiting and Child (1966: 62) define "aggression" as:
...a system (or systems) of behavior which consists of hurting someone or something or of doing things which usually lead to someone's or something's being hurt. The "hurt" involved may be a physical one, such as striking, gouging, or emitting a loud noise, or it may be a social hurt, such as an insult, a slight, a tease, or an irritating annoyance.

However, this definition is rather broad and presents certain difficulties. How, for instance, can the hurt caused by black magic be studied other than through hearsay, gossip, and ex post facto reasoning? "Social hurt" is difficult to study. The question of what factors constitute social hurt introduces considerable leeway for interpretation. Similarly, how are "potential hurting" and "intent to hurt" to be delimited? Although Whiting and Child have indeed used these categories in cross-cultural studies, the problems of interpretation and delineation remain. In other words, the resultant studies are interesting and valuable, but not readily replicable in other settings. In contrast to this the present study discusses three actions which are readily observable and constitute clear instances of aggression. Although this has the limitation of narrowness, it does permit cross-cultural replication. Interestingly, the Brunei Malays have no word which can reasonably be translated into English as "aggression." The English term "aggression" has been borrowed into Standard Malay as agresi. But Brunei Malay does have terms for the specific aggressive behaviors to be described here: pukul, hitting; chubit, pinching; timbak, shooting. Because

34 The English and Malay terms are not grammatically concordant. This is due to fundamental structural differences between the two languages. For example, pukul may be either a verb or a noun; and the English progressive tenses have no equivalents in Malay (Malay has no "tenses" as such).
hitting and pinching are very similar they will be considered together.

Brunei Malay culture shapes and channels hitting and pinching by prohibiting or condoning them in various circumstances. Hitting is a prohibited behavior which nevertheless occurs. On the other hand, pinching is sanctioned under many circumstances. Both children and adults hit, although rarely with an instrument; but children hit much more frequently than do adults. Adults hit only in anger or to punish a child strongly; however, children are not spanked. Rather, pinching is a standard punishment for naughty children. Pinching may also be done to indicate mild anger. The manner and placement of pinching depends upon the severity intended.

Two subtypes of hitting behavior merit separate attention: running *amok*, *mengamok*, and the blows of bare-handed combat, *besilat*. Running *amok* is reported to be a furious attack directed randomly upon anyone who crosses the *amok*’s path. The opposite of *amok* is *besilat*, attack deliberately and methodically directed at one or more specific individuals. Running *amok* is an apparently spontaneous action; *besilat* is a combat form which can be used effectively only after prolonged training. The manner in which a person goes suddenly *amok* or systematically acquires skill in hand-to-hand combat, *besilat*, is culturally determined.

Both hitting and pinching may occur in any locale with two exceptions. The first is holy places such as mosques, sacred graves (*keramat*), or cemetaries. The second exception is public places such as stores, major town streets, or government buildings.
Hitting and pinching are also limited by other circumstances. That is, they do not occur at ritual occasions, such as weddings, funerals, or feasts. Likewise, Brunei Malays do not hit or pinch in the presence of very sick people or dying people. One exception to this is that very small children may hit in such circumstances. However, if they do they are immediately held still by adults or older children. If the children then start to fuss or cry, or resume hitting and pinching upon release from restraint, they are removed from the room, being carried out forcibly if necessary.

Social constraints upon hitting are relatively few. Adults do not hit a person of superior social status or significantly older age. Informants reported that one exception to this is occasional fights between husband and wife; husbands are quite commonly ten years or more older than their wives. Young children often hit at older siblings and also at adults; thus, they do not observe the social status constraints. Such blows are usually ignored or lightly dodged by the recipient. But as the child grows older he finds that his hits are reciprocated, usually with an increase in force. The rationale given for this is that people should not hit each other and that if a child fears receiving hard hits in retaliation he will stop initiating hitting.

On the other hand, the reciprocating for pinching is light and often given in fun. Only if the recipient is angry or annoyed are hard pinches given in reciprocation. Indeed, one form of teasing involves feinting a give-and-take pinching bout without actually
having any more body contact than touching by the two fingers (thumb and index finger) normally used for pinching.

Any child or adult may hit or pinch another person within the limits described above, except that among adults the only heterosexual hitting or pinching is that between husband and wife. However, usually it is the men who run amok and engage in besilat. Villagers say that during war time some normally gentle men became very ferocious fighters who killed many enemies. They explain that such soldiers ran amok and did not know what they were doing; then when the war was over they returned home and became themselves again.

Another facet of combat is besilat. Both boys and girls play besilat and thus learn the dance-like part; serious besilat is a male pursuit. Basically, Brunei Malay besilat is the art of using one's bare hands to kill an opponent. It involves chops with the side of the hand, kicks, and extreme agility to avoid being killed oneself.

Subject to the limitations above, and Brunei Malay may be hit or pinched. Other individuals are virtually never touched physically except for ritual gestures of salutation and departure. An exception is that any male or female, of whatever social group, may be the victim of someone running amok. Similarly, any male may be the object of a besilat attack under circumstances of combat or self-defense.

35 Some fifty years ago an adult woman of childbearing age would under no circumstances touch an adult male other than father, husband, son, or brother. If it were necessary for her to touch any other adult male in greeting, such as honoring a returned pilgrim from Mecca, the woman would put a cloth over her hands so that her flesh never touched his flesh.
A person who perceives himself to be in danger of being hit or pinched may try to avoid incurring the contact. He may, for example, attempt to mollify or appease the aggressor through word or action. Alternatively, he may tell the aggressor in a coaxing tone of voice, jangan marah, ah? ah?, don't be angry, ok? ok? The object of this behavior is to tell the aggressor that he, the aggressor, is angry. The potential victim hopes that the aggressor will calm down in response rather than going ahead to hit or pinch and so display culturally disapproved anger. But the most common avoidance behavior is hasty departure from the scene.

To a Brunei Malay pinching is a relatively mild behavior; the surrogates are few and diversionary tactics minor. A person may verbally threaten to pinch, but not carry out the act; or a young child may feint besilat gestures as a game. Quite commonly, they will merely turn their back toward the person they might otherwise pinch. Turning one's back also signals mild anger; it is quite rude to turn one's back to another person's face. To do so without making verbal apology is an indication of mild anger, sadness, or a desire to be left alone.  

Quite different from the surrogate behaviors for pinching are those for anger. The most common diversionary action is verbal. Common verbal outlets for anger are: nanti teh kau karang, the

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36 In a village house sitting or lying facing a wall is a signal that an individual desires privacy. Others heed and obey this signal by not disturbing the person. However, they do not necessarily leave the room. Being “left to oneself” is a social separation, not a physical one.
functional equivalent of, "you're gonna get it;" the expletive, astah! or astagarrullah!, the functional equivalent of, "damn;" or spitting hard by uttering an explosive tufi! (this latter indicates great anger). Non-verbal diversions of hitting behavior include putting intense effort into some chore, game, or other physical activity, and leaving the scene of confrontation, usually with expenditure of more energy than is normal for the type of locomotion concerned. For example, someone may stomp off rather than walking, or paddle a dugout canoe furiously stirring up froth rather than paddling efficiently.

Pieces of wood may serve as substitute targets during besilat practice; or the practicing may "pull" their blows, that is, deliver them but stop short of actual contact or make only light contact. For amok there is no surrogate or diversion from people.

Both hitting and pinching are learned early in childhood. The child imitates what is done around him. However, when a child has learned to speak, siblings, parents, and other relatives will frequently admonish him to pinch people rather than hitting them. For example, a sibling may say, lai, jangan tah nukul ia, chubit macham ani, "little one, don't hit him, pinch him like this," and give a demonstration. I learned the importance of pinching rather hitting during the first few days of fieldwork in the village. Children of the host family showed how to pinch naughty children as a form of punishment. The children explained, demonstrating on each other, the fine points of pinching tender spots on the inside of the thigh and upper arm, and how to pinch tightly with a twisting
motion so that maximum discomfort or pain resulted. Later these same children taught Ramlan in a similar manner. Thus, for hitting and pinching, learning takes place within the household unit and play groups, both by imitation of others and as the result of direct informal teaching and coaching. On the other hand, serious besilat is learned in formal instruction from a recognized expert at a place of his choosing.

All available information indicates that running amok is not learned; it just happens suddenly. Running amok is considered fearful because anyone may be killed without cause or reason. Villagers claim that those who often become angry but habitually hold it in rather than letting it out are in danger of going amok. However, villagers claim, apparently normal, gentle people may suddenly get a funny look in their eyes and go amok; but more often it is people who are excessively quiet that run amok. In sum, amok is viewed as a completely unpredictable behavior.

By contrast, there is virtually no uncertainty about the identity of besilat experts. Villagers maintain that the best besilat experts are sultans. This is partly because a sultan can command any teachers that he desires to come to the palace and impart all their knowledge. They are then obliged to do so. These experts will often withhold some of their knowledge from all others except a few chosen disciples; but no such follower gets the compound expertise available to sultans. Furthermore, much of the "power" of besilat is involved with the use of white magic, amulets, and personal vital
power, *kuat*, and the sultan has more of these than anyone else.\(^{37}\)

Village reasoning on this matter is circular: since he is sultan, therefore he has the most "power;" since he has the most "power" therefore he is sultan.

Some villagers emphasize the importance of *besilat* to the sultan (and other men of power) in the past. They claim that the only safe way to wake up a sultan was to stand across the room from where he was sleeping and throw pillows at him; because even before fully awake the sultan came up throwing lethal *besilat* blows that would kill anyone nearby.\(^{38}\) This is quite the opposite of the average villager's sleepy-eyed stumble awake and, whether true or not, serves to emphasize the special position and great powers of the sultan.

Special *besilet* training is expensive in terms of gifts to the trainer, *guru*.\(^{39}\) Also, the learner needs to eat much food for energy, take special medicines, purchase amulets,\(^ {40}\) learn certain magic

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\(^{37}\) The word *kuat*, power, has several different meanings which range from sheer physical strength through male potency to supernatural force.

\(^{38}\) This was obviously very practical in terms of preventing assassination.

\(^{39}\) The term *guru* means "master." An ordinary teacher, such as a schoolteacher, is *chigu*.

\(^{40}\) The higher the price paid (that is, the greater the value of the gifts given) for an amulet, the greater is its power. Extra strong amulets, *zimat pilihan* (*zimat = azimat = adzimat = jimat*, amulet; *pilihan*, select, special, picked) require the giving of costly gifts to the maker for greatest power. They must be written in the middle of the night, with black ink and a home-made reed pen. They can be written only on certain favorable days during the waxing of the moon so that their power will wax as the moon waxes.
spells for protection and strength, and in general incur considerable expense. Furthermore, the learner is so occupied with training that he is not available for working at a salaried job or at subsistence economy. Thus only the well-to-do can afford to go deeply into besilat. Perhaps because of its remoteness from their daily lives, the villagers are more consciously aware of the ideology relating to besilat than they are of that relating to the more ordinary behaviors of pinching and hitting.

As children grow older they acquire the cultural conceptions and behaviors related to hitting and pinching. They are told, often in overheard conversations, that pinching is an accepted mode of punishment. However, excessive pinching, or hard pinching of small children, is not good. Children learn through verbal and physical means that hitting is considered bad, and hence frowned upon. Also hitting is associated with anger. Children learn through observation and hard experience that they should behave properly so that people will not become angry with them. Additionally, children encounter strong group pressure, from both relatives and playmates, to suppress anger and to avoid hitting people. But no one disapproves if children

\[1 \text{ Only the most liberal of gifts will coax the best magic formulae from the few who know them.} \]

\[2 \text{ Villagers emphasize that expertise in besilat is bound up with deep involvement with meditation and the supernatural. Even a ritual slaughterer of large animals, such as cattle and water buffalo, must have a certain amount of vital power in order not to fear taking so big a life. How much more necessary the, point out the villagers, is vital power to one who may at an instant's notice kill a human being bare-handed. The danger lies in the physical proximity of the killer's soul, roh, to that of his victim, and in the emptiness left by the death.} \]
or adults kick a cat, hit it, or throw it out the window unless the action is exceedingly violent. The rationale is that a cat is an animal; standards of behavior toward humans do not apply to animals. By about age three most children know that cats are acceptable surrogates for the expression of anger. The limitation of violence toward cats is that which might seriously injure the animal or cause it to leave the house permanently.\(^4\) Not uncommonly, an angry child will seek out a cat upon which to vent his anger.

The enculturation of *amok* and *besilat* is very different. Although villagers say that *amok* just happens, and no available evidence contradicts this; *amok* may, in fact, be vicariously enculturated. That is, children and adults occasionally discuss how an *amok* acts. In this manner people form a mental image of the associated behavior; they presumably imitate the mental image if and when they run *amok* themselves. A marked contrast is formed by the enculturation of *besilat*. Boys and girls often make the specialized hitting gestures in play; thus one generation of children learns from another the outward form of *besilat*. However, as mentioned earlier, only strict systematic training by an expert can lead to skill in *besilat* as a martial art. A person undergoing such training is deliberately and consciously enculturating himself in one form of aggression.

Shooting another human being is a form of aggression whose behavioral correlates differ considerably from those of hitting and

\(^4\) Villagers believe that cats can see *hantu*, evil spirits. Hence, people value cats as a source of protection from *hantu*. Cats also serve the more practical purpose of rodent control in village houses and rice storehouses.
pinching. Shooting occurs in only two circumstances, running amok and war.

Sometimes a person going amok shoots all in sight rather than slashing out with a bushknife. In that case, pursuers must shoot to kill. In all other respects the behavior of a person shooting while running amok, and its ramifications, is the same as that of a person hitting or slashing with a bushknife while running amok. The remainder of the present discussion concerning shooting will concentrate on the context of war.

The most obvious cultural channeling of aggression is entering a state of war. In the distant past disputes over succession to the throne sometimes engendered civil war. More recently, political and economic events outside of Brunei led to World Wars One and Two. In Brunei Malay these are referred to respectively as "The German War," and "The Japanese War." The civil disturbance of 1962 is referred to as "The Rebellion." Present-day soldiers engage in frequent shooting practice in order to maintain their arms skill so that they will be prepared to defend their country should war or rebellion occur.

Brunei Malay culture determines the type of gun a man will use in war as well as the manner in which he will use it. Over two-hundred years ago the main armament was brass cannon fired from fixed positions. When modern breech-loading rifles and muskets were developed they soon spread to Brunei. During the civil disturbance of 1962 guns wielded by civilians were handled in the indigenous manner. The modern Brunei soldier carries the best lightweight but
powerful arms suitable for jungle fighting and is trained in British and Australian military techniques. Camouflage fatigues and lightweight high-powered "burp" guns seem to be a present-day culture universal which is found in Brunei as throughout the world.

Only adult men shoot human beings. Children of both sexes play at soldiers and rebels, main bruntak, the Brunei equivalent of the American cowboys and Indians. However, in both this game and in playing war, main parang, boys predominate.

The victims of wartime shooting may be of either sex and any age. However, since all soldiers are men most victims of direct wartime shooting are men in the prime of life. Victims of bombing and other forms of attack are more mixed with regard to age and sex.

In the distant past most wartime shooting took place in and around dwellings. The idea was to attack a settlement and kill all the inhabitants, as for example in the eighteenth century Spanish attacks on Kota Batu, just downstream of present Bandar Seri Begawan. During disputes over the throne the intended victims were the partisans of rival claimants. These were shot wherever they happened to be, which usually meant in and around their houses. During World War Two, Japanese soldiers who ventured off the main waterways or into upstream areas or into the jungle were fair game for snipers. During the 1962 civil disturbance the initial fighting took place in the major towns and the capital as well as at the Seria oilfields.

\[44\] After being exposed to the American name for the game Haji Mohammad's children occasionally played main kauboi, play cowboy.
However, most of the later combat was located in rural and jungle areas. Some villagers recount that so-and-so was killed at such-and-such a place up in the jungle.\textsuperscript{45}

During war or rebellion there are no limitations of place, time, or social structure upon shooting other than those imposed by coordinated maneuvers under a leader, or under command by an army officer. The only stated restriction on shooting in war or rebellion is that one should not shoot at allies.

In the past boys nearing puberty learned gun handling from their fathers, brothers, or other male relatives. In part they watched others doing the tasks involved in gun maintenance. Then they did some of the simpler tasks under supervision, later progressing to full disassembling, cleaning, oiling, and adjusting independently.\textsuperscript{46} Concurrently they learned to shoot. A key limitation here was that boys had to be strong enough to withstand the recoil without injury before they could attempt rifle practice.\textsuperscript{47}

After the 1962 civil disturbance all private armaments were forbidden and the only civilians who now have guns are a few longhouse

\textsuperscript{45} "Jungle" in this case includes wooded swamp and overgrown rubber plantations as well as true jungle. All of these adjoin or are near Fire Rock Village.

\textsuperscript{46} Because humid tropical conditions are so inimical to moving metal parts maintenance care had to be done very frequently.

\textsuperscript{47} Women occasionally learned to shoot so that they could kill or at least frighten off crop-pest monkeys.
heads in remote areas. Consequently, only military and police recruits learn gun handling, and this during basic training.

Shooting at humans is done with intent to kill. There are no surrogate targets or diversion of aggression into other channels for such shooting. Villagers say that if a person sees someone shooting at him he knows that it is with intent to kill. As a result only three avoidance behaviors are possible: shoot first, "duck," or flee. People trapped in a house during shooting will try to barricade themselves behind heavy furniture, or, more usually, hide under the bed. But if they have a chance to do so, villagers go hide in the wooded swamp or the jungle.

Villagers state quite plainly that hiding under the bed is a common reaction to fear. But fleeing to the swamp or jungle occurs only when avoiding a lethal pursuer. They also know that playing war, and playing rebellion, are different from other childhood games. For these pastimes enculturate children into the idea of shooting at human beings with the intent to kill. Shooting is considered a behavior which differs radically from hitting and pinching because it disregards all normal respect for holy places. In this respect it is somewhat like running amok.

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48 The head of the Iban longhouse in the village has a rifle. In accordance with regulations he keeps it under lock and key in a box attached to the wall of his room.

49 This is not entirely safe since there may be crocodiles in the swamp or poisonous snakes in the jungle. It is a question of relative safety.
Older villagers recount stories of the Second World War with its death and violence. Many of these narratives dwell upon the difficulty of just remaining alive. They point out that the Japanese shot first and asked questions later. Children also hear occasional discussions of the details of 1962. However, by comparison with American middle-class children, village children play fewer war games and have virtually no exposure to vicarious violence against humans such as television "blood and thunder" shows and war comics. Consequently, shooting occupies relatively small place in village childhood and youth.

This completes the description of the aggressive actions of shooting, hitting, and pinching. For each act the agent, incurrer, surrogates, avoidance behaviors, and related circumstances have been delineated. This provides a view of these aspects of aggression in Brunei Malay culture stated in a manner useful for cross-cultural comparisons.

50 But Chinese children in the village can read Chinese horror and gore comics which make the most violent American television show look like a tale of true gentleness.

51 However, village children are more aware of violence against animals. Killing chickens for dinner is a normal activity. And prior to weddings cattle and water buffaloes are slaughtered. They are also aware of poisoning which in many respects parallels shooting but is virtually unknown to American middle-class children. Poisoning is not a readily observable behavior and hence not included here. See Appendix D for a discussion of poisoning.
IV. CONCLUSIONS

As a prelude to discussion of the enculturation of aggression it was necessary to look at the general process of enculturation and human development in the village. The indigenous schema of human development concentrates upon sequential development with no absolute chronology beyond the first year of life. The western psycho-sexual schema also stresses sequential development but is somewhat subjective and definitely culture biased. A western schema which seems at first sight very objective is that by Gesell-IIlg. It is based on a longitudinal study of many children, utilizes clearly specified tests and observations for definite chronological ages, and is generally accepted as excellent. However, the Gesell-IIlg schema is not directly applicable to Brunei Malay enculturation for two reasons. First, most villagers do not know their children's exact age, to the month, as is necessary for the schema. But even if this limitation is overcome a more serious difficulty remains. This is because of the culture-bound nature of many test items. These have been discussed in detail. Suffice it to point out here that any developmental test which specifies language progress in terms of English must inevitably be unsuitable for children who do not speak English. But it should be possible to overcome these limitations of the Gesell-IIlg schema and make it a tool more readily applicable cross-culturally. As a step in this direction a Gesell-IIlg type schema applicable to
the Brunei Malay village situation has been proposed. However, since the schema was not based on a sufficiently large sample it must remain tentative. This discussion of human development in terms of three schemata set the background for the subfocus on the enculturation of aggression.

Discussion of aggression was limited to the readily observable behaviors of shooting, hitting, and pinching, without any assumptions about "aggressive instinct." Hence, another person doing a study in the village could replicate the present work and check its results. By extension, the same study could be done in other cultures and be corroborated by independent workers. But what is the general pattern of enculturation of the specified aggressive behaviors in Fire Rock Village?

The primary agents of enculturation for hitting and pinching are parents, siblings, other relatives, and the child's play group. Hitting and pinching are enculturated informally. The child imitates the actions of those about him. He hears other people's comments about his own activities and the actions of others; from these comments he learns which behaviors are approved and which are not approved as well as the ideas and concepts that Brunei Malay culture associates with certain behaviors. The child is specifically taught to pinch people rather than to hit them. The art of bare-handed combat, hesilat, is also taught formally but such "formal" teaching constitutes only a small part of the enculturation of hitting and behavior.
But the major method of the enculturation of shooting behavior in the past was deliberate instruction from male relatives and practice under supervision. However, at present citizens cannot possess, bear, or use arms. Consequently, the major agents of enculturation are military and police gun instructors and the main method of enculturation is formal lecture plus shooting range drill and arms maintenance practice.

The cultural channeling or shaping of war is minimal and primarily affects the nature of the fighting unit and the weapons technology. The strongest cultural shaping is that affecting hitting behavior which is prohibited among adults, although spouses sometimes fight. Very young children are permitted to hit but soon are taught to pinch instead. Two specialized types of hitting are maximally shaped by the culture: running amok is a somewhat stereotyped, "going berserk;" and besilat is a specific type of lethal hand-to-hand combat.

Both hitting and pinching can take place anywhere except in a mosque or a public place. However, an exhibition dance form of besilat is often presented at royal weddings. And, an amok occurs virtually anywhere. But there are no limitations concerning where shooting in war or rebellion may occur. Similarly, there are no limits of age or sex on who hits or pinches, although only men learn true besilat and apparently only men run amok. Also only men shoot humans.

Any person may incur all the above-mentioned behaviors. But old people or those of very high status seldom or never incur pinching except occasionally from siblings of the same sex who are of similar age and status to the person they pinch.
Attempts to avoid being hit or pinched may involve mollifying the would-be hitter or pincher. But the most common response is exiting from the scene. Avoidance behavior for shooting is limited: shoot first, "duck," or flee.

Shooting used to be learned at home, often in connection with shooting crop pests. But now formal instruction for military and police recruits provides the only learning situation. On the other hand hitting and shooting are learned at home through a combination of observation and casual instruction from close relatives, particularly siblings. The child or adult hears stories about people running amok, but probably never actually sees one. In contrast the student of besilat sees the techniques involved as they are specially demonstrated to him by the master.

Virtually no temporal, social, behavioral, or geographical circumstances limit the amok attack except that the berserk person hits or shoots to kill and continues until killed or restrained. On the other hand hitting and pinching do not occur, except among very young children, at ritual occasions such as weddings, or in the presence of the seriously ill or the dying. In general people do not hit those of greatly superior social status or age, with the exception of martial fights. But the shooting in war or rebellion has virtually no limitations except for not shooting allies, and the bullet supply.

Similarly, there are no surrogates for the shooting of humans in war. But there are several surrogates or diversions for hitting people. One may put extra energy into some physical activity, go
away from the situation, or utter a harsh "tfui" which also signals that anger is near the boiling point. The much less violent pinching behavior is deliberately enculturated as a substitute for hitting behavior and has mild surrogates and diversions from people. One may threaten to pinch but not actually do it, or feint besilat gestures which stop short of physical contact. But the most common reaction is to simply turn one's back to the situation.

From the preceding discussions of the selected aggressive behaviors and their enculturation some more general aspects emerge. First is the tendency to substitute a lesser degree of violence for a greater one. Thus people stamp off rather than hit, or feint rather than pinch. Or, most noticeably by contrast with middle-class Americans, they pinch rather than hit. Second, there is a marked distinction between shooting and other aggressive behaviors in that shooting directed at humans occurs only during war or rebellion; there is not now and apparently was not in the past the "bar room brawl shoot-out" pattern of aggressive behavior.1

However, the most distinctive variation between American middle-class and Brunei Malay aggression behavior is the relatively extensive use of pinching behavior by Malays where Americans would use hitting or striking. If the American pattern of hitting in punishment is assumed to be the norm, and to arise in the enculturation process, then it can be stated that the Brunei Malay pattern of

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1 It could be argued that poison and black magic may have constituted the functional substitute for this type of altercation.
pinching also arises as a result of previously described encultura-
tion practices.

The approach to the study of the enculturation of aggression
used here is that of a pattern description. It concentrates on the
overt behaviors of hitting, pinching, and shooting whose very obvious-
ness and ease of observation means that the normally wide variation
in conditions obtaining among different field studies does not signi-
ficantly alter the validity of their results. The pattern descrip-
tion utilized focuses on the agents and method of enculturation.
This technique of analysis ignores some information often included
in ethnographic studies, such as ideology and folklore. In terms
of one recent trend in the study of enculturation the lack of such
statistical analysis may be viewed as a drawback. However, the
type of pattern description used here and its dependence upon the
intensive oberrvation normally used in the course of ethnographic
fieldwork means that fieldworkers whose main topic of interest is
not enculturation of aggression can nonetheless gather the requi-
site information. Thus, in limiting the demands upon the observer
this study lends itself to replication by other workers who may
lack the time, funds, or facilities to do a quantified study of
the incidence of events involved in the enculturation of a pattern
of aggression.

Another key point is that concentration on pattern description
makes it possible to abstract large amounts of information on the
enculturation of aggression from the literature already available and
to use it for the cross-cultural study of the enculturation of
aggression. This and other types of methodological refinement will become more important as anthropologists move away from the general ethnography of unstudied, isolated groups to studies of modern, complex urban-industrial societies, because of the trend toward modernization and the direction of world political and economic events.
Appendix A

FIELDWORK

Fieldwork took place from November 1969 to September 1971. Following the tradition of modern anthropology the field study began with arrival in Borneo on a four-engined jet. A travel grant from the Ohio State University graduate school covered the expenses of the air trip to Brunei. Money for the first year of residence came from personal savings.¹ In 1970 I received a grant from the National Academy of Sciences-Division ACDA of Behavioral Science, Committee on Support of Dissertation Research, an executive agency of the U.S. government concerned with finding ways to promote peace, understanding, and co-operation among nations and people. My grant was made under the Ph.D. dissertation support program for basic research concerned with the promotion of human peace. In the course of my research I

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An unusual vote of thanks is due to my parents who had the wisdom and foresight to realize that a ninth grade daughter who firmly wants to be an anthropologist is someday going to need a lump sum of cash. They took the appropriate action of opening a savings account for me at that time and insisted on my regular contributions from part time jobs. They also made a financial sacrifice so that I might remain in the field the second year; the grant received was not enough to cover all expenses; and a round-trip air ticket (cheapest route) cost more than the travel grant.
was not an employee of the U.S. Government nor was I acting on behalf of the U.S. Government. I did the research as a private individual. My conclusions in this dissertation are solely my own and not those of the institutions supporting my research.

The hotel room in Bandar Seri Begawan which had been reserved from the U.S. provided housing for the first week in Brunei. However, this was expensive and I sought alternate arrangements. Through the kind offices of P.O.K.M.A.R. Dr. Haji Jamil Al-Sufri, Director of the Brunei Language and Literature Bureau, I came to share an apartment with Miss Thelma Salizar, Chief Librarian of the Language and Literature Bureau. Throughout my stay in Brunei this apartment served as a permanent base in the capital city.

The initial cost of field supplies was minimal. Working equipment consisted of locally purchased pen, ink, and notebooks, plus a thirty-five millimeter single-lens reflex camera brought from America. Throughout fieldwork I kept film in a vacuum bottle, regularly sent it out to Bandar Seri Begawan for processing, and had virtually no problem with film deterioration. Film and processing plus the cost of prints to give villagers who had been photographed formed a major expense. A major fixed expense was monthly room and board paid to the host family. I paid no informant fees but often gave gifts of cigarettes, tobacco, or cloth to those who spent a lot of time with me describing or explaining various aspects of local culture. Photocopying fieldnotes combined with purchases of toys and gifts formed regular variable expenses.
A rather large unexpected expense was clothing. The host family insisted on an anthropologist dressed in Malay-style clothes of the first quality cloth for the wedding of their eldest daughter. Soon thereafter attendance at the official ceremony honoring ruling Sultan Bolkiah's birthday necessitated the purchase of additional expensive cloth of different color. In both cases hand-made gold jewelry was considered a necessary accessory (gold was not then so prohibitively expensive as at present).

Fortunately medical bills were not a problem. The Brunei government district hospital cared for my health problems and provided free of charge needed preventive medicine such as immunizations, sulfa drugs, and anti-malaria pills when my supply ran out. I wish to thank the Medical Service for this care.

Prior to arrival in Brunei I made only approximate and general budget allotments because there was no way to know either exact costs or the precise manner of their apportionment. Since the first year's non-travel field expenses were from personal savings there were no external demands for detailed budgeting. A key item of financial planning before departure lay in providing for emergencies of two types: major field expenses such as medical bills; and funding for transportation home on short notice. Once fieldwork began prudence demanded a further emergency reserve fund which proved essential. The bank balance I always maintained in Brunei tided me over a period of more than two months in the second year when grant checks and personal checks did not arrive due to the British postal strike. At the very end of the field study the sum held in traveler's
checks for emergency transportation bought my return ticket home at the last minute after the return ticket sent from the U.S. went astray in the mails.

Academic preparation for fieldwork consisted of extensive reading in the literature relevant to Brunei and enculturation. Such reading provided the intellectual perspective necessary for effective field investigation. Additionally, I undertook independent initial study of Standard Malay in order to lay the foundation for reasonably efficient acquisition of Brunei Malay.

Upon arrival in Brunei I purchased books to use in further study of Standard Malay and as many newspapers, magazines, and books about Brunei and vicinity as I could afford. In addition I began reading in the Brunei Museum's archival and library material.

Long daily walks around the city helped familiarize me with the "feel" of the place. In the course of these walks I made small purchases of personal necessities from numerous small shops in a deliberate attempt to familiarize myself with the stores of downtown Bandar Seri Begawan and to learn the local bargaining technique.

During the first few days in Brunei I took all my meals in the hotels so that my body would not have to cope with strange food at the same time as it was adjusting to the tropical climate and to the time change (twelve hours difference between Columbus, Ohio, and Brunei). Later I tried out local dishes at various restaurants. However, I alternated these with European style meals in order to accustom myself gradually to the different diet.
I had settled down to a routine in the city when the Museum announced that a possible host family had been located in Temburong District. Thus, on my second Saturday morning in Brunei Lim Jock Seng, assistant curator of the Brunei Museum, and Brunei army Major Mohammad, and I set out in an army boat to visit Temburong. From there Assistant District Officer Kassim took us in his boat from Bangar to Fire Rock Village. I remember very little of that first visit except total uncomprehension of Malay conversation and a liking for the house we were visiting with its healthy lively children. The potential host family was concerned lest I want to cook my own food and inadvertently contravene Islamic dietary laws. But through Lim Jock Seng I assured them of my intentions to eat their Malay food and not do any cooking. Finally all concerned agreed that a week hence I would return to move into the house.

On moving day I took a large suitcase and a basket of goods which aroused the reaction of, "What do you need all that stuff for?" But "that stuff" was cloth for making Malay clothes, personal items, and such tropical needs as mosquito coils. However, smoke from the coils made me choke, but Chinese incense sticks formed a good substitute. On advice I took toys and candy for the children. My medicine chest contained anti-malaria drug, antibiotic ointment, antibiotic eye ointment, anti-diarrhoea medicine which proved ineffective, and a large supply of tetracycline. My large supply of vitamins quickly vanished because many people wanted to take American medicine.

Moving in with a family obviated problems of establishing initial residence, and many villagers soon came calling to meet the newcomer.
Some three weeks after my arrival all Brunei celebrated the major Islamic religious holiday of the year, Hari Raya Puasa. In company with the host family children I observed the holiday custom by visiting the neighbors. Thus I had initial entrée into houses of the community and into many houses of a neighboring community three miles away.

Long before my Brunei Malay sufficed to understand or answer the question about what I was doing living in the village my host family had already explained the matter to all and sundry; I was in the village to learn the Malay language. The villagers considered this sufficient reason and purpose for my presence. One day during the third month of my stay Hajiah Ramlah said, "Stop calling me 'Hajiah Ramlah' and start calling me 'mother;' you are our daughter." Thus I was accepted into the Brunei Malay society of the village. Soon after arrival in the village I settled into the routine of village life and began my studies of Brunei Malay enculturation.

PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

The fundamental purpose of my fieldwork in the village was detailed recording of enculturation in a non-western society. Although enculturation in western society is well studied (for example, Gesell and Ilg 1946, Inhelder 1958, Piaget 1923, 1932, 1955, 1965, Ward 1971) there are few detailed studies of enculturation in non-western societies (see for instance, Mead 1930, Leis 1972, and Williams 1969, 1972). Furthermore, since no general ethnographic description of the Brunei Malays exists (e.g. Brown 1970) a necessary part of
fieldwork was a general ethnographic description of Brunei society as exemplified by the Malays of Fire Rock Village.

Statements in the literature concerning "Malay" culture refer almost exclusively to the Malay culture of the Malay Peninsula, now known as West Malaysia (Endicott 1972, Firth 1946, Firth 1943, Fraser 1960, Winstedt 1925, 1969a, 1961b) which is not a homogeneous unity but rather a set or related local culture. However, the culture of the Brunei Malays is also "Malay culture." Hence, in addition to providing new data on enculturation in a non-western society the study of Fire Rock Village provided insight into an understudied segment of Malay culture.

One advantage of conducting fieldwork among Malay dialect speakers lay in the possibility of acquiring initial language competence from books, prior to entering the field situation. Although the Brunei dialect exhibited syntactical and lexical differences from the Standard Malay the two were about thirty to fifty percent mutually intelligible. I conducted all fieldwork in Malay, using Standard Malay for about two months but shifting more and more to the Brunei dialect. After six months of residence I could understand everyday spoken Brunei Malay without making conscious efforts to do so, and

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2 On literary and linguistic grounds it seem probable that Brunei Malay, like Kelantan Malay, is actually a separate language; and only historical circumstances lead to its being grouped together with Standard Malay as one language.

The Kuching, Sarawak, "dialect" of Malay is in fact a separate language which is not intelligible to a speaker of either Brunei Malay or Standard Malay. The Tutong and Belait "Malay" languages of Brunei are in fact not Malay languages but rather have affinities with Dusunic languages.
at the end of a year in the field had a command of ordinary spoken Brunei Malay. By the end of eighteen months I actually found English bothersome to use in extended conversation; this arose largely from my total immersion in the Malay language environment provided by my host family.

Living with a host family provided close day-to-day contact with children. They had ten living children ranging in age from a toddler two and half years old to a married son over twenty who lived elsewhere and had an eighteen months old daughter of his own. Thus the host family constituted an ideal central point for a study of enculturation. Such close contact with one particular family afforded an intimate view of enculturation. A further consideration affecting residence choice was that as a single female I could have no meaningful social position in the village except as part of a family.

One advantage of studying Brunei Malay culture in the village rather than in the capital city was that the village constituted a small unit feasible for one worker to study in a limited period of time. However, the village had ties with the capital city and with other parts of Brunei in that Malays from the village often visited relatives in the capital and were themselves descendants of Malays who in the past moved from the water village, kampong ayer, of Bandar Seri Begawan, to Fire Rock Village, Temburong. I accompanied villagers on visits to kampong ayer and consequently came to know something of life in the city. But study focused on enculturation in the village.
Limiting fieldwork to the village only would have imposed certain constraints on my data of culture and enculturation. Lacking corroborative data from outside, I would have been unable to make any broad statements about Brunei Malay culture. But during visits to the capital I obtained corroborative data and as a result could determine the extent to which statements about culture in the village applied to greater Brunei Malay society. Language, ideology, and enculturation proved to be fundamentally the same in the village as in the city. However, the political and economic organization differed significantly. For example, the elaborate rice cycle which consumed much effort and interest in the village had no place in kampong aver. Conversely, the frequent official ceremonies which occupied city dwellers were marginal to village inhabitants, who marked only such major events as the birthday of Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah.

But I had greater social and physical mobility than most of the villagers and was able to attend some ceremonies in the capital and extend my horizons considerably beyond the village. During the second year of fieldwork I made one two-week trip each to Sabah and Sarawak respectively. Also, during visits to Bandar Seri Begawan I had the honor and pleasure of attending two royal weddings and two birthday celebrations on the town square in honor of Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah.

The origin of this rice cycle and associated ritual practices is problematical. Various features may have been borrowed from the Muruts or Kadayans, or both. It is unlikely that any features were borrowed from the Ibans. The general pattern is common to the various peoples of northern Borneo.
Bolkiah as well as ceremonies connected with armed forces day and with the festivities accompanying the change of the capital city name from Brunei town to Bandar Seri Begawan. At the opening of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka exhibition celebrating the new city name, the Seri Begawan, Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin gave his important speech on the "Limbang Question." By being present at such ceremonies I observed many fascinating aspects of Brunei cultural life not found in the village.

Ethnographic study in the village consisted of participant observation combined with interviewing. My fieldwork was flexible and fluid; for example, interviewing took place whenever convenient for the persons being interviewed. In this way interference with the routine day-to-day village life remained minimal. Such flexibility of investigation implied perception and acceptance of village life in its own terms rather than in the terms of western culture. Within this malleable framework data collection proceeded by the traditional ethnographic techniques of participant observation and interviews; recording of data gathered involved notes, photographs, and tapes.

Living with a family automatically entailed full-time participant observation. After the first two months of my residence and daily observation, the host family had accepted the fact of being observed. However, if notetaking was too conspicuous, family members occasionally became a bit self-conscious. Nearly a year later only four other families in the village were undisturbed by my notetaking in their presence. Direct observation had the value of permitting me to record behavior patterns from an outside point of view; in
addition the mental exercise of systematically noting events enhanced perception of the rhythms of daily life. A disadvantage of direct observation was that many aspects of daily life, such as manual skills, could not be learned merely from observations.

But such skills could be learned from active participation. For example, one of the most basic skills of village life was pounding rice in a wooden mortar to remove the outer husk. Straight observation showed how the task was done; but only participation, actual pounding of rice, made clear much of the technique involved. My first learner attempts to pound rice produced such hilarious situations as an overturned rice mortar and rice spilt all over the ground. "Hey, you're not supposed to pound my foot," Hajiah Ramlah laughed one day as she leapt backwards to avoid an errant stroke. Only with extensive practice did rice pounding become an automatic skill. After that I did much of the daily pounding chore. Toward the end of my stay participation constituted a large portion of field activity. Participation did not eliminate observation since one can both participate and observe at the same time. However, helping with work severely limited note taking and obliged me to record later the activities observed while participating. Such assistance was useful when all hands available were needed, as at rice harvest. But faulty weaving of a large portion of a mat and other clumsy anthropologist efforts sometimes constituted a hindrance to the family rather than a help.

To supplement data from participant observation I regularly interviewed informants. Interviews ranged from casual questions and
answers concerning some passing event to rather formal question and answer sessions structured to cover certain areas of knowledge. Interviews were sporadic and frequently interrupted; but a series of such sessions would adequately cover the point in hand. In the context of village life formal interviews in isolated surroundings were an impossibility. Consequently, obtaining information through querying demanded that utilization of the culturally sanctioned verbal means of obtaining information and contraction of coherent wholes by piecing together conversational bits and snatches. Some informants, particularly Hajiah Ramlah and Haji Tuah, insisted that what they said be written down immediately for accuracy. However, the majority of people were unaccustomed to note taking in their presence so that information had to be remembered and written down later.

Daily recorded notes formed the prime data store gathered during fieldwork. I took notes in sewn notebooks, purchased in Brunei, and wrote with India ink for fountain pen. To forestall possible loss I made two photocopies of all notes at a local shop. One copy I placed under seal in the Brunei Museum, the other copy I sent to my adviser, Dr. Williams.

Contrasting with their self-consciousness during note taking was people's joy at having their picture taken, to the extent that the mere sight of a camera ready for picture taking initiated posing or hasty tidying up actions which made candid photography difficult and often impossible. I photographed with a thirty five millimeter still camera using, for the most part, high speed black and white
film because it was easy to handle under available light and less prone to deterioration than color film under tropical conditions.

In addition to photographs I made a few tape recordings. These tapes contained songs and impromptu snatches of conversation, but were all stolen at the end of my fieldwork. Fortunately, no crucial information was on these tapes. In sum, my fieldwork utilized the standard ethnographic methodology of daily participant observation and regular interviews. The data from the use of these techniques were recorded in fieldnotes and photographs.

Days varied so much that I had no set work routine. But during my last two months in the village a "typical" day began when the household arose at dawn. After morning tea I went to the house of the village seamstress for a chat and returned home around eight in the morning when she went off to tend her kitchen garden. Morning and afternoon passed in work on the farm or around the house, conversation with visitors and family members, visits to other houses, observing and playing with children, and minding Ramlan. Around noon Ramlan and I had a swim in the river. Following dinner after sundown Hajiah Ramalah told a story which I transcribed, or read part of the *Awang Simaun* epic poem for me to transcribe. When the entire *Awang Simaun* stood fully transcribed in my notebooks Hajiah Ramalah explained the meaning of archaic or obscure words that I did not understand. Work on the *Awang Simaun* often occupied us until ten or eleven at night. As always, reading and writing at night took place by the light of a kerosene lamp or, more commonly, a candle.
The key factor in day-to-day fieldwork was the villagers themselves. A brief description of the principle informants will set fieldwork in perspective.

At the beginning of my stay in the village no one person taught me more than the others. Rather, members of the host family and neighbors showed me the proper ways to behave and act. On my first day in the village several of the host family children took me to the village seamstress' house where I tried on my new Malay clothes. At dinner that night I learned the proper way to eat by imitating the family members.

The host family children taught much Malay. Sometimes Fatimah came into the room where I was sitting and pointed to different objects. She said, "If you name these things correctly I'll give you a piece of candy; but if you don't I won't." Laila, the eldest daughter of the host family, formally helped me learn the Brunei dialect. I read off a Standard Malay dictionary word by word and Laila gave the dialectical equivalent when such existed. In this manner I rapidly picked up some most frequently used dialectical variants. For example, ya is the standard word for "yes" while ay is the local dialect word.
At the time I arrived in the village Laila was engaged to a religious teacher, Che'gu Kamil. Half a year later she married him. This was the first Brunei Malay wedding I saw or attended.

Laila, a 1969 Brunei Normal School graduate, taught second grade in the village. She knew the local customs and dialect but could not understand much of the traditional Brunei literary language. Laila cooked well but made her food rather spicy. About one year after her marriage she headed the preparation of a large feast for three hundred people who came to the village for the district Koran reading contest. On this occasion she asked Hajiah Ramlah for advice on amounts of ingredients to be used in the cooking. As often happens in the case of a major feast, the women preparing the meal were up most of the night grinding spices, cutting meat, and cooking. Success of the feast showed Laila's skill in domestic as well as scholastic undertaking and was a source of pride to her husband, Che'gu Kamil.

Che'gu Kamil was the village religious teacher. He read many newspapers and books. He was enthusiastic about his work as a teacher and took pride in his classes.

Laila's sister Rosnah studied in normal school. She too, was a very good cook and skilled in all the household tasks. Because Rosnah has been away at school so much she had not yet learned such traditional handicrafts as basket and mat making. But when Hajiah Ramlah taught me these skills Rosnah learned also. Lively and active, Rosnah had a good sense of humor. Swimming in the river Rosnah and I often played games of tag or chased one another.
In the capital city the host family and I sometimes visited Rosnah at her school. The first time Hajiah Ramlah, assorted children, and I crammed into a small car to go visit Rosnah we took a wrong turn on the back road leading into the normal school but eventually reached our destination. On another occasion I helped Rosnah carry some things up to her new room in the normal school dormitory. I was interested to see the place she lived away from home and she eagerly showed me around the building as well as pointing out other parts of the school.

Hajiah was the quietest of the sisters; but at times she was very lively. She studied at the religious secondary school where in addition to a full normal Malay secondary school curriculum the students studied traditional Islamic learning and Arabic. Halijah studied very hard and mastered all three of the languages taught in her school: Malay (Standard); Arabic; and English. If she succeeded in passing all her graduation exams she planned to study in a college of Islam, and, if successful there, at the Islamic university at Cairo, Egypt. She often commented that Arabic was harder to learn than English because of the amount of grammar involved. Even during vacation Halijah studied Arabic at home. More than once the family fell asleep late at night to the sound of her Arabic recitation.

^4 She obtained a first class pass in those examinations and was awarded a full scholarship to attend Islamic college in West Malaysia.
Less studious during vacation was thirteen year old Zalnab, a student at the English language school. Zalnab was an outstanding secondary school athlete who had won several medals in school day races. At home too, she liked to run and, like all the children in the family except Ramlan, eagerly climbed up the guava tree near the house to pick its delicious fruit.

Zalnab was just changing from childhood to young adolescence. Part of this change entailed assuming more and more work responsibilities when she was home on vacation. Zalnab sometimes still played with her younger brothers and sister but had less time for such fun as her household duties increased. Like all the other older children in the family she was an avid stamp collector.

Although Zalnab, her mother, and sisters did the day to day cooking, men cooked for wedding feasts. When Laila was married her eldest brother, Che'gu Abdullah, assisted with the cooking and supervised the culinary activities done by men in a temporary shed erected near the house. Very much a part of the world outside the village, Che'gu Abdullah's wife was a well educated Singapore Malay with relatives in Brunei. She and I often compared notes on the Malay customs in Brunei and those in Singapore. She had attended English medium secondary school and spoke excellent English. Upon marrying Che'gu Abdullah, a Brunei citizen, she automatically became a Brunei citizen herself. Her views on local customs provided me with a much needed perspective since the details of Malay culture differ in the two locales. Her daughter Siti was a bright talkative two year old.
Siti enjoyed playing with Ramlan. At first when her family moved from Bandar Seri Begawan to Bangar, Siti was not used to farm life and the animals in the yard. But Siti often played at home with Ramlan and quickly adapted to the country. Running about with Ramlan Siti grew strong and sturdy. Siti was quick and bright but to her mother's regret rapidly lost her Singapore accent and began to talk like a village child. Siti often chatted with her father's brother, Hassan.

Hassan helped full time around the farm. Hassan did not look muscular but in fact was quite strong and did much heavy labor. Hajiah Ramlah often said that Hassan was a bit slow pounding rice and liked me to help with this activity because between the two of us the rice was ready quickly. Hassan liked to show off by driving the family work boat fast.

Often Hassan was up at dawn before the rest of the household, put a coffee pot on the stove to boil, and set about morning chores. He liked to look at my books and, like others in the family, was fond of seeing photographs of the house, family, and neighborhood. Hassan's education had been limited to the village school.

But twelve year old Mat studied at the English medium secondary school in Bandar Seri Begawan. Like Zainab, Mat was in the transition period from childhood to adolescence. One of the first activities I observed on arrival in the village was Mat flying kites that he had made himself. The following year Mat began to help with farmwork. Also, Mat learned to run the family outboard. A village son does not get the keys to the car; he is entrusted with the outboard
motor starting chord. On dark nights, Mat often went fishing in a
dugout canoe. If the family geese became to obstreperous or the
water buffalo wanted to bug against the fruit trees Mat shooed them
away. However, a son of Mat's age had less work to do than a girl
of comparable age. Like all host family children, Mat enjoyed
swimming in the river which ran by the house some one hundred feet
from the front door.

Fatimah rode a boat down that same river when she first left
home to enter the Arabic secondary school in Bandar Seri Begawan.
The shock of suddenly being in a boarding school away from home
was lessened somewhat by the presence in that same school of her
sister Halijah.

Fatimah at nine years old was a lively child just undertaking
her first serious learning in the study of Arabic. When at home on
vacation she helped with the chores, particularly the laundry and
dish washing.

Still a child, she played and romped with her younger brothers.
When I first moved into the house she often came to straighten out
my room which rapidly became disorderly with the constant stream
of people coming and going. Fatimah especially enjoyed tidying
up my worktable and occasionally put a piece of greenery into an
old jar to decorate the table. She scolded her brothers and sisters
if they started to climb up on the bed she had just tidied.5 In

5 This was a passing phase. After the first two weeks the
room reverted to its status of open use by all the children and at
night I slept in the main room of the house along with all the
children.
addition she enjoyed arranging the closet where my clothes lay folded and helping her mother straighten out the cabinet containing Haji Mohammad's dress clothes.

Haji Mohammad was the village headman. Like his father before him, he held a title from the Sultan. Haji Mohammad was physically stronger than most other village men. His well kept farm was one of the best in Temburong. Haji Mohammad consulted with and followed the advice of government agricultural officers in matters concerning improved production or problem solving. Haji Mohammad crossed Fire Rock River daily, and sometimes several times a day, to attend his herd of cattle and water buffalo. He often spent long hard days working in the family vegetable garden which provided food and supplemental income. Haji Mohammad's one-fourth acre garden was larger than the average village kitchen garden because he sold vegetables as a cash crop in addition to using them for domestic consumption; consequently he and Hasaan did the bulk of gardening even though women are the usual subsistence gardeners.

On royal occasions Haji Mohammad dressed in correct court finery and appeared in his role as a titled man. Once a month he traveled to Bangar where he attended the meeting of village leaders. Additionally, if someone in the village had a problem which involved major contact with the government in the district capital Haji Mohammad in the line of duty as headman accompanied the person. Haji Mohammad's wife was Hajiah Ramlah, my "adoptive mother," who taught

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6 Followers of Islam who have made the holy pilgrimage to Mecca are called "haji" (men) or "hajiah" (women).
me more than any other one person in the village. She cut my first set of Malay clothes and sent me off to Leela, the village seamstress, to have them sewed.

Hajiah Ramlah was skilled in all the wifely tasks necessary in the village. Also, she was a skilled planter and harvester of rice who knew the proper ritual blessing to say to ensure that a rice crop would grow well. She patiently taught me to plant, harvest, and pound rice. Nor did she become angry when my clumsy efforts at learning basket weaving flawed a large storage basket she was making.

Hajiah Ramlah knew traditional lore and could tell tales far into the night. She skillfully explained the meaning of obscure words encountered in folklore. Sometimes I simply did not comprehend a meaning or totally misunderstood it, then Hajiah Ramlah repeated and clarified in numerous different ways until I finally comprehended. Indeed, even Laila did not fully understand some of the traditional literature that Hajiah Ramlah explained to me because the words employed were archaic and obscure.

Hajiah Ramlah learned the meaning of traditional Brunei literature and lore when as a child she often heard the folktales told. If she did not understand the meaning of something in a passage she asked old people. In this manner she learned the archaic language. In turn she passed that knowledge on to me.

Hajiah Ramlah was a keen observer. Some of her most fascinating stories recounted experiences and observations on the pilgrimage to Mecca. She noted the different dress and manners of many Islamic women from various parts of the world who had come on pilgrimage.
Although in Mecca for only a short while, Hajiah Ramlah acquired a working knowledge of everyday spoken Arabic. She had some knowledge of Koranic Arabic as a basis for acquiring proficiency; indeed, she was once the champion Koran reader of Temburong District.

Perhaps not totally unrelated to Hajiah Ramlah's Koran reading skill was her ability to recite the traditional Brunei poetry in the proper stylized manner. She and some other village women took many pains to teach me that skill. They complained that I tended to sing the poem in western style than use the correct recitative chant. Finally I learned a modicum of recitative skill but never approached Hajiah Ramlah's expertise.

Known and respected by many, Hajiah Ramlah was thin and lively. Whenever she went to a social gathering her presence pervaded the scene. Ferverently Islamic and grounded in the traditional life, Hajiah Ramlah yet saw that the future would be different and did her utmost to prepare her children for life in a rapidly changing milieu. For example, she helped Ali practice his reading.

Ali had just learned to read Malay when I left the village. He started to school at five years of age because he wanted to go with his sister, Fatimah, and not be left behind at home. For the first two years of school he was rather slow in his grade but during third grade he made up for lost ground in reading and arithmetic. He was a lively mischievious fellow, always ready for fun and a game. He like me to tell him giant and ghost stories in the evening. When Ramlan interrupted with a question concerning the tale Ali told him to be quiet and listen. Attendance at the afternoon religious
school began for Ali in third grade (as it does for all Islamic pupils) and caused him to become very conscious of being Islamic. Through this associative grouping the children became aware that they were united by a common bond of religion and in this sense stood apart from the rest of the world.

Out of school Ali liked to swim, play tag, or hide and seek. He raided the pantry whenever opportunity presented itself (sometimes others in the family also raided the pantry). Solidly built and strong, at seven years old Ali spent hours playing with Ramlan or visiting cousins. Ali taught me to play many games. He made and gave me some toys. In return for his teaching me games I gave him gifts from time to time, and, additionally, was someone for him to play with after school who could participate in more complicated activities than Ramlan.

Ramlan learned to talk after I arrived in the village. At the time he learned language, and so came to be a full participant in culture, Ramlan saw me as just another sibling. He knew that I was a good audience when he wanted to talk, that Ali was a good person to play with, and that Hajiah Ramlah generally let him have his own way. Ramlan liked to bathe in the river but could not swim. He enjoyed playing with grey clay near the dock steps, but disliked the inevitable cleaning up process that followed. Just before I finished fieldwork Ramlan contracted measles from one of his cousins across the river. Hajiah Ramlah rubbed powder on him to make the itch diminish and tended him day and night in his restless fever. Two or
three days before I left the village Ramlan began to recover and once again took a daily swim in the river and ran about playing.

Because he passed his days running about the farm and climbing about the house, into the padi store, atop tables and anywhere else that he could climb, Ramlan had a strong well-muscled body. He was lively, full of mischief, into and up to anything and everything. Ramlan liked to laugh and run.

Happiness for Ramlan was an old chair to pile with miscellaneous objects and push about under the house. Or he vanished under some convenient object and shouted at the top of his lungs over and over, "Look for me!" chari ku, an invitation to hide-and-seek. He did not yet quite understand that people found him so quickly because they followed the sound of his voice. Bright little Ramlan had a good home, a promising future, and fine relatives such as Haji Tuah.

Haji Tuah, Ramlan's maternal grandfather, was the religious leader of the village. He was also an authority on tradition. In boyhood Haji Tuah lived in the Sultan's palace in Bandar Seri Begawan when that palace was still located in the water village. As the child of retainers Haji Tuah saw and learned much of courtly customs. He could explain the proper salutation between people of all ranks from Sultan to the lowliest, each salutation varying according to the rank of the people involved.  

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7 The lowliest did not directly interact with the highest but rather went through an intermediary in the salutations performed at royal court more than half a century ago.
Haji Tuah was fascinating; as he described the past his eyes began to twinkle and his whole person came alive, as if in remembering the past, the old days when he knew the palace in Brunei, he himself became happy and that happiness affected his audience. Haji Tuah knew the old Brunei customs, manners, and ways which he related in a lively style.

Understanding, wise, Haji Tuah had a lively sense of humor and enjoyed an occasional joke. But he distrusted western medicine and preferred to depend on traditional Brunei Malay medical practices. Villagers called on Haji Tuah in time of crisis and trouble. His very presence made the situation seem not as bad as it was before. At births, marriages, deaths, and many of the events in between, Haji Tuah was a presence who linked the past and the future and made the present fulfilling.

Some of Haji Tuah's most treasured possessions were those he brought back from Mecca. He showed me pictures of many places he visited while on the sacred pilgrimage. The first Brunei literature I heard was read from an old Jawi manuscript by Haji Tuah who in the very reading invoked the past into today.

Haji Tuah's wife died little more than a week after I arrived in the village. I remember only that she smiled, chatted a bit, and tried to make me feel welcome on my first day. The last time I saw her was a few hours before she died. But people said that she was wise in the traditional ways and warm in understanding.
Her son, Haji Din, went on pilgrimage to Mecca soon after I arrived in the village. A skillful boat driver he could run the outboard motor well and made adept emergency repairs.

Haji Din's eldest son attended secondary school in Singapore. When at home over the Hari Raya vacation he liked to race a boat on Fire Rock River and visit around the village. Haji Din's eldest daughter attended religious secondary school in West Malaysia. Haji Din's second eldest son attended Malay secondary school in Bandar Seri Begawan. His ten year old younger brother, Man, was a lively character who, like many other children, paddled a boat to school in the village. Man and many other children enjoyed hearing Awang Abu make pantun verses.

Awang Abu could recite verses by the hour; he had the gift of improvising such verses with very little thought. His wife also liked to pantun and joke. She came to help out with the cooking whenever a feast was in the making. Being old, she could indulge in teasing that younger women could not. Her smiling good humor enlivened the work of food preparation for a large feast.

Quite different from Awang Abu's wife was Leela, the village seamstress, daughter of a Murut mother and a Chinese father. Leela was a distant relative of Awang Abu through marriage. Perhaps some of the parallels between her life and mine affected us. We were, almost to the day, identical in age. We were both multilingual,

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8 When a person marries all the relatives of his or her spouse become the relatives of all his or her relatives.
curious about the world, and fond of travelling. Yet differences resulted from our cultures. Because of financial constraints Leela could not indulge her desire to travel to distant places, but extracted the maximum enjoyment from a trip to the village store or a trip to Bandar Seri Begawan. Leela spoke Malay, Murut, and Hailam Chinese. When she was a child her father cooked for Englishmen; and she had pleasant memories of the foods, particularly the pastries, that she ate then. She worked hard and earned spending money by taking in sewing. Before the price of rubber plummeted to almost zero, Leela industriously tapped rubber and thus earned fair sums including enough to buy the sewing machine she used. One of the few times I felt homesick in Brunei was on my first visit to Leela's home. There I noticed that her Singer sewing machine, except that it was a treadle rather than an electric model, was identical to the one my mother had at home in America. Leela reads Malay well and could type letters in Malay. She was always eager to read the women's magazines purchased in Bandar Seri Begawan. Leela did fancy crocheting for weddings, making counterpanes and pillow covers to decorate the traditional wedding beds. Next-door to Leela lived some of the Murut relatives.

That Murut family had a son studying abroad in England whom I met briefly before he left to go overseas. The Murut family was friendly and kind to me; I enjoyed going to their house to visit. They taught me a few words of Murut and much about the customs of the region. From them I learned the proper way to remove a bush-knife from its sheath so that even if the sheath should fall apart
I would not hurt my hand. I watched the Murut father make a dug-out canoe and a traditional padi storehouse. The many children of the family were lively and cheerful. Some attended secondary school, while the youngest was just beginning to learn to talk when I left the village. These people are of good family, being the descendants of Murut aristocracy, a fact known to Malay villagers as well as to the Muruts.

Approximately one-hundred and fifty other people lived in the village. But the ones described above interacted frequently with my host family and supplied most of my information. Consequently, they were of key importance in fieldwork.

My relationship with the various villagers was usually very friendly, but had its occasional ups and downs as does any human relationship. Certainly all the villagers concerned showed great tact and patience in dealing with an often ignorant, blundering anthropologist. I wish to thank all the villagers personally for their help and understanding during my stay. Special thanks go to my adoptive family who gave me a home.

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9 With one hand grip the sheath with the concave curve in the palm of the hand; this concave curve houses the dull back edge of the bushknife baade. With the other hand grasp the handle and draw the knife from its sheath. Never ever grip the convex curve of the sheath because it houses the raxor-sharp cutting edge of the bushknife.
Appendix B

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Village Malay kinship terminology has some complications which make it difficult to allocate it to a specific typological category. Villagers state that their kinship system is patrilineal, and indeed, inheritance does follow this pattern. But the reference terminology is lineal rather than bifurcate collateral; and the address terminology is broadly generational. Additionally, a special group of terms, the "collective referents" suggest cognatic affinities. Since Brunei Malay terminology has been set forth fully elsewhere (Kimball, forthcoming) a brief discussion will suffice here.

The core terms of the individual reference terminology are: petuan, ascending collaterals; anak kamanakan, first degree collaterals; pupu, collaterals of remoter degree (the English "niece/nephew," "cousin"), that is, lineal descendants of ego's lineal ancestor's siblings; metua, ascending lineals and collaterals of ego's spouse; ipar, siblings of ego's sibling's spouse or of ego's spouse's sibling; and biras, all other affines (and especially afines of affines).

Within sibling sets the most important reference terms are: kakak, elder sibling; aku, ego; and adi, younger sibling. Interestingly, these sibling terms and most of the primary reference terms do not distinguish the sex of the relative; for only in the term bapa, father,

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and *mama*, mother, is the sex distinction inescapable, although normally
*bana petuan*, male sibling of either parent, and *mama petuan*, female
sibling of either parent, are also distinguished rather than referred
to as simply *petuan*. The collective term for "siblings" is *pardlan*;
and the only sibling sets normally age ranked are those of ego, ego's
children, ego's parents, and ego's grandparents. The ranking terms
for ego's parents' siblings in order of descending age are: *tua*,
(male or female) the eldest sibling of the group; *tangah*, (male or
female) the second eldest; *bapa iring*, (male) *babu iring* (female)
the third eldest; *bapa damit* (male) *babu damit* (female) all the re-
main ing elder siblings; *bapa uda* (male), *babu uda* (female) the eldest
younger sibling; *amit*, (male or female) all remaining younger siblings
except the youngest; and *bongsu*, (male or female) the youngest sibling
of the group. Despite the terminological merging of lineals and
collaterals in the second ascending and higher generations, they can
be distinguished if need be. Thus, *nini* (male or female) usually
denotes both lineals and collaterals of the grandparental generation,
but can for specificity be limited to lineals while *nini petuan* and
*nini pupu skali* (male or female) are used interchangeably to designate
the collaterals.

The generational terms themselves are as follows and all apply
to both males and females except the terms for generation zero:
However, this way of looking at the generations has a European bias because the villagers do not conceive of an ego generation since any ego must be the child of a parent; they list the generations as nini, bapa-mama, anak, chuchu, and point out that one is inevitably older than one's child or younger than one's parent in terms of generational placement.

And, marriage can influence kinship terminology. A step parent or step child is designated by adding tiri, step (kinship only), onto the appropriate kinship term. A fully legitimate child whose parents were married prior to conception is anak halal nikah. But, since Islam permits a man to take four wives if he so desires and can
support them a further complication is added. A co-wife is *bini madu*; and the co-wives of ego's mother are *mama tiri madu*.

Address terminology is simpler than reference terminology. All relatives in the ascending generations are usually addressed by the appropriate generational term, except that there is a marked tendency to use *nini* for generations higher than the second; in no case is a higher generational term than *dato* used. Also, *bana netuan* and *mama netuan* are usually distinguished from each other and always from *bapa* and *mama*. Relatives in the descending generations are addressed by name or by terms meaning "little boy" or "little girl." Thus, address terminology is modified generational which distinguishes neither affines nor lineals nor collaterals.

All the foregoing address and reference terminology differs for royalty. For example, commoner *nini* is royal *ninda* (spoken) or *nuninda* (written). But this royal terminology is not immediately relevant to village life.

Terminology for kinship groups covers a rather wide area. Some terms are rather general expressions referring to categories of relatives, such as; *dato nini*, ancestors; *anak chuchu*, descendants; and *gumpulan susunan*, all of ego's relatives howsoever traced. Others refer to descent groups: the *panchir*, non-corporate patrilineage (outside of royalty, some aristocratic, and some noble lineages there are no corporate patrilineages); and *panchor*, "conduit," referring to matrilineal descent. Children to their father's *panchir*; a wife does not belong to her husband's *panchir* but to that of her father. The concept of "conduit" shows the conceptual unimportance
of matrilineal descent, as does also the comment, *bukan isi baner*, not real contents. Maternal inheritance, *perembahan*, is distinguished from paternal inheritance, *waris*, although the latter term may also be extended to cover inheritance (of any kind) in general. Descent groups and lineages of all types are conceived of as entities which when they cease to be a single whole shatter, *nachah*. Still another set of group terms are those referring to residential and family groups. The most easily defined of these is *kelamin*, nuclear family, the unit inhabiting one sleeping room in a large multifamily dwelling. This *kelamin* corresponds to the "bilek family" among the Iban described by Freedman (1955) in that the familial unit corresponds to a physical dwelling area. A larger extension of this is the *kaluraga*, the extended family that in the past inhabited one large house. Yet this apparent clarity is deceptive for *kaluraga* can also mean a large extended family which is larger than a *kelamin* but smaller than a *kaum*. In the past *kaum* referred to the very big extended family which inhabited several large multi-family houses and was approximately co-extensive with a village unit within the large multi-village *kampong ayer*, water village. All the foregoing terminology of groups, reference, and address, corresponds to well-known patterns of terminology.

Rather different are the "collective referents." Villagers explain these as referring to groups of people coming to the house. The terms themselves fall into three categories. First are the most general expressions: *sa gumpulan*, a group; *sa lupak*, a puddle; and *stalaga*, a well; all of which refer to relatives in general. The
remaining two categories refer to a set of relatives with respect to each other or to a given ego who may be the speaker, the listener, or a third party, but who is usually one of the approaching group. The second category of terms specifies the relationship involved but does not indicate the number of individuals coming: pupu bapupu, cousins; adiberadi, sanak hadangan sanak, kaka bakaka, siblings. The third and by far the largest category indicates the number of individuals: dua sapupuan, two cousins; dua spardian, dua beranak, two siblings; dua sananchir, two of the same patrilineage; dua sakaluraga, two of the same extended family; tiga sapachuchuan, two grandparents and one grandchild, or one grandparent and two grandparents, or one grandparent, one parent, and one grandchild. These terms are only some examples and not the full set. In place of the dua, two, or tiga, three, any appropriate number is used. These collective referents are also used to describe the composition of a group present at some particular location at a given time. A similar type of terminology is apparently found among some Phillipine groups (Patricia Thomas, 1974, personal communication). In the Brunei setting one might argue that these terms are actually remnants of pre-Islamic cognatic kinship terminology and working from this position partially reconstruct the pre-Islamic system. In support of this contention one might point out that even today the basic functional kinship groups within the village are the seven cognatic ones encompassing in descending order of size: great grandparents; grandparents; parents; sibling set; children. However, specification of groups and individuals does not end the range of kinship terminology.
An important, but sometimes neglected, aspect of kinship terminology comprises terms used in talking about kinship and genealogy. Here the European conception of ascending and descending corresponding to "up" and "down" generations respectively is matched in the local schema, as is the spatial idea of tracing cousins left and right, di juntun kiri kanan/ di susun kiri kanan. Villagers also share the European conception of genealogical distance as amnir juah, close and far. The person at the end of any type of descent reckoning is juriat/jeriat, while tirig, generation, is identical to the European concept. But despite this apparent similarity to western conceptualization there are also some major differences. The absence of an ego generation was mentioned earlier. A more important variation is in the manner of tracing kinship. Villagers emphasize that one must trace genealogy from senior generations to junior generations, menuruni kabawah, going down. To trace from lower generations to higher, menaiki ka atas, going up, is aturan besungsang, disordered, and absolutely forbidden; they stress that going from grandchild to grandparent is bad and unnatural, one must go from grandparent to grandchild. In sum, terminology used in talking about kinship is similar to the western European system and quite adequate.
Appendix C

THE BRUNEI MALAY LANGUAGE

Brunei Malay belongs to the West Austronesian branch of the Austronesian super-family of languages.\(^1\) An alternate nomenclature for this same grouping is the Malayo branch of the Malayo-Polynesian language family. Some major West Austronesian language families are Bornean, Celebesian, Javan, Philippines, and Sumatran. The Philippines branch includes such languages as Cebuano, Tagalog, Bisa-yan, and Ilocano. The Celebesian branch includes Toraja, Baree, and Buginese. The three branches of West Austronesian most important in the study of Brunei Malay are the Bornean, Javan, and Sumatran. The Javan branch includes Balinese, Sundanese, Madurese, and Javanese.

Bornean is an important language grouping because speakers of several of its divisions are in daily contact with speakers of Brunei Malay and, in parts of Sarawak, use Brunei Malay as a lingua franca. The Dayak group includes Land Dayak, and Sea Dayak or Iban. The Murutic group includes Land Murut, and Sea Murut. The Fire Rock

\(^1\) The linguistic classification used in this paragraph is that given by Daniel Adenani (Personal communication, summer 1974, Kuala Lumpur), a linguist at Universiti Kebangsa'an, West Malaysia. This discussion also covered the problems involved in classifying Brunei Malay. The remainder of the information presented here is my own.

An introduction to the literature relevant to the linguistic analysis of Brunei Malay is found in Dyen 1971, Greenberg 1971, Gonda 1971, and Uhlenbeck 1971.
Village Muruts are Sea Muruts, *junlauad*. The Dusunic group includes the Tutong and Belait "Malay" of Brunei as well as numerous languages in Sabah. Although some of these Bornean languages, particularly Murut, have influenced Brunei Malay, their main importance is geographical contiguity with Brunei Malay.

In terms of historical linguistics and reconstruction of proto-Brunei Malay the Sumatran branch of West Austronesian is the most important. Some of the major divisions of Sumatran are the Batak, Gayo, Achehnese, and Malayan language families. Within the Malayan family there are three main groupings: Riau; Sumatra; and Borneo. Biau includes the present day Malay of the Riau archipelago, Johore Malay, "Standard Malay," and Kelantan-Trengganu Malay. A main branch of the Sumatra group in Minangkabau. The Borneo group includes Brunei Malay and Kadayan. Possibly Brunei Malay and Kadayan are divergent dialects rather than separate languages.

The linguistic classification of Brunei Malay presents some problems. One is that some of the units, especially the Bornean, are geographical regions rather than generic groupings. This becomes clear when one considers that Iban is linguistically closer to Brunei Malay than is Batak. Another difficulty is how to handle the situation in which two ancestral languages have mixed to produce a third. In the case of Brunei Malay the difficulty is that Javanese had a strong influence and indeed at least some ancestral Brunei Malays were Majapahit royalty. Much later there was intermarriage

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2 The so-called "Standard Malay" (bahasa kebangsaan) is a hybrid of varied origins.
with Peninsular Malays. Brunei Malay has also been modified through contact of other languages, particularly Tamil, Sanskrit or Prakrit, Arabic, Chinese (south coast dialects), and English.

Lexically Brunei Malay shows evidences of borrowing from many sources. Some examples in the probably inverse order of borrowing are: from English *temos*, thermos; from Iban *temoa*, a type of boat; Spanish *real*, reale, a monitary unit; Portuguese, *almari*, closet; Chinese *sampan*, type of boat (but contact with Chinese culture probably pre-dated that with Arabic culture); Arabic *madjid*, mosque; Murut *mulih*, return; Sanskrit or Pali *putri*, princess; Javanese *likor*, twenty; and Tamil *ampalam*, mango.

Phonetically Brunei Malay has a number of interesting features bearing on the historical development of the language. One apparent archaism is the presence of between vowels. Thus, the every day word for "all" is *samua raua*. But in tales and older literature the word for "all" is *samuha muha*. Another interesting historical feature is syllabic *r* and its developments. In tales and old literature the word for "paper" or "document" is sometimes *krtas* (*r* is syllabic). The every day form is *kartas*, while a rare tale and literary form is *kratas*; both of these are developments of metathesis from the syllabic *r*. Another tale and literary form is *karatas*; this is a development of vowel suppletion from syllabic *r*. Syllabic consonants in Brunei Malay are three: *r*, discussed above; *n*, as in *nda*, no; and *s*, as in *stusin*, a coin.  

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3 This syllabic *s* is proposed on the basis of auditory study only. Acoustical phonological studies are needed to prove or disprove its existence.
Phonemically Brunei Malay has three vowel phonemes plus two allophones, nineteen consonants plus one allophone and a partial allophone. These are set out in Table 7. The notation used in Table 7, as throughout the present work, is the 1970 Standard Malay alphabet, but spelling follows actual spoken sounds and ignores standard orthographic rules. In this system three digraphs represent single sounds: \textit{ch}, as in English "church;" \textit{ng}, as in English "bang;" and \textit{ny}, as \textit{n} in Spanish "manana." The vowels are approximately as in Italian and \textit{e} is not the schwa of Standard Malay \textit{e} in unaccented position (\textit{e} pepet). The consonants \textit{b}, \textit{d}, \textit{f}, \textit{h}, \textit{m}, \textit{n}, \textit{s}, \textit{y}, and \textit{w} are approximately the same as in English. The consonants \textit{k}, \textit{p}, and \textit{j} are aspirated far more weakly than in English. The consonants \textit{g}, \textit{j}, and \textit{z} are hard, as in English \textit{go}, \textit{jump}, and \textit{zoo}. The \textit{x} is the apical \textit{x} of the Queen's English and not the uvular of many American dialects.

The initial and medial \textit{h} is a fleeting consonant which appears in deliberate speech, as an emphasis, or in literature. Thus, \textit{ari}/\textit{hari}, day, \textit{mait}/\textit{pahit}, bitter, and \textit{di-katu}/\textit{di-katahu}, to be known, are common pairs. In these positions \textit{h} is not phonemic. But in final position \textit{h} is phonemic, as in the minimal pair \textit{galoh}, a type of monster, and \textit{galong}, bracelet.

A problematic consonant is \textit{z} which occurs only in recent foreign borrowings. There is a minimal pair, \textit{zakat}, a tithe, and \textit{lakat}, yet. But in many cases the \textit{z} is realized as \textit{j}. Thus the Arabic \textit{zahrah}, Venus, comes out as \textit{jahrah} in Brunei Malay. Although \textit{z} must be counted as a phoneme it is in a sense different from the other
nineteen because of its rare occurrence and then only in loan words. Perhaps the best conclusion is that $z$ is both a partial phoneme and a partial allophone.

The full allophonic consonant is $f$, the allophone of $p$. Thus, *fikir/pikir*, think, *muapakat/muafakat*, confer, and *huruf/hurun*, letters of the alphabet, show an assimilation of the Arabic $f$ to the Malay $p$.

One peculiar allophonic situation occurs in tales and literature. This is the allophony of $d/k$, $j$, and $y$. Thus the normal *dengan*, with, and, can occur as *jangan* or *yangan*; the normal *dan*, and, can occur as *yan* or *jan*, and the normal *kamu*, you, can occur as *jami* or *yamu*. These conventions, which are not true productive allophones, may represent a historical phonetic situation and provide a clue to past development of the language. The matter needs further study.

Many old women still use *betinglor*, a speech peculiarity in which $x$ is omitted from words and replaced by $y$ or $i$. Thus *orang*, man, becomes *ovang*; and *subarang*, shore, becomes *subavang*. Rarely $y$ or $i$ is substituted for $l$ so that *almari*, closet, becomes *aimai*. In this context $y$ is a semi-vowel.

The Brunei Malay allophonic vowels are $e$ and $o$. Thus *petuan/pituan*, parent's sibling, and *bilon/bilun*, balloon, occur. However, these allophones are not alike. The $i/e$ pair are relatively frequent. But alternation of $o$ and $u$ is very rare; in any given word the $o$ and $u$ are set usage. Since they differentiate no minimal pair, and substitution of one for the other does not impair meaning, $o$ and $u$ must be considered allophones; however, it is quite possible that
they are in the process of developing into phonemes and that with time minimal pairs might emerge.

Although morphology and syntax are far too broad to touch upon here, one example can suggest their interest. This is the innocuous sentence, inda nyangku, best translated by the colloquial American, "no sez I." The first word, inda, is a variant form of nda and means "no," "not." "Sez I" is contained in nyangku which is nva + aku. The pronoun aku means "I;" but because it follows a word ending in a vowel it is realized as nuku. The nva is syntactically interesting because it here indicates that the preceding word is direct discourse, a usage common in tales. But the other use of nva is as an enclitic possessive third person (singular or plural, male or female, of animals or people or things) pronoun. Brunei Malay has no system of tenses; thus the implied verb, say/said/will say, should also be one that is tense-free, hence the use of "sez." The construction inda nyangku is grammatically correct in Brunei Malay provided that it follows the direct discourse.

Brunei Malay is an exciting and important language to study; but with universal education and radio it is beginning to die out under the impact of Standard Malay. Important, because it has a full rich literary heritage which is virtually unknown outside Western Borneo. And exciting because data from Brunei Malay can illuminate the history and development of Austronesian, one of the world's major language families.
Appendix D

A NOTE ON POISONING

Every village child is aware of poisoning by the time he is eight years old. The children know that poison is administered in food or beverages. This does not mean to imply that the village is full of poisoners; it is not. Rather, violence through poison (and black magic) is a significant part of the Brunei Malay conception of dangers lurking in the world.\(^1\)

In many respects poisoning parallels shooting as a form of aggression. Thus, poisoning observes no boundaries of time, place or social structure. Any adult may be a poisoner and any person at all may be poisoned. However, the primary agents of poisoning enculturation are practitioners of black magic. Since knowledge of poisoning must be learned from a black magic expert, few if any villagers are enculturated into performing poisoning. But even children know one folk custom for detecting poison in drinks. When offered a glass or cup of coffee, particularly in a house they seldom visit, Brunei Malays will inconspicuously pick up the beverage by arranging their fingers along the side of the glass or cup so that they can feel the top, middle, and bottom for temperature. Folk belief states

\(^1\) Black magic is not discussed here because it is a topic associated with concepts of the supernatural world and which falls outside the scope of the present work.
that if there is a temperature gradient the beverage is poison. This is held to be especially true if the top of the beverage is hot and bottom is cold, because poison is cold and so sinks to the bottom of the beverage. In such a case a Brunei Malay will ritually accept the drink but take care not to contact the liquid.

Poisoning further parallels shooting in that there are no diversionary substitutes or surrogates. Also, avoidance of poisoning is difficult. Certain amulets are believed to protect one against poisoning; but in general no avoidance behavior is possible because one usually has no way of knowing he is being poisoned until he has fallen ill. Villagers state that poisoning seldom occurs at present because would-be poisoners are afraid that the police will catch them and put them in jail.

Although poisoning shows many similarities to shooting, it also differs significantly. Whether or not a particular death or illness is due to poisoning is problematical, as is the identity of the poisoner; with shooting the affair is quite clear. Thus, shooting is a behavior suitable for observation. But poisoning, although just as real and effective, is a less observable behavior whose study must depend primarily upon hearsay evidence and ex post facto reasoning.
Table 1

POPULATION CENSUS OF FIRE ROCK VILLAGE 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Individuals</th>
<th>Cultural Group</th>
<th>Approximate Percentage of Total Village Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Iban</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Murut</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kadayan</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Brunei Malay</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>263</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total Population of Fire Rock Village, 1970</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Household census data gathered during fieldwork, 1969-1970)
### Table 2

**CALENDAR ROUND OF VILLAGE EVENTS, 1970**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Event(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>Hari Raya Haji - pilgrims arrive at Mecca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>Chinese New Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March-April</td>
<td>Harvest rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>Birthday of H.H. the Sultan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July-August</td>
<td>Dry season, clear and burn padi fields, plant rice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Wedding month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Fasting month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>The festive week of Hari Raya Puasa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3

#### COUNT OF THE LUNAR MONTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Brunei Term</th>
<th>English Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>satu haribulan</td>
<td>the first, first rising of the new moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dua haribulan</td>
<td>the second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tiga haribulan</td>
<td>the third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>empat haribulan</td>
<td>the fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>lima haribulan</td>
<td>the fifth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>anam haribulan</td>
<td>the sixth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tujoh haribulan</td>
<td>the seventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>lapan haribulan</td>
<td>the eighth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sembilan haribulan</td>
<td>the ninth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>spuloh haribulan</td>
<td>the tenth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>sa blas haribulan</td>
<td>the eleventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>dua blas haribulan</td>
<td>the twelfth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tiga blas haribulan</td>
<td>the thirteenth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>empat blas haribulan</td>
<td>the fourteenth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>lima blas haribulan</td>
<td>the fifteenth, final waning of the old moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>anam blas haribulan</td>
<td>the sixteenth, kalem di jamput, &quot;darkness invited.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>lindong tian</td>
<td>&quot;concealed pregnant&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>kalam</td>
<td>&quot;dark of the moon&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Brunei Term</th>
<th>English Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>kalam</td>
<td>&quot;dark of the moon&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ganap dua puloh</td>
<td>&quot;full twenty&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>sa likor*</td>
<td>twenty and one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>dua likor</td>
<td>twenty and two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>tiga likor</td>
<td>twenty and three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>ampat likor</td>
<td>twenty and four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>lina likor</td>
<td>five and twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>anam likor</td>
<td>six and twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>tuich likor</td>
<td>seven and twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>lapan likor</td>
<td>eight and twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>sembilan likor</td>
<td>nine and twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>ganap tiga puloh</td>
<td>&quot;full thirty,&quot; last day before first rising of the new moon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* likor = 20. It is an archaic word.
Table 4

DIURNAL SOLAR PERIODS TERMINOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brunei Term</th>
<th>Period of the Day</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>patang bechulik</td>
<td>dark of the earliest morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chavacha</td>
<td>sky light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bintang meluah</td>
<td>&quot;stars clear,&quot; light will soon come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barangkat miga</td>
<td>4:30 a.m., first predawn light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mengilau ngilau</td>
<td>5:30 a.m., early pre-dawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sambat sambat</td>
<td>6 a.m., sun not yet out but siang sudah, &quot;it is light&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matahari memanchar</td>
<td>6:30 a.m., sunrise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinesi hari</td>
<td>8 a.m., &quot;day is high&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ampir tanga hari</td>
<td>11 a.m., forenoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanga hari batul batul</td>
<td>high noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanga hari banar</td>
<td>high noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matahari melimbak</td>
<td>1-2 p.m., the sun starts downward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matahari kan masok</td>
<td>3-4 p.m., &quot;the sun inclines&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matahari kan masok</td>
<td>5-6 p.m., &quot;the sun is going to set&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matahari sudah masok</td>
<td>5:30-6 p.m., no set time, but one can no longer see the hair on one's arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malam</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jush malam</td>
<td>1-2 a.m., &quot;far into the night&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Clock times are given as a convenient reference but are only approximate. It is the position of the sun which is important.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brunei Term</th>
<th>Stage of Tidal Cycle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tanang</td>
<td>water still before tide turns to go out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begarak surut</td>
<td>tide starts out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bangkat sudah surut</td>
<td>tide going out fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stanga surut sudah</td>
<td>tide half out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhor</td>
<td>tide is lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menambang</td>
<td>low tide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betaken</td>
<td>tide is almost as low as it will go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanang</td>
<td>water still before the tide turns to rise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunga pasang</td>
<td>tide flowing in fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasang banar</td>
<td>tide getting high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasang basar</td>
<td>high tide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= - <em>ning dalam</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6

SUGGESTED DEVELOPMENTAL SCHEMA (GESELL-ILG TYPE) FOR BRUNEI MALAY CHILDREN OF FIRE ROCK VILLAGE

One Year

Motor: 1. Standing alone momentarily

Gross: 1. Lunges body from sitting position toward desired object

Fine: 1. Grasps small object

Adaptive: 1. Serial play with objects

Personal-social: 1. Is passive when being dressed

Eighteen Months

Motor: 1. Walks

Gross: 1. Makes "lift me" signal by stretching arms out over head, arching body backwards (sometimes pressing abdomen against the leg of the person intended to do the lifting)

Fine: 1. Holds own bottle

2. Neatly grasps small object

Personal-social: 1. Slides out of baby sling if so desires

2. Rocks baby sling when in it
Table 6 (continued)

**Two Years**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motor:</th>
<th>1. Runs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross:</td>
<td>1. Clings hard to avoid being taken off the hip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Goes limp to avoid being put on the hip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine:</td>
<td>1. Eats candy by self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaptive:</td>
<td>1. Places objects in horizontal or vertical arrangement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal-social:</td>
<td>1. Cries, fusses, shakes head to indicate wants and dislikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Imitates some everyday adult and child activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Three Years**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motor:</th>
<th>1. Goes up and down stairs independently</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross:</td>
<td>1. Chops with machete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine:</td>
<td>1. Tries to feed self (village Malays eat with their hands or with a spoon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language:</td>
<td>1. Uses two or three word phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Uses language to indicate likes and dislikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. &quot;Lift me&quot; signal sometimes accompanied by the appropriate verbalization, kipak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal-social:</td>
<td>1. Tries to join the play of older siblings or playmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Is toilet trained by day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Repeats one or more phrases often heard in play</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 (continued)

Four Years

Motor:

1. Jumps over obstacles
2. Independently goes down log dock or dock stairs to waterside
3. Walks in dugout canoe without falling
4. Jumps from 3'–4' heights

Adaptive:

1. Scribbles
2. Plays with combination of objects
3. Feeds self

Language:

1. Distinguishes ane, this, and atu, that
2. Frequently asks, siapa ne?, who is that?
3. Obeys locative commands di-bawah, under di-atas, atop, and di-dalam, in (In colloquial speech these are often rendered as bawah, under, atas, atop, and dalam, in.)

Personal-social:

1. Rubs hands and face during washing
2. Knows where own clothes are kept
3. Participates in play of older siblings or relatives
4. No longer uses baby sling
5. Uses right hand only in eating
Table 6 (continued)

Five Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motor:</th>
<th>Language:</th>
<th>Personal-social:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tries using rice powder or other powder on face</td>
<td>1. Understands concept of <em>isok</em>, tomorrow</td>
<td>1. Dresses and undresses independently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Participates in games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Is continent at night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Six Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motor:</th>
<th>Adaptive:</th>
<th>Language:</th>
<th>Personal-social:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Paddles dugout canoe alone</td>
<td>1. Uses pencil to write (is going to school)</td>
<td>1. Verbalizes freely</td>
<td>1. Combs own hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Sings</td>
<td>2. Takes own bath in river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Likes to hear simple ghost and giant tales</td>
<td>3. Counts to ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Helps with household chores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Helps with pounding rice (if female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Tries fishing with throw-net (if male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Uses machete for chopping and cutting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7

BRUNEI MAAY PHONEMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a duri, thorn</td>
<td>b hari, give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i lain</td>
<td>lari, flee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other u</td>
<td>datang, come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krumgan, cage</td>
<td>g patang, dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chari, search</td>
<td>ch galoh, a monster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kain, cloth</td>
<td>j galong, bracelet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krmangan, rapids</td>
<td>jauh, far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k kantong, bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l santong, to hang up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m malu, ashamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n palu, to beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ng ngalih, tired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p pari, a creature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngalih, disgusted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s siat, healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t liat, see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ch chari, to search</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jari, finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gauk, lively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mauk, drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sauh, anchor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lakat, yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dakat, near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nuri, a bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chari, to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>banyak, much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>batak, much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rambat, a circular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lambat, show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tali, chordage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kali, time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. This map should not be considered an authority on the delineation of international boundaries.

2. Brunei Town is now named Bandar Seri Begawan.

MAP I

BRUNEI
MAP II

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title and Subtitle</th>
<th>Publisher and Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Williams, Thomas Rhys</td>
<td>Field Methods in the Study of Culture</td>
<td>New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction to Socialization: Human Culture Transmitted</td>
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<td>1961a</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Malay Magician: Being a Shaman, Saiva and Sufi</td>
<td>London: Routledge and Kegan Paul</td>
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