

## XV. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN NEGRI SEMBILAN.

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Relationship by Minangkabau custom is reckoned only on the distaff side, and in the Minangkabau colonies of the Negri Sembilan the same system obtains. A mother is *ëmak*, *ibu* or *indok*<sup>1</sup>; her child, *anak*; a grand-child, *chuchu*<sup>2</sup>; a great-grand-child, *chichit*; a great-great-grand-child, *piut*; and the two generations below are termed *oneng-oneng* and *antah-antah*. All women in the family of a mother's generation have the *pangkat* or standing of mother to her child. A grandmother is *wan*<sup>3</sup> (or in the language of strangers, *dato*). All women in the family of a grandmother's generation have the *pangkat* of *wan* to her grand-child. A great-grandmother<sup>4</sup> is *ninek*; a great-great-grandmother,<sup>5</sup> *onyang* or *moyang*. All women of those respective generations have the *pangkat* of that generation to their descendants. Hence often confusion. At the hearing of a claim to land three or four women will declare they have the same mother or grandmother or great-grandmother, when several of them mean really to say "aunt" or "grand-aunt" or "great-grand-aunt." Only after enquiry will they condescend to definite terms of relationship. There are such terms. A maternal aunt<sup>6</sup> is *ëmak sanak ibu* or *indok sanak ibu*; a maternal grand-aunt, *wan sanak ibu*; great-grand-aunt, *ninek sanak ibu*. Conversely, a nephew or niece on the mother's side is *sanak ibu*; grand-nephew or grand-niece, *sanak dato*<sup>7</sup>; great-grand-nephew or niece, *sanak ninek*<sup>8</sup>; great-great-grand-nephew or niece, *sanak moyang*.<sup>9</sup> As the relationship becomes remote, generally it becomes vague in the absence of all records except oral tradition; and descendants describe themselves merely as *sa-ninek*, *sa-moyang*, *sanak jauh*<sup>10</sup> or *sa-waris*, that

<sup>1</sup> *Indok* outside the N.S. is used only of the "dam" of animals; in N.S. it is used even of "the centre of a house," *indok rumah*. The Min. word is *mandeh* or *andeh*, in Agam *mandai* or *andai*, *amai*, *biai*, in Panian *ayai*, in Priaman *uai*.

<sup>2</sup> Min. distinguishes *chuchu kandong* lit. "grand-child of the womb" from *chuchu*, "grand-child" or "grand-nephew" (or niece). N.S. uses the latter for "grand-child" and *sanak dato* for "grand-nephew" (or niece).

<sup>3</sup> Min. *tuo* (=tua), *gaik*, *uchi*—the word *gaik* survives in N.S. in the phrase *tuà gaik*=very old. Min. uses *tuo kandong*, *gaik kandong* to distinguish a "grandmother" from "grand-aunts," but N.S. has lost this useful distinction, and calls all *wan*.

<sup>4</sup> Min. *ninek*, *ninek moyang*, *andung*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ninek moyang*, *pyang*, Min.

<sup>6</sup> *Mandeh*, Min.

<sup>7</sup> *Badansanak tuo*, b. *gaik*, Min.

<sup>8</sup> *Badansanak ninek*.

<sup>9</sup> *Badansanak moyang*; the next generation is *badansanak pyang*.

<sup>10</sup> *Badansanak jauh*: all descended from the same ancestress are *saudara*, *sa-parinduan*.

is, as co-inheritors from the same female ancestress. The nearer relationships are very exact. The first-born in a Malay family is *Sulong*, *Ulong* or *Long*; the second, *Angah*<sup>1</sup>; the third, *Alang* or *'Lang*; the fourth, *Andak*; the fifth, *Uteh*; the sixth, *Hitam*; the seventh, *Achik*; and the youngest *Bongsu* in other countries of the peninsula, but in the Negri Sembilan as in Minangkabau *Anchu* as well. These names are given to girls as well as to boys. With *'pa* set before them in the case of men and *mak* in the case of women, they serve to describe the exact status of a child's uncles and aunts. *'Pa Ngah* signifies for a child his second eldest uncle; *Mak Anchu*, his youngest aunt. These nicknames, fixed as regards the first four and last two, but uncertain sometimes in order as regards the intermediate, are given alike to maternal and to paternal aunts and uncles. A paternal aunt younger than one's father and a maternal aunt younger than one's mother are both called *indok kěchil*<sup>2</sup>; a maternal uncle younger than one's mother or a paternal uncle younger than one's father are alike *bapa kěchil*.

Brothers and sisters are, as everywhere in the peninsula, *adek-běradek*, *saudara*; also, a description peculiar to N. Sembilan, *kadim*; it children of the same father and mother they are *saudara sa-indok sa-bapa* or *sa-kadim*; if uterine, *sanak* or *saudara sa-indok* or *sa-kadim*<sup>3</sup>; if of the same father only, *saudara sa-baka* or *sa-kadim*. An elder brother is *abang*, elder sister, *kakak*; eldest sister, *kakak tua*<sup>4</sup> or *'kak tua*; and younger brother or sister, *adek*. Cousinship is reckoned like other degrees through mothers, that is on the distaff side. A cousin is *sanak ibu*; a female cousin, if older than oneself, *kakak sanak ibu*; a cousin younger than oneself, *adek sanak ibu*.<sup>5</sup>

The term *sanak* corresponds to the Minangkabau term *dansanak dusanak* and describes a blood relation on the distaff side: children of a man by different wives or children of one's mother's brothers are not *sanak*, but *saudara*<sup>6</sup>; *saudara* being used of relationship on the paternal as well as on the maternal side.

Even when a woman's children marry, still they will reckon their parents-in-law only on the female side. *Minantu* means "son-in-law" or "daughter-in-law," both being equally recognized and valuable under the *adat*. But in Negri Sembilan *mintua* means "mother-in-law," and the phrase *bapa mintua*, "father-in-law," is a neologism, the position not being included in the matriarchal conception of the family. For

<sup>1</sup> If there are only three children the second is called *Angah* or *Achik*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mandeh kete*, Min.

<sup>3</sup> *Dansanak, saudara samendeh*, Min.

<sup>4</sup> Her husband is called *tunadi*, Min.

<sup>5</sup> *Badansenak mandeh, b ibu* or *biai*.

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit.

aunts and uncles-in-law one has not the brothers and sisters of one's bride's father, but those of her mother *mintua sanak ibu*.

Minangkabau custom recognizes no descent or relationship through males, but it has a term for the relationship of a father and a father's family to that of father's children. It calls them *orang babako* (Mal. *bərbaka*). This nomenclature survives in the phrase *saka baka* used to express the origin of a person on both sides; *saka* describing the maternal, and *baka* the paternal side.

In Negri Sembilan the terms of relationship employed by the endogamous Malays of the other peninsular states are used to express relationship on the paternal side. The children of a man's sister<sup>1</sup> in Negri Sembilan are his *anak buah*, a phrase descriptive of descendants in the male line elsewhere but under the matriarchal constitution applied to a sister's children, because they alone are of the brother's own tribe: the children of a man's brother, a tie of relationship that did not concern the old matriarchy, are his *anak saudara* his nephews and nieces in our sense of the word but nothing to him, seeing that they belong to their mother's tribe, a different tribe altogether. A maternal aunt is *ĕmak sanak ibu*,<sup>2</sup> a paternal *ĕmak saudara*. A maternal grand-aunt is *wan sanak ibu*; a maternal or paternal grandmother and paternal grand-aunts are simply *wan*. No distinction is drawn between uncles<sup>3</sup>; and both one's mother's brothers and one's father's brothers are *bapa saudara* or loosely *bapa*. Grandfathers<sup>4</sup> and grand-uncles, paternal and maternal, are all *to aki*. Cousins on the male side are (*saudara*) *diri bapa*, as distinguished from *anak sanak ibu* those on one's mother's side. *Kadim*, an Arabic word, is used to denote close relationship alike on the distaff and on the male side.

With his passion for family trees, the Minangkabau Malay never omits to allude to any relationship established by marriage. *Ipar* is used of brother or sister-in-law on either side, that is, equally of brothers and sisters of the wife and of brothers and sisters of the husband: *ipar kadim* means a wife's or husband's full brother or sister; *ipar duai*, a husband's or wife's cousins; *abang ipar* means a brother-in-law older than self; *kakak ipar*, a sister-in-law older than self; and *adek ipar*, a sister or brother-in-law younger than self.<sup>5</sup> The relationship between two men who have married sisters or two women who have married brothers<sup>6</sup> is known

<sup>1</sup> *Kamanakan kandong*; other descendants in the female line are his *Kamanakan*, or if remote his *anak buah*: he is their *mamak*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mandeh*.

<sup>3</sup> Maternal uncle=*mamak*, Min.

<sup>4</sup> Maternal grand-uncle=*mamak tuo kandong*, *mamak gaih*, remoter *'mak ninek kendong*, *mamak moyang*, *mamak poyang*.

<sup>5</sup> The sisters of a man's mother are his wife's *andan*; and his more distant female relations his *samandan* in Minangkabau.

<sup>6</sup> *Pambayan*, Min.

as *biras*: a man speaks of his *biras*, meaning the husband of his wife's sister, a woman of her *biras* meaning her husband's brother. The relationship established between parents whose children have intermarried is *besan*. If I and my wife are parents of one of the parties to a marriage and my friend and his wife to the other, we are *besan*: the father of the child who has married my child is my wife's *besan jantan* and the mother is my *besan bĕtina*, and conversely. The relationship which exists between a husband and wife, both of whom have had a child by a former marriage is *besan sa-bantal*, if those children intermarry.

In all the states of the peninsula the marriage of first cousins is regarded with disfavour and is practised by hardly any Malays except the rajas. In the Minangkabau colonies the marriage of the children of sisters is of course prohibited along with all forms of marriage within the tribe. But even the children of brothers, though outside this ban, do not intermarry in Negri Sembilan, the only reason alleged being, that on the decease of a father the uncle becomes his niece's *wali* and on the decease of father and uncle the male cousin becomes the *wali*—an objection not really supported by the *shara'*.