The Rungus are an ethnic group who live in Sabah, Malaysia and who speak one of the many Dusun dialects or languages. They traditionally live in longhouses and are swidden agriculturalists. The social organization of the Rungus is essentially cognatic with either an Hawaiian type or Eskimo type of kinship terminology being used depending on the social situation. The major social groupings are the domestic family, the longhouse, and the village. In the economic, ritual, and jural realms the domestic family and village are considered for various purposes as entities, corporate groupings, while the longhouse is never considered as such an entity with but one minor exception in the ritual realm.

The domestic family is the only production, consumption, and asset accumulating social unit in Rungus society. Each year the domestic family cuts its swidden within the territory of the village in which it is resident and plants rice, maize, manioc, and a variety of vegetables. Pigs and chickens are raised primarily for sacrifice to promote fertility in the swiddens, to prevent or cure disease in the family, to increase the family's success in the accumulation of property, to nullify the effects of ritual delicts, and to promote fertility and productivity of the village area.

Surpluses from the domestic family's swiddens and from their livestock production are converted into brassware, gongs...
and ceramic wares which form the major assets of the domestic family.

Use rights over swidden areas by a domestic family are recognized until the last crops planted by that family are harvested, and then the swidden area reverts back into what has been called with respect to similar land tenure systems in Indonesia, 'the area of disposal' of the village (ter Haar, 1948). As the jungle grows up, this old swidden area may be cut again by any of the domestic families resident in the village.

Thus, the village owns a territory which domestic families resident in the village may cultivate in, but which domestic families resident in other villages may not. This territory has well recognized boundaries and is usually based around the drainage area of one of the small, short rivers or streams in the Kudat District of Sabah. A village may consist of one or more longhouses scattered along this river or stream.

Consequently, if we accept Oliver and Miller's definition of a political unit (1955:119) as that "... numerically most inclusive type of group possessing some kind of corporate title to all territory normally occupied by resident members of that group", the Rungus village is the major political unit of Rungus society.

Each Rungus domestic family occupies a separately owned apartment in a longhouse. When a son of a domestic family marries, a substantial bride price is provided for him out of the accumulated assets of his domestic family. This, as well
as the other institutions which lead up to marriage and the eventual foundation of a new domestic family, is justified by the major value premise in Rungus society that all sexual relations are potentially deleterious unless properly entered into.

There are no restrictions on intra-village marriages. However, all first cousin marriages, but in particular cross-cousin marriages, are considered dangerous and are classed as a form of incest. Parallel cousin marriages may occur if the proper pig sacrifices are made to nullify the 'heat' arising from such a union which would otherwise have deleterious effects on the marriage as well as the village members, the village area, and beyond. Second cousin marriages are not considered a form of incest.

After the wedding the newly married pair reside for about a year, or until the next agricultural season, with the bride's natal domestic family. They then build a separate apartment, ideally on to the longhouse where the bride's natal family resides. Thus, the Rungus domestic family ideally and most frequently consists of a husband and his wife -- the two founders of the domestic family -- and their children. This domestic family may also be joined by parents or a widowed parent of one of the two founders on the dissolution of the parental social groupings and Rungus social structure. In our analysis the concepts of corporation, corporate group, and jural rights of the domestic family after the marriage of their last child.

In our analysis of these major social units of Rungus society, the domestic family, the longhouse, and the village, we
shall for each group first consider its social organization and then the implications that this has in the economic, jural, and ritual realms as well as the articulation of the group to others in the society. That is for each group we shall consider first the value premises that validate the various institutions which bring the social grouping into existence, the size of the grouping, the method of recruiting additional members, the method by which members may withdraw, and, finally, the dissolution of the group, or, in other words, its development cycle. After outlining these characteristics of the social grouping under consideration we shall consider the moral order that pertains among the members. Then, we shall consider the property it owns and the type of rights over this property that it holds in the jural realm. Following this the ritual aspects of the group will be analyzed along with the implications for this in the jural realm of Rungus society.

The goal in this analysis will not only be that of presenting an ethnographic description of Rungus social groupings, but also to use this ethnographic data to define more precisely what the concepts of corporation, corporate group, and jural rights of various types mean and how the application of these concepts in our analysis obfuscates or elucidates the nature of Rungus social groupings and Rungus social structure.
The Nature of Social Groupings Among the Rungus Dusun
of Sabah, Malaysia

George N. Appell
M.B.A., M.A.

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
The Australian National University
Statement with Respect to the Research

This thesis represents the original work and investigations of the undersigned.

George N. Appell
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The Rungus Dusun

The Rungus are an ethnic group who live in Sabah, Malaysia, and who speak one of the many Dusun dialects or languages. They traditionally live in longhouses and are swidden agriculturalists. The social organization of the Rungus is essentially cognatic with either an Hawaiian type or Eskimo type of kinship terminology being used depending on the social situation. The major social groupings are the domestic family, the longhouse, and the village. In the economic, ritual, and jural realms the domestic family and village are considered for various purposes as entities, corporate groupings, while the longhouse is never considered as such an entity with but one minor exception in the ritual realm.

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Thus, the village owns a territory which domestic families resident in the village may cultivate in, but which domestic families resident in other villages may not. This territory has well recognized boundaries and is usually based around the drainage area of one of the small, short rivers or streams in the Kudat District of Sabah. A village may consist of one or more longhouses scattered along this river or stream.

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as the other institutions, which lead up to marriage and the eventual foundation of a new domestic family, is justified by the major value premise in Rungus society that all sexual relations are potentially deleterious unless properly entered into.

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The goal in this analysis will not only be that of presenting an ethnographic description of Rungus social groupings, but also to use this ethnographic data to define more precisely what the concepts of corporation, corporate group, and jural rights of various types mean and how the application of these concepts to our analysis obfuscates or elucidates the nature of Rungus social groupings and Rungus social structure.

Field Work

My wife, six month old daughter, and myself arrived in
Sabah, then North Borneo, in September, 1959. For the next two months I toured the west coast area of Sabah in search of the least acculturated group of Dusun speakers who still resided within a day's travel of medical facilities for my family. By November I was satisfied that the Rungus Dusun were not only the least acculturated of any group of Dusun speakers, but also they had changed but little since the imposition of British rule in the late 1800's. Consequently, after visiting a number of Rungus villages, I chose a village, which I here call Marudu, which was located somewhere in the middle of the Rungus area of the Kudat Peninsula.*

The village of Marudu was chosen for several reasons. It was isolated but yet within a day's trip by foot and boat of medical facilities. From the number of old jars sitting on the ground around the longhouses, it also appeared to have the most viable economic system of the various villages I had chosen. Best of all, the longest longhouse in the village was located on the bank of the largest river in the area, which was reputed to stop flowing only for a week or two during the average dry season and which, therefore, provided adequate facilities for bathing, swimming, and drinking water.

* I have disguised the name of the village in which we resided as it became apparent towards the end of our second field work session after a road was built into an area close-by our village that it was becoming an attraction for the curiosity seekers. Consequently, to protect our many friends from the self-centered curiosity seeker, I have further attempted to veil, albeit thinly, our exact field location.
In November, 1959, I moved into this large longhouse in Marudu village and remained there until late December overseeing the building of our house and making preliminary attempts at learning the Rungus language.

In January, 1960, I brought my wife and daughter down to our new house and we remained there through October, 1960. Our house was ideally situated about 300 feet from the face of the longhouse across this easily crossed river and beside the major trail to the swidden areas. It had been necessary to build a house separated from the longhouse due to the high incidence of TB and various forms of dysentery so that we could control the hygienic conditions for our daughter.

In early November, 1960, we left the field for a preliminary analysis of our data. We returned to Marudu in August, 1961, and remained in the field through January, 1963. In total we spent 32 months in Sabah, 30 months of which for me was spent resident in Marudu village with the exception of short trips to other villages in the area as well as visits to the local District Headquarters for medical attention. My wife and daughter spent approximately 28 months in Marudu.

During our first field session our primary concern was learning the Rungus language and transcribing it. There were no bilinguals in either English or the standard Malay of the dictionaries, and, consequently, we had to work directly into the Rungus language which provided both a number of challenges as well as problems. I also concentrated during this first
field session on a sociological census of several villages and obtaining an outline of Rungus social structure from informants as well as observations. My wife concentrated on learning the language, handling the visitors that poured in, and keeping our daughter in good health.

At the end of this first field session my wife and I prepared a Provisional Field Dictionary of the Rungus Dusun Language in mimeographed form so that we would have a systematic record to work from and check on our return as well as a preliminary presentation of the Rungus language for other people who might work with Dusun speaking groups. No conscious attempt at phonemicization was made at this point.

During our second field session we continued systematic work on the Rungus language hand in hand with my investigation of the social organization of the various social groupings. I also made a study of family economics and swidden agriculture. Those aspects of the religion which deal with health and illness and which are in the hands of spirit mediums who are almost invariably females, I turned over to my wife, since my daughter at that point was old enough to be left in the care of a young Rungus girl. Because of the nature of the relationship between males and females in the society, this aspect of Rungus society would have been otherwise beyond my systematic study at that time if it were not for the work of my wife who developed a classification of the major ceremonies and their sociological implications, outlined the nature of the supernatural world,
and began transcribing the long, complicated chants which are sung at the major curing ceremonies. These chants are full of poetic imagery and are structured in couplets, the second line of each amplifying the meaning of the first through the use of an esoteric language.

In addition during this second field session I worked on that part of the Rungus religion which was largely in the province of male specialists, the swidden ceremonies and those ceremonies for property, as well as the jural implications of ritual delicts since the arbitration of such delicts was in the hands of the males.

We found it not easy to leave Marudu in January, 1963.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to the Government of the Colony of North Borneo for allowing us to do field work among the Rungus. It was originally suggested by the Resident of the West Coast Residency, Mr. G. R. Hedley, that the Rungus were the least acculturated of the various Dusun speaking groups and for his suggestion that I investigate the Rungus area on my initial tour I am extremely grateful. I am also grateful for the assistance and aid to our research and to us personally that the District Officers of the Kudat District gave us during our residence there: Mr. R. H. W. de la Poer Beresford-Pierse and Mr. Colin Wood. For the kind and excellent care during our several illnesses as well as for their friendship I am indebted to the District Medical Officers, Dr. John Humphries, Dr. John
Anderson, and later Dr. Sven Fogh.

I am also grateful for the interest in our work given to us by His Excellency the Governor Sir William Goode and The Honorable the Chief Secretary R. N. Turner.

The planning and execution of my field work was done under the direction and guidance of Dr. Derek Freeman of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, the Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University. He gave unstintingly of himself and his time, frequently at the sacrifice of his own research, and for this I shall be eternally grateful. I cannot emphasize too much that his understanding, interest, and assistance in my research has assured that it would be a success, where it is a success, and where it fails to meet his high levels of excellence, I am solely to blame.

To Professor J. A. Barnes of the Australian National University I owe much for his help and advice during the preparation of this manuscript and for his critical reading of the final draft.

I also owe a great debt to Professor Cora Du Bois of Harvard University whose continuing interest in my work has been most rewarding and whose high standards of intellectual precision were impressed upon me at an early stage in my graduate career.

To Professor Douglas L. Oliver I also owe a great deal for the intellectual challenge of working with him, for his emphasis on the scientific method, and for his many helpful suggestions.
I am grateful to the Department of Anthropology and Sociology in the Institute of Advanced Studies of the Australian National University which supported the field work on which this manuscript is based.

It is, however, to our close friends among the Rungus that we owe, perhaps, our largest debt. Our work would not have been effectively carried on without the help of Marajon bin Mongkuron, who carried on his shoulders many of the details of our living arrangements. He as well located informants, worked as a check on the data we elicited from informants, and was generally a close, trustworthy friend. To Limpot bin Majalu lies much of the success of our linguistic efforts. He proved himself to be a tireless, alert, and insightful linguistic informant throughout our field work and an invaluable aid to my wife in her investigations into the religion of the Rungus. To the two headman, Orang Tua Majalu and Orang Tua Mongimbal, I owe much of my understanding of the jural realm of Rungus society. To Mabuk bin Sundingan I owe my understanding of the agricultural rituals as well as to many other details of Rungus society. To Itolina binte Mogoui we owe our knowledge of Rungus religion and we owe an especially great debt to her as she worked faithfully with my wife over a long period of time daring to trespass over areas of ritual which are never discussed except under strict ritual conditions which we could not provide in every case. To Balonok binte Banjiran we owe a very special debt,
as in all her beauty and grace she walked softly through our household taking indefatigable and eternally watchful care of my daughter so that she was not ill once in the field or racked with the dysenteries that my wife and I picked up.

Our data is based, of course, on other informants, but to these above we owe a special debt due to their loyalty to us and our work.

Note on the Orthography

In the presentation of Rungus words, I have followed the system of notation used by Gleason, 1961 for consonants; for vowels and glides I have followed Block and Traeger, 1942.

Rungus words included in the text have been phonemicized, but I do not wish to suggest by this that this is a final version as a great deal of work still has to be done on the Rungus language. Those words and phrases which will be used repeatedly in the text I have on their initial appearance, as well as later, underlined. Those words and phrases which have been included only for the purpose of illustration and will not be later on repeated I have enclosed with / / to indicate phonemicization.
Chapter One

Introduction

The State of Sabah, Malaysia

Just north of the equator, in the farthest northern and eastern portion of the island of Borneo, lies the State of Sabah, formerly the British Crown Colony of North Borneo. In August, 1963, the two British Colonies on the northwestern coast of Borneo, North Borneo and Sarawak, joined with Singapore and the Federation of Malaya to form the new nation of Malaysia. In between the States of Sabah and Sarawak lies the Sultanate of Brunei, a British Protectorate. To the south of Malaysian Borneo and the Sultanate of Brunei lies Kalimantan, or Indonesian Borneo, which holds about 72% of this island's population and includes approximately 72% of the island's territory.

Sabah's coast line of approximately 900 miles is washed on the northwest by the South China Sea, on the northeast by the Sulu Sea and by the Celebes Sea on the southeast (see Map 1.1). In the interior Sabah is bounded by Kalimantan to the south and by Sarawak to the southwest. The total area of Sabah is 29,338 square miles, about 10% of the total island area or an area about the size of Ireland.

The landscape of Sabah is dominated by Mt. Kinabalu (13,455 feet), the highest mountain in Southeast Asia. It is considered to be the land where the souls of the dead go according to the traditions of the Dusun populations.
The physiography of Sabah is organized around the Crocker Range, the main system of the mountainous zone of the interior. Beginning behind Marudu Bay in the north, the Crocker Range circles the base of the bay and then, as it turns southward, rises abruptly to Mt. Kinabalu. The range then continues southward paralleling the west coast about 20 miles inland in a series of peaks averaging 4000-5000 feet in height until it reaches the Sarawak border. Because the Crocker Range lies close to the west coast, all the rivers flowing down the western slopes of the range into the South China Sea are short and shallow, while the rivers draining the eastern slopes of the interior mountainous zone are long, varying from 200 to 350 miles in length, and are navigable for considerable distances as they wind down through the interior to the Sulu Sea where, along the coast, they form extensive swamps and estuaries.

The History of Sabah *

Little is known of the prehistory of Sabah. At present there have been no reports of palaeolithic sites containing occupation levels similar to those excavated by T. Harrisson in Sarawak at the Niah Caves, nor have there been any reported surface finds of palaeolithic implements.** While there have

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*This brief summary is largely based on materials from the Colony of North Borneo, Annual Report, 1960; Rutter, 1922; and Tregonning, 1958.

**Harrisson has as yet only given summary reports of his finds; (see Harrisson, 1957a, 1958a and 1958d).
been scattered finds of neolithic implements (Evans, 1913) there has been no systematic explorations or excavations with the exception of a small cave site on Palau Burong and a small test excavation on Eno Island, both near Labuan, which were excavated under the direction of Tom Harrisson, the Curator of the Sarawak Museum (North Borneo Annual Report, 1960: 182; B. Harrisson, 1961:82). Neolithic material as well as Sung and Ming pottery were found, but no formal report of these sites has yet appeared.

During the first millenium A.D. there were apparently numerous contacts between Borneo and China as well as India. Evidence for these contacts with regard to the island of Borneo exists in early texts (for instance see Braddell, 1949 and 1950), isolated finds of early Indian and Chinese artifact in Sarawak and Indonesian Borneo (see Harrisson, 1949), and recently the archaeological evidence being produced to the southwest in Sarawak where the Sarawak Museum is conducting the only systematic excavations in all of Borneo. Harrisson has excavated there, among other sites, an Indian settlement or trading post which he dates 'perhaps between 8th - 9th century' (Harrisson, 1955c), and he concludes that 'large scale' activity by 'Indians' went on in Sarawak approximately a thousand or more years ago and that this activity preceded the main Chinese trade, starting before and ending earlier, but overlapping particularly from the 10th to 13th centuries in the Sung dynasty
(Harrisson, 1955d:516). Also in a number of articles Harrisson has described the ceramic wares that have penetrated Borneo from China, Annam and Siam (Harrisson, 1950b, 1951b, 1954a, 1954b, 1955a, 1955b, 1955d, 1957b, 1958b, 1959c). However, dating of these objects is quite difficult as Harrisson states (1955e:556), due to disagreement among ceramic experts and the fact that the same kilns produced the same types of wares over centuries. In addition, stratigraphic provenience for these ceramic wares in Borneo has not yet been established.

However, there has been as yet no direct evidence specifically linking Sabah in with these early Chinese and Indian contacts other than the persistence of early types of ceramic wares in the hands of the present day population.

Sometime prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in 1521, when Magellan's fleet with the historian Pigafetta aboard sailed into Brunei Town, Islam spread along the northwestern coast of Borneo.* About 1650 the Sultan of Brunei had to call for help from the Sultan of Sulu in order to put down an uprising of aborigines who were joined by the Chinese settlers. In consideration of this help, Brunei ceded the territory from

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*In the account of the history of Brunei in the State of Brunei, Annual Report, 1960, see pages 156-173, the introduction of Islam is attributed to the first sultan, while the sultan who reigned during Pigafetta's visit is number five in the list of succession, but no date is given for the reign of this first sultan, and no other evidence is given to substantiate this.
the Kimanis River as far as the Straits of Macassar to Sulu (Rutter, 1922:93; Hunt, 1812:389).* In 1792 the Sultan of Sulu, a captive of the Spanish, was released by Sir William Draper when he captured Manila, and all of the territory the Sultan had originally obtained from Brunei was ceded to the East India Company. The company then opened a station on Balambangan, an island off the northern coast of Sabah, which in 1775 was sacked by pirates from the Sulu Islands. Pirates continued to control the coast of Sabah, seizing slaves and cargoes from the unwary merchantmen of all nationalities, until James Brooke secured the intervention of the Royal Navy. In 1845 the Royal Navy attacked the pirate stronghold of Serip Usman at Langkon in Marudu Bay. Later in 1878 the Royal Navy razed the pirate stronghold at Tungku on the east coast which brought to an end organized pirate bases on North Borneo soil, but to this day, small pirate raids continue to occur along the coasts of the Sulu and Celebes Seas.

In 1847 the Sultan of Brunei ceded the island of Labuan in perpetuity to the British Crown. In 1865 American and Chinese interests formed the American Trading Company which obtained concessions from the Sultan of Brunei, and a colony was founded at Kimanis that soon after failed.

*However, Tregonning (1952:239) states that the cession of territory to the Sultan of Sulu occurred in 1704.
In 1877 Baron Overbeck, the Austrian Consul-General in Hongkong representing a syndicate formed by the Dent Brothers, obtained concessions from the Sultan of Brunei over the territory from the Kimanis River on the northwest to the Sibuku River on the east. Then, in 1878 Overbeck, along with Cowie, who was on intimate terms with the Sultan of Sulu whom he was supplying with arms, and with Torrey, the surviving member of the American Trading Company, sailed for Sulu and obtained from the Sultan of Sulu, for the sum of 1000 pounds per year, full sovereign and territorial rights over the Sultan's possessions in Borneo. These concessions were subsequently transferred to a Limited Provisional Association which petitioned to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London for a grant of Royal Charter. In 1881 the Charter was granted which provided that the Company should always be British, that it should undertake to abolish slavery, administer justice with due regard to native customs and laws and not to interfere with the religion of the inhabitants; it also prohibited the transfer of grants and concessions without the authority of the Secretary of State. In 1882 the British North Borneo (Chartered) Company was formed and in 1888 the State of North Borneo together with Brunei and Sarawak became British Protectorates.

Also in 1882 the first labor recruiter was sent to China and by 1883 the first of a long stream of Hakka immigrants arrived at Kudat. Labor was needed for the tobacco plantations which spread around Marudu Bay and up the rivers on the east
coast, and which flourished from the late 1880's until about 1910.

The Chartered Company continued to administer the country until January 1, 1942 when North Borneo was invaded by the Japanese. On the 10th of June, 1945, with the arrival of the Ninth Australian Division, North Borneo passed into British military administration which continued until the 15th of July, 1946, when North Borneo became a Crown Colony.

Distribution of Population *

Tables 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 show the size of the enumerated populations in Sabah at the various censuses, the percentage change in size, and for each of these populations the percentage of the total Sabah population.

The Dusun, which Evans (1922:80) has classified physically as long-headed Indonesians on the basis of a few measurements, form the largest single demographic population in Sabah, and are about half the total indigenous population. They are primarily located along the west coast, where the largest numbers are found, north of Papar up into the Kudat District, in the northern section of the Interior Residency and on the plains around Ranau. A considerable population of Dusun are found in the Labuk-Sugut area and also around Keningau where they mix with the Murut. Scattered Dusun groups are found up the Kinabatangan River, the

*The material in this section is based largely on L.W. Jones, 1962. See Map 1.2.
Table 1.1  Population of North Borneo at Censuses of 1921, 1931, 1951, and 1960(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Peoples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusun(b)</td>
<td>104,865</td>
<td>110,483</td>
<td>117,867</td>
<td>145,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murut</td>
<td>30,355</td>
<td>24,444</td>
<td>18,724</td>
<td>22,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajau</td>
<td>31,348</td>
<td>31,640</td>
<td>41,421</td>
<td>55,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illanun</td>
<td>1,722</td>
<td>2,459</td>
<td>3,307</td>
<td>3,931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei and Kedayan(c)</td>
<td>11,753</td>
<td>14,051</td>
<td>22,312</td>
<td>31,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orang Sungei</td>
<td>7,422</td>
<td>6,999</td>
<td>13,697</td>
<td>15,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisaya</td>
<td>7,092</td>
<td>7,061</td>
<td>7,866</td>
<td>10,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulu</td>
<td>6,637</td>
<td>5,766</td>
<td>7,866</td>
<td>11,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidong</td>
<td>1,847</td>
<td>2,315</td>
<td>3,481</td>
<td>4,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sino Native</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>6,468</td>
<td>7,438</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Indigenous</td>
<td>203,041</td>
<td>205,218</td>
<td>243,009</td>
<td>306,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese(d)</td>
<td>39,256</td>
<td>50,056</td>
<td>74,374</td>
<td>104,512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>1,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurasian</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other(e)</td>
<td>20,290</td>
<td>21,555</td>
<td>15,545</td>
<td>41,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>263,252</td>
<td>277,476</td>
<td>334,141</td>
<td>454,421</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes to Table 1.1

(a) The data for this table are taken from L. W. Jones, 1962.

(b) Dusun includes the category Kwijau, which was enumerated separately in the 1921, 1931, and 1951 Censuses, but which was included with Dusun in the 1960 Census. The total number of Kwijau in 1951 were 978 persons.

(c) Prior to 1960 the Kedayans were not enumerated separately. In 1960 out of the total Brunei and Kedayan category, 7,871 were Kedayan.

(d) In 1960 Hakka formed the largest subgroup of Chinese with a total of 57,338 persons. Cantonese were the next largest, with a total of 15,251 and the third largest subgroup of Chinese was Hokkien with 11,924 persons.

(e) The category 'Others' includes the following: Native of Sarawak, Malay, Cocos Islander, Indonesian, Natives of the Philippines, and Indian, Pakistani, Ceylonese. The largest subgroup in this category is Indonesian with 24,784 persons, which has increased by 16,823 persons since the last census. The second largest group are Natives of the Philippines at 7,473 persons, an increase of 5,563 since the last census. Both of these groups have increased due to increased opportunity for employment on the east coast.
Table 1.2 Percentage Increase or Decrease in Demographic Populations of North Boreno at Various Censuses\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1921-31</th>
<th>1931-51</th>
<th>1951-60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Peoples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusun</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murut</td>
<td>-19.5</td>
<td>-23.4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajau</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illanun</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei and Kedayan</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orang Sungei</td>
<td>-5.7</td>
<td>95.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisaya</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulu</td>
<td>-13.1</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidong</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sino Native</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Indigenous</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>40.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>-14.3</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>59.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurasian</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>87.8</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>-27.9</td>
<td>106.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) The data for this table are derived from L.W. Jones, 1962.
Table 1.3  Demographic Populations of North Borneo by Percentage of Total Population at Various Censuses\(^{(a)}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Peoples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusun</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murut</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajau</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illanun</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei and Kedayan</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orang Sungei</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisaya</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulu</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidong</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sino Native</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Indigenous</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>67.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans and Eurasians</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(a)}\)The data for this table are derived from L. W. Jones, 1962.
Segama River, and also at Lahad Datu. The Islamic Orang Sungei of these large east coast rivers are probably closely related linguistically to the Dusun.

The Dusun are the chief rice producers of the country, and extensive wet rice areas are found along the west coast and at Ranau and Tambunan in the interior. Shifting cultivation is also practiced by the Dusun on the hillsides surrounding the wet padi fields and in hill and mountainous areas behind the west coast plains and in the Kudat District.

The Murut are found primarily in the southern section of the Interior Residency. At Keningau the Dusun and Murut populations meet, with the Dusun outnumbering the Murut. There appears to be a movement of Murut speakers down from their mountainous regions into the Keningau and Tenom areas and also down from the upper reaches of the Padas towards the West Coast. Murut deep in the interior sections of the Tawau and Sandakan Residencies, particularly in the latter, may have been enumerated as Dusun.

The Bajau, the second largest native population, are found along the coastal fringes of the west coast from Papar north into the Kudat District and around the coast to the Sandakan and Tawau Residencies. The largest concentrations of the Bajau are found around Kota Belud and Semporna. There seems to be some ethnic differentiation between the west coast Bajau and the east coast Bajau, the former being more oriented towards the land, planting some rice, coconuts, and raising cattle and
horses, while the latter are more completely oriented towards the sea. Nevertheless, the Bajau and Illanun on the west coast and in Marudu Bay carry on an extensive trade with the inland Dusun at the periodic markets where they exchange their fish for Dusun agricultural products, mainly rice, but also fruits and vegetables.

The Brunei and Kedayan populations are concentrated along the west coast from the Sarawak border as far north as Papar. They also practice agriculture and fishing.

The Sulu population, under which category are probably included a number of Islamic groups living along the northern coast and among the islands, such as the Ubians, are scattered mainly along the east coast from the Kudat District south to Tawau.

These coastal Islamic groups, the Bajau, Illanun, Brunei, Sulu, and so on, furnish the majority of Native Chiefs in the West Coast District. In the Kudat area all the senior Native Chieftanships are held by representatives of these groups and they preside over the Native Courts as well.

The Moslem Bisaya live in the Beaufort - Kuala Penyu area on the Kilas Peninsula. The Tidong live chiefly in the Labuk and Tawau districts.

The Chinese are the second largest in the total population and form the largest immigrant population in North Borneo. Much of the total area of small holdings, particularly in rubber and nearly all the smaller businesses are owned by
Chinese as is also an increasing share of the larger enter-
prised such as estates, timber companies, construction firms,
and import - export companies (L.W. Jones, 1962:51). The majority
of Chinese are found in and around the coastal towns. However,
small numbers of Chinese are found in the interior towns and
up most of the coastal rivers where they operate small shops,
trading all sorts of goods from the industrial centers of the
West and the Orient for the Dusun agricultural products. At
the same time that they engage in these commercial activities
they invariably are also putting in coconut or rubber plan-
tations, encroaching upon native lands, and depending on the
Dusun for labor. Within 1 5/8 miles of the Rungus village in
which we lived, at the head of the navigable portion of the
river draining the region, there were four shops operated by
one full Chinese and three Sino-Dusun (Chinese fathers, Dusun
mothers). The Chinese also form an important part of the second
level of administration in the country. In the Kudat District,
the two Assistant District Officers were Chinese.

Administration

At the time of our field work, the Colony of North Borneo
was divided, for the purposes of administration, into Residencies,
the West Coast, the Interior, the Sandakan and the Tawau Resi-
dencies, each presided over by a British civil servant, who was
responsible to the Chief Secretary. These residencies contain
-- the residency system is still continued -- a number of
districts, administered by a District Officer, who reports to his respective Resident (see Map 1.2). The Kudat District, where the Rungus Dusun are located, is included, along with the Kota Belud, Tuaran, Jeselton, Penampang and Papar Districts, in the West Coast Residency, which has its headquarters at Jesselton, the capital of the State.

The District Officer is the magistrate for the District in which capacity he presides over the District Court and is concerned with normal civil actions, breaches of the laws of the State, and offences against the Penal Code. In addition to this and other general administrative duties, the District Officer, at the time of our field work, was a Collector of Land Revenue and an Assistant Commissioner of Labor as well as the Chairman of the District Council, which was completely appointed up until 1962, when elections for District Council positions were held for the first time.

Reporting to the District Officer are appointed Native Chiefs who preside over the Native Courts which deal with offences against native custom and succession to native estates, and each of whom is in charge of a number of villages. In the Kudat District all senior Native Chiefs are recruited from the various subgroups of Coastal Malays.

The District Headquarters of the Kudat District is at Kudat, where, in addition to the District Officer and his staff, are located a Police Barracks with an Officer in Charge of Police, a District Medical Officer who is in charge of the
Cottage Hospital, an Assistant Agricultural Officer, and an Assistant Public Works Officer. Three Police stations are located in the District outside of Kudat. A police station is situated in the Chinese shop area near the village in which we lived and is staffed by either a Village Constable, who is appointed by the Police Force, but is not officially a member of the Police Force, or a Police Constable, the lowest rank in the Police Force.

Disputes which the village headmen are not allowed to arbitrate, such as cases of stealing, of physical violence, of rape and adultery, are reported to these Police out-stations as well as cases which the village headman cannot settle.

Contacts between Dusun and the Administration are slight and only normally occur, when the head tax of $1.50 per adult male is paid to the village headman, who then takes it to Kudat, or when applications for alienation of land are made.

The Term Dusun

Early voyagers to the Borneo coast referred to the Dusun as either Ida'an, Idaan, or Idahan (for instance see Forest, 1779:368), and the name Idahan continued to occur with frequency in reports on North Borneo (Sabah) into the late 1800's. However, the term Idahan was not restricted to the Dusun only, but it was also used loosely to refer to any inland, agricultural, non-Islamic group. Consequently, it was applied to groups which are essentially unrelated linguistically and culturally. For
instance Low (1848:343) uses the term Idahan to refer to the
Muruts; Keeple (1847:194-5) refers to the 'Kadian' of Brunei as
Idahan; Alexander Dalrymple in 1763 speaks of the Dusun of North
Borneo as Idahan as well as the non-Islamic people of Palawan
(See Belcher, 1848, I:277); and Belcher also refers to both the
Sabah Dusun and to peoples encountered further down the east
coast in what is now Indonesian Borneo as Idahan (Belcher,
1848, I:225).

St. John (1862:226) states that Idahan is the name given
to the Dusun by the Bajau, while Dusun itself is the term used
by the Brunei people. Rungus Dusun informants have confirmed
that the name Idahan is that used by the Bajau to refer to the
Dusun. Evans (1922:35) writes that the term Dusun is used by
the Malays.

Both Evans (1922:79) and Rutter (1929:30) state that
etymologically the term Dusun means 'orchard' and therefore
'orang dusun' means 'people or men of the orchards.' Staal says
that it means 'farmers' (1923-24:958). Both Winstedt (1952)
and Wilkinson (1957) in their Malay dictionaries define the
word 'dusun' as an orchard. Wilkinson goes on to say that
'dusun' also refers to a fruit grove without a dwelling house,
but that 'kepala dusun' is a village headman. Echols and
Hassan (1961) in their Indonesian dictionary translate 'dusun'
as village.

Sir James Brooke in 1846 probably gives the best expla-
nation of the word Dusun in his discussion with Assistant
Surgeon Adams of the H.M.S. Samarang. He states (Belcher, 1948, I:504-5) that the name Dusun implies "... that they are an agricultural people, having a peculiar dialect of their own."

However, both of the names Dusun and Idahan, as I have previously discussed, are derived from groups foreign to the populations so named, and are not the name by which they know themselves. For instance the Dusun of the Kudat District, Sabah, refer to themselves collectively as Momogon and each of the sixteen or more separate speech communities of the Momogon in the Kudat District has, in addition, its own term to refer to themselves. There are Rungus Momogon, Nulu Momogon, Tobilung Momogon, and so on.

If we exclude the Banggi Islanders, a small group which has been called Banggi Dusun although their language is only remotely related to the Dusun on the mainland, it appears from a comparison of what linguistic material is available that those populations in Sabah called Dusun are closely related linguistically. Consequently, I propose to use the word Dusun here in this sense to refer to a language family.

The Dusun Language Family

All the indigenous languages of Borneo, belong to the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock. However, the classification of Bornean languages awaits the gathering of more basic linguistic data in the field. Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958) have found it impossible to order the linguistic situation on
the island for lack of sufficient data and have, therefore, limited their work on the Bornean languages to a discussion of the extant literature.

However, Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958:25) do conclude that Dusun belongs to the so-called Philippine group of languages due to the "multitude of affixes, the existence of forms indicating the praeterit, and by the peculiarities of the sound system." Blagden has pointed out that the Murut and Dusun, but particularly the Murut, seem more Philippine in general character than the bulk of Borneo dialects, with the evidence for this close relationship to the Philippine group, as well as to each other, lying in the grammatically elaborate use of the prefix system and in the similarity of phonetic changes in the three groups (Rutter, 1929:262-3). However, what Murut groups were used for comparison purposes is not made clear.

In neither of these cases has the evidence been given on which the conclusions were drawn.

However, Arantea and Bernad do present the evidence that they collected on a brief trip to Sarawak which includes grammatical material as well as vocabulary. Their enquiries included the Philippine languages of Ilongo, Tagalog, Cebuano, and the Borneo languages of Kadazan -- a North Borneo Dusun language, Brunei 'Dusun', Tutong, Bisaya, Belait, and Kedayan. In addition they reviewed the Iban, Land Dayak, and Melanau languages. Arantea and Bernad conclude (1960:546), after a comparison based on inspection, that these latter languages, Iban,
Land Dayak, and Melanau, showed far less similarity in vocabulary and grammatical material with the Philippine languages, and traces of Philippine thought patterns were barely discernible, if present at all. With regard to the Dusun of Sabah, as represented by their Kadazan material, they conclude that the Dusun shows the closest linguistic similarities with the Philippine languages.

With regard to the linguistic affiliations between Dusun and Murut, the degree of relationship depends on just what is included in the term Murut. Rutter (1922:65-66) in his category 'Murut' has included a group of people, the Lun Dayok, which Boland and Harrisson (1950:116-124), Southwell (1950:104), Needham (1955:161) as well as Lees (1959:62) would classify as Sarawak Murut which they feel, using either linguistic evidence or evidence from kinship terminology, should be differentiated from the Sabah Murut, or the Rundum-Tagal type of North Borneo Murut. The Sarawak Murut, which seems to include all those people who call themselves 'Lun Daya' or 'Lun Bwang' plus a place name (Southwell, 1950:104) and the Kemaloh, Kelabit, and Saban (Boland and Harrisson, 1950:116-124), apparently are all linguistically closely related, but only distantly related to the Sabah Murut even though in some cases they are geographically contiguous. In Sabah these Sarawak Muruts are found in the headwaters of the Padas and in the middle reaches of the Mengalong river (Boland and Harrisson, 1950:124). Needham states that the Sarawak Murut are the northernmost members of
the middle-Borneo group of peoples who fall under Leach's 'Kenyah-Kayan-Kajang' heading (Needham, 1955:161).

It would appear from inspection of Table 1.4 that the Rundum-Tagal type of Murut is more closely related to Dusun than the Sarawak Murut groups.

The linguistic differentiation between Dusun speech communities is difficult to assess at this point with the amount of evidence available. A dictionary exists for the Dusun speech community in Penampang (Antonissen, 1958) at the southern end of the West Coast Residency, and another exists for the Rungus Dusun (Appell and Appell, 1961) who are located at the northern extreme of the Residency, in the Kudat District. Gossens (1924) has prepared an extensive vocabulary for the Papar Dusun, who are located just south of Penampang. Also a number of shorter word lists have been published of varying reliability.*

However, in the Kudat District alone, where the Rungus are located, there are 16 or more named speech communities which vary in their degree of neighbor intelligibility. Whether neighbor intelligibility at a significant level exists between all of the Dusun speech communities in Sabah or not, has not yet been established nor can it be established with the present evidence. Dusun speakers from geographically non-contiguous areas frequently have difficulty understanding each other and

*De Crespigny (1872), Luering (1897), Roth (1896:267-279), Rutter (1929:263-275), Staal (1926:938-951), and Swettenham (1880).
resort to Malay. It is estimated that it may take two to three months for a Dusun from Penampang to become familiar enough with the Rungus Dusun dialect to converse freely. Consequently, for the time being, until further evidence is available, whether Dusun is a single language differentiated into speech communities which have neighbor intelligibility -- even though speakers from geographical extremes of the Dusun distribution lack intelligibility, or whether Dusun is actually a family of languages with geographically contiguous speech communities lacking mutual intelligibility but still closely enough related to reconstruct a proto-language, still remains to be proven. (See Voegelin, et al. 1963:24 for a discussion of the problem of neighbor intelligibility.)

Consequently, until further evidence is available, I shall continue to use the term Dusun to refer to a language family, and speak only of dialects in a very general sense, that is the Rungus dialect, the Nulu dialect, etc., to refer to the various named speech communities of Dusun which may or may not be grouped into one or several languages.

The Dusun Populations: Their Interrelationships and their Relations with Neighboring Societies

An inspection of the structure of kinship terminology and their linguistic forms for various groups in Borneo and the Philippines (see Table 1.4) seems to indicate that there is a steady gradient of cultural differentiation from the Bisaya on
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalings</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>Subanun</th>
<th>Tagbanua</th>
<th>Barran Durun</th>
<th>Tagbanua Duran</th>
<th>Pusanapag Duran</th>
<th>Tagbanua Mong</th>
<th>Baysa</th>
<th>Lun Dya</th>
<th>Malumao</th>
<th>Iban</th>
<th>Land Dayak</th>
<th>Bajau</th>
<th>Ilamnun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OrtFr</td>
<td>analog</td>
<td>Ingok (M)</td>
<td>Apok (F)</td>
<td>aki (M)</td>
<td>takii (M)</td>
<td>takii (M)</td>
<td>takii (M)</td>
<td>aki (M)</td>
<td>yakii (M)</td>
<td>tafun</td>
<td>aki (M)</td>
<td>bahuk (M)</td>
<td>umba</td>
<td>aapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>ana/ana'</td>
<td>tan (M)</td>
<td>tama (M)</td>
<td>tama (M)</td>
<td>tama (M)</td>
<td>an (M)</td>
<td>tan (M)</td>
<td>taman</td>
<td>tan (M)</td>
<td>apal</td>
<td>an (M)</td>
<td>an (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>gina</td>
<td>tidi (M)</td>
<td>tidi (M)</td>
<td>tidi (M)</td>
<td>tidi (M)</td>
<td>ina (M)</td>
<td>ina (M)</td>
<td>tinan</td>
<td>ina (M)</td>
<td>ayair</td>
<td>iyang</td>
<td>ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PtSiB</td>
<td>all-t-l-e-t</td>
<td>allite-o (M)</td>
<td>amain (M)</td>
<td>kia (M)</td>
<td>amain (M)</td>
<td>amain (M)</td>
<td>amain (M)</td>
<td>komain (M)</td>
<td>tanen fimnakan (M)</td>
<td>aya (M)</td>
<td>anba (El)</td>
<td>pa (M)</td>
<td>apu (Palib)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skit</td>
<td>ale (F)</td>
<td>dana' (F)</td>
<td>minan (F)</td>
<td>kominan (F)</td>
<td>insan (F)</td>
<td>kaminan (F)</td>
<td>minan (F)</td>
<td>kinilin (F)</td>
<td>tian fimnakan (F)</td>
<td>lho (F)</td>
<td>buk (Ye)</td>
<td>de (F)</td>
<td>bana (Nobr)</td>
<td>bana (NoK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sib</td>
<td>sum-ed</td>
<td>etad</td>
<td>kapitid</td>
<td>pated</td>
<td>suluk</td>
<td>opinai</td>
<td>taidii</td>
<td>topinai</td>
<td>topinai</td>
<td>along (11/12)</td>
<td>ake (11/12)</td>
<td>pai (11/12)</td>
<td>starii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PtSiBch</td>
<td>ka-pin-san</td>
<td>pinpas</td>
<td>pinlan</td>
<td>pated</td>
<td>tanga</td>
<td>opinai</td>
<td>homing</td>
<td>topinai</td>
<td>topinai</td>
<td>pisanan</td>
<td>pisanan</td>
<td>N.D.</td>
<td>tabii</td>
<td>starii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>an-ak</td>
<td>anak</td>
<td>anak</td>
<td>bata'</td>
<td>tanak</td>
<td>tanak</td>
<td>tanak</td>
<td>anak</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>anak</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SibCh</td>
<td>an-o-ni-r-on</td>
<td>kanakan</td>
<td>pama-kun</td>
<td>manak</td>
<td>kanamarin</td>
<td>makanakan</td>
<td>mankanak (M)</td>
<td>man (M)</td>
<td>mankanak (M)</td>
<td>anak fimnakan</td>
<td>man (M)</td>
<td>endo (F)</td>
<td>N.D.</td>
<td>kamanakan (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ChCh</td>
<td>apo</td>
<td>apo</td>
<td>apo</td>
<td>gupo</td>
<td>N.D.</td>
<td>manangkii (M)</td>
<td>N.D.</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>sunangkii (M)</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sposse</td>
<td>asawa</td>
<td>asawa</td>
<td>asawa</td>
<td>lsawa</td>
<td>sava</td>
<td>sava</td>
<td>sava</td>
<td>N.D.</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pt-In-Law</td>
<td>ka-to-gin-a</td>
<td>katanggaan</td>
<td>biyanan</td>
<td>penugangan</td>
<td>payangan</td>
<td>lvanon</td>
<td>tisan</td>
<td>tisan</td>
<td>makan (M)</td>
<td>iwan</td>
<td>yanam</td>
<td>N.D.</td>
<td>babii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sib-In- Law</td>
<td>nasa (M)</td>
<td>bayou (M)</td>
<td>batu (M-ag)</td>
<td>bayou (M)</td>
<td>ipano (M-ag)</td>
<td>ipag (M)</td>
<td>tipag (M)</td>
<td>N.D.</td>
<td>Ipar</td>
<td>nasa (M)</td>
<td>ipar</td>
<td>baiyan (M)</td>
<td>bati (M)</td>
<td>Langas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref.</td>
<td>Barton</td>
<td>Eggan</td>
<td>Stoodley</td>
<td>Peake</td>
<td>Tov</td>
<td>Tor</td>
<td>York</td>
<td>Haraldson</td>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>Sibyn-Jones</td>
<td>Leach</td>
<td>Pershawi</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abbreviations: OrtFr: Grandparent; PtSiB: Parents' siblings; PtSiBCh: Parents' siblings' children; Sib: Siblings; Ch: Children; SibCh: Siblings' children; ChCh: Children's children; Pt-In-Law: Parents-in-law; Pt-In-Law: Parents-in-law; Sib-In-Law: Siblings' and siblings' spouses; M: Male; F: Female; N: Male speaker; N: Female speaker; Sp: Spouse; Br: Brother; Sis: Sister; Hu: Husband; Wi: Wife; El: Elder; Yr: Younger; Semi-colon following a kin term indicates that the term below it in the same column is an alternate term for the kin category.
the south, through the Sabah Murut, as represented by the Tagal, the Sabah Dusun groups, and the Philippine groups. Furthermore, it would appear, first, that there is some apparent discontinuity between these groups and the Sarawak groups to the south, such as the Lun Daya Murut, the Iban, the Melanau, and the Land Dayak; and, secondly, that the Sabah coastal Islamic groups, the Bajau and the Illanun, are intrusive into the area since there is a greater similarity in kinship terminology between the groups on either side of them, the Palawan Tagbenua and the Rungus Dusun, than between the Islamic groups and the Dusun or Palawan groups.

Table 1.4 shows also that those Dusun populations on which we had data are more closely related to each other than to non-Dusun groups, but also, that there are internal differences. Unfortunately the number, names, and distribution of the various Dusun populations are not known as no one, with the exception of Rutter, has attempted to establish subdivisions to the category Dusun. While Rutter (1922:51-83 and 1929:30-45) did develop a classification of various Dusun populations, his criteria are mainly geographic and economic -- a wet rice versus a dry rice economy. Rutter himself realizes that his classification is an imposed one and does not follow the sub-divisions recognized by the Dusun themselves which generally follow the lines of isoglosses and isonomies.

Part of the reason that there has been no apparent interest in distinguishing Dusun subgroupings probably lies in the fact that the classification of the interior Sabah populations into
Dusun and Murut goes far back into Sabah history. It appears that this dichotomy was originally established by the coastal Islamic groups and was unquestioningly accepted by the early travelers such as Dalrymple, Forrest, Blecher, and Brooke. Unfortunately, it is continued even today apparently also with no further questioning. For instance the Government censuses still enumerate only Dusun, not Rungus, Tobilung, Nulu, etc., so that we do not know which of the various Dusun populations is reacting effectively to administration and acculturation pressures or which are developing non-adaptive responses, such as increased disease rates, decreases in population, and so on.

Anthropologists also continue this convenient fiction. Williams, for instance, generalizes about the cultural characteristics universal to the 'Dusun' (1960 and 1961), but these generalizations are based on an inadequate survey of the area, as many of the postulated universals do not apply to the Dusun living in the Kudat District. In addition Williams (1962:141-157) states that 'ambilineal maximal ramage', as he found among the Tambunan Dusun (a geographically denoted category) are also found among Dusun groups practicing shifting cultivation. Again, this does not apply to the Rungus, Nulu and Gonsomon Dusun. Murdock (1957) also treats the 'Dusun' as a culturally homogeneous unit. He deals only with a supposedly 'standard Dusun' in classifying his data into the ethnographic categories he feels significantly describe a society, although, I would estimate, we now have adequate data for only about 5%
to 10% of the various Dusun societies.

This type of generalizing beyond the available data such as Williams and Murdock have done, would seem to be scientifically unwarranted procedure inasmuch as it (1) gives a false picture of reality, (2) hides the actual diversity which could suggest important problems for research, and (3) denies or ignores the processes of culture change and the importance of process for our understanding of social systems. Since the Dusun populations are related linguistically, it is reasonable to assume that at some time in the past, during the time period prior to the development of linguistic diversity but of a shared proto-language, the Dusun must also have been more homogeneous in other areas of culture than at present. Therefore, from that time to the present, we can expect processes of cultural change to have been operating, bringing about an increasing diversity between Dusun populations, since the Dusun populations do not engage in any co-activity or are linked in any native hierarchical systems, and since they have come to occupy different types of habitats. In other words, by not denying reality, but realizing that there is no such thing as a Dusun society, or a Dusun culture, but that there are a number of related systems, more or less isolated, each having its own peculiar system of customary ways, more or less related, the opportunity becomes apparent for applying Eggan's method of controlled comparison (1954) to illuminate some of the processes of culture change as well as the necessary interrelationships of various aspects.
Map 1.3 The Locations of the Major Dusun Speaking Populations in the Kudat District
of the social system.

In actuality, what does the category Dusun include? First of all it includes a number of geographically circumscribed Mendelian, or breeding, populations. The members of these populations interbreed more frequently with each other than with non-members and also share more cultural characteristics with each other than with non-members. They recognize both their shared genetic and ethnic similarities with the use of a common name, such as Rungus, Nulu, Tobilung, and so on. These populations are not, however, social groups, since neither do all the members engage in co-activity nor are they hierarchically linked. They are genetic categories and cultural categories, as well as speech communities, in that they recognize other members and distinguish themselves from non-members by common speech patterns and also, frequently, dress.

The number of these various Dusun populations is not known, but they vary extensively in size, social organization, economy, religion, as well as other aspects of culture.

The Rungus Dusun and Their Environment

The villages of the Rungus are located in the Kudat District of Sabah on the lower half of the Kudat Peninsula and on the Melobong Peninsula on the east side of Marudu Bay (see Map 1.3). As we were unable to visit the Melobong Peninsula, the exact location of the Rungus villages there and their relation to other Dusun groups occupying the Peninsula as well as to the Coastal Malay
along the coast is not known. Our work was confined exclusively to the Rungus on the Kudat Peninsula.

The Kudat District consists of the Kudat Peninsula, the Melobong Peninsula (also referred to as the Bengkoka Peninsula) and an extensive plains area at the base of Marudu Bay which extends about 5 miles inland before changing into the foothills that rise to the Crocker Range. The backbone of the Kudat Peninsula is formed by the James Brooke Range, an extension of the Crocker Range which splits off from it at the base of Marudu Bay and runs due north along the Kudat Peninsula, closer to the west coast than to the bay side, and decreasing steadily from heights of 4000 to 700 feet at the Range's termination. Just to the north of Cape Pangitan near the base of the Peninsula Mt. Cochrane, a mountain in the Sir James Brooke Range, rises up abruptly from the coast to a height of 2664 feet and forms the boundary between the Rungus villages and villages of the Tobiling. The head of Marudu Bay is deltaic, backed by a large area of level country liable to extensive flooding. At the turn of the century this area was the location for a number of tobacco plantations which by 1910 had mostly been abandoned. The Melobong Peninsula is generally flat to low rolling country with a small range of hills in the interior and is sparsely populated.

The climate of Borneo has been classified as a "tropical rainforest climate, in which there is no dry season, all months having more than 2.4 inches ... of precipitation" (Trewartha, 1943:319, using a modified version of Koppen's classification).
Fig. 1.1 gives a graphic presentation of the criteria on which the boundaries between Koppen's major equatorial climate types are drawn. Table 1.5 which gives a summary for mean monthly rainfall on the Kudat Peninsula when compared with Figure 1.1 shows that the Kudat Peninsula, with the rest of Borneo, falls into the Tropical Rainforest climate classification rather than the Monsoon Climate as no month falls below at least 2.4 inches of rain. This does not mean, however, that there is no seasonal fluctuation in the rainfall. Just prior to the beginning of the Northeast Monsoon during the months of August and September, the river on which we were living in the middle of the Kudat Peninsula dries up into small water holes unconnected by any flowing water. In the worst years even most of these water holes dry up so that water can be only gotten by digging in the dry bed of the river. At the end of this dry season just before the Northeast Monsoons begin -- usually in October -- the Rungus fire their swiddens and plant their rice and maize.

Map 1.4 shows the distribution of annual rainfall in Sabah. There is only a thin soil cover in the Kudat Peninsula which is derived primarily from sandstone formation. In certain limited sections along the coast as well as up the river valleys for short distances are found alluvial formations of gravel, sand, mud, and peat (Stephens, 1956).

Map 1.5 shows the vegetation of the Kudat Peninsula as of 1944. There seems to have been little change in the vegetation structure since then with the possible exception of the secondary
Fig. 1.1 Graphical representation of the criteria used to draw the boundaries between the Af, Am, and Aw Climate Zones. (From Trewartha, 1943:320)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Kudat</th>
<th>Langkon Estate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>12.18</td>
<td>16.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>7.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>6.47</td>
<td>7.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>5.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>5.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>5.01</td>
<td>5.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>4.82</td>
<td>4.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>7.24</td>
<td>6.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>11.49</td>
<td>6.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>19.55</td>
<td>16.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>89.53</td>
<td>91.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Absolute Monthly Maximum:**
- Kudat: 40.66
- Langkon Estate: 46.22

**Absolute Monthly Minimum:**
- Kudat: 0.00
- Langkon Estate: 0.00

**Period of years covered:**
- Kudat: 34
- Langkon Estate: 23

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(a) Langkon Estate lies near the base of the Kudat Peninsula and Kudat lies near the tip. The figures for this table were derived from The Department of Civil Aviation and Meteorological Services, British Borneo Territories, 1961:93.
Map 1.4

(From Urquhart, 1959)
Key: [A] = Primary forest; [^] = Secondary forest with areas of grassland and some cultivation; [γ] = Primarily cultivated land with scattered areas of grassland and secondary forest; [ν] = Mangrove swamp; ["] = Grassland with areas of secondary forest.

Source: Map 16, Terrain Handbook 58, Allied Geographical Section - Southwest Pacific Area, 1945; Colony of North Borneo Forest Department Map A4-1, 1952.

Map 1.5 Vegetation Map of the Kudat District
Table 1.6  The Population of the Kudat District as of the 1960 Census(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dusun</td>
<td>29,456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murut</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajau</td>
<td>5,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Indigenous</td>
<td>6,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>8,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>51,156</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Data derived from L. W. Jones, 1962. Under the Bajau category are enumerated the Illanun. 'Other Indigenous' include Brunei, Kedayan, Orang Sungei, Bisaya, Sulu, Tidong and Sino-native. In the Kudat District the largest part of the 'Other Indigenous' category is composed of various ethnic groups from the southern Philippines. Indonesians compose the large majority of the category 'Others'.
growth being younger. There has been a decrease in the fallowing time of the jungle between the cutting of it for swiddens due to the increase in population as well as the removal of areas from the swidden cycle by Chinese and Sino-Dusun around the towns and shop centers for plantations, wet rice cultivation, and vegetable gardens. Particularly in the northern portion of the Peninsula the land has been alienated by the Chinese forcing some of the displaced population southwards and increasing the population pressure on the land in the areas in the middle of the Peninsula. The large areas of lalang, which are found in certain areas, however, have been in existence apparently for some time. Harrington, in a footnote to Haddon, 1885:138, states that there were areas of lalang around Skuati on the Kudat Peninsula as of 1881. The Rungus as well as the Bajau fire these lalang areas each year to keep them in lalang in order to attract deer to them for shooting.

In addition to the Rungus and 15 other subgroups of Dusun, which are not differentiated in the Census, the Kudat District has a number of Chinese resident in the area as well as various groups of Coastal Malay. Table 1.6 shows the population for the Kudat District.
Chapter Two

The Rungus Domestic Family: Structure and Developmental Cycle

Introduction

The domestic family is the most frequently occurring social grouping among the Rungus and is economically, jurally and ritually the most important corporate unit. Ideally and most frequently, the Rungus domestic family is composed of a husband and wife, the two founders of the family, and their unmarried children. The second most frequently occurring domestic family type includes the two founders, their unmarried children, and the widowed parent of one of the founders. For a short period following the wedding of a daughter, the domestic family may also include her husband prior to the establishment of their own household.

By domestic family I refer to that familial social unit of close cognates and affines which was originally brought into existence when, after the marriage of the two founders and a short period of post-nuptial residence in the bride's natal household, the male founder assumed the headship of the new family and a separate residence and farming operation was established so that the members:

(1) collectively reside in one apartment in a Rungus long-house and use one hearth for the preparation of their joint meals,
(2) form a joint production unit under the direction of the male founder, or the surviving member of the founding pair,
(3) and share the production of the social unit and its retained earnings according to their particular relative status.*

The Rungus domestic family, like the Iban bilek family, also occupies a single apartment in a longhouse. However, unlike the Iban bilek family which is "... in theory ... a perennial corporate group ..." (Freeman, 1958:24), the Rungus domestic family has a limited temporal existence. In the developmental cycle of each domestic family the family reaches a point where the decision is made to dissolve it, and the surviving founder or founders move in with the domestic family of a married child. At this point, through the process of distribution of the family assets, it can be established that the Rungus family has been terminated, and, therefore, has a limited existence, socially as well as jurally, in contrast to the Iban domestic family. Consequently, in our discussion of the nature of the Rungus domestic family group it is necessary first to consider carefully its developmental cycle.

With the establishment of the developmental cycle of the domestic family, we can in a subsequent chapter consider the property of the domestic family and how the relationship of the family to its property establishes that the Rungus domestic

*This distinction derives from Leach's definition of corporation (1960:17).
family is a corporate group, a jural entity, in the economic realm, in spite of its well defined temporal boundaries. That it is also a corporate group in the ritual realm with supporting jural sanctions will be discussed in a later chapter on religion and the domestic family.

In the discussion of the developmental cycle of the domestic family, however, it will be first necessary to consider at length the values which validate the various institutions which lead up to the foundation of a domestic family. Thus, the behavior patterns in the various institutions which lead up to marriage and the eventual foundation of a new domestic family such as courting or wiving -- manansavo, negotiations over bride price -- mihukum, the wedding ceremony -- maguntong, and the establishment of a separate residence -- tumanid, are only fully understandable and explicable in terms of the organizing values of these institutions.

The major premise in these organizing values is that sexual relations have deleterious consequences both for the

* Nadel in his discussion of institutions (1951:107-142) unfortunately does not explicitly deal with these organizing values. He refers to them as the 'concept', or 'theory', or 'charter' (following Malinowski) of an institution. The 'organizing values' among the Rungus which I here deal with have some of the characteristics of Ladd's 'reconstructed beliefs' (1957: Chapters I and II) in that they are partially enthymemic and they also share some of the characteristics of both Albert's 'value premises' and 'focal values' (1956:221-248). Unfortunately again neither Albert nor Ladd have specifically dealt with values in terms of the institutions which they validate.
individuals involved as well as for the community and the world at large, unless properly entered into.

The characterological concomitance (see Albert, 1956:224-226) of these values is that a virtuous (bahazan) woman should have no sexual interest in men. Consequently, she should display no overt interest in men and all interaction with men should be carried out with extreme modesty. For instance staying away too long while defecating and when bringing water from the stream, or allowing a man to take betel from a betel box while it rests on her thigh, are considered actions of a girl with no bahazan, a 'loose' woman. As one young man said, it is important to have a wife who had no interest in men prior to marriage so that after marriage she would not engage in adultery. Also, it is stated that 'girls do not seek boys' and as one wife shouted to clinch her argument, 'you chose me, I did not choose you'. Since virtue in girls must be inculcated by parental authority and is not a natural characteristic of women, young girls must be protected against their own inclinations as well as against men. This becomes most explicit in the prescriptions and prohibitions with regard to the behavior patterns between males and females. I shall treat in detail the characterological aspect of these values under the section on 'Preference in Choice of Mates', and the behavior patterns prescribed and prohibited between males and females will be described in particular in the section on courting and the chapter on social relations.
within the family. Also, these directives (Albert, 1956:225) will find expression to a greater or lesser degree in all the various sections dealing with the family.

The premise that sexual relations are potentially deleterious, along with the characterological concomitance of this, justify in the Rungus system the valuation of the sexual and reproduction services of the female as very scarce goods. This is most explicitly stated in explanations as to the purpose of bride price, and I shall consider this subject at length in the section on bride price.

The premise that sexual relations are potentially deleterious also justifies the various directives which deal with restrictions on the selection of spouses, and I shall deal with this and the related aspect of incest after considering at length this premise in the following section.

The Potential Deleteriousness of Sexual Relations

In the middle of the marriage ceremony a pig is sacrificed on the stream bank to a class of supernaturals called rogon. The priestess says that with this marriage 'you (the rogon) may become hot, you may be scorched'. The couple may themselves become hot and sick, she says, and also their households, their parents, uncles, aunts, siblings, cousins, and non-kin, as well as the village itself. The rogon are told to come and take the pig offered 'to split off' the bad from the marriage and make it 'cool'.
Thus, all sexual relations are considered potentially alasu -- 'hot' and the intensity of this heat increases with the degree of moral turpitude involved from sexual intercourse in a marriage without a pig, through illicit intercourse, minor incest, and finally major incest which involves sexual relations between cognates within the nuclear family. These relations can be cooled and the deleterious consequences nullified by the sacrifice of a pig to the rogon involved. Table 2.1 outlines these consequences which form the mystical sanctions against illicit sexual relations.

The exact causal nexus involved with regard to the heat in these relations is not fully explained by the Rungus themselves. Heat does emanate from the relationship, and, on the other hand, there are certain rogon who are considered to be the cause.

Rogon are a class of potentially malevolent spirits inhabiting the natural world and are considered the causal agents of all types of human and crop diseases, accidents, as well as all misfortunes which occur to the Rungus. In cases of incest the rogon actually apply 'fire' to the swiddens. In any event, one explanation given to reconcile these two beliefs is that the heat emanating from the illicit sexual relations spreads out and causes the rogon of incest to become hot. Then, in their anger at this, they in return bring to the community the heat as well as its consequences.
Table 2.1 The Expected Consequences of Sexual Intercourse in a Marriage Without the Pig Sacrifice and of Various Types of Illicit Intercourse (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expected Consequences to:</th>
<th>Marriage With no Pig Sacrifice</th>
<th>Sexual Intercourse Between Non-kin</th>
<th>Lesser Incest</th>
<th>Major Incest (b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Unit:</td>
<td>Only family involved 'hot'</td>
<td>'Heat' spreads to immediate community, i.e. longhouse.</td>
<td>+ + + + + +</td>
<td>The whole Rungus world becomes 'hot'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather:</td>
<td>A lessening of rain</td>
<td>No rain</td>
<td></td>
<td>A true drought; fires start from trees rubbing together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health:</td>
<td>Colds in longhouse</td>
<td>Bad illnesses which could lead to death</td>
<td></td>
<td>Small pox epidemics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine brass ware and gongs (dapu):</td>
<td>Domestic animals of family do not reproduce.</td>
<td>Members of longhouse can't buy dapu</td>
<td>+ + + + + +</td>
<td>Hiarlom property cracks and breaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic animals:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Those of the community do not reproduce well.</td>
<td>+ + + + + +</td>
<td>Do not reproduce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiddens:</td>
<td>Swiddens are not productive.</td>
<td>Pests in swiddens, swiddens 'hot' and crops sicken.</td>
<td>+ + + + + +</td>
<td>Swiddens overrun by pests; swiddens ruined; rice develops many different types of sickness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children:</td>
<td>Few or none reach maturity</td>
<td>Few in families of individuals involved reach maturity.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Children in families of individuals involved do not reach maturity and spouses may die.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Nullify Deleterious Effects Put Pig's Blood on:</td>
<td>Parents, parent's siblings, siblings, and cousins.</td>
<td>Same, plus longhouse and visitors.</td>
<td>+ + + + + +</td>
<td>Children of union not allowed to reach maturity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blood whole village and kindred of those involved.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Arrows indicate a continuum of increasing intensity of a sanction through the various categories.

(b) Sexual relations between cognates within the nuclear family.
As Table 2.1 shows, the degree of the deleteriousness in the natural world, and the scale of social unit involved varies directly with the degree of deleteriousness occurring in the moral order. In addition, with a pregnancy, or the longer an illicit relationship remains undiscovered and unpropitiated with a pig sacrifice, the worse the heat and its consequences become and the wider socially and geographically they are spread. In cases of sexual relations between unmarried people, they are made to marry at once upon the discovery. If the man is married and the woman not, he is expected to marry his lover in addition to his wife, bringing about a polygamous union. In cases where it is impossible, due to the woman already being married, or in cases of close kin where marriage is prohibited, a pig sacrifice must be made to propitiate the rogon in a ceremony called /monogit/ -- 'to make cool' and indemnification must be paid. It is felt that in these cases where litigation occurs over the amount of the indemnity to be paid the chief arbitrators have been exposed to the heat more than others and must receive ritual payments of a piece of brassware -- to make them tough like brass, i.e. not easily broken, and a worn out knife -- to make them hard like the iron, so that they will not be affected by the usual consequences of being exposed to the 'hot' relationship. In addition to the usual consequences it is reported that those who do not get such payments may lose their teeth, if they are male, and, if female, they may lose their hair.
This major value premise that sexual relations are potentially deleterious for the society at large as well as those directly involved has its ramifications in almost all aspects of Rungus society. It underlies much of the moral order between family members which we will discuss in the next chapter. It determines much of the behavior between males and females and, consequently, much of the social relations between families which when combined with the moral order of kinship looms large in the social organization of the longhouse. It is also a factor in all social relations between Rungus, as a delict with regard to this value premise eventually may effect the health, well-being, and fertility of all Rungus, their domestic animals and their swiddens.

In a subsequent chapter on the property system of the domestic family we will discuss how the value premise that sexual relations are potentially deleterious, along with its characterological concommittance as to what constitutes a 'virtuous' woman and a 'good' man, has an influence on the distribution of family property as those children who most closely approximate these values are usually given a larger share.

This value premise also underlies all of the institutions which lead to the foundation of the domestic family. Consequently, in the next section we will attempt to show how this value premise that sexual relations are potentially deleterious for the whole society justifies the various directives as to the selection of spouses, while, in subsequent sections, we
will show the influence of this premise on the preferences for spouses and the part it plays in the various institutions dealing with bride price, the wedding and the behavior of the bride.

Directives as to the Selection of Spouses

The prohibitions on marriage are derived both from the rules of incest (sumbang), which are bilaterally symmetrical, and the rules pertaining to respect behavior between one's parent-in-law and classificatory parent-in-law. Nevertheless, couples in certain specified relationships between whom sexual intercourse would be otherwise incestuous or a violation of the respect relationship, may marry and copulate together after the appropriate ritual payment has been made.

However, as with other normative systems in the Rungus jural realm so to with the rules of incest, there are concurrently existing several different interpretations as to the boundaries and applications of these rules. An individual Rungus realizes that other interpretations of the incest prohibition than his own exist, and it is through this realization and the manipulations of these other interpretations in the area of mutual contradiction that an individual achieves his own personal aims. For instance, one informant, acknowledged leader in the interpretation of Rungus adat, told me that cross-cousin marriage was not permissible because, even if you were lucky, the children from such a marriage would not live to maturity and without luck one's wife would die. However,
Fig. 2.1  **Paradigm of Rungus Incest (sumbang) Limits**

Key:  
- **Broken line:** The broken line includes kin categories with whom sexual intercourse or marriage is classed as incest (sumbang). The concept of incest (sumbang) it is stated, does not apply to categories above the grandparent generation due to the lack of opportunity for such to occur.

- *: Designates kin categories which some informants stated are not included within the limits of incest.

- ▲ □ : Categories of kin, male, female, and sex undesignated within the limits of incest which Ego may not marry. However, if a parent's sister is made pregnant by a sibling's son or a parent's brother makes a sibling's daughter pregnant, they will be forced to marry and a large ritual payment will be involved.

- □ : Category of kin within the incest limits which some informants stated Ego may marry if certain ritual payments are met, and which others stated Ego may not marry even with a ritual payment.

- ○ : Categories of kin which Ego may marry. Marriage to these categories of kin within the limits of the incest classification require a ritual payment to nullify the effects of incest.
the previous year he had tried to marry his eldest son to his sister's eldest daughter because it would have been a particularly advantageous match since the families involved were the two wealthiest in the community.

Again there are varying interpretations as to what classes of kin should be included in the two subdivisions of the incest (sumbang) category. Major incest (sumbang banal) has been variously defined as sexual relations between those who cannot marry, or with close kin in an ascending generation, or only between cognates in the nuclear family. Minor incest (sumbang soroi) has been defined as sexual relations between kin within the incest range, but outside of the nuclear family, or alternatively, relations between actual siblings and kin more distant than siblings of parents and grandparents. My conclusions are that sumbang banal, major incest, is used most frequently to refer to sexual relations between cognates within the nuclear family and this is in fact its core meaning, while minor incest refers to relations with prohibited kin outside of the nuclear family.

Figure 2.1 gives the limits of what is considered incest, with the internal distinctions between major and minor incest omitted, and shows which categories of kin within the limits of incest may still be married if certain ritual payments are met. Also are shown the varying interpretations of where the incest boundary should be drawn and the marriage prohibitions. All sexual relations either in or out of marriage within the incest limits are considered particularly hot and are ranked as increasing in degree of heat and ritual danger from the incest boundaries up to nuclear family incest.
Cross-cousin marriage is stated to be not permissible. Nevertheless, one individual who came from a wealthy family, had married his cross-cousin (father's sister's daughter) before he moved to Marudu, but the marriage had resulted in the early death of his wife, leaving only two surviving children.

Thus, different villages vary in the strictness of their interpretation of the incest rules and in the reliance they are willing to put in the efficacy of the ritual propitiations which must take place at such marriages to get rid of the inherent heat. Even in the case of parallel cousin marriage, which, although it is permissible, is still not a preferred form of marriage since it is still considered hot, different villages as well as the members of the same village vary in their willingness to accept such a marriage, not only because of their confidence, or rather lack of confidence, in the ritual propitiations, but also because of the larger bride price entailed in such a marriage. A gong referred to as a /rinding/, 'a wall' to ward off the heat, is demanded by siblings of the parents, and a gong, referred to as a /pitas/ -- 'that used to split apart' the descent line and make the couple ritually 'non-kin', is also required.

In addition there is also a small minority who are willing to consider the possibility of a cross-cousin marriage if the bride and groom are of the opposite sex from their linking parents, as in a marriage with a mother's brother's daughter.
In such a marriage the analogue of sibling incest is broken, as the identification of a child with a parent of the opposite sex is not as obvious as in the case when the child and parent are of the same sex. Consequently, it is felt that such a marriage will not carry with it the degree of heat and ritual danger as in the case of a marriage with father's sister's daughter, where the bride and groom are of the same sex as their respective linking parents and the analogue with sibling incest is very close.

The apprehension over incest in the Rungus system is further expressed in the prohibitions against the marriages of non-kin which would produce an analogue of sibling incest. For instance, the children by a previous marriage of a widow and widower who have married may not in turn marry each other, as this would be an analogue of sibling incest. Also for this reason widowed parents of a married couple may not marry each other.

Consequently, through these prohibitions on marriages which would produce analogues of an incestuous relationship, marriages within a domestic family (excluding from consideration, of course, the founders) can not take place with but one exception.

When an unmarried sister of the female founder has joined her sibling's domestic family due to the dissolution of the parental household, the male founder may also marry this sister. Inasmuch as females must sleep within the enclosed section of
the domestic family's apartment in the longhouse, in close physical association with the male founder (see the section The Longhouse Apartment of the Domestic Family), it not infrequently comes about that the male founder may seduce his wife's sister and a polygamous marriage will eventually ensue. Of three cases of domestic families in Marudu where the wife's sister lived in, two have resulted in such fornication, and, when discovered, a polygamous marriage.

In addition to prohibitions against marriages of close cognates or marriages producing an analogue of an incestuous relationship, prohibitions also exist against marriage with affines of the parent-in-law generation or above. This includes not only parents-in-law, but also classificatory parents-in-law, that is their siblings and cousins, as well as grandparents-in-law and classificatory grandparents-in-law, which includes also their siblings and cousins. However, this prohibition against marriage may be ignored at the level of second cousin of wife's grandparents if a ritual gift of a gong is made to remove the possibility of kovusung. Kovusung is a mystical sanction invoked by the violation of an asymmetrical respect relationship, such as a marriage with affines, and has the result, among others, of causing the swelling of the offender's stomach after death.
Preferences in Choice of Spouses

The principal personal qualities that are desired in a spouse are an attractive body, industriousness, and bahazan.

Bahazan with respect to a female can best be translated as 'to be virtuous'. A virtuous woman expresses no desire with regard to the opposite sex, and therefore after marriage it is unlikely that she would engage in adultery. In addition a girl with bahazan works hard at the household tasks, readily obeys her parents, is not quick to anger, and does no 'wrong' to others.

Bahazan with respect to a male can best be translated as 'to have goodness'. A good man works hard in his fields so that his crop flourishes, works hard at other male tasks so that they are accomplished, obeys his parents, does no wrong to them or to village-mates, is slow to anger, does not return anger for anger, does not tease or chase women, does not ridicule the less fortunate, and does not steal.

The qualities of family which are desired in a spouse are that the family be wealthy, the descent line or 'flesh' be 'good', that is there have been no histories of incurable tropical ulcers (including yaws and leprosy), and that the descent line of the family is 'hard'.

By a 'hard' descent line is meant that even though this particular generation may not be wealthy, both they and their ancestors are known to be skilled at growing rice. In addition they are knowledgeable in the customary laws, there never was a time that they had no food, there is no history of stealing,
and they do not 'wrong' their village-mates.

The emphasis put on these qualities varies with the individual and the family. Young men tend to look upon marriage purely as a mating process and therefore put more emphasis on the personal qualities, particularly with respect to an attractive body. Parents, on the other hand, tend to look upon marriage as the founding of a new corporate unit along with the perpetuation of descent lines. Consequently, they put more emphasis on the qualities of family particularly with regard to wealth, so that if the new corporate unit has trouble it can depend on help from both sets of parents.

In addition, parents of boys want girls who are not frequently sick, as sickness entails a large expense in the curing ceremonies, and parents of girls look for a boy who will 'cherish' (asamod) his wife. However, if few or no young men have shown any inclination towards a daughter, the parents' standards with regard to son-in-law will be overlooked so that the girl will not 'wither on the vine' (/rumuzow/).

Marriage with cousins, particularly first and second, is considered a way to insure that the 'flesh is good', i.e. that there are no incurable diseases, and that the wealth of an ancestor is consolidated and not dissipated. First cousin marriage thus brings together again property, in the form of gongs, brassware and ceramic pieces, purchased by a grandfather and second cousin marriage, property purchased by a great-grandfather. Second cousin marriage is preferred over first
Table 2.2 Frequency of Marriages between kin types

Size of sample: 112 marriages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First cousin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross cousin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel cousin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second cousin</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second cousin of parent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cousin, because first cousin marriage is considered 'hot' and dangerous and also because first cousin marriage entails a much larger bride price in terms of ritual gifts to collateral relatives.

The incidence of first and second cousin marriage -- third cousin marriage is seldom reckoned -- and the incidence of other close kin marriages is shown in table 2.2.

Courting

Prior to formal courting, a boy may become acquainted with a girl in diverse ways, but always in the presence of a third party. Opportunities exist at the various curing ceremonies held throughout the year in which labor is recruited from among the unmarried set, at the ceremonies after harvest when friends and relatives from distant villages are invited, in the extensive labor exchange made up primarily of unmarried people during the agricultural year, and, of course, at night after the work is done or before dawn in the longhouse when a boy or group of boys will gather outside the compartment of a girl and serenade her with their native guitars. She may then answer with her nose flute. Young men also go on visiting expeditions to seek out attractive girls.

During these occasions a good deal of word play takes place between the sexes in a complex poetical form which involves several different vocabularies and also in extended metaphors with a great deal of euphemistic phraseology. A boy
at this time may tell a girl that he wants to marry her, and she may answer with one of a series of stock phrases. 'You lie', 'you are crazy', or the equivalent of just plain 'nuts'.

These occasions also give a girl the opportunity to discourage a potential suitor by answering directly 'I do not want you', or by refusing to respond and take part in the wordplay or to allow the boy to assist her in any fashion.

However, as soon as the young man begins to seriously manansavo, 'to wive', that is when formal courting begins, the young lady immediately withdraws from the situation and becomes exceedingly formal and circumspect.* Formal courting begins when the young man or a member of his family 'speaks for' the girl -- /rumait/.

The process of speaking for a girl may vary from a simple announcement of intentions one evening to her parents or a sibling of her parents, to the more formal visit of the suitor's parent or parents involving a presentation to the girl's parents of a gift of cloth to make a sarong for the intended. The

*The translation of manansavo presents certain difficulties. The word has two morphemes, /manan-/ and /-savo/. /Savo/ means spouse. The morpheme /manan-/ is found associated with articles of clothing such as /banat/, shirt, or /suval/, trousers. /Mananbanat/, /manansuval/ mean respectively to put on a shirt and to put on a pair of trousers. Manansavo refers to all activities leading up to a formal betrothal and, consequently, can be translated in the appropriate context either as 'to court', 'to choose a wife', 'to wive' or 'to marry'. 
father of the intended says that he has not asked for the gift and immediately refuses it. After a great deal of urging he may accept it on the condition that if the bride price negotiations do not succeed the suitor's father has no right to sue for the return of the cost.

Normally courting involves asking the girl to string a set of beads for the boy or to repair a broken string, the giving of small presents like a handkerchief to the girl through her parents, visiting the girl's family for extended periods, and helping with the work in the fields.

Beginning with the formal speaking for the girl, the parents of the girl assume a stance of refusal. They attempt to refuse any gifts -- if they really do not want the match they send the gift back, and they attempt to discourage the boy from long visiting and helping in the fields by, for instance, admonishing him under the guise that he is taking a loss helping with someone else's farming. Even if the parents of the girl want to encourage the suit they must still do this within the stance of refusal so that there is no gossip that the girl desires the boy, and so that the father of the girl can establish a basis for negotiating a large bride price.

However, a boy's parents may initiate bride price negotiations without ever having spoken for the girl or given gifts. This, of course, results in the presentation of additional pieces of brassware during the bride price negotiations.

In addition to the usual testing out of the inclinations
of the intended's family to the match during the formal period of courting through gifts, visiting, and help in the fields, a boy, if he wants, may formalize his intentions even further by making a visit to his intended's longhouse dressed in his best clothes along with several companions and filling all the betel chewing boxes of the longhouse members with betel chewing and smoking supplies. If the intended's father is really resistant to having his betel box filled, one then knows that the success of the negotiations is very questionable.

In table 2.3 a small sample of male and females is given with the number of times they have been spoken for or have spoken for some girl, with the reasons why the marriage did not come off. Among the young unmarried boys, as this table shows, there is a constant shifting of intentions with regard to girls with some young men speaking for girls almost indiscriminately and then never following this up with formal courting.

**Bride Price (buru)**

**Types of Property Used in Bride Price.** Rungus bride price includes three different types of goods. First of all there is *dapu*, which refers collectively to gongs, brassware containers of various types, and jars of all sizes as well as other ceramic containers. *Dapu* forms the substance of the bride price. Secondly there is a symbolic part /igol/ which includes several types of cloth, a brass betel chewing box, a small jar, a knife, sword, and spear, and a brass bracelet. Finally there
Table 2.3  Frequency of Explanations why 'Speaking for a Girl' or 'Being Spoken for' did not Result in Marriage, Based on a Sample of Completed Courting Histories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual's initials</th>
<th>Frequency of Explanations (b)</th>
<th>Total number of females spoken for prior to marriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mm</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mj</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mg</td>
<td>1($) 1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) As this subject deals with a highly 'embarrassing' and emotionally charged area which reflects on an individual's status and qualities of personality and attractiveness and which involves past affronts and animosities, this data is therefore biased, although it is constructed from many sources, not just those involved. The bias, however, is in the direction of understatement with regard to numbers, and the rationalization that the girl's parents did not want the match when it was not successfully completed rather than stating the occurrence of omens, the lack of eagerness to complete the negotiations on the side of the suitor's father, and the like. The particular reason why a set of parents actually did not allow the match to go through will of course be unknown, for if this became common knowledge it could lead to litigation on the basis of 'shame' as well as to a breaking of established relations.
Table 2.3 Continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual's</th>
<th>Frequency of Explanations(^b)</th>
<th>Total number of times spoken for prior to marriage(^c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Females:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ym</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rb</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gu</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mm</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rm</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sd</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yn</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yg</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rg</td>
<td>2 1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>2 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>1 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^b\)The code for the various explanations is as follows: (1) Parents of the girl did not want the match; (2) parents of the boy did not want the match; (3) omens; (4) someone else started bride price negotiations first and completed them successfully; (5) the boy did not press the suit; (6) the boy did not want the match; (7) the girl did not want the match.

\(^c\)These totals do not include the cases which resulted in marriage.
is the pig for the ceremony /momitas/, which is the 'splitting away' of bad from the marriage.

It is expected that the family making up a bride price will include in it all the damaged pieces of dapu that it owns. In fact, not till the negotiations are over and the number of items in the bride price knotted into the tally strings is the girl's father informed by the suitor's father which items are in bad condition and in what way. Consequently, while people refer to someone's bride price in terms of the number of items included -- I would say 35 or more items being a large bride price, 35-20 a medium bride price and below 20 items a small bride price -- in fact bride prices of the same size in terms of number of items included may vary greatly in value due to this variation in number of damaged goods included.

It is not expected that the /sandangau kumanis/, /guntamo/, and /mangkaban/, the finest gongs of a high value -- approximately $1000 Malay in the Rungus economic system -- will be included in a bride price. It is rationalized that an inclusion of these will result in katori to the bride, which means that she will either die or that the children from such a union will not flourish.

Ceremonial flags, flown above certain sacrifices, female clothing and ornaments including gold ear rings and beads, and certain fine ceramic dishes called /maligon/ have never been considered as items for bride price.
Individually owned land, planted with coconuts or wet rice, is also not included in bride price negotiations probably because it is a new scarce good to the Rungus economic system. Bride service in place of bride price is not known.

Since it is expected to use damaged goods, hereditary property is almost never included in the bride price. The point of the Rungus property system is to exchange poor pieces of dapu for better until one has worked up to a fine piece of property and then made this fine piece heritable. With each generation that it is kept in the family line a fine piece of dapu accumulates some of the /barakat/ -- luck or mystical power -- of each of its owners, and its 'soul' encourages the spirits of other pieces of dapu to join it since it has been well treated. However, if one has inherited a broken or otherwise damaged piece of dapu and also has purchased a similar but undamaged piece it is both permissible and preferable to put the damaged piece into the bride price.

Variations in Size. The variation in size of the bride price depends largely on the ability of the suitor's family to pay. It is said that "If you have luck and a wealthy man comes to wive, there will be a large bride price." However, it is felt that families who are poor should not demand a large bride price. The sanctions against demanding an overly large bride price are primarily gossip and secondarily a diffuse feeling that ill fortune will ensue.
Table 2.4  The Skills of a Female and Indicators of Wealth

Which can Demand a Higher Bride Price:

1. Skill in the curing chants
2. Skill in the weaving of the ritual patterns
3. Possession of all the female dress clothes
4. Possession of gold ear rings
5. Possession of a /kamagi/ - a necklace with two gold plated cones, joined by a gold plated chain
6. Heiress to a valuable gong - /sandangau kumanis/
7. Heiress to a large jar
"You are not embarrassed if you own a (valuable) piece of dapu to ask for the same type in the bride price." "If a person asks for lots of dapu and he has no wealth, people will gossip about him and he will be embarrassed." Also, "Parents of a girl are embarrassed if they are poor and ask for a big bride price."

However, this does not too effectively prevent people who "shouldn't" from asking for a large bride price. In one case where the bride refused to sleep with the groom, it was explained as /kolumaag/ -- 'divine justice', since the parents of the girl had asked for too large a bride price in proportion to their own wealth. It is said that "If a girl is not skilled in weaving the ritual patterns, and does not know the curing chants and will receive no dapu in inheritance, it is kovusung to the girl if a large bride price is asked." That is (by kovusung) the children of the marriage will not reach maturity, or if they do, they will not be hard working. In addition, as I have said previously, demanding the high valued gongs is felt to only cause katori, the death of the bride or of her children.

Table 2.4 lists the skills of a female and indicators of wealth which, if the suitor's family can pay, will demand a high bride price. In addition a girl with a beautiful body and face is expected to call for a higher bride price. "A girl is like dapu, if a good piece, a large price." Nevertheless, it all depends on the ability of the suitor's family to pay. For instance, in a case of two sisters, the one skilled in chants
and the ritual weaving had a bride price of only 27 items, while her younger sister who had no skills whatsoever had a bride price of 42 items just because her suitor came from a wealthy family.

One further factor influences the size of the bride price. Like negotiations over dapu, the more the father of the girl does not want to put her to the marriage, and the more that the suitor's parents want to consummate the match, the higher the bride price. In fact the term for the negotiations over the bride price is the same as that used for bargaining over a piece of dapu, mihukum.

A large bride price may be worth anywhere from $1200 to $1400 (Malay). A medium sized bride price and the most frequently paid may range anywhere from $400 to $700 (Malay), while the smallest bride price may only amount to $28 (Malay). It is difficult to estimate accurately the value of a bride price, as the price of dapu in the Rungus system is highly variable. For instance, if a purchaser really wants an item of dapu, he may pay as much as three bags of rice, which, if later he is in need of rice, he would then sell for one bag. Also, for this reason, it is difficult to estimate in terms of farming profit how long it would take to accumulate a bride price. The person who made up the medium sized bride price said that it would take two to four years to accumulate such a bride price out of his farming profit, and that for another
son who gave forty items it took four years. In another case of thirty-five items it appeared that it took about two to two and a half years of farming profit to accumulate. This problem of accumulating *dapu* for bride prices out of farming profits does not occur, of course, in those cases where the sibling set is overly endowed with females, as the major portion of the bride price for a daughter is rapidly used to provide a substantial part, if not all, of the bride price for a son.

The Bargaining Process. As when all scarce goods in the Rungus system are transacted, so too when rights over the sexual and reproductive services of a female are to be transacted, an extended period of bargaining takes place. That this is a process of bargaining analogous to that over property is not only illustrated by the use of the same term -- *mihukum*, but also one informant made it very clear to the native court on being sued by a disappointed suitor for not having put her daughter to marriage: "As far as I understand it, it is like goods in the shops. Even if ten men want to buy and they do not arrive at the price, or if the owner does not want to sell, they cannot buy it."

However, in contrast to bargaining over *dapu*, at the bride price negotiations the father of the suitor stays with a neutral party in the longhouse of the intended and carries out the negotiations through a go-between who helps him sound out the intended's father and who carries the messages of the two
fathers back and forth. The two fathers do not engage in any
face to face interactions until the negotiations are completed,
when the suitor's father goes to the house of the girl's father
and together they make tally strings of the bride price. Also
in contrast to dapu being bought and sold, at the negotiations
or bargaining over bride price there is a far greater emotional
involvement of the participants since the happiness of their
children is involved as well as all sorts of statuses in the
society, and the linking of descent lines. Consequently, one
of the most difficult aspects of Rungus society to follow, if
not the most difficult, is the negotiations over bride price.

When it is time for a son to marry, the father brings to
the negotiations all the knowledge and gossip about families
and family lines that he has accumulated over a lifetime. He
brings to the negotiations all the knowledge and skills in
bargaining which he has acquired over the years in building up
the family's assets through the buying and selling of brassware,
gongs, jars, and agricultural commodities. He either has
become a master in the understanding of innuendoes, euphemisms
and metaphorical phraseology which go on at times like this,
or he arranges that his go-between is so skilled. He has
learned to judge his position and that of his opponent as well
as the personalities involved. He has estimated how much dapu
he can afford on this marriage and how much he must keep back
for other children or contingencies. He weighs the amount of
dапу he should expend in this case with the 'worth' of the
girl to his son and his family. He must weigh the emotional
tenor of his son in these matters, whether he will accept an
alternant if the negotiations fall through. And he must judge
and consider the emotions of his wife, just how much the
marriage is 'worth' to her, and just how far he can go in price
without incurring her displeasure. While he knows that he must
take a certain amount of affront in the form of refusals by the
parent of the intended, and delays, he has to judge just how
much he should accept, just how much is real, and just how
much is sham to push the bride price up.

The father of the girl also brings to the negotiations
the above skills. He puts blocks in the path of the negotiations
not only to raise the bride price, but also to judge just how
desirous of the marriage are the parents of the suitor and the
suitor himself. These are important considerations, as if they
really desire the marriage, his daughter will probably be better
cared for and there will be less chance of divorce. He must
weigh the possibility of whether after marriage the suitor may
take his daughter back to his own village or not. He must
consider just how acquiescent his daughter is to the match and
he must satisfy his wife in these matters. He considers whether
the suitor's descent line has any past history of incurable
diseases, such as yaws and the like. He must consider how his
family's status will be affected by the match and he must be
sure that in emergencies the suitor's family can take care of
themselves and not sponge off the newly married couple. He would much rather accept an energetic young man with bahazan -- i.e. a 'good' man, from a not too well-off family than a suitor from a wealthy family who is indolent and quick to anger. The father of the girl must also judge when the father of the suitor really cannot afford any more dapu, or whether he is stalling and trying to minimize the expense. Above all he tries to relieve the suitor's family of as much dapu as he safely can.

Thus, the skills and knowledge of a lifetime are put to test, on trial, and everyone watches how well these are used. The language of the negotiations, particularly up to the point where the father announces that he will put the girl to marriage, is flowery, full of complex and extended metaphors, euphemisms and innuendoes which the father of the suitor must interpret. Young men who sit in on the negotiations frequently do not understand what is going on.

During the negotiations the girl is supposed to have moved in with a near-by relative so that she does not overhear. However, many girls do in fact overhear the negotiations. In one case a girl, when she awoke and heard the negotiations proceeding in the early hours of morning in such a fashion as to indicate success, began to cry, audible to all the participants of the negotiations, and to unwind her leg brass which she then threw about the apartment. In another case a girl became angry and began to throw things about the apartment -- a
puppy came sailing out the apartment door, and she threatened to beat her parents, the go-between, and the anthropologist. The attitude of the parents of this girl was one of amusement and pride, but also caution so as not to arouse her further, and they warned the anthropologist not to laugh during the rest of the negotiations.

The explanation for such behavior is that the girl is 'embarrassed'. She is apprehensive that people will talk about her being excited, and say she wants the marriage, for if a girl wants a boy she has no bahazan, she is not a 'virtuous' girl. "She has no bahazan if she is excited. A girl who really wants intercourse has no bahazan; she is really bad. About being angry, there are times when she is angry at the go-between, but more often she is angry at her parents."

The reaction of girls to negotiations and to the marriage are supposed to be and are expected to be embarrassment. The action pattern, however, is obvious anger. In explanations of the emotional response frequently the person asked will say "She is angry," and then immediately correct himself and say "She is embarrassed."

In any case at the final part of the negotiations a girl is not supposed to be present, on the supposition that if she knows that it has been finalized she will run away. She will run away because she is 'embarrassed', 'mortified', 'afraid', and because it means after marriage she will no longer be able 'to go around with the unmarried girls'. 
In fact married women say all girls surmise that the negotiations have been successfully completed, although they may not know the day when the actual ceremony is to take place. There are a number of clues to the fact that the negotiations were successful. The suitor can no longer walk past the intended's apartment. He cannot say the personal names of his prospective parents-in-law. When the girl says the names of her prospective parents-in-law her girl friends giggle, as she too should not say them, if she was aware of the situation. Also, there are a number of preparations which must take place prior to the wedding which indicate a successful negotiation. Furthermore, many girls make an agreement with their girl friends to tell them when the negotiations are successful, although if this is done publically the divulger is liable to litigation. However, the parents of the girl, if confronted by her as to whether it is true or not, will deny that it is true and give some other explanation for any preparations taking place.

The Purpose of Bride Price. The explicit and acknowledged purpose of bride price among the Rungus, first of all, is the purchase of rights to the enjoyment of the sexual and reproduction services of the female for dapu. This is illustrated by various statements of informants. Bride price is 'the price for intercourse', 'the price for the body of the girl', 'the price for the "breaking" of the body of the girl'. Consequently, because bride price is the price for the body, it is kovusung to know
the bride price of one's mother just as it is kovusung to challenge the authority of a parent, to see a parent's sexual organs, or to wear the mother's skirt or the father's trousers.* Dapu once given in the bride price of a mother cannot be used to make up the bride price of a son. To do so would be kovusung, since my informant said: "Bride price is like a skirt or a pair of pants of the parents -- children cannot wear these."

One particular piece of dapu in the bride price, the hukuman do ondu -- 'that negotiated for the girl', is stated to be the specific 'price for the taking off of her clothes'.

Rights over the return of the bride price in cases of divorce again substantiate the fact that the acknowledged purpose of bride price is the purchase of rights over the sexual services of the female and, in addition, the reproductive services of the female. Refusal on the part of the bride to allow her husband to exercise these rights are grounds for divorce and almost all of the bride price will be returned, if the groom has neither slept with nor touched his bride. If he has felt her breasts, not quite all of the bride price will be returned, and, in cases of marriages of short duration which did not

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*Kovusung: A mystical sanction invoked by the violation of an asymmetrical respect relationship. Mentioning the personal name of parent or parent-in-law, or behavior having a sexual connotation with regard to these individuals are all included in the concept of kovusung. For a more detailed discussion of this see Chapter Two.
work out and in which the husband has had intercourse with his wife, about half of the bride price is expected to be returned. However, if there is a child, no part of the bride price is returnable.*

Rights in rem (Radcliffe-Brown, 1935 and 1950) over the bride are only partially transferred to the husband by the payment of the bride price. This may be the purpose of those prestations in the bride price that are referred to as being 'negotiated for the parents of the girl and the kin of the parents'. However, no explicit statements as to the purpose of these could be elicited as in the purpose of the bride price as a whole.

In any case that this is only a partial transfer of rights in rem is shown by the fact that if a wife has engaged in adultery the payment made by the adulterer is primarily, but not wholly, the property of the husband. A part of it, a small gong or a piece of brassware, is given to the parent of the wife. Also, if the husband mistreats his wife and she returns to her parents' household, the husband may have to present a medium-sized gong to his wife's father before he can obtain the return of his wife.

The fact that these rights in rem over one's wife are divided between the husband and the wife's parents may partially explain the highly developed respect relationship that exists

*In cases where the marriage is barren, but has existed for a considerable length of time, and the husband wants a divorce on these grounds, none of the bride price is returned, because, it is explained, of the long period of sexual relations enjoyed.
between son-in-law and parents-in-law.*

Rights to the domestic services of the wife are not explicitly transferred by the payment of bride price. No symbolization of the transfer of domestic services occurs in the wedding ceremony, while, on the other hand, the symbolic acts on the part of the bride amply illustrate that the major concern of the ceremony is the transfer of rights over sexual services. Rights over domestic services are a moral expectation, a moral right, not a jural right. Divorces are not sought on the grounds of non-fulfillment of domestic duties, even though friction in the marital relation exists over this. (The high incidence of marital disputes over this itself indicates that rights over domestic services are ill-defined.)

In cases where there is a flagrant lack of fulfillment of expectation with regard to these domestic services, it is assumed that this is a result of an infringement of the husband's rights over sexual relations by a third party, and a divorce will be sought on these grounds, if enough evidence is available.

Thus, in the transfer of rights over females with bride price among the Rungus, the rights at issue are not the same as those proposed for the analysis of bride price in unilineal

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*I shall discuss this more fully in the next chapter under the sections dealing with social relationships within the domestic family.
societies by L. Bohannan (1949) and Fortes (1953). Rights in uxorem, that is 'rights in a woman as a wife' (Bohannan, 1949:278) are divisible into jural rights over sexual services and moral rights over the domestic services of the female founder (jural rights in coitum and moral rights in domesticum, if you will.) Rights in genetricem, that is rights in the female founder with reference to 'the jural and ritual authority over her children' (Bohannan, 1949:279), does not apply in the Rungus case. However, rights over the reproductive services are involved and we might term these rights in fertilitatem (pace, Fortes and Bohannan).*

A secondary purpose of bride price is that normatively it should validate economic status, not achieve it. This is shown by the facts that:

(1) One should not ask for a particularly highly valued piece of dapu, if a similar piece is not already owned.

*With regard to the Dahomey, L. Bohannan states (1949: 276):

The wife may not be divorced for barrenness. The ritual 'payment' merely sealed the transfer of jural authority over her children when and if born; it did not guarantee her fertility.

This is not the case among the Rungus and women may be divorced for barrenness and part of the bride price returned, if the rights over the female founder's sexual services have not been enjoyed over an extended period. In other words, divorce for barrenness may occur, as long as it is done within a reasonable time and not unduly delayed.
(2) People who are poor and ask for a large bride price should be embarrassed.

(3) 'Divine justice' may come into action against those who demand a larger bride price than they should in proportion to their own assets, and it might be katori or kovusung to the girl.

(4) It is stated that "If you really have property and do not agree to a large bride price, people will say that you are stingy."

(5) Furthermore, people say when they hear that someone has given a large bride price, "He has got a name for himself; he has given a large bride price; he is a man of wealth." Therefore a person will agree to a large bride price as he wants the name for himself.

However, just because of these factors, as the Rungus well realize themselves, there are people who use the fact of a large bride price to attempt to achieve status. "A large bride price is the way of asking for praise or recognition." A rather poorly-off father of a girl may attempt to get a large bride price for her, and with this he can then pay a large bride price for a wife for his son. Nevertheless, there is in these cases a certain amount of status incongruence, social ambiguity (Homans, 1962:91-102), and such individuals are gossiped about. They themselves are supposed to feel embarrassed.
Other Entailments of Bride Price. Bride price also has the result in the Rungus system of increasing the stability in marriages. As one informant said, "A man takes a great loss if he divorces, and therefore, they do not frequently divorce."

However, unlike the Melanau (Morris, 1953) bride price is not related to class structure, as is shown by the following facts:

(1) Bride prices are not remembered. Few suitors or their brides know the bride price of their marriage. Bride prices are not passed down to children as tradition to be remembered. In fact it is kovusung for a child to know his mother's bride price.

(2) Bride price varies primarily on the ability of the suitor's family to pay. It is made up from earned family assets and not from the hereditary dapu which is owned individually by the inheritor, that is the male or female founder alone and not the family. Consequently, a family which is lucky to have a number of daughters can afford a large bride price for their only son, and the reverse is true.

(3) Bride prices vary within families so that one daughter, if she has certain learned skills or beauty, can demand a larger bride price than an unskilled sister.

In fact bride price is one factor in a complex situation operating against the development of a hereditary class structure based on wealth in the Rungus social system. In the negotiations the father of a girl attempts to extract as much dapu from the
suitor's assets as possible. Consequently, those people who are good in their farming and trading activities accumulate much dapa only temporarily, as they also have to pay the larger bride prices. Even if such a family has all daughters in one generation and they can turn their accumulated assets into heritable property -- i.e. fine dapa, the vicissitudes of sex ratios may so operate that in the next or succeeding generations the sex ratios could be reversed. In such cases earned assets cannot be accumulated into heritable property, but must be used up in sons' bride prices, and the hereditary property already in the family line then becomes dispersed through the process of inheritance of children and children's children. Consequently, the unpredictable sex ratios in sibling sets has a large bearing on the ability to accumulate assets. The Rungus themselves recognize this in that they say that a lucky and wealthy descent line is one that has primarily had girl off-spring and only one or two boys for some generations.

Other factors operating concordantly with bride price to prevent the development of hereditary social classes based on wealth are the small size of the populations involved, the structure of inheritance which, although it favors the eldest, does not exclude the rest of the sibling set, and the fact that in the Rungus economic system there are no family held assets which produce any income, much less produce income or increase in value at a rate equal to the production of offspring.
The Wedding Ceremony (maguntong)

Table 2.5 gives the main stages of the wedding ceremony.*

Up to the day of the wedding ceremony the girl is referred to surreptitiously as the /nopongaan/ -- 'the one who has been completed'. On the day of the arrival of the groom and his party which occurs just at sunset, the girl is referred to as the /valangan/ -- 'the one who is to be told a secret.' On the morning of that day, if the girl appears to be skittish, or later if she is not, the young married girls in the longhouse creep up on the girl with a decorated sleeping robe and throw it over her head and pull it down over her body, while at the same time telling her that she is to be wed. The bride immediately begins to fight them off and tries to get away. She thrashes about, kicks, screams, weeps, and wails, and it takes the concerted effort of three to four of the young married women to constrain her and then bodily carry her off to a near-by apartment. There she will be watched over to prevent her running away until cock's crow the next day, at which time she will be returned to her family's apartment to be prepared for her part in the ceremony.

The length of time that a bride will struggle and weep and wail varies considerably. Table 2.6 gives the times of five

*To discuss at length the complete wedding ceremony here would add little to the understanding of the nature of Rungus groupings. Consequently, I shall restrict my remarks on the wedding ceremony to those aspects which illustrate the focal values with respect to the female's sexual and reproduction services and the bride's own reaction to the ceremony.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Bride caught and put in compartment of a neighbor. Some time before late afternoon of first day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ceremony at longhouse ladder to comb bad omens and bad luck out of groom's hair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Groom puts away the spear and enters the bride's compartment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Groom hands /pogung/ (a small knife tied through a brass armlet) to bride's father and a packet of cooked rice and betel to both parents of bride calling them by term of address.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Bride's parents choose pet name for groom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Groom and attendants then sit up all night on sleeping area of bride's compartment. Just before dawn of second day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Groom goes out to lounging area and bride is brought into her family's compartment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Pig is sacrificed /momitas/ and blood painted on legs of bride's kin. Morning of second day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Arguments ensue over bride price as to whether contract fulfilled or not. During morning or early afternoon of second day. These can last two or three days.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.5 (Continued)

11. Groom is told genealogy of bride so that he will know what names and what everyday words are similar to bride's lineal and collateral ancestors' names which he is not permitted to say. During morning or early afternoon of second day.

12. Bride is dressed in ceremonial attire. Towards evening of second day.

13. Ceremonial meal is prepared and groom feeds bride. Towards evening of second day.

14. Wedding party goes to groom's house.

15. Bride's hair combed (as in 3).

16. Bride gives groom's parents ball of cooked rice and betel (as in 5).

17. Groom's parents choose pet name for bride (as in 6).

18. Bride and attendants sit up all night in groom's family's compartment and groom sleeps. Morning of third day.

19. Bride is instructed in groom's genealogy. Sometime during the third day.


21. Spend night at bride's house. Morning of fourth day.

22. Return to groom's house with rice cake for his parents.
23. Bride and groom spend day Fourth day.
in groom's family's compart- ment. Groom may come out but bride must stay inside.

24. Go to groom's family's fields Morning of fifth day.
and groom weeds sugar cane, bride plants cotton, and prepares rice cake to take to bride's parents.

25. Return to bride's family's Afternoon of fifth day.
house and remain in bride's family's house until next har- vest.
Table 2.6  Examples of Duration of Bride's Struggles and Wailing at Time of Capture and Examples of Duration of Bride's Reluctance and Hesitation to Give Parents-in-law Ball of Rice and Betel and to Call Them by Kin Term of Address

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Duration of struggles and wailing</th>
<th>Duration of reluctance to give rice, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case 1</td>
<td>2 hrs.</td>
<td>No hesitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 2</td>
<td>35 min.</td>
<td>15.5 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 3</td>
<td>37 min.</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 4</td>
<td>5 min.</td>
<td>16 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 5</td>
<td>2.5 min.</td>
<td>No hesitation(b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The wedding party was not followed to the groom's village where this occurred as it was at some distance.

(b) In this case the bride was on the verge of an emotional collapse and she quickly fulfilled this obligation so that she could return to her father's household and be cared for. She continued with outbreaks of hysterical behavior for a period of about a month and refused to engage in sexual relations with her husband. In general non-rational behavior continued for three months. However, after this period she quickly became adjusted to marriage and soon became pregnant.
cases. In case 4 spectators commented that this short a period was not in good form. In case 1 it was considered that the display continued too long and was too violent. It might be worthwhile to consider some of the statements of the participants during this display.*

B: I will kill my mother!

P: Don't talk, just cry and thrash about.

P: Don't thrash about too much you will tear you clothes, break your beads, break your shell bracelets, and hurt someone!

B: I won't (go through with it). My mother's crazy. Let's run away.

P: You are hot now. It is not good to act like that. Think about your parents. (Her mother is a widow with two adolescent girls and two pre-adolescent boys.) It is good to get married. Would you rather get pregnant in the jungle?

P: You are getting hot.

B: Oh mother, mother! (Calls her mother.)

P: Your mother has gone away (although she was in the next apartment). Be careful, Mogun (the groom) and his family will hear. It will make them ashamed, it will shame them. That is enough.

B: My mother, she is crazy, she doesn't feel sorry for me.**

*As men are not allowed to enter the apartment while the girl struggles -- her clothes might come off -- I am indebted to my wife for recording the above statements. 'B' will be used to indicate statements of the bride, and 'P' will be used to indicate statements by other participants and observers.

**A frequent statement by young girls about a bride-to-be is that they feel sorry for her.
P: She feels sorry, but you think about Mogun. Don't you want to get married ever until you are an old woman? If you go down to the ground and run away it will be the boys that will hunt for you, not just us girls.

P: The string is off your skirt and your sarong is off. If you stand up and go out of the apartment you will lose your clothes.

P: We will have to get the headman to arbitrate this. You knew about the /manamong/ (gifts of betel chewing supplies to her whole longhouse by the groom) and about the bride price negotiations and you could tell about the outcome from the behavior of your mother. Your father would not think much of this behavior. Lie down! This is not your apartment and people have work to do and there are little children. Think about your mother! There has been no one to help with the fields, the field house making, and the building. She has had to ask her sister's husband and his brother and her uncle to help her and now you will be bringing a boy into the family to help her.

B: (She stops screaming for her mother and starts calling for her older sister.)

P: All your family and the siblings of your parents have thought a lot about your husband and it will be shame on them as well as on the family of Mogun if you do not stop. You are allowed to cry a bit, but not this long and you cannot talk like this. It is the fate of boys and girls all over the world, every race, to get married. And it is ridiculous to talk like this. Would you rather have a baby in the jungle, a bastard? Then no one would want to marry you. Look at all the girls you know who have been married and what fun they have with their children. My daughter had bad luck (she was divorced). I let her leave my house when she was not yet grown and she had a bad husband. But you have known Mogun for a long time, since he and you were small; you know his ways and his heart and you have known for a month that you were going to marry him. Now you have cried enough.

B: Why didn't any of you tell me I was engaged when we got together?
P: Yutog was a week in the jungle and she got married just the same (it actually was a day and a night). Most girls just cry for a while and say I won't.

Before light the next morning the bride, now referred to as /ronggungon/ -- 'the one who is led (as a drunk)', is either led or bodily carried back to her family's apartment still with the sleeping robe covering her from head to foot. At this time the bride may thrash about a bit and cry again, but this will be of very short duration, roughly of ten minutes or less. As the day wears on the various attendants gather to dress the bride for the rest of the wedding ceremony, sometimes much against her will, but in no case does she cooperate.

After the bride has been dressed and the wedding meal of cooked rice and a hard boiled egg prepared, the groom moves down from the sleeping area, where he has been sitting next to his bride, to the eating area in front of the fireplace and awaits his bride to join him. The bride assumes a cataleptic-like state and refuses to move so that the attending married women have to lift, drag and push her into position.* At one wedding the attendants told the bride, as they moved her to the wedding meal: "Don't thrash about, you will ruin your clothes and break your shell bracelets; every girl goes through this, you are not the only one."

*At no time, from the time of catching the bride until the completion of the ceremony, do any of the bride's family take part in the physical actions of constraining the bride or forcing her into various steps in the ceremony.
Upon being positioned at the wedding meal, the bride keeps her hands together on the side away from the groom and entwines her hands in a handkerchief to prevent the groom from washing her right hand, and then putting a bit of rice and egg in her hand. Nevertheless, with the help of the attending women, her hands are forced apart and her right hand pulled over to the groom who then washes the hand and inserts the food in it. At this point the attending women tell her she must not throw it away, but must eat it. The bride then eats with obvious distaste.

The wedding party is then ready to move to the groom's family's house and the bride is escorted there at the head of the procession with a woman on each arm supporting her and guiding her as she has covered her face with her handkerchief. At the groom's house she must offer her parents-in-law a ball of rice to eat and betel to chew, while at the same time calling them by the kin term of address. Table 2.6 shows variations in the length of time that it takes a bride to bring herself to do this. She is encouraged, coaxed and wheedled, by both her parents-in-law as well as her attending women, who actually use force to push her arm forward towards the outstretched arm of the groom's parent. If a bride does it right off, with no reticence or embarrassment, everyone feels disappointed and cheated at not seeing this spectacle, as the whole longhouse gathers just for this part.
At all subsequent stages to the ceremony most brides carry out their part with great irritation and suppressed anger at both their husband and parents. She will be too embarrassed to call her husband by name or again use the kin term of address to her parents-in-law. With regard to the latter, it may take years, if ever, to come to this.

Brides attempt to escape when caught and cry because, it is explained, (1) they must not be excited about or eager for the wedding (which might imply eagerness for sexual relations); (2) they do not want to leave their parents and friends; (3) some brides may also be afraid, "but do not know why"; (4) they do not want to be put on show as this is 'mortifying', and 'embarrassing'; (5) they may be afraid that they do not have sufficient skills to run a household alone, as there is no one to help as in the parents' house; and (6) some may cry in addition because a dead parent will not see the wedding.

The behavior of brides at the wedding meal and at the time of giving rice and betel to parents-in-law is explained as being the result of being 'embarrassed', 'mortified'. This is to be expected if only because the marriage ceremony clearly symbolizes the relationship between man and wife -- and at this point it is a new relationship -- the public expression of which in everyday life is considered bad etiquette. One is not supposed to show any overt signs of affection to one's spouse even years after marriage.
Freedom of Choice in Selection of Spouse

Males have much greater freedom in choice of spouse, just in the fact that they must initiate the action.* However, a son who has no specific inclinations with regard to a spouse will probably obey as a 'good' son should, the wishes of a parent. Nevertheless, a son always has the opportunity not to follow the dictates of his parents and some young men are late in marrying just because every girl they select their parents do not approve of, and every girl their parents select they do not want.**

With regard to females it is much more difficult to estimate the degree of freedom of choice of spouse because of the behavior patterns expected of a virtuous woman both before marriage and during the marriage ceremony and also due to the way many females behave after the wedding when the male attempts sexual advances. I shall consider this problem shortly.

Again, information is difficult to collect on this problem, as questions about pre-marital preferences cast aspersions on sexual morality.

Actually, so it was stated by several informants, most, if not all, parents attempt to assess the feelings of their

*There are, of course, methods by which the parents of a girl can encourage a match, such as by flattery or by befriending the boy and his parents.

**However, in one of the four cases of initial incompatibility in our sample which led to divorce, it appeared to be the fault of the male, who seemed not to desire sexual relations with his wife.
daughters before the bride price negotiations begin. However, since a girl is afraid that if she expresses a preference people will say that she is not a virtuous woman but desires sexual intercourse, if and when a parent tries to sound her out on her inclinations the virtuous girl will either not answer, or will say that she does not know about these things and it is up to her parents. Usually if no strong objections are registered by the girl the parents will make their own decision on the marriage. Furthermore, the normative order is that the parent makes the decision.

Informants made the following statements:

"If a girl does not like the suitor her mother wants her to marry, and her mother insists, she will not put up a fuss if she is a 'good' or 'virtuous' girl."

"... the father of the girl puts her to marriage."

However, in one case a widow refused to continue negotiations for her daughter because, as she said, her daughter did not want the marriage. The go-between said that there was no custom here about following the wishes of a child, it is up to the parents, according to the adat. The mother answered, "If my child does not want it, I do not want it."

There are certain safeguards to the indiscriminate application of parental authority in forcing a child to marriage.

First of all the parent of a girl is not anxious to put to marriage his daughter in those situations where the boy's parents are primarily pushing the match and the boy himself is not fully
committed, as the girl's father would be afraid in this case that the husband would not /asamod/, 'cherish' or 'take good care of', his daughter. Secondly, parents are not too willing to disregard the feelings of any child if there is a high level of sexual attraction involved, for if they do not consent to the match the two individuals involved may establish illicit sexual relations. Thirdly, after the marriage there are no serious obstacles to divorce if the two individuals are incompatible. Fourthly, there is a form of marriage, /muli/ -- 'to go home', in which the male or female may take the initiative and force the hands of both sets of parents. The boy or girl goes to the apartment of the person wanted in marriage and gives his or her betel box to the parents of the person at the same time calling them by the term of address for parent-in-law. Bride price negotiations must begin at once, and, if the parent of the individual 'gone home to' refuses to allow the marriage to go through, he must pay a fine of a small gong or piece of brassware to recompense the family of the person who initiated the action for their 'shame'. Bride prices in these circumstances are stated to be larger than would be normally expected. This does not occur very frequently both because there is a great deal of 'embarrassment' involved for the person initiating the action and probably also because there just is not that much overt compulsion by parents against the will of the children to a really undesired marriage.
Lastly, there also exists the possibility of intervention of omens during bride price negotiations as a safeguard. While the majority of omens are based on the unrelated occurrence of natural phenomena -- the falling of a dead tree, the death of a longhouse member, the barking of a deer, these must be 'recognized' by the participants, that is someone must say, "You heard that barking deer, didn't you", for the omen to be acknowledged. Also there are omens which are based on the expression of unconscious desires, such as the breaking of a plate during negotiations.

In conclusion the fact that the personal desires of the two people involved must be considered, as well as the fact that these are bendable to parental will, is shown by the existence of both love and anti-love magic. A boy or girl who wants a particular individual may engage in love magic, or a parent who wants his son or, more usually, his daughter to show interest in his or her new spouse can use love magic. On the other hand, if a son or daughter becomes smitten with a particular person not wanted by the parents, there exists magic to bring him out of his entrancement.

Post-Nuptial Behavior of the Bride

In a sample of 80 marriages from Marudu, 63 brides or 78.8% reciprocated the sexual attentions of the groom while 17 or 21.2% did not. If a bride, shortly after the wedding ceremony, does not fulfill her uxorial duties and obligations, it is
stated that she does not tumutun. This means primarily that she is not fulfilling her duties with respect to the groom's rights in coitum, and, as a consequence, also her obligations with respect to the groom's rights in domesticum.* It is generally assumed that if a bride does not fulfill her domestic obligations, she is not engaging in coitus, although in fact she may, while at the same time in public she is too embarrassed to fulfill her domestic obligations because of what they infer.

Brides who do not accept their husband's sexual attentions may be forced into coitus. One such bride would sew up her sleeping sarong at the bottom during the day, while her elder, married sister would cut the threads when she was not looking. Reluctant brides attempt to be always in the presence of a third party, while the groom attempts to get her alone, in the field house, if necessary. If the bride proves too obdurate

*I follow Hoebel (1954:48) in referring to the reciprocal of a jural right (demand-right) as a duty. In the moral realm I prefer to refer to the reciprocal of a moral right as an obligation. For the purpose of analyzing Rungus society I distinguish the moral realm from the jural realm by the types and sources of sanctions applicable. In the moral realm the sanctions are primarily mystical or those of sentiment. A son should not hit his father or the mystical sanction of kovusung will operate. (See Chapter Three for a full description of this.) Two brothers should not fight, but help each other. If they do fight, there is no sanction against such behavior except the withdrawal primarily of liking and secondarily of assistance. In the jural realm the source of the sanctions is the meeting of village headman and village leaders and the sanctions are primarily transactional. If I steal from my brother, I must pay restitution. Of course, in all probability, there will also be a decrease in liking.
grooms may threaten to hang themselves, and in fact try, although there is always someone conveniently close by to prevent the groom from being too successful. In one case in another village, however, the groom did succeed. In the majority of cases by far, the husband will divorce his recalcitrant bride after waiting a sufficient length of time. To coerce a reluctant daughter, parents will temporarily sleep out of the enclosed section of their longhouse apartment in order to leave the couple alone, will attempt to get the couple established in their own house as soon as possible, threaten to hang themselves in shame, or not take her back into their household or help her find another husband, if she continues such behavior until a divorce results, and/or will use love magic.

Rungus informants explain that a bride will reject the attention of her husband because she is ashamed to engaged in coitus in the apartment of her parents, or because she is afraid of her husband, or because her parents have arranged a marriage with someone whom she did not like. This last reason, it is stated, produces the most obdurate cases.

The method of transfer of rights over the sexual services of the female from her parent to her husband brings about a discontinuity in conditioning (Benedict, 1938) which may thus result in the bride rejecting the attentions of the groom. Prior to the wedding the maiden is enjoined from having any unchaperoned interaction with males. After the wedding she is
expected to accept immediately the attentions of her husband and engage in coitus. The degree of emotional conflict in the bride with regard to coitus will depend on the degree of internalization of the prohibitions against sex that has taken place during her maidenhood. This conflict is made much more real, since the couple sleep beside the bride's parents after the wedding. Consequently, it should be expected that brides with mothers living will refuse to accept the attentions of the groom more frequently than brides whose mothers are dead. In addition, brides with no mother living have not been under constant surveillance of their mothers with respect to their interaction with males. When suitors come to visit they have a much greater opportunity to encourage or discourage the suitor according to their own wishes, than is the case when the mother is alive and interposes herself. They have much more freedom to joke and talk with suitors, and, consequently, by the time of the marriage they are much more familiar with the groom. Thus, there is more continuity in the psychological transition of brides with no mother living. In addition, a widower with nubile daughters sleeps out of the enclosed section of the apartment which leaves the bride and the groom much more to themselves at night.

Marriage also involves the transfer of authority over the bride from her parents, and in particular from her mother, to the groom. This process begins at the wedding and continues throughout the period of temporary residence in the bride's
natal household. Informants say that brides with mothers have much more trouble adjusting to the marriage as "there are two heads of the female, her mother and her husband." The transfer of authority is neither clean, quick, nor institutionalized. Consequently, this conflict in the authority structure results in affective repercussions in the bride, again, in those cases where the mother is living.

However our expectation, based on the above analysis, that females with mothers living would reject the attentions of their husbands more frequently than females with deceased mothers is not at first borne out by the data. Table 2.7 shows that while there is a higher incidence of brides with deceased mothers who tumutun than is the case with brides whose mothers are alive, this difference is not statistically significant. Even when the sample is re-classified so that the category of mothers living also includes effective surrogates, as in the case where a mother's sister takes over the rearing of the children due to the re-marriage of the father to her, or for other reasons, the association is still not significant (see Table 2.8).

It should be noted, however, that brides who are eldest children accept the attentions of their husbands significantly more frequently than do brides who are not eldest children (see Table 2.9). The status position of a female who is the eldest child with regard to the authority structure in the family is highly differentiated from that of younger female
Table 2.7 Reaction of Brides to Their Husbands in the Case of Bride's Mother Alive and in the Case of Bride's Mother Being Dead^a^

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Accepted attentions</th>
<th>Rejected attentions</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bride's mother:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alive:</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead:</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X^2 (Using Yates' Correction(b)) : <1  P: Not Significant

(a) The data are derived from the sample of 80 cases of post-nuptial behavior. One case has been removed from the cell 'Bride's mother alive - Rejected attentions (of husband)' because the bride's mother in a highly unusual case did not approve of the marriage which had been contracted for her daughter, the eldest child, by her husband without her approval, and consequently, she connived with the daughter to prevent the wedding from coming off. When this failed, she put her daughter up to rejecting the attentions of the groom after the wedding. Inclusion of the case has the following result: X^2 : 1.22.

(b) The rationale for using Yates' correction in this and the following tables may be found in Maroney (1956:254) and Maxwell (1961:21-25).
Table 2.8 Reaction of Brides to Their Husbands in the Case of Bride's Mother or a Surrogate Alive and in the Case of the Bride's Mother Being Dead(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Accepted</th>
<th>Rejected</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bride's mother or surrogate:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alive</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2$ (Using Yates' Correction): 3.36  P: Not significant

Table 2.9 Reaction of Brides with Mothers Living to Their Husbands in the Case of the Bride Being the Eldest in Her Sibling Set and in the Case of the Bride Not Being an Eldest(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Accepted</th>
<th>Rejected</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bride being the:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eldest</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-eldest:</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2$ (Using Yates' Correction): 4.95  P: < .05

(a) Sample derived from that used in Table 2.7. The case of the bride rejecting her husband on the instructions of her mother has been removed as also was one case in which the existence of a surrogate mother or not was not known. Inclusion of this unknown case in either of the cells which might be appropriate does not change the distribution to a significant one.

(b) Sample derived from that used in Table 2.7. Again, the case of the bride rejecting her husband on the instructions of her mother has been removed. If the sample is re-classed as to mother or surrogate alive, the distribution remains significant at the .05 level.
### Table 2.10

Reaction of Brides Who Are Not the Eldest in Their Sibling Set to Their Husbands in the Case of the Bride's Mother Being Alive and in the Case of the Bride's Mother Being Dead (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bride's mother:</th>
<th>Accepted attentions</th>
<th>Rejected attentions</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alive:</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead:</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals:</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2$ (Using Yates' Correction): 2.90  P: Not significant

### Table 2.11

Reaction of Brides Who Are Not the Eldest Child in Their Sibling Set to Their Husbands in the Case of the Bride's Mother or a Surrogate Being Alive and in the Case of the Bride's Mother Being Dead (b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bride's mother:</th>
<th>Accepted attentions</th>
<th>Rejected attentions</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alive:</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead:</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals:</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2$ (Using Yates' Correction): 4.11  P < .05

(a) Sample based on that used in Table 2.7.  
(b) Sample based on that used in Table 2.7.
siblings. This again appears in choice of residence after marriage, and I shall discuss this problem at length in the next chapter.

Consequently, if all brides who are the eldest in their sibling set are removed from the sample, the incidence of tumutun does vary significantly with the existence of a mother or a surrogate (see Table 2.11).*

The high incidence of brides who do accept the attentions of their husbands after the wedding shows that the institutionalized behavior patterns of the bride at the time of the wedding, which might be termed the 'reluctant bride pattern', in fact do not, in the majority of cases, represent deeply internalized affective states and that the bride is fulfilling an expected role with limited emotional involvement. This conclusion is also substantiated by the observation of the behavior of a number of brides, when once one is familiar with the role. However, this is not to suggest that in some cases these institutionalized behavior patterns are not representative of deeply felt emotional traumas. For those brides who are already overly concerned about the husband-wife relationship, the behavior patterns expected of her also tend to aggravate her emotional instability in this area. One bride which we observed

*Table 2.10 shows that when the presence of a mother or not is considered, without analyzing the data to ascertain whether surrogates existed or not, the association is not significant.
Table 2.12 Length of Time After the Wedding That a First Child Was Born

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior of Bride:</th>
<th>Within 1st year</th>
<th>Within 2nd year</th>
<th>Within 3rd year</th>
<th>After 3rd year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tunutun (accepted attentions of groom):</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not tumutun (did not accept attentions of groom):</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior not known:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) These cases all involve females who at the time of marriage had not yet begun to menstruate.
went into hysteric at the wedding ceremony and hysterical attacks continued for a period of about two to three months following. (She then became pregnant and now seems happily adjusted.) However, reactions as severe as this are exceedingly rare, with only two having occurred within the memory of informants.

Nevertheless, the enculturation of the female with respect to males, the discontinuity in psychological states expected of the bride at marriage, and the expected behavior patterns of the bride at the wedding raises the question of the incidence of psychogenic frigidity and dyspareunia in Rungus females. The behavior patterns expected of maidens is further aggravated by the complete lack of instruction on sex prior to marriage. First menstruation may begin before or after the marriage, frequently in either case as a previously unknown phenomenon. Unfortunately, it is difficult to elicit data at any depth on this subject since females are not only expected not to discuss sexual topics or their feelings with regard to males, but in fact do not. The only evidence that can be gathered on this is that of the frequency of tumutum, which has already been presented, the incidence of divorce due to incompatibility, which will be presented in a following section, and evidence based on the delay in conception. Table 2.12 shows that in a sample of 57 cases, 44 females, or 77.2% had produced children prior to or within the second year of marriage. This would seem to be a rather high number considering
the fact that not all females have begun to menstruate at the time of marriage and indicates that the incidence of psychogenic infertility resulting from attitudes towards coitus is low.

Temporary Post-Nuptial Residence

Ideally after the wedding ceremony the bride and groom reside in the household of the bride's parents until the following year when, at the end of the agricultural season, the groom has time to build a longhouse apartment. Weddings take place during the summer, in June, July, August, and early September, in the off-season of the agricultural year after the harvest and before the work in the new swiddens becomes too burdensome. Consequently, during the rest of the agricultural year after the wedding while the husband is a member of the household of his wife's parents, he also works in their swiddens.

In a sample of 51 marriages, temporary post-nuptial residence for 43 cases, or 84.3%, was in the household of the bride's parents, and of this sample of 51 marriages 39 of the grooms, or 76.5%, did help in the swidden of the bride's parents.

Temporary post-nuptial residence patterns are related to several factors. First of all, because the bride did not seek out the marriage, and because of the values associated with what is considered a virtuous girl, the bride is expected not to want to leave her parents quickly. In fact, it is during
this period of temporary residence with the bride's parents that actual courting in sexual terms takes place.* Furthermore, working with the bride's parents for a year in cases of inter-village marriage allows the groom to become acquainted with the village and the village area. However, in those cases where the bride is very obdurate in accepting her husband as a sexual partner the bride's parents will want them to set up their own separate household as soon as possible.

A second factor in the temporary residence patterns is the fact that all house building is done after the end of the agricultural year or during the early stages of the next year before the heavy weeding work in the swiddens. Consequently, there is seldom enough time immediately after a wedding for the groom to find his housing materials and construct his house before the work in the swiddens becomes pressing. During the agricultural season that he is resident in his father-in-law's household, whenever there is spare time, the groom will collect the necessary materials for his house.

Table 2.13 shows that there is no significant correlation in this sample of temporary post-nuptial residence patterns between inter-village and intra-village marriages. Table 2.14 gives a break-down of the reasons stated why the prescribed pattern of residence was not followed in the sample given in Table 2.13.

---

*It is stated that girls are not used to or accustomed to boys.
Table 2.13  Temporary Post-nuptial Residence Patterns (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bride and groom from same village</th>
<th>Bride and groom from different villages</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bride and groom lived in bride's natal household for one year or more:</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride and groom did not live in bride's natal household for a year after wedding:</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 \text{ (Using Yates' Correction)} : < 1 \quad P: \text{Not Significant}\]

(a) Sample derived from 1960 and 1963 censuses of Marudu.
Table 2.14 Stated Reasons as to why the Bride and Groom Did Not Stay in the Household of the Bride's Family for a Year After Marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stated Reason</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bride and Groom from same village:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of bride's parents too crowded:</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom did not get along with bride's father:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride was obdurate in rejecting attentions of groom so her parents decided that this would change if the couple had a house of their own:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's parents moved out of village after the wedding and the groom refused to follow (Note: the bride was pregnant prior to the wedding):</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons unknown:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bride and Groom from different villages:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason unknown (explanation given was that the groom did not want to):</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Cases derived from Table 2.13.

(b) In each of these cases there was a high degree of sexual interest on the part of the bride with respect to the groom.
In cases where the prescribed patterns are not followed, temporary residence is, in the majority of cases, in the household of the groom's parents until the next agricultural season.

In inter-village marriages there is, of course, a logical explanation for helping in the swiddens of parents-in-law. Weddings frequently take place after the new swiddens have been cut and while they are drying in the sun. Consequently, it would be difficult for a groom marrying into a distant village to have cut his swidden in time for firing before the rains. Furthermore, the year's swidden areas are selected right after harvest. Even if the wedding took place prior to the swidden cutting, the in-marrying groom would still be at a disadvantage in selecting a swidden area, if he decided to cultivate his own swidden, as it would be difficult for him to locate good swidden areas in unfamiliar territory, and he might be obliged, therefore, to take up a swidden in the poorer forest areas on the peripheries of swidden areas already chosen. In fact, it is stated that working with the bride's father for a year makes the groom used to the village and village area.

However, as Table 2.15 shows, there is no significant association between participating in the swidden of the bride's household and inter-village marriages. The prescription to participate in the swidden work of the bride's natal household is followed regardless of marriage type. Nevertheless, with intra-village marriages, the groom is able also to help in his
Table 2.15 Participation of the Groom in the Swidden Work of the Bride's Parents During the First Year of Marriage(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>worked in swidden of bride's parents:</th>
<th>bride and groom from same village</th>
<th>bride and groom from different villages</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>worked in swidden of bride's parents:</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>did not work in swidden of bride's parents:</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2$ (Using Yates' Correction): 1.10  P: Not Significant

Table 2.17 The Relation Between Temporary Post-nuptial Residence and Participation by the Groom in the Swidden Work of the Bride's Parents(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>participated in swidden work</th>
<th>did not participate in swidden work</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lived in bride's natal household:</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>did not live in bride's natal household:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2$ (Using Yates' Correction): 10.78  P < .01

(a) Sample is identical with that in Table 2.13.

(b) Sample is identical with that in Table 2.13.
Table 2.16 Stated Reasons why Groom did not Participate in Swidden work of the Bride’s Parents During the Agricultural Season Following the Wedding(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stated Reason</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bride and groom from same village:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedding took place after groom or groom's family had already cut swiddens:</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom did not get along with bride's father:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's parents moved out of village after wedding and groom refused to follow:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's parents did not want son-in-law to help:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom had been cultivating own swidden for a number of years:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom 'did not want to':</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons unknown:</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bride and groom from different villages:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom had already cut own swidden and swidden was near boundary of bride's village:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom had been cultivating own swidden for a number of years:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Cases derived from Table 2.15.
Table 2.18  List of Assets Necessary to Found a New Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A mortar and pestle for husking rice and pounding corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketry winnowing trays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketry containers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishes and bowls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One or two pigs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several chickens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enough rice, corn, or manioc to last till next harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
own father's swiddens and he frequently does, although not to the same extent as in his father-in-law's swidden, especially if the wedding is a late one and the groom has already helped cut the swidden of his father.

Table 2.16 lists the reasons stated by those individuals in the sample why they did not help in their wife's parents' swiddens during the first agricultural year after the wedding. Table 2.17 illustrates that there is a significant correlation between helping in the parents-in-law's swidden and living in their household.

**Setting up a Separate Household**

At the end of the first agricultural season after the wedding the groom builds a new apartment for the couple on the end of the longhouse. The founding assets necessary for setting up a separate household are listed in Table 2.18. These assets may be contributed by the groom's parents, the bride's parents, or by neither, in which case, if the groom and bride do not have enough assets between them, the groom goes to the Chinese shops and purchases the necessary goods on credit. It is normally expected that the new couple will share in the products of the swidden, the rice, corn and manioc, in which the groom worked during the period of temporary post-nuptial residence. That is, the new couple, until the new harvest comes in, will usually secure their food from the bride's parents. Whether the bride's parents will give additional help in establishing the new household depends on their own
surplus of commodities and livestock. Rice and corn are at the same time both subsistence and cash crops, and to purchase the necessary goods at the shops to establish a separate household, some of the harvest will have to be sold. The groom's parents will also help by contributing some of the assets for the new household, again if they have a surplus. There is, however, no jural right to founding assets from the bride's parents based on the year of work in their swidden by the groom. At least there never has been a suit to secure these. Nor is there any expression of moral rights to founding assets. Both sets of parents will help if they can to set up their children in a new household, as they are their children.

Seeds for the new swiddens may be requested from and received from both sets of parents and these seeds may then be mixed. There is no padi pun as among the Iban which helps to define the continuity and corporateness of the Iban bilek (Freeman, 1958).

The Longhouse Apartment of the Domestic Family

The Rungus longhouse is composed of a series of separately owned family apartments cojoined laterally. These apartments (sirang) are the living quarters of the Rungus domestic family and as such they are subdivided into various sections each having its own focus of particular family activities.

The two major sections of the apartment are the ongkob
Figure 2.2

Floor Plan of Apartment of Rungus Domestic Family

- tingkang - raised sleeping area
- ongkob (compartment)
- lansang - kitchen and eating area
- salow - ropuhan - hearth
- ropuhan - hearth
- lansang - aisleway and rice pounding area
- lansang - area for storage of rice pounding blocks
- apad (gallery section)
- tingkang - general working and lounging area; sleeping area for older boys

Wall
Floor divisions
Scale $\frac{1''}{4'} = 1'$
or compartment and the apad or gallery section.*

The ongkob or compartment (see Figure 2.2) is the enclosed section of the apartment where the family's meals are cooked and eaten on the lansang, and to which the co-founders, along with small male children and females of all ages, including female visitors, repair at night for sleeping on the tingkang. It is within this compartment that the marriage rites are performed, children are born, the sick tended for and the dying pass away. Within the compartment are also found the paramount rogon of the Rungus, the rusod. The rogon are a class of potentially malevolent spirits inhabiting the natural world, but also for each individual there is his rogon counterpart, a rusod, which dwells in the compartment and who, if not annoyed or angered, will protect the household members from other rogon bent on soul stealing which causes illness. A bit of

*I follow Freeman (1955a) in referring to the separately built and separately owned housing structure of the Rungus domestic family as an 'apartment'. However, with regard to the enclosed section of the apartment I prefer to use the term 'compartment' and not 'living room', as Freeman (1955a) and Geddes (1954) have done, since, among the Rungus, this enclosed section is primarily a 'kitchen' and 'bedroom', not a 'living room'. Again I basically follow Freeman (1955a) in referring to the section of the apartment which is unwalled and which, when joined to other apartments, forms both the corridor of the longhouse as well as the open lounging area, as the gallery. However, since the term 'gallery' tends to suggest the whole open area in the longhouse, and not just that portion which the family has built themselves, and since this might tend to imply that this section is communally owned and cared for, which it is not, I shall refer to that section of the apartment which contributes to the gallery area of the longhouse as the 'gallery section' of the apartment.
the pig meat of all sacrifices to the rusod as well as rice and salt are put in a small bamboo tube and tied up over the fireplace for the rusod.

Other rogon dwelling within the compartment are the rogon of the fireplace and the rogon of the women's bead boxes.

The roof of the Rungus longhouse steeply descends from the ridgepole situated high above the fireplace so that it is impossible for a Rungus adult to stand fully erect in the tingkang area of both the compartment and the gallery section, much past their front edge.

It is in the gallery section (the apad) that the majority of the family's work, play and lounging activities take place. Unlike the gallery area of the Iban longhouses there is no unroofed platform projecting out from it.

The gallery section of the apartment is first divided into a corridor section which, in conjunction with the other corridor sections of the member apartments, forms a long passage way that provides access to the various apartments from the entry ladders at either end of the longhouse. In addition this corridor section is used by the women in pounding their rice as the flooring has a slight spring to it. The second major division of the gallery section is the tingkang to which the male visitors and young boys retire at night. Usually when about ten years old, later if there are no sibling companions, earlier if there are congenial companions, a boy will begin to sleep
Table 2.19  Activities which take place on the apad

Exclusively Female Activities:

Sewing (a)
Preparing cotton yarn
Dying cotton yarn
Weaving
Stringing beads
Winding brass around legs, necks and wrists

Predominately Female Activities:

Peeling and cutting up vegetables
Pounding dried corn into corn meal and sifting it
Husking and winnowing rice
Preparing pig and chicken food

Activities of both Males and Females:

Lounging and talking
Making shell bracelets
Sharpening cutting tools

Predominately Male Activities:

Making baskets

Exclusively Male Activities:

Making palm thatch roofing
Making water carrying tubes from bamboo
Making rope
Making saddles
Putting handles on cutting instruments
Making sheaths for machetes
Making wooden mortars for rice pounding
Cutting up meat
Singeing mammals and birds

(a) May also occur in the compartment of the apartment.
on the apad in order to minimize the possibility of illicit sexual intercourse.

Table 2.19 lists the various activities that take place on the gallery section of the apartment by sex.

Residence and the Ties of Kinship

Developmental processes in social structure have been largely ignored in ethnographic accounts of residence. Not only is residence influenced by the various phases in the developmental cycle of the domestic family, as Fortes (1958:3) points out and as is demonstrated in Goody (1958), but also residence patterns are influenced by developmental changes in the system of social relationships surrounding and including the married pair. This system includes the bride and her kin, the husband and his kin, as well as the husband-wife and eventually parent-child sub-systems. Furthermore, the concept of residence unfortunately suffers from the fallacy of misplaced concreteness (Whitehead, 1955:11 and 1957:71-75) in that it tends to emphasize spatial relationships rather than social relationships.* This has led to considerable confusion in that a variety of differing social relationships have been discussed under the rubric of residence. Barnes (1960) has given a cogent summary of these various kinds of confusion inherent in the concept of residence,

*Fortes (1958:3) states that residence patterns '... are not a primary factor of social structure of the order of kinship, descent, marriage, and citizenship'.
and consequently, I shall not digress further here on this subject.

In my discussion of residence among the Rungus, therefore, I shall not be primarily concerned with residence classification as such, but with analyzing the developmental processes in the domestic family and in the system of social relationships surrounding the marriage and elucidating through residence choices the changing pull of kin ties in this system of social relationships.

When I use the term residence here, I shall be referring in the case of marriages involving maidens to residence patterns following the period of temporary post-nuptial residence, and for divorcees and widows, residence following the wedding ceremony, as no temporary residence in the bride's natal household is expected in this latter case. Also by residence I shall be referring to couples and not individuals.

Residence should be in the community of the bride's parents or closest kin both in the case of intra-village as well as inter-village marriages.* This is a moral and not a jural prescription. No jural rights or duties are entailed by residence, and no jural sanctions can be applied in the case of non-uxorilocal residence. However, if residence displeases the parents of the bride, they can withhold devolution of

---

*I use the term community here and afterwards in Murdock's sense (1949:79).
their assets to their daughter. Choice of residence does, however, entail the participation in swidden labor exchanges of the longhouse community, as well as in its ritual activities and in the informal activities of all types of its members. Consequently, uxorilocal residence in cases of inter-village marriages results in the inclusion of the groom in these activities of his wife's kin and the isolation of the groom from his own network of kin. This isolation is not to be minimized, as the desire of the groom to return to his natal village frequently brings about marital friction and may result in divorce. However, in the early phases of marriage during the childbearing period, the tie of the bride to her mother is the stronger tie, especially since at this time the bride leans on her mother for advice during the many illnesses of the children and since her freedom of movement is severely restricted by the small children to the longhouse community and near-by fields, while the groom is able to return frequently to his natal village for visits.

The importance of the developmental processes in the domestic family cycle as well as the system of social relations surrounding the husband and wife are fully recognized by the Rungus in the various statements made to justify uxorilocal residence.

First of all uxorilocal residence is stated to be better in terms of the needs of the bride during the various phases of
the developmental cycle of both her natal as well as her pro-
creative family. It is stated that there will be no one to
take the proper care of the aged parents if the daughters move
away. Males work in the fields all day and the females stay
at home in the longhouse tending the children and performing
the household tasks. Consequently, aged parents, if a rule of
virilocal residence were followed, would be left in the care
only of their daughters-in-law. Also, if the bride moved to
the groom's village, it is stated, during the day while the
groom is out in the fields, there would be no close kin to
help the bride when the children are sick and crying. However,
after two or three children, Rungus informants say, a couple
may move to the husband's village to satisfy the pull of the
husband's kin ties. The conflict in pull of the wife's and
husband's kin ties may also be resolved by a pattern of bilocal
residence.* Whenever the longhouse in which the couple is
residing breaks-up, it is stated, the couple may move to the
other spouse's community and then back again on the break-up
of that longhouse, with this pattern continuing until their
children are married. Then, they will stay in the village where
their children have married. However, in a sample of 51 cases
of inter-village marriages this bilocal solution seems to have
been selected by only one couple.

Secondly, uxorilocal residence is the stated preference in

*This usage follows Hogbin and Wedgwood (1953:242).
terms of the system of kin ties surrounding the married couple. It is stated that the bride would be afraid to go to her husband's community as she would get into arguments with her husband's siblings and there would be no one there to take her side. She might be beaten. If she became ill, there would be no kin available to put lime on her and speak the ritual formula, or to make sure that her husband bought the necessary chickens and pigs for the curing ceremonies. However, it is stated, the decision to go or not to the groom's village is entirely up to the bride. Her parents, if alive, and her siblings, if they are not, will try to argue her out of it, but if the husband is good, not quick to anger, and cares for his wife (asamod), they will not object too strongly. The reasons why a bride may want to follow her husband are stated to be that her parents are dead, or she has had a fight with her parents or siblings, or that she really cares for her husband.

Factors of wealth are also felt to influence residence. If a wife is wealthy and comes from a 'good' family, she will not acquiesce to pressures by her husband to move to his village. She is not afraid of a divorce as she knows that she will be in demand as a wife, while the opposite is true in the case of a bride from a poor family with no social standing.

Uxorilocal residence is not only a moral prescriptive, but, in a sample of inter-village marriages where the residence choice is most clearly enunciated, in fact occurs immediately following temporary post-nuptial residence in 97% of the cases.
Table 2.20 Residence Types in a Sample of Inter-village Marriages Immediately following Temporary Post-nuptial Residence, Where It Occurred(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence in bride's village</th>
<th>Residence in groom's village</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second marriage of bride:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First marriage of bride:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X² (Using Yates' Correction): 4.40  P < .05

Table 2.21 Percentage Distribution of Data in Table 2.20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence in bride's village</th>
<th>Residence in groom's village</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second marriage of bride:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First marriage of bride:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) This sample includes all inter-village marriages both still in existence or terminated, involving a member of the village of Marudu who appeared in either my 1960 or 1963 census. Temporary post-nuptial residence in bride's natal household is not expected in cases of the second marriage of a bride. Second marriages include both divorcees and widows.
involving a maiden (see Tables 2.20 and 2.21). These tables also show that while the majority of marriages involving a divorcee or a widow also result in uxorilocal residence immediately following the wedding, a significant portion of them begin with residence in the groom's village.* Virilocal residence as a starting preference is also found to be significantly correlated with those cases where the bride's mother is deceased (see Tables 2.22 and 2.23). As the Rungus themselves have noted in their statements on residence and as I hope to demonstrate by further statistical tests, these three factors, familiarity in the husband-wife relationship stemming from a previous marriage or arising through time and the enlargement of family by children, confidence in this relationship based on attraction to the husband and the character of the husband, and the close tie between mother and daughter are the major factors influencing residence choice in the various phases of the domestic family's developmental cycle prior to the marriage of the children in the family.

At this point it should be noted that while there has been a significant increase in inter-village marriages during the past ten years due to a general increase in communications in the area, the incidence of virilocal residence has not significantly changed (see Tables 2.24 and 2.25).

*Widows and divorcees make their own decision as to whether to accept a proposal for marriage or not, as opposed to maidens.
Table 2.22  The Relation of Virilocal Residence (as First Residence Choice) to the Existence of Bride's Mother(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence in bride's village</th>
<th>Residence in groom's village</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bride's mother alive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bride's mother dead:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2$ (Using Yates' Correction): 4.77  $P < .05$

Table 2.23  Analysis of Cases of Virilocal Residence Presented in Table 2.22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bride's mother deceased</th>
<th>Existence of bride's mother not known(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cases of virilocal marriage:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First marriage of bride:</td>
<td>1(c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second marriage of bride:</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) This sample is the same as that used in Table 2.20. However 8 cases had to be removed from lack of evidence on status of bride's mother at the time of marriage.

(b) The case in this column did not appear in Table 2.22 as status of bride's mother at time of marriage is not known.

(c) This case involved the marriage of a maiden to a widower who had two small children by a previous marriage. As the bride's parents were deceased, the bride was living with a married sister in an apartment too small to accommodate the newly formed conjugal family. Consequently, after the marriage the groom took his bride to his existing apartment in his village until the next harvest, when he built an apartment in the bride's village.
Table 2.24  Changes in Incidence of Inter-village and Intra-village Marriages over Time(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intra-village marriages</th>
<th>Inter-village marriages</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marriages consumated prior to 1953:</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriages consumated in 1953 or later:</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 (Using Yates' Correction): 7.06 \quad P < .01\]

Table 2.25  Incidence of Residence Types in Inter-village Marriages Consumated Prior to 1953 and after 1953(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Residence in bride's village</th>
<th>Residence in groom's village</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marriages consumated prior to 1953:</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriages consumated in 1953 or later:</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals:</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 (Using Yates' Correction): <1 \quad P: \text{Not significant}\]

(a) Sample derived from 1960 and 1963 censuses of Marudu. The date of 1953 was arbitrarily chosen as the dividing point in the sample.

(b) Sample as in Table 2.20. Residence again refers to residence choice immediately following temporary post-nuptial residence in bride's natal domestic family in cases of first marriages and in cases of bride's second marriage immediately following the wedding.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act 1</th>
<th>Act 2</th>
<th>Act 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The text appears to be a table, possibly related to a game or a list of numbers and letters. The specific content is not clear due to the quality of the image.)
With respect to the sample of inter-village marriages from Marudu, 29 out of 45 marriages not only started off in the bride's village but also remained there (see Table 2.26). In four out of these 29 cases of uxorilocal marriages, however, the parents, or widowed parent, of the groom after the marriage moved their own household to the village in which he has married.

However, as Table 2.26 shows, a large number of marriages do not remain uxorilocal. In 13 cases, or 29% of the sample the residence of the couple was changed by actual moves to other villages.

This sample, however, is not large enough to provide further testing of the relative pull of specific kin ties which result in certain residence choices, and how this pull of kin ties change over time in strength and type. Consequently, I have developed a synchronic measure of the dispersion of males and females after marriage which will enable tests of the relative pull of kin ties to be made.* Married members of 113

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*Barnes (1960) suggests a diachronic approach to measuring the strength of kin ties and applies it to Bremmes, Norway, where the houses are permanent and the same tracts of land have been cultivated for centuries. This approach, however, provides no reliable test of strength of kin ties among the Rungus, where longhouses are impermanent, lasting at the most about 8 years, but more frequently three to four, where shifting cultivation is practiced, where hamlet and village sites are constantly moved, and where families move frequently from village to village. These factors result in unstable communities with linking relatives frequently shifting, particularly in intra-village marriages.
Table 2.26 Changes in Residence Types of a Sample of Inter-village Marriages(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence Types:</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>Mean duration of marriages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocal only:(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Uxorilocal to termination:</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.2 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Uxorilocal to census, 1963:</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.9 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocal to Virilocal:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Terminated by divorce:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Existing as of 1963 census:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocal to Ibidemlocal:(c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Existing as of 1963 census:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocal to Ibidemlocal to Uxorilocal:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Existing as of 1963 census:(d)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocal to Virilocal to Uxorilocal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Existing as of 1963 census:(e)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxorilocal to Neolocal:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Existing as of 1963 census:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virilocal:(f)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Terminated by divorce:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Existing as of 1963 census:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virilocal to Uxorilocal:(g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Existing as of 1963 census:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 45 cases

(a) The sample used here is identical with that used in Table 2.20, with the exception that six cases had to be removed due to inadequate data on residence changes.
(b) In four cases out of the total of 29 in this category, a parent or parents of the groom after the wedding moved their household to their daughter-in-law's village. Three of these cases involved a widowed mother with her unmarried children moving her household, and in the fourth case the mother and father of an only child, a son, moved their household to the village of their daughter-in-law. In the subcategory 'uxorilocal to termination', seven were terminated by death and five by divorce.

(c) I have coined the term 'ibidemlocal' for ease in exposition in this table. By ibidemlocal I refer to that residence type in which the close kin of both bride and groom are resident in the same village as they are. In two out of the three cases in this category the married couple moved back to the village of the groom's close kin, but in doing so brought along the bride's widowed mother who had joined their household. In the third case the married couple moved back to the groom's village, but the bride's widowed father also moved his household to his son-in-law's village, where he had originally lived after his own marriage.

(d) In two of these three cases the bride's mother, who had joined the household of the couple, followed the married couple when they moved to the groom's village. After a period of time, they moved back again to the bride's village. In the third case the married couple, after a period of uxorilocal residence in the same village as the bride's divorced father, followed the bride's father when he moved his household back to the groom's natal village. The bride's father after a few years then moved to another village, and the couple shortly moved their household to this village to follow him.

(e) The married couple moved back to the groom's village where their son then married. The couple then returned to the bride's village where another son married. The couple next moved back to the groom's village where one son now was residing with his wife, and then the couple moved to a village, where no close kin of either were living, for a short time. After that the couple as well as the son from the groom's village all moved back to the bride's village.

(f) In all of these cases the bride was a widow or a divorcee.

(g) See footnote ***, Table 2.23.
Table 2.27 Dispersion of Females and Males after Marriage (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence:</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village of Parent:</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other villages:</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2$ (Using Yates' Correction): 6.91  \( P < .01 \)

Table 2.28 Percentage Dispersion of Females and Males after Marriage (based on data in Table 2.27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence:</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village of Parent:</td>
<td>(b) 68.2%</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
<td>61.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other villages:</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The sample included members of 113 sibling sets. The members of each sibling set were sorted as to their residence at the time of a census of four villages taken in 1960. This gives a more realistic measure than would be the case if each sibling set were given a percentage rating of dispersion and then these again averaged to develop a measure of dispersion. Such a method would put too much weight on small sibling sets.

(b) Residence in 'village of parent' refers to that village in which the parents, or surviving parent, were residing at the time of the census, or if dead, the village in which they died, or if this was not known, the village in which the majority of the sibling set was then living.
siblings sets were sorted according to the residence of each member. Tables 2.27 and 2.28 measure this dispersion of married male and females for the Rungus social system at one point in time, my 1960 census of four villages, ignoring for the moment factors of developmental processes. These tables show that males are dispersed to a significantly higher degree than females. In other words, for the Rungus population in the sample, the pull of kin between the bride and her cognates is stronger than the pull of kin between the groom and his cognates.

In Table 2.29, test 1 and 2 test the dispersion of males and females in the circumstances of 'mother alive - father dead' and 'father alive - mother dead'. These tests show that females in the sample are clustered in the village of the parent to a significantly higher degree when the mother is alive only than when the father is alive only, while the dispersion of males in the sample does not vary significantly under these same conditions. In other words, in competition with the pull of kin ties on the husband, the mother-daughter tie effects a stronger pull on the married pair than the father-daughter tie.

Tests 3, 4, 5 and 6 are similar tests of the relative pull of kin ties. Again, these show that females in the sample are significantly more clustered in the village of their mother when she is alive and more dispersed when she is dead, while the existence or non-existence of the father
Table 2.29 Various Chi Square Tests to Determine the Relative Pull of Parental Ties as Opposed to Affinal Ties(a)

| Test No. | Cases of Residence | | |
|----------|-------------------|---|---|---|
|          | IN | OUT | $X^2$ | P |
| Dispersal after marriage of: | | | | | |
| 1. Females in the circumstance of: | | | | | |
| Mother alive-father dead | 41 | 6 | 7.85 | <.01 |
| Father alive-mother dead | 6 | 7 | | |
| 2. Males in the circumstance of: | | | | | |
| Mother alive-father dead | 17 | 13 | <1 | N.S. |
| Father alive-mother dead | 8 | 5 | | |
| 3. Females in the circumstance of: | | | | | |
| Mother alive-father dead | 41 | 6 | 8.12 | <.01 |
| Both parents dead | 64 | 38 | | |
| 4. Females in the circumstance of: | | | | | |
| Father alive-mother dead | 6 | 7 | 1 | N.S. |
| Both parents dead | 64 | 38 | | |
| 5. Males in the circumstance of: | | | | | |
| Mother alive-father dead | 17 | 13 | <1 | N.S. |
| Both parents dead | 45 | 53 | | |
| 6. Males in the circumstance of: | | | | | |
| Father alive-mother dead | 8 | 5 | 1 | N.S. |
| Both parents dead | 45 | 53 | | |
| 7. Children with mother dead: | | | | | |
| Females | 71 | 45 | | |
| Males | 52 | 58 | 3.88 | <.05 |
| 8. Children with no parent alive: | | | | | |
| Females | 64 | 38 | 5.05 | <.025 |
| Males | 45 | 53 | | |
| 9.(b) Males in the circumstance of: | | | | | |
| Both parents alive | 16 | 3 | | |
| Both parents dead | 45 | 53 | 7.88 | <.01 |
| 10. (c) Males with wives who are not the eldest in their sibling set in the circumstance of: | | | | | |
| Both parents alive | 9 | 2 | | |
| Both parents dead | 16 | 20 | 3.34 | N.S. |
Table 2.29 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test No.</th>
<th>Cases of Residence</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>OUT</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dispersion after marriage of:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. (c) Females in the circumstance of:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents alive</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents dead</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. (d) Females with eldest in sibling set removed in circumstance of:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents alive</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents dead</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Females with eldest in sibling set removed in circumstance of:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents alive</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother alive-father dead</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Females with eldest in sibling set and one special case removed in circumstance of:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents alive</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents dead</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The samples used in these various tests are all derived from the sample used in Table 2.27. In the column 'Cases of Residence' the subcolumn 'IN' refers to residence in the village of parents or surviving parent and the subcolumn 'OUT' refers to residence in some other village than that of parents or surviving parent. Also see footnote (b) in Table 2.27. In all cases Yates' Correction was used in figuring the Chi Squares. N.S. = Not significant.

(b) Sample derived from that used in Table 2.27 except the residence of children of divorced parents involving two sibling sets is not included.

(c) One case was removed from the cell 'both parents alive - residence in other village' as the status of the bride was not known. If it had been included, the results would have been: Chi Square = 1.78. If the distribution 9,2 is compared against the complete sample in the circumstance of both parents dead, 45, 53, on the assumption that it would not materially influence residence, the result is: Chi Square = 2.61. In this test the large, but not significant Chi Square is the result of a small sample which tends to over emphasize intra-village marriages. All 9 cases above in the cell 'both parents alive - village of parents' were intra-village marriages.

(d) The sample in this test in the row 'both parents alive' includes only three cases of females whose husbands were included in Test 9 and 10. Consequently, this is not a 'reciprocal' table, but includes a majority of new cases.
makes no significant impact on the dispersion of females. For males in the sample these again show that the existence or non-existence of a father or mother has no significant influence on the clustering of males in their parental village or not.

Tests 7 and 8 show that females in the sample remain significantly more clustered in the village of their parents even after the death of their mother than do males, as also is the case when no parents are living.

Test 9 shows that in the circumstance of both parents of the groom living, a significantly larger portion of these marriages result in virilocal residence than in the case of both parents of the groom being dead. While this would appear to contradict the preceding tests, it, in fact, brings to light the differentiated nature of the mother-daughter tie in a set of female siblings. Test 10 shows that if those males who have married an eldest child are removed from the test (along with those on whom the data are incomplete in this) the distribution of males in the circumstance of parents alive does not significantly vary from the circumstance of both parents dead.*

What these two tests thus show is that the pull of kin ties on the male, especially when both parents are alive, is

*For simplicity I include under 'eldest' the elder in a set of two siblings.
strong, but not as strong as the mother-daughter tie except in the circumstance of the mother-daughter tie involving an eldest child. In this case the tie between mother and eldest daughter is significantly less strong than between mother and other daughters, bringing about an increase in virilocal residence.

Females in the sample in similar circumstances, that is with both parents alive as against both parents dead, show a distribution which is non-significant (see test 11). Thus, it would appear that when both parents are alive, females do not live in their parental village to a significantly higher degree than when both parents are dead. In this case, removal of females who are the eldest children does not result in any significant change, and non-eldest daughters are still not living significantly more frequently in the parental village when both parents are alive in comparison to the circumstance when both are dead (see test 12).*

Three conclusions may be drawn from these two tests. First, the hypothesis on the close association between mothers and daughters is wrong. This conclusion I reject due to the overwhelming evidence in all the preceding tests. Secondly, there may be something significantly different in the mother-

*However the removal of daughters who are the eldest children does result in a strong shift towards significance. In the following chapter evidence will be given to show that in this case females who are the eldest live out to a significantly higher degree than females who are not in the circumstance of both parents being alive.
daughter relationship when the father is alive as opposed to the case when the mother alone is alive. Test 13 tests and rejects this hypothesis. Daughters who are not the eldest child do not live out to a significantly higher degree when both parents are alive as opposed to the circumstance when the mother only is alive.

It, therefore, must be concluded that the lack of a significant association between mother and daughter in the circumstance of both parents alive when compared with both parents dead (see test 11) is a statistical artifact. Three factors are operating to bring this about. First, it has been shown previously that females are located out of their parental village to a significantly larger degree when their mothers are dead than is the case when their mothers are living. Be that as it may, females do cluster in the parental village even after the death of all parents to a significantly higher degree than do males. This results in a proportionately larger figure in the cell 'both parents dead - village of a parent' which, when coupled with a small sample in the column 'Both parents alive', brings about a statistical conclusion which is not expected. In addition, when dealing with a small sample, as is found in the row 'both parents alive', a time lag in the social structure can also unduly effect the results. For example, in test 13 one of the two cases of a female who is not an eldest child and who is living in another village although both parents are alive involves a married daughter who was
left behind when her parents recently moved to another village. Under normal conditions, it is to be expected that she and her husband will move to her parents new place of residence when the circumstances are convenient. If she is removed from the sample, as is shown in test 14, residence of married non-oldest female children with both parents alive does vary significantly from the residence of those with both parents dead.

Before summarizing the data in terms of the developmental processes at work in the network of social relations surrounding the married couple, the logical fallacy of inferring process from observations taken at one point in time must be dealt with. This fallacy stems from the confusion of a logical ordering with a temporal ordering (see Cohen and Nagel, 1934:388-389). However, when the processes under observation take place at a rate slower than or at the same rate as the biological processes of the observer, the observer is forced to order the entities under observation, if he is interested in elucidating process, according to a postulated developmental sequence and from this ordering draw conclusions as to the processes at work. But this method of constructing a time scale and ranking the entities observed along it by an expected developmental sequence can only provide circumspect conclusions unless other evidence is introduced. For instance, in evolutionary biology, processes which can be observed against a micro-time scale are extrapolated to explain phenomena occurring on a macro-time scale (see Dobzhansky, 1957).
With regard to this problem of inferring developmental processes operating in the Rungus family system, substantiating evidence is found in Table 2.25 which establishes that no changes involving the relative strength of kin ties has as yet taken place in the system. In addition, statements of Rungus informants themselves substantiate the postulated developmental cycle. Also data from marital histories as well as observations of entities, i.e. the domestic family, over a long enough period of time to follow changes from one phase to another, if not through the complete developmental cycle of any one family, provides additional evidence on the processes at work.

To summarize, then, the statistical data in terms of the developmental processes operating in the network of social relations surrounding the married pair, the mother-daughter tie is the strongest affective tie. However, the pull of kin ties on the groom is not to be ignored, particularly when both parents of the groom are still alive. Significant shifts take place in residence choices at this time, if the bride is the eldest child in her sibling set and not influenced to a significant degree by the pull of the mother-daughter tie. This will be further discussed in the next chapter. By the time of the death of the bride's mother, the ties between the wife and husband have grown to sufficient strength to influence significantly the choice of residence in the direction of the village of the groom's cognates rather than the village of the close
cognates of the bride. However, not all females live uxorilocaly, even when their mother is alive, and not all females move virilocaly after the death of their parents, as the pull of sibling ties is still stronger in the case of the female than with the male and influences significantly the choice towards uxorilocal residence.

If residence among the Rungus were primarily dictated by economic factors, one would expect to find a preference for virilocal residence. It is the male founder among the Rungus who is responsible for the swidden production. He chooses the swidden sites, organizes the swidden activities, and puts far more effort into the swiddens than any other family member. During the period of child raising, while the female founder is confined to the longhouse to care for the young children, the male founder will work the family's swiddens alone. Since it is the male founder who is the organizer of swidden activities and the major producer of swidden crops, residence in the male founder's village would have certain advantages. The male founder knows the ecology of his natal village better than that of his wife's; he knows where the best soils lie and where the most mature forest can be found. Furthermore, the male founder is more accustomed to working with the members of his natal village than those of his wife's village in the various swidden tasks involving either labor exchange or cooperation. However, residence among the Rungus does not conform to economic factors. Residence is ideally uxorilocal and is justified, as we have
previously discussed, in terms of the values validating the position of the female in the society, and not in terms of any economic factors.

To conclude, affective ties of kinship, not economic factors, influence residence choice among the Rungus. Explanations as to the origin of residence patterns based on economic factors (see Murdock, 1949:204-205 and Gough, 1961:545-554) when these postulated economic factors are divorced from a particular social system or are not considered as an integral part of the total value system of a particular social system, therefore, can no longer be seriously entertained.*

Recruitment of Members to the Domestic Family

After the founding of the domestic family, additional members are primarily recruited by the birth of children to the two founders (see Table 2.30). If a founder dies or divorces prior to the production of children, the surviving founder, or the divorced founder, will return to his or her natal household, if it still exists, and if it does not, he or she will join temporarily or permanently, depending on subsequent marriage, a household of a sibling. The raising of small children requires the cooperation of two founders,

*Explanations as to the relation of bridewealth to virilocal residence (Murdock, 1949:206-207 and Gough, 1961: 566-567) I also include in this criticism.
Table 2.30  Domestic Family Membership: Founding and Recruited Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Founding Members</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelors and maidens</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowers and maidens</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorcees and maidens</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married man and maiden (polygamous)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowers and divorcees</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorcee and widow</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorcees and divorcees</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowers and widows</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Households with one Founder Surviving:

- Joining Members -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Descending Generation from Founders</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born in</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruited in when parent remarried</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopted in</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined temporarily (orphan joined household of mother's brother)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced daughters (rejoining)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second Descending Generation from Founders:

- Joining Members -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children of deceased daughters</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children of divorced daughter (joined with mother)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's daughter - brought in to help</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Sample derived from 1963 census of Marudu which included 72 domestic families.

(b) Husbands of these females are included in other founder categories with first wife.
Table 2.30 Continued  
--- Joining Members, Cont'd. ---  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

First Ascending Generation from Founders: (c)  
- Father of husband: 1  
- Mother of husband: 1  
- Mother of wife: 8  
- Widowed sister of husband's deceased mother: 1  

Second Ascending Generation from Founders:  
- Wife's grandmother: 1  

Collaterals of Founders:  
- Divorced sister of husband: 1  
- Sisters of wife: 5  
- Orphaned first cousin of wife: 1  
- Orphaned first cousin of husband: 1  
- Divorced brother of wife: 1  

Affines of Founders: (d)  
- Spouses of daughters: 4  
- Spouse of wife's sister: 1  

Anomalous  
- Unmarried female (e): 1  

Totals:  
175 183  

---  

c) Members of the first and second ascending generation are parents of founders, or closest cognates whose own domestic families have been dissolved.  

d) Affines in this category are recently married males following the norm of temporary post-nuptial residence in the bride's natal domestic family, or, if that is dissolved, in the domestic family of the close cognate with whom she is residing at the time of marriage.  

e) An elderly maiden who set up her own household because she did not want to live with a married sister who wanted her to, but wanted to live with another sister and her husband who had not yet offered to take her in.
the wife to take care of the small children and the husband to work in the fields. Therefore, the children of a widower, too young to be left on their own during the day and without an older sibling to care for them, will be given over to the parental household of their deceased mother where their grandmother can devote her time to raising them. A widow or divorcee with children too young to allow her to work in the fields, or with no older child to care for the youngest, will return to her natal household with her children, if it exists, and if it does not, she will carry on her own domestic family with the assistance of brothers. If the death or divorce of a founder occurs when the children are older, the domestic family of the remaining founder is self-sufficient and it will remain a viable entity until the last child marries. Table 2.31 gives a breakdown of the incidence of households with one and two founders in Marudu. Table 2.32 gives the incidence of divorce by stated reasons.

If a widowed founder with children maintains his or her domestic family and subsequently remarries, the old domestic family in terms of accumulated dapu is dissolved and a new one formed with the members merged. That is, the earned assets of the newly formed domestic family will be kept separate from those of the old domestic family.
Table 2.31  Incidence of Households in Marudu With Two Founders and Incidence of Households With Only One Founder Remaining

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Household</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Households with two founders:</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with widowed founders (all such households include children):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed males:</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed females:</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with divorced founders (all such households include children):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced males:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced females:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household of elderly maiden (see footnote (a) Table 2.30):</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household with no founder, the widowed founder having moved out:(a)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The classification of this household provides certain difficulties. Originally the household was composed of a widower, his children, and the mother of his deceased wife. He then married a widow, also with children. Under normal circumstances the members of these two households would have been merged and a new domestic family created. Assets previously created by the widow would eventually be devolved on her children, or used for their bride prices, and assets created by the widower would have been put aside for his children for similar purposes. Assets created by the new family would then be the corporate property of the newly formed domestic family and used for all of the merged members. However, the widower had considerable assets. He wanted to ensure that these were reserved for his unmarried son. The widow also had at one time considerable assets, but her eldest unmarried son was removing them from the household by stealth and pawning them so that he could raise cash for his wanderings, romantic episodes, and the like. Merging the members of these two domestic families into one physical household would have resulted in putting the widower's property reserved for his son in the reach of the errant son and the widower did not want to so jeopardize his property. Consequently, the widower moved into the widow's household and kept his old household still operating and physically distinct, while both households were supported from the same farm. His intention was to divide any profits that might arise from this joint farming operation between the two domestic households according to their share in the production.
Table 2.32 Stated Reasons for Divorce(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residence - husband wanted to return to his village and his wife would not follow:</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband took a second wife and his first wife did not want to be a part of a polygamous marriage:</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Incompatibility':</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband or wife sick:</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife would not accept husband's attentions:</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife accused of being an adulteress:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband an adulterer:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife 'lazy':</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife and husband constantly fought:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife barren:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband would not stay at home:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband divorced his second wife, so that he could return to his first wife and children, after his first wife had objected to a polygamous marriage and had divorced him:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband unreasonable in his jealousy and suspicious of his wife's infidelity:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife not acceptable (a female, unacceptable as a wife due to physical disabilities, was made pregnant and her partner had to marry her. Divorce immediately ensued.):</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons unknown:</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Based on a sample of 157 marriages from Marudu.
Table 2.33 Residence of Aged Parents Who No Longer Maintain Their Own Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resides with the youngest child who also was the last to marry in his or her sibling set:</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resides with the last child to marry and who was not the youngest in his or her sibling set:</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resides with the youngest child, although married prior to others in the sibling set:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resides neither with the youngest child, nor with the last married:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resides with grandchildren:</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Data for this table derived from analysis of sibling sets from four villages.

(b) In this case the next to youngest child was married only a few months after the youngest. In terms of the timing of marriages and setting up separate households these two siblings were married within the same season, and consequently, can be considered to have married contemporaneously.

(c) In this case the surviving parent was the father and he chose to reside with his only son.

(d) In one of these cases a grandmother chose to reside with her dead daughter's children in order to raise them. In the other case the grandmother preferred to reside with her married granddaughter, although the daughter was alive, because she had become closely attached to her.
Dissolution of the Domestic Family at the End of its Developmental Cycle

When the two founders of a domestic family, or the surviving founder, are no longer able to carry on and support themselves due to lingering illness or senility, their case has a structural solution in the tandon do nongkob. The tandon is that child which takes care of his or her aged parents after the dissolution of the parental household. Households, or domestic families, are called nongkob, and /do nongkob/ literally is 'of the household'. The term tandon derives from the verb /nakatandon/, which means 'has held fast' such as a spear in a pig or a splinter in the hand which won't come out, and so the tandon do nongkob is that child which holds fast, sticks with, his parental domestic family.

Which child takes care of the aged parents depends on the social context, and consequently, the term tandon do nongkob may be used in different contexts. To the great majority of people the tandon designates the youngest child. Others explain that the tandon really refers to the child last to marry, while other maintain that the term tandon refers to that child with whom the parents decide to reside and this child may be neither the youngest nor the last to marry.

Table 2.33 gives the incidence of preferences for tandon in a sample of sibling sets, and Table 2.34 gives the incidence of survival of parents past the marriage of their last child.
Table 2.34 Survival of Parents Past the Marriage of Their Last Child(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both parents surviving:</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father surviving only:</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother surviving only:</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents dead:</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.35 Choices by Widows and Divorcees as to the Household Joined after They No Longer Desired to Maintain a Separate Household(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Joined Household of:</th>
<th>Youngest child</th>
<th>Other male child</th>
<th>Other female child</th>
<th>Granddaughter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youngest child is:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A female:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A male:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1(c)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Data derived from 1960 and 1963 censuses of Marudu.

(b) Sample derived from the 1960 and 1963 censuses of Marudu. The tandon do nongkob for each sibling set with a representative resident in Marudu was determined, irrespective of whether the joining parent(s) was alive or dead at the time of the censuses. In the column 'Youngest child' two mothers have shifted from the youngest child, in one case a female and in the other case a male, to the household of another child due to mistreatment. In all cases in this table of a parent joining the household of a child the mother stayed with the child last to be married with the exception of the case in the column 'Other female child'. This case involved two daughters. The eldest married first but was shortly divorced prior to establishing a separate residence, because of her unwillingness to accept the attentions of her husband. The youngest daughter then married and established a separate household. The eldest daughter remarried and her mother remained with her.

(c) The household of a married granddaughter was joined rather than that of a daughter because, it was stated, the grandmother was particularly fond of her granddaughter.
### Table 2.36 Choices of Widowers as to the Household Joined After They No Longer Desired to Maintain a Separate Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youngest child</th>
<th>Other male child</th>
<th>Other female child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A female:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A male:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Youngest child is:**

- A female: - 3 -
- A male: 1 - -

### Table 2.37 Choices of Parents as to the Household Joined After They No Longer Desired to Maintain a Separate Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youngest child</th>
<th>Other male child</th>
<th>Other female child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A female:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A male:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(a)** Sample derived from same source as that used in Table 2.35. This table includes two widowers who remarried maiden sisters of their wives. These maiden sisters produced no children and after the death of their husbands they continued residence in the same household that they and their husbands had joined.

**(b)** Sample derived from same source as that used in Table 2.35. In the column 'Other female child' the case involves a youngest child, a daughter, marrying a tandon. The youngest daughter was the next to last to marry. Her elder sister shortly married after she did and the parents chose to remain with this daughter, while the youngest daughter with her husband returned to his household to care for his aged foster-parent (deceased mother's sister).
Tables 2.35 and 2.36 give the incidence of residence choice on the dissolution of domestic families by sex of the parents joining and sex of the children joined. The overwhelming preference of widows and divorced females is to stay with or join the domestic family of the youngest child, who are, incidentally, also the last to marry in the sample. The reason given for this is that the youngest needs the most help and guidance from the mother. He is not yet really able to think for himself, it is stated; he is not yet old enough, nor not yet knowledgeable in the adat, nor skilled in work. He is referred to as 'not matured' in the same way fruit has not matured. The youngest also is considered not to have yet enough bahazan and will need additional instruction from the parent, while the older children were taught long ago. Furthermore, the domestic family of the youngest and/or last to marry has not yet had enough time to become fully established and the utensils of the parental household will be needed.

In fact, however, the mother stays with her youngest child because of the close tie between them. The last born child is the slowest to mature and is considered the 'spoiled child' of the sibling set. It is allowed to suck at the breast much longer than older siblings, in some cases up to ten years of age.

Tables 2.36 and 2.37 show the choice of males as to the domestic family of which child joined in the case of widowers
as well as in the case where both parents survive the marriage of their last child, since the male founder has the stronger voice in the decision.

Fathers do not like to stay with the youngest child if it is a female. This is related to the dislike of close contact between fathers and daughters because of the fear of incest. It is explained that when the father is in his last illness, a son will be more willing to wash off the feces, wash his soiled clothes, and touch his body to see how hot he is. It is also stated that since the husband of a daughter makes the house and swiddens, he may become angry at his father-in-law. Furthermore, the father and his son have worked together in the fields over a period of years prior to the son's marriage, and there is a much closer attachment to a son.

While widowers after the marriage of all their children can operate their own independent household and do so while still active, widows are unable to do this without support from kin due to the arduous work of swidden cutting. Consequently, widows invariably choose to become a member of the household of their youngest child and/or the last to marry at

* Included in our sample of families from the 1963 census of Marudu are two cases where the female founder was accused by her spouse of having incestuous relations with her father. These accusations were never proven. There are no known cases of wives accusing their husbands of such relations with their mothers.
Table 2.38  Incidence of Temporary Post-Nuptial Residence in the Bride's Natal Household by the Tandon do Nongkob (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males who are not</th>
<th>Males who were</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tandon do nongkob</td>
<td>tandon do nongkob</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resided in bride's natal household after wedding:</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not reside in bride's natal household after wedding:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X² (Using Yates' Correction): 15.21  P < .001

Table 2.39  Participation by the Tandon do Nongkob in the Swidden Work of the Bride's Natal Household after the Wedding (b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fully participated</th>
<th>Partially participated</th>
<th>Did not participate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of cases</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Sample derived from Table 2.13 and the 1960 and 1963 Census of Marudu.

(b) Sample derived from 1960 and 1963 Census of Marudu.
the time of the marriage. If both founders of the domestic family are surviving and still able to carry on the swidden work to support themselves after the marriage of all their children, however, they will not choose to dissolve their domestic family. Instead they will operate their domestic family until they are no longer able to carry on their swidden work unaided and then they will join an apartment of a child.

Because the tandon is expected to support and care for his aged parents if they are ready to dissolve their domestic family, a male tandon as a rule does not take up temporary post-nuptial residence in the bride's natal household, but brings his bride to his natal household, which he now becomes responsible for (see Table 2.38). Also because of the tandon's unique position, he does not as a rule participate fully in the swidden work of the bride's natal household. A male tandon may help in the swiddens of his bride's parents, but this is a partial participation and secondary to his main responsibility, the swiddens of his own household (see Table 2.39).

In the case of inter-village marriages involving a male tandon, the groom may bring his aged parent to his wife's village, or the groom may take his bride back to his village. In such cases the virilocal residence of the bride is insured at the time of negotiations over a bride price by the presentation and acceptance by the bride's parents of a small gong.

However, the aged parent may not be well treated. In 3 out of 20 cases of tandon, the parent moved to the household
of another child due to ill treatment and contention over the parent’s share of food and other expenses. If this occurs, a small piece of brassware worth anywhere from $20 to $50 (Malay) and originally devolved on the tandon will be taken by the parent from the assets of the tandon to add to the assets of the household where he is moving. One informant stated that parents should not tell all of their magical and ritual secrets to their children, because if they got into difficulties later on, the children would not help.

In the case of parents who are able to carry on their domestic family operation after the marriage of their last child, when they finally decide to dissolve their domestic family operation, this is an obvious action. Either they go and join the apartment of their tandon, or the tandon and his family comes and joins the apartment of his parents. However, in the case of a widow, a senile widower, or senile parents in which the last child to marry stays in his natal apartment and brings in his spouse in order to care for the aged parent or parents, this transition point is not so obvious. Nevertheless in each case there is a change in headmanship of the apartment.

The headmanship of a domestic family primarily involves the selection of swidden areas, the building of the family’s apartment, and the bartering of agricultural produce for fish, salt, clothing, and dapu. Consequently, the tandon if he is a
male, and the son-in-law, if the tandon is a female continues his headmanship of his apartment when the parents of the tandon join this apartment. If the dissolution of the parental domestic family operation takes place on the marriage of the last child, in which case the last child remains in his or her natal apartment and brings in his or her spouse, the headmanship passes at that time to the tandon, if it is a male, and to the son-in-law, if the tandon is a female.

This transition, nevertheless, is not formalized, nor is it clear-cut and obvious. It is masked by the well developed respect relationship that exists between children and parents and between children-in-law and parents-in-law and which will be discussed in the next chapter.

In addition, however, to this change in headmanship, there is a precise cut-off point in the existence of a domestic family. In the case where this cut-off point is blurred by the lack of a physical move (as well as the lack of the formal change in headmanship) such as is the case where a son brings in his wife to his widowed mother's apartment immediately after the marriage ceremony, the cut-off point of the parental domestic family is established by the distribution of family assets. If the widow has not yet distributed all the family assets by the time of the marriage of the tandon, it is done at that time so that the tandon cannot establish a claim on the share of his siblings by the very fact of physical control. But most importantly the tandon's share is no longer considered
### Table 2.40 Domestic Family Size: Mean, Median, and Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village:</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Botong</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,3,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puka</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malongkalong</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marudu 1960</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>4.64</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>4,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For sample:</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2.41 Frequency Distribution Table of Domestic Family Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency per village:</th>
<th>Number of Persons in Domestic Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botang</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puka</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malongkalong</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marudu 1960</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to be the family assets of the domestic family of his wife, mother and himself. They are his personal possessions and any dapu purchased subsequently to the marriage becomes the family property of the three family members as well as that of any children which are born into the family. However, this point will be elucidated at length in our discussion of the property system of the domestic family in a subsequent chapter.

Composition of the Domestic Family and the Developmental Cycle Sample.

Early in 1960 during our first field session a census was made of four traditional, pagan villages. At the end of our field work in 1963, a second census was made of one of these villages, that in which we lived. These two censuses thus provide an atemporal comparison of the variation in structure of several villages as well as data on the structural processes operating in the domestic families of one village.

Size and genealogical composition. The average size of the domestic families in our sample of 118 families is 4.52. The median is 4 and the modes are 4 and 5 (see Table 2.40). Table 2.41 shows the frequency distribution of domestic family size. The range of size of the domestic families is both the result of differences in fertility as well as differences in phase of the developmental cycle at the point of the census. For instance, in the case of the family with 10 members, it is composed of the two founders, the widowed parent of one founder,
Table 2.42 Frequency Distribution Table of Generations Represented in Domestic Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations Represented</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency per village:</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botong</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puka</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malong-kalong</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marudu 1960</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>80.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.43 Frequency Distribution Table of Generation Span in Domestic Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation Span</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency per village</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botong</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puka</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malong-kalong</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marudu 1960</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and 7 children. This family is just at the stage when the eldest children will begin marrying and moving out to establish their own households. In one of the cases of two members, the family is composed of mother and unmarried daughter, and this family is at the stage in its development just before the marriage of the last of three siblings after which the mother will join the newly formed domestic family of her daughter and son-in-law.

Tables 2.42 and 2.43 show the frequency distribution of the genealogical composition of the family by generations represented in the domestic family and by the span of generations contained in the family. A comparison of these two shows that in some cases a generation may be missing. Table 2.44 shows the frequency distribution of generational types in the sample of domestic families and also shows which linking generations are missing.

A comparison of these tables shows that the most frequently occurring domestic family type is the two generational family structure of founders and children, which is also the ideal type. After a period of residence in the female founder's natal household, from the wedding to the end of the agricultural year, the two founders build a separate house in the female founder's village, prepare the next year's swiddens and await the arrival of children. Marriages which prove infertile
Table 2.44  Incidence of Genealogical Types in the Domestic Families of the 1960 Census Villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>One Generational Families:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried male</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed founder</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two founders, as yet no children</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two founders (all children married with own domestic families)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two Generational Families:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Founders, or widowed founder, with children (based on monogamous marriage)</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founders and children (based on polygamous marriage)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founders, or widowed founder, with children and spouse of one child</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founders and 'adopted' child</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founders and collateral kin of one founder</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founders with as yet no children, and widowed parent of one founder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three Generational Families:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Founders or widowed founder, children and parent of one founder</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widower, children and divorced child with her children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founders, children, and dead daughter's children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Families with a Two Generational Span, a Linking Generation Missing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandparent(s) - Grandchildren</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Family with a Three Generational Span, a Linking Generation Missing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Founders, children, and grandmother of one founder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anomalous                                           | 3 |

Total 118
lead to divorce.*

The second most frequently occurring domestic family type is the three generational family composed of founders, or widowed founder, children, and the parent of one of the founders.

The third most frequently occurring domestic family type is the one generational family composed of two founders with as yet no children.

These three types represent the ideal structural form of the Rungus domestic family at the three basic phases in its developmental cycle. However, the vicissitudes of death and divorce result in variations to these three basic types. Table 2.30 in a preceding section and the discussion at that point gives the data on collateral and lineal extensions of these three basic types due to these vicissitudes.

Polygamous marriages. Polygamous marriages exist, but are not preferred, primarily because of the difficulty which will ensue with the first wife. It is expected that she will protest violently, more often than not threatening her husband

*Unlike the Iban, adoption among the Rungus does not occur, even as an alternative to infertile unions. There exists no jural action by which to formalize adoption in the Rungus social system. In one case where a child lived in a domestic family other than his own it was the result of the child's own preference as he could not get along with his father's second wife. Instead, he chose to live with his dead mother's sister who had no children surviving, and his aunt's husband said that if he chooses to remain with them until he marries and contributes to the operation of the household, he will devise his property on him.
with a knife, or will divorce her husband. However, polygamous marriages are also not preferred because of the difficult and expensive curing ceremonies for the frequently sick young children, and it is felt, consequently, that two reproducing wives will be more of a burden to the husband than it is worth. In the two cases of polygamous unions in our 1960 census, both occurred after the first wife had passed her menopause. It is expected in polygamous marriages that a separate household will be maintained for each wife and that each household will be its own production, consumption, and asset-accumulating unit. Such is the case with these two examples in the census and, consequently, I have enumerated these two cases of polygamous marriage as consisting of four domestic families. The husband I have enumerated with the domestic family of the first wife.

At the conclusion of our second census of Marudu in 1963 there existed in this village two new polygamous marriages in each of which a husband had seduced and made pregnant his wife's unmarried sister who was resident in their household. It is expected that eventually these will set up separate households for each wife, but there are no sanctions enforcing this. The separation of plural wives is usually the result of the preference of the wives themselves, as it is expected that they shall not get along well together and also because it is desired to prevent a claim arising by children of second wives on heirloom property of the husband as well as on the assets
Table 2.45  Comparison of Domestic Family Size in the 1960 and 1963 Census of Marudu: Mean, Median, and Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marudu - 1960</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>4.64</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marudu - 1963</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.46  Comparison of Frequency Distribution of Domestic Family Size in 1960 and 1963 Census of Marudu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Persons in Domestic Family</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marudu 1960</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marudu 1963</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.47  Comparison of Frequency of Generations Represented in 1960 and 1963 Census of Marudu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations Represented</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marudu - 1960</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marudu - 1963</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Net changes: -4 +1 -8 +3

Table 2.48  Comparison of Frequency of Generation Spans in 1960 and 1963 Census of Marudu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation Span</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marudu - 1960</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marudu - 1963</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
accumulated by the prior domestic family. The father's heirloom property rightfully belongs to the children by the first marriage as well as do the accumulated assets of that domestic family, and participation in this domestic family by the second wife and her children could be used as the basis of a claim on these assets.

The 1960 and 1963 Censuses of Marudu. The mean number of members per domestic family and the mode for the two censuses vary considerably. Tables 2.45 and 2.46 give the statistical data showing the changes over this period. There were two major factors operating to cause this variation. First of all, a number of families, with an average size of 3.09 members, moved out of Marudu while during this period the mean size of families who moved into Marudu was 6 members. Secondly, there was an unusually large number of births surviving.

Tables 2.47 and 2.48 give a comparison of generations represented in the domestic families at the time of the two censuses as well as the span of generations found. Table 2.49 gives the explanation of the shifts in generational structure.

It is obvious, of course, that any census data will be affected by the frequency of phases in the developmental cycle of the various domestic families represented in a village (see Fortes, 1949). Furthermore, villages themselves vary as to the frequency of phases represented. Table 2.50 illustrates this point. Botong which has the lowest mean family size of all the villages also shows a skewing in frequency of phases
Table 2.49 Changes in the Frequency of Generations Represented Between the 1960 and 1963 Marudu Censuses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations Represented</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moving out of village:</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joining village:</td>
<td></td>
<td>+2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families founded by marriage from existing families:</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families shifting from 1 to 2 generations due to birth of children:</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families shifting from 2 to 3 generations: (a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families shifting from three to two due to death of child:</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease of households from two families merging; a widower with children married a widower with children:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net changes</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) In three cases children were born to founders in whose household a parent or parents of one founder were living after the dissolution of their own household. In one case a parent of a founder joined the household of the married child who had children of her own. In one case a grandchild joined the domestic family of aged grandmother and blind uncle to help out.
Table 2.50  Percentage Occurrence of Phases in the Developmental Cycle of the Domestic Family in Two Villages and the Average Number of Members in These Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Occurrence</th>
<th>Mean Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage Occurrence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B(a) 1960 1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newly formed families:</td>
<td>0% 9% 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maturing families:</td>
<td>45 41 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fully formed families:</td>
<td>36 20 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spin off of children into new families:</td>
<td>0 18 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last stage before dissolution</td>
<td>9 5 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anomalous</td>
<td>9 7 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99% 100% 99% (4.18)(b)(4.64) (4.94)

(a) B refers to the village of Botong; 1960 refers to the census taken in 1960 of Marudu; 1963 refers to the census taken in 1963 of Marudu.

(b) These figures in parenthesis are the mean size of the domestic families in the villages under the column in which they occur. They are taken from Table 2.40 and are inserted here only as a reference point.
in the developmental cycle represented. The phase of 'newly formed families' (Table 2.50) refers to those cases where two founders have just set up their separate households or are just beginning to reproduce. 'Maturing families' are those families which are in the middle period of their reproductive life. 'Fully formed families' refer to those families which are ending or just about to end their reproductive life. Families at this stage are usually economically the most productive due to the large labor force available for work in the swiddens. The phase which is called 'hive off of children into new families' represents the phase when the children are getting married and moving out into their own households. The reason that the average size of these families appears to be high is that frequently at this period the new son-in-law is temporarily residing along with his wife in her natal household. The last phase before dissolution refers to that point when all but one or two of the children are married, and the surviving founder or founders are no longer very active in the swiddens. The category 'anamolous' includes unmarried individuals who have set up their own households as their parents are not alive, and households in which a founder has been divorced or widowed at the maturing phase in the developmental cycle so that in effect the family is 'frozen' at that phase in its development.

Not only does the differential incidence of phases in the developmental cycle of the family between villages influence
measures of central value, but also differential rates of fertility between villages affect these measures. For instance, in Table 2.50 Butong has an average of 3 members per family in the maturing phase while Marudu in 1960 had 4.64 and in 1963, 4.94, both of which seem significantly larger.

However, these two factors, differential rates of fertility between villages and the differential incidence of phases in the developmental cycle, are not independent variables. Differential rates of fertility which result in a population expansion in one village as compared to another influence the incidence of specific phases in the developmental cycle, and this holds for comparisons done between societies. For instance population expansion among the Rungus, in relative terms, would have the effect of increasing the incidence of one and two generational family structures, while a decrease in fertility could bring about an increase in three generational family structures.

Summary and Conclusion

In order to lay the foundation for our discussion of the developmental cycle of the Rungus domestic family, we discussed at length the value premise that sexual relations are potentially deleterious for the society at large. It is this value premise that underlies the various directives and preferences in choice of spouse. It is this value premise that validates all of the institutions which lead up to the foundation of the
domestic family such as courting, negotiations over bride price, the wedding ceremony, temporary post-nuptial residence, and the establishment of a separate residence.

Furthermore, it was shown how this value premise with respect to sexual relations effects the post-nuptial behavior of the bride and how the method by which it is inculcated in females results in a discontinuity in the cultural conditioning of the female with respect to marriage. This is aggravated by the fact that a daughter receives no instruction on sex prior to her marriage. As we shall see in the next chapter, this lack of discussion of sexual topics between a mother and her daughter derives from the nature of the asymmetrical respect relationship which exists between parent and child.

In the section dealing with residence I have attempted to describe how the developmental cycle of the domestic family as well as the developmental process in the system of social relations surrounding and including the married pair influence the choice of residence. Of particular importance for residence choice in this system of social relations is the lack of confidence and familiarity in the husband-wife relationship which stems from the discontinuity in cultural conditioning of the female, the lack of skill by the female in the jural realm, which adds to the lack of confidence in this relationship, and the close affective tie between a mother and her daughter. This close tie stems from the processes by which the major value premise on sexual relations is inculcated, as well as the
inculcation of the characterological concomitance of this value and those values which constitute a 'good' female. In addition, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, the close association between mothers and daughters is also based on the scarce knowledge and skill which the mother possesses. A daughter depends on her mother and her skills to help her in the rearing of the daughter's children and the daughter leans heavily on her mother's ritual knowledge to help her get her children through the dangerous period of early childhood when the children are particularly susceptible to malaria and other diseases. Disease forms one of the major anxieties, particularly with regard to children, in Rungus society.

It is this close association between mother and daughter which determines much of the social structure of the longhouse community which will be discussed in a later chapter.

This value premise that sexual relations are potentially deleterious justifies bride price and it was necessary in our discussion of the developmental cycle of the Rungus domestic family to establish the nature of the bride price transaction as it forms a major factor in the lack of a class system among the Rungus, in contrast to the Melanau, as well as forming an integral part of the property system of the family. The characterological concomitance of this value premise as to what constitutes a 'virtuous' woman and a 'good' man also has an influence on the distribution of family property as those children who most closely approximate to these values and to the moral
order of the kinship system will usually be given a larger share in the distribution of the family property.

Consequently, we have discussed the developmental cycle of the Rungus domestic family in detail not only to establish the nature of the most important group in the economic, ritual and jural realm, but also to introduce the discussion on the temporal boundaries of the domestic family, which we shall complete in a later chapter with the discussion of the property system of the domestic family. There, as well as in the succeeding chapter on religion and the domestic family, we shall attempt to demonstrate that the Rungus domestic family is a corporate group even though, unlike the Iban bilek family, it is not a perennial grouping but has explicit temporal boundaries.

However, before discussing the nature of the property system of the domestic family, it will be necessary in the next chapter to analyze the system of social relations within the domestic family and forming around the domestic family in order to explain the organization of the domestic family in its economic, ritual, and jural activities. In this chapter we shall also discuss further the nature of the mother-daughter tie. Of particular importance to the understanding of the property system and the distribution of the domestic family's assets is the differential statuses of siblings in the family, and this will be discussed in detail.
Chapter Three

Kinship Terminology and Social Relationships in the Domestic Family

Kinship Terminology

The Rungus kinship terminology is shown in the Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4. The extension of kin terms from the primary category to collaterals, that is, for instance, extension of the term for parent's sister to her cousins, is carried out as far as first or second cousins. Third cousins are seldom included. The one exception to this is the term ivanon, which is extended to all known cognates of one's spouse in an ascending generation.

The Rungus cousin terminology varies with the level of discourse and the social situation.* Hawaiian type terminology, in which the term for a sibling (/opinai/) is extended to include a cousin, is used to express familiarity, closeness, and social proximity. Eskimo type terminology is used either to express specificity of relationship or social distance. For instance, social distance is indicated by referring to a cousin simply as /pinsan/, 'cousin'; specificity of the cousin relationship is indicated by the use of the term for cousin...

*Frake (1960) has made this point also with regard to Subanun cousin terminology.
Figure 3.1  Rungus Kinship Terminology: Reference System (Cognates)

Key:  Δ: male, O: female;  O: sex undesignated; m.s.: f.s.: male speaking, female speaking.

Note: The terms aki and odu are extended to include second cousin of lineal grandparents, the terms kamaman and kominan are also extended to include second cousin of parents.
**Figure 3.2** Rungus Kinship Terminology: Vocative System (Cognates)

Key: Δ, m: male; O, f: female; O: sex undesignated, m.s., f.s.: male speaking, female speaking. No term of address exists for child of EGO, siblings of EGO, and cousins of EGO.
Figure 3.3  
**Rungus Kinship Terminology: Affinal System**

**Note:** Quotation marks indicate terms of address. Where none exist, personal names or nicknames are used.
Figure 3.4  Rungus Kinship Terminology: Affinal System (continued)

Note: Quotation marks indicate terms of address. Where none exist, personal names or nicknames are used.
(/pinsan/) plus the number /kinduvo/ or /kintolu/ for second or third cousins. A first cousin is referred to as /pinsan haring/ with the word /haring/ being used in this and certain other specialized environments to indicate 'the first ...' or 'the initial ...'.

In actual usage Hawaiian terminology is seldom used to include third cousins and for second cousins is used with about equal frequency as the Eskimo type. For first cousins, Hawaiian type terminology is by far the most frequently used, particularly when the speaker is in the presence of the person he is referring to. The Eskimo type of terminology is also used in answer to specific questions with respect to the kinship terminology and, because of this as well as for reasons of simplicity, it is the only type shown in the kinship diagrams.

Symmetrical Kin Relationships

Husband-wife. The husband-wife relationship in the Rungus social system is essentially symmetrical. The terms of reference are self-reciprocal. One's future, as yet unselected, spouse is referred to as one's /timbang/, that person who is your 'balance'. If a marriage is successful in terms of production of children and accumulation of assets, the couple are said to mitimbang, 'to balance each other', in a similar manner

---

*By a symmetrical relationship I refer to a social relationship in which B behaves towards A in the same manner A behaves towards B (see Goffman, 1956:476).
to which things are weighed on a daching.*

Husband and wife should asamod (care for, cherish) each other. They are very jealous also of each other's sexual services and spouses frequently accuse each other of dalliances. Marital friction, in addition, will result if the wife thinks her spouse is spending too much time helping in the swiddens of his siblings or parents instead of working in his own family's swiddens, if the husband is lazy, or if the wife is slow in performing the usual household tasks. If a husband strikes his wife without cause, she will return to her parental household, and it may take the prestation of a gong to her parents to bring her back. Any disparaging reference to the wife's parents may be reported to the wife's parents by the wife herself, which will cause friction with the son-in-law, and, if too blatant, the wife's father will sue his son-in-law for a piece of brassware due to his being 'shamed'. Divorce results in a division of the accumulated assets of the domestic family in half, with the better quality pieces of property in each class given to the male, since he is felt to have played a more prominent part in accumulating these assets.

Relations Between Siblings. The relationship between adult siblings, with the exception of that with the eldest sibling in a set, is also essentially a symmetrical one. Kin

terms of reference are again self-reciprocal. Siblings are sup­posed to help each other, but in fact, once they have estab­lished their own households, many are the cases where they have not. In addition, siblings are not supposed to make a trading profit from each other, but again, once they have their own households, there are many cases where they do. Friction consis­tently arises between siblings due to unreturned borrow­ings, or due to profits made off a sibling when he was in trouble and had to convert his assets into cash or domestic animals for a sacrifice. Friction may also arise between siblings due to a belief that one has been cheated out of one's fair share of the assets of the parental domestic family. In addi­tion, friction can result from jealousy (/inumpaladan/) over a sibling's success in the swiddens or in trading, and this may result in attempts to get the better of this more successful sibling. However, seldom do such frictions culminate in a litigation, as they would if they were between more distant kin such as cousins, or non-kin.

Brothers and sisters cannot talk to one another about sexual intercourse or mention the genitals. A brother cannot take hold of his sister's arm, sit beside her, lie beside her, or swim with her. They may share the same bowl when eating, go to the swiddens together, help each other in various tasks, and sisters may be asked to comb their brother's hair. There seems to be no rule with regard to emotional distance between brothers and sisters. Some brothers and sisters are close, while
Table 3.1  Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Relationships: Kin terms used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asymmetrical Relationships</th>
<th>Kin Terms Available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference Vocative Terms of address actually used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PKT RKT PKT RKT PKT RKT NM NKNM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Spouse's parents-child's spouse:</td>
<td>A,B B B a A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Parent-child:</td>
<td>A,B B B a A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Grandparent-grandchild:</td>
<td>A,B A,B B a A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Eldest sibling-younger sibling:</td>
<td>A,B (B) (B) a,b A,B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Symmetrical Relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PKT RKT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Spouse-spouse:</td>
<td>A,B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sibling-sibling:</td>
<td>A,B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cousin-cousin:</td>
<td>A,B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KEY: PKT = Polar kin term (see Murdock, 1949:104-105); RKT = Self-reciprocal kin term; NM = Name; NKNM = Nickname; A = The first person in kin pair, as parent in parent - child relationship, uses the term or name with reference or in address to the second; B = Second person in the kin pair uses the term or name with reference or in address to the first. Capitals indicate most frequent usage. Small letters indicate patterned alternative and not used as frequently. Where capitals appear in two columns in the same category, this indicates equal frequency. (B) = Uses a quasi-kin term.
others are not.

**Cousin-cousin.** There are no specific prescriptions or prohibitions with regard to relations between cousins, with the exception that one ought to help at least first cousins. Cousins are in fact potential spouses.

**Sibling's Spouse -- Spouse's Sibling.** This is essentially a symmetrical relationship involving mutual respect, or constrained behavior. Self-reciprocal kin terms of address are used, and whenever kin terms of address are used in a social relationship in Rungus society, it implies respect. The fact that in spite of this respect it is a symmetrical relationship is shown by the fact that if one's classificatory *ivanon* has been a friend or age-mate prior to marriage, one does not use the term of address, 'ivan', but instead the two individuals use the self-reciprocal terms for sibling's spouse -- spouse's sibling. Social constraint in this behavior between sibling's spouse -- spouse's sibling may be related to the fact that if one's spouse dies, he or she is expected to marry a sibling of the deceased spouse, and if he refuses to do so, he will have to make a payment of a small piece of brassware or a gong to his parents-in-law.

**Symmetrical Relations and Kin Terms.** As Table 3.1 shows, for all social relations which are essentially symmetrical, the kin terms of reference are also symmetrical. In symmetrical
relations where there is familiarity, one addresses the reciprocal individual by using either the personal name or a nickname.* When respect is involved, or social constraint, the mode of address used is the self-reciprocal kin term of address.

Asymmetrical Relationships

There are four major asymmetrical relationships in the Rungus kinship system.** These are, in declining order of intensity: spouse's parents -- child's spouse, parent-child, grandparent-grandchild, eldest sibling -- younger sibling. These are the only social relationships in which ritualization (Gluckman, 1962:24-25) occurs, and the degree of ritualization lessens with the declining order of intensity.***

The parent's sibling -- sibling's child relationship just lies beyond these ritualized categories, and is asymmetrical only in an attenuated form. A brother of a parent, on the death of parents, has certain functions with respect to his niece or

---

*Nicknames (or pet names) are chosen from a small inventory of such terms in current usage. They are neither derived morphemically from personal names, nor are they descriptive. While personal names are seldom duplicated, identical nicknames are used in many families throughout Rungus society.

**By an asymmetrical relationship, I refer to a social relationship in which the behavior of B towards A is different in degree and content from that of A towards B (see Goffman, 1956:476).

***This ranking of degree of asymmetry was done by Rungus informants themselves.
nephew. He will appear at litigation involving them and give them help, and he is expected to be the major functionary at their funerals.

**Asymmetrical Relations and Kin Terms.** There are polar kin terms of reference in all asymmetrical relationships, with the exception of the eldest sibling-younger sibling relation (see Table 3.1). In the three most intense asymmetrical relationships kin terms of address are used with respect to the superordinate role, while the person in the superordinate role uses a personal name or nickname in speaking to the person in the subordinate role. The eldest sibling, whose role lies on the border of the ritualized respect relationships, is addressed by his younger sibling with either a quasi-kin term, yaka, a nickname, or his personal name. The quasi-kin term, yaka, morphemically resembles a nickname, but it never is used with respect to any sibling other than the eldest and is never used by anyone else other than siblings, while nicknames used by parents for a child may also be used by that child's siblings to speak to him.

**The Concept Kovusung.** I have previously translated kovusung as a mystical sanction invoked by the violation of an asymmetrical respect relationships. The most frequent statements explaining this mystical sanction is that if a person violates a respect relationship his (or her) stomach will
blow up and burst when he dies. This is considered foul and filthy. In addition, it is stated that one's body will no longer be good-looking, but will turn yellow. There will be no fruits from one's labors, and the person who has had this happen to him will be poor. One's behavior, it is stated, will be unpredictable. Parental instruction will not take root, and the person will make many mistakes and faults.*

**Spouse's Parents-Child's Spouse.** This respect relationship not only involves the parents of one's spouse, but is also extended to all cognates of one's spouse in the parental generation or above, all of whom are referred to as *ivanon*. As most co-activity takes place with spouse's parents, the following discussion will be couched in terms of the spouse's parents-child's spouse relationship. The behavior in this relationship is, however, extended to other *ivanon*, where appropriate.

A child's spouse is 'like a child' to the parents. The child-in-law should obey his spouse's parents, even more so than his own parents. He should not talk back to them, joke at their expense, or make fun of them. The prohibitions on behavior between a person and his parents-in-law are listed in Table 3.2. Violation of these prohibitions result in kovusung

*See Nadel (1953) for a discussion of the function of this kind of social control, involved in kovusung, which he terms 'self-regulation'.**
Table 3.2  Prohibitions in Behavior Between an Individual and His or Her Ivanon Which Are Enforced by the Mystical Sanction of Kovusung.\(^{(a)}\)

Prohibited Behavior of a Sexual Nature:

- May not discuss or joke about sexual or reproductive topics with ivanon, in presence of ivanon, or about ivanon. (For instance, may not ask about birthplace of ivanon.)

- May not be present at the negotiations of an ivanon for a bride.

- May not inquire about the bride price of an ivanon.

- May not be informed that his or her mother-in-law is pregnant by his ivanon or discuss the subject.

- May not enter compartment where an ivanon is in labor.

- May not hold any child who is a classificatory ivanon unless genitals are covered.

- May not touch genitals of any ivanon.

- May not use abusive language involving reference to ivanon's genitals.

- May not cause the floor-boards to vibrate where an ivanon is sitting.

Prohibited Behavior Suggesting Role Reversal or Social Equivalence:

- May not wear trousers, skirt, or sarong of ivanon and vice-versa. (However a headcloth of an ivanon may be worn.)\(^{(b)}\)

- May not touch the blood of partuision from ivanon. (Only the husband of person in labor may touch the blood of partuision.)\(^{(b)}\)

- May not help an ivanon put on belt, trousers, or skirt.\(^{(b)}\)

- May not suckle the child of an ivanon or an ivanon.
Table 3.2 Continued

**Prohibited Behavior Symbolizing Disrespect for Authority:**

- May never speak the name of an ivanone nor a word with a similar sound pattern.

- May not draw blood of an ivanone. This includes prohibitions against shaving the head of an ivanone or removing a thorn from an ivanone for fear of drawing blood.

- May not put foot in front of the feet of an ivanone when passing, nor step over the extended legs of a sitting ivanone.

- May not climb betel nut tree situated at the grave of an ivanone.

- May not argue with or talk back to an ivanone.

- May not joke at the expense of or make fun of an ivanone.

- May not strike an ivanone.

- May not say an ivanone is crazy, worthless, or that he will die.

- May not remove something from above the head of an ivanone without notifying the ivanone.

---

(a) If any of these prohibitions are violated through the action of an ivanone, such as mentioning his genitals before his child-in-law, this results in kovusung to the child-in-law.

(b) These prohibitions seem to fall under both this category and the category of prohibited behavior of a sexual nature.
to that person. These prohibitions are just as rigid with respect to parallel-sex relationships as with cross-sex ones, and, furthermore, they do not diminish in intensity over time.

**Parent-Child Relationship.** The parent-child relationship is also a respect relationship second only in degree of respect to that of one's ivanon. A child must obey his parents, not talk back, joke at their expense or make fun of his parents. Table 3.3 lists the various prohibitions the violation of which invokes the sanction of kovusung on the child. These are essentially similar to those in the ivanon relationship, but the constraint in behavior is not as intense nor are these injunctions followed as rigidly.

In addition, a father may not lie down beside his daughter or swim with her, and a mother may not do the same with her son. The closeness of the parent-child relationship is attested by the fact that on the death of a child, parents are always carefully watched by their village-mates to forestall the possibility of suicide by hanging.

**The Grandparent-Grandchild Relationship.** The prohibitions towards behavior with respect to a grandparent are the same as those with a parent, but there is less constraint, and the injunctions are not followed as rigidly.

**Differential Status in the Sibling Set.** The unique position of the eldest sibling, as well as that of the youngest, most
Table 3.3 Prohibitions in Behavior Between a Child and His Parents Which Are Enforced by the Mystical Sanction of Kovusung.(a)

Prohibited Behavior of a Sexual Nature:

- May not discuss or joke about sexual or reproductive topics with parent, in presence of parent, or about parent. (For instance a child may not discuss his birthplace with parent.)

- May not know parent's bride price.

- May not be informed by father or anyone that his mother is pregnant or discuss the subject.

- May not enter the compartment where a parent is in labor.

- May not touch a parent's genitals.

- May not use abusive language involving reference to parent's genitals.

- May not cause the floor-boards to vibrate where a parent is sitting.

Prohibited Behavior Suggesting Role Reversal or Social Equivalence:

- May not wear trousers, skirt or sarong of parent and vice-versa. (A headcloth may be worn.)(b)

- May not touch the blood of partuision of a parent. (Only the husband of a person in labor may touch the blood from partuision.)(b)

- May not help a parent put on belt, trousers, or skirt.(b)
Table 3.3 Continued

Prohibited Behavior Symbolizing Disrespect for Authority:

- May not speak parent's name.
- May not draw blood of a parent. (This includes prohibitions against shaving parent's head or removing a thorn from a parent for fear of drawing blood.)
- May not put foot in front of the feet of a parent when passing, nor step over the extended legs of a sitting parent.
- May not argue with or talk back to a parent.
- May not joke at the expense of or make fun of a parent.
- May not strike a parent.
- May not say that a parent is crazy, worthless, or that he will die.
- May not remove something from above the head of a parent without notifying the parent.

^a^If any of these prohibitions are violated through the action of a parent this results also in kovusung for the child.

^b^These prohibitions seem to fall under both this category and the category of prohibited behavior of a sexual nature.
frequently the tandon do nongkob, is expressed by status terms referring to position in the sibling set. The kotuaan is the eldest; the komulakan is the youngest; and the lintanga are all those siblings in between. The word kotuaan is derived from the adjective /otuow/, which is used in reference to fruit to mean 'mature and firm'. Komulakan is derived from the adjective /omulok/, which is also used in reference to fruit to mean 'not yet mature'. Lintanga seems to derive either from /intanga/ which means 'half', or /tanga/, 'middle'.

It is stated that the kotuaan is like a parent, as he has helped more in the domestic family. The kotuaan (particularly if a female), helps with the raising of the younger children, leaving the parents free to go to the swiddens. Therefore, all younger children must respect him in the same way as parents. Kovusung may result if the younger children are disrespectful. This mystical sanction, however, is not felt to apply as intensely or as rigidly as with grandparents, and many of the prohibitions are ignored. Nevertheless, you are not supposed to talk back to an eldest, say his name, or curse him by making impolite references to his genitals.

The eldest male is felt to be the gantian, 'the replacement' of the father, and the eldest female, 'the replacement' of the mother, and as such these tend to be the devolvees of the heirloom property of the father and mother respectively. However, the respect relationship applies only to the eldest, regardless of sex. After the parents are dead, the eldest is
supposed to look after his siblings and make sure that they are making out all right.

However, this role of the kotuaan is fulfilled only to the degree that the eldest wants to fulfill this role as well as has the abilities to do so. Furthermore, not all sibling sets recognize this respect relationship with the eldest. Full respect behavior is accorded to the eldest in only about half or less of the sibling sets, although, even in those who do not, the personal name of the eldest is seldom used. Whether respect behavior is followed or not seems to depend on to what degree the eldest actually took care of the younger siblings as children, and to what degree the eldest at that time fulfilled the nurturing, guidance, and protective role of the eldest.

In Chapter Two it was shown that there existed a close tie between mothers and daughters. However, a female kotuaan seems to have a significantly different relationship with her mother than do other daughters. In Table 2.9 it was shown that the enculturation of daughters by mothers with regard to sexual behavior did not seem to have the same impact on female kotuaan as with other daughters inasmuch as the female kotuaan after the wedding accepted the attentions of her husband significantly more frequently than did other females. Furthermore, in Table 2.29, tests 9 and 10, it was shown that marriage to a female who was the kotuaan influenced the residence of the couple towards virilocal residence. However, no test was made
in Chapter Two to determine whether in fact kotuaan females in the sample of married females did live out of their parental village significantly more frequently than non-kotuaan females in this sample. Table 3.4, test 1, shows that non-kotuaan females reside in the parental village significantly more frequently when their mothers only are alive (i.e. their mothers are widows) than in cases when their mothers are dead, irrespective of the existence of a father. As test 2, table 3.4 shows, there is no significant difference in frequency of residence in the village of a parent for kotuaan females in the sample whether the mother is alive or not. This suggests that the mother-daughter tie is significantly stronger in the case of non-kotuaan females than with kotuaan females, since the existence of a mother materially affects the residence choices of non-kotuaan daughters, while it does not for kotuaan. If we compare the residence choices of kotuaan females in comparison to non-kotuaan females from this same sample, however, this hypothesis is not borne out. As test 3 shows, kotuaan females, in the circumstance of mother only being alive, do not live away from the parental village significantly more frequently than do non-kotuaan females. It might be concluded from these three tables that there is some evidence to indicate that the nature of the mother-kotuaan tie is somewhat different from that of the mother--non-kotuaan daughter tie, but that this evidence is far from clear.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test No.</th>
<th>Cases of Residence</th>
<th>X^2</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>OUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Non-eldest in circumstance of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother only alive</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother dead</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Eldest females in circumstance of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother only alive</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother dead</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.(b)</td>
<td>Females with mother only alive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eldest females</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-eldest females</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.(c)</td>
<td>Females with mother alive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eldest females</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-eldest females</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Eldest Females in circumstance of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents alive</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother only alive</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.(d)</td>
<td>Non-eldest in circumstance of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents alive</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother only alive</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.(e)</td>
<td>Females with both parents alive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eldest females</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-eldest females</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Eldest in circumstance of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents alive</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both parents dead</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Sample derived from that used in Table 2.28. In the columns 'Cases of Residence', the subcolumn 'IN' refers to residence in the village of the parents or surviving parent, and the subcolumn 'OUT' refers to residence in some other village than that of parents or surviving parent. See also Footnote (b) in Table 2.29. Yates' Correction was used in all the Chi Squares. N.S. = Not significant.
(b) Removal of females who are the youngest in their sibling set from the category of 'non-oldest females' still has the result of Chi Square = <1.

(c) The circumstance of 'mother alive' not only includes widows (the circumstance called 'mother only alive') but also includes those cases in which both parents are alive. Removal of females who are youngest in their sibling set does not change the level of significance.

(d) Removal of females who are the youngest in their sibling sets from the row 'mother only alive' (there are none in the row 'both parents alive') has the result of Chi Square = <1.

(e) There are no cases in this sample of married females who are the youngest in their sibling sets in the circumstance of both parents being alive.
If we compare kotuaan females to non-kotuaan females in the sample in the circumstance of mother being alive, which not only includes widowed mothers but also those cases in which both parents are alive, we find a significant difference. As test 4, table 3.4, shows, in the sample of married females when mothers are alive (widowed or not), the kotuaan female lives away from the parental village significantly more frequently than do non-kotuaan females. Since the distribution was not significant when widowed mothers ('mother only alive') were considered, this suggests that the mother-kotuaan tie may be of a different nature from the mother -- non-kotuaan tie, particularly when the father is alive. Tests 6, 7, and 8, table 3.4, seem to establish this hypothesis. As we have seen in test 2, kotuaan females have a tendency to live away from a parental village when the mother only is alive, since there is no significant change in the dispersion of kotuaan females whether the mother only is alive or not. If we compare the dispersion of kotuaan females in the circumstance of the mother only being alive to the circumstance of both parents being alive (see test 5), we find that there is a significant difference between these two circumstances, pointing to an even greater tendency for the kotuaan female to live away when both parents are alive. This is not the case with non-kotuaan. There is no significant shift in residence between the circumstance of both parents being alive and mother only being alive (see test 6). Furthermore, if we compare the residence of kotuaan females
to non-kotuaan females under the circumstance of both parents being alive (see test 7) we find that kotuaan females live out of the parental village significantly more frequently than non-kotuaan females. In addition, this dispersion of kotuaan females when both parents are alive is not significantly different from that when both parents are dead (see test 8). This again seems to demonstrate that the tie between mothers and kotuaan daughters seems to be significantly different from that tie between mothers and non-kotuaan daughters in the circumstance when both parents are alive inasmuch as it does not influence kotuaan daughters to remain in their parental village.

To summarize, the kotuaan female lives away from her parental village significantly more frequently than do other females when both parents are alive. When the mother only is alive we have two tests which suggest that the kotuaan does move out significantly more frequently, and one test which suggests that she does not. I would conclude from this that the nature of the tie between kotuaan females in comparison to that tie with non-kotuaan females is significantly different in that circumstance when both parents are alive, and that in the circumstance of the mother only being alive there is some evidence to suggest that the nature of this tie is different, but that this difference is not as significant.

The explanation of the kotuaan behavior patterns is not easy to find. Her acceptance of the attentions of her husband more frequently may be explained by her unique position in the sibling set. She is a substitute parent, and in terms of
Table 3.5 Variations in Size of Sibling Sets in Residence Sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of sibling sets in circumstance of:</th>
<th>Mean size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Mother alive only:</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents alive:</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Those sets in which the kotuaan has remained in parental village:</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those cases in which kotuaan has moved out:</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Those sets with both parents alive in which kotuaan has remained in:</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those sets with both parents alive in which kotuaan has moved out:</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
authority she is second only to her parents. It has been ob-
served that kotuaan females are much more outspoken, and queru-
lous with their mothers. It might, therefore, be maintained
that the kotuaan makes her wishes explicit much more firmly
than the other females and is less willing to follow the
dictates of her mother with regard to choice of spouse. Further-
more, she is much more mature and used to running a household.

The explanation of the difference in relationship between
the mother and the female kotuaan, in comparison to other daugh-
ters as expressed in residence choices, may also lie in the
kotuaan's special position in the sibling set. As Table 3.5
shows, there seems to be some relationship between living away
from the parental village and the number of siblings in a set.
The kotuaan females appear to move out of the parental village
more frequently when they are members of a large sibling set.
Consequently, they live away from the parental village signi-
ficantly more frequently when both parents are alive in com-
parison to those cases where the mother only is alive because
the former case is associated with larger sibling sets.

Several explanations might be advanced to account for the
seeming lack of close tie between the mother and the female
kotuaan which also takes into account the effect of the size
of the sibling set. First, the kotuaan may live out more
frequently because she has matured much more rapidly due to her
taking a major part in the rearing of her siblings, and conse-
quently, the more siblings, the more responsibility she has
Table 3.6  Various Chi Square Tests to Determine the Relative Pull of Cognatic and Affinal Kin Ties for the Youngest Female in Her Sibling Set\(^{(a)}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test No.</th>
<th>Cases of Residence</th>
<th>Dispersion after marriage of:</th>
<th>(x^2)</th>
<th>(P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Females who are:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Youngest</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Females with mother only alive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Youngest</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Females with mother not alive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Youngest</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(a)}\)See footnote Table 3.4.

\(^{(b)}\)Intermediate females in these tables refers to married females who are neither the eldest in their sibling set nor the youngest. Females who are the eldest in their sibling set have been removed from this category as it has been established that they have a dispersion pattern significantly different from those of other siblings under certain conditions.
had thrust on her. On the other hand, in rearing these siblings, she has developed an authority relationship with her siblings and this may conflict with that of her mother. Consequently, she moves out more frequently, in the case of the larger sibling sets because there is need for a more developed authority structure. However, the higher frequency of residence away from the mother which suggests an affective tie at a much lower level with her mother than between the mother and other daughters, may not only be a result of earlier maturity and assumption of responsibility, but it also may be related to the fact that, with a large number of children, the mother has less time to devote to developing a close tie with the eldest.

Finally, it should be noted that the female kotuaan, after leaving the parental domestic family, has a somewhat contradictory role. As the kotuaan, she is supposed to be a help, counsellor, and guide to her younger siblings. However, as a female, fulfilling the role of 'guardian' for the younger siblings is difficult since females are considered to lack any ability in litigation, where an older, wiser, authority figure is most needed by orphaned siblings.

The status position of the komulakan, the youngest sibling, might result in a greater tendency for komulakan to live in the parental village, since it is expected that they will take in the aged parent or parents. However, as Table 3.6 shows, there is no significant difference in dispersal of female komulakan in comparison to intermediate females (i.e., female kotuaan also
Table 3.7 Various Chi Square Tests to Determine the Relative Full of Cognatic and Affinal Kin Ties for the Eldest and Youngest Male in their Sibling Set(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test No.</th>
<th>Cases of Residence</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>OUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispersion after marriage of:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. (b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males with both parents alive</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eldest</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-elder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males with mother only alive</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eldest</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-elder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males with both parents dead</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eldest</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-elder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males with both parents dead</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngest</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. (e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males who are</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngest</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
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(a) See footnote Table 3.4.

(b) Non-elder males in this particular circumstance includes only those males who are neither the youngest nor the eldest in their sibling sets. There are no cases in this sample of males who are youngest in their sibling set being married with both parents still alive.

(c) If all males who are the youngest in their sibling sets are removed the result still is: Chi Square = <1.

(d) If all the males who are the youngest in their sibling set are removed the result is: Chi Square = 2.43.

(e) It is impossible to make further tests of the dispersion of the youngest male with respect to whether mother or father are alive or not, because there are no cases of married youngest males with both parents alive, none with mother dead and father alive, and only two cases with mother only alive. Consequently, this test of comparing youngest males against other males who are neither youngest or eldest irrespective of the status of parents was made as the only other possible method of testing what effect the status position of the youngest has with regard to relations in the family system.
being removed) in the sample of married females. This is explained by the fact that the relationship between the mother and her daughters other than the kotuaan, in any case, is close, as we have already seen, so that females tend to live in any way irrespective of status position.

Table 3.7, tests 1, 2, and 3, test whether the status position of male kotuaan, in the sample of married males used in Chapter Two, has any influence of choice of residence. One might expect that because the kotuaan is in some sense a surrogate parent, particularly fulfilling this role if a male due to his ability in litigation, and also because he tends to receive the father's heirloom property, he might be found to remain in the parental village significantly more frequently. However, this does not appear to be the case. This might be explained by the fact that at present in the Rungus system all heirlooms are moveable property, so that location after marriage would not effect the male kotuaan's position with regard to parental heirlooms, and also by the fact that female siblings after the death of parents can depend on help, if needed, from male siblings of their parents resident in their village.

Tests 3 and 4 of Table 3.7 test whether the status position of the male komulakan, in the sample of married males, materially effects choice of residence. Again, there appears to be no significant difference in dispersion based on this position in the sibling set. This is probably accountable for by the fact that by the time a male komulakan is married his
father is deceased. In fact we have no cases in the sample of married male komulakan in the circumstance of mother dead - father alive, when the father is most likely to join the household of a son.

Respect Relationships. Explanations of respect relationships in Rungus society may be made at three levels. First, explanations can be advanced as to the content of the relationship; secondly, explanations may be advanced as to the function of the respect relationship; and thirdly, explanations may be advanced as to why they are ritualized.

Content has often been confused with function. Consequently, the explanation for avoidance relationships involving a content of sexual avoidance is frequently advanced that these prevent incest and adultery (for instance, see Murdock, 1949: 272-280). This seems difficult to seriously consider when, as in the Rungus system, neither behavioral content nor intensity varies with sex, and consequently, the same prohibitions with a sexual content pertain both to one's mother as well as father, or to both one's mother-in-law as well as father-in-law.*

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*I feel that it is useful to explain behavioral content of sexual avoidance as a means of preventing incest or adultery only when there is clear evidence that without such avoidances sexual relations might, in fact, occur, as in the case between son-in-law and mother-in-law among the Siuai (Oliver:1955:265).
Instead the prohibitions on behavior with a sexual implication in Rungus respect relations may be partially explained in terms of the nature of symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships in the society. The most important of the symmetrical relationships is that between husband and wife. Therefore, injecting sexual content into an asymmetrical relationship implies symmetry and must be avoided if asymmetry is to be maintained.* It is only in those relationships involving an authority structure where the prohibitions on behavior having a sexual connotation are the most explicitly stated and are ritualized.**

The function of respect and avoidance behavior has also been explained as a method of preventing the likelihood of conflict. For instance Firth (1936:322-323) states that avoidance prevents strain between roles in which there is potential conflict. Radcliffe-Brown (1950:57) maintains that customs of avoidance function to avoid conflict in social situations where there are possibilities of conflict, but where friendly relations have to be maintained. Eggan (1955:77-79) states that respect relationships arise in those cases where there is the possibility of social conflict between generations, and

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*Homans (1961:312) states: 'It simply means that authority over a man and social equality with him are, in our terms, incongruent.'

**Chapple and Coon, 1942:302-303 also suggest that an authority relationship and a sexual relationship are not compatible, as does Seligman (1929:243-245).
there is the social necessity of minimizing the conflict; full avoidance behavior occurs in situations of generational differences where the conflict is inevitable and where, again, there is a social necessity of avoiding it.

Gough (1961:603-604) finds that avoidance patterns with the wife's parental generation occurs when "...husband and wife have some exclusive forms of productive cooperation or sharing of goods which threaten to shut out the rest of the wife's residential unit, yet the wife, or both husband and wife, also have productive and/or distributive cooperation with the wife's residential group as a whole, organized by the wife's older kin. The husband is then an interloper who threatens to segregate his wife from her parental generation, but is also linked to the latter through his wife's continuing ties to them, and sometimes also through his own cooperative efforts on their behalf."

Gough, however, is not here suggesting direct economic determinism of avoidance relationships, but that they result from conflict in authority under such circumstances, as becomes clear later when she says (1961:607): "...and the wife's brother is the chief legal authority with regard to the economic cooperation in which the wife and her husband are involved, an asymmetrical relationship of respect or partial avoidance is expected in which the wife's brother has some power to command the husband, and the husband employs an etiquette of submission."
However, Gluckman points out (1962) it is not simply conflict itself which brings about this high degree of stylized etiquette and ritualization in these respect relations, but the fact that in tribal societies the various roles which each member plays are not spatially segregated nor socially segregated, so that the reciprocal person in one role relationship is also the reciprocal in many others. Gluckman also states that the great development of social custom with regard to respect relationships function to mark off roles and denote when a person is interacting with another as father, as son, or as uncle, etc. (pp. 27-28).

These are useful observations that in those role relationships in which there is respect there is found the possibility of conflict with other roles, and that, furthermore, there is no spatial or social segregation of these roles. However, these are observations of phenomena associated with respect relations and they do not explain why respect behavior is the solution utilized for these problems.

I would argue, instead, that the importance of respect relationships, in which social etiquette has been developed to a high degree, lies in the fact that it operates to give priority to a series of possible roles that an individual may perform in situations where there is no spatial and/or temporal segregation of these multiple roles and where one or more of these roles are the termini of the origins of action by those
individuals occupying the reciprocal roles. While a soldier in
the role of a lover takes a stroll with a girl friend, he still
must salute a passing officer. An individual in Rungus society
by the same token knows that in a situation in which he may
be asked at the same time to fulfill the roles of son-in-law,
son, and husband, he will perform the role of son-in-law first
due to the severity of the sanctions involved. That is he
will obey his parent-in-law before his parent. The role of
a son is next in order of importance. It is superordinate to
that of husband, again due to the mystical sanctions involved,
while the role of husband is last, although the husband must
face the informal sanctions which a displeased wife may apply,
if he does not resolve these various conflicts wisely.

Conflict does not only exist between the possible roles
that an individual may perform where there is no spatial or
temporal segregation of these roles, but also conflict may
occur between the occupants of these reciprocal roles which
may be socially segregated. For instance, if instead of concen-
trating on the occupant of multiple roles, we focus on the
system of role relationships between an individual and the
occupants of his reciprocal roles we find that conflict also
exists between the occupants of these reciprocal roles with
respect to this focal individual. As has been pointed out in
the preceding chapter, there exists a potential conflict between
the parent, or parents, of a woman and her husband with respect
to this woman because rights in rem over her are divided
between her parents and her husband. We may look at this conflict from the point of view of the woman at one corner of this triangle, or we may look at this conflict from the point of view of the two individuals at the other corners, the husband of the woman and her parent. As has been previously pointed out, the asymmetrical respect relationship between parent and child helps resolve the potential conflict in the two roles, that of wife and child, which this woman might have to fulfill in one specific situation. Furthermore, the potential conflict between this woman's parent and her husband, who also fulfills a subordinate role to his wife's parent, with respect to this woman, is again partially relieved by the highly developed asymmetrical respect relationship between an individual and his parent-in-law. Consequently, if a conflict occurs between the initiation of action by the husband to his wife and the initiation of action by the parent of this woman to her, the role of son-in-law has priority over that of husband.

Potential conflict in such a closed system of roles involving three persons also exists in the case of a parent of a man and his wife with respect to this man. For instance, the expectations of his wife with respect to his work may clash with those of his parent or parents. However, this is not a conflict resulting from split jural rights. A man may have moral obligations to help his parents after he has established
his own domestic family, but he has no jural duties. In any event, a wife, whose expectations are that her husband will spend most, if not all, of his time in their own swiddens, may complain to her husband that he is spending too much time helping his parents. However, this seldom develops into an overt conflict between this man's wife and his parents due to the priority in roles established by the asymmetrical respect relationship pertaining between the man's wife and his parents.

It should be noted that, as in the case of a man occupying the roles of son and husband, so too in the case of a woman occupying the roles of daughter and wife, at least one of these roles is the terminus of origin of action. As we have noted previously in such situations where an individual occupies two or more roles, one of which is the terminus of the origin of action, a highly developed social etiquette with respect to the reciprocal superordinate role gives priority to the series of roles that he or she will perform in a situation where there is neither spatial nor temporal segregation of these roles for the focal individual.

A similar type of conflict exists in another closed three person role system in Rungus society. This is the role system of a child, his parent and his parent-in-law. We have already discussed the situation of conflict between roles occupied by the child. However, there is also the conflict between the parent of this individual and his parent-in-law with respect to
him. However, in this situation of potential conflict no respect relationship exists between the parent of an individual and his parent-in-law. Instead, they are expected to be friendly. I would argue that no respect relationship thus exists because neither of the two roles that the individual's parent occupies with respect to his child and with respect to his child's parent-in-law, nor the two roles occupied by the individual's parent-in-law with respect to his child-in-law and the parent of his child-in-law, is the terminus of the origin of action. None of these roles is subordinate nor superordinate to any of the others, and, therefore, there is no need for the allocation of priorities to the performance of them.

In the parent-child, grandparent-grandchild, and the eldest sibling-younger sibling role relationships the conflict is of a different nature. It is not a conflict between multiple roles occupied by a single individual with respect to reciprocal roles which are socially segregated, as in the child-in-law, child, and spouse situation, nor is it a conflict between the roles of two individuals with respect to a third person. Unlike these preceding two cases in which the reciprocal roles are socially segregated, the conflict in the parent-child relationship, as well as the grandparent-grandchild and eldest sibling-younger sibling relationships, is a conflict between the multiple roles of individuals in a dyadic relationship. The parents in particular, but also the eldest
sibling as well as the grandparents when they have joined the domestic family of a child, organize the behavior for the occupants of the reciprocal roles in the task-oriented activities of the domestic family. However, the roles of the parent (and also to a limited degree those of the grandparent and eldest sibling) which involve authority come into conflict with those roles involving nurturing behavior which they also must perform. The conflict for the occupant of the reciprocal roles, that of child and worker in the domestic family, is partially resolved by the asymmetrical respect relationship existing between the child and the parent. Thus here, as in preceding situations, where for the occupant of multiple roles there is potential conflict in the order in which the roles are to be performed, and where one of these roles is the terminus of the origin of action, in this case that of worker in the family, the highly developed social etiquette of the asymmetrical respect relationship gives priority to the roles to be performed for the occupants of the role system.

The conflict in multiple roles within these dyadic relationships may not be the only factor operating in these asymmetrical respect relationships. For instance, Homans (1961: 313-314) has pointed out, there is some evidence that in task-oriented groups the effectiveness of the group increases with greater social distance between the leader and the other members. Consequently, the asymmetrical respect relationships
between the parent-child, grandparent-grandchild, and eldest sibling—younger sibling also function to increase the effectiveness of the domestic family by achieving social distance for the organizers of the group tasks in a situation where social distance might be minimized.

However, why these asymmetrical respect relationships are ritualized, that is, involve mystical sanctions, is not clear. Gluckman states that the greater the multiplicity of undifferentiated and overlapping roles in a society, the more the ritual there will exist to separate them (1962:34), because, due to this lack of spatial and social differentiation of roles in tribal society, the failure to fulfill one role properly results in the breakdown of a whole series of complex relationships (1962:28-29). But why is the sanction mystical, as opposed to other sanctions? Gluckman (1962) unfortunately does not give a direct answer to this. He only says at another point that ritual operates to cloak the fundamental conflicts set up in social situations where conflict is built into the system, but still must be avoided (1962:40-46).*

Summary

In this chapter we have analyzed the moral order of the Rungus kinship system. In doing so we found that the various

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*Nadel (1953:271) points out the value of supernatural sanctions as opposed to those based on internalized values and guilt, but this again does not explain why, with respect to a specific type of anti-social act, supernatural sanctions are applied rather than any of the other types of sanctions available.
relationships between kin could be divided into symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships. The major feature of the asymmetrical relationship is the highly developed respect behavior patterns, and we have tried to offer some explanation of this. Within the family this respect relationship organizes much of the family's activities in the economic, jurial and ritual realm. It is largely because of this respect relationship that children who feel that they have not received their fair share in the distribution of family assets do not bring suit against their parents for recovery, as we shall discuss in the next chapter on the property system of the domestic family.

It has been necessary in our analysis of Rungus social groupings to discuss in some detail the Rungus kinship system because it is the moral order between kin which forms a large part of the social organization of the longhouse community. This we will analyze in detail after we have completed our analysis of the domestic family social unit with a discussion of the family's property system and its ritual activities. Because membership in the longhouse community is based almost entirely on ties of kinship, it has been necessary to continue our discussion of the relative pull of cognatic and affinal ties on males and females as measured in terms of residence. It has been shown in this analysis that the relationship between parents and a female kotuaan is of a different order than that with other children. This results in a greater tendency
for a female kotuaan, in comparison to her sisters, to reside in another village than that of her parents.

It was also necessary to describe the nature of the status differential between siblings. It is this status differential, as well as the degree to which a child follows the moral directives of the kinship system, which plays an important part in the decisions as to how the family assets are to be distributed. In the next chapter the property system of the domestic family and the distribution of family assets will be discussed, for it is through the operation of the property system and the final distribution of its assets that the corporate nature of the family in the economic and jural realms becomes most clear-cut.
Chapter Four

The Property System of the Rungus Domestic Family

Introduction

Among the Rungus there are two kinds of social groupings which for certain purposes are recognized as jural entities or jural units. These are the domestic family and the village.

By jural entity I am referring to what is generally referred to as the legal person. For instance Derham (1958: 5) says:

All legal systems ... are concerned with the control and organization of relations between human beings by means of general rules. So soon as there is any system, any organization, with a logic of its own, just so soon must there be constants, some reference points given, on which to base the logic of the system. Just as the concept 'one' in arithmetic is essential to the logical system developed and yet not one something (e.g., apple or orange, etc.), so a legal system (or any system perhaps) must be provided with a basic unit before legal relationships can be devised which will serve the primary purpose of organizing the social facts. The legal person is the unit or entity adopted.

Pound also makes the same point (1959, IV: 191-2):

One mode of securing interests is to recognize or establish or allow establishment of certain entities on which rights in the wider sense are attributed; or on which legal rights, powers, and privileges are conferred; in which liberties are recognized, and upon which duties and liabilities are imposed. These entities have been known in the science of law, if not from antiquity certainly in the modern world, by the
name of persons, and have been said to be "subjects of right" and "law" or "subjects of rights" or "holders" or "bearers" of rights or "enjoyers" of rights. For more than a generation in my lectures I have spoken of them as "legal units" -- the units of the legal order ... . They are units on behalf or in title of which legally recognized and secured interests are asserted.

In the jural system of the Rungus, these two social groupings, the domestic family and the village, are thus recognized as jural units for certain juristic purposes and, consequently, may as entities enter into jural relations with other jural persons. That is, these social units themselves hold and control certain rights and duties corporately; they are not considered for certain juristic purposes just a collectivity of individuals in which rights and duties pertaining to such a collectivity are held in severalty by the members of the social unit themselves. Thus, at certain points in the jural system of the Rungus, the sociological nature of these groupings is recognized and they are treated as corporate groups and not just collections of individuals.

Here, as well as elsewhere, I use the term 'corporate' in its primary meaning as "Combined into one body; united ..." (Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition). I do not use it in an adjectival sense to refer to a corporation for reasons which will become clear later in this chapter.

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The term corporate has been used in a number of senses in the anthropological literature, but I find none of these
adequate for the distinctions I am attempting to make here with regard to the Rungus social organization. (See Goody, 1961, for a brief review of the various meanings attributed to the term corporate.) One of the primary distinctions I am attempting to draw here is between groupings which are considered by the logic of the social system in which they are found as social entities, that is as corporate groupings, in the jural, economic, and/or ritual realms, and social groupings which are classed as corporate in the logic of a system of analysis external to the society. In other words, I reserve the term corporate for such groupings which are considered as social entities, social units, for certain specific purposes by the society itself; I do not use the term corporate to indicate the presence of any specific characteristic of the social organization of the groups in question.* For instance, various writers in attempting to analyze the nature of the discreteness and social identity of groupings have used as criteria for corporateness the possession of property, collective action, hierarchical system, existence in perpetuity, or the inheritance of material objects within a group (see Goody, 1961:10). Such criteria of corporateness are essentially external to the system and unnecessary for the logic of the system itself.

*Since the term corporate has been used in a number of senses, it would perhaps be better to select a different term for the purpose which I propose to use the term corporate here. However, no such adequate substitute had been found.
As such I feel that they tend to obfuscate rather than elucidate the analysis of a specific system. Any analysis of the nature of the discreteness and social identity of a grouping, I feel, should start with the investigation of whether the social grouping in question is considered a social entity in its own society, and if so for what purposes and in what realms of the society.

For instance, social groupings which from an external viewpoint may appear to be social units with respect to property may not in fact be so when the logic of the system being studied is fully analyzed. Among the Rungus, a group of close cognates such as siblings may each year collect fruit from a specific tree planted by their father. Yet this is not a corporate grouping, although it may at first appear so if the criterion for corporateness of ownership of property is applied without further analysis of the loci of the ownership rights. In fact this social grouping, as we shall shortly discuss, is a jural aggregate with respect to this tree and not a jurally corporate group because, after close analysis of the nature of the rights, it becomes clear that the rights over this tree are not held by such a social grouping as a unit but by the individual members of it in severalty.

Such criteria of 'corporateness' derived from a viewpoint external to the society are also seldom cross-culturally applicable. For instance, the Rungus domestic family even when it
consists of only the male and female founders, as we shall dis-
cuss at length in this chapter, still owns rights over pro-
perty it has created as a social unit; furthermore, it is con-
sidered a jural entity for other purposes in addition to that
of ownership of this property, but at this stage in its develop-
mental cycle it is hardly outstanding for its organized hier-
archical system. In addition, property is not inherited within
the family grouping by the members from each other. Inheritance
cannot occur within the domestic family, but only occurs once
the devolvee has left the family. Nevertheless, the family is
a social entity in the economic, ritual, and jural realms.
It holds property as a unit, it can enter into jural relations,
and it may enter a long-term relationship with the spirit world
as a social unit. I find it convenient and useful to refer to
such a grouping as a corporate group with respect to these
realms of the society.

Consequently, one of the main foci of this and the follow-
ing chapters is to establish as fully as possible the fact that
the Rungus social groupings of family and village are in fact
considered as jural entities in the Rungus social system and
for what purposes.

However, for other social and juristic purposes these same
groupings are considered in the logic of the system merely as
collectivities of individuals in which the rights and duties
in question are held in severality and not corporately, even
though for the purposes in question the grouping may engage in
co-activity. Consequently, it will be necessary also to con-
sider in detail those purposes of the Rungus social system for
which these social units are not recognized as corporate groups.

To put it in another way, the jural personalities of
these two social groupings, that is the sum total of all the
rights and duties attributed to them, differ in degree of devel-
opment.* Of the two social groupings, the jural identity
or jural personality of the domestic family is most fully deve-
loped in its capacity to enter jural relations. Seldom is the
family considered as a collectivity of individuals and not
a corporate group. In the Rungus system, the jural personality
of the village is next most developed, and there are far fewer
rights and duties attributed to it as a corporate unit than
is the case with the family. However, the longhouse, as we
shall demonstrate in a later chapter, cannot be considered a
jural entity. Instead, in the jural realm the longhouse is
considered only as a collectivity of individual domestic families
and not a corporate grouping. The only purpose for which the
longhouse is considered to be a corporate grouping in Rungus
society is with respect to one aspect of the ritual realm.

*"The distinction is between legal personateness as the
constant unit in the logic of a legal system - 'a right and
duty-bearing unit' - and legal personality as referring to the
sum total of the legal relations, actual or potential, of a
legal person, and hence refers to legal categories of legal
persons. Thus one might be able to speak of the legal person-
ality of infants, companies, married women, convicts, states,
etc." (Derham, 1958:7)
It is considered to act corporately only in the performance of a ceremony to nullify the ritual delict arising when the construction of a longhouse apartment is started but not completed.

The village, in addition to rights over any goodwill created through a corporate ceremony, also holds residual ownership rights over the village territory and the products of the jungle in that territory. However, seldom is it necessary for the village to enter jural relations with respect to these rights.

The domestic family, on the other hand, is enmeshed in a complex web of jural relations with other such units. Jural relations between domestic families are constantly the focus of the informal village 'councils' or 'courts' -- a meeting of the heads of the village domestic families convened for specific purposes by the village headman. As a jural entity, the domestic family holds rights corporately over the goodwill between itself and the spirit world created through corporate ceremonies, which we shall discuss in the next chapter. It also holds rights over the retained earnings of its swidden and trading activities. It can make contracts between itself and other domestic families, and villages, as well as between itself and Chinese or Coastal Malay merchants. It also has various duties to perform with respect to the ritual rights of other member domestic families of the village.

Furthermore, the domestic family forms the only production-consumption unit in the society. Through the labor of the
the members of the domestic family in the swiddens, the family produces the agricultural products which support the family and which, when there is a surplus, are transformed into the 'durables' of brassware, gongs, and ceramic ware which form the major assets of the domestic family. Undivided rights over this property lie with the domestic family as a jural unit.

The only other social grouping in Rungus society which forms a production unit is the labor exchange group, formed by the representatives of various domestic families, which works in each member's swiddens on the basis of a day spent in each swidden for each representative of the family working in the group. Thus, an exchange group with two members from one family will spend two days in that family's swidden. However, this social grouping is not recognized in the jural system of the Rungus society as a jural entity. No rights and duties pertain to this social grouping as a unit. It owns no property, and no goodwill from ceremonial exchanges with the spirit world. Sociologically, it is a social grouping, but juridically it is only an aggregate (Oliver, 1958) of individuals.

Consumer units exceed the family only when there are visitors to the domestic family or at family rituals when relatives and friends are called to share in the feast.

In the preceding chapters we have investigated the structure of the domestic family, its developmental cycle, and the ordering of relationships within the family. It has been
necessary to analyze closely these aspects of the family as without an understanding of the ordering of relations in the family and the nature of the family's developmental cycle, the nature of the property system of the Rungus domestic family cannot be fully understood. In this chapter we shall briefly discuss the swidden activities of the domestic family which produce the surplus that is eventually turned into scarce goods. We shall then look at those material objects which the Rungus consider to be scarce goods. Following that, we shall discuss the nature of the jural relationship between the social unit which owns these scarce goods and other social units in the society with respect to these scarce goods.

However, one item of scarce goods, goodwill between the family and the spirit world, we shall reserve for separate treatment in the following chapter.

In addition to discussing the nature of the relationship between the family and its assets, we shall also discuss the method of devolution of these assets to succeeding generations. Ownership of scarce goods, as Cairns (1935) and Hallowell (1943) have pointed out, is essentially a three-sided relationship between the social unit owning the scarce goods, the object of ownership and all other social units within the society. A close analysis of this system covers a broad area of the social structure of any society. However, analysis of this area is not enough. If the relationship between social units
in a society and the various scarce goods that they own is to be maintained stable -- in other words if the system is not undergoing change -- the rules for intergenerational succession must be congruent with the present order. Consequently, in this chapter we shall also discuss the nature of the rules for inheritance.

We shall leave to later chapters the discussion of the nature of other social units such as the longhouse and village, and what scarce goods they may own. We shall also leave for a later chapter the effects on the social structure when there is a change in the methods of ownership, so that social units of a different type take over ownership rights held previously by other social units. Here we shall primarily be concerned with elucidating the nature of the property system of the Rungus domestic family in such a manner that the jural personality of the domestic family as a corporate group is fully delineated. Other social units will be so treated in other chapters.

The Swidden Activities of the Domestic Family

The swidden activities of the newly formed domestic family begin at the end of the year of temporary post-nuptial residence in the bride's natal household. This period of post-nuptial residence ends just after the harvest of the rice crop and before the cutting of new swiddens when there is a lag in agricultural activities and enough time to construct the separate longhouse apartment of the newly formed domestic family.
Three types of swiddens may be cut. First there is the basic swidden (tagad) which is cut each year and which contains the ritual plot (lotong) for the rice spirits. This is first planted with maize. Later, as the shoots of maize appear, dry rice is planted along with a variety of vegetables.

In addition to this basic swidden, there are two types of swidden without the ritual plot for the rice spirits; both are referred to as taras. The pinatingaha type of taras is cut in the majority of cases several weeks to a month prior to the basic swidden (tagad) and is planted with maize, vegetables and frequently early maturing varieties of rice. In essence the pinatingaha is an auxiliary rice swidden and is cut early if the rice from the previous year's harvest is running low or if the area picked for the basic swidden is too small to provide adequate support for the family and an additional swidden is needed. The third type of swidden, more usually referred to simply as a taras but sometimes called a taras banal, a 'true' taras, to distinguish it from the other member of the taras class, the pinatingaha, is cut towards the end of the growing season of the basic swidden and planted only with maize and some vegetables. This maize crop will mature sometime after the regular harvest of rice and will be used for human consumption to vary the diet and enable the domestic family to sell more of their rice and for the domestic animals. The maize from the taras is also frequently stored for use later on when the rice from the last harvest runs out.
Swiddens, if cut in a particularly fertile area, are sometimes used for two successive years, and if this is the case, the second year swidden is called a gopu, referring to the fact that it was opened up not by felling the jungle, but by weeding and cutting of the low vegetation succeeding the rice harvest of the previous year. Gopu are seldom used for the basic swidden, the tagad.

All four types of swidden may be planted with manioc as the rice crop -- or maize crop in the case of the taras banal -- matures. Not all families plant a manioc crop, however, each year or even when their previous manioc crop has been exhausted. Manioc is used both for human consumption and also for pig food. For humans it is either roasted, boiled, or made into a manioc wine. The root may be harvested from a swidden area for three or four years.

Melons, cucumbers, long beans, egg-plants, sayor manis and papaya are the major varieties of vegetables grown in the swiddens.

The well-being of the newly formed domestic family and much of their status in the community are dependent on the degree of success it has in its agricultural activities. When coupled with trading acumen, success in the swiddens as well as in raising the various domestic animals so that a surplus of agricultural products is achieved means the accumulation

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*I follow W. O. Jones (1959:1) in using the term manioc for Manihot utilissima.*
of brassware, gongs, and ceramic ware by the family in exchange for their agricultural produce. This enables the family to meet the heavy expenditures of ceremonies for ailing children, to gather together a sufficient bride price for their sons, and to pass on to their children property which assures them a status in the community even after death.

Domestic Animals

After the two founders of the domestic family have established their own household, one of the first domestic animals they acquire, usually by gift from one of the sets of parents, is a dog. In Rungus mythology, the dog brought the first rice seeds to the survivors of the flood. Consequently, the dog has a ritual function, although minor, in the domestic family; the family dog receives the first handful of cooked rice from the new harvest.

In addition to a dog, the domestic family either is given or buys some chickens and young pigs to raise. Chickens and pigs form the most important offering in a number of sacrifices. They are sacrificed to the various spirits in attempts to secure their goodwill for an abundant harvest and success in accumulating property. Offerings of chickens and pigs are also made to gain the guidance and protection of a number of spirits resident either here on earth or in the sky for the female spirit mediums. However, most importantly, pigs and chickens are raised to sacrifice to a number of malevolent
spirits which maltreat a person's souls and cause him to become ill.

In early childhood, up to the ages of three or four, children are frequently ill with a variety of childhood diseases as well as malaria, which they later develop a tolerance for. At this time a domestic family's inventory of livestock may be exhausted in attempts at placating these various malevolent spirits to cure its children. If additional pigs and chickens have to be sacrificed, a domestic family may also deplete its inventory of dapu in attempts to buy additional livestock. In the Rungus exchange system, if the seller knows the buyer is in need, the price rises commensurably with that need. Consequently, the early stages of the developmental cycle of the family when there are small children in the household may be a very trying time, particularly for those who have little skill in raising livestock.

In addition to a demand of livestock at this time in the family's developmental cycle, there is also a dearth of help for the work in the swiddens. The major part of the swidden labor falls upon the husband, as his wife is tied to the long-house apartment caring for the babies.

However, those families who are successful in raising of livestock and always have a surplus of pigs and chickens are in a position to build up the family's assets of dapu through the sale of animals to those who need them for ceremonies.
Furthermore, the family which has a number of daughters is particularly well off, as not only does it accumulate property through the bride prices for its daughters, but in addition there are sufficient females to ensure that the family's livestock will be well cared for and in good supply.

Water buffalo are cared for by men. They are primarily used for the transport of rice and other commodities, and for riding. However, the individual who is successful in rearing water buffalo calves can sell these for dapu to add to his family's assets. In the cases of the death of an outstanding and wealthy individual a water buffalo is slain at his funeral feast. In Marudu, water buffalo are owned by less than half of the families.

**Objects which are Considered Scarce Goods in the Rungus Property System**

Table 4.1 lists the various objects which are considered to be scarce goods in the Rungus property system, the source of creation of such objects, the types of social units which may own such property, and the intergenerational successors, or devolvees.

The domestic family converts the majority of its surplus of agricultural products, after having met its consumption needs including clothing, into durables and female ornaments.

The family is able to make considerable additions to its collection of durables, dapu, at that stage of its develop-
Table 4.1 Types of Scarce Objects in the Rungus Property System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Durables (dapu)</th>
<th>Source(a)</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Devolvee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gongs (kiuni)</td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brassware (tambaga)</td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Ind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jars (kiluvang)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old plates and bowls (kababakan, 'that which can be broken')</td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceremonial cloth bandoleers (sandai)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums (tontog)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female clothes (sulung do tongondu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woven bodice (banat ondu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woven skirts (rinugading, tinongkupan, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 'M' refers to Males and 'F' to Females. 'x' indicates a primary source, or owner or devolvee. An 'o' indicates a secondary source or owner, or devolvee. Specifically with respect to devolvee an 'o' indicates that, for instance, a female will be the devolvee if either there are no males or there is a large number of these items owned by the family or individual who makes the devolution. Under the rubric 'source' two dashes indicate that the item is made outside of the Rungus society and traded in. Blanks indicate that this category does not apply.
Table 4.1 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Devolvee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fam Ind</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Ornaments (hampo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beads (tinggol)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass wire ornaments for neck, arm, waist, and legs (saring)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell bracelets (kimo)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earrings (sadang)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Clothing (sulung do tongokosal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual jacket (badu)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headcloths (sigal)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pants (suval)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt (banat)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock (pangazam)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water buffalo (karabau)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigs (vogok)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens (manuk)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishes and Cooking Utensils (pangakanon)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice mortar, pestles, and basketry (ponunburunan)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting and piercing instruments (gungamon)</td>
<td>x(b)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household apartment (sirang)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Individuals own their own carrying baskets and parangs. The tandon do nongkob is the devolvee of family owned /ponunburunan/ and /gungamon/.

(b) The raw material, iron, is created outside the Rungus society.
Table 4.1 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scarce knowledge</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Devlee</th>
<th>Fam Ind</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prayers to rice spirit(a)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayers to rogon (spirits causing sickness)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chants to rogon (rinait)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayers with lime application for curing (mongapu)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of magic formulae and magical objects (kilaan)(b)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charms</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charms for crop increase (ponomparai)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charms for increase of property (pongindapu)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charms to ward off the rogon (pomudsu)</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit Trees (tanom)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) There is no collective term for prayers to the rice spirit or rogon. The Rungus only refer to specific ceremonies.

(b) Devolved primarily on those who 'believe' and are 'good' children.
Table 4.1 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Devolvee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fam</td>
<td>Ind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Miscellaneous**

- **Ceremonial flags**
  - (tunggol)
  - Source: -
  - Owner: -
  - Devolvee: x x x o

- **Gunding**
  - (a series of pieces of brass and bells attached to a handle which the spirit mediums use to call their spirit familiars)
  - Source: -
  - Owner: x
  - Devolvee: - x o x

- **Old swords, krises, spears, blowgun**
  - (rapow, 'weapons')
  - Source: -
  - Owner: -
  - Devolvee: - x x x o

- **Old brass cannon**
  - (bajil)
  - Source: -
  - Owner: -
  - Devolvee: - x x x o

**New Items in the Property System**

- **Wet rice fields**
  - (ranau)
  - Source: x
  - Owner: -
  - Devolvee: - x ? ?

- **Coconut plantings**
  - (kabun)
  - Source: x
  - Owner: -
  - Devolvee: - x ? ?
mental cycle just prior to the marriage of children. At that time there are enough children to alleviate the hard and wearisome task of weeding the rice. Consequently larger swiddens can be cut and yields of rice rise. The wife again joins in the swidden activities, adding another adult to the labor force, as her daughters now relieve her of various household tasks, including the rearing of the last child after he has been weaned. There is also now enough help from the children to raise a surplus of livestock and the demand on the livestock for ceremonies is now not as great, as the heavy expenses for ceremonies to cure the many illnesses of young children are over.

By this time the male founder has become skilled in the difficult bargaining techniques which are involved in every sale. At this point the fortunes of the family wax full. If the children of the domestic family are mostly boys, this is the apex of the family's fortunes as, from this point on, bride prices for their wives will have to be made up out of the family *dapu* and this will rapidly drain the accumulated assets of the family. On the other hand, if the children are mainly girls, the family is truly fortunate, for its assets will be added to by their bride prices.

**Property Classes**

In addition to the classification of property as set out in Table 4.1 which is primarily based on some innate characteristic of the item of property or its use, the Rungus also
distinguish classes of property based on the method by which the owner or group of owners entered into the property relationship.

Indopuan do nongkob, literally, 'that which has been accumulated by the domestic family', refers to all durables which the domestic family has been able to accumulate through profits from their various swidden and trading activities as well as additions to it brought in through bride prices of daughters.

Tinungkusan, or 'hereditary property', is property which has been inherited. Unlike indopuan do nongkob, which is owned corporately by the family, tinungkusan is owned solely by the person who inherited it.

The number of classes of property in this system of classification varies with the level of discourse. In ordinary discourse only these two distinctions are made: indopuan do nongkob and tinungkusan. However, for other purposes two other distinctions are made.

Inovitan, or literally, 'that which has been sent', is property given to a child from the indopuan do nongkob of his natal family. Inovitan may be considered for certain purposes as tinungkusan. For instance, if a father has bought a particularly fine piece of property, when he gives it to his son he may tell him to patungkus it. Patungkus may be translated as 'put it in trust for future generations'. What is essentially meant is to conserve it, not sell it, so that it will become
tinungkusan. This type of property has a high prestige value in the society as it reflects the wealth of a line of descent. Consequently, the son may then refer to this piece of property as tinungkusan.

At other times if an individual stresses that such a piece of property is inovitan rather than tinungkusan, he is stating that it was he who helped in the swiddens of his natal family at the time that that particular piece of property was bought. That is, he participated in the production of an agricultural surplus which resulted in the purchase of the piece of property in question. Such a statement indicates that the individual making it prefers to forego the prestige of owning a piece of tinungkusan for the prestige that comes from ability in swidden work.

However, all that one has been given from the accumulated assets of one's natal family is strictly inovitan. Property which one is given from the personal holdings of a parent, that is, inovitan or tinungkusan of the parent, is tinungkusan to the devlovee.

Quality of character and rank order in the set of children primarily determines which child will inherit the tinungkusan, with the eldest son the preferred devlovee. With expensive pieces of inovitan, the child who helped most in the family's swiddens at the time it was purchased has prior claim on the piece of dapu. With small pieces of dapu, no such claims are
felt to exist.

Inovitan, like tinungkusan, is owned not by a social grouping, but by an individual, the individual on whom it was devolved. Furthermore, like tinungkusan, it is supposed to carry some of the mystical luck of the person who purchased it. However, it has not as yet reached the position of tinungkusan which has remained in one descent line for generations accumulating some of the mystical power of each owner. Inovitan to one individual will be tinungkusan to his successor.*

Inagaman is a fourth category of property. Inagaman, literally, 'that which has been set down', is property from the bride price of a female devolved upon that female. The bride says with respect to that property 'my inagaman', while the father refers to this property as ipogom, 'that which is set down', both of which terms are derived from the verb mogom, to sit down. The property which composes a bride price is, thus, conceived of as circulating, and in fact it does. The bride price of a daughter is used to provide a bride for a son. If any part of the bride price of a daughter is devolved on a son, it is referred to as inovitan by that son.

*Wooley, 1953 a, 1953 b, 1953 c, does not distinguish inovitan in his classification of property of Dusun speakers in the Tambunan, Ranau, Tuaran, Papar and Putatan areas of Sabah.
Tinungkusan

I have previously translated tinungkusan for brevity as 'hereditary property'. Literally tinungkusan means 'that which has been handed down'. The Rungus consider anything that is old to have a higher innate value than anything new. Consequently, the term tinungkusan can be used to refer to anything that has been handed down from former generations, including old stones or bits of wood which have magical qualities when used at the time of rice planting, scarce knowledge, etc. Ideally, however, tinungkusan refers to fine pieces of dapu which have been purchased by a grandparent or some other more distant lineal ancestor. In this sense it is not just old property. It also must be the finest examples of dapu. In the normal course of events, only the fine, expensive property of a household is left to devise upon a child. Bent, broken, and marred pieces of dapu are sold first in times of need to provide food and clothing for the family. Furthermore, in making up a bride price, only pieces of dapu of poor quality are used.

Consequently, the value of age does not necessarily over-ride the consideration of quality. If an individual had two similar gongs, one from his grandfather and a finer one from his father, and had to dispose of one he would sell the gong from his grandfather.

The prestige value of tinungkusan is high for the owner.
It is visible proof that the line of descent (tindog) of the owners from the original purchaser to the present owner have never starved (/lumikop/). If they had ever failed in their swidden activities and had been desperate for food, they would have had to sell such property to purchase rice. Thus, it shows that the line of descent has been wealthy from the beginning. Their prestige (/bantog/) has never declined or been ruined. Tinungkusan is a visible sign of wealth which causes the name of the original purchaser and the names of his descendants which have owned the property to be remembered as being outstanding persons in the society.

However, not only does tinungkusan confirm prestige and rank to the owner, but it is also endowed with certain mystical powers. It is felt to carry with it all the mystical power or 'luck' (surupu), of the previous owners in the present owner's line of descent and convey this to the present holder of the property. Furthermore, tinungkusan is credited with the ability to call the souls of other pieces of dapu to come and join it, if it has been treated well, as it would like many companions.

Each fine piece of dapu, regardless of whether it is tinungkusan or not, is felt to have a soul, hatod, in a similar manner to human beings who also have hatod. If a man dreams that he is going to marry a beautiful woman, it means that he will soon be able to purchase a fine, unblemished piece of property, the soul of which was the beautiful woman in his
dream. If he dreams that he is going to marry an old woman, it means that the piece of dapu which he will soon purchase has some defect in it.

To accumulate property, it is important that your household be attractive to the souls of dapu. If the souls of presently owned dapu have been treated well, they will encourage the souls of other dapu to join them. The proper treatment of dapu includes periodically sacrificing a pig or chicken and wiping the blood from such a sacrifice on your important pieces of dapu. It is felt that the 'luck', or mystical power, of one's ancestors as well as the souls of one's dapu may pack up and leave if they are not periodically bloodied. Respect must also be shown to dapu, and there are a number of small ritual acts which demonstrate one's respect. In particular it is felt that a 'hot' household is distasteful to the souls of property, and they will not come to it. Close contact of the household members with someone who has engaged in illicit sexual intercourse or incest and who is therefore 'hot' can cause the household also to become 'hot'. Sacrifices of pigs and chickens will remove the offending heat.

The constant injunction of parents to children is not to sell tinungkusan. It is stated that if tinungkusan is sold, the 'luck' of the descent line also departs. The seller will become lazy; his swidden will not be successful; he will decline in importance in the society and he will not be able to buy dapu anymore.
Figure 4.1 Rank Order of Successors to Tinungkusan

Key: * = Original purchaser; △ = Present owner; ○ = Sex undesignated. Numbers: 1. will succeed to the property when present owner dies; 2. will succeed to the property if no one in the class of 1. is alive; 3. will succeed to the property if no one in the class of 2. is alive, etc.

Notes: The original purchaser devolved it upon three when he set up a separate longhouse apartment after marriage. Three did the same with his son. If at the time of the present owner's death his children have not married and set up their own households, his tinungkusan will remain in his household with his wife as trustee of it until the child designated by him establishes his own household. At that time the wife will send the property to the designated devolvee. If none has been nominated by the time of his death, the wife will select a successor with the help of her dead husband's relatives. It is stated that such property never goes to a class of successors beyond number five, as there never has been a case where there were no surviving nephews.
Classes of Successors to Tinungkusan

Tinungkusan must not go out of the descent line which has owned it. For instance, if a man dies without issue, the tinungkusan he owned and which was purchased by his grandfather goes first back to his own father, who will give it again to other sons or grandchildren, and failing these will go back to the original purchaser to devolve it upon another one of his sons. Figure 4.1 shows the rank order of successors to tinungkusan.

The Indopuan do Nongkob or Family Property

The phrase /do nongkob/ means 'of or belonging to the domestic family'. The word indopuan derives from the verb /mongindapu/ which may be translated as 'to accumulate dapu'. By adding the suffix /-an/ to the stem of this verb, /-indapu/, a substantive is created which may be translated as 'that dapu or property which has been accumulated'. Consequently, indopuan do nongkob literally means 'that dapu which has been accumulated by and belongs to the domestic family'. For sake of simplicity I translate indopuan do nongkob as 'family property'.

In order to accumulate property it is not enough just to be successful in the various swidden activities and in animal husbandry. There are families in each community who are successful most years with respect to their rice harvest, but who are unable to accumulate any dapu. This is either because of
their inability to conserve their rice for the purchase of *dapu*, or because of the male founder's lack of skill in the bargaining process, or due to unusual demands for sacrifices to the spirit world arising from prolonged illness in the family.

Demands on the resources of the family come from the male and female founders to fulfill different and sometimes opposing needs.

From the male founder largely comes the demands on the family's resources for the accumulation of *dapu*, as the prestige of the male founder in the society is based on his ability to accumulate *dapu*. However, decisions as to how much of the family's agricultural surpluses are to be expended in the purchase of *dapu*, or clothing, or female ornaments, and what has to be reserved to meet the ritual needs of the family should ideally be the joint decisions of both founders. These should be joint decisions because the responsibility of maintaining the family in a state of ritual health is the primary responsibility of the female founder, and this may require considerable expenditure of the family's agricultural produce and domestic animals for the required ceremonies.

Illness is caused by various members of the spirit world called *rogon* who capture and torment wandering souls. This is reflected in the physical state of the owner of the lost soul. The female founder determines which *rogon* has caused the illness and what he will demand as a sacrifice to cease and desist. If
she is not a spirit medium herself, she goes for a diagnosis to one of the other women in the longhouse who is a spirit medium and who has a spirit familiar to consult with. To secure the return of the captured souls and hence, the return to health of the owner, pigs and chickens must be sacrificed to the rogon. In addition, rice is used in the accompanying feasts as food and drink, although frequently manioc is used in the preparation of wine to conserve the rice supply. If there is not enough rice or livestock to meet these ritual demands, some of the indopuan do nongkob must be traded for the needed commodities.

Thus, it is largely in the province of the female founder to decide what pigs and chickens to raise, in what quantities, and for which ceremonies. She makes the decisions largely as to when to hold the various ceremonies to maintain the family in a state of ritual health, and she decides what pigs or chickens are to be used for which ceremony, and how many must be purchased if they are not on hand. The ceremonies to maintain the goodwill of the rice spirits which take place in the swiddens are more usually the concern of the men. However, in terms of the livestock consumed and the demands on the family's resources these are minor ceremonies, usually involving only two or three chickens.

The demands, then, of the two founders on the resources of the family are to a certain extent in opposition. Not that
a man values *dapu* over the health of his children or does not want his wife's spirit familiar to have a favorable disposition towards her, which also must be obtained through sacrifices, but such ceremonies to preserve and obtain the ritual health of the family may consume all the agricultural surpluses of the family and to no avail. In many cases where one prescribed ceremony does not have the desired effect, another must be tried. A frequent source of conflict in the family is the reserving of a particular pig for a particular spirit by the female founder without the knowledge of the male founder. This may invalidate his estimate of the family's surplus resources which could come to light just at the time he begins to enter negotiations to buy *dapu*.

In the purchase of *dapu* or the purchase of additional livestock for the various ceremonies, it is the male founder who must do the bargaining. The bargaining for a gong may take two or three days. If the owner of a pig knows that few other pigs are available for the prospective purchaser and that this purchaser must have a pig immediately for a ceremony, the price rises to match the need. Thus the accumulation of family property, once the other conditions have been met, largely depends on the skill of the male founder in bargaining.

**Jural Relationships Within the Domestic Family With Respect to the Property of the Family**

Although the Rungus domestic family is the major production,
consumption, and asset-accumulating social unit in the society, it is not just a collection of individuals brought together to engage in an economic enterprise and whose interrelationships are regulated solely by economic interest. Relationships between family members are not founded on jural rights over property, but are founded on a moral order expressed in the rights and duties between kinsmen. It should not, however, be assumed that this moral order necessarily stems only from mutual ties of affection. The moral order is based primarily on the highly developed respect relationship between parents and children, and to a lesser extent between eldest sibling and younger sibling, which is backed by the mystical sanction of kovusung. The family is, thus, organized to obtain its goals, economic and otherwise, on the basis of this respect relationship.

It is also this respect relationship which largely prevents a child from taking jural action against a parent when he feels that his rights over family property have not been properly dealt with on leaving his natal family to establish his own household. However, in addition to this restraining force of the respect relationship, there are other reasons why a child will also not take jural action for restitution of property which he feels is rightfully his until both parents, or at least the male founder, are dead. Parents are much more skilled than their children in the various jural negotiations that take place in cases of disputes before the assembled male founders of families
in the community and also a parent is considered by such a gathering to be much more knowledgeable in the past history of the family's operations, so that he is privy to much more evidence to support his case.

In general, and because it is a family, it is the expectation of all members of the domestic family that they will be clothed and fed from the retained earnings of the family to the best of its ability. In addition, expenses of illnesses are also expected to be met from the retained earnings of the family even to the degree that all the family's assets are used up, regardless of the contribution of the ill member to the accumulation of family assets. In times of extremity, when there are no assets left from the indopuan do nongkob to buy food, clothes, or to meet the expenses of an illness, it is expected that the inherited property of either founder will be liquidated to meet the necessary expenses.

However, in times of non-extremity, and subject to the best interests of the family as a whole, the rights of any member to use the family assets vary with the relative status of that member in the family as measured by his contribution to the accumulation of assets. This becomes particularly clear through the division of property at the time of a split-off of a family member to establish his own domestic family after marriage, or at the time of a divorce.
Division of Family Property at Divorce

If the founders divorce without fault on either side and without issue, the family property is divided equally between them in terms of the number of pieces of *dapu*, but with the finer pieces going to the husband as he is considered to be *ologod mongindapu*, 'stronger in the acquisition of *dapu*'. He works harder in the swiddens and is the one who must do the bargaining for the purchase of these durables.

If the divorce is the result of the misbehavior of one of the founders, more property is given to the founder without blame. If the family has children, most of the property goes with the founder who is to care for the children. In one case a founder with nearly-grown sons decided to divorce his wife in order to marry a younger woman. He left the household without bringing the case to the 'village council', giving up all rights to any of the accumulated property of his former family. This would be largely consumed in constituting the bride prices of his sons. In another case of this nature certain items of property were set aside at the time of division of the family property to make up the bride prices of the sons.

However, the rights of the children become more explicitly defined when an analysis of the method of devisal is made.

Principles of Devisal

Each decision as to the division among the children of the *indopuan do nongkob* as well as the *inovitan* and *tinungkusan* of
the two founders is based on a selection of one or more principles to emphasize from a series of value premises which are felt to be applicable to the problem of inheritance.* Thus, among the Rungus, no case of inheritance follows identical lines with another, for each case depends on which of the limited number of principles the two founders choose to emphasize and in what order in their particular appraisal of their family situation and its members.

The actual decision as to the division of the assets of the family lies with the two founders and, in particular, the male founder. Children feel that it is up to the parents to decide how the assets are to be divided and this feeling is reinforced by the respect relationship that exists between parent and child. This is backed by the mystical sanction of kovusung that effectively prevents any overt challenge of parental authority, although children may complain and perhaps argue heatedly with the parents.

After the death of the parents challenges to the parental decision as to the division of assets, however, do occur. These are usually in the form of guile, such as borrowing the desired dapu from the sibling on whom it was devolved and not returning it.

The timing of devisal varies. In the majority of cases if the parents are wealthy, dapu either from the indopuan do

*Llewellyn and Hoebel (1941:213) report the same situation among the Cheyenne.
nongkob or from the dapu owned solely by either of the parents in the form of inovitan or tinungkusan is sent to the child at the time of the first major ceremony for dapu (mamapak tavasi) held by the child's newly formed domestic family in their own household. However, if the parents themselves do not have in their own household a full set of dapu, or if they have only one such set used in this ceremony for dapu, or if the bride prices of sons still must be met, no dapu can be spared to send to children setting up their own households. In such a case, children do not receive their share of the assets of their natal family until the parental nongkob is dissolved. At that time, the two founders, or the surviving founder joins the domestic family of a child and the assets of the parental domestic family are completely distributed.

A number of reasons are given for devolving on a child his share of dapu at the time he sets up his separate household. First, it is stated that it prevents arguments later over the disposition of assets which could occur among siblings after the death of a parent. Secondly, parents like to see a child's household fully established with the necessary property for holding the major ceremonies both for his own sake as well as for the purpose of gaining prestige in the community. They say that such a distribution makes the household of the child 'elegant' and 'it is gratifying to dance at the house' of such a child at the time of a major ceremony. Thirdly, parents give
property to their children when they set up their own household because they want to encourage their children to accumulate property, and it is hoped that such a distribution will bring them good fortune. Lastly, some people stated that a distribution of property at this time was one way of minimizing the bride price for subsequently married sons as there would be less indopuan do nongkob for the bride's father to make demands on.

Before going into the various value premises which lie behind the devisal of property, it is best first to dispose of the rights of the bride over her bride price. There are fairly clear cut rules on how this is to be done.

The bride always should get the hukuman do ondu -- 'that which has been negotiated for the girl', which is usually a low pedestaled piece of brassware called a longguvai. It is said that this represents the price for having her clothes removed on the marriage bed, and it should belong to her. This, as well as any other property from the bride price which is devolved upon her, is called inagaman -- 'that which has been set down', as it will no longer circulate in making up the bride prices for brothers.

The remainder of the bride price may be used to make up the bride price of brothers, or either to buy any of the daily necessities of the household. However, if the bride is the last to marry in her family, most of the bride price will be devolved
upon her with the exception of any pieces given to her brothers. If the bride's father is no longer alive, several pieces of dapu from the bride price may be distributed to brothers of the bride who have already set up their own households. The reasoning behind this is that it will be to her brothers that she will turn for help if she gets into any difficulty in her marriage. If she is divorced or widowed, the bride without parents or children will return to the household of a brother, rather than to a sister, as in the latter place she could be subject to attempts at adultery. Brothers, in default of a father, serve as guardians of their sisters. In the Rungus social system females are not regarded as being skilled in the complicated negotiating and maneuvering that takes place in any case of conflict, which might result in a law suit being brought, or in the complicated bargaining that involves buying dapu. It is stated that females are not brave; they are not skilled in bargaining or at negotiations.

In no case may the bride price of one sister go to another. This would be grounds for a suit after the death of the parents as it is stated that the bride owns her own bride price; it is not the bride price of a sister. But since a brother helps a sister, the bride price for his wife can be constituted from that of his sister.

With the disposition of bride price property dealt with, we can proceed to list the various value premises which enter
into any consideration of the disposition of indopuan do nongkob
as well as inovitan and tinungkusan. I have abstracted from
the statements of seven major informants the various key values
implicit in their statements and then organized these state­
ments into six areas of major value premises operating in the
realm of devisal. I have then ranked these value premises as
to what I consider to be the most inclusive to the least in­
clusive.

The Rungus themselves would not explicitly list these
major value premises. Some informants would emphasize certain
of the values to the exclusion of others while others would
stress what a former informant had omitted. Rungus informants
find it most difficult to verbalize the principles which lie
behind the inheritance of property because they form part of
a complex matrix of values which are implicitly held and which
have entailments in the whole range of Rungus social action.
Consequently, the values listed below are not those relating
only to devisal, but are the core values which also determine
behavior in all kin situations.

These value premises are:

1. Value premises pertaining to male and female roles.
Rungus men are primarily concerned with the economic and politi­
cal realms in their society. It is stated that males work harder
in the swiddens than do females, are skilled in the bargaining
for dapu, and the maneuvering in jural cases which women are
not; they can build houses, which women cannot, and are able to carry heavy loads, including not only transporting the timbers for a new house, but also bringing in the crops from the fields and moving the large ceramic jars when the family moves to a new house or village. Consequently, men are supposed to take care of their widowed or divorced sisters by representing them in jural cases, cutting their swiddens for them, making their longhouse apartments, and the like.

In addition it is stated that men are skilled or expert in thinking, which women are not, and are better able to take care of their aged parents.

Therefore, since males put more energy and thought into the accumulation of dapu, it is felt that males should receive more of the family's dapu than females, particularly gongs and jars. Furthermore, once in their hands, it is stated they will know better how to take care of the dapu than would their sisters. Females, instead, receive female property (see Table 4.1) such as female clothing and ornaments, including expensive bead necklaces, and female ritual objects, as well as some types of dapu which are classed as tambaga. Tambaga includes a number of containers which are kept at the head of the sleeping area in the enclosed section of the longhouse apartment. As the household is more the domain of the women, it is felt that females should inherit some tambaga. A daughter's share, which can include tambaga as well as the expensive female ornaments.
of beads, brass wire, and ceremonial clothing, may closely approach the value of a son's share of *dapu*, but it is generally not expected that it will.

However, the entailment to the set of values pertaining to male and female roles which results in males receiving certain classes of property, and females receiving other classes, does not have to be rigidly adhered to. For instance, sons may inherit female property without any prejudice, if they have no sisters, and daughters may inherit gongs, jars, and the like if there are no sons, also without prejudice. In fact, if there is enough *dapu* to fully outfit the households of all the sons, daughters will also receive a portion of the family's *dapu* above and beyond any pieces of *tambaga* (see value premise no. 5). Or, if the son is improvident by nature, (see value premise no. 3) and the daughter capable in the handling of *dapu*, or if the son is lazy and the daughter has put more than the usual effort into the swidden work and this has resulted in the accumulation of much *dapu* (see value premise no. 4), she may receive a larger portion of the combined assets of the family, including such *dapu* as gongs and jars, than the improvident or lazy son.

The set of value premises pertaining to the male and female roles in Rungus society results in the tendency for inheritance to be, as Barton put it (1949:114-115), *homoparental*. That is, property which the father has inherited and which is usually *dapu* is devolved upon a son, while property which the mother
has inherited goes to a daughter. One woman, whose family had
been wealthy enough to devise upon her a set of gongs, intended
to give this set of gongs to her eldest daughter. However,
she stated that if the eldest son had not had a set of gongs
to inherit from his father or from the indopuan do nongkob,
she would have given it to her eldest son, because of his
special position in the sibling set (see value premise no. 2).

The final entailment of the set of value premises pertain­
ing to the male and female roles in the society involves the
consideration of line of descent -- tindog. As it may not be
possible to outfit each child's household with a complete set
of dapu for ceremonial purposes (see value premise no. 5), the
eldest son is the child most usually provided with the necessary
dapu. He is also considered, if worthy, the gantian or replace­
ment in the society for the father. This is related to his role
in the sibling set (see value premise no. 2). Consequently,
a line of descent (tindog) traced through eldest sons by virtue
of their inheritance of a set of gongs and related dapu is
considered to be an especially prestigious line of descent. No
other rights and privileges come through membership in a tindog
in Rungus society other than prestige (bantog).

If a parent wants to establish a prestigious tindog, he
will give most of the family property to the eldest son to
the exclusion as far as possible of other children.
2. Value premises with respect to sibling order. The first born son and the first born daughter get preferential treatment in terms of inheritance, providing they have the necessary character attributes (see value premise no. 3). It is expected that the eldest son will receive the tinungkusan or inovitan of the father and the eldest daughter that of her mother. These children are felt to be the gantian, the 'replacement' of the parents in the society.*

However, there are additional justifications for the preferential treatment of the eldest son. The eldest son comes to manhood earliest. He is the first to help his father in the fields and is felt to put the most effort into swidden labor and the accumulation of property. Even long after the eldest son has set up his own separate household his father still asks him for help, as he is by then the most skilled and mature of all his siblings. Furthermore, the eldest son is supposed to help care for his younger siblings and, depending on factors of character, it is to him that the younger siblings will turn for help after the death of parents.

The youngest sibling, the komulakan, is also expected to get preferential treatment. He takes possession of the house

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*If a parent dies prior to the marriage of the children who are going to inherit his or her personal property, the surviving parent takes charge of this property and manages it until the devolvee sets up a separate household.
timbers and household utensils of the parents. Frequently, after marriage he does not set up his own household, but brings his spouse into the parental household immediately after the marriage ceremony where they will remain. For this service of taking care of the aged parents and fulfilling the proper burial obligations, the youngest child will receive a larger share of the family property than the middle siblings. Furthermore, as a justification for a parent joining the family of a komulakan as well as a justification for the komulakan receiving the parental household utensils, it is argued that the komulakan is the most inexperienced and has had the least benefit of the advice and help of the parents, since he is the youngest, and therefore, he needs more assistance.

3. The value premises relating to qualities of character. Irrespective of rank in the sibling set, and to a certain extent irrespective of sex, parents will not devise their individually owned property (inovitan or tinungkusan), or for that matter fine pieces of family property, on children who do not have good character. The qualities of character that they look for in the children to receive fine pieces of property and especially tinungkusan are: obedience to the parents, willingness to care for the parents, industriousness, the ability to think things through, not to be stupid, and a 'good heart'. Children, who are to inherit tinungkusan, must demonstrate that they will take the proper care of it and show that they have a provident nature so that they will not allow themselves to get in the
In addition, the devolvee of tinungkusan should have a good wife who is skilled in swidden work and who is thrifty in her household expenditures.

4. The value premise that participation in the creation of a scarce good entails preferred ownership rights (see Hoebel, 1948:15-16). If a family has been able to purchase a particularly fine piece of dapu while one of the sons was helping in the fields, and this purchase was the material result of the son's help in earning an agricultural surplus, it is thought that this son has a prior claim to that piece of property. The son will not complain if a parent sells it at a later date to buy food or clothing, or even to accumulate enough dapu to make up a bride price for another son, although he would prefer him not to. However, if the piece of property is devolved upon another sibling, especially one who had already established his own separate household prior to the purchase, the son in question is believed to have a legitimate complaint. In all probability he would not make an issue of it while his parents are alive, but after their death this would be the basis of a law suit between the siblings to regain control of the property, and if there were no other considerations, the son bringing the suit would win.

However, preferred rights over property accumulated while a particular son worked in the swiddens are only accounted for in those cases where the dapu involved is expensive. Small
and inexpensive pieces of dapu are not kept track of.

5. The value premise with respect to a fair share of the family and parental property. If a father has two large gongs of the same type, one tinungkusan and the other one bought while the eldest son alone helped in the swiddens, the eldest son would not get both. He might be given the opportunity to choose the one he wanted, but it is felt, regardless of what rights that have accrued due to participation in the creation of the scarce good, that no child should get two of anything to the exclusion of a sibling.

Related to this value premise is the concept of asukupan do nongkob. A certain set of property is considered to make the household complete for ceremonial purposes. This set is called the asukupan do nongkob, which may be roughly translated as 'that which makes the household complete'. This consists of a set of four gongs and a drum for playing and dancing to at various ceremonies, a large pedestaled brass container (longguvai) to be used for serving tobacco and betel chewing supplies at these gatherings, a large jar to make rice wine in, an antique ceramic bowl (/maligon/) in which to serve the rice wine, a pair of 'bandoleers' (/sandai/) made from old and valuable cloth to be worn when dancing, and finally a /tunggol/ or flag which is flown above the sacrificial platform in the ceremonies for the spirit familiars of the spirit mediums and in sacrifices to the gods which control the souls of property.
It is the desire of those Rungus who are successful in their swidden and trading activities to put together this asukupan do nongkob for each of their sons and if possible for each of their daughters. However, if a daughter's husband already has the asukupan do nongkob, the parents will not further endow this household to the exclusion of another child's household which does not have this. *

6. Value premises relating to parental authority. In all cases, largely irrespective of the preceding value premises, the decisions as to what child is to receive what property lies exclusively with the parents. Parents will not be challenged due to the respect relationship existing between parents and children, which is backed up by the mystical sanction of kovu-sung. The various swidden and trading decisions have largely been in the hands of the two founders. It is the two founders who have organized the family's work activities and it is they who have planned for the family's future. They know which of their children have best lived up to the standards of what makes a good child. It is stated that the 'parents weigh or balance their children', and consequently, they know best how to divide up their personal and family property.

Summary of Jural Relationships within the Family with Respect to Property

In times of extremity, such as sickness, and regardless of the individual's relative status or degree of participation in

*Hoebel, 1948:16, refers to this as the principle of effective utilization.
the accumulation of family assets, the retained earnings of the family will be used up to meet the needs of the individual at that time. However, as illustrated by the rules of divorce and the principles of devisal, rights to family assets depend on the degree of participation of the individual in both the economic and moral order of the family and in turn this participation is partially delimited by the value premises of the society with respect to male, female, and sibling roles. These rights over property within the family are largely moral rights with the usual sanctions of family pressure, disapproval, and discontent operating. Seldom does a family member resort to jural action to achieve his rights.

The Jural Nature of the Rungus Domestic Family

The jural nature of the Rungus domestic family as recognized in the Rungus jural system can best be delineated not by an analysis of the internal relationships between members of the family, but through an analysis of the jural relations between the domestic family, or its members, and other jural units in the society. However, the preceding sections have laid the foundations and provided the substantive material by which the questions we are going to raise here can be answered.

The point here is not to engage in arguments which confuse the logic of two levels of analysis, the legal and sociological (for instance, see Derham, 1958:12). Instead, now that the sociological nature of the domestic family has been analyzed,
the major question here is: how is the social nature of the grouping in question recognized in the jural system under consideration?

To answer this question, we first have to ask whether in the rules of the jural system under consideration the social grouping in question is recognized as a jural entity or not. That is, is it recognized as an entity for the purpose of jural reasoning and, therefore, has the capacity to enter into jural relations as a separate entity? Or is the social nature of the grouping in question ignored in the jural system, and the group considered merely as an aggregate of individuals, who own rights in severalty? Or is it considered as a collectivity, recognizing its social nature, but still denying the jural status of an entity (see Derham's analysis of the Taff Vale Case, 1958, 15-57)?

Secondly, we then have to ask, if the social entity under question is also considered a jural entity, what is the jural personality of such a grouping? That is, for what purposes is it considered a jural entity and for what purposes is it

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*"In the famous Taff Vale Case the Lords had held that a trade union could be sued in its own name, by non-members, to prevent a tortious act. But that decision did not clearly establish the trade union as a legal person. It could be said merely to permit all the members to be sued as a collectivity (i.e. recognizing the social entity but denying the legal) by that group name." (Derham, 1958:16)
not?*

Once these questions have been adequately answered, we can next discuss what are the appropriate labels for such social entities, such as 'corporation', 'corporate grouping', etc.

The Domestic Family as a Jural Entity. Any social grouping entering into jural relations has the problem of determining its representation.** Not all members of the social grouping can take simultaneous actions, as in purchasing property, paying off a debt, etc. Consequently, authority must be delegated to some member of the group to represent it. Furthermore, this delegation of authority must be jurally recognized before it is binding.

In the Rungus domestic family, the male founder is considered the jural head of the family. That is, he represents the family at disputes; he can purchase property for the family and his action is binding; he can establish debts; and he can both

*Derham, 1958:7 puts this distinction as follows: The distinction is between legal personateness (jurial entities) as the constant unit in the logic of a system -- a 'right and duty-bearing unit' -- and legal personality (jurial personality) as referring to the sum total of legal relations, actual or potential, of a legal person.

**See Derham, 1958, Martin, 1958 and Stoljar, 1958b, for a discussion of this problem with respect to the development of the legal personality of the unincorporated English trade union.
initiate suits in the name of the family and in turn be sued as a representative of the family. To the outsider interested in entering jural relations with the family, the male founder is the only one to deal with.*

If the domestic family lacks a male founder because of death or divorce, the female founder assumes much of the male founder's responsibilities, except that of representing the family at village council meetings and in jural suits. At both of these times, either a son who has reached sufficient age and wisdom or a male kinsman of either of the two founders represents the family.

Complementary to the question of representation is the nature of the relationship of the domestic family to its retained earnings. For lack of a better term I would call the relationship between the family and its assets that of corporate ownership. This can be explained by first giving several illustrations.

If the male founder of a family contracts a debt and then dies, the family can pay off this debt from its accumulated retained earnings then available, or from earnings made at a later date. That is, it is a debt of the family, a corporate debt, and not a personal debt of the male founder who made it,

*Interestingly enough there is no specific title for this role, such as 'head of the household'. This may be because the role is identical with the role of father, which does have a title. This also may be related to the value that the relationship between the two founders is symmetrical and that they should 'balance' each other. See Chapter Three.
for if such were the case it would have to be paid from his personal assets (tinungkusan or inovitan) before these assets were devolved upon his heirs.

A further example of the corporate nature of the family's ownership of its assets is found in those cases where a close collateral relative of one of the founders of a domestic family resides for the lack of a closer relative with that family. Among the Rungus some domestic families have been joined by an unmarried, widowed, or divorced sibling of one of the founders because the parental household no longer existed and because the sibling had no children of his own. At the death of such a collateral relative there is no division of his interest in the indopuan do nongkob among all surviving siblings who are equally distant from the deceased. Only his tinungkusan or inovitan is so divided, if he owned any. The deceased's interest in the assets of the family in which he lived instead remains undivided from those of the rest of the family members and, along with the interests of the others, is eventually devolved upon the children of that family as they set up their own households after marriage.

Thus, ideally there is no division of family property at the death of a founder. The assets remain with the surviving members and are devised upon the off-spring of the family as they set up their separate households, until only the tandon do nongkob (the child who will take in the aged parent) is left.
The remaining assets are then devolved upon him.* It is said that if they both die without division of the family property, it will result in disputes among the heirs.

The manner in which fines for delicts are handled further illustrates the nature of the rights over the family property. Delicts may be made against a specific individual, such as cutting his clothing which puts him in ritual jeopardy, as well as against the family as a unit, as when certain rules pertaining to a family ceremony are broken by an outsider. Any award in a delict against a specific individual is added to the family assets, nevertheless, and it is not considered the personal property of the offended person whether the fine is in the form of brassware or livestock. Also, if a member of a family perpetrates a delict, any fine comes out of the family property.

To return to the terminological question about the type of ownership interest held by the family in its assets, we see that members of the family have undivided shares in its property, and this property can be expended or used for any member as long as it is in the family's long-term and best interests. I have termed this corporate ownership. On the other hand, Radcliffe-Brown (1935; reprinted 1952) has used the term joint

*While ideally this is the procedure, there are also cases where parents, unwilling to give up their hold on their assets, retain them until they both die or the household is dissolved by joining the tandon do nongkob.
rights to apply to situations where such concurrent interests exist. In my opinion, however, he has not used this term in conformity with the accepted distinctions in jurisprudence.

Radcliffe-Brown states (1952:44):

"... When two persons A and B have rights over something Z or rights in rem over some person Z, there are three ways of adjusting these rights so as to avoid unresolvable conflicts. One is the mode of rights in common; A and B have similar and equal rights over Z and these are such that the rights of A will not conflict with those of B. An instance is to be found in the native tribes of South Africa in which, as the native saying is, 'grass and water are common'. Any member of the tribe has the right to graze his cattle or water them, or take water for his own use, in any part of the territory over which the tribe (represented by its chief) exercises dominion. A second mode is the mode of joint rights in which A and B (or any number of persons) exercise jointly certain rights over Z. The establishment of such joint rights immediately establishes what is here called a corporation."*

Let us first look at the distinctions made in jurisprudence between rights in common and joint rights with respect to a piece of land. The two essential attributes of joint tenancy are survivorship and the unities of certain incidents of ownership. Joint tenants, like tenants in common, have con-

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*The third mode, rights in division, will not concern us here.
current interests in the land, but for joint tenants there is survivorship. That is, when there are only two tenants and one dies, the other becomes the sole owner. This is not the case with tenants in common. When one such tenant dies his interest in the property passes to his heirs or devisees (Casner and W. B. Leach, 1951:304-5).

The survivorship feature of joint tenancy is destructible and the joint tenancy, thereby, is converted into tenancy in common, if the unities of certain incidents of ownership have not been met or are changed. For the law to recognize joint ownership the unity of each of the following incidents must exist (Casner and W. B. Leach, 1951:305):

"(a) Unity of time - i.e. the interests, of the joint tenants must vest at the same time.

(b) Unity of possession - i.e. the joint tenants must have undivided interests in the whole, not divided interests in separate parts.

(c) Unity of title - i.e. the joint tenants must derive their interests by the same instrument.

(d) Unity of interest - i.e. the joint tenants must have estates of the same type and duration."
Whenever any of these unities is destroyed, joint tenancy is severed and is changed into tenancy in common (Casner and W. B. Leach, 1951:305).

I would, therefore, maintain that the term 'joint ownership' or 'joint rights', as used in English and American law, is not applicable to the situation pertaining to the relationship between the domestic family and its indopuan do nongkob. While it is true that there is the concept of survivorship with respect to the Rungus family, i.e. the survivors take possession of the deceased's interest, three out of the above four unities are not recognized.

The interest of the family members in the family property is not vested at the same time; each child at birth acquires an interest in the family property to a greater or lesser degree, and this interest increases the more he participates in the economic and moral order of the family. While the family members have an undivided interest in the whole of the family assets in times of extremity, prior rights over family property do exist and nullify the test of unity of possession. That is, in times of emergency such as sickness the assets of the family will be used to meet any expenses of the family member involved. Otherwise, the members of the family share in the family assets according to their relative status and certain off-spring, by dint of the degree of their participation in the moral and economic order of the family as well as by dint of their order
of birth, have rights over particular pieces of family property prior to other children in the family. This also invalidates the fourth test, that of unity of interest. The family members do not have estates of the same type and duration. *

Although the type of ownership of family property does not meet all the tests of unity of the incidents of ownership of joint tenancy, this does not mean that it meets the requirements for the other type of concurrent ownership discussed by Radcliffe-Brown, i.e. rights in common. In English and American law the attribute of survivorship is destroyed if all the tests of unity of certain incidents of ownership are not met and the joint tenancy changed into tenancy in common (Casner and W. B. Leach, 1951:305). However, in the Rungus jural system, survivorship does exist between the members of the domestic family with respect to family assets even though these tests of unity are not met (see the case discussed above with respect to collateral relatives of the founders). This characteristic of survivorship invalidates any consideration of the rights over family property as rights in common.

Furthermore, tenancy in common may also involve each of the tenants holding different titles (Cheshire, 1962:302). However, unity of title over family assets is illustrated by the term for family assets, indopuan do nongkob. The co-owners of the

*It should be noted here that the type of ownership of family assets does meet the third test, unity of title, as shown by the term used for family assets, indopuan do nongkob.
Rungus family property hold corporately single title to their assets and this contrasts markedly with the nature of ownership rights over fruit trees in which co-owners hold title to the tree individually.

It might be worthwhile at this point to briefly analyze the nature of ownership rights over fruit trees, as it illustrates that tenancy in common does exist in the jural system of the Rungus, in contrast to the type of ownership involving family assets.

Fruit trees may be devolved physically upon heirs without division. However, rights over the fruit trees are held in severalty. For example, by the time use rights over a fruit tree have been devolved to the second generation from the original planter, first cousins are the right holders. If this tree is destroyed willfully, suit is brought by the one out of the class of owners who has been taking particular care of it, usually because it is near his longhouse apartment. If the other holders of use rights over the tree choose not to appear at the time of the suit and claim their share of the award, they forever and completely lose any right to a share of the award. That is, rights are not either jointly or corporately held which would result in the appointment of a representative for the owners to collect the award and divide it equitably. Each cousin, in the case described above, holds his rights in severalty. That is, he has a separate title, and he can decide
either to exercise his rights or not. Furthermore, on his death
his rights over a tree descend to his off-spring and not to his
co-owners as it would if the concept of survivorship operated
as in joint tenancy.

Consequently, ownership over trees conforms to the defini­
tion of tenancy in common, and separate titles are held by
the co-owners in marked contrast to the unity of the title to
family assets.

In his discussion of concurrent ownership Radcliffe-Brown
does not make the distinctions that are found in jurisprudence
between joint rights and rights in common. Furthermore, the
example that he has given with respect to rights in common
raises the question as to whether he really understood the
entailments of rights in common as found in jurisprudence.

He states that rights in common may be illustrated by an
instance to be found in the native tribes of South Africa in
which "Any member of a tribe has the right to graze his cattle
or water them, or take water for his own use, in any part of
the territory over which the tribe ... exercises dominion."
(Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:44) If these are rights in common in
the strict sense, a man inherits them presumably from one of
his parents, and he may then sell them to whomsoever he wishes.
However, I doubt that this is the case. I doubt that an indi­
vidual may sell his rights over the common lands of the tribe
to a non-member of the tribe.
An analogous case exists among the Rungus. Rights to use the village waste land to graze water buffalo may be enjoyed by any member of the village. This right is what I would call a secondary right and not a primary right, such as is a right in common, since it is dependent on residence in the village territory and membership in the village community. It is, therefore, non-transferable.

Inconsistencies in the usage of rights in common are not restricted to Radcliffe-Brown. Cheshire, in his discussion of rights of common, becomes involved in similar inconsistencies.

Rights of common are a class of profits à prendre -- the right to take a profit from the land such as grass, fish, turf, and the like. Cheshire points out (1951:492-493) that rights of common are derived from the early Anglo-Saxon method of land cultivation known as the common or open field system. Thus, rights of common refer originally to the rights held by the villagers to use the waste parts of the land which belonged to them collectively for pasturage, etc. This is similar to the Rungus case. However, Cheshire states that these rights of common belonged to the villager himself in common with others (1951:493). But can such rights of common be classed as rights in common as Cheshire and Radcliffe-Brown have done? They only can be if it can be demonstrated that these rights may be transferred to non-members of the village without prejudice. My argument here is that the essential difference between joint
rights and rights in common is that in the latter case one of
the co-owners may dispose of his right in common to anyone
he wishes without disturbing the jural relationship between
the remainder of the co-owners. In joint ownership this is
not the case. Neither is it the case with the types of rights
of common which we have discussed above and which are dependent
upon being a member of a social grouping, the village.

The terminological difficulty with respect to the cases
proposed by Radcliffe-Brown and Cheshire stems from the histori­
cal development of English jurisprudence. The terms joint
rights and rights in common are not concerned with making the
distinctions which Radcliffe-Brown wishes to make with his
examples from South African tribes nor the distinctions which
are applicable to the early Anglo-Saxon village, or for that
matter, with those which are found in the Rungus jural system.
Rights in common and joint rights focus on the nature of the
scarce good in the property relationship and the nature of the
right, not on the nature of the social grouping in question.
In both cases the scarce object remains undivided, but with
rights in common the shares are divided while with joint
rights the shares remain undivided. *

*Cheshire (1951:294) states: "A joint tenancy arises when­
ever land is conveyed or devised to two or more persons without
any words to show that they are to take distinct or separate
shares .... ." However, with respect to tenants in common Cheshire
states (1951:302) that each has "... an equal right ... to the
possession of the whole land. But their union may stop at that
point, for they may each hold different interests, as where one
has a fee simple, the other a life interest; and they may each
hold under different titles, as for instance where one has bought
and the other has succeeded to his share. Each has a share in
the ordinary meaning of that word. The occupation is undivided
and neither party can point to the particular part of the land
which represents his share, but nevertheless his right to a
definite share exists."
However, it is completely unnecessary to the logic of the English and American jural systems and their terminology as to whether the joint tenants or tenants in common are members of a social grouping or not. For instance, both joint tenancy and tenancy in common may arise through the devisal of property under the terms of a will, and the inheritors in either case may not be members of a common social grouping. This is not so with the Rungus family, nor for that matter with the Rungus village, which we shall discuss in a later chapter. Rights to the family property and the village lands are achieved only through participation in a social grouping.

Radcliffe-Brown is attempting to make a similar distinction between the ownership of rights by individuals (his rights in common) and the ownership of rights by a social grouping, i.e. the rights held by a tribe over its territory which he designates 'joint rights'. Such a grouping which holds property 'jointly' he calls a 'corporation'. Consequently, he could have used the adjective, 'corporate', in the sense of referring to a 'corporation' (not in the sense which I am using it) to denote the manner in which these rights were held, rather than choosing a term which has a different meaning in jurisprudence. However, he did not, and I think he can be rightly criticized for ignoring this distinction as well as those made with respect to rights in common as his usage has led to certain confusions.

To return to the nature of the rights held by the Rungus domestic family over its assets, I have pointed out that neither
the terms rights in common nor joint rights, as they are used in jurisprudence, apply to this case. The focus of these rights is on the indivisibility of the scarce object in the property relationship and whether or not the shares in it are divided or undivided. To determine whether the shares in question are divided or not, a number of tests in jurisprudence have been developed. The method of the ownership of family assets does not qualify under these tests for what is considered joint ownership. Neither do the family's rights over its assets meet the tests for what are considered rights in common. These terms derived from Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence do not specifically deal with the nature of the social relations between the co-owners, and yet it is the nature of the social relations between the co-owners which is crucial to an understanding of the rights that they hold over the family property. This is not to say that the terms rights in common and joint rights have no utility in the analysis of jural systems other than the Anglo-Saxon. The distinctions made between these rights have been most useful in elucidating the nature of the rights held by co-owners of fruit trees in the Rungus system.

However, rights over the Rungus family's property reside in the social group as a jural unit. As a jural unit the Rungus family may enter jural relations with other jural units with respect to its property as well as with respect to many other purposes. Social groupings which are jural units and which hold rights corporately over their assets I have termed
corporate groups. And I use the term corporate not to refer to a corporation, but in its primary sense -- combined into one body. The Rungus family is not a corporation, although Radcliffe-Brown would have called it such, because in the strict sense of the term, a corporation has no specific social counterpart to its jural. We shall discuss this in detail in the next section.

In conclusion, there seems to be a paucity of juristic terms available in English to describe those situations in other societies in which a social grouping holds rights as a jural unit. Therefore, terms such as joint rights and corporation, which in their strict sense do not apply, have been used. This has led to certain confusions which I am not sure my use of the term corporate will avoid. Martin has, I think, explained this lack of appropriate terms in the English and American legal systems. He states that (1958:93): "English law has traditionally upheld the view that the qualities of which legal personality [i.e. a jural unit] is composed may be attributed to a group of individuals only where the group is expressly designated by legislative action as a corporate body [i.e. a corporation]."

The Duration of the Domestic Family and the Concept of a Corporation. The Rungus domestic family has a limited physical and jural existence. At the most it may last up to fifty or sixty years as an independent jural entity. Prior to the birth
of children, the family will be dissolved by either the death or divorce of a founder with the survivor or survivors returning to their natal households. After there are children in the household, the death or divorce of a founder does not necessarily result in the dissolution of the family as a corporate unit. The surviving founder with his or her children may continue its own separate household with corporate entailments in the economic, ritual, and jural domains. However, if a male founder dies or divorces his spouse leaving her with children too small to be left alone while she works in the field, the wife will probably return to the natal family to raise the children until she gets married again.

The normal time of dissolution of a domestic family comes either at the marriage of the last child or at a later date with the movement of the aged founders into the household of one of their married children. In cases where the founders or founder are already ailing or senile prior to the marriage of their last child, their domestic family is dissolved at the time of the marriage of the last child. They either move into the household of the child they wish to reside with, or the newly married pair remains in the founders' household to care for them. If the two founders are not yet senile at the marriage of their last child, they may choose to operate their household together until they can no longer do so. A widow very seldom chooses to remain alone in her own household, but will stay
with the last child to marry. A widower may choose to continue on alone.

The physical and jural termination of one family and the creation of another does not always appear clear cut, as it may occur without any change in residence and with only minor membership changes that may not appear dissimilar to other cases where there is no termination, as, for instance, in the case of temporary post-nuptial residence. In these cases, the termination of one family and the creation of another can be observed in the relationship between the family entities and a specific estate, the family property. For instance, in the case of a widow living with her last child to be married, all dapu accumulated prior to the child's marriage becomes after the marriage the inovitan of the child. That is, the dapu belongs to him although the child would not dispose of it without consulting the mother. All other dapu accumulated after the marriage is indopuan do nongkob to the newly formed family which includes the mother of the one founder.

To take this one step farther, children, i.e. grandchildren of the widow living with this newly formed family, will consider assets accumulated after their parents' marriage as inovitan when they receive their share; the assets they inherit that were accumulated prior to their parents' marriage when their one parent worked with his widowed parent and operated a separate household, they will consider tinungkusana.
What has happened is that the widow dissolved her domestic family on the marriage of her last child. Instead of a period of temporary post-nuptial residence followed by the construction of a separate apartment to which the parent would have come later if she were not already a widow, the newly married pair remains in the apartment of the widow, and, although there is no physical separation of the assets involved as in the usual case, jural segregation of assets is nevertheless made.

A similar situation prevails when a widowed or divorced founder with children marries again. Assets created during the first marriage are kept separate, in intent if not physically, from assets accumulated after the second marriage. Assets from the first marriage will be used to make up bride prices for sons from the first marriage and any remaining dapi will be devolved upon those children, and not subsequent children. However, in a time of extremity, as with tinungkusan, the assets from the first marriage may be used for the benefit of all members of the family including those from the second marriage.

The fact that the domestic family is a temporally limited jural entity does not necessarily mean that it is not a corporation. Maine's maxim that a corporation never dies diverted attention from the proper desideratum of a corporation. Corporations do 'die'. Business corporations may be formed for a short term venture, such as the production of a motion picture.
The important characteristic of a corporation is not perpetual existence, but that it has a legal existence separate from its incorporators and stockholders. It is a jural entity, a right and duty bearing unit, as Maitland stated (1911: III, 307). It can sue and be sued (Maitland, 1911: III, 385).

If we are to follow juridical concepts and not redefine corporation for purely sociological purposes, a corporation is not a social grouping owning assets jointly, as Radcliffe-Brown has maintained (1952:44). This is a contradiction of terms. Joint tenants are not considered a jural entity before the law, while a corporation is. In joint tenancy the participants are the owners of the property. However, title to property owned by a corporation is "... in the corporation, and the shareholders are not considered as having any real property interest, legal or equitable in the real estate." (Casner and W. B. Leach, 1951:301-2). That is, the corporation is legally differentiated from its owners. The jural entity of the corporation owns the assets, and the corporation in turn is owned by the social unit in question, the stockholders. This distinction is made clear by an illustration offered by Casner and W. B. Leach:

If one shareholder occupies the land (owned by the corporation), he will do so as lessee of the corporation, and the rent due to the corporation will be distributed ratably among the shareholders as dividends. (Casner and W. B. Leach, 1951:304).

Nor, in the strict legal sense, is a corporation as Edmund Leach has described it (1960:117):
The notion of a corporation, as derived from Maine, is that an estate comprises a 'bundle of rights' over persons and things. At any one time the corporation embraces a number of individuals who share in the assets of the estate according to their particular relative status. Recruitment to such a property-owning corporation may be acquired in a variety of ways, e.g. by purchase, by initiation, or by inheritance. It is the general characteristic of unilineal descent groups that a child automatically inherits corporation membership from one or the other of its recognized parents, but not from both.

First of all, the same criticism of Radcliffe-Brown's definition applies here. A number of individuals do not 'share in the assets of an estate'. The individuals, if we are referring to shareholders, are one step removed from the estate. The corporation as such owns the estate and the shareholders share in ownership of the corporation according to their relative status.

Secondly, a corporation does not 'embrace a number of individuals'. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the owners of a corporation are jurally separate and distinct from the corporation (viz. the corporate veil) as are the employees of such a corporation. There is no recruitment to a corporation in Edmund Leach's sense. There may be recruitment to the status of a stockholder, but this is not the corporation. Furthermore, the class of persons who are stockholders may not and most likely do not even form a social grouping. It is not necessary that they meet or communicate with each other. It is not a prerequisite of the corporation that the stockholders form a
social grouping. The class of stockholders in fact may be occupied by a single individual, the sole owner of the corporation. This is certainly a far different situation from that of a hierarchically organized corporate lineage.

There is, in addition, recruitment to particular statuses owned by the corporation, such as President, drill press operator, etc., but this social grouping of employees which is hierarchically ordered is not the corporation.

There is no social grouping which you can point out as 'The Corporation'. In fact, in its strict legal sense, the corporation is a jural entity which has the right among many others to own property and, most importantly, a series of statuses. It is in turn owned by its stockholders in a business venture, or by the property owners of the land that it encompasses in the municipal corporation. The statuses that it owns include the offices which are to be filled under the charter of the corporation such as President, Mayor, Treasurer, employees, etc., and which may be filled by others than the official owners.*

*The above criticism of E. Leach's definition of a corporation also holds for Goodenough's most recent definition: Whenever a group is conceived as a unit having a status apart from the statuses of the individuals comprising its membership -- that is, as having rights and duties pertaining to it as a party to a relationship -- the group is a corporation for the duration of the relationship in which it enjoys status. (1964, footnote 7)
Conclusion. In our discussion of the jural nature of the Rungus domestic family, we have shown that it is a jural entity, a right and duty bearing unit. However, the present anthropological terminology for the analysis of what is called in law concurrent interests has been found to be inadequate for the analysis of the Rungus social system. That is, the rights that the family as a social unit hold with respect to family property cannot be considered to be either joint rights or rights in common in the strict sense of these terms. Consequently, I have used the term corporate rights to refer to the rights that the family as a social unit hold with respect to its indopuan donongkob.

Furthermore, we have discussed how the present anthropological usage of the term corporation is not congruent with the social and jural nature of the entity which is now termed a corporation in English and American law.* Consequently, rather than continue this anthropological misusage of a juridical term, I have referred to the Rungus domestic family as a corporate grouping.

In this chapter we have discussed how the domestic family is jurally corporate in the economic realm of Rungus society.

*Among the various entities in non-literate societies which have now been termed corporations I am at present unaware of one that matches the characteristics of a corporation as presently found in the American and English legal systems.
In the next chapter we will continue to discuss the jural personality of the domestic family and show how it is also jurally corporate in the realm of religion.
Chapter Five
Religion and The Domestic Family

Introduction

Out of all social groupings among the Rungus, the domestic family most frequently engages in religious activity which symbolizes both its ritual and jural corporateness. In the frequent ceremonies for illness, in the ceremonies following a death or for the souls of property, and in the various annual ceremonies that take place for the rice spirits, the family is involved in a number of restrictions on behavior which by their limitation on interaction with the longhouse community delineates and emphasizes the family's separateness and corporateness.

The corporateness of the domestic family is also represented by its spirit counterparts, the rusod and the rice spirits. The rusod are the household spirits who exactly duplicate the social order of the domestic family. The main focus of the most important class of ceremonies in terms of the amount of livestock sacrificed is the offering to these rusod.

For each member of the family there also exists a rice spirit. The ceremonies of the domestic family in the swiddens are primarily to woo and ingratiate the family with their timorous rice spirits so that a bounteous harvest is ensured.

However, not only in these various ceremonies is the corporate separateness of the family emphasized, but also the
family's participation and integration in the complex web of interrelationships that forms the major feature of the longhouse social organization. In addition to the restrictions on the behavior of the domestic family at the conclusion of these various ceremonies, there are also restrictions on a number of activities for the other longhouse occupants. Sometimes this involves all longhouse members; at other times it only involves domestic families contiguous to the one holding the ceremony. In no instance, I argue and hope to demonstrate, do these restrictions on behavior involving the various members of the longhouse invoke any aspect of the jural or ritual corporateness of the longhouse. In the next chapter I shall discuss in what situations the jural and religious corporateness of the longhouse becomes operative and delineate in detail the nature of the web of interrelations between longhouse members which forms the major feature of longhouse social organization. But here I hope to demonstrate only that these restrictions on activity by members of the longhouse resulting from the religious activity of one of its member domestic families are non-corporate since they do not promote the ritual goodwill of the longhouse and since, if broken, they do not put the longhouse in ritual or jural jeopardy. If these restrictions are followed, they will help a member of the longhouse get well or have a bounteous harvest; if they are broken, they may prevent this, which will result in the imposition of a fine on the offending individual.
and his family to be paid to the domestic family holding the ceremony. In certain other cases the breaking of a restriction will only put the offender himself into ritual jeopardy.

Thus, the focus of the restrictions on activity in the longhouse is the family having the ceremony, and not the longhouse as a corporate unit itself.

Rituals and Ceremonies of Health and Illness

The Explanation of Illness. Illness is explained by the Rungus as being caused by the harassing and tormenting of ambient souls by a class of generally malevolent spirits called rogon. Each person has seven souls. The first soul is the 'soul of the body' (/hatod do inan/) which goes to Mt. Kinabalu on the death of the owner. The six other souls are located in the joints of the long bones of the body when not absenting themselves. It is these six souls which tend to go wandering and during this period they may be attacked and captured by rogon.

Rogon may be divided into three classes. First there are the rogon called munggui. The munggui are always on the alert to do harm to ambient souls and are kept in check by the rusod who are considered to be their head.

For each family member there is a rusod dwelling in the family apartment. The rusod will prevent any other munggui from working their harm on the souls of domestic family members, if they are happy and contented with the family. Unfortunately, the rusod are easily angered and, when angered, will actually
tell other munggui to attack the ambient souls of the family members.

Rusod become angered by the insufficiency of sacrifices of pigs and chickens to them and by the breaking of prohibitions on behavior in the apartment. Certain types of behavior sanctioned and encouraged during a ceremony are prohibited during everyday activities as the appearance of such actions would indicate to the rusod that a ceremony and sacrifice to them is beginning or in process. When such a ceremony does not in fact occur, the rusod becomes very angry. For example, bringing unpeeled citrus fruit into the compartment of the longhouse apartment indicates to the rusod that a major ceremony for him is in process. If this is done when there is no such ceremony in the offing, the rusod becomes angry, as they have come to expect it, and it does not occur.

The second class of rogon are the indazan. Their abodes are springs, rocks, certain trees and holes in the ground. They differ from munggui in that each member of this class has a territory over which it has supervision. The abode of any of these indazan is surrounded by a grove of trees (/puru/). The indazan will cause illness if in the process of cutting a swidden any portion of this grove of trees is invaded. Furthermore, an irritated rusod can tell an indazan to bring about a ritual delict for the family, and in such a case the indazan may stretch his arm out of the sacred grove into the swidden near-by
Munggui live in various places such as the hearth, the earth of the hearth, under and around the longhouse, in the overhead storage area of the apartment, in the tide, under the surface of rivers and the like. Unlike the indazan who cause illness generally for specific ritual delicts, such as the cutting of the grove of trees around their abode, the munggui will also cause illness for no apparent reason. However both munggui and indazan, when a family member has made a ritual delict angering them, may inflict illness on any family member, not necessarily the malefactor. For instance, in the case of cutting the grove of trees around the abode of an indazan, the male founder of the family may not become ill, but his child in his stead. Thus, in terms of ritual delicts which result in retaliation by munggui or indazan, the family is treated as an undifferentiated corporate unit.

The third class of rogon, the rogon do pomgunan -- the 'rogon of the world', have no specific abodes, but are constantly wandering about. They bring the various epidemic diseases. As the placation of these rogon is primarily the action of a local group, that is, a longhouse or a village, they will be described when the social units of longhouse and village are discussed.

Ceremonies for Ensuring or Recovering Health. The sacrifice to the indazan, when not given in conjunction with a sacrifice to munggui, usually includes one to four chickens, the number
Table 5.1  Restrictions Following a Mangatod

First Day: Sick person may not leave longhouse; others in family may go down to the ground, but they cannot go to the swiddens, or go near sacred groves of indazan, or vacated apartments.

Second Day: Sick person may leave longhouse, but may not go to swiddens or wander far from the longhouse. Others in the family may go to swidden other than where ceremony was held, but they must stick to the paths and not wander about.

Third Day: Sick person may go to swidden other than where the ceremony was held. No restrictions on others in family.

Fourth Day: No restrictions on anyone.
depending on how many indazan occupy the invaded grove of trees. However, the indazan may also ask for a pig, communicating their wishes through a spirit medium in trance.

Sacrifices to indazan, called mangatod, may also be held in conjunction with sacrifices to munggui which are called tumuron. The reason that both a mangatod and a tumuron may be held at the same time is that two members of the family may be ill with different illnesses or an illness may have originated with a munggui and an angry indazan made it worse, as for instance, causing a stabbing pain to worsen, or a swelling to appear around the area of a pain. The opposite can also occur, as when an indazan is the primary cause of an illness and a munggui makes it worse or adds to it.

The restrictions which apply to a mangatod for the indazan when not held in conjunction with a tumuron for munggui are listed in Table 5.1. Table 5.2 lists the various restrictions on a domestic family following the holding of the more usual type of tumuron sacrifice for the munggui. These restrictions illustrate that the family as a ritual unit is differentiated and separated from the other member longhouse families.

In terms of the livestock sacrificed, the tumuron for the munggui is by far the more important of the two types of ceremony. Instead of several chickens that are usually given to an indazan, a number of pigs and chickens may be sacrificed in a tumuron. Table 5.3 gives the amount of livestock sacrificed for different sizes of tumuron.
Table 5.2 Restrictions on Activities of Domestic Family Members After Holding a Typical Tumuron

1. Restrictions following the ceremony on those not being cured:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. May not leave longhouse</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. May not go to edge of river:</td>
<td>2 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. May not bathe or fish in river:</td>
<td>3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. May not go to swiddens:</td>
<td>4 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. May not carry water:</td>
<td>5 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. May not: pound rice; have lamp on apad; perform any work on native thread; put child in hammock-swing; climb up into storage area above apartment; take beads out of boxes; or roast fish:</td>
<td>6 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. May not allow the following items to pass apartment: men's carrying basket; woman's carrying basket; winnowing tray; spear; fire from hearth; white or green produce from jungle; meat; fish; or shell fish:</td>
<td>6 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. May not allow visitors from another village to pass apartment:</td>
<td>6 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. May not go to weekly market:</td>
<td>1-2 weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. May not travel in a boat:</td>
<td>1 month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Restrictions following the ceremony on the individual being cured:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. May not leave compartment of apartment:</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. May not leave longhouse</td>
<td>3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. May not go to river's edge:</td>
<td>4 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. May not bathe or fish:</td>
<td>5 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. May not carry water:</td>
<td>6 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. May not go to swiddens:</td>
<td>6 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. May not go to weekly market:</td>
<td>2-4 weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. May not travel in boat:</td>
<td>2-4 months</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: All restrictions under item 1.f. also apply for the person being cured.)
Table 5.3 The Amount of Livestock Sacrificed at Various Sizes of Tumuron

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Chickens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small tumuron:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most frequent tumuron:</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large tumuron:</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>6-10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Munggui also differ from the indazan in the manner in which they are approached. Any knowledgeable individual may directly approach an indazan with a sacrifice and a request to cease and desist. The munggui, however, may only be approached by a spirit medium.

The Rungus spirit mediums are females who have learned the long ritual chants which are sung over the various pigs and chickens when they are offered to the munggui. These chants are to offer the sacrifice to the munggui as well as to request the return of the captured souls and the cessation of the munggui's aggressions. However, most importantly a spirit medium has achieved contact with one or more spirit familiars who will come when called. It is these spirit familiars that the spirit medium will turn to in trance to learn which of the various rogon are causing an illness and what type of sacrifice they want before they will cease. It is also the major familiar of the spirit medium who goes out at the end of a tumuron to the abodes of the munggui and bargains for the return of the captured souls which he then brings back in exchange for the animals sacrificed. The journeys of the spirit familiar and his trials and tribulations in his task of securing the return of captured souls is narrated at length in the long trance which takes place at the end of each tumuron.

Following this trance, the some skin from the back of the
Table 5.4 Restrictions Imposed on Longhouse Members Following a Typical Tumuron

1. Restrictions on families adjoining the one holding the ceremony usually include three to five families on either side and last from two to three days. These are:

   a. May not pound rice
   b. May not have a light on the apad
   c. May not work with native thread
   d. May not climb up into storage area above apartment
   e. May not put child in hammock-swing
   f. May not receive visitors in the apartment.

2. Restrictions imposed on full longhouse:

   a. No one may pass the apartment holding the ceremony or any apartments involved in the restrictions above with male or female carrying basket, winnowing tray, spear, fire from hearth, white or green produce from jungle or swiddens, meat, fish, and shell fish.
   b. No one can begin a ceremony for six days
   c. No one can roast fish for a day\(^{(a)}\)
   d. No one can pound rice, have a light on apad or drop fire under longhouse\(^{(a)}\).

---

\(^{(a)}\)These do not occur at every tumuron but only when certain types of rogon are being sacrificed to. In addition, after the initial ceremony which announces the family's intention to hold a major sacrifice for the rusod alone in a renewal ceremony for the apartment, no visitor may enter the longhouse after the completion of this ceremony for 15 days.
pig sacrificed, a bit of rice, and a bit of salt are put into a small bamboo tube (/bangau/) and tied up over the hearth. This is the specific part of the sacrifice for the rusod. It is the most recent one of these bamboo tubes that a family takes to a new house when moving to signify to the rusod that the family is moving and to install them in the new longhouse apartment.

Restrictions on Behavior of Longhouse and Village Members Following a Tumuron. In Table 5.4 are listed the various prohibitions on behavior for longhouse members after one of the member domestic families has had a tumuron. Two types of restrictions appear on the surface and without further analysis to indicate the ritual corporateness of the longhouse and village. These are the restrictions on strangers from other villages entering the longhouse and those restrictions pertaining to the whole longhouse.

With regard to the restriction on non-village members it has been explained by some informants that all people who drink of the same river above the brackish water of its estuary may enter a longhouse which has held a tumuron. This privilege generally corresponds to one village. However, the village is not considered a ritually corporate unit, as is demonstrated by the manner in which exceptions to the various restrictions are provided for in the ceremony.

In the tumuron there is a chant called /manningusan/, which
is derived from the word for longhouse ridgepole, /tinningusan/. In this chant the spirit medium lists all those people who may enter a longhouse during the restriction period by stating that they all live under one ridgepole. Thus, for Marudu where there were at one time seven longhouses, a spirit medium would list all those families under these seven ridgepoles as living under one by mentioning the name of the domestic family at each end of each longhouse and saying that these families as well as those in between could enter the longhouse having the tumuron, as they now ritually were one longhouse.

However, in addition to all these people, they would also include as living under one ridgepole all those people who frequently visited the longhouse from other villages as well as those who were expected to visit.

In addition, anyone who had ever lived in any of the domestic families of the longhouse or who had ever constructed a hearth in the longhouse could enter.

Thus the manner by which provision is made for village members as well as non-village members to enter a longhouse having a tumuron illustrate that the village in this case is not considered a corporate ritual unit. What in fact this does show is that provision is being made for all those who are most likely to have reason or cause to interact with longhouse members, regardless of their residence, to enter the longhouse by extrapolating the ridgepole of the longhouse to include
those of the visitors.

This does not mean that the longhouse, on the other hand, is conceived of as a corporate ritual unit for these particular ceremonies. It is not ritually corporate because the focus of the ritual restrictions and ritual actions is not the longhouse itself. Compliance with the ritual restrictions does not affect the ritual state of the longhouse and the breaking of any of the restrictions does not put the longhouse in ritual danger. The longhouse is simply not involved ritually as a corporate unit.

The focus of the ritual activity is the domestic family holding the tumuron. Thus, compliance with the restrictions by the various longhouse members ensures that the rogon being placated in the curing ceremony are not angered again and renew their attack on the domestic family holding the ceremony. The breaking of the restrictions by any longhouse member may mean that the person ill may not be cured. If this results in the person not being cured, the offender will have to give a pig for every chicken and a chicken for every pig sacrificed at the original ceremony to the family who held the tumuron, and it is performed again.

Thus, the restrictions on longhouse members, even when they include all the member longhouse families, do not indicate that the longhouse is in a state of ritual corporateness at any time during a tumuron ceremony for one of its member families.
However, these restrictions do delineate and emphasize the complex web of interrelationship which exists between long-house members, and they restate the position that the domestic family holding the ceremony occupies within this web.

This is most explicitly stated in the memorial ceremony for a deceased member of a domestic family. If another family in the longhouse moves away prior to the completion of this memorial ceremony, the family moving is not put into ritual danger. The family which had the death is. The soul of the deceased will become angry, feeling that he has not had proper respect, and he will make someone in the family of the deceased ill, not someone of the family moving away. To prevent the soul of the deceased from becoming angered, those moving give some husked rice and rice wine to the family of the deceased.

**Orintadan and Akadangan**

Orintadan refers to the loss of the power (surupu) of a ritual state created by a family to an individual and his family outside this social unit. This occurs through the outsider partaking of any food, drink, or betel chewing supplies which have participated in a ritual. For instance, if the pig in a sacrifice to a munggui is eaten by any person outside of the family after the conclusion of the ceremony, it is orintadan to the family. In this case the livestock of the family will not increase, so that it will be difficult to hold additional ceremonies, while the livestock of the outsider having
eaten the meat will increase.

**Akadangan** refers to the loss of power from the family to an outsider through the outsider taking certain objects such as seed, firewood, fire, and the like which have participated in a ceremony, or which by their very nature are always in a ritual state. For instance, the family's swidden is perpetually in a greater or lesser ritual state, any violation of which results in a poor harvest. Thus, if any part of an area cut for a swidden is taken over by another, or if any firewood is taken from the swidden before the owning family have cut their own firewood three times, or if any earth leaves the swidden on a dibble stick and ends up in another swidden, it is **akadangan** to the family.

If a melon vine crosses from one swidden into another, the planter of the vine may not take any fruit from that portion of the vine which has crossed over into the other's swidden, or it will be **akadangan** to the latter. Melon or fruit from a swidden may be eaten at that swidden only, or in the longhouse, but it may not be taken to another swidden or the seeds might fall on the ground and it would be **akadangan** to the family which grew the fruit. If fire is taken from a family while eating, it is also **akadangan** and both the family's livestock and the members themselves will not reach maturity.

While **orintadan** generally refers to anything that is eaten and **akadangan** to anything that is taken, in actual usage these
words are used interchangeably and this distinction between the two is not consistently made.

Orintadan and akadangan do not mean only a loss in ritual power but an actual transference of the ritual power to the person or persons who have taken possession of the objects in a ritual state. This is shown by the example that informants used to illustrate the concept of akadangan. If A lights his cigarette from B and then B's cigarette goes out, this is also called akadangan. However, in this case, it does not refer to any transference of ritual power but only to the transference of the fire.

Orintadan operates in the ceremonies for illness, as well as in other ceremonies for the swiddens which shall be discussed shortly, in the same manner as the other restrictions on behavior for the family. It emphasizes the corporate separateness of the domestic family in the ritual sphere. The difference between orintadan and the other restrictions lies in the sanction against them. Infraction of the majority of restrictions to behavior angers the rogon so that the illness will return, requiring another ceremony. Orintadan and akadangan lead to a loss of ritual power which affects either success with livestock, as in the case of an orintadan of a tumuron, of success in the swiddens and the accumulation of property.

Akadangan occurs most frequently in the rituals affecting the swidden activities and we shall discuss it later in that connection.
Hereafter, I shall use the term 'enhanced ritual state' to refer to that ritual state of the family in which the presence of mystical power (surupu) is believed to account for its success in its production, consumption, and asset-accumulating activities to the degree that it has not been vitiated by any orintadan or akadangan. It is also believed that all the various sacrifices, but in particular those to the rice spirits and the members of the spirit world controlling the accumulation of property, replenish this power and increase this enhanced ritual state. This enhanced ritual state is a generalized and undifferentiated ritual relationship with the spirit world, in contrast to the specific ritual relationships between the domestic family and its rusod, its rice spirits, and any spirit familiars of the female founder. These ritual relationships with these various members of the spirit world are also enhanced relationships, based on goodwill established between these members of the spirit world and a domestic family through periodic sacrifices. This results in these members of the spirit world being favorably disposed towards the social unit holding the ceremony and giving concrete assistance to the social unit in increasing its productivity. This relationship diminishes through time and has to be reactivated with additional sacrifices. In addition, it may be destroyed through a violation of any of the restrictions that follow the sacrifice. As we shall see, in the Rungus social
system only the domestic family and village are involved in both the enhanced ritual states and the continuing ritual relationship with various members of the spirit world based on goodwill.

Rituals and Ceremonies of Death

As in the rituals and ceremonies associated with sickness, so too with those attendant on death, there is both the symbolization of the domestic family as a discrete, corporate entity, as well as the symbolization of the family's integration in the web of social relations of the local group, the longhouse.

At death the first of the deceased's seven souls goes to Nabalu (Mt. Kinabalu). There the social order is as in everyday life, but with more feasting and less work. The soul of the deceased, if married, waits for the soul of his spouse to join him in an identical apartment to the one in this world, in an identical longhouse, and furnished with identical belongings and dapu. If the surviving spouse marries again, the soul of the former spouse remarries also again on Nabalu. Children who die unmarried join the domestic families of their parents.

The ceremonies attendant on death are performed to send the first soul of the deceased to Nabalu. They are also performed to prevent the first soul from longing for family and friends, and consequently, lingering around after burial or
coming back from Nabalu and attempting to lure the souls of survivors to accompany him to Nabalu. Thirdly, the purpose of the death ceremonies and rituals is to prevent the rogon which has caused the death, as well as the rogon of the corpse, the rogon of widowhood, and the 'heat of the dead' (/alasu do minâtaï/) from working harm on the survivors in the family and other longhouse members and their swiddens. Lastly, the rituals and ceremonies of death are to indicate visibly the depth of the loss to the family and the importance of the individual in the community.

On the day following the burial, no one in the apartment of the deceased leaves it, so that they do not carry the 'heat of the dead' with them and inflict it on others, which may prevent a good harvest. Also, any visitor from a different longhouse who has slept in the apartment of the deceased cannot return home till after dark of that day, for the same reason.

On the second day after the burial, the domestic family of the deceased kills a chicken and puts a stripe of blood on the legs of all members so that their souls will not follow that of the deceased to Nabalu.

On the third night after burial, there is a ceremony in the household of the deceased to 'send the soul of the deceased home' to Nabalu. Food, drink, and chewing supplies are put out on the hearth to provide the soul with supplies for the trip.
The following morning the widow or widower if the deceased was a founder of the family, goes down to the river before daybreak to swim in order to wash away some of the 'heat of the dead'. When he comes back he puts in the compartment wall of each apartment in the longhouse a piece of the plant /sogumau/. It is felt that by being located so close to the death, each longhouse family is in greater ritual danger than usual. /Sogumau/, because it will grow readily, even in the worst soil and several days after having been pulled up before planting, and because it has numerous shoots, assures that the family on whose wall it is placed will assume some of the qualities of the plant so that they too will not die off and will have many children.

Seven days after the death, a sacrifice with chickens is made by the family of the deceased to appease the rogon of the corpse and the rogon of widowhood. After the end of the one-day restrictions on movement for the family following this ceremony, no further ceremonies or rituals occur until after the next harvest, or the next abundant harvest, when a memorial ceremony is held.* However, until after the memorial ceremony,

*A widowed spouse has many restrictions ritual and otherwise put on him, such as not being able to marry again until after the memorial ceremony, eat at other houses, and the like. These restrictions are either to indicate the depth of the loss to the survivor and the fact that this was not what he wanted, or to prevent the rogon of widowhood associating with other families and causing a bad harvest. However, since these restrictions are not specifically germane to our subject here, I shall not go into detail on them here.
the domestic family of the deceased may not buy or sell dapu or dress up in fine clothes as they will be accused by the relatives of the deceased of desiring the death.

The memorial ceremony (lumuvas) is to send the soul of the deceased permanently to Nabalu. Between the ceremony to 'send the soul home' to Nabalu and the lumuvas, the soul travels back and forth from Nabalu to visit his old village because he misses his relatives and friends. At the lumuvas, the domestic family of the deceased offers rice wine, a pig, and chewing supplies to the soul to provide him with supplies for Nabalu, and he is told not to come back or remember the living. With the end of the lumuvas all mourning restrictions on the family are lifted.

The last ceremony for the domestic family of the deceased is the /rumadow/. Again, this is to make sure that the soul does not stay in his old village but returns to Nabalu after the lumuvas, when he was called to partake of the offerings. The /rumadow/ resembles the usual ceremonies for illness in that offerings of pig meat and rice are given to the various rogon dwelling in the longhouse apartment of the family. Also, the usual restrictions imposed on neighboring apartments for tumuron apply in this case.

There are also a number of restrictions on behavior that apply to longhouse members when there is a death in the longhouse. However, violation of these restrictions does not put
the longhouse as a ritual unit in danger. Violations of these restrictions either put the members of the family involved in them into ritual danger, or show that not enough respect is being paid to the dead, which results in the offender and his family being sued by the domestic family of the deceased.

Thus, as the focus of the restrictions for longhouse members is ultimately that of the deceased and his domestic family, these restrictions emphasize the position that the deceased and his family occupied and occupies in the web of social relations which is the primary feature of longhouse social organization.

On the day following the burial, members of the longhouse in which there has been a death do not go to the swiddens, unless they leave before daybreak, or the 'heat from the dead' will follow them to the swiddens and cause a crop failure by frightening the rice spirits. On the same day the members of such a longhouse cannot weave, comb hair, sew, make thread or baskets, or play musical instruments, as these occupations would cause the person's soul to follow that of the deceased to Nabalu.

On the third night, when the domestic family of the dead are 'sending the soul of the deceased home' to Nabalu, all left-over rice in the compartments of the longhouse must be wrapped up and all water tubes must be turned with their pouring holes towards the wall. This is done so that the soul of the
deceased will not have cause to stop to eat or drink and lure the souls of the inhabitants with him to Nabalu.

At the time when, seven days after the burial, the deceased's family holds a small ceremony to appease the rogon of the corpse and widowhood, the two apartments on either side of the deceased's apartment are given a chicken to sacrifice to remove all the ritual danger that could accrue to these apartments for being so closely associated with a death.

As the period for the preparation of the memorial ceremony begins, additional restrictions are applied to all member families of the longhouse. Gongs may not be played or carried down the longhouse aisleway. Loud shouting and laughter may also not take place as these acts indicate a lack of respect to the dead and the family of the deceased will sue the offenders.

At the time of the memorial ceremony all families in the longhouse of the deceased try to have rice, rice wine, and smoking and chewing supplies available to entertain those people coming from other villages to the lumuvas. It is stated that the families in the longhouse join in because they feel sorry for the family of the deceased having to feed all the visitors and because they would lose a certain amount of prestige if they did not. The visitors come from near and far and the longhouse members would not like it said of them that they were too poor to provide a sufficient feast. If the food and
drink is more than ample, the longhouse gets the reputation that all the families there are wealthy.

Therefore, at the time of a lumuvas, a number of the families in the longhouse may sacrifice a pig to the spirits in charge of property and to the souls of their property. This provides meat to go with the rice and rice wine. At the same time this ceremony removes the family from any ritual danger that they might have incurred from associating with individuals involved in illicit intercourse. The souls of property are repelled by the 'heat' associated with such delicts, and it is thought that they will not come and stay in an apartment which has not been ritually cleansed. In addition, this ceremony counteracts the loss of mystical power which might have resulted from any violation of the restrictions with respect to giving fire (akadangan) as well as any violations of restrictions with respect to giving food and drink (orintadan).

There is no question that a death in the longhouse involves all member families in various restrictions on behavior or that at certain points in the ceremonies for the deceased the longhouse may even engage in co-activity. However, the longhouse is not implicated as a corporate unit either jurally or ritually by the observances and ceremonies attendant upon death. This lack of corporate involvement is illustrated by the nature of the various restrictions on behavior discussed above and the entailments of any violations of these. Any
infractions of these restrictions on behavior only involve the ritual state of the family committing the delict or the ritual state of the family of the deceased. And, in the latter instance, jural action will be taken by the family of the deceased only against the family of the individual committing the infraction.

The individual families in the longhouse are involved in the observances and ceremonies of death both because of their propinquity to the ritual danger emanating from the apartment of the deceased and because of their involvement with the family of the deceased in the social organization of the longhouse. As with the ceremonies for illness, the ceremonies and rituals attendant on death segregate the domestic family of the deceased from its social relations with other families in the longhouse, thus stressing the corporateness of the family, while at the same time reiterating the position that the family of the deceased occupies in the web of interrelations of the longhouse by imposing restrictions on behavior on various sections of this web.

The Ritual Delicts of Komomoli and Kotiguras

The two ritual delicts of komomoli and kotiguras illustrate further the ritual corporateness of the Rungus domestic family.

Komomoli occurs when there is an inference by deed or word that a person has died. This may occur when an action only done at the time of a death is engaged in at a time when
there has been no death. Thus, if a husband rises and washes in the stream before daybreak, it implies that his wife has died, since on the death of a spouse on the morning of the fourth day after burial, the survivor goes to the river to wash before daylight. The offended spouse must be ritually cleansed with a sacrifice of a chicken and the blood of it painted on her foot. Otherwise, her soul might become frightened and leave her or the rogon of the dead might become angered and make her sick.

Leaning a pole against the outside wall of a family apartment is komomoli for the whole family and the whole family has to be bloodied, since when a corpse is removed from an apartment, it is not taken down the longhouse corridor, but is taken out the wall of the apad and carried down a newly-cut ladder, which the leaning of a pole up against the outside wall resembles. For like reasons if anyone leaves the longhouse by this outside wall, as do those who bury the deceased, he must give a chicken to the family since it implies a death in the family who owns the apad and all members must be bloodied.

Similarly if a family sits down to a meal while a member is away or asleep, one of the founders says a ritual phrase to prevent the occurrence of a komomoli. At the time of a ceremony for illness, if a member is absent, part of the pig is saved for the member to eat when he returns, or it is komomoli to him. Also, when the nearly maturing rice is first
cut, or if not then, when the ritual plot of rice is cut, all members of the family, if able, must participate in the cutting, or it would be komomoli to that person not participating.

Kotiguras refers to the delict of cutting the personal belongings of an individual or the property of the family, or cutting anything in a fit of anger directed towards an individual or a group. Such an action may cut the soul of the owner or owners of the property and bring about sickness.

For instance, if an individual cuts someone's shirt, he must give a chicken to the owner of the shirt so that the owner may use the chicken for an offering and have the blood of it painted on his foot. If the posts of the family's apartment are cut, or if the tinungkusān and inovitan of a founder, or the indopuan do nongkob of a family are cut, the whole family participates in the sacrifice of the chicken and blood is painted on the family members.

Rituals and Ceremonies for the Swiddens

The swidden of a domestic family is its corporate property and there is a close association in every sense between the family and its swidden. For instance, if any of the family's property in the swidden, such as fences, the field house, fruit trees, and the like, is cut with a parang in anger, the whole family must be bloodied with the sacrifice of a chicken to prevent the ill effects of this kotiguras.
Furthermore, the swidden of a domestic family is always in an enhanced ritual state. Without the swiddens being in an enhanced ritual state, they would be unproductive. However, the productivity of the swiddens is not solely dependent on this enhanced ritual state. It is just as dependent on a continuing ritual relationship between the family and its rice spirits based on goodwill. Both this enhanced ritual state as well as the ritual relationship with the rice spirits increases in potency by means of a number of rituals and sacrifices as the agricultural year progresses from the planting of the first crops up until the time of harvesting and threshing. At this time the presence of the rice spirits is most strongly felt and the restrictions against the possibilities of orintadan and akadangan occurring to diminish the mystical power of the swidden and family are most prevalent. Finally, the ceremony to send the rice spirits home across the sea until the next agricultural year is held, and at this point, the enhanced ritual state of the swiddens and the ritual relationship between the family and its rice spirits have reached their lowest ebb.

As the swiddens are always in an enhanced ritual state, there is always the possibility at each stage in the swidden activities that this potency may be drained off. For instance, after the swiddens have been fired, sticks to make the boundaries between neighboring swiddens must be taken half from
each, or otherwise it is akadangan. If at the time of the rice sowing a visitor arrives at the swidden and drinks water without also sowing some rice seeds, it is orintadan to the owner of the swidden. If rice seed is sold or stolen, it is akadangan to the owner. If fire is taken from the swidden where sowing is taking place to light a fire in a neighboring swidden, it is akadangan to the family sowing. The first rice taken from each rice storage bin and the last rice taken may be eaten by the family only or it is orintadan.

The ritual relationship between the family and its rice spirits may also be destroyed by the magical acts of other families luring the rice spirits away, or by any number of incautious acts by the family which frighten them away lessening the harvest. For instance, while weeding the rice, the cutting of the stalks with the weeding knife can cause the rice spirits to be frightened away. Consequently, there are a number of ritual acts and sacrifices that accompany all the agricultural activities in the swidden to maintain and increase the goodwill between the family and its rice spirits.

The critical nature of the enhanced ritual state and the ritual relationship between the family and its rice spirits is manifested at the very outset of the agricultural year. At the time of swidden cutting, the possibility of unfavorable omens preponderate. If any occur, the swidden may be vacated, depending on the severity of the omen and how far along the cutting has progressed. After the swidden has been fired,
omens cease to be of any importance.

Following the firing of the swidden, and before the maize is sown, the female founder (most usually) plants indigo which it is stated will blind the eyes of any omens which might have occurred while the swidden was being cut, but which were either ignored or unnoticed. She also plants some rotten wood and says that the omens will only take effect if the rotten wood grows.

After the shoots of the newly planted maize break through the soil, the rice is sown. At this point begins the cycle of ritual activities for the rice spirits of the family which particularly symbolizes the ritual corporateness of the domestic family with respect to its swiddens. These ritual activities are to call the rice spirits to the new swidden of the family and to ensure that they are favorably disposed towards the family so that there will be a bounteous harvest. With each of the major sacrifices to these rice spirits, the enhanced ritual state of the swiddens also increases in potency, and the possibility of loss in this state is particularly critical at these times.

Each member of a domestic family has his own rice spirit, and on the first day of sowing, it is better, if at all possible, that the whole family appear so that the rice spirits of each member will be participating. This will, therefore, ensure a good harvest. Before the actual sowing starts a ritual plot, the lotong, is constructed. Close to the field house
a large stake is put into the ground, and seven sticks are stuck into the ground around it. Inside the circle of these seven sticks and around the center stake are planted a number of plants which by their magical significance will increase the yield of the swidden. Also, there is sown in seven holes between the seven sticks the ritual black rice seed. Finally, a circle of this black rice is sown around the whole lotong. It is stated that the ritual plot is the abode of the rice spirits, although later actions in the swidden would seem to indicate that the rice spirits are omnipresent.

After all those families who have adjoining swiddens -- they are referred to as mirani -- have planted their rice, any member of the mirani may then sacrifice chickens to their rice spirits as well as to various rogon to secure the swidden against pests and diseases. Certain pests and diseases are believed to be the agents of rogon while for other pests and diseases, there is no consensus as to the cause.

This bloodying of the swidden with chickens for the rice spirits is believed to entice the rice spirits of the family to return to the swidden, if they have wandered, and to encourage them to take good care of it. Consequently, if the bloodying of a swidden takes place before all the mirani have finished sowing, this could result in a poor harvest for the others in the mirani as their rice spirits would be lured into the swidden of the person holding the sacrifice. If this delict is made,
a chicken must be given to each of the mirani to sacrifice to
their own rice spirits.

This bloodying of the swidden may not take place each year,
but usually occurs every couple of years or so. Some individu­
als like to do this frequently to ensure a continuing success
in the swidden activities. Others wait until they see that
their rice is not growing properly or until they have had some
misfortune in the swidden which would either frighten the
rice spirits away or cause them to move away unless called
back by the sacrifice of chickens. Such misfortunes include,
for instance, the burning of a field house by mistake and the
loss of seed rice by theft.

There are three levels of potency in these ceremonies
for bloodying the swiddens. The first level requires two to
three chickens; the second level, five; and the most potent
sacrifice involves seven chickens. Unlike the ceremonies for
illness caused by munggui which may last anywhere from twenty­
four hours to several days, the actual bloodying of a swidden
takes only a half an hour or so. However, for the next three
days the swidden so bloodied is closed off and no one may
enter it, not even the owners.* Also, the owners of the swid­
der may not offer food, drink, or fire to any non-member of
the family for three days, for to do so would be orintadan.

*Certain individuals who perform this ceremony say that
the family may visit their swidden on the third day, as long
as they do no work.
After the most important of these ceremonies in which seven chickens are sacrificed, seed may not be sold to anyone for three years, or it will be akadangan; salt may not be given to anyone outside the family for three months; and no rice winnowing and husking equipment such as basketry trays, mortars, etc., as well as no pig feeding trays or chicken nesting baskets may be borrowed from or lent to a non-family member for three years on the penalty of orintadan. If these restrictions are not followed the ceremony will not only be invalidated but the diseases and pests of the rice may also increase.

After the rice has been weeded and before it is fully ripe, the family will start cutting some of the green rice each day for its own consumption. The first day that this is done, this rice may not be given to a non-family member or it will result in orintadan.

When the rice has finally ripened, the rituals which initiate the harvesting season are begun. On the first day the family goes alone to their swidden and cuts a small amount of rice after first notifying the rice spirits that the harvesting is to begin. Three handfuls of stalks with the rice heads still on are brought home. The rice is removed and cooked ritually. Part of the rice is fed to the family's dog first; part is fed to the family; and part is prepared for returning to the swidden to feed the rice spirits on the second day. On the morning of the second day, the male founder of the family, most frequently, takes the cooked rice and cakes
made from this newly cut rice to the lotong -- the ritual plot -- where he calls the rice spirits of all the family members to come and partake. At that time a chicken may or may not be sacrificed also to the rice spirits. The third day, if a chicken has been sacrificed, the family must remain at home.

On the fourth day the rituals associated with the beginning of the harvesting season are over. During the three day period of rituals, the family may not give any water, fire, rice, or betel chewing supplies to a non-family member; to do so would be orintadan. Also, no outsider may enter the family's swidden during this period.

After most of the rice has been cut, the seed rice is harvested and it is thought that the whole family should take part in this, if possible; otherwise not all the rice spirits of the family might be involved, which would entail a poorer harvest next year.

When all the rice has been harvested, it is threshed by a group of friends of the male founder, at which time several chickens may be sacrificed to the rice spirits, the spirit of the rice storage bin, and various rogon. This sacrifice provides food for the threshing party, with the exception of the chicken given to the rice spirits, which should be reserved for the use of the family alone.

After all those who have adjoining swiddens have finished
Table 5.5 The Number of Chickens That are Sacrificed in the Swidden Ceremonies Per Year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minimum number of chickens sacrificed:</td>
<td>1 - 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of chickens most frequently sacrificed:</td>
<td>3 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum number of chickens sacrificed:</td>
<td>8 - 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
threshing, the family may send its rice spirits back home until the next season. If this is done prior to the completion of threshing in all the adjoining swiddens, it is thought that some of the rice spirits of neighboring swiddens may follow those being sent home, lessening the harvest in these swiddens. If this occurs, the offender must give a chicken to each of the neighboring owners who have not yet threshed and who will use it to call their rice spirits back. It is also thought that it is not right to send rice spirits back home prior to the completion of threshing by fellow longhouse members, even though the longhouse families do not have adjoining swiddens. There are no jural sanctions which can be applied against those who do, but the members of the longhouse who had not finished their threshing might not like it, as they might feel they would lose some of their harvest. Most importantly, however, the family who sends its rice spirits home prior to others takes the chance of having its rice spirits cross the ocean alone. Without companions for the journey it is thought that the rice spirits are more vulnerable to attack by pirates.

Table 5.5 gives the number of chickens which may be sacrificed in the swiddens in a year.

The most important aspect of all these rituals and ceremonies for the swidden is that the ritual corporateness of the domestic family is constantly being reiterated. This ritual corporateness of the domestic family with respect to its swiddens is also expressed in the jural realm. The family as a
jural unit will sue any individual or family which trespasses in its swidden during the periods of restrictions following a ceremony or willfully attempts to reduce the enhanced ritual state of its swiddens. The usual fine is a chicken. The ceremony invalidated by the infraction is either repeated or a special ceremony is held to nullify the influence of the delict.

In none of the symbolization that takes place in the swidden ceremonies or in the restrictions that apply following these ceremonies are any other longhouse members directly involved. That is, the web of interrelationships between longhouse members is not implicated, except in a negative way, since for certain activities such as borrowing rice, fire, salt, and the like, the domestic family holding the swidden ceremony is removed for a limited time from participation in this web.

The Significance of Ceremonies

It is difficult to assess the significance to the society of ceremonies for a social unit such as the domestic family in comparison to rituals for other such units as the longhouse and the village. One method, of course, is to measure their frequency. Table 5.6 gives the frequency of ceremonies for such social units as the longhouse, village and family for a period of one year.

This table shows the ritual corporateness of the domestic family is constantly being reiterated throughout the year, in comparison with the other social units.
Table 5.6 Frequency of Ceremonies by Social Unit for a 12 Month Period in 1961 - 1962.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>No. of ceremonies held by social unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Family Ceremonies:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Illness:</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Swiddens:</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Property: (a)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longhouse Ceremonies:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Illness: (b)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Ceremonies (c)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(a) Major ceremonies for property involving the sacrifice of a pig most frequently follow either a memorial ceremony or a wedding. In the year preceding that of this table a memorial ceremony was held at a longhouse in Marudu with 19 apartments and 13 of them had a major ceremony for property. In the following year two longhouses were involved in marriages and out of 25 apartments four had major ceremonies for property, in addition to smaller ones. During the period that this table covers no major ceremonies for property were held.

(b) For the purposes of this table I have lumped together both joint and corporate ceremonies of the longhouse. This distinction will be discussed further in the next chapter. Briefly, by joint ceremonies I mean those which all longhouse families engage in or perform at the same time to promote the well-being of their own domestic families and by corporate ceremonies I mean those in which the ritual status of the longhouse itself as a ritual unit is implicated, not that of the member domestic families. During this year for the sample, only one corporate ceremony was held.

(c) Village ceremonies are very infrequently held for the corporate benefit of the village. In addition seldom do all the domestic families in a village engage in a joint ceremony.
Table 5.7  Expenditure of Pigs and Chickens in Sacrifices for One Year (1961-1962) for a Sample of 71 Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceremonies for:</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illness:</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigs:</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens:</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiddens:</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigs:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens:</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dapu: (a)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigs:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Ceremonies:</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Pigs:</strong></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Chickens:</strong></td>
<td>253</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) There were no major ceremonies for dapu during this year involving a pig. For further information, see Table 5.6, footnote (a).
Another method is to compare the total expenditures of each social unit for sacrifices. Again, the domestic family far outdistances other social units in the expenditure of goods in sacrifices (see Table 5.7). For a longhouse sacrifice a family may contribute only a few pinches of rice, some tobacco, and a betel leaf, or at most contribute to the joint purchase of a pig.

Village sacrifices generally would also consist of only a pig or two and a lot of rice wine, but there have been none for over 25 years in Marudu. Approximately forty-five years ago was the last time that a human was sacrificed in a village ceremony. The cost of the individual purchased for sacrifice was $1000 (Malay), and the cost was shared by the participating families. This ceremony, of course, raises the question of the symbolic significance of sacrifice and I know of no way to measure this. It is obvious from the reaction of the Rungus today that the sacrifice of a human to promote the fertility of the village and its inhabitants was of great symbolic significance. It was certainly of greater significance than the usual family sacrifices for illness, the swiddens, or for property, even though the contribution per family for this ceremony would not equal the cost in terms of livestock killed and food and drink consumed of a large ceremony for illness or property.

However, I feel that we can conclude at present from the
evidence of frequency of ceremonies today as well as from the commitment of economic resources to them that the family looms as the most important ritual unit in Rungus society. This will be further elucidated in the discussion of the ritual corporateness of the longhouse and village in the next two chapters.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter we have discussed the ritual corporateness of the Rungus domestic family in the area of illness, property, death, and the swiddens. At various periods of stress, such as during an illness, or potential stress, such as in the swidden activities, the corporateness of the family is emphasized by the various ceremonies carried out and the subsequent isolation of the family from normal intercourse with longhouse and village members. This ritual corporateness of the family is, of course, reflected in the jural realm, as any violation of the restrictions following a ceremony results in the family suing the culprit for either a pig, a chicken or both to nullify the ritual delict.

However, these various ceremonies not only isolate the family and emphasize its ritual corporateness, but they also reaffirm the position of the family in the web of interrelationships of the longhouse. This web forms the most outstanding feature of the longhouse social organization, as the longhouse seldom acts in unison or engages in any corporate activity in the ritual realm. Various sections of this web of social relations
in the longhouse are constantly being drawn upon for personnel for labor exchanges, for help and assistance, and for companionship. It is, thus, the various restrictions put on the behavior of longhouse members, particularly those living close by on either side of the apartment holding the ceremony, which symbolize the position of the family in this complex web of inter-relationships and focus attention on the family's position. In the next chapter, as we analyze the social organization of the longhouse and try to determine for what purposes the longhouse is considered a corporate unit with respect to ritual, economic and jural realms, we shall return to this aspect of the social organization of the longhouse and attempt to analyze its nature further.
Illustration 6.1

The longhouse in hamlet A, Marudu. The _apad_ of the various member apartments are to the left in the photograph and the compartment sections of the apartments are to the right. The entry ladder leads into the corridor section of the _apad_ of the first apartment. The compartment of the first apartment is enclosed with a wall of split bamboo. The small structures to the left of the longhouse are pig and chicken shelters. The large structure outside the longhouse about halfway down the length of the longhouse is a rice storage hut.
Chapter Six

The Longhouse Community

Introduction

The Rungus longhouse comes into existence through the lateral accretion of individual domestic family apartments. There is no section of the longhouse which is jointly made and collectively owned by the constituent member families. Thus, physically, the Rungus longhouse is nothing more than a series of family apartments cojoined laterally so that the aisleway of each apartment joins on to that of the neighboring apartment. This forms a long corridor that is open to the use of all longhouse members in order to reach their own apartments. At either end of this corridor are found two entry ladders to the longhouse which are made by the two end apartments. (See illustrations 6.1 - 6.6 for examples of longhouse structures.)

The domestic families of the longhouse are enmeshed in a complex web of social relations based on ties of kinship, apartment position in the longhouse structure, and needs for mutual assistance. The domestic family's apartment position in the longhouse structure determines the ritual duties it has to any other family engaged in a ceremony irrespective of kinship ties. Likewise, irrespective of kinship ties, the member families of a longhouse are supposed to exchange assistance in times of trouble as well as in their everyday activities.
Illustration 6.2

The compartment of a longhouse apartment. The photograph was taken from the doorway. The hearth is to the right of the photograph. The raised section of the compartment is the sleeping area. A ceremony is being performed for the rusod and the woman sitting on the raised section is a spirit medium performing a chant.
Neighboring families in the longhouse are especially obligated to help each other.

That aspect of the web of social relations in the longhouse based on kinship consists most frequently of those kin ties between parent-child, siblings, and sibling's child -- parent's sibling.

This web of social relations is the major feature of the longhouse social organization as there is no formal leader to the longhouse, nor are the member families linked through any corporate ownership of property or any corporate economic enterprise. Thus, the longhouse exists as a local grouping primarily so that its members have a source of aid and assistance in times of trouble, or whenever it is needed, as well as the companionship of close kin. The member families of the grouping so formed must then individually meet the ritual duties, determined by apartment position, to any member family holding a ceremony for the removal of ritual danger.

As a local grouping, the longhouse is a very labile social unit. In any longhouse, no matter how recently built, there is a constant turnover of longhouse members as families move out to join on to other longhouses or to occupy vacant apartments in them. Furthermore, the occupation of a longhouse site seldom exceeds seven or eight years, and usually much less. With the vacating of a longhouse, the membership in the local grouping also changes. Some of the former members leave to
Illustration 6.3

The gallery area of the longhouse composed of the corridor to the left of the posts and the open lounging area to the right. The gallery area of the longhouse is constituted from the abutting gallery sections of the individual member apartments. This photograph includes four such apartment sections.
join on to an already existing longhouse in other areas within the village territory, while others may start another longhouse close-by the former longhouse in conjunction with families not members of the former longhouse.

As a social unit, the longhouse seldom engages in any corporate ceremonies. When this does occur it is to remove the afflictions of a rogon by means of a sacrifice. This corporate ceremony may only last several days and the ritual relationship between the longhouse as a corporate unit and the rogon is of the same duration. The longhouse as a corporate unit is never considered to be in any enhanced ritual state nor is it ever involved in any continuing relationship with the spirit world, unlike the domestic family and the village. The domestic family through periodic sacrifices establishes a continuing relationship of goodwill between itself and its rusod as well as its rice spirits. It also is considered to be in an enhanced ritual state to a greater or lesser degree in its various production and consumption activities. The village also has a continuing relationship of goodwill between itself and the spirit world after a village corporate ceremony. This ceremony, furthermore, puts the village in an enhanced ritual state for a period of three years.

Much more frequently than corporate ritual activity, but still rather infrequently in comparison to the ceremonies held separately for a domestic family, the member domestic families
of a longhouse may engage in a joint ceremony. By a joint ceremony I refer to those in which all the member families of the longhouse perform the ritual acts associated with the ceremony simultaneously, but these acts are done for the benefit of the individual domestic families and not for the longhouse as a ritual unit.

I use the term corporate ceremonies to refer to those in which the social unit performing them benefits ritually as a unit, and not the constituent members of the unit. For instance, in the ceremony to shut off the area in which the longhouse is located from the 'wandering rogon' of epidemic diseases, there is no symbolization of the ritual corporateness of the longhouse nor is there obtained through it any enhanced ritual state for the longhouse as a unit. The path to the longhouse is simply shut off ritually by the joint action of all families for the benefit of each domestic family.

Although the longhouse is not considered a ritual entity, except for one minor purpose, nor a jural entity, this is not to say that the social reality of the longhouse as a local grouping is ignored in either the ritual or jural realms. For instance, certain ritual delicts may occur near by the longhouse which put all the member families of the longhouse individually into ritual jeopardy, but not the longhouse as a ritual unit. In these cases of ritual delicts the person who is the most knowledgeable in the adat initiates the suit on behalf of the
member families, as there is no formal office in the longhouse social organization to which this duty would accrue. This person initiating the suit takes possession of the fine, which includes a chicken. The members of the longhouse are then removed from ritual jeopardy through the inclusion of their names in the prayers that the person initiating the suit says before killing the chicken and bloodying his family.

Such a social grouping which is not considered a jural unit and which is, therefore generally unable to enter into jural relations, but which is still allowed for specific occasions to sue in the name of one of its members, but not the group's name, I have called a collectivity, following Derham (1958). While it is not considered a jural entity, neither is its social reality as a grouping completely ignored in the jural realm.*

However, the distinction that I draw here varies slightly from that made by Derham due to the type of jural system being dealt with. Derham distinguishes social groupings which are not considered jural entities, but may nevertheless enter legal relations under their own names, as 'collectivities' in contrast to social units which are established as jural entities by dint of a legislative act or an action of some administrative body of a political unit. I maintain that in jural systems such

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*Derham (1958) points out with respect to the Taff Vale Case that the Lords by permitting all the members of the Union to be sued as a collectivity recognized their social, but ignored their legal, identity.
as the Rungus system a social grouping is a jural unit when it may enter jural relations in its own name, as in such systems jural units are not established by fiat, but by custom. This, of course, implies a jurally recognized representative of the grouping taking action on behalf of the grouping. In systems such as the Rungus I term a social grouping lacking any jurally recognized representative a collectivity, if, under certain very special circumstances, any member who desires to may initiate action in his own name on behalf of the other members.

With respect to the economic realm, and in contrast to the ritual realm, there is no purpose for which the longhouse as a unit or as a collectivity could enter jural relations, for it owns no property and produces no income, unlike the domestic family. Furthermore, unlike the domestic family and village, the longhouse owns no assets, the fertility of which is important, and hence there is no application of the concepts of \textit{akadangan} and \textit{orintadan} to it.

In this chapter we will discuss the social organization of the longhouse community and attempt to demonstrate its lack of corporateness in the ritual, economic and jural realms. However, we will be considering only those villages which have more than one longhouse. In villages with only one longhouse, a longhouse-village, the village headman is resident in the longhouse providing a measure of formal leadership, and the jural personality of the longhouse in such a village is that of
the village. In the next chapter we will be discussing the nature of the Rungus village. However, in this chapter we will have to discuss, in addition to the longhouse, the nature of the social unit that develops where more than one longhouse is located close together in one area forming a multi-longhouse hamlet.

Terminology

Various localities within the village area are named. These names are derived from an historical event that took place there, the name of the brook which runs through the area, a characteristic of the landscape, the name of a water hole in the stream near-by, the name of a species of tree commonly found there, and so on. These localities vary from a few square rods to four or five acres in size, depending on the topography of the area as well as the purpose for which the reference was made.

To individuals outside of the village of Marudu, an inhabitant of Marudu is referred to as being from Marudu. Within the village limits, individuals are referred to as being from one of these named localities. For instance, Dumpiring -- which derives its name from a common species of fruit trees found there -- is the name of such a locality within the village limits of Marudu. Originally there was one longhouse in that locality and any inhabitant of that longhouse was referred to as being from Dumpiring, if the person spoken to knew the various
Illustration 6.4

The hamlet Dumpiring. The middle housing structure in the photograph is a new longhouse composed of three apartments at the time of the photograph and is in the process of expanding. This hamlet is hamlet C of Table 6.2 and the longhouses are from left to right housing structure 2, 4, and 1 in this table.
locality names within Marudu. By the end of our field work, there were three longhouses at Dumpiring, and any member of any of the longhouses there was still referred to as being from Dumpiring. A visit to any of the longhouses was also referred to as going to Dumpiring, and not to any particular longhouse.

Localities with multiple longhouses I have termed multi-longhouse hamlets.

All the members of a longhouse are called either /sang-binnatang/, 'one longhouse', or /sambalai/, 'one housing structure'. However, there is no way that one can so refer to all the members of one locality, such as all the members of a multi-longhouse hamlet. In other words, the primary local group above the domestic family is the longhouse, not the multi-longhouse hamlet. Such a hamlet has little social reality. For instance, there is no concept of a hamlet founder as there is for a longhouse, and the hamlet is only of any social import with respect to the ceremonies which prevent the arrival of 'wandering rogon' to particular localities. Other than this ceremony, the hamlet is not involved in any corporate or joint ritual acts.

The distance between the longhouses of a hamlet may be anywhere from ten to two hundred yards. Hamlets, in turn, may be separated from each other by as little as a thousand feet, to as much as a couple of miles. Longhouses which are generally out of shouting distance from each other or which
Table 6.1 Longhouse Size in a Sample of Villages. (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>No. of Single Family Dwellings</th>
<th>No. of Apartments in Longhouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (Marudu)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18 4 8 16 6 4 7 2 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14 4 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22 2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12 9 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Range of Size of the 27 Multiple Dwellings:

- 2-32 domestic families
- Median: 6-7 domestic families
- Mode: 2 domestic families
- Mean: 8.9 domestic families

(a) This is derived from a census of Rungus villages of the Kudat Peninsula taken in the middle of 1962.
are separated by a stream are considered to belong to different hamlets. The separation by a stream has ritual implications, since during certain ceremonies people who have to cross water may not climb up into a longhouse in which an apartment is holding the ceremony, while any member from another longhouse on the same side of the stream and in the same hamlet may.

Asking the number of apartments in a longhouse may be done in three different ways. Most frequently the question is: "How many nongkob (domestic families) are there?", or "How many sirang (apartments) are there?" The term /ropuhan/, hearth, may also be used to ask the number of member domestic families in a longhouse, but the term 'door' is never used.

Longhouse Size and Developmental Cycle

Table 6.1 gives the distribution of the number of apartments per longhouse in ten villages on the Kudat Peninsula.

There are two explanations for the appearance of unattached dwellings. First, with villages No. 5 and 10, the explanation partially lies in the fact that these villages are located close to the Chinese and Sino-Dusun shop areas, and the inhabitants of these villages have been influenced by the settlement patterns of the shopkeepers. Furthermore, the Chinese and Sino-Dusun of the shop areas have been successful in developing plantations of coconut, whereas the Rungus have not been notably successful, frequently because their seedlings have been eaten by wild pigs. The administration attributes this loss to the
Illustration 6.5

Two longhouses in another village. The longhouse on the right is deserted and falling down. Some of the families from this structure have joined on to the new longhouse which is to the left in the photograph. The compartment sections of the member apartments of this longhouse are to the left in the photograph and the gallery sections are to the right. The end apartment is in the process of being built. The first part of it built was the gallery section which is being occupied by the domestic family as a sleeping and eating area until the compartment section is completed.
fact that the Rungus live in longhouses rather than in unattached dwellings located in their planting areas, as do some of the Chinese and Sino-Dusun shopkeepers. Yet more frequently than not these shopkeepers also do not live on their coconut lands but in village clusters around the shop areas.* Consequently, the administration for a number of years has been urging the Rungus to leave their longhouses for unattached dwellings near the owner's coconut plantings.**

The second explanation for unattached dwellings is that the apartments of a longhouse have been vacated and many of the original inhabitants have set up unattached dwellings to live in until a new longhouse is formed. For instance, many of the unattached dwellings in village 9 are the result of the old longhouse reaching a state of decay such that it had to be vacated, and some of the families from this structure have not yet attached themselves to the new one.

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*Many Rungus also state that the reason that they have failed in establishing coconut plantings is because of the loss of coconuts to wild pigs which could be minimized by moving out to unattached dwellings in the area of the owner's coconut.

**On the other hand the Administration has complained that it is very difficult to get Rungus to engage in any cooperative community action. This is partially explainable by the independence of each domestic family in the economic and jural realm. What cooperation does exist -- and the Rungus themselves state that there was more in the past when they were more isolated and there were no Chinese shops -- is dependent on the association of the longhouse members. Without this close day-by-day association of longhouse members and with the individual families scattered about on their own coconut plantings, even less cooperative action and a more fragmented social life can be expected in Rungus villages.
In Marudu, one of the unattached apartments resulted from a newly formed domestic family living in a field hut prior to building on to a longhouse, which they did shortly after the census. The second unattached dwelling arose from a family moving out of their longhouse apartment into a field house due to sickness. Again, after the census they joined on to a longhouse. The third unattached dwelling resulted from a family moving out of its longhouse apartment to its new coconut plantation after a fight with the male founder's step-son, the child by a previous marriage of the female founder. The step-son remained in the longhouse apartment with his new wife.

Table 6.2 shows the changes that took place in the longhouses in Marudu during a period of two and a half years. This illustrates the instability of the social grouping comprising a longhouse. Table 6.3 lists the stated length of occupancy of longhouse apartments by 29 informants. Again, this illustrates the short period that most apartments are occupied. However, this table also shows that there are times in the life history of every family or individual when an apartment was occupied for a considerable length of time. Table 6.4 shows the mean length of occupancy of longhouse apartments for 10 individuals whose history of moves went back over 35 years. This suggests that there has been no change in the mean length of occupancy of longhouse apartments in Rungus society since at least the early 1920's.
### Table 6.2 Changes of Family Membership in the Longhouses of Marudu During a Period of Two and a Half Years (1960-1963)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position in 1960(a)</th>
<th>Position in 1962</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hamlet A, Housing Structure 1(b)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Widow of family 1 married widower of family 15, forming the new family A. The combined membership of former families 1 and 15 took up residence in the apartment of family 1.

2.  

3.  

4.  

5. Moved to hamlet E, housing structure 4. Vacated apartment later occupied by widowed mother of female founder of family 7 on returning to village.

6.  

7.  

8.  

9.  

10.  

11. Moved to field house with exception of eldest son of female founder by a previous marriage who remained in the longhouse with his new wife forming family C.

12.  

13.  

14.  

15. See family 1.  

16.  

17.  

18.  

19.  

20. Widowed male founder of family moved out of village. Apartment then occupied by family 59 from hamlet D. This family moved in for a short period, enlarged the apartment, and then moved out to hamlet C, housing structure 4.

---

(a) The column 1960 refers to the census taken in 1960 and the column 1963 refers to the census taken in 1963. The numbers given the domestic families of Marudu were assigned on the basis of their positions in the housing structures at the time of the 1960 census. At that time the domestic families were numbered from 1 to 76 starting with the first downstream longhouse and working up the Marudu River from there. Families formed after that census or moving into Marudu afterwards I have designated for the purposes of this table with a letter. An 'X' in the table indicates a vacated apartment.
Table 6.2 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1963</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hamlet B, Housing Structure 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-See Family no. 23 below</td>
<td>23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Moved to another village; apartment was then occupied by a new family moving in from another village.</td>
<td>D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Family moved to another village; the following year it returned, but by that time family 24 had taken up its apartment in an expansion of its own, so 23 built a new apartment at the end of the longhouse next to D.</td>
<td>24.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hamlet B, Housing Structure 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Moved out to housing structure 4 in hamlet B</td>
<td>X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Ditto.</td>
<td>X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hamlet B, Housing Structure 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Moved out to housing structure 4 in hamlet B</td>
<td>X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hamlet B, Housing Structure 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-See housing structure 2, hamlet B</td>
<td>30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-See housing structure 3, hamlet B</td>
<td>31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Moved in from another village</td>
<td>E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-See housing structure 2, hamlet B</td>
<td>29.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) I use the term 'housing structure' to refer to all buildings containing one or more apartments of domestic families rather than 'longhouse', as certain structures containing only one or two apartments hardly qualify for the term 'longhouse'.
Table 6.2 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1963</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hamlet C, Housing Structure 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>32.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>42.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Left village; family 60 from hamlet D moved into vacant apartment.</td>
<td>60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Left village. Family 61 from hamlet D moved into vacant apartment, and then also left village. The vacant apartment was next occupied by the daughter of the founders of family 61 and her new husband.</td>
<td>F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Family 74 moved down from hamlet E to hamlet C because of illness, and occupied a field house in the hamlet until building on to this longhouse.</td>
<td>74.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Family 46 built on to this longhouse after leaving housing structure 2 in hamlet C.</td>
<td>46.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Family 51 also joined this longhouse after leaving housing structure 2 in hamlet C which is in the process of being abandoned as the house posts are rotting away.</td>
<td>51.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Hamlet C, Housing Structure 2</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. See housing structure 1, hamlet C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. See housing structure 1, hamlet C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Left village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Moved to housing structure 4 in hamlet C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Ditto.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Hamlet C, Housing Structure 3</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58. An old bachelor at the time of the first census lived alone in a field hut in the hamlet area. He left the village prior to the second census.</td>
<td>X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Hamlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1960 | Hamlet C | 4 | -See housing structure 2, hamlet C.  
-Ditto.  
-Ditto.  
-Family 59 moved in from hamlet A. |
| 1963 | | | 57.  
55.  
56.  
59.  |
| 1960 | Hamlet C | 5 | -Family 76 moved in from hamlet E, housing structure 1 because of illness and occupied a field hut in the hamlet area. |
| 1963 | | | 76.  |
| 1960 | Hamlet C | 6 | -Family G is a new family formed through marriage. It occupied a field hut until it had time to build a longhouse apartment. |
| 1963 | | | G.  |
| 1963 | Hamlet D | 1 | 59. Moved to hamlet A, housing structure 1, and then moved on to hamlet C, housing structure 4.  
60. Moved to hamlet C, housing structure 1.  
61. Moved to hamlet C, housing structure 1 and then out of village. |
| 1963 | | | X.  
X.  
X.  |
| 1963 | Hamlet E | 1 | 62. Moved to housing structure 2 in hamlet E.  
63. Ditto. |
| 1963 | | | X.  
X.  |
| 1963 | Hamlet E | 2 | -Family 70 moved out of apartment at other end of this housing structure and built on to this end.  
-Family 63 moved to this housing structure from housing structure 1, hamlet E.  
-Family H is a newly formed family through marriage of the daughter of the founders of family 64, and the son of the founders of family 65. |
| 1964 | | | 70.  
63.  
H.  
64.  
65.  
66.  
67.  |
Table 6.2 (Continued)

1960

Hamlet E, Housing Structure 2, (Cont'd.)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>Moved to other end of longhouse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>Moved to housing structure 4, hamlet E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>Moved to a field house in hamlet C, along with family 74, and then moved out of village.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: The vacant apartments above fell down. This left the apartments at either end of the longhouse standing and made in effect two longhouses out of one.)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73.</td>
<td>Left village and family 62 from housing structure 1, hamlet E moved in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74.</td>
<td>Moved to field hut in hamlet C, and then joined on to housing structure 1 in that hamlet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75.</td>
<td>Left village.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-Family 68 joined this end of the longhouse after leaving apartment in the middle of the longhouse. In so building an apartment at this end it bridged the gap between this housing structure, no. 2, and housing structure no. 3, which consisted at the time of the first census of a single apartment.  

(Hamlet E, Housing Structure 3)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>76.</td>
<td>Left for hamlet C, housing structure 5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-A new family, family I, formed by the marriage of a daughter of the founders of family 68 built an apartment at the end of the longhouse and then moved to hamlet E, housing structure 4.  

Hamlet E, Housing Structure 4

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Family from hamlet A.</td>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Family from hamlet E, housing structure 2.</td>
<td>69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Family from hamlet E, housing structure 3.</td>
<td>I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Family from hamlet E, housing structure 2.</td>
<td>71.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6.3 Length of Occupancy of Longhouse Apartments: A Sample of Twenty-Nine Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of time covered</th>
<th>No. of Apartments</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Length of Occupancy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Built</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. 15.5 yrs.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.5-7 yrs.</td>
<td>3.1 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 36.2</td>
<td>13(a)</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 11(b)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2-9</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 16(b)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2-8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 31</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1-9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 25.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1-10</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 44.5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1-9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. 21.5</td>
<td>10(a)</td>
<td>.5-5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. 45.5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>.5-8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. 22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. 36</td>
<td>12(a)</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. 13(b)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. 38.7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>.2-6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: (a) = Apartments built and/or occupied in other villages than Marudu. Where there is no notation it means that all the apartments listed as having been occupied were constructed on to longhouses in the Marudu village area. (b) = Period of time covered since having built a separate apartment after marriage. All other 'Periods of time Covered' start with the first housing structure that the individual remembered having occupied as a child. It is not too difficult to remember the length of time an apartment was occupied as at the start of each harvesting season seven bundles of seven threshed rice stalks are tied together in sequence. This is then bound around the center house post up near the roof. Each year another 'belt' of these rice stalks is added.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of time covered</th>
<th>No. of Apartments Occupied</th>
<th>Length of Occupancy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Range</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Median</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. 14.5 yrs. (b)</td>
<td>5 yrs.</td>
<td>0.5-5 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.9 yrs. - yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. 6 (b)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. 29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. 11 (b)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. 45.5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. 39</td>
<td>17 (a)</td>
<td>1-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. 37.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. 17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. 26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. 27</td>
<td>10 (a)</td>
<td>2-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. 10.5 (b)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.5-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. 12.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,2,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. 39.7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. 46</td>
<td>12 (a)</td>
<td>1-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: (Continued) In cases of husband and wife informants, the wife is carried in the above table from earliest recall on up to marriage. The husband is carried from earliest recall up to the present. In cases of siblings, one sibling is carried from earliest recall, which would therefore, include the history of his natal domestic family. All other siblings in the set are carried only from marriage. Present apartment occupied in all cases is not included.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Mean Length of Occupancy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947 - 1956</td>
<td>2.98 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924 - 1933</td>
<td>2.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Ten individuals were chosen whose history of moves went back beyond 35 years. The length of time that they stated they had occupied certain apartments in various long-houses was compared during two ten year periods. The period 1947-1956 was chosen as in the following year one individual moved into the apartment which he was residing in at the time of the census in 1960.
Table 6.5  Mean Length of Occupancy of Apartments by the Four Leading Agriculturalists in Marudu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of time covered (a)</th>
<th>Mean length of occupancy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 16 yrs.</td>
<td>2.7 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 29.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 26.5</td>
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(a) Since marriage and the establishment of a separate apartment.
Table 6.5 illustrates that higher mobility is not a characteristic of families who are poor agriculturalists. The history of moves of the four outstanding agriculturalists since their marriages does not seem to vary significantly with the sample in Table 6.3.

A longhouse is started with the building of the monginan's apartment, which is shortly joined by the apartments of several close kinsmen and friends. New families come and add on at either end of this set of apartments. In time apartments may also be vacated, but if they have been vacated for reasons other than death or illness, new families are likely to move in to them. Certain omens or an undue amount of illness and death may result in the whole longhouse being vacated. As the longhouse extends in both directions away from the original set of apartments, the house posts of these first apartments begin to rot prior to those of the newer apartments. There are no belian trees in the Rungus area for making house posts resistant to decay. Eventually the older portion of the longhouse reaches a point of being beyond repair. Then, the apartments in the longhouse are either completely vacated, or the families in the old section move out and those in the new section remain, leaving the old apartments to fall down. The families that move out can either join on to the newer ends of the old longhouse, or join another longhouse in the village area, or build a new one. In no case is the position of the families in the former longhouse duplicated nor is the membership.
In earlier days, prior to the cessation of hostilities sometime in the first half of the nineteenth century, if all the jungle had been used up in the area of a longhouse the majority of its members, it is stated, would move en masse to a new location in another area of the village where there was still primary jungle. This no longer seems to be the case, primarily because there is only secondary jungle in the village territory and there is no advantage in any large-scale moves. At present in Marudu there are four hamlets, three of which are multi-longhouse hamlets. When a longhouse in any of these hamlets breaks up, the member families either scatter themselves to the already existing hamlets and build on to longhouses there or some of them start a new longhouse in the same location near the old one.

Also, previously, major epidemics would cause the longhouse to disband, and the member families would scatter out into single dwellings in the jungle till, at a later date, a new longhouse would be formed in a new location. The control of major epidemics by the British seems to have lessened the total disbandment of longhouses in good condition. However, omens still play a large part in the vacating of a longhouse by the member families, either to join on to another or to start a new one.

There are no data to compare the frequency of member families leaving a longhouse today with the period before the end of hostilities. However, the headmen have stated that
The gallery area of the longhouse. The entry doors of the various compartments of the member apartments are to the right of the corridor. The lounging area of the gallery is to the left. A vacated apartment can be seen about halfway down the longhouse corridor in which the compartment wall facing on the corridor has been removed.
there is no difference in the rate of movement of domestic families from longhouse to longhouse now as compared to then.

Joining and Leaving a Longhouse

When a family wants to join a longhouse, the male founder speaks to the male founder of the apartment at the end of the longhouse he is going to join on to in order to ascertain whether there are any restrictions to building an apartment. For instance, there are certain periods, as after a tumuron ceremony, when no one can build on to an apartment which is still involved in any ritual restrictions. Then, some evening, the male founder speaks to the informal leader of the longhouse about his intentions. This is not necessary, but if the family wants help in moving its belongings, it is largely the informal leader who will organize this. The members of the longhouse being moved away from do not help. If the family intending to move is not wanted, which seldom occurs, it may be told that the longhouse it intends to join is going to be vacated shortly, or it may be refused help in moving its belongings with a variety of reasons being given.

The vacating of an apartment in a longhouse requires no prior approval of one's neighbors or the informal leaders. However, some floorboards in the corridor section must be left so that the longhouse members can still pass by the vacated apartment. The wall of the apartment may not be removed if taking it will expose the interior of a neighboring apartment;
to do so is a ritual delict causing the rusod of the neighbor to become angry. Also, some roofing material must be left so that rain does not fall into the neighboring apartments; if it does, this is komomoli since it suggests that the neighboring apartment is an empty apartment and the owners dead.

There are a number of reasons for moving. These are hard to elicit for any particular move, as any mention of the rogon that the family may be trying to escape by moving may result in the rogon returning and causing the sickness again. Similarly any mention of a quarrel as being the cause of the move may result in the initiation of a suit on the basis of the other party being 'shamed'.

Death, particularly of a founder, or repeated deaths among children, frequently results in the vacating of an apartment for fear either that the rogon causing the disease will attack the survivors or that the soul of the dead will miss his spouse and visit the apartment which could result in illness or cause the soul of the surviving founder to join it on Nabalu.

Certain kinds of omens, such as a cobra entering an apartment, may cause the whole longhouse to be vacated. A longhouse with many illnesses is considered 'hot', and frequently members will move out in search of another hamlet or village which is cooler.

Arguments and quarrels also result in a domestic family leaving a longhouse. An argument between a parent and a married
child can reach such an intensity that the child will move his family to another village. Siblings may argue, particularly with regard to their fair share of the inheritance or about an unpaid debt, and the disgruntled party will leave.

Two reasons for moving are generally given and are acceptable in Rungus society. These are to shift to better swidden areas and to be near another relative for a while. Frequently these do represent the real motives of the parties but also frequently, they are used, particularly the former reason, to conceal the true motives.

As there is no enhanced ritual state associated with a longhouse -- we shall analyze this shortly -- some explanation must be advanced as to why families do in fact join longhouses. The explanation of protection from attack does not apply to the Rungus as hostilities ceased long before the British arrived.

However, fear is still a motivating factor in joining on to a longhouse. A rumor periodically circulates among the Rungus that the Government has hired people to collect their heads and this keeps them in the longhouse for several days in fear of moving about. Secondly, there is the fear of rogōn of the primary forest who do not stop with the soul, but actually eat people, leaving no trace. There is also the fear of ghosts and the wandering souls of the deceased, and the fear of sudden illness.

In the longhouse, there are always some individuals who
are skilled in putting lime on a sick or frightened individual with particular prayers which will repel the various types of rogón, ghosts and spirits alleged to be the source of the trouble. Then, if this is not successful, there is always a resident spirit medium who can call her spirit familiar to make a diagnosis and recommend the proper sacrifice.

The longhouse also serves as a reservoir of people for help and mutual aid in times of difficulty and trouble other than illness. For instance, one informant stated that when things were going well no one particularly wanted to live in a longhouse, but when there was trouble, such as the lack of food, a death, and the like, they wanted to join a longhouse. For any kind of emergency, for any kind of misfortune, there are always close kin at hand in the longhouse to give aid and succor.

The longhouse also serves as a reservoir for labor. Labor-exchange groups for swidden weeding as well as other types of labor exchanges are based primarily on longhouse membership.

Lastly, a longhouse provides a source of companionship and entertainment. Women with young children spend most of their time at home caring for the children, pounding rice, feeding the livestock, and preparing the meals. They like the company of the longhouse where there is someone around to talk to as they work, to exchange help with, to assist in the care of their children, and to ask advice from if their baby becomes suddenly ill. In
the evenings, when everyone has come home from the fields, there is company for the men in the small tasks of rope making, basket weaving, thatch preparation, and the like. There may develop clusters of young people listening to a story of one of the elders. A young man may start playing his native guitar to a young girl using the music to state his intentions, and she may answer him with her nose flute. The longhouse is considered to be lots of fun by the young, unmarried girls and boys.

The Monginan

The first male founder to build an apartment for a longhouse is called the monginan. He builds (/mong-/l) the 'body' (/inan/) of the longhouse.* As the monginan, he must put in an extra set of posts and two walls instead of one. Joiners on either side tie in their floor supports with the monginan's posts and add only one wall, on the far side. Each subsequent joiner does the same to the last apartment built as the longhouse expands.

The office of monginan is not a political, but a ritual office, and therefore, the monginan may not necessarily be the village headman or the informal leader of the longhouse. The monginan, first of all, must have a chest circumference which measures the same as a /monginan/ of length, the term given to the measurement from the finger tips of one outstretched arm across the chest to the further shoulder joint. Not all village

*The apartment also has an /inan/, and this refers to the eating and walking area only of the compartment and the aisle-way of the gallery section (see Figure 2.2).
headmen have this specification. Secondly, the monginan should have certain characteristics which it is thought will transfer to the longhouse as a whole. Thus, the monginan should have a 'cold' household, referring to a lack of deaths among his children; he should not be known to steal, fight, fornicate, cause arguments, deceive, lie, tease women, or be litigious; and he should produce lots of rice each year and have accumulated dapu.

In the erection of the monginan's apartment posts, he should choose companions of like characteristics to help him to ensure that the whole longhouse will be endowed with these characteristics.

However, the prescriptions as to what makes a good monginan are not strictly observed. I would estimate that out of seven monginan in Marudu three to four do not meet these conditions. One of the reasons that these conditions are not strictly observed, it appears, is that there are other methods of dealing with the same problems either more effectively or which maintain the corporateness of the domestic family. Sickness in the family may be dealt with by a corporate sacrifice. Fertility in the swiddens and increase of property may also be dealt with by corporate rituals and sacrifices of the domestic family. Fornication, stealing, and fighting all have strong and more effective sanctions in the jural realm to control these activities.
However, the main function of the monginan is dealing with a particular rogon called labut.

The Rogon Labut

The ritual corporateness of the longhouse is manifested only in the ceremony dealing with the appearance of the rogon labut.

A whole family of labut will arrive and stay with the monginan if someone cuts timbers for an apartment in the longhouse and then changes his mind and fails to join on. While the first manifestations of the labut are at the apartment of the monginan, soon indications of their presence spread to all apartments. First, the male founder of the labut family makes noises at night. Then, he scares people by various acts, such as poking a branch up through the flooring. Next, he sleeps with women and chases them when they go for water. After three years, if not appeased, he will go to each apartment and cut a piece of cloth hanging on the support poles and then leave, never to come back. However, after that, beginning with the apartment of the monginan, one person in each apartment will die.

The family which did not join on to the longhouse must give a pig to the monginan for a sacrifice. Any person who knows the ritual words may perform the ceremony, and it is not exclusively the province of the spirit mediums. The specialist takes a stick and goes the length of the longhouse hitting the support
poles of the storage area over the aisleway of each apartment. At the same time, the specialist calls the labut at each apartment to go with him as they are going to kill a pig for them. Then the specialist goes under the longhouse and hits the middle house posts of each apartment calling the labut again. The pig is then killed near the longhouse, and the head of the pig is taken and hit against a house post of each apartment, starting with the monginan. Following this, the head is given to the monginan to keep and no non-longhouse member may enter the longhouse for three days.

This ceremony for exorcising labut is the only ceremony in which the ritual corporateness of the longhouse is expressed. It is in the monginan's apartment that the labut reside as the monginan is the ritual representative of the longhouse in this sphere. It is the monginan's apartment that is the center of the sacrifice, and it is the monginan who keeps the pig's head, but there are no further rituals that take place with it.

It is at most a very weak ritual corporateness, however. Each apartment must also be dealt with individually rather than there being one focal point for all the ritual, as is the ritual rice plot of the family for its rice spirits. Furthermore, this ceremony does not result in the longhouse entering any enhanced ritual state, nor does it establish a continuing relationship between it and members of the spirit world based on goodwill. Instead, once the restrictions are over a few days
following the ceremony, the ritual relationship between the longhouse and the rogon labut is severed.

This lack of ritual development is reflected in the jural realm. It is not necessarily the monginan as a representative of the whole longhouse who originates the litigation for the pig. The monginan may not in fact be skilled in this adat, and anyone in the longhouse who is may take the proper steps to secure the fine of a pig.

As there is no specific jurally recognized representative of the longhouse in this, I maintain that the longhouse cannot be considered as a jural entity. However, its social nature is not ignored in the jural realm either, for anyone knowledgeable in the adat may sue for the longhouse as a social but not a jural unit. Such a social grouping which is not considered an entity in the jural system of its society, but which is still allowed for certain specific occasions to sue in the name of one of its members for the group, I have called a jural collectivity.

Thus, the interesting point with respect to this ceremony for the rogon labut is that the longhouse may be considered a ritually corporate grouping, but not a jurally corporate grouping. This is an unusual instance in the Rungus jural system. As we have already seen with respect to the family and as we shall discuss later with respect to the village, these social groupings of family and village are both ritually
corporate and jurally corporate. We might expect this to be so, for if the social grouping in question were not recognized as a jural entity, it would have difficulty organizing a suit for restitution following a ritual delict perpetrated against it during a ceremonial period. It is the entailment of jural corporateness, the presence in the social unit of a jurally recognized representative of it, which facilitates the taking of such jural action by the family and village.

The fact that the longhouse is not considered as a jural entity although it is a ritual entity may be explained by the fact that the longhouse seldom engages in any ritual activity which involves it as a unit. It is only in this case of the rogon labut that it is considered a ritually corporate entity, and ceremonies for this rogon are infrequent.

The Longhouse Entry Ladders

There is no involvement of the ladder to the longhouse in any symbolization of the longhouse as a ritually corporate unit. This is not to say that the rituals involved with the ladder deny the existence of the longhouse as a social grouping. On the contrary, they emphasize the essential nature of the longhouse social grouping which is a complex web of social relations lacking any formal hierarchical structure. However, an analysis of the rituals involving the longhouse ladder shows that with respect to the ladder, the longhouse is not recognized as a ritually corporate unit. In addition
the analysis of the ritual delicts involving the longhouse ladder shows that with respect to the ladder the longhouse is also not considered a corporate unit in the jural system of the society, although the social reality of the longhouse again is not denied.

It is the responsibility of the families in the end apartments to make the longhouse entry ladders and the handrails. As the longhouse accumulates member families, this ladder may be moved out to the new end apartments until it decays or is no longer the right length. Then, the family occupying this new end apartment is expected to make a new ladder. The male founder of the end apartment may refuse to make one saying that he has no 'luck' (surupu), and the informal leader of the longhouse will then search out someone else.

It is thought that since the ladder is used by everyone it should be made by an individual who in the past has made a ladder to a longhouse in which there was little sickness or by someone who had a 'cool' household. By 'cool' is meant that the household has had few illnesses and most of their children have survived.

When a new ladder is made, it is thought that representatives from all the member apartments should make a finishing or shaping stroke with their parangs as this will bring luck to the longhouse. This is minor ritual and is not assiduously followed. Note however that this ritual does not require that it be
the monginan or any other representative for the longhouse but all representatives of member apartments.

If the ladder is cut in anger with a parang, it is considered a ritual delict involving kotiguras. It is the responsibility of the end apartment members, irrespective of whether they made the ladder or not, to ask for a chicken to bloody themselves and remove themselves from ritual jeopardy. However, in the praying that takes place at this time, they include all longhouse members since they use the ladder too. It is also the responsibility of the end apartment, if someone commits the ritual delict of komomoli with respect to the ladder, to bring suit.

For instance, if someone throws the ladder away into the jungle, as is done with the ladder used to bring a corpse out the side of the apartment of the deceased, this is komomoli. It infers that someone has died in the longhouse and, in particular, in the end apartment. The male founder of the end apartment asks for a small brass container and a chicken which is used to blood his whole family. Again, all the longhouse members are put into the prayer, but also here, as with kotiguras, they are not all bloodied unless someone asks especially to be.

The important point here, with respect to these delicts, is that the social reality of the longhouse is recognized in the jural realm, and the end apartment may sue not only for
itself, but also for the longhouse. This is shown by the fact that, although the end apartment is believed to be in the greater jeopardy and is the major focus of the actions taken to remove the ritual danger, all the longhouse members are also put into the prayer. However, I would argue that the longhouse is not being recognized as a jural unit in this since it has not been represented by a formal leader or office holder like the mon-ginan. As we shall see with respect to further ritual delicts involving the longhouse, for some delicts, anyone can sue who is knowledgeable and for others, just the end apartments, as they are considered to be most implicated by the delict. The lack of a recognized representative for the longhouse, of course, limits the development of any jural personality for the longhouse.

Komomoli and Koriva with Respect to the Longhouse

Other types of komomoli, an action which infers that someone has died, may also apply to all the members of a longhouse at the same time. For instance, if someone sitting near the end of a longhouse when there has been no death says to a person arriving that gongs may not be brought into the longhouse, this is komomoli, as this restriction only applies when someone has died. However, there has been no specific family implicated by this remark. Therefore, all the members of the longhouse are put into ritual jeopardy.

In such a case, the person making the remark must give a
chicken to the family in the apartment where he was sitting at the time he called out to the visitor, since this apartment was particularly implicated. All the members of the long-house are included in the prayers as the chicken is sacrificed at that household and blood from the chicken is put on the foot of each member of the household. It is up to the individual members of the longhouse if they feel in any special ritual jeopardy and want also to be bloodied.

Koriva is the ritual synonym for komomoli in the tautologically constructed prayers which are used to expiate this ritual delict. However, koriva is also used frequently to refer to an extreme example of komomoli, as when there is the burial of a body in a location which infers a death in some social unit other than where it occurred. For instance, it is koriva to the owner of a fruit tree grove if someone is buried in it. It is koriva to the owner of a swidden if a body is carried past it on the way to be buried.

Consequently, the dead are usually buried close by the longhouse where they die. If a corpse is carried past a long-house where the death did not occur, it is koriva to all the member families of the longhouse, because again there is no specific domestic family implicated, but all are.

The jural action taken against the perpetrator of this delict is again not a corporate jural action of the longhouse. First of all, it is not a corporate jural action because there
is no specific person who must initiate the action on behalf of the longhouse as a social unit. It is stated that it is not necessarily the monginan or one of the apartments at the end of the longhouse -- as it would be in the case of a delict involving the entry ladders -- who initiates the action, but it is any male founder who is knowledgeable in the adat, which again shows the lack of a formal hierarchal structure in the longhouse.

Secondly, it is not a jural action of a corporate entity as the fine, consisting of a chicken, a length of brass wire, a parang, and a skein of black thread, does not go to the longhouse members jointly, nor is it put into a common fund, but instead it is the property of the person initiating the suit. However, the social reality of the longhouse as a local group is not jurally ignored either. The action taken is on behalf of the other members of the longhouse also. In other words, for these purposes in the Rungus jural system, the longhouse is not recognized as a jural unit but neither is its social nature ignored; it is treated, using Derham's term (1955), as a collectivity.

As is the case with the previous ritual delicts, this delict of carrying a corpse past another longhouse also does not implicate the longhouse as a ritual unit. It only puts the individual members into ritual jeopardy, as there is no single act which might extinguish the ritual jeopardy for the longhouse
as a corporate unit, but instead, all the members of the long-
house must be individually cleansed.

The person who initiated the suit kills the chicken and
puts blood on the foot of each member of his domestic family.
Other members of the longhouse may be similarly bloodied, and
when this is done, the person officiating says the name of
the person being bloodied in a prayer stating that it is now
done and the person is ritually cleansed.

The length of brass wire and the parang are then put into
a bowl of water, and this water is also sprinkled on the
members of the longhouse. The brass wire transfers the quality
of being malleable to the longhouse members so that their
life-span will not be easily broken. The parang transfers the
quality of being hard to the recipient of the aspergation so
that he will not easily succumb to sickness, and the black
thread confers darkness so that the individuals will not be
easily seen by the rogon.

One spirit medium made clear the distinction, with respect
to koriva, between the longhouse as a corporate ritual entity
requiring corporate expiation and the longhouse as a social
grouping which ritually and jurally is considered as only a
collectivity. This spirit medium constructed a hypothetical
case as there were only two known cases of koriva in the
memories of our informants. If a corpse was carried past
hamlet C, which at that time had three longhouses with thirteen,
seven, and four member domestic families respectively, the procedure would be for each longhouse to ask for the fine. If one felt sorry, she said, for the offender, a single fine would be enough. However, the best way to handle it, in her opinion, would be to ask for two chickens and two sets of the brass wire, thread, and parang. The members of the smallest longhouse could then go to one of the other longhouses to take part in the necessary ritual.

The Ceremony for the 'Wandering Rogon'

The 'wandering rogon', also called the rogon of the world, bring the epidemic diseases such as colds, measles, mumps, chicken pox, cholera, and small pox. There is a ceremony, the manaliu, which involves the joint action of all members of the longhouse, but which is still not a corporate ritual, to prevent these rogon from taking their toll. This ceremony is infrequently held, partly due to the difficulty of getting the member apartments in the longhouse to agree to this joint action.

If a lot of people are sick in the longhouse or if there are people who dream that a European or Chinese is arriving and wants something, this is a sign that the 'wandering rogon' are about. The member families of the longhouse then get together to hold the manaliu which provides provisions for these rogon to move on and which blocks off the path to the longhouse to prevent others from arriving.
Each family in the longhouse puts into a basket, made from the node covering from an areca palm, a pinch of husked rice, an areca nut, a betel leaf with a stripe of lime on it, and a cigarette for each member of the family, identifying that member when the provisions are put into the basket.

The skilled person who knows the ritual names of the rogon and the prayers -- more often a man than a woman -- then goes the length of the longhouse calling the rogon to follow. He peers in each compartment telling the rogon to follow him as they have prepared provisions for him and they do not agree to them staying any longer. Those family heads who also want to sacrifice a chicken accompany the ritual expert, as well as whosoever wants to follow, out of the longhouse to the point where the path leaves the main trail to go to the longhouse.

Along the path, the skilled practitioner calls the rogon again and says, "All the people from the longhouse ask help from you." He then names everyone. Next he asks the rogon to move on and not stay. The baskets of food are left there and the chicken sacrificed. Then the practitioner takes some leaves of the lalang grass and ties a knot in each. From the entry ladder on through the longhouse, at each apartment door he inserts a leaf as a sign for the rogon that each apartment has participated in the ceremony.

For three days, no one may enter the longhouse. Even those members of the longhouse who might have been away at the time may not return for they could bring the rogon back again.
The longhouse members may go to their swiddens during the day, but for three days no one may spend the night away from the longhouse or eat, drink, and take betel at another longhouse. During the period of restrictions, no one may call loudly to anyone else or make any loud noises. Rice cannot be pounded, and no one may cut wood around the vicinity of the longhouse or cut the earth. The explanation is that the rogon will, on hearing the noise, return thinking that they have been called.

This is a joint, not a corporate, ceremony held by all the member apartments to prevent illness from occurring in their respective apartments. All perform the same ritual acts for the benefit of their own apartments, not the longhouse. However, because all the member longhouse apartments are mutually interdependent and the activity of one apartment might nullify the ritual act for the others, it is done simultaneously by all the member apartments. Furthermore, it removes the offending rogon from a particular vicinity, the area in daily use by all longhouse members. Thus, it recognizes the nature of the longhouse social grouping as a complex web of interdependent families as well as a local grouping.

It is not a corporate ritual for the longhouse as the focus of the ritual jeopardy is each of the member domestic families and not the longhouse. It is the family that is being removed from ritual jeopardy. Furthermore, this ceremony does not result in the longhouse as a unit being in an enhanced
ritual state nor does it result in any continuing relationship between the spirit world and the longhouse as a unit. Finally, there is no symbolization of the longhouse as a social unit, but there is for the member families. A knotted leaf of la-lang is put in each apartment door.

Jural action against anyone breaking the restrictions following the ceremony, however, show that the longhouse is recognized as a social grouping in the jural system, that is as a collectivity, if not a jural unit. Not all the member apartments sue, but any male founder in the longhouse who is skilled in the adat may sue the culprit for a chicken to sacrifice at the main path again.

This ceremony further illustrates that the complex web of interdependency which makes up the local group of the longhouse also extends for certain purposes when the local grouping itself encompasses more than one longhouse. In those cases which involve multiple-longhouse hamlets, all must join in the ceremony or the rogon will go to the longhouse in which no one participated in it. Furthermore, during the period of restrictions, the longhouse which did not join in might inadvertently break some of the restrictions, such as cutting wood for their fires nearby. During this period, members of each longhouse may visit with each other.

The social organization of a multi-longhouse hamlet is thus recognized in this ritual when it is held by such a local grouping.
In addition, in the jural action for restitution after a restriction has been broken, the social nature of the multi-longhouse hamlet is recognized, but only as a collectivity, not as a jural unit, as is also the case with the single longhouse hamlet. One member of the hamlet sues on behalf of all the member apartments resident in the hamlet. However, as we shall see in the next section, the complex web of social relations which constitutes the longhouse social organization and which for certain purposes also includes the other longhouses in a multiple longhouse hamlet, becomes much more attenuated with respect to the other longhouses in a multi-longhouse hamlet.

The Web of Social Relationships in the Longhouse

There is no formal hierarchical ordering of social relations between domestic families in the longhouse unless the headman of the village is resident in that longhouse; and even then, as we shall discuss in the next chapter, it is minimal, as no formal sanctions are associated with the office of headman. Instead, the major feature of the social organization of a longhouse is the web of social relations in which all members are enmeshed. This web of social relations is based on the moral order existing between kinsmen, the ritual obligations of member families, particularly neighboring families, to the members of an apartment holding a ceremony, and on the needs for mutual assistance.

First of all, the social order of the longhouse is based
on that of the moral order between kinsmen as Table 6.6 demonstrates. In this table the most important kinship tie linking member apartments in the various longhouses of Marudu are presented. Seldom is a domestic family found without a parent-child or sibling tie to another apartment in the longhouse.

In addition to kinship, the longhouse web of social relations is based on the mutual ritual obligations between member families. Involvement in certain types of these mutual ritual obligations is dependent on position of the apartment in the longhouse. Apartments on either side of a household in which a ceremony is being held are involved in restrictions on activities such as pounding rice, putting a lamp on their apad, etc. The length of time that these restrictions apply is dependent on the ritual importance of the ceremony as well as the number of apartments that a family is removed from the one holding the ceremony. That is, the further an apartment is from the one holding the ceremony, the shorter the period is that the restrictions apply. That aspect of the longhouse web of social relations that is based on these ritual obligations stemming from position of apartments in the longhouse is shown in Table 6.7. This table gives the extent of those restrictions for member apartments of one longhouse over a period of one year.

In addition to these restrictions which depend on position in the longhouse, there are also certain restrictions which apply to all members as well as any visitors. These include
### Table 6.6 Matrices of Kin Ties Between Domestic Families in the Housing Structures of Marudu(a)

#### Hamlet A

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(a) The matrices of kin ties only show that inter-familial tie which is the most important. Kin tie is shown as follows:

1 = parent - child; 2 = sibling; 3 = parent's sibling - sibling's child; 4 = grandparent - grandchild; 5 = first cousin; 6 = beyond; 0 = no tie.

I use the term 'housing structure' to refer to all buildings containing one or more apartments of domestic families rather than the term 'longhouse', as certain buildings containing only one, two, or three apartments hardly qualify for the term 'longhouse'.

The numbers giving the position of domestic families in longhouses in this table are based on the 1960 census of Marudu in which the families of Marudu were numbered from 1 to 76 starting with the first downstream apartment in the first downstream longhouse and working upstream from there.

(b) The founder of #20 was a widower whose children lived with his parents-in-law in #9.
Table 6.6 (Continued)

Hamlet B

### Housing Structure I

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Position of Domestic Family in Longhouse

### Housing Structure II (c)

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29 30

### Housing Structure III

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(c) This is a 'decaying' longhouse from which the domestic family linking apartments #29 and #30 has moved. The domestic family which moved out was linked with apartment #30 in a parent-child tie and with apartment #29 in a sibling tie.
Table 6.6 (Continued)

Hamlet C

### Housing Structure I

|   | 32 |   | 33 |   | 34 |   | 35 |   | 36 |   | 37 |   | 38 |   | 39 |   | 40 |   | 41 |   | 42 |   | 43 |   | 44 |   |
|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|
|   | -  |   | 1  |   | 2  |   | 3  |   | 4  |   | 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   |
| 32| 1  |   | 2  |   | 3  |   | 4  |   | 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   |
| 33| 2  |   | 3  |   | 4  |   | 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   |
| 34| 3  |   | 4  |   | 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   |
| 35| 4  |   | 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   |
| 36| 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   |
| 37| 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   |
| 38| 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   |
| 39| 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   |
| 40| 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   | 21 |   |
| 41| 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   | 21 |   | 22 |   |
| 42| 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   | 21 |   | 22 |   | 23 |   |
| 43| 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   | 21 |   | 22 |   | 23 |   | 24 |   |
| 44| 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   | 21 |   | 22 |   | 23 |   | 24 |   | 25 |   |

### Position of Domestic Families in Longhouse

### Housing Structure II

|   | 45 |   | 46 |   | 47 |   | 48 |   | 49 |   | 50 |   | 51 |   | 52 |   | 53 |   | 54 |   | 55 |   | 56 |   | 57 |   |
|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|
|   | -  |   | 2  |   | 3  |   | 4  |   | 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   |
| 45| 1  |   | 2  |   | 3  |   | 4  |   | 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   |
| 46| 2  |   | 3  |   | 4  |   | 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   |
| 47| 3  |   | 4  |   | 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   |
| 48| 4  |   | 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   |
| 49| 5  |   | 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   |
| 50| 6  |   | 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   |
| 51| 7  |   | 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   |
| 52| 8  |   | 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   |
| 53| 9  |   | 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   | 21 |   |
| 54| 10 |   | 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   | 21 |   | 22 |   |
| 55| 11 |   | 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   | 21 |   | 22 |   | 23 |   |
| 56| 12 |   | 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   | 21 |   | 22 |   | 23 |   | 24 |   |
| 57| 13 |   | 14 |   | 15 |   | 16 |   | 17 |   | 18 |   | 19 |   | 20 |   | 21 |   | 22 |   | 23 |   | 24 |   | 25 |   |

### Position of Domestic Families in Longhouse

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Position of Domestic Families in Longhouse
Table 6.6 (Continued)

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Position of Domestic Family in Longhouse

Housing Structure III

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) This structure is the remains of a 'decaying' longhouse, and all connecting links have moved out. These two families moved out shortly after this census was taken.
Table 6.7 The Web of Ritual Relations Within the Longhouse: The Number of Days of Restrictions in a Year on Behavior of Domestic Families in a Longhouse Following Ceremonies of its Domestic Families (a)

| 1 | 2(b) | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
|---|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|   |   | x | 3 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 2 | x   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 3 | x   |   | 1 | 1 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 4 |   | 2 | x | 2 | 1 | 1 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 5 |   | 2 | 2 | 6 | x | 6 | 4 | 2 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 6 |   | 3 | 5 | x | 5 | 3 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 7 |   |   | 1 | 2 | x | 2 | 1 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 8 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 9 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 10|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 11|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 12|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 13|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 14|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 15|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 16|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 17|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 18|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 19|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 20|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 21|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

Total no. of days of restrictions imposed on family: 0 3 13 15 20 17 18 18 20 8 15 10 15 13 13 17 16 16 16 14 14 191
Table 6.7 (Continued)

(a) Sample taken from ceremonies held in one longhouse in Marudu for 12 months in 1961-1962.

The restrictions on behavior included in this table are:

- May not light a lamp on the apad
- May not pound rice
- May not roast fish
- May not put child in hammock-swing
- May not climb up into storage area.

For instance, with regard to the ceremonies held by apartment no. 12 during the year, the apartments on either side, nos. 11 and 13, were involved in these restrictions for a total of 3 days; apartments 9, 10, 14 and 15 were involved for two days; and apartments 3-8 and 16-21 were involved for one day. In other words, the closer a domestic family is to the one holding a ceremony, the longer the restrictions last for each ceremony.

However, in addition to these restrictions, there are also the following:

- May not pass by with a carrying basket
- May not pass by with produce from the jungle or swiddens which is either white or green
- A visitor may not pass by.

These restrictions apply to every member of the longhouse as well as their visitors. Not only may they not pass by the apartment holding the ceremony under the above conditions, but they may also not pass by any of the neighboring apartments which are still engaged in any of the restrictions listed previously above and which are based on position in the longhouse with respect to the family holding the ceremony. The restrictions which apply to all members of the longhouse and their visitors have not been entered in the table as they would have obscured the declining nature of the restrictions based on position.

(b) These first two apartments were built next to the longhouse and connected to the corridor, but the roofs did not abut, therefore, the restrictions did not cross this gap in the ridgepole.
the prohibition against anyone taking a male's carrying basket, a winnowing tray, white and green produce from the jungle or swiddens, etc., past the apartment holding the ceremony, or any apartment involved in the restrictions based on position. While these restrictions apply to non-members as well as members, in actual fact they involve longhouse members far more than non-members as the longhouse members in their daily tasks must remember and abide by these restrictions.

As I have argued previously in the discussion of religion and the domestic family, these are not corporate ritual obligations of the longhouse. They do not either enhance or detract from any ritual state of the longhouse. Instead, they tend to focus the attention of all longhouse members on the apartment holding the ceremony and reiterate the position of that family in the web of social relations which comprises the longhouse social organization.

The web of social relations in the longhouse is also based on the interdependency of member families for mutual assistance. One informant made the statement that he would like to develop a long longhouse (i.e. with many member families) so that there would be plenty of people about to exchange help whenever there were any difficulties. This part of the web of social relations in the longhouse which is based on mutual assistance is not identical in its entirety with that part based on kinship. Members of neighboring apartments in
the longhouse, irrespective of kin ties, are supposed to help each other. Friends are also a source of help when it is needed and the social relationship of friendship (/unggai-unggai/) is frequently established with other longhouse members who may not necessarily be kin.

Tables 6.8 and 6.9 illustrate with a sample of swidden labor exchange groups this fact that domestic families are primarily dependent for mutual aid and assistance upon the longhouse membership. They show that longhouse members exchange labor more frequently with each other than with outsiders, and that members of multi-longhouse hamlets also exchange labor more frequently with each other than with others, but still not as frequently as do longhouse members.

As the data on labor exchanges demonstrate, the web of social relations that domestic families in Rungus society are enmeshed in is not confined solely to the longhouse membership. The core of its web is, however. That is, a family more frequently interacts with other longhouse families for the purposes of exchanging assistance, in the observation of ritual obligations, and in the fulfillment of the obligations of kinship, than with non-member families. As the web of social relations spreads out from the domestic family to include wider horizons, that is from the longhouse, to the multi-longhouse hamlet, to the village, and then beyond, it becomes attenuated. Table 6.10 demonstrates this again for that aspect of the web based on kin ties by using
Table 6.8  Source of Recruitment to Swidden Labor Exchange Groups: A Sample from a Hamlet With One Longhouse (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group No.</th>
<th>No. of Members in Group</th>
<th>No. of Members From Same Longhouse</th>
<th>No. of Members From Other Hamlets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The labor exchange groups in this sample were chosen at random. The longhouse in this table had 20 apartments.
only included one potential member of such labor exchange groups.

the labor force of these two families;
The labor force of these two families; they had left

dwelling was a first house used temporarily by two families after they had left

first house after they had left; the multiple

first house after they had left; the multiple
dwelling was the second longhouse had 12 apartments; the unattached

second longhouse had 12 apartments; the unattached

unattached. The first longhouse groups in this sample were chosen at random. The first

The first longhouse groups in this sample were chosen at random. The first

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hamlet</th>
<th>Other Members from First House</th>
<th>Multiple Dwelling</th>
<th>Unattached Second House</th>
<th>Longhouse in Group (No. of Members)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hamlet with Four Housing Structures (a)</td>
<td>Number of Members from Each House</td>
<td>Structure in Hamlet</td>
<td>Number of Members from Each House</td>
<td>Structure in Hamlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source of Recruitment to Swedish Labor Exchange Groups: A Sample From a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.9
for example the two kinship categories of parent - child and the sibling relationship. Thus, while the major feature of longhouse social organization is the web of interrelationships between family members based on obligations between kin, ritual obligations, and the interdependency of the families for mutual assistance, this web is not coterminous with the longhouse but extends outwards to include wider social groupings, becoming markedly attenuated as it does.

The multi-longhouse hamlet, as is shown in the above tables, is also a focus of kin ties and mutual aid, but to a lesser degree than the longhouse. This is reflected in the ritual sphere. While few rituals and ceremonies, as we have discussed previously, involve the multi-longhouse hamlet as a social unit, there are essentially two that do. The manaliu, which we have analyzed previously, is primarily concerned with the ritual jeopardy of domestic families resident in one locality, and when this locality involves multi-longhouses, they are also involved.

The other ceremony involves all the members of the hamlet in a ritual privilege. This ceremony is the opening one for the major sacrifice to the rusod of the domestic family. Following it, for one day no one may enter a longhouse in which a family has held this ceremony with the exception of hamlet members. The definition used in this ceremony for what constitutes a hamlet member reflects the social nature of the hamlet as a
Table 6.10 Distribution of a Sample of Kinship Ties in the Social Units of Longhouse, Multi-Longhouse Hamlet, Village and Beyond. (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Unit</th>
<th>Number of ties</th>
<th>% of total ties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Ties</td>
<td>67 217</td>
<td>100% 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within longhouse:</td>
<td>33 43</td>
<td>49% 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between longhouses in multi-longhouse hamlet</td>
<td>9 14</td>
<td>13 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within all hamlets:</td>
<td>42 57</td>
<td>63 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between hamlets in village:</td>
<td>6 38</td>
<td>9 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within village:</td>
<td>48 95</td>
<td>72 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In other villages:</td>
<td>19 122(b)</td>
<td>28 56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) This sample is drawn from parent-child and sibling relationships of every domestic family in Marudu. However, it only includes those parent-child and sibling ties which exist between domestic families and not within.

(b) While this part of the sample seems to indicate that there is a greater concentration of sibling ties in other villages, this is far from the case as the category 'In other villages' includes a total of 27 villages, for a mean of 4.5 per village.
social grouping more likely to interact with each other than with outsiders due to their propinquity. Those who may enter the longhouse in which the ceremony was held are those who do not have to cross any stream to get to the longhouse and who live within hearing distance of the longhouse.

**Conclusion**

The liability of the membership of the longhouse and the lack of any hierarchic structuring of relations among its constituent families is reflected in the lack of development of the longhouse in Rungus society as a ritual and jural entity.

Only with respect to the ceremony held for the *rogon labut* is the longhouse involved as a ritual entity, and this happens infrequently, if ever, for a longhouse. Furthermore, the symbolization of the longhouse in this ceremony as a corporate ritual entity is minimal, and the ritual jeopardy of each family must be dealt with as well. There are no longhouse ceremonies, nor any for the village as we shall shortly discuss, in which the family loses its ritual identity and is completely submerged into the ritual activity and symbolization of the larger social unit. In addition, with the exception of the weakly formulated position of the *monginan*, there are no symbols or symbolic acts which indicate the ritual corporateness of the longhouse as there are with respect to the domestic family in its ritual rice plot in the swiddens, its rice spirits, its *rusod*, and the offerings for the *rusod* over its hearth.
Furthermore, there is no enhancement of the ritual state of the longhouse as a social unit, as is the case with both the family and village. The ritual delicts of akadangan and orintadan do not apply. This is probably related to the fact that the longhouse owns no property nor engages in any productive activity. Therefore, it is not involved as a social unit in the economic realm of Rungus society. Neither does the longhouse at any time establish with any members of the spirit world a long-term or continuing relationship based on goodwill and leading to members of the spirit world being favorably disposed to the longhouse as a unit.

This is not to say that the social grouping of the longhouse and that the web of interdependent ties among the member families of this local group is ignored in the ritual realm. When the longhouse as a social grouping is involved, the member families of the longhouse engage in a joint ceremony in which each family performs the same ritual acts simultaneously, as is the case in the ceremony for the 'wandering rogon'. The social grouping of the longhouse is also involved when there occurs any of the various ritual delicts with respect to the entry ladders, or the delicts involving komomoli or koriva, but again not as a ritual entity. Inasmuch as every family in the longhouse may have been implicated in a delict of this type by being a member of this local group where it occurred, the delict must be expiated for each member family, with certain families,
because of their closeness to the delict, more involved than others.

In the jural realm, the longhouse is not considered a jural unit, even, I would argue, with respect to the delicts involving labut. Any individual member of the longhouse may sue in his name for the other members. This lack of a jural personality is also found with respect to the delicts involving the entry ladder, the ritual delicts of koriva and komomoli, and the ceremony for the 'wandering rogon'. There is no recognized office for the longhouse the duties of which involve representing it in the jural realm with respect to these delicts. In fact, the longhouse has no ability to enter jural relations with any other social unit. However, this is not to say that the social nature of the longhouse is ignored in the jural realm of Rungus society. If it were ignored, if it were not recognized, each member family implicated in the ritual delicts with regard to the entry ladder, koriva, komomoli, and the rest would sue the culprit individually.

Instead, however, the individual male founder in each of these cases who is felt to be the most knowledgeable among the longhouse members in the customary law initiates the suit on behalf of the other members, and he keeps the fines accruing from such delicts after expiating the ritual jeopardy for each member family.

Social groupings which are not recognized as jural units
in a jural system and which, therefore, do not enter regularly into jural relations, but which at times as a grouping must and are allowed to do so, Derham (1958) has termed collectivities, and I follow his terminology. As such, the grouping is denied a jural personality, but, on the other hand, its social nature is not ignored in the jural realm.

The longhouse, thus, is a collectivity, not a corporate grouping, in the jural realm and is primarily a collectivity in the ritual realm as well. The major feature of the social organization of this grouping is the complex web of social relationships between the member families. This web is based on the moral order existing between kinsmen, the mutual ritual obligations between member families, and the needs for mutual assistance.
Introduction

In contrast to the longhouse, the village is a territorial unit. If we accept Oliver and Miller's definition of the political unit (1955:119), that is "... numerically (the) most inclusive type of group possessing some kind of corporate title to all the territory normally occupied by resident members of that group ...", then the Rungus village is the political unit of Rungus society. There is no supra-village organization of any type in Rungus society. Instead social relations between villages are organized primarily through the extended web of affinal and cognatic kin ties which arises from the movement of families from village to village and from inter-village marriages.

The territory of the Rungus village includes all the area in which the residents of that village normally cut their swiddens. That is, as the Rungus state, "as far as we farm". These various territories are centered around one of the small rivers that drain from the Kudat Peninsula, or a tributary of such a river. The majority of rivers draining the Kudat Peninsula are short, shallow, and unnavigable above their estuaries. During the dry season, the flow of water in these frequently ceases, leaving stagnant pools of rapidly dwindling water for bathing and drinking. Boundaries between villages located in such river
valleys normally follow the heights of land. However, where the
one or two longer meandering rivers or streams do occur, the
village territories may be centered around various sections of
such a river and its drainage area with boundaries between them
based on a natural feature of landscape such as the point where
the river cuts through a range of hills.

Consequently, like the domestic family, the village is an
asset-owning social grouping. However, the territory of the
village is a 'frozen' asset, unlike the indopuan do nongkob
of the family which is easy to liquidate. Furthermore, unlike
the domestic family, the village is not a production and con-
sumption unit, and therefore, it is not involved in the trans-
actional system of the society. This lack of liquid assets and
income limits the further development of the jural personality
of the village and restricts the actions of the headman as a
representative of the village.

In the following discussion, we are assuming that we are
dealing with a multi-longhouse village. We have done this to
prevent repetition, as in the previous chapter we have dealt
with the various aspects of the longhouse social organization.
Where the village does consist of one longhouse, however, many
of the rights and duties of the village and longhouse merge
to define a more developed jural personality for this social
unit, particularly with reference to the ritual realm.
Historical Perspective on the Rungus Village

The social organization of the Rungus village and the relationship of the village to its territory as well as other ramifications of its jural personality can be understood only in the light of historical processes that have been at work in the Kudat Peninsula during the past century. A consideration of these historical processes makes it clear that until the last few years the village, in contrast to the family, was a social unit in the process of developing a more evolved jural personality in response to these historical factors.

The raiding and looting of Rungus longhouses by other Dusun groups had ceased long before the arrival of the British. Apparently the interjection of Malay power in the area, such as the establishment of the stronghold of Serip Usman at the base of Marudu Bay in the 1840's, coupled with the geographical isolation of the Kudat Peninsula, prevented such hostilities from continuing.

Prior to the cessation of raiding and looting, the population of the Rungus was small and scattered and it was an advantage for purposes of protection to belong to a large village. Consequently, when during this period a Rungus village near where the town of Kudat is now located wanted to move en masse to Marudu, the headman of Marudu quickly agreed. This village moved to Marudu and built a second longhouse in a locality just a short distance away from the existing one. However, after a
few years of growing disputes the new members of Marudu moved back to their former village.

In the period after the cessation of hostilities, but prior to the arrival of the British, according to the headmen of Marudu, there were still not very many people and there were as yet no formalized and precise boundaries between villages. A village, however, always considered its territory to include all the land which its members customarily cut in their swidden cycle, and it was at the limits of such an area that the village put up vines along the incoming paths during a village ceremony to notify travelers that the area was not allowed to be trespassed upon. The limits of a village territory usually ran along the crest of hills dividing drainage areas.

By the time of the present headmen's common great-grandfather, who was the first headman established in Marudu by the British after their arrival, a shift in the land-population balance had apparently occurred. He noticed that the virgin jungle was fast disappearing under swidden agriculture. At that time resin and basketry materials were taken from the virgin jungle as well as was bark for graneries. This headman became concerned that if all the virgin jungle were destroyed there would be no source for these commodities. Consequently, he went to the headmen of the two other villages, which with Marudu surrounded the remaining stretch of virgin jungle on the height of land between them, and made an agreement with them to protect this virgin tract from further incursions for swiddens.
This virgin area of jungle is now under the protection of the Government and one wonders whether this headman of Marudu reached his decision to preserve this virgin area alone or under the influence of Government policy. In any event, few other villages but these original three now have areas of virgin jungle from which to gather material for their graneries, baskets, and the like.

Since that time, with each succeeding generation of headmen there has been action taken to protect the village's boundaries or to redefine them with more precision. Furthermore, each of these cases of dispute over the village territory and their resolution has given precedent for the settlement of later disputes and added to the evolving nature of the jural personality of the village by redefining its rights and duties.

The son of the original headman found that the members of a neighboring village had crossed over the hill into Marudu territory to cut their swiddens and, in doing so, had cut an area of the virgin forest. He and some of his followers set fire to the swiddens after the undergrowth had been cut but prior to the felling of the large trees, thus preventing the intruders from using the swiddens for cultivation.

The grandson of the original headman found that some members from another village had crossed over the divide into an area which was used by the people of Marudu in their swidden cycle and had built a longhouse without his permission. Finally,
during the seventh year of their residence there, he told them that they were using up all the area in the locality of this longhouse in swiddens and when that occurred they would no doubt return to their old village. The leader of these intruders replied that his group would not return to its old village. The headman of Marudu then said that, if they were not going to leave, they should join on to the longhouse at Marudu and, if they refused to do that, to leave. They withdrew and the old boundary between the two villages was reaffirmed at the crest of the hill dividing the area. It was also concluded between the headmen of Marudu and the intruding village that swiddens could not be cut in each other's territory without the prior permission of the headman of that territory.

Another grandson of the original headman established by the British found that still another village was cutting its swiddens close to the virgin jungle area of Marudu. He got together with the headman of that village and formalized the boundary between the two villages along the divide of hills, stating that any subsequent violation of the boundary would result in a request for a gong as a fine.

During this time, the social organization of Marudu and the relationship of the people of Marudu to their territory were also undergoing change. At the time of the coming of the British, the people of Marudu had four main localities in which they cut their swiddens. These were situated around one large
river, the Marudu River, two small streams flowing into the same estuary as the Marudu River, and a small stream draining the other side of a divide of hills in the upper reaches of the Marudu drainage area. At that time the people of Marudu moved from one to the other of these areas as the jungle was used up in swiddens, sometimes splitting up into two or more longhouses occupying two or more of the four locations and at other times coming together to occupy one residential area.

As time went on, each of these three areas based around one of the small streams in Marudu territory developed its own permanent hamlet derived mainly from Marudu families. Instead of moving from area to area within the larger Marudu territory, these hamlets restricted their movements, their swidden cycle, and their longhouse locations to the drainage area around these streams. Two of these three hamlets have completed their split-off from Marudu into new villages. They have established boundaries between themselves and Marudu and have their own headmen. One of the factors in such splitting off of hamlets into villages is the desire of the informal leader of a hamlet to be recognized by the Government as a full-fledged headman.

The third hamlet, Botong, is in the final stages of the split-off. The headman of this new village was established as an assistant to the headman of Marudu, but he has been showing more independence as he has become accustomed to his responsibilities. Previously, families resident in the Marudu
River valley used to cross over the dividing hill to the drainage area of the small stream around which the new village of Botong is constituted to cut their swiddens without changing their residence. It is within a short hour's walk of the Marudu River. However, now the headman of the new village is demanding that all who want to cut their swiddens in his territory should join on to his longhouse. As yet, there is no recognized boundary between the villages of Botong and Marudu, but it is generally felt that if there were one it would follow the divide of the hills.

The events which led up to the establishment of two headmen for Marudu show similar processes. At one point in the 1930's the inhabitants of Marudu were split up into two hamlets, one called Limau in the upper reaches of the drainage area of the Marudu River and one in the area where the new village Botong is being established. The headman of Marudu resident in Botong did not want to make the trip to the hamlet Limau -- a distance of five or six miles -- to arbitrate in disputes, and so another headman was appointed for that hamlet. At this point the hamlet in the upper reaches of the Marudu drainage could have split-off and established themselves as a separate village. However, shortly after this, the headman of Marudu and his companions at the hamlet Botong moved back into the middle area of the Marudu River drainage where he was joined by almost all the domestic families resident in Marudu. Shortly, thereafter, the
Japanese war started and this hamlet broke up. At that time domestic families by ones and twos built small houses in the jungle where they hid for six months to a year. As they came out of hiding, longhouses were built in several areas including Limou at the upper end of the Marudu drainage area, which since that time has not been completely vacated. A nucleus of families have remained in the area, and this hamlet is again tending to split off from the rest of Marudu, although the second headman and his successors have never returned to that area to build apartments. This tendency to split off is shown, however, by the fact that recently this hamlet has held a ceremony which is usually held only for a village and which defines the territory of the village by not allowing outsiders to trespass on its territory for fifteen days. One of the reasons that this hamlet could do this is that it is located the furthest upstream and none of the members of other hamlets in Marudu have to cross its territory to get down to the Marudu River estuary where the Coastal Malay each week come ashore to trade fish for agricultural produce.

The hamlet Botong on the small stream emptying into the estuary of the Marudu River was reoccupied by a few families in the early 1950's and has since then, as described earlier, been in the process of splitting off from Marudu.

With but one exception there have been consistently two headmen for Marudu since that time when both Botong and the area
in the upper drainage region of Marudu were occupied. This is partially explainable by the fact that Marudu is still one of the largest villages and the mediation of disputes for all the resident families is almost too much for one headman to do alone and still continue his swidden work.

However, about sixteen years prior to our arrival, one of the two headmen had died and no replacement was immediately appointed. At that time the headman of a near-by village moved to Marudu to marry a widow living there. He relinquished the headmanship of his former village and took the place of the deceased headman of Marudu. Previously, he and about twenty of his followers had moved from their original village to Lotong, a village close to Marudu, where they joined the inhabitants there. At Lotong, during that time, there were also two headmen, the old headman and the one who had just moved in with his followers. When this latter headman married into Marudu and moved there, however, he brought none of his original followers with him.

These various processes which have been operating in the Rungus area in the development of villages is reflected in the statements of the Rungus as to what constitutes a village. A village, it is stated, includes the land, the people, and the water. One term of reference for all the members of one village is /sangkabavangan/. The prefix /sang-/- refers to 'all the members of one...' and /-kabavangan/ is derived from /bavang/ 'river' and can best be translated as 'drainage area'.
However, a village is not just a territory defined by a drainage area, nor is it just the territory in which its resident families farm. It is also where there are 'lots of kin' gathered together, 'where there are fruit trees', where people 'visit each other frequently', 'where people want to settle their disputes together', 'where a set of kin wander about', 'where people want to be really friends and companions', 'where spirit mediums learn from each other', 'where there are no hills in-between', and where there is a 'common adat', 'a common path', and 'a common marketplace'. This is the village.

Thus, a village is defined in terms of a social grouping and its relationship to its land. Since this social grouping is always undergoing membership changes through the splitting off of segments and the coalescing of them again, through new members joining and old ones leaving, and as this relationship to the land is also constantly changing through a process of splitting up of larger areas into smaller ones -- at least since the end of raiding and looting -- the village is not a stable unit in either time or space. It is constantly in flux. This is illustrated by the method in which villages get their names.

A village with one longhouse or hamlet takes its name from the name of the locality in the village territory that the hamlet or longhouse is situated in. Thus, whenever the longhouse or hamlet members move to a new location in their territory, the
village is renamed after this new location. In those villages where two or more hamlets have developed rather permanent residents, however, the name of the village tends to follow the name of the major river which drains the territory as in the case with Marudu village.

A number of factors have brought about the increased pressure on the land, which has resulted in the larger villages breaking down into smaller ones, in the establishment of explicit boundary lines, and in the destruction of the primary jungle except in reserve areas such as exist in Marudu.

First of all, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the British Government imported large numbers of contract Chinese to serve as laborers on the tobacco plantations in the Kudat area. When their period of service expired, they took up land around the town of Kudat and at the foot of Marudu Bay. They established shops around the District at the end of the navigable positions of the small rivers and streams, and wherever they set up shopkeeping, they also took up land to plant rice and eventually coconuts.

Secondly, the Coastal Malay groups, prior to the arrival of the British, did not cut swiddens. Since then, however, they have been taking up land in increasing amounts to cultivate rice and plant coconuts. In addition to the actual loss of areas of cultivation, the Rungus population has been increasing. While they have not taken advantage of the hospitals of the Colony
to any major extent, the British Government has prevented the outbreak of any large scale epidemics.

Although these are the factors operating today to contribute to a shortage of land, pressure on the land was also recognized at an early date, prior to the mass innoculations for smallpox, for instance, and prior to any large loss of land to the Chinese and Coastal Malay. What were the forces which could have been operating at the time of the British assumption of power to bring about the increased pressure on the land which better medical facilities and Chinese and Coastal Malay colonization only accelerated?

The cessation of hostilities between Dusun groups probably contributed heavily to an increase in population among the Rungus. This may have been the result of the interjection of Malay power in the area, although there is no direct evidence of the Coastal Malay chieftains having stopped hostilities between Dusun groups. In fact, they themselves were engaged in considerable hostilities up and down the coast in their piracy. However, the Marudu headmen have stated that prior to the British the land was 'owned' by Serip Usman and that the Rungus headmen were appointed by the various serips and sultans resident in neighboring Malay villages. Disputes between headmen of villages which were not reconciled at the village level were taken to these Serips and Sultans for arbitration.

Possibly with the cessation of hostilities, and certainly after the imposition of Pax Britannica, trade flourished.
Traders and goods could move about with greater security from piracy after the arrival of the British, and a greater market for the agricultural produce of the Rungus may have developed. It has been stated that in the distant past there were times when the Rungus had so much rice that they poured the excess out on the ground. Therefore, provided with a market for their rice, the Rungus may have cut as large swiddens as they could manage in order to harvest rice beyond their immediate needs for purposes of trading. This would result in larger areas for swiddens per family.

All these factors added up to more people in a smaller territory with a demand for larger areas for their swiddens. With no longer the need to gather together into large village longhouses for protection and with the territories of villages becoming overpopulated, subsections of village territories, formerly occupied only intermittently when the village cut their swiddens in the area, have become occupied by a relatively permanent residential nucleus. In time, these hamlets tend to split off and form new villages with a smaller territorial base.

Furthermore, under this pressure on the land, boundaries between villages, formerly established in an imprecise way by convention through usage, became formally established with more precision by the actions of the headmen. Later the Government, in conjunction with village headmen, set exact boundaries between villages whose boundaries had never been precisely delineated,
and between hamlets of one village splitting off from the original village, in order to minimize disputes.

The cessation of fear of attacks had other ramifications in the village social organization, counteracting the shortage of land in the development of the jural personality of the village.

In the idealized past, a village consisted of one longhouse, it is stated. There were no other hamlets in the village or other longhouses in the one hamlet. This idealized conception of a village has not been realized as far as we were able to ascertain in the last thirty or forty years, if even it was ever realized completely.* In fact, there may have always been multiple longhouses in a village arising just from the fact of the old one decaying and a new one being built as families left the old. Also, in the story of how another village came and joined Marudu prior to the cessation of hostilities, the village moving in did not join on the already existing longhouse there, but occupied another hamlet.

Nevertheless, in the distant past of Marudu, there were certainly fewer longhouses containing more of the population, and at certain times the whole village probably did unite into one longhouse, or perhaps two, but in the same hamlet. The utopian value of one longhouse -- one village persists today, and reflections of this value are shown in the statements and

*Rutter, 1922, in writing about his experience in 1913 and thereafter in the Kudat Peninsula, states that two or three longhouses, more rarely one, contained the whole community.
attitudes of the Rungus towards the village and its territory. In conjunction with this is the belief that in the past there was also more co-operation and mutual aid between domestic families in the longhouse than now exists. A whole longhouse would cut its swiddens in the same area, it is stated, so that there was one continuous area under cultivation, rather than splitting up as today into groups of less than longhouse size.

It is also felt that in the days when the fear of attack brought the village members into one longhouse and there was closer co-operation between families, the village was able to achieve greater unanimity of decision and more frequent corporate action.

However, in opposition to these ideals of one longhouse — one village, greater mutual aid and co-operation and more frequent corporate action are the individualistic interests of the domestic family. When protection against sacking and headhunting was paramount, it was more important for all the village's domestic families to subordinate their private interests to those of the larger group. In terms of survival it was necessary to live together in a large longhouse and work together in large labor exchange groups. Since that time, however, the satisfaction of the immediate interests of the domestic family has loomed more important than that of the community.

The domestic family is a very individualistic unit in its economic pursuits and very jealous of any intrusion on its boundaries. A wife may complain to her husband bitterly if he
spends a couple of days helping his parental family rather than tending to the business of his own family. As we have seen in the last chapter, living in a longhouse entails a multitude of ritual obligations to one's fellow longhouse families, and the larger the longhouse, the more frequent that a domestic family is caught in a web of ritual obligations and unable to follow its own purely economic interests.

Furthermore, the longhouse of today serves no major purpose in the society. It has been said by informants that the longhouse is a source of refuge when in trouble, but when things are going well, people do not like to join a longhouse. The longhouse at present serves only as a reservoir of mutual aid and help in time of trouble and provides a source of companionship particularly for the women tending their children while the rest of their family is in the fields. Also, it is felt that if one lives in the longhouse there will be less chance of the rogon from the primary jungle coming and actually eating you, they being different from the ordinary rogon who are concerned primarily with souls. However, there has been less of this, it is stated, since the primary jungle has become so limited in its extent.

Consequently, as the private interests of the family in their economic pursuits emerge as more important than the interest of the community, as the need for interdependency of the village members lessens, the longhouse is losing its importance in Rungus
society. It has become generally smaller and there has been talk of abandoning it altogether.*

The pull exerted by the self-interests of the domestic family against the give and take necessitated by a close interdependency of domestic families in the village, the jealousy with which the family guards its borders, and its distrust of other families is reflected in the ritual activities of the family. It is feared that the family's rice spirits will be lured away from its swiddens by the magic of other families, and there are ritual actions to mullify this or bring the rice spirits back home again if they have already been lured away. A gong being sold must have a bit of its holding rope removed and kept or the soul of the gong will become angry with the seller. All ritual knowledge is guarded with extreme care, and frequently children are not told bits of ritual knowledge for fear that they will tell their spouses which could result in it going into another family line. If an animal is being sold, the buyer must bring his own maize to catch it with, or it is akadangan to the family selling the pig. A piece of the rope used to tie up a pig being sold and a feather from the wing of a chicken being sold must be kept or it will be akadangan.

*However, since we have left the field, we have learned that a thirty-five apartment longhouse has been brought together in Marudu, possibly in response to the uncertainties of the fighting over Malaysia. This is the largest longhouse that has been built in the last ten years or so in Marudu.
These and other examples of akadangan and orintadan of the family described in Chapter Five illustrate that the family considers that its mystical power is in constant threat of being usurped by outsiders. The loss of this power or the fear of the loss can be nullified by a ceremony of blooding the family's dapu and offering a pig to the deity in charge of the souls of dapu which will enable the family to again accumulate dapu. This ceremony also nullifies the contagion to the family from associating with anyone who has engaged in illicit intercourse, the 'heat' from which is also inimicable to the souls of dapu.

The relative strength of the pull of the family's private interests in opposition to the interests of the village is, however, never stable. At times there arise individuals who are able to organize families into larger longhouse structures and motivate them to subordinate their interests to those of the village; at other times, the pull of family interests wins out, which causes an ebb and flow in village social organization. However, the long term trend has been towards the ascendency of family interests, and it has become harder to organize any large social unit such as a village into joint action. This has tended to work against the evolution of the jural personality of the village towards a more developed state which began in response to the shortage of land.

The final blow to the evolution of the jural personality of the Rungus village was delivered about five years ago when the Government started making a concerted effort to get the
Rungus to take up individual title to land. The effects of this on the jural system of the Rungus will be discussed in the next chapter.

**Village Size**

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 present an estimate of the size of villages among the Rungus. As will be seen in Table 7.1, the villages of mixed Dusun speaking groups including Rungus inhabitants average larger than those of Rungus alone. There are both ecological and historical factors at work that have brought about this difference. First of all, the mixed villages lie towards the upper end of the Kudat Peninsula where the land is much less hilly. This permits wet rice agriculture, which has begun recently in those areas, and results in a more dense population. Secondly, in the area surrounding the town of Kudat and along the hard surfaced road that runs across the Peninsula to the west coast at Sequati, the Chinese have been buying land from the Dusun there and pushing them out. This results, I believe, in crowding into the remaining villages.

**Recruitment to and Separation From a Village**

The social organization of a village is composed for the most part of a complex web of kin, and the order of the social organization is largely that of the moral order of kinship (see Tables 6.6 and 6.10 in Chapter 6). However, ties of kinship are not a formal prerequisite for joining a village. Rights to access of village land for swiddens are not dependent on the
Table 7.1 An Estimate of the Size of the Rungus Population in 1962(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of Villages</th>
<th>Estimated Total Inhabitants</th>
<th>Mean Village Size</th>
<th>Range of Village Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kudat Peninsula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rungus villages</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4545</td>
<td>137.7</td>
<td>42-395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed villages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4063</td>
<td>184.7</td>
<td>52-352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melabong Peninsula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rungus villages</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1681</td>
<td>105.1</td>
<td>42-202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed villages</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>138.5</td>
<td>89-207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The census of all Rungus villages in the Kudat District was interrupted by the rebellion in 1962, and consequently, the above table is constructed from a number of sources including the unfinished census. Of the Rungus villages on the Kudat Peninsula, 9 are based on a head count, all done in 1962 with the exception of one done in 1960; 2 are based on the number of resident domestic families multiplied by the average size of domestic families which is derived from a census originally made of four villages; the size of the remaining 22 villages is based on the number of adult males reported under the head tax rolls per village corrected by a multiplier of the average number of dependants (4.7) per adult male which was derived from a census of two villages at two points in time during a three-year period. Data could not be reconstructed for two villages. Mixed villages refer to those villages which are inhabited by both Rungus and other Dusun speaking groups such as Nulu, Gonsomon, etc. Unfortunately it was impossible to determine the number of Rungus inhabitants in each of these mixed villages. It is becoming increasingly popular to report to the outsiders that one is a Rungus when in fact the person is a member of another Dusun speaking group. These mixed villages, with respect to the Kudat Peninsula, are found only at the edges of the area occupied by the Rungus.

For the Melobong Peninsula, the data are much more circumspect as we never were able to visit this area. Our data are derived from a list of Rungus villages compiled by our census taker just prior to the rebellion. Its accuracy cannot be ascertained at present, but since the Government Census only reports Dusun speakers, this estimate of the Rungus on the opposite peninsula from Kudat is worth including. Seven Rungus villages on this Peninsula were estimated for size on the basis of number of resident domestic families; 9 are based on number of adults reported in the head tax rolls; one is unreported due to lack of data. For mixed villages, four are based on head tax rolls and four are unreported due to lack of data. Two other mixed villages at the base of Marudu Bay are also not included for lack of data.
Table 7.2 Distribution of Village Size Among the Rungus\(^{(a)}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of People</th>
<th>Kudat Peninsula</th>
<th>Melabong Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rungus</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-60</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-100</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-120</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121-140</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141-160</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161-180</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181-200</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-220</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221-240</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241-260</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261-280</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281-300</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301-320</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321-340</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341-360</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361-380</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381-400</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(a)}\) For explanation of source of data see Footnote (a), Table 7.1.
establishment of any kinship ties and can be exercised by any resident of the village. Nevertheless, rarely does a family join a village without there being some close tie of kinship. Without such ties, it is difficult to mobilize support in disputes and in times of difficulty, and without ties of kinship, access to fruit trees is limited. Access to fruit trees is dependent on establishing a kin link to the original planter if the planter has devolved the tree on all his children rather than on one child. This means that thereafter the rights over that tree will descend bilaterally to all descendants.

In Marudu, there has been only one case of a family moving in with no kin ties, and after a year it returned to its former village as, it was stated, the members missed their kin.

The only rule that exists for joining a village, stated the headmen, is that the individual desiring to move notify the headman of the village and secure his approval. Headmen state that they will not give approval for a move to a family which includes known fornicators, thieves, or troublemakers. However, as with all decisions of the headmen, there are no formal sanctions in Rungus society to support their decisions.

For instance, in the hamlet where we resided, a young man seduced the wife of the headman's brother-in-law. In the negotiations that followed, it was agreed that the culprit who quickly married into another village was to reside there to prevent a re-occurrence of the delict, to minimize the fine, and to mollify
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method of Recruitment</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Formed by marriage of resident males and females</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formed by marriage of resident female to non-resident male</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formed by marriage of resident male to non-resident female</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved in after formation <em>(b)</em></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>73</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(a)* Based on 1960 census of Marudu. Three families were removed because the data are unreliable.

*(b)* Of those moved in after formation, five were originally founded in Marudu either by the marriage of two resident founders or the marriage of a resident female to a non-resident male. Subsequently, they moved to other villages and then returned to Marudu at a later date.
the injured husband. However, shortly after the culprit's marriage, he returned to his old apartment in the longhouse bringing his new wife. No permission was requested from the headman to return. The culprit was only the son of a deceased first cousin, and yet no action was taken against him. Instead the headman's brother-in-law, the injured party, moved his family to another hamlet in Marudu even though he had been in the longhouse of the headman for less than a year.

The only sanction operating against joining a village of your choice is the refusal of the members of the longhouse that you wish to join to agree definitely to come and help you move. In the case above, the culprit already had an apartment in the longhouse from which his property had never been removed, so he was not forced to test this final sanction of a longhouse as to joining.

Separation from a village requires no prior permission whatever.

Table 7.3 gives for a sample of domestic families in Marudu the method by which they joined a village, i.e. by the formation of a new domestic family through the marriage of two founders already resident in the village, by formation through a marriage with one founder moving into the village, and by a domestic family moving into the village.

As this table shows a large percentage of the families in Marudu have joined by moving in. A high rate of turnover of families in a village is characteristic of Rungus village social
Table 7.4  Movement In and Out of Head-Tax Payers in A Sample of Rungus Villages on the Kudat Peninsula During a Two-Year Period: 1961-1962(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village Number</th>
<th>No. of Moves</th>
<th>Total Moves</th>
<th>Mean No. of Head-Tax Payers</th>
<th>Percentage Turnover Per Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In</td>
<td>Out</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>71.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>678.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) This table is based on the number of moves in or out of a village of adult males paying the head-tax and is taken from the head-tax rolls of the Kudat District. Moves 'In' and 'Out' as well as 'Total Moves' are for a two-year period from 1960 to 1961 and from 1961 to 1962. The average number of head-tax payers is an average of: the number of payers at the beginning of the 1960 period; the number registered in 1961; and the final number registered in 1962, the end of the period. The percentage turnover per year is based on the total moves for the period to average number of payers registered and divided by two. As there is a fairly constant proportion of head-tax payers to the total membership of a village, this table not only gives turnover of head-tax payers but also gives a close estimate of the percentage of total turnover in a village.
organization. For instance, during the two-and-a-half-year period between our two censuses of Marudu, 11 families moved out and 4 moved in with an average of 74 families resident in the village during this period.

Table 7.4 gives for a sample of twenty villages on the Kudat Peninsula the turnover of personnel in the villages.

The major reasons given for moving have already been dealt with: to be with the male founder's family for a period of time; to be with other relatives in other villages; to move away from a dispute; to find a village which is 'cooler', i.e. not causing the family so much illness; to find a village where one has more success in agriculture and the accumulation of property; and to find better land. As pointed out in the last chapter, this last explanation is frequently given as a cover for a more personal reason which if known might cause bad feelings and might perhaps lead to a suit.

However, this high rate of turnover is also related to the fact that rights to land are not inherited but are acquired on residence in a village. There is no question that through long residence a family gets to know the village territory better and learns where the best soils are to be found for their swiddens. On the other hand, this is not a major disadvantage as on moving to a new village kin there help the newcomer in locating good swidden areas within the village territory.

The only other apparent disadvantage is the loss of rights over fruit trees. Fruit trees take some time to mature, and
with constant movement a family does not develop the advantage of ownership of these. However, movement to a village where kin of either founder have lived gives the moving family the opportunity to establish rights over the fruit of trees planted there by an ancestor. Furthermore, fruit is widely shared within a longhouse, and consequently, a family moving does not suffer any real disadvantage in the loss of availability of fruit.

In conclusion, this high rate of turnover may also be related to the nature of the jural personality of the village. In comparison to the jural personality of the family, the jural personality of the village is very little developed. That is, few rights and duties lie with the village as a jural unit, and consequently, there is little advantage in maintaining over any period of time membership in any one village.

Headmen of the Rungus Villages

Prior to the arrival of the British, it is stated by Rungus informants, the headmen of the Rungus villages were appointed by the 'serips' and 'sultans' of the near-by villages of the Coastal Malay. The only data that exist on these headmen come from the oral tradition of the Rungus and this is very scanty.

It appears that the headmen prior to the British were men who were wealthy, skilled in the arbitration of disputes, and knowledgeable in the Rungus customary law. There is no doubt that some of these individuals, if not all, also had guardian spirits obtained by ordeal which made them invincible in battle
and argument. It is alleged that the wealth of these individuals was partially built up through luring others into disputes with them which they knew could be won and which entailed a fine of a piece of brassware.

In addition, it appears that headmen of those days were more aggressive and courageous than the average Rungus, as one of the functions of a headman, as well as one of the reasons an individual became headman, was that he was able to deal with outsiders, primarily the Coastal Malay. The Rungus were generally quite reluctant to visit the coastal areas because of the fear of piracy and of being kidnapped by the Coastal Malay, particularly the Illanun and various groups from the Philippines. However, the major sources of cloth, brassware, jars, gongs, and other goods were through the friendly Coastal Malay groups such as the Bajau. These groups came up the mouths of the various rivers of the Kudat coast to trade fish as well as *dapu* for the agricultural products of the Rungus. However, one of the major trade centers in the area was at Labuan. To trade at Labuan required an extended sail at the risk of piracy down the coast in collaboration with friendly Coastal Malay who would transport the seller's agricultural produce.

What sanctions to enforce social control were available to these pre-British headmen is not known. However, we can surmise that many of the sanctions operating today operated then.

First of all, the headmen could refuse to mediate in the
disputes of individuals who rejected their authority, or to witness their transactions and verbal contracts. They could also refuse to help or mobilize help for these individuals. But unlike the headmen of today, they were able in extremity to organize a group of men to beat the recalcitrant individual, and presumably, if they had guardian spirits, there was always the threat of physical force from the headmen himself.

However, these sanctions were largely informal sanctions. The position of the headmen then, as well as today, involved no formal authority, and consequently, no formal sanctions were available to him. The success of a headman depended and still does depend primarily on his personal qualities and his ability to influence others.

This lack of formal authority is shown by the fact that there were, and are, no indigenous symbols of office. There are no village resources such as land, fruit trees or communal labor set aside for the office of headman. The headman receives no payment for his services as witness or arbitrator, except in those cases where he has been put into ritual jeopardy from the arbitration of a case of sexual offense. He must then receive a piece of brassware to ward off the deleterious effects of being exposed to the 'heat' of the delict.

Consequently, no formalized economic sanctions were available to the headman then, nor are any today. It was, and still is, just as necessary for him as for his fellow villagers to work in the swiddens to maintain his family.
In addition, there were, and are, no religious functions which go with the office of headman with respect to the village. Consequently, there are no formal ritual sanctions available to the office. Finally, as far back as we have been able to reconstruct the history of the office of the headman, the office did not involve any special functions in organizing warfare.

Prior to the arrival of the British, the arbitrary use of power or force, or the arbitrary accession to power by the headman, was curtailed by several factors. First of all, the Rungus villages were small and the social order in them was primarily based on the moral order of kinship. Therefore, the headman in the performance of his office was also dealing with close kin. Secondly, for purposes of prestige and extending his influence beyond his village, as well as formerly to discourage raiding, the headman tried to build up as large a following as possible. Since any village member not liking the authority of the headman could move to another village, the only means that the headman had at his disposal for building up a large following was to smooth over any difficulties between village members before they were blown up into disputes, and, if they were, to mediate the disputes quickly and fairly before they got out of hand.

The Rungus headmen are now appointed by the District Officer on the recommendation of the Native Chiefs. The Government does
Table 7.5  A Sample of Succession to Headmanship of Rungus Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Succession Type</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Succession from headman to son:</td>
<td>10 cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession from headman to grandson:</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession from headman to brother:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession from headman to son-in-law:</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession from headman to brother-in-law:(a)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession from headman to sister's son:</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession from headman to relative further distant from headman than the above:</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession from headman to a non-relative:</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) In these cases of succession to brother-in-law, two involved a brother-in-law who was also a son of the individual who was headman prior to the brother-in-law. In other words, the headmanship went first to a son-in-law and then to a son of the original headman.
not feel that these headmen should be hereditary but instead wants individuals who would best represent the village; in other words, those chosen by consensus in the village. However, it is the feeling of headmen, as well as other Rungus, that the headmanship should be kept in the same descent line, provided that qualified individuals are available who know the Rungus customary law and who are skilled in arbitration. The Native Chiefs above the headmen, who are for the most part Coastal Malay, also concur in this opinion. This does not mean that a son-in-law of the former headman should not hold office. On the contrary, it is felt that it is proper for a son-in-law to take the position of headmanship and hold it for later representatives of the descent line if the present sons of the former headman are too young, lack the requisite knowledge of the adat, or have no skill in arbitration.

Table 7.5 gives a sample of succession to headmanships of Rungus villages in the Kudat Peninsula.

It is difficult to induce individuals with the proper qualifications to take the position of headman. They are afraid of getting into trouble due to their lack of knowledge of the Government procedures or the Malay language.

As the language of the Government is Malay, knowledge of Malay, rather than wealth, in addition to skill in arbitration and knowledge of the Rungus adat, are the prime prerequisites for the position of village headmen today. In the pre-British
period, the Coastal Malay dealt with the Rungus in their own language.

The functions of the headmen have changed little since the pre-British period. However, in addition to carrying out the usual duties of settling disputes and acting as witnesses, the headmen are now required to sign any application for individual title to land in their village area and any application for a gun.

The only compensation they receive for their duties is a yearly payment of anywhere from $5.00 to $20.00 (Malay).

The sanctions available to the headmen are still informal and include all the former ones with the exception that physical force can no longer be used. In addition, new ones are now available. Disputes which they refuse to settle have to go to the Government and few Rungus, other than headmen, are skilled enough in Malay or knowledgeable enough in Government procedure to face this. Headmen can also refuse to sign land or gun applications. However, because the headman is still only primus inter pares and as such must face the mutual obligations of kinship within the village as well as those based on the social, economic, and ritual interdependency of village members, and because the wronged village members can always leave the village, the exercise of arbitrary power is curtailed.

Rights of Village Residents With Respect to Land

Rights to cultivate swiddens in the village territory lie
with the residents of that village. Non-residents may not cultivate swiddens without the consent of its headman.

Each year, shortly after the last year's rice crop has been harvested and threshed, the male founders of the various domestic families, either singly or in groups, go out to locate new swidden areas for their families for the next agricultural season. When a satisfactory area has been found, each founder marks his swidden boundaries with a few cuts of his parang and then informally notifies his fellow longhouse members or the members of the longhouse nearest his new swidden, if he has not picked an area close by his own longhouse, of the location of his swidden.

Rights to use this swidden area lie with the cultivator until his last crops are harvested. Then they revert back to the control of the village or into what has been called in Indonesia the 'area of disposal' of the village (ter Haar, 1945). If the cultivator has planted manioc, the period of use may last for three or four years until the last manioc has been harvested. Among the Rungus, no rights over secondary jungle lie in the hands of the family who originally cleared the area, unlike the Iban and Land Dayak systems of land tenure.

Among the Iban, prior use rights over any secondary jungle area lie, at least in theory, 'in perpetuity' with the bilek family, or longhouse apartment, which originally cleared the area, or for so long as this bilek and its partitioned sections
Table 7.6 The Use of Secondary Jungle by the Previous Cultivators During the Agricultural Season of 1981 in Marudu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of families</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Used secondary jungle cultivated by some other family in the previous cycle:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Used secondary jungle cultivated by the same family in the previous cycle:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
are resident in the village territory. When they move away, the area becomes a free good again, available to any resident member of the village (Freeman, 1955: 20-26). Among the Land Dayak rights in perpetuity over land lie with the descendants of the original cultivator bilaterally, and may be used by these descendants apparently as long as they are resident in the village territory (Geddes, 1954: 59-63).

In contrast to this, the Rungus village holds residual rights over the land within its territory, and use rights over any portion of this area lie with resident domestic families. Cessation of use with the removal of the last crops results in the area reverting back into the village reserve. I use the term village reserve as 'the area of disposal' suggests that the village is actively distributing land among the resident domestic families, which is not the case among the Rungus. The village, as a social and jural unit, is silent as to the allocation of swidden areas among its resident families and only becomes involved when disputes over areas are brought before the headman and the village council of male founders of domestic families for settlement. Use rights over any area previously cut and abandoned lie dormant until any village member wants to activate them again by cutting a swidden. Table 7.6 illustrates this lack of continuity of possession over an area by the original cultivator or his descendants.

There are no restrictions on the size of swidden that a
family can cut nor are any rights to the village territory lost through perpetration of a delict. Prior rights to the jungle surrounding the swiddens or lying above the swidden area do not lie with the cultivator, as is the case among the Iban.

Certain areas in the village reserve are not open to cultivation. Scattered throughout a village's territory lie areas which are believed to be inhabited by various rogon. These may be cut by individuals wanting mature jungle for their swiddens, but only at the risk of incurring the anger of the resident rogon which is manifested by the illness of a member of the family cutting the swidden. Cemetery areas may also not be cut for a swidden or burned over by an escaped swidden fire. If this happens, the culprit is sued by the nearest kin of those buried in the area. Finally, groves of fruit trees may also not be destroyed by an individual cutting his swidden on the penalty of suit for restitution by the former owner or owners.

One type of grove occupied by rogon may not be cut for a swidden because of the effect it would have on the village territory, and consequently, it falls under the jurisdiction of the village, which is not the case with the other areas. This grove is the location where a human sacrifice has taken place. It is felt that all the 'bad' which has been removed from the village territory by the human sacrifice will be let out again by destroying this sacred grove, and it will spread in an ever widening circle.
Other Rights of Residents

Residents of a village have the right to collect any of the produce of the jungle such as bamboo, wild vegetables, fish, birds, animals, the fruit of unowned or uncared-for fruit trees, honey from nests in unowned trees, rattan materials for housing or basketry, and the bark of trees in the virgin jungle for graneries. They also have the right to plant fruit trees in any area of the jungle that they wish, so long as they are not planted where they are particularly vulnerable to destruction by swidden fires. In such cases, if they are destroyed by swidden fires, the planter cannot sue to recover damages. Consequently, fruit trees are most frequently planted near cemeteries and sacred groves.

A village resident may use any part of the jungle not in use for swiddens for his livestock to forage, and there are no restrictions on the location of housing structures.

Non-residents may use the paths in the village area as long as they are not closed off to use by non-residents due to a village ceremony. Non-residents may also take whatever wild produce they desire from the jungle of a village as they pass through, such as fruit and fish, but they may not gather it for sale. However, it was said that no cases of this have occurred and so the exact action that would be taken by the headmen is not known.

There are no restrictions on hunting by non-members in a village territory even following a village ceremony, after the
period has ended during which non-residents may not enter, as it is considered an advantage to have the various wild animals which may destroy swiddens killed.

However, non-residents may not cut firewood in a village territory, as it would be akadangan. This, of course, seldom happens as the firewood is usually cut near the longhouse where it is going to be used. In addition, it is considered akadangan to a village if non-residents cut any materials for field houses or any other use in the village territory. In one case where rattan was cut in another village area, the culprit was fined a chicken by the headman who took possession of it personally.

However, the cutting of materials for a longhouse apartment in the area of another village is considered not akadangan, but a ritual delict against the rogon labut. That is, when housing materials have been cut by a non-resident, it is not a delict against the village but against the nearest housing structure. It is up to that longhouse to bring suit for a pig to sacrifice to labut. The labut, otherwise, will take punitive action against that housing structure as they had come to expect an apartment to be built on to it when the materials for an apartment were cut near-by.

Collection of materials such as bark for graneries from the virgin jungle area of the village territory is, however, considered a delict against the village. In such a case the culprit must pay a chicken to the headman.
Non-residents are also not allowed, without the permission of the headmen, to plant fruit trees in a village territory. It is explained that a non-resident might want to plant a fruit tree near to an already existing grove to try and establish rights over the whole grove or might attempt to establish rights over the land on which he had planted the fruit trees, now that the Government is trying to induce the Rungus to file for individual title to land. Consequently, to avoid the possibility of disputes, non-residents are not given permission to plant such fruit trees.

Ceremonies and Rituals for the Village

Ceremonies for the village are essentially fertility and renewal ceremonies. The Rungus refer to these as mamasi do pomogunan. Mamasi may be translated as 'to renew' or 'to restore'. Pomogunan, however, is very difficult to translate into English so as to confer the Rungus meaning. Pomogunan is used to refer to any geographical area from the small, named localities in a village area, the village itself, to towns, and even to the world, including as well the residents of such an area. It is also used to refer to all natural phenomena.

In this case, mamasi do pomogunan refers to ceremonies which 'restore the village' or perhaps more accurately, ceremonies which 'restore the territorial unit', and this includes both the physical and human aspects of the area involved. I use the term 'territorial unit' because these ceremonies are
also performed by hamlets, when they are in an isolated position from the rest of the village such that the exclusion of their territory to entrance does not interfere with any major routes of travel for the rest of the village members. Thus, hamlets at the headwaters of a drainage system, or otherwise isolated, and which are in the process of splitting off and forming their own village, are most likely to engage in these ceremonies for the village.

The important fact of the three village renewal ceremonies is that, in addition to restoring the fertility of an area, they establish physical boundaries to this unit by restricting entrance to the village area for a period of time. However, notwithstanding the fact that these ceremonies are for the village social unit, in none of these ceremonies does the domestic family completely merge with or disappear into the larger social unit. In each case, at the end of the ceremonies the ritual corporate-ness of the domestic family is reasserted. Thus, one of the interesting features of Rungus social organization is that the domestic family never relinquishes its jural and ritual separateness. It never merges completely into a larger group as that group engages in a corporate ritual but retains, in the final analysis, its own corporate identity.

The Mamantok Sarapung Ceremony. The tenor of the manantok sarapung ceremony seems exotic and strangely out of place with the usual reserve of Rungus society and the insoluble corporate identity of the domestic family. It has never been performed
in the area of Marudu village, but it has primarily been a ceremony of one of the villages on the western side of the Kudat Peninsula where it has been held four times according to the traditions of that village, once within the last ten years.* On the last occasion it was held by only one of the two longhouses in the village. However, since the Rungus class it as a mamasi do pomogunan and since it increases the fertility of a territorial unit, it is essentially a ceremony for the village. Therefore, we shall deal with it here.

One of the other interesting features of this ceremony is that, more than any other village ceremony, it emphasizes the ritual corporateness of the longhouse structure itself and appears to be an echo from the days of hostilities when, more likely than not, the village was composed of only one longhouse.

The manantok sarapung, according to my informant, is primarily for the rice spirits. However, the major ceremony for the rusod must also be held by all the member apartments of the longhouse holding the ceremony following the manantok sarapung. Consequently, some families may not have enough pigs to meet all the sacrifices. These families are either helped with their expenses by other members of the longhouse or, if they still refuse to join in, they must leave the longhouse.

*Our data comes from a widower who has recently married into Marudu and who was the focal figure in the organization of the last ceremony. However, since the data do not come from a spirit medium of the village who would know all the chants and adat, our data are not as full as we would like.
Rice wine is made first at the apartment of the monginan of the longhouse. The jar rests there while it is ageing, and on the seventh day following its making, everyone in the longhouse comes and drinks out of it with a 'straw' of bamboo until it is all consumed. The rest of the apartments then prepare rice wine themselves and begin to make the necessary preparations for the ceremony which formally begins a month later.

Each apartment in the longhouse contributes rice for the purchase of a pig to be sacrificed. Then, a post is cut in the forest about six inches in diameter and a yard long. The bottom end is cut into a point so that it can be stuck into the ground. It is, thus, a large copy of the center post of the lotong, the ceremonial plot in the swiddens for the rice spirits.

A short way from the top of this post, for decoration, a wide strip of bark is removed with the edges cut in a dentate design. Four sticks are then tied to the top of the post, two running one way on opposite sides of the post and two crossing over them. These are decorated with flowers, and, finally, a fine, old piece of cloth (/sandai/) is thrown over the top.

The post is put into the ground, and the pig is tied down beside it. As the spirit medium chants over the pig, the post is tilted towards the east and then swung towards the west seven times with each time ending in a shout by all the assembled men. This sweeping of the post towards the west is to symbolize the departure of all the pests and disease of the swiddens as they follow the direction the post points. It is stated that wild
pigs, worms, monkeys, and the like will no longer attack the swidden crops and that all the plants and livestock will flourish. Furthermore, as the post is straightened up, so too will the fortune of all 'stand up straight again'.

Following the chanting, the pig is killed and its blood is put on the post. Everyone also puts their hands in the blood to make them 'cool' so that their crops will thrive. Parents annoint with the pig's blood the hands of children too young to do it for themselves. Then, each apartment takes a bit of the rattan shavings that were dipped in the pig's blood for blooding the post. Following the ceremony these pieces are planted in the lotong, the ritual plot of rice, of each apartment.

After the pig has been sacrificed, all the men in the longhouse grasp the post in their outstretched hands, holding it upright, and go around the longhouse seven times, ending each circle with a shout. The post is then taken into the longhouse where it is met by the spirit medium and six women with nose flutes. The men take the post down and back the length of the longhouse seven times, followed by these women who hit with their nose flutes each of the support poles of the storage area over the apartments where dapu is stored. Finally the post is placed behind the jar of rice wine at the monginan's apartment. There it remains for the rest of the ceremony.

As each individual returns to the longhouse from the sacrifice, freshly cooked, hot rice of the monginan is put on a basketry tray for them to take a handful to eat. If they find it
too hot to eat and have to drop it, they will never be successful in their swiddens or grow wealthy.

For the next three nights, the members of the longhouse sit around the post at the monginan's apartment, tell stories, and dance. After the first night, dancing may go on at any of the apartments. During the day the post is covered up, as no visitor who has come for the ceremony may see it. When it is uncovered at night, any visitor must stay inside the compartment of the apartment where he is visiting, or his rice spirits on seeing the post will become envious and remain behind. It is stated that the rice spirits really covet the sacrifice and the post; and they want to remain at the longhouse where the ceremony was held.

During the ceremony, the dance performed is a 'stick' dance in which a female dances in and out between two long rice pounding sticks held by two men and beaten together in rhythm to the gongs and drums. This dance may only be performed at the manantok sarapung ceremony or thereafter whenever there is rice wine until the longhouse is vacated. After the post has been placed, a top is spun in the fireplace of the monginan, and thereafter the children may play with tops at any time until the longhouse is vacated.

At the end of the three nights of watching over the post, the post is wrapped in a piece of bark and put into the overhead storage area of the monginan where it remains until the house falls down.
For four days (one informant said seventeen days) no stranger may arrive at the village. For three years, no seed may be sold outside the village and nothing may be taken from the jungle in the village territory by a non-resident, or the ceremony will be to no avail.

The price for the services of the spirit medium is paid for by each apartment giving her four gantang of rice.

Unlike any other ceremony for the longhouse, this ceremony expresses the ritual corporateness of the longhouse. No other ceremony establishes a long-term relationship between the longhouse as a ritual unit and members of the spirit world, i.e. the rice spirits. This relationship lasts until the longhouse is vacated. Until that time, tops may be spun and the stick dance performed. The ritual corporateness is also symbolized by the storage of the post in the apartment of the monginan.

The corporateness of the longhouse is expressed further by several actions. The monginan organizes and is the focus of the ceremony. Rice wine is first made at his apartment; the post is glorified by stories and dancing at his apartment; and the tops are first spun in his apartment. The use of one stick with shavings left on to bloody the post and the division of this among the member apartments for their own lotong also represents the corporateness of the longhouse.

However, this is not just a ceremony for the longhouse, but it is a ceremony for the longhouse - village. It symbolizes as well the ritual corporateness of the territorial unit, the
village, as the village territory is put in an enhanced ritual state. The land is delivered from the pests and diseases of the swiddens, and the crops flourish. The restrictions on the selling of seed, the taking of produce from the jungle, and entrance into the area by non-residents all illustrate that this is a ceremony to renew and restore the village and its land corporately. This enhanced ritual state continues for three years unless any of the restrictions are broken prior to that time.

In conclusion, it should also be noted that regardless of the symbolization of the longhouse-village as a corporate unit or perhaps because of it, the ritual corporateness of the domestic family at the conclusion of the ceremony is strongly reasserted. After the ceremony, each member apartment must hold the first and foremost ceremony for its rusod, the moginum ceremony. The ritual corporateness of the domestic family is also symbolized during the ceremony itself when each apartment takes a few of the rattan shavings dipped in the pig's blood for their own lotong.

The Mangambil Ceremony. The mangambil ceremony is a fertility and renewal ceremony for the village, including both the village land and the village community. It is held so that the crops and livestock will prosper and the people will no longer become ill, which will permit the accumulation of dapu. It results in the products of the jungle multiplying, and the diseases, animals, and other pests of the swidden are turned
out of the village by this ceremony.

A pig is either bought jointly by all the domestic families who join in the ceremony or raised jointly by them. This pig is sacrificed primarily to Minamangon and the spirit of the earth. Minamangon is the deity that watches over the fortune and fate of men and is also in charge of the animals of the world. The spirit of the earth herds these animals for Minamangon and pens them up for him when necessary.

Thus, the pig sacrificed to these deities is intended first to rid the village of those animals which do damage to the crops, such as monkeys, sparrows, worms, wild pigs, and wild cattle. Secondly, it is to rid the swiddens of the rogong of widowhood, which frightens the rice spirits away, and the rogong of incest, which cause the crops to wither from the 'heat' of the incest. However, part of the pig is also given to the rusod and various other rogong to rid the village of illness. To ensure success in the swiddens, the rice spirits of those engaging in the ceremony are called also to partake and are omnipresent throughout the ceremony.

When the pig is killed, a handful of rattan shavings is dipped into the blood by all the domestic families and part of it is buried in each family's ritual rice plot, the lotong, and part of it is put in with the stored rice seeds. A second handful of shavings is dipped into the pig's blood by each family to blood their dapu, chicken baskets, and their pig troughs so as cause an increase in their dapu and their livestock. Everyone
also rubs blood on their hands, and children too small to do so are bloodied by their parents.

The pig is killed on the first day of the ceremony, and the chants of the ceremony sung by the spirit mediums, sometimes with the community joining in to sing the refrains, go on for six more days. These chants tell a story of the activities of the gods and how these will result in overwhelming benefits for those who have entered the ceremony. In the story, the rice comes in a flood; every type of dapu arrives in groups; and pigs and chickens rush into the livestock pens. As the rice and dapu arrive, one of the deities tells them to enter each of the apartments of the people who have participated in the ceremony and the livestock to do likewise into their pens. Then, the wild vegetables arrive and they are told to go to the jungle around the longhouses so that people can use them for food when they run out of rice.

During the whole ceremony, there is incessant gonging which, it is stated, exhilarates the rice spirits which have been called to participate. Consequently, on the last day of the ceremony, each domestic family who entered the ceremony sacrifices a chicken on the apad of its apartment to its rice spirits to call them back home as they might have become lost sometime during the ceremony.

For fifteen days, no one may leave or enter the village territory. At the edge of the village territory along the paths leading into it a vine is strung to notify travelers that the
village has been closed off. In addition, a bit of the skin and hair of the pig is buried by the vines so that if someone ignores the warning he (or she) will have his fortune peeled off him like the pig its skin.

A number of other restrictions must be followed after the ceremony or it will be to no avail. Any fornication within three years of the ceremony will destroy its efficacy. For three years, no seed can be sold outside the village or it will be akadangan to the village; no seed can be bought from another village (it will not grow); no non-resident may cut his swidden inside the village territory or it will be akadangan; and no non-resident may take wild vegetables from the village or it will be orintadan for the village.

This ceremony illustrates the ritual corporateness of the village at several levels. First of all, the territory of the village is put into an enhanced ritual state. This is shown by the restrictions against entrance into the village territory and use of the wild products from the village. Secondly, a long-term social relationship between the village community and the spirit world is established. Fornication by village members will destroy this as it angers again the rogon placated in the ceremony. And thirdly, the relationship between the land and the members is in an enhanced ritual state, as the selling of any seed for three years is akadangan to the whole village. This reiterates the corporateness of the village community for the action of any member, as in the case of fornication, can destroy
the enhanced ritual relationship for all members of the village community. Finally, this ritual corporateness of the village has jural ramifications as, if any of the restrictions are broken, the culprit will be sued by the village for a pig to do the ceremony again.

Nevertheless, this ceremony illustrates only a weak ritual corporateness for the village as is shown by a number of factors. First of all, there is no restriction on joining or leaving the village as long as no seeds are taken away on leaving. But most importantly, non-members of the village may join in the ceremony. If several domestic families in a neighboring village want to join in, they help in the purchase of the pig and in the payment of the services of the spirit medium, which is four gantangs of rice per domestic family.

Non-members of the village who have joined in the mangambil go to the longhouse where the pig is being killed for the whole ceremony and tie off their own swiddens and apartments in their own village with vines to show that they are involved in the ceremony and its restrictions so that no one may enter these areas. For the period of three years, they also have to follow all the restrictions imposed on the members of the village holding the ceremony towards anyone who did not join in. However, they may cut swiddens in the territory of the village holding the ceremony, and buy and sell seeds to families resident in the village.
Furthermore, whole villages bordering on the 'trunk' of the ceremony, the village sacrificing the pig, may join in. In such a case, no vines are put across the path between the two villages identifying the boundary. In addition, if this year Marudu had a mangambil and the next year a village on its boundary had one, no boundary lines would be drawn for the latter ceremony. These two villages also do not have to observe any restrictions between them so that members of each can cut swiddens in each other's territory, sell seeds to each other, and the like.

The weakness of the village as a ritual entity is also shown by the infrequency by which such village ceremonies as the mangambil are held. The last mangambil for Marudu was held 25 or 30 years prior to our arrival in Marudu, and there are only three mangambil remembered as ever having been held in Marudu.

Although in the mangambil ceremony the village appears only weakly corporate in the ritual realm, it nevertheless is a corporate unit, as many of the restrictions show. Furthermore, it is this very corporateness which is used by hamlets which are trying to split off from a village and establish themselves as separate villages. Essentially a village is a grouping of people who set their own social boundaries and their relationship to a territory and then attempt to have this recognized by the rest of the society. This process is illustrated by the hamlet Limau in Marudu.
Five years prior to our arrival, the members of this hamlet wanted to hold a mangambil. They asked the rest of Marudu if they wanted to join in, and when the others refused, they held this ceremony on their own. The feeling among the rest of the residents of Marudu is that Limau has started to set itself off from the rest of the village and it will be only a matter of time before it considers itself a separate village.

While the various restrictions illustrate that the village is a ritual unit, albeit a weak one, one of the outstanding aspects of the ceremony is the reaffirmation of the ritual corporateness of the domestic family during the ceremony and at the close of it. In the mangambil, the swidden of each domestic family is bloodied, as well as its dapu and the paraphernalia of livestock raising. Finally, and most significantly, at the very end of the ceremony, each domestic family sacrifices a chicken to its rice spirits to call them home just in case they might have become lost in the excitement of the ceremony.

Thus, the ritual state of the village in this ceremony is enhanced, and the long-term relationship based on goodwill between the village and the spirit world renewed. However, this is not done at the expense of the ritual state of the domestic family.

The Managas Ceremony. The village fertility ceremony par excellence is the managas or human sacrifice. It has been held in Marudu three times in the past, the last time being sometime
between 1915 and 1918. Consequently, our data on this ceremony are very scanty and, unfortunately, based only on oral tradition.

When there has been a long drought, when the crops are withering, when the swiddens are so full of pests, such as locusts, monkeys, wild pigs, and bears that they even enter the field huts and destroy the graneries, when the livestock are not reproducing, when the village is full of sickness and there are a lot of deaths, when children are dying young and mothers are not bearing children, then it is time for a human sacrifice. Such a sacrifice, it is stated, will make the village 'cool' again, and there will be rain. It will bring back the swiddens, will cause women to conceive again, enable the village members to accumulate dapu again, make the livestock flourish, chase the pests and diseases away from the swiddens, end sickness and death, make the guardian spirits of the spirit mediums accurate in their pronouncements, and make the inhabitants of the village hard working and brave. One headman said that after such a ceremony the fruit trees in the jungle of the village were overburdened with fruit. Furthermore, it is reputed that there will be lots of fish, the rivers will not dry up, camphor will be found in the primary jungle, and the wild bees will make lots of honey.

The organization of the human sacrifice was the work of the village headman. All the domestic families of the village or group of villages, as more than one may enter the ceremony, who were going to hold the sacrifice contributed to the cost of
purchasing a human from the Coastal Malay. It is stated that
the cost was a large, fine gong, or roughly $1,000 (Malay)
today. No human was acceptable from an ethnic group which
engaged in swidden agriculture as it would be like sacrificing
one of their own people, and the sacrifice would be to no avail.
For similar reasons, during the seven days that the individual
was held in captivity, he was not permitted to eat any of the
products from the swidden.

The human was sacrificed to minamangon, first and foremost,
like in the mangambil, then to the spirit of the earth, the
rogon of incest, the rusod of the domestic families entering
the ceremony, and various other rogon. The rice spirits of the
families who had joined in were also called to partake, but we
have no evidence that at the end of the ceremony the families
involved called their rice spirits back home to their apartment
with the sacrifice of a chicken as in the mangambil.

On the day of the sacrifice, when they came for the 'big
fish' or the 'jar with two ears' as the sacrifice was frequently
referred to, the men told him all that was wrong with the village
so that he could take this 'bad' with him. He was then tied to
a tree and his throat was cut first by the headman of the village
where the sacrifice was held, followed by the headmen of the
participating villages. The blood from their swords they let
drip into their mouths. Everyone then put blood on their hands
and parents of children too small to do this for themselves did
it for them. They were not to wash the blood off until they
had eaten a bit of freshly cooked rice of the headman.

The head of the man sacrificed and his liver were removed and then cooked. Those, who dared, ate some of the brains and liver and those, who did not, just touched it to their lips and to the lips of their children. It is stated that only those who had been successful swidden cultivators and had lots of dapu did not vomit. The body was then hacked to pieces until it was completely mingled with the earth so as to blood the earth.

Pieces from the flayed leaf of the fan palm were dipped in the blood of the human sacrifice and wiped on the liver. Each family buried a piece of this leaf in their lotong and put a bit in with their stored rice seed. Another piece from the leaf of a fan palm was dipped in blood and wiped on all dapu by the owning family as well as all the family's equipment for feeding and caring for livestock.

In Marudu, it is said that the last time this ceremony was held the skull, after the skin had been removed by cooking, was put on the thighs of the spirit medium who had performed the ceremony and who had had no children. Shortly afterwards she produced a child. At another village, those women who had had no children, it is said, stepped over the skull and then the headman pressed the skull against their breasts. In this same village, the jaw, the tongue, the brains, and skin of the head were thrown into a pool of water in the river which was known never to dry up. This, it is explained, was to restore the
various fish and crustacea of the water as well as cause the 'bad' of the village to be carried away with the river.

In Marudu, however, each family took a bit of the skin of the head and a bit of the liver. When they returned to their apartment, they killed a chicken and bloodied these pieces. The pieces were then rolled into beeswax to preserve them. This beeswax at the time of sowing is put into the water used to asperge the rice seed in order to 'cool' it, and at times of illness, water that has had the beeswax immersed in it is put on the head, shoulders, and arms of the person who is sick.

This bloodying of the bit of liver and skin of the head is parallel to the sacrifice of the chicken to the rice spirits that each family performs at the end of the mangambil and which reasserts the primacy of the family as a ritually corporate unit.

The skull, at the end of the ceremony, is tied up to the ridgepole of the headman's house. This is not a symbol of office, however. The skulls from such sacrifices have been devolved upon the male descendants of the headman who organized the ceremony, and these individuals have not all been headmen of villages. Kin of the owner, if wealthy, may borrow the skull when they hold a ceremony for bloodying their dapu. It is stated that every few years or so the skull must be bloodied from such a sacrifice, which is held by individual domestic families, or else the skull will begin to grind its teeth and all the 'bad'
which had been removed from the village will return.

The services of the spirit medium for this ceremony is paid for by each domestic family at the rate of four gantang of rice per family.

It is difficult at this late date to analyze the data and to determine just how much this ceremony symbolized the corporateness of the village. We do know, as in the mangambil, vine markers were erected at the edge of the territory of the village to notify travelers that they could not enter the village territory for ten days. Also for ten days, no one could leave the village. For three years, no seed or livestock could be taken or sold from the village or it would be akadangan to the village. No wood could be taken from the village or bark for graneries for the same reason. If a non-resident ate anything from the village territory before the ten days were up, it was orintadan and for three years, no non-resident could take wild vegetables from the village territory. No one could move from the village unless they left their seeds and livestock behind them or it will be akadangan for the village. If anyone fornicated for three years following the ceremony, the ceremony would be to no avail and, as with all the restrictions when broken, the 'bad' will return to the village in increased force.*

*The value premise that sexual relations are potentially deleterious is reasserted in this ceremony. During the seven days of the ceremony, no husband and wife may engage in sexual relations. All the men sleep on the apad, and all the women sleep in the enclosed compartments of the longhouse apartments. No rice wine is served during this period for fear of bringing about illicit intercourse.
While these restrictions tend to suggest the ritual corporateness of the village, other factors seem to minimize this. First of all, any neighboring village may join in the ceremony, which almost suggests that this is a regional fertility ceremony, if there were stated means by which a region is delineated, which there is not, and if a village by itself could not hold the ceremony, which it can. However, in the case where contiguous villages have joined in the ceremony, vine markers are put along the paths not at the edge of the territory where the human is sacrificed, but at the boundaries between villages which did not enter and those which did.

While the disability against moving unless you leave behind your seeds and livestock for three years seems to indicate the corporateness of the village, all the restrictions of the ceremony apply to all villages which entered the ceremony. Consequently, any family may move into any of these villages without prejudice. Furthermore, any family from a village not having joined in may move into any of these villages after the ten-day restriction period.

One other factor also seems to minimize the ritual corporateness of this ceremony for the village in which the sacrifice is made. The sacred grove where the human was killed may not be cut for swiddens lest all the 'bad' which has been removed from the village should be let out again. If the grove is invaded a pig must be sacrificed by the offender to nullify
this ritual delict, or the 'bad' will spread out until it encompasses all the villages that entered into the original ceremony.

**Akadangan and the Ritual Corporateness of the Village.** It has been stated that for varying lengths of time after ceremonies for a village while it is in an enhanced ritual state, the removal by a non-resident of anything in the village territory will result in akadangan or orintadan for the village. However, it is also stated by some that at times when the period of restrictions has ended the removal of firewood or the cutting of wood for a field house in the village's territory by a non-resident is also akadangan or orintadan. That is, some of the mystical power of the village will leave it and accrue to the individual which perpetrated the delict and his village. This, of course, illustrates the ritual corporateness of the village.

There are only two social units in Rungus society that the concepts akadangan and orintadan apply to. These are the family and the village. These concepts are not applied to the longhouse as the longhouse, unlike the family and the village, owns no assets which are productive. For the family, orintadan and akadangan may occur with respect to its swiddens, the products of its swiddens, its livestock, its dapu, and its fire; for the village, these may occur only with respect to its territory.

Thus, unlike the family, it appears that the concepts of akadangan and orintadan are not as extensively developed for the village. For instance, if a non-resident cuts timbers for his longhouse apartment in the village territory, it is not
akadangan for the village, but it is a ritual delict against the rogon labut. Delicts against labut fall under the jurisdiction of the longhouse. Consequently, in this case, the housing structure in the village closest to where the wood was cut must request a pig from the offender to sacrifice to labut at the monginan's apartment, or labut will take punitive action against that housing structure.

The explanation for this lack of development of these concepts for the village may be that the village, unlike the swidden, is not in an enhanced ritual state all the time but only particularly after village ceremonies. Also, this lack of development is related to the infrequency of occurrence of such intrusions into the village territory. The headmen of Marudu stated that they thought it would be orintadan if a non-resident cut firewood in Marudu territory but that they did not know what the adat, i.e. the ritual fine, would be, as it had never occurred. Others were more positive that it would be such a delict. The infrequency of intrusions into another village's territory for firewood and other materials may, in the future, be a more common occurrence as the land-population balance worsens; but whether this will result in a further development of the jural personality of the village with respect to these concepts of akadangan and orintadan is at this point questionable, due to other factors working against any development of the jural personality of the village.
Conclusion

The Rungus village is essentially a group of people who establish their own social boundaries and their own relationship to the territory where they cut their swiddens, and then attempt to have this recognized by others in the society. As such, the village is not a stable unit either in terms of its membership or in terms of its major asset, its territory. There is constant change both in the membership of the village and the area of its territory from the process of village fission. This unidirectional process of village fission and the narrowing of village territories is primarily operative at the present time, for villages are no longer decimated or wiped out by warfare or epidemics which previously would have led to the fusion of the surviving membership of such villages with other villages and an increase in the area encompassed for swiddens.

Nevertheless, the village is both a ritually corporate and a jurally corporate social unit.

As a ritually corporate social grouping, it engages in ceremonies which enhance the ritual state of the village territory and which establish a state of goodwill between the village and the spirit world. However, the village does not engage in corporate rituals to the extent that the domestic family does, nor are there any symbolic representations of the village as a social unit as there are for the family in the ritual rice plot, the rice spirits, and the household rusod.

Any ritual delict which results in a decrease in this
enhanced ritual state or endangers the goodwill established
between the village and the spirit world leads to the headman
of the village taking jural action on behalf of the village
as a jural unit against the culprit. As there is no common
fund for the village, the fines for such delicts are livestock
which are used to repeat the village ceremony which originally
produced the village assets of an enhanced ritual state and the
ritual goodwill with the spirit world that the delict endan-
gered.

In addition to owning these ritual assets corporately, the
Rungus village corporately owns its territory. Thus it is
also a jural entity with respect to its territory, and as such,
it may enter into jural relations with either individuals or
other villages. Non-residents of the village may cut swiddens
in the village territory only with the approval of the headman
representing the village, and the headman, again representing
the village, may establish with neighboring headmen the boundaries
of the village territory. Unresolved disputes between a non-
resident and a headman are taken to the non-resident's headman
and, if still unresolved, are brought before a group of head-
men of neighboring villages, as are all unresolved disputes
between headmen of villages. Disputes still unresolved are
brought before the Government.

The nature of action taken on the violation of a village's
territory has evolved over the years from direct and unlegiti-
mized physical action against the swiddens of the offenders to
jural action. Thus, the jural personality of the village has evolved into a more developed and complex state as a result of the shortage of land in the Rungus area and because the British did not legitimize physical action as a means of redress. However, in response to the evolving nature of its jural personality, there has been no corresponding development of the ritual corporateness of the village. This may possibly be the result of the short period of time with which we are dealing, so that there has been not enough time for any enhancement of the village ritual life to develop, or there may only be an apparent lack of development due to the lack of data on the pre-British period.

One of the major factors within the system itself limiting the development of the jural personality of the village is the lack of a common village fund. Fines for entering the village territory during the period it is prohibited become the property of the village headman himself, and they seldom are more than a chicken or two. Consequently, as precedent developed for the village headman to demand a fine for such trespasses, these fines could not be deposited into any fund. Without a village fund, there are no assets with which to hold a corporate ritual for the village, in contrast to the domestic family which can always draw on its livestock and its indopuan do nongkob to meet such expenses. Therefore, any time a village ceremony is in order, all the members of the village must be organized into contributing to the cost of the ceremony. This
seems to have become more difficult as the need for interdepen-
dency between member families of the community for both ritual
and physical protection has diminished.

Also, with no common fund and no productive assets, there
is no way that the headman can be recompensed for his services.
The headman, as do all village members, must support himself
through his swidden activities, and the duties of the office
interferes with this.

Not only do the duties of the headman take up a considerable
amount of time but they also entail certain personal expenses
for the headman. When a village member wants to apply for
individual title for land, this necessitates that the headman
accompany him to the District Headquarters to sign the appli-
cation. Frequently the headman requests the applicant to contri-
bute to his expenses, and this has led to a certain amount of
friction and resentment.

The further development of the Rungus village as a jural
entity was finally brought to a halt at about the time of our
field work by forces outside the Rungus society. The Government
then began putting pressure on the Rungus to take up individual
title to land, ignoring the native system of land tenure. The
effect that this will have on the jural personality of the
village as well as on the whole property system of the Rungus
will be discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter Eight

Change in the Property System of the Rungus and
Its Entailments for Rungus Social Groupings and
Other Aspects of the Social System

A property relationship involves the 'owner', the scarce
good or service which is the object of ownership, others who
recognize the prior interest of the 'owner' in the object, and
finally the legal relationship that pertains between the 'owner'
and the others with respect to the object. This method of analy­
sis lends itself particularly well to predicting change, once
the nature of the property system under discussion has been
outlined. The creation of new social entities and the disso­
lution of old ones, the allocation of the incidents of ownership
to newly recognized jural entities or to jural entities not
previously involved, the introduction of new scarce goods, and
the development of new rights and duties between the various
jural entities, all may be analyzed to discover their entail­
ments in the existing property system and their ramifications
in other aspects of the social system.*

*For a discussion of the various incidents of ownership
and their semantic implications see Honoré, 1961, and Hoebel,
1954:56-63; one method of analyzing legal relationships is out­
lined by Hoebel, 1954:46-63; and Cairns, 1935, Hallowell, 1943,
and Hoebel, 1954, all discuss the property relationship. How­
ever, none of these authors have discussed the usefulness of
this method of analysis for the prediction of the effects of
change in the social system.
Before discussing the entailments of change, it would be useful at this point to review briefly the main aspects of the Rungus property system. An individual only owns those durable goods such as gongs, ceramic ware, brassware, etc., which have been devolved upon him either from the indopuan do nongkob of his natal family or the hereditary property of a parent. The domestic family corporately owns the durables which it has purchased with the excess agricultural products of its swiddens and the goodwill created by the family between itself and the spirit world through a corporate sacrifice as well as any resulting enhanced ritual state. The longhouse owns no such property as durables nor even the asset of goodwill between itself and the spirit world, as it engages in no long-term relationship with the spirit world. Neither is the longhouse ever considered as being in an enhanced ritual state. Therefore, the social grouping of the longhouse never needs to enter the Rungus jural system as a jural entity to engage in jural relations, unlike the domestic family or the village.

The village holds residual ownership rights over its territory which resident domestic families have the right to use for their swiddens. Use rights over a swidden area resides with the family that cut the swidden as long as crops are still being harvested from that area. The village, in addition, owns any goodwill created by a corporate sacrifice between itself and the spirit world with respect to its inhabitants and its territory.
and any resultant enhancement of ritual state.

By the end of our field work, there had as yet arisen no new social groupings among the Rungus nor had any new jural entities been recognized in the jural system.* Neither, as far as we were able to ascertain, had any social entities or jural entities disappeared from the Rungus social system since the arrival of the British. Instead, the major innovations to the Rungus social system are the introduction of new scarce goods and services and the allocation of rights and duties over these to jural entities not previously involved in the ownership of such types of goods. The three most important types of new objects in the Rungus property system are: labor for cash, numerous consumables manufactured in the industrial centers of the East and West, and individual title to land used for wet rice and coconut plantations.**

*Christian missions have recently located in the center of the area occupied by the Rungus. It can be expected that in due course they will form congregations in the near-by villages which will of course become a new social grouping for the Rungus. The jural personality that such congregations will take is not yet known and depends, of course, a great deal on outside influence. The British in their organization of British North Borneo also created new social and jural entities, but since these are largely outside the Rungus social system, I will not consider them here.

**As yet there has been no impact on the economic system from either coconut plantations or wet rice fields. The coconuts have only recently been planted and none as yet have fruited; the wet rice areas are small, involving only four or five families each year, and control of the water level in the fields has not yet been achieved.
Cash is not new to the Rungus property system. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, when cash became the only acceptable good for the payment of the head-tax, the Rungus have traded agricultural produce for cash or worked briefly after the rice harvest on distant plantations for cash. Only recently, within the past three or four years, has cash become relatively abundant in the society. Cash has entered the system through the greater opportunity for labor without going far beyond the village area in the expanding Sino-Dusun and Chinese plantations in the region and through the expansion of the road system in the District. A few male founders of domestic families may work a couple of days a year in these plantations or on the road, but they primarily spend their time on their swiddens. It is the young unmarried males who primarily engage in such cash labor, but even in their case it may be for only a week or so a year after the harvest and not all unmarried even do this. One large source of cash comes from the transportation of the rice harvest down to the shop areas where it is sold. Small boys using the family's water buffalo after the harvest make many trips to the shops with rice in bags under contract to the Chinese and Sino-Dusun shopkeepers.

In the Rungus family system all the profits from labor put into the family swidden belong to the family corporately. Although the introduction of cash labor has not yet created any serious conflict with the utilization of labor in the Rungus family system, it eventually will. At present, the small sums
of cash earned for labor have remained in the possession of the unmarried male who earned them, while the cash earned by the male founder finds its way into the economic system of the family. With greater opportunity for cash labor and with greater opportunity to purchase consumables, the labor of unmarried males may be eventually channelled into the growing labor market, not just after the rice harvest, to the neglect of the family's swiddens. This would not cause any conflict if the cash earned from such labor were contributed to the corporately owned assets of the family, nor would it cause any conflict if the unmarried male, while working for cash, supported himself, but at present he doesn't.

The various consumables which have entered the Rungus property system include: hair oil, cooking oil, kerosene, candy, sugar, fancy clothing, shoes, liquor, matches, cloth, tinned food, milk, handkerchiefs, coffee, patent medicines, soft drinks, mirrors, thread, etc. The effect of the introduction of these consumables into the system is the beginning of a devaluation of dapu. The Rungus themselves state that families no longer accumulate as much dapu and that the price has fallen slightly. The introduction of such consumables also has effects on the system of inheritance and prestige. Previously the profits from swidden activities were put into dapu and the rank of a family was measured on the prestige scale of the society by the amount of dapu it had accumulated or had inherited. With swidden profits being put more into consumables, this leaves
less to be converted into durables and less to be inherited. Relatively speaking, the Rungus individuals and families have become poorer since they no longer have the built-in savings device of *dapu* accumulation. Furthermore, there is the tendency, particularly with those Rungus who have been converted to Christianity or live near shop areas, to measure a person's prestige now by the quantity of these consumables he can display and utilize.

One of the methods of social control over children by the parents is through the distribution of the family property. If there is a marked devaluation in these durables, if they are no longer accumulated, it can be expected that the social control of parents over children will also decrease, especially with regard to male children as they will be able to support themselves with cash labor. Also, if there is a decrease in the accumulation of durables, this will have ramifications in the bride price system of the Rungus. Cash may be substituted for *dapu*, but it is still too early to predict the ultimate effect of this on the bride price system.

The major change in the Rungus property system, however, lies in the area of land tenure. The land laws of the Colony of North Borneo never recognized that the village held residual rights over its territory (for instance, see Ingle, 1953). This mattered little as long as there was no active intervention in the system of land tenure by the Government. However, a short time prior to our field work, the Government began to make an
effort to get all Rungus males to take up individual title to fifteen acres of land. Fifteen acres of land can be applied for under what is termed Native Title, which qualifies for a lower application fee and annual rental. In certain areas, where all the Rungus males held land under such title, the remainder of the village territory was opened up for alienation of land to Chinese. The Government expects land held under Native Title to be utilized for 'permanent' crops such as wet rice and coconuts, and the Government reserves the right to nullify titles if the land is not planted according to its specifications.

This change in the land tenure system will have widespread ramifications in all realms of Rungus society. Perhaps its most important entailment lies in the abridgement of the jural personality of the Rungus village. In the Rungus system of land tenure, the right to cultivate swiddens lies only with residents in the village territory, and the village has the right to deny access to its territory to non-residents. Under the new system in which individuals own title to land for coconut plantations or the cultivation of wet rice, the village loses control over the utilization of its territory. Such land is not considered to lie under village jurisdiction. The residual ownership rights lie with the Crown and Rungus only lease such plots. The entailment of this is that any holder of an individual title of land may sell this to whomsoever the District Land Officer approves, and approval is not based on residence
in the village area where the plot of land is located.*

One of the consequences of being able to sell land held under individual title to anyone, irrespective of whether they reside in the village territory or not, is the acquisition of village land by ethnic groups other than Rungus. For instance, the Chinese from the towns and shop areas who have ready cash are very anxious to acquire land in the Rungus area as choice land may be bought from individual Rungus title holders and because, being located near Rungus villages, there is an available labor supply.

In certain cases, as for instance with coconut plantations, the Chinese are generally not permanent residents on their lands, but in other cases, as with wet rice fields, they are. In any event, the sale of land held under individual title will eventually mean that the village community, formerly based on residence as well as on ties of kinship, will become diluted. This may not necessarily be undesirable, but some of its consequences are. For instance, in those cases where outsiders have purchased land in Rungus village territory, as is the case near the Sino-Dusun and Chinese shop areas, they have failed to observe the local customs with regard to entrance on land and control of livestock. This has lead to considerable friction between the outsiders and the villagers. Previously, conflict

*In similar circumstances in Indonesia, ter Haar (1948) points out in certain areas residents are given the first opportunity to purchase any land for sale within their village area, while in other areas land may not be owned by non-residents under any conditions.
over such matters between Rungus alone could be solved in the village councils with the arbitration of the headman of the village. However, outsiders refuse to accept the jurisdiction of the headmen in such cases and take their complaints to the District Headquarters. This puts the Rungus under considerable disadvantage as they do not speak Malay, the lingua franca of the Government, and are unfamiliar with Government procedures. They frequently refuse to appear in these cases, losing the case by default. Consequently, this leaves a considerable base of friction either unsolved or inequitably solved at the village level.

Any abridgement of the jural personality of the village also entails the abridgement of the office of headman, as it is the headman who represents the village. Any dilution of the membership of a village by outsiders also involves a curtailment of the authority of the headman as he is not empowered to arbitrate in cases between such individuals and members of his village. Furthermore, outsiders do not belong to the complex web of interdependency between members of the village and are, therefore, not subject to the informal pressures to conform which the headman can bring to bear on his village-mates.

Any abridgement of the jural personality of the village, any curtailment of the authority of the village headman, and any dilution of the village membership in themselves are not necessarily either bad or good. Certain consequences flow from such actions and these may be considered either desirable
or undesirable in terms of facilitating the change, which is inevitable, of the Rungus from a self-contained, relatively self-sufficient population into active members of the complex, larger society of the state, which implies participation not only in the national political life but in the national economic system as well.

At present only the Chinese have the available resources to develop those parts of the land in the Rungus area which are suitable for wet rice and coconut plantations. Some Rungus have the cash to bring into 'permanent' cultivation the fifteen acres allowed under Native Tenure, but no more, while many Rungus for lack of cash, do not contemplate applying for this much land even at the reduced fees. Some of those who have applied and who have less concern for the future than for ready cash, have sold their Native Titles to Sino-Dusun and Chinese. Consequently, there is a growing trend which has started on the edges of the Rungus territory and particularly in the territory of the neighboring Nulu Dusun for the land to come under the control of these outsiders. From this there can only arise a society stratified according to ethnic and racial criteria. The Chinese and Sino-Dusun who assume Chinese statuses will generally form the middle and upper economic classes based on the profits from their plantations and rice fields, while the Rungus will tend to fall into a lower class which will be for the most part landless and dependent on cash labor for survival. There is already friction between the Rungus and the Chinese with talk
of throwing the Chinese out, because of the control that the Chinese exercise over the lines of communication in the District enabling them to make better and quicker economic decisions.

If the nature of the jural personality of the Rungus village were recognized by the Government and new rules were made concordant with this jural personality to meet these new conditions, this trend towards a class system based on ethnic and racial criteria could be countered. For instance, if it were established that land in the village territory could be owned only by the Rungus resident in it, this would leave adequate area for the expansion now by the Rungus of their holdings of coconut plantations and wet rice fields, as well as for meeting the needs of the next generation for land. Thus, as a Rungus family brought a small acreage into production and received the cash from it, there would be sufficient land and cash available for bringing further land into wet rice and coconut production. The result of this would be the eventual arising of Rungus families able to join the present middle class in the District -- now composed entirely of Chinese -- because of their control over productive lands.

Therefore, any abridgement of the jural personality of the village permitting the control of the land to fall into the hands of outsiders will thus facilitate the development of a class structure based on ethnic and racial criteria which will only increase the tension now existing between these two racial groups.
The advent of individually owned title to land has other ramifications. Wet rice fields and coconut plantations are created by the labor of male members of the family and involve the use of the family's corporate assets to purchase coconut seedlings, equipment, and the like. Although according to the rules of the Rungus property system it should belong to the family as its corporate property, in fact it must be held under the name of one individual. However, this title is usually put in the name of the male founder of the family or in the name of the male child who helped create it through his labor. This follows the value premise in the devolution of family assets that the individual who helped most in the creation of the asset should have a prior claim to it. Females rarely are involved in title to land as the heavy field work which is required to create a new land holding, like other heavy field work such as clearing of swiddens, is left to men.

However, the presence of coconut plantations and wet rice fields as new objects of ownership in the Rungus property system means that for the first time individuals own a productive asset. Previously individuals owned only their personal belongings and any dapu that they had inherited. Livestock, also a productive asset, is owned corporately by the Rungus domestic family. Furthermore, livestock does not hold the potential for profit that either coconut plantations or wet rice fields do. With the control of these productive assets in the hands of the males, it can be expected in time that the valuation of the services of the
female in the society will decrease and the 'balance of power' between the male and female founders will shift towards the male founder. This shift from a symmetrical relationship towards a more asymmetrical one because of the control by males over productive assets could be nullified by the devolution of fields newly created by the domestic families upon all children regardless of sex. However, it is the expectation of those men who have recently acquired title to land for the first time to devolve it upon their sons.

One of the entailments of devolving land held under individual title upon sons is a shift in residence patterns. To maintain control over their immovable property, the newly created fields, males must now remain in their natal village after marriage. Previously the only inheritable items of any value -- fruit trees are not sufficiently important economically -- were all moveables, i.e. dapu, and place of residence was of little importance in terms of inheritance. With males remaining in their natal villages to receive and utilize their inheritance of land or the land that they had created in their minority, either a greater increase in intra-village marriage will result, countering the recent trend already noted, or females will have to accept virilocal residence. There are, of course, other adjustments to the system that could be made to accommodate the new land tenure system and still preserve uxorilocal residence, such as inheritance of land by females, selling of the land in the male's natal village to buy land in the female's village,
the rental of land in the male's natal village to residents there, and the like. However, the trend of the values expressed by the present owners of land as well as the lack of jural sanctions to support uxorilocal residence seem to suggest that uxorilocal residence will be abandoned if the choice between control over one's own land and residence has to be made.

Even if our predictions as to the entailments of changes in the Rungus property system for the Rungus groupings of family and village are correct, these are not necessary concomitants of these changes. These predictions of the entailments of changes will only become realized as long as the problems raised by the changes in the property system are not recognized by the Government. The responsibility for recognizing these problems and taking action to resolve them lies with the Government, as they are responsible for the majority of the problems and the Rungus have to accept the changes and their consequences at the dictates of the Government.*

For instance, the predicted loss of function of the indopuan do nongkob for the domestic family and its entailments with respect to social control, the prestige system, and the wealth

*There may of course be other entailments of these changes which derive from the increased stress on the society, such as increases in anti-social acts, disease, emotional disturbances, and the like. I have not raised these questions here as the reaction of any society to stress, or just what is perceived as or meant by stress, is far from clear at the present time. The responsible administration of change of course involves alertness to such deleterious effects so as to take action to minimize these if they occur (see Appell, 1965).
of the family, as well as the potential conflict between the family's agricultural activities and the cash labor of sons, are only the result of the lack of an adequate means for saving cash. Cash is frequently stolen when kept in longhouse apartments. Dapu is harder to steal as each piece has its own distinguishing marks. Consequently, the hoarding of any sizeable amount of cash for the purchase of a large capital item is difficult. The introduction of local means of depositing excess cash in savings institutions would go a long way to prevent these predicted changes and at the same time be concordant with the present pattern of family savings in the indopuan do nongkob. Furthermore, the trend, as a result of the abridgement of the jural personality of the village, towards a class structure in the District based on racial and ethnic criteria with all the implications for conflict can also be countered once the danger is recognized.
Glossary
Glossary

akadangan - a ritual delict resulting in the transference of mystical power from one social group to another as the result of a non-member taking some object in an enhanced ritual state belonging to another social group.

alasu - hot.

apad - gallery section of longhouse apartment.

asamod - to cherish (a spouse).

asukupan do nongkob - that property 'which makes the household complete' for ceremonial purposes.

bahazan - to be virtuous, to have character, to have goodness.

bantog - prestige.

buru - bride-price.

dapu - durable goods (refers collectively to gongs, brassware containers, jars, ceramic containers, etc.).

gantian - the child who is considered the replacement for the parent in the society.

gopu - a swidden used for second consecutive year and cleared by weeding.

hatod - human soul or soul of a piece of dapu.

hukuman do ondu - piece of dapu 'negotiated for the girl (i.e. bride').

inagaman - property from bride price devolved upon bride.

indazan - a class of rogon which dwell in sacred groves and which do harm to ambient souls.

indopuan do nongkob - property created and corporately owned by the domestic family.

inovitan - property given to a child from the indopuan do nongkob of his natal family.

ivanon - parents-in-law and classificatory parents-in-law.

katori - a mystical sanction involving death or an infertile marriage.
komomoli - ritual delict that results from an action inferring someone has died when in fact no one has.

komulakan - the youngest in a sibling set.

koriva - an extreme example of komomoli.

kotiguras - a ritual delict that results from the cutting of property in anger.

kotuaan - eldest in a sibling set.

kovusung - a mystical sanction invoked by a violation of an asymmetrical respect relationship.

labut - rogon which appears in longhouse when a new apartment is not completed or occupied.

lansang - aisleway of gallery area and walking and eating area of ongkob in longhouse apartment.

lintanga - middle siblings in a sibling set.

longguvai - low pedestalled piece of brassware.

lotong - ritual plot of rice for the rice spirits planted in the basic swidden.

lumuvas - memorial ceremony for the deceased.

maguntong - a wedding ceremony.

mamapak tavasi - to perform the major ceremony for dapu.

mamasi do pomogunan - ceremonies to 'restore the village (or territorial unit)'.

managas - fertility ceremony for village involving human sacrifice.

manaliu - ceremony for 'wandering rogon'.

manansavo - to court, to wive, to choose a wife, to marry.

manantok sarapung - a fertility ceremony for the longhouse-village.

mangambil - fertility ceremony for the village.

mangatod - a sacrifice for the indazan.

mihukum - to negotiate a bride-price, to bargain for (a piece of property, to negotiate a settlement in a law suit.)
Minamangon - deity that watches over the fate and fortune of men and is in charge of the animals of the world.

mirani - a group of families who have cut adjoining areas for swiddens.

moginum - ceremony for the rusod.

monginan - the male founder who builds the first apartment for a new longhouse.

munggui - a class of rogon which harms ambient souls and which also includes the rusod.

Nabalu - Mt. Kinabalu, the final resting place of the souls of the deceased.

nongkob - domestic family, household.

ongkob - compartment of longhouse apartment; the morpheme /ongkob/ is also used in words to refer to the domestic family or household, as in /songongkob/, 'one household', 'one family', or /do nongkob/ 'of the household'.

orintadan - a ritual delict involving the transference of power from one social grouping to another as the result of taking of food, drink, or betel from a group during a period of restriction following a ritual or ceremony for it; firewood is also frequently included.

pinatingaha - see taras.

rogon - class of supernaturals which cause illness.

rogon do pomogunan - 'rogon of the world', or the wandering rogon.

rusod - irascible rogon counterpart of domestic family dwelling in family's apartment and protecting family members from other rogon when not angered.

sirang - longhouse apartment of domestic family.

sumbang - incest.

sumbang banal - major incest.

sumbang soroi - minor incest.

surupu - mystical power or 'luck'.

tagad - basic swidden in which the ritual plot of rice (lotong) for the rice spirits is planted.
tambaga - brassware.

tandon, tandon do nongkob - that child which takes care of parents on the dissolution of the parental family.

taras - swidden without ritual plot of rice (lotong) planted either with maize only, a taras banal or 'true' taras, or planted with rice as well as maize, pinatingaha.

tindog - line of descent.

tingkang - lounging area of apad and sleeping area of ongkob in longhouse apartment.

tinungkusan - hereditary property.

tumanid - to establish a separate household after marriage.

tumuron - a sacrifice for the munggui.

tumutun - to accept spouse's sexual advances after marriage.
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