

1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Negeri Sembilan, Negeri Sembilan Malay, Austronesia

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): zmi

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Southwestern Malaysia. The latitude and longitude are approximately 2°45'N, 102°15'E. (4p1)

1.4 Brief history: It is believed the earliest settlers of Negeri Sembilan came from the Minangkabau clan in central Sumatra. According to tradition, the history of Negeri Sembilan could be split into 3 parts: "The Legendary or Sakai Period" from 1450-1640, "The Nine Minangkabau States under Johor" from 1640 to 1773, and "The Modern Period under a Constitutional Monarchy" from 1773 to the present. It is believed from 1640 onward that the Negeri Sembilan matrilineal system became significant. The exact date of the beginning of Negeri Sembilan as a separate entity from Minangkabau is unknown, and estimates differ, with the earliest plausible estimate dating to the 14th century. (3p6) Others came by way of Palembang and brought with them a patrilineal system, though the traditional system is matrilineal. (3p9)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: With the movement of Europeans into the region in the 16th century, the Negeri way of life, known as the "Adat Perpatih" faced an intrusion of other systems that "resulted in contamination" of their way of life. However, the Adat has been "resilient in the face of other competing systems" in Negeri Sembilan society and still sets the framework for their way of life. (3p14) The imposition of British colonial rule in 1874 damaged the kin-based forms of political representation. (3p40) In recent times the economy has faced government intervention with the Five Year Malaysia Plans and the New Economic Policy, in which "numerous land schemes and industrial sites have been set up." (3p21) With the influence of capitalism rubber became a valuable commodity, and the government encouraged the Negeri to become commodity producers on a large scale. The consequences of this have been disastrous, as people have been pulled away from their traditional farm work, leaving rice fields uncultivated. (3p22) The government has also implemented land reclamation for development in rural areas, causing a loss of land among indigenous people. (3p29) Today almost 90% of the households have electricity and piped water, and a number of schools and health centers have been built. The influence of education has given way to new attitudes about jobs, causing outward migration to urban areas of those receiving high levels of education who no longer want to be agriculturalists. (3p32-33) Many women have recently given up their agricultural work to become housewives. (3p34) Additionally, many have lost interest in the Adat Perpatih, with only 10% of school children knowing the name of their clan. (3p38)

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): The land is forested with many mountains and valleys running through it. (3p42) Negeri Sembilan is "associated with extensive wet-rice cultivation among its many valleys." Plains are "in great part occupied by paddy fields." (3p41) A small portion of their territory is on the coast. (3p44)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: The population size is about 507,500, though population size is constantly changing due to continuous movement of people into and out of the region. (1p1) Village size varies based on the size of the kinship group and whether or not multiple groups occupy the same village. Modern estimates are about 150 people per village. (2p27) The size of Negeri Sembilan ancestral lands is about 34,565 acres, which is less than 1 percent of the state. (3p29) Population density is not specified.

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Rice is traditionally the main staple food and is cultivated extensively. (3p3) Rice cultivation is referred to as "a way of life, a way of belief, a way of existence." (3p41) Various fruits, vegetables, and a "collection of forest products" constitute their diet and are grown in orchards owned by the women. (3p29)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Fish is common since the ancestral land of the Negeri Sembilan is scattered with fish ponds. (3p29) Goats and buffaloes are slaughtered for feasts. (3p53) In more recent times cattle has become a major protein source. (3p33)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: "Malay traditional weapons" are used, such as the keri and other assorted knives, daggers, and swords. Since such weapons are passed on from ancestors and descent is matrilineal, the women possess the weaponry. (3p31)

2.4 Food storage: Those with large tracts of land that were able to meet all their needs would produce a surplus to be stored and sold outside the community. (3p21) Women also had individual granaries and control of the surplus. (2p12)

2.5 Sexual division of production: The Negeri Sembilan are farmers, "either in cultivation or orchards." The Adat Perpatih stresses that land should be worked and work should be done through "reciprocal aids, cooperative and/or group efforts." All members of society are expected to do their share, and different types of jobs are assigned to society members based on their abilities and physical and mental conditions. (3p2) In the padi field "the cultivating unit was the husband and wife," and group assistance could be requested. Certain tasks like building and repairing irrigation and hoeing and preparing the soil for planting are viewed as men's work, while planting the seeds and weeding are seen as women's work. However, these lines are often hazy, with each gender often performing the work of the other if needed. (3p21) "The wife and husband contributed equally to the economy." (3p32)

2.6 Land tenure: Under the Adat Perpatih, "ownership goes with actual tenure," meaning the real owner of the land is the occupier and cultivator. "The original owner who does not develop the land is entitled to a small allowance as compensation." However, there is one crucial condition: the land can only belong to a woman. Every man must live on his wife's, mother's, or sister's land. All ancestral property belongs to the woman's clan. (3p7-8) If a woman is in dire need of money, she is only allowed to sell the land to female kin that belong to her clan. (3p29)

2.7 Ceramics: Local ceramic crafts are produced as art and found in many households. (9p1)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: The clan chief has the right to claim leftover meat after feasts. (3p53) Women own granaries and have control over sharing their produce with their kin. (2p12-13)

2.9 Food taboos: Goats and buffalo are saved for feasts. (3p53)

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? It is stated that trading on the river and transporting goods down the rivers is common, indicating some sort of boat or watercraft for such activities. (5p12)

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): Numbers were not given for Negeri Sembilan, but the mean adult height for Malaysia is 5'4.8" for males and 5'4" for females. The Negeri people seem to be in accordance with these numbers. (7p1)

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): Not found, though both males and females generally appear thin in photographs.

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): Not specifically given for Negeri Sembilan, but the average age for other Malaysian and Asian populations is 12. (6p1)

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): Not specified, but some men have wives that were referred to as "minors," indicating a young age for birth, most likely not long after first menstruation. (2p13)

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): The household family is usually comprised of 3-5 people, though this does not include kin and extended family. (2p9)

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): Since the nuclear family was comprised of 3-5 people, couples only had 1-3 children, indicating a longer inter-birth-interval. (2p9)

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): Not specified, but it is referenced that some wives were minors, indicating a very young marriage age, and that women of all ages were subject to a range of rituals relating of deference towards men. (2p13)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: A process known as "Adat Bertimbang Salah" is used to curtail divorce by gathering members who have grievances and allowing them to "voice their feelings in front of everybody." Before this takes place, a man who is asking for a divorce must go through a process of reconciliation or settlement, with the intent to live "harmoniously as a cooperating unit." Through this method of attempting to work through the issues, divorce is limited. (3p2) However, divorce does still occur, and when it does, the woman's ancestral property remains hers, "even if the man had built a house on such property." (3p8) Since a man would lose all social and economic investments made at his wife's place if he divorced, it is in his interest to remain married. (3p32) With the introduction of government land policies and the cultural upheaval that followed in the 1900s, divorce rates soared in one territory to 59%, though by the 1970's it was down to 15%. (2p35)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: Sources are conflicting, as one article adamantly states that marriages are strictly monogamous. (3p7) However, others state that polygynous marriages are permitted but wives cannot be from the same clan or sub-clan. For this reason, polygynous marriages "seem to be rare." (3p49)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: There is a kind of bride service system since the husband moves into the bride's clan, and he must work on her clan's lands to provide for them. The man brings very few possessions into the marriage. "Harta Pembawa" means the personal property brought by the man to the clan of his wife. This includes three kinds of property: his earnings made while he was a bachelor, his share of earnings from a former marriage, and any ancestral property of his own family in which he holds an interest. The man obtains possessions but he does not actually own them since descent is matrilineal. (3p8) The man's presence in the wife's village "was a gain in terms of extra labor to labor to his bride's family and lineage." A man is not required to pay bridewealth for his wife because of the labor he would provide. (3p31) However, since the 1970's, bridewealth has become common due to changing gender relations that have come with modern changes in the economy. (3p34)

4.9 Inheritance patterns: Descent is matrilineal. The women are a "powerful and united body" who are bonded together by common descent, and "own all the land." The husbands "are drawn from many different clans and villages" and do not own any of the land or the houses. (3p7) "Houses, land jewelry, and furniture" all pass down the female line. The Negeri have a saying that sums up their matrilineal system: "the inherited property is acquired through the female line. The men hold the titles. The women acquire the inherited property. The husband looks after the property." Priority is given to females by closeness of blood tie and personal preference. If a woman does not have any daughters, the property is inherited by her sisters or her sister's female children. (3p22-23) However, with the influence of Islam some clans give males twice than what the female inherits, though this is not extensively practiced since it is not of the Adat. (3p25)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Women must care for their elderly parents, whereas men are not expected to care for their elderly parents when they leave their natal residence to live in their wife's village. (3p31) The "core group" of this society is a mother and her children, so mothers are regarded as significant people in society. (3p38) The relationship between a man and his children, especially his daughters, "is very formal." They "seldom communicate" and in extreme cases their relationship "is marked by avoidance." (3p50)

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: Not found

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): The law of exogamy is strictly observed, meaning that every man must "leave his own village and settle in the village of his wife." In this way he is not marrying clan members, which would be considered incestuous. (3p7) Women with fair complexions are favored. (3p29) When the husband first moves to the wife's village, he is considered an outsider and "his position is subordinate to his wife's male kin and he must abide by their words." (3p32)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? There is no partible paternity. One male is recognized as the father. (3p50)

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows") Women are considered caretakers of their children. The relationship between a mother and her children is regarded as very important because the "core group" of society is made of a mother and her children. (3p38)

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? No evidence supporting the belief that conception is an incremental process.

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: Since a husband lives with his wife's kin, he is careful to treat her well, for "in such a setting it would be almost impossible for the husband to maltreat or abuse his wife." If he did do so, he would risk "incurring the wrath" of his wife's kin. (3p32)

- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) Marriages must be outside of the clan. Marriage inside the clan is considered incestuous and is forbidden. (3p39)
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? No, monogamy is generally practiced and sexual freedom of women is not permitted in accordance with their Islamic beliefs. (3p7)
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: Illegitimate children are a cause of shame for the parents, and the man is fined for his actions. (3p55)
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? The mother's clan must raise the children. "In no case can the widower be the guardian of his young children" for they must remain in the custody of their own clan. The mother's clan may adopt the child, and the "degree of adoption is determined by the status of the adoptee." Once performed, adoption is irreversible, and the child is treated as a natural child. (3p8) The mother's sister typically raises the children. (3p48)
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: Not specified, though daughters are preferred and may be adopted into the family. Adopting girls is much more common in order to continue the female line, indicating that the sex ratio may favor females. (3p8)
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades: None found
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): None found.
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? Emphasis is placed on building family ties within the extended family. Every member of society is "made highly responsible to his or her own good behavior as well as responsible to the good conduct of other members of society," and everyone must have respect for other's capabilities and achievements. Additionally, one must have great respect for the elders, especially the leaders. (3p11) The relationship between a father and his children is very formal, particularly between him and his daughters. Sometimes their relationship is "marked by avoidance" and the two rarely communicate. This also applies between a father and his daughter-in-law. Also, the relationship between a mother and her son-in-law is also one of avoidance. (3p50)
- 4.24 Joking relationships? None found.
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: The Negeri Sembilan are characterized by a "matrilineal custom and descent group organization which they refer to as Adat Perpatih." However, with the modern influence of Islam some now practice "Adat Temenggong" which is a bilateral form of social organization in which emphasis is placed on the male line. (3p1)
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules: Marriage within the maternal clan "was incest and punishable with death." A man must always migrate outside his clan to marry. (3p7)
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? There are 3 types of marriage ceremonies. The first, "Karja Buapak" is a one or two day ceremony, normally for a "poor or average family without socio-political status. The second "Kerja Lembaga" is a 3 day ceremony. The clan chief is invited and his insignia must be displayed. The third, "Kerja Undang," is a 5 day ceremony, and is the most lavish. The insignia of the territorial chief and his flags must be displayed. These ceremonies revolve around the "marriage contract," and the bride and groom must state what possessions they are bringing into the union. There are then rituals involving dancing and visiting various relatives. (3p39-40)
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? Not found.
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) One must marry outside their clan, so they must marry one from another village. Although they are exogamous in this sense, marriages are generally between other Negeri Sembilan members. (3p7)
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? Marriages are not necessarily arranged, but the wife's kin must give their approval since the husband will be moving in with them, so in this way families have much control over who their daughter marries. If a suitor is rejected by the girl's family and the man is still determined to marry the girl, he "would go to the girl's house accompanied by his male relatives and close friends, and occupy her verandah." He then demands the girl from her family and "refuses to budge from the verandah until his demand is met." (3p55) About half of the marriages are completely free-choice, which is thought to be an "impact of romantic love ideology" as a result of cultural contact with western societies. (2p39)
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: If a man's wife dies, he is encouraged to marry his sister-in-law upon the death of his wife to remain in his original wife's clan. (3p49)

Warfare/homicide

- 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: Not specified, though many times warfare would begin on a small scale with a few skirmishes, but at times would escalate until "entire villages might be forced to flee their homeland." (5p13)
- 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: In-group relations are egalitarian, with disputes solved by the chiefs and gatherings of people. Out-group deaths were more common, as villages engaged in regional disputes. The eighteenth and nineteenth century was characterized by "numerous outbreaks of military aggression" due to "disputed border areas and rival claims." (5p11-13)
- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: In-group incest is punishable by death. (3p7) Out-group killing was caused by territory disputes and rival claims to ancestral lands. (5p12-13)
- 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): Relationships with fellow Negeri Sembilan clans are generally peaceful, since marriages tied together clans and good relationships were needed to continue the exogamous marriage system. Relationships with other neighboring societies could be deadly, as many small scale battles were fought over land in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (5p11-13)
- 4.18 Cannibalism? No evidence found supporting cannibalism.

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: Not given in numbers, but villages are fairly small, and are comprised of extended families living in their own households, with about 3-5 people per household. (2p9) Modern estimates indicate that the average village size is around 150 people. (2p27)
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): Mobility was restricted to men, who must move out of their village to their wife's. Since descent is matrilineal and ancestral lands are a significant aspect of Negeri Sembilan life, the females remain on their lands, no matter what the season. (3p7)
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): Their way of life, called "Adat Perpatih" can be best characterized as "communal, fairly egalitarian, and democratic." (3p1) The Adat rules that every decision by its practitioners has to be taken during a "kerapatan" which is a gathering of all involved. Each would work together to end a dispute, and conflicts are solved "not by vote of majority but by consensus." There are high ranking Adat officials that use this method to resolve important political issues. (3p1-2) Adat Perpatih sees the individual as capable of "contributing to the well-being of a democratic society." (3p11) Although the state of Malaysia is ruled by a king, the Negeri Sembilan regard the king as a mere symbol, with the saying "the king has no state, and does not tax, only as a symbol of justice." The levels of political figures in descending order are as follows: king, territorial chief, clan chief, lineage chief, and the family chief. Each of these positions is held by a male. The territorial chief is considered the legitimate chief, with power derived from his people through election, but the clan chief is the most important within the clan for daily life. Each family has a family chief, generally the eldest male on the mother's side, who serves as the head in certain situations affecting the family and holds power for ritual purposes. However, in regards to Adat Perpatih these levels of leadership may be of small significance in everyday life since the individual holds a large degree of power, and many disputes are solved among clans in an egalitarian way. (3p15-19)
- 5.4 Post marital residence: The husband settles into the wife's village, and the woman may not settle into the husband's. His wife's relations then become responsible for him. (3p7) Immediately after marriage, the man moves into his wife's family, into the house of her mother. If the wife is not in line to inherit the family house, her family may provide her a house of her own in the future, typically after she has children. This house would remain in close proximity to the wife's parents. (3p31)
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): Currently Negeri Sembilan is divided into fourteen district territories, though the number has varied from three to fourteen over time. Sometimes certain territories will pair for ritual purposes, so there is generally a peaceful relationship between Negeri territories. (3p16)
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): The community is egalitarian, and nearly everyone interacts with each other, while maintaining a higher level of respect for elders. However, men and their daughters have a much more formal relationship, and sometimes even a relationship of avoidance. (3p50)
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: None found.
- 5.8 Village and house organization: Villages are not specified in territorial terms but in that of kinship units. Each clan occupies their own village. Through marriage, a man moves out of his village and moves into the village of his wife, while still retaining ties with his previous clan. In this way villages are connected and expected to cooperate peacefully. However, today villages are populated by a number of kin groups. (3p15)
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (men's houses): There are no men's houses, as men move in with women. There may be gathering areas for festivals and feasts. (9p1)
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? Mattresses are slept on. (3p54)
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: Groups are matri-unilocal clans, and competition is not between individuals but between these clans. (3p3) Clan descent is through the women, and each clan is made up of lineages. A man is a member of his mother's clan until marriage, when he is received into his wife's. (3p7) Each clan is divided into 12, which can be further divided into various sub-clans. (3p21) For the kinship system to survive, the kinship group must be perpetuated, and the Negeri Sembilan believe this can only be achieved by a woman, which is why women occupy a central position in society. (3p29)
- 5.12 Trade: Surplus rice is sold or traded outside the community. (3p21) Pepper, tapioca, sugar, and later rubber were traded, and chiefs "extracted dues on river trade." (2p9) Fruit, vegetables, and livestock were sold to Chinese tin-mining communities. (2p10)
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? Some groups push members to "accumulate as much wealth as possible in order to keep the group's status high," and the Adat says "lose your status due to poverty, lose your identity because you have no gold." However, those of higher status must not "step on those who are below" or be deceitful, and the overall objective is to maintain an attitude of "hospitality and neighborliness" by helping each other in times of need, sharing surplus for the general welfare of the community, and sharing grief in times of misfortune. (3p3-4) Additionally there are various levels of chiefs, though their powers come from the people. (3p16)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

- 6.0 Time allocation to RCR: Several rituals are performed associated with birth, weddings, and death. Apart from that a mixture of traditional practices and Islamic principles are combined to form the Negeri Sembilan religion. In everyday life one may practice Islam, but if a family member is sick spirits may be blamed, and a shaman is called for healing.
- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Traditionally there are both "pawang" and "dukun." Pawangs are magicians, who play significant roles in rituals. Dukuns are considered healers with the power to drive out ghosts or spirits to cure sickness. (3p41)
- 6.2 Stimulants: It is stated the clan chief can be dismissed if he is found guilty of "drugs and poison," implying stimulants are not tolerated in the community, at least among its leaders. (3p53)
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): Weddings involve many rituals, such as "berhinai," the applying of henna, and the "berarak," or carrying couples on chairs. Various dance rituals are performed. The last ritual of wedding ceremonies is known as the "Day of Introduction." Another wedding ritual involves the bride and groom stopping at various households, known as the "paying

- homage” ritual.(3p40) Rituals associated with birth include the “bercukur ritual” in which the infant’s hair is cut, and the “berjejak tanah,” translated as “stepping on the sand” of the infant. (3p40)
- 6.4 Other rituals: The incorporation of adopted children into the kinship group is formalized through a ritual ceremony called “berkadim”. After the ceremony, the adopted children are “accorded all the rights and obligations normally enjoyed by a child born in the society.” (3p29) During the ceremony a buffalo is slaughtered, and the height of the ritual is “cecah darah,” the marking of the forehead of the child by the adopter with blood to declare that the two are henceforth “of one after-birth and one placenta.” (3p39) Another important ritual is the “berbesan ceremony” in which parents-in-law formally meet one another. (3p40) Various rituals are performed to protect the rice, the fields, and the villages from evil spirits. Causing damage to plants “was the most obvious manifestation of the existence and potency of evil spirits.”(3p41)
- 6.5 Myths (Creation): With the influence of the Muslim religion, God is believed to have created the earth and all the people in it.
- 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Women weave mats for their homes. (3p34) A variety of ritual dances are performed with accompanying music. Many “Adat artifacts” are made involving various crafts. (4p40) Woven handicrafts are made by women and sold for income. (2p18) Traditional music is played, and dances like “the candle dance” and the “beat of the horse” are popular. Each traditional dance tells a story. (9p1)
- 6.7 Sex differences in RCR: Men, as elected chiefs, are lawfully involved in religious matters and have religious authority when trying to resolve disputes. (3p57) Women are the dancers at rituals and ceremonies. (9p1)
- 6.8 Missionary effect: In the 14th century Islam was introduced to the Negeri Sembilan, influencing their religion by changing it to a mix of Adat Perpatih principles and Islamic beliefs. (3p38) Islam does not permit marking the adoptee with blood as is traditional during the adoption ritual. (3p39) Marriages are now in accordance with Islamic practices, and the elaborate rituals have been eliminated or modified to a simpler form. (3p40) Many rituals are no longer performed because they are considered pagan. (3p42,51) Islam has been declared the religion of the state. (3p57)
- 6.9 RCR revival: Some Negeri Sembilan continue to perform practices that are considered pagan by Islam, and these continued practices of traditional religion are “deplored by certain sections of the people.” (3p51) Though Islam stresses a patrilineal inheritance system, the traditional matrilineal system is still practiced in accordance with the Adat Perpatih. (2p24-35)
- 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: Members of the same clan share the same burial sites and graveyards. (3p46) Negeri Sembilan afterlife beliefs accord with the principles of Islam, though many still perform non-Islamic death rituals involving beliefs in various spirits and ghosts. (8p1)
- 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? None found
- 6.12 Is there teknonymy? No evidence for teknonymy found.
- 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.): Religion is a mix between the values of the Adat Perpatih and Islamic values based on more recent migration into the area and outside influence. The overall goal is to “attempt to reduce the number of men becoming evil” through teaching egalitarian values and emphasizing the family. High morality is promoted. (3p11-12) Although many are Muslim, they continue to practice many aspects of their pre-Islamic religions. Many who live in rural areas “believe in ghosts, goblins, and spirits,” and still call upon the traditional shamans to heal the sick. (8p1)

7. Adornment

- 7.1 Body paint: For weddings and other ceremonies, henna is applied to dye the skin temporarily. (3p40)
- 7.2 Piercings: Brief references are made to “ear boring” rituals overseen by a chief. (3p54) Women are photographed with pierced ears. (3p27)
- 7.3 Haircut: Infants have their hair but in a ritual ceremony known as “bercukur.” (3p40)
- 7.4 Scarification: Circumcision rituals are briefly mentioned, though it fails to specify if all the males must be circumcised or at what age the ritual takes place. (3p54)
- 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): For weddings, traditional costumes are worn with elaborate head pieces and jeweled decorations. (3p47) For rituals and dances, richly colored, layered traditional costumes are worn, complete with jewels and decorative headpieces. (9p1)
- 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Henna is used for weddings and associated ceremonies to dye the skin. (3p40) Intricate traditional costumes are worn, dyed in bright colors and decorated with jewels. (9p1)
- 7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Both sexes wear colorful costumes and headpieces for rituals and ceremonies. Women wear more layers and are photographed wearing scarves and veils. (9p1)
- 7.8 Missionary effect: The “penetration of western culture values and images into Negeri Sembilan society...is extensive” though traditional costumes are still worn for ceremonies and rituals. (3p42)
- 7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: Despite the influence of Islam and western culture, dances are still performed during festivals, and traditional costumes are worn. (9p1)

8. Kinship systems

- 8.1 Sibling classification system: Because descent is matrilineal, it “was necessary for a family to have at least one female child.” Since female children are valued over males, a lack of female offspring was “seen as a catastrophe” and a woman without children was “often pitied.” The solution to this problem is adoption, in which the child is not treated any differently from other siblings and is even considered a natural child. Children are often adopted from nearby Chinese families, as the Chinese have a patrilineal system in which males were valued, and so would provide many females. (3p29)
- 8.2 Sororate, levirate: If a man’s wife dies, he is encouraged to marry his sister-in-law upon the death of his wife to remain in his original wife’s clan. (3p49) There is no evidence of a levirate system.
- 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): None found.

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

- It is believed that Negeri Sembilan was an exception to “the patterns of slavery, debt-bondage, and female servitude” found in other Malay states. (2p11)
- Some other Malaysians regard Negeri Sembilan society with scorn, accusing the Negeri of practicing “distorted Islam” by maintaining traditional beliefs of ghosts or spirits who cause sickness. (8p1)

Numbered references

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