

Nilai Budaya Dalam Pembuatan Kuih-Muih Tradisional Etnik Brunei Di Sabah

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Sabah memiliki lebih dari 35 etnis atau ras yang mendasari keragaman adat dan budaya, sehingga menciptakan keunikan dan kompleksitas identitas, budaya, filosofi dan pemikiran masing-masing etnis. Masyarakat Brunei dalam penelitian ini terkenal dengan kue tradisionalnya dalam berbagai rupa, bentuk dan rasa yang diwariskan secara turun temurun. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap nilai budaya etnis Brunei dalam pembuatan kue tradisional yang mencerminkan identitas etnis Brunei. Pengetahuan dan keterampilan lokal dari aspek pembuatan kue tradisional etnis Brunei merupakan bagian dari filosofi dan pemikiran kreatif yang secara tidak langsung menjadi identitas dan identitas budaya yang perlu dikaji. Lokasi penelitian ini melibatkan dua desa etnis Brunei yaitu di Kampung Lubuk dan Kampung Weston yang terletak di distrik Beaufort, Sabah. Data dalam penelitian ini dianalisis menggunakan pendekatan yang diperkenalkan oleh Edmund Burke Feldman (1967). Pendekatan ini menyarankan empat tingkat analisis yaitu: Tingkat Deskriptif, Analisis Formal, Interpretasi dan Evaluasi. Setiap elemen seperti teknik pembuatan, bahan dan tampilan kue tradisional akan dibahas sesuai dengan tingkat yang diusulkan untuk menjelaskan nilai adat dan budaya etnis Brunei di Distrik Beaufort. Studi lapangan kualitatif ini menggunakan data penelitian berupa wawancara, observasi dan keterlibatan partisipatif oleh peneliti. Informan dipilih berdasarkan keahlian dan pengalaman mereka dalam membuat kue tradisional serta pengetahuan mereka tentang adat istiadat dan upacara budaya etnis Brunei. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa pembuatan kue tradisional etnis Brunei menampilkan nilai-nilai budaya yang menjadi identitas etnis Brunei yang perlu dilestarikan.

Kata kunci: etnis brunei, nilai budaya, manufaktur, identitas, kue tradisional.

Cultural Value in the Making of Brunei Ethnic Traditional Cake in Sabah

Sabah recorded more than 35 ethnic groups or races that underpin the diversity of customs and cultures, further creating the uniqueness and complexity of identity, culture, philosophy, and thought of each ethnic group. The Brunei ethnic group in this study is famous for its traditional cakes in various forms, shapes, and flavors inherited from generation to generation. The objective of this study is to reveal the cultural values of Brunei ethnicity in the making of traditional cakes that reflect the ethnic identity of Brunei. Local knowledge and skills from the aspect of making traditional Brunei ethnic cakes are part of the philosophy and creative thinking that indirectly become the identity and cultural identity that needs to be studied. The location of this study involved two ethnic Brunei villages, namely in Kampung Lubuk and Kampung Weston located in Beaufort district, Sabah. The data in this study were analyzed using the approach introduced by Edmund Burke Feldman (1967). This approach proposes four levels of analysis namely: Level of Description, Formal Analysis, Interpretation, and Evaluation. Each element such as manufacturing techniques, materials, and appearance of traditional cakes will be discussed according to the proposed level to explain the values and customs of Brunei ethnicity in Beaufort District. This qualitative field study uses research data such as interviews, observations, and participant participation by researchers. The informants selected were based on their expertise and experience in making traditional cakes as well as their knowledge of Brunei customs and cultural customs. This study found that the making of traditional Brunei ethnic cakes displays the cultural values that are the Brunei ethnic identity that needs to be preserved.

Keywords: ethnic brunei, cultural values, manufacturing, identity, traditional cakes.

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INTRODUCTION

Koentjaraningrat (1979) explains that the network of cultural systems consists of seven elements, namely the religious system (which consists of belief systems, values, and views of life, religious communication and ceremonies), social systems and social organizations (which include kinship, statehood system, life union system and associations), knowledge systems (knowledge of the universe, humans, flora, and fauna, time and space, as well as mathematical elements), language systems (oral and written), art systems (design, literature, sound, music, and painting), technology and equipment systems (transportation systems, communications, clothing, and housing), livelihood or economic systems.

Culture is an element that distinguishes each ethnicity, society, or nation because of the existence of certain characteristics that exist in the culture that is practiced for generations. Certain characteristics are influenced by the environment or settlement that highlights a significant element so that it shows the differences and uniqueness between one ethnicity, society, race, and the like (Surayah, Musnin & Dg. Damit, 2019). Culture contains behaviors, beliefs, thoughts, and even daily human activities that support society. Culture is a description of the human way of life that is expressed through a certain number of meanings and values, so it is clear that culture is the activity of communicating by interpreting every way of life of human activities that support it. (Saidatul Nornis Hj Mahali, 2019).

In this study, researchers will discuss the implicit and explicit cultural values behind the manufacture and function of traditional Brunei ethnic cakes in Sabah. his discussion reveals how traditional cakes can reflect the customs and cultural values of this ethnic group. There are several variations of some types of traditional cakes in Brunei culture that show their name, ingredients, production techniques, and packaging methods. The production of these cakes is also significant in every ceremony, ceremony, or custom performed by the people of Brunei. Some types of cakes as objects of Brunei ethnic culture are known by local names such as *tilapam* cakes, *jalurut* and *bikang* are so typical in their lives because they describe the way they are made, the way they eat and the situation served, whether it is a wedding, a feast or as a daily meal among ethnic Brunei in Sabah. According to Koentjaraningrat (in Warsito 2012: 99) Cultural values are values that consist of the concepts that live in the realm of the minds of most members of society in matters that they consider very noble. The value system that exists in society becomes the orientation and reference in acting for them. Therefore, the cultural values that a person possesses affect him in taking the alternatives, methods, tools, and manufacturing purposes available.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Sabah is often said to be a unique state. This uniqueness is evident in its population which consists of about 41 ethnic groups and ethnic subgroups who use about 50 languages and speak it in no less than 80 dialects. Each of these ethnic groups and subgroups also has different cultural practices, religious practices, customs and religions, political systems, and settlements as well as different artistic heritage (Mat Zin Mat Kib, 2002). Brunei ethnicity is one of the minorities in Sabah. This is because this ethnicity is only concentrated in a few small parts of Sabah and the number is also not many. However, among the minorities in Sabah, the Brunei ethnic group is the largest. According to the 1991 census, there are about 123,810 Bruneians in Sabah. This number is 6.64% of the total population in Sabah. (Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan, 2016).

Bruneians have their menu and dishes served during the festivities or eaten on weekdays. For example, the food that is usually served during festivals such as weddings or feasts is *kalupis* and *wajit*. The daily food of the Bruneians is usually prepared quickly and at any time is *ambuyat* and *masak lauk ampap*. (Murut and Various Small Ethnicities in Sabah: 291) Apart from *wajit*, *kalupis* is also a traditional Brunei ethnic cake in Sabah. *Kalupis* is a traditional food of the Brunei community that is usually cooked in communal work during certain ceremonies such as weddings. (Murut and Various Small Ethnicities in Sabah: 292). Other traditional cakes that are popular among the Brunei ethnic group in Sabah, especially in Kampung Weston and Kampung Lubuk are *kuih lamban udang*, *lamban lukan*, *tilapam*, *tapai nasi*, and *jalurut*. These traditional cakes are a symbol of the wisdom of Brunei ethnic women. According to Flavier (1995), local wisdom is the unique knowledge that refers to the culture of a community. (Malaysian Journal of Society and Space 11 issue 12 (112 - 128).

Ethnic Brunei practices the concept of *baurung-urung* or the concept of cooperation in performing certain ceremonies and feasts. The concept of *baurung-urung* is a platform of agreement in tackling various images of life that can be referred to such as the meaning of the proverb that reads “*yang ringan sama dijinjing yang berat sama dipikul*” so that heavy and complicated work becomes easy when done in the back. Also, the concept of *baurung-urung* can describe the love, responsibility, and concern of individuals for other individuals. In Sundanese culture, for example, a voluntary and helpful attitude is a reflection of the very high level of spiritualism, policy, intellectuality, emotional maturity, and individual life skills. Individuals with such characteristics are considered as a whole Sundanese human figure, that is, human beings who are beneficial to others (Sudaryat, 2014).

All these traditional cakes are produced from generation to generation, for example, the recipes of these traditional cakes are passed down from one generation to the next. According to informant Hajah Seri Bunian, (71) he was taught to make traditional cakes by his mother until he was skilled and now he is teaching them to *paranak* or children. In addition to daily meals, there are also traditional Bruneian cakes that are eaten daily for breakfast and afternoon tea. According to the informant, among the traditional cakes that are popular among Bruneians *kalupis*, *wajit*, *katupat nasi*, *jalurut*, *tilapam*, *tapai nasi*, *lamban udang*, *lamban lukan*, *punjung*, *katupat lapas*, *madukasirat*, *sakul*, *bikang*, *ardam*, *cucur udang*, *mangkanan bacucuk*, *biraksa*, *kubal*, *calakyanun*, *pais manis*, *pipis*, *pais lamak*, *pais ubi*, *lamban inti piasau*, *sasagun*, *bingka ubi kayu*, *pinyaram*, *gatas* and *katumayam*.

Weston as the study location is a small town located on the west coast of Sabah. Weston is also often mentioned as being in the interior of Sabah, in the Beaufort district, which is about 100 kilometers south of the city of Kota Kinabalu. Weston is a fishing village inhabited by 98 percent of Brunei's ethnic groups. The other population living in this area consists of only one Indian family and no more than seven Chinese families. Weston is close to Brunei and the placement locations for ethnic Malay-Brunei conduct transactions, fish, and other life activities. All-Brunei Malays are Muslims (Mat Zin Mat Kib, 2002). Bruneian women in Weston Village are well known for their skills and craftsmanship in making traditional cakes and local food. They produce traditional cakes such as *tapai nasi*, *jalurut*, *lamban udang*, *lamban lukan*, and *tilapam* every day throughout the year. The making of these cakes explains the efforts, craftsmanship, and wisdom of Bruneian women in Weston which have become their traditional identity. The elderly usually work as traditional fishermen while the younger ones are more involved in permanent careers in the government and private sectors. Also, Weston is known as a tourist center because of its beautiful and enchanting natural assets such as sunset landscapes with vast expanses of sea and river bays and mangrove swamps of various shapes. There are also fireflies or fireflies at night in the nearby mangrove swamp forest. Besides, the Proboscis Monkey or better known as the *bangkatan* by Bruneians in Weston is a major tourist attraction from China, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan. Tourists who come are also served with traditional cakes such as *tilapam*, *lamban udang*, *lamban lukan*, and *jalurut* based on the packaging of nipah leaves.



Figure 1: Location Map of the study Source: Google Search

METHOD

Field study is one of the strategies used in this research. This strategy seeks to delve deeper into the real situation of a particular group, culture, or event. Field research allows researchers to answer research problems freely and openly and determine aspects that are considered important in research (Sulaiman Masri, 2003: 20). In this study, researchers are directly involved such as close and empathic relationships with the study subjects. Participation or participation of participants in this study facilitates observation, interview, and participatory strategies. This method is done to understand the ideas, views, attitudes, feelings, cultural activities, or specific activities about the study object within a set period (Mok Soon Sang, 2010).

The method of data analysis in this study is based on the approach put forward by Edmund Burke Feldman (1967). Where Feldman suggests four important things in the purpose of understanding the image or object of art namely Description, Formal Analysis, Interpretation, and Evaluation such as (Figure 1). Ragans (1995) in his book, *Art Talk* 3rd edition, popularized this method by guiding each level with specific questions. 'Description' as 'What is seen,' 'Analysis' as 'How the work is organized,' 'Interpretation' as 'What the artist says' and 'Evaluation' with the question 'Is the work successful.' (Journal of Natural Drum No. 9 / 2019). Data related to the study subject, namely traditional Brunei ethnic cakes are analyzed regularly according to level by using approaches such as rubrics in (Table 1).

Data analysis of the study material is summarized in the form of rubrics such as (Figure 2). This stage includes the description stage, formal analysis stage, interpretation, and assessment stage as follows:

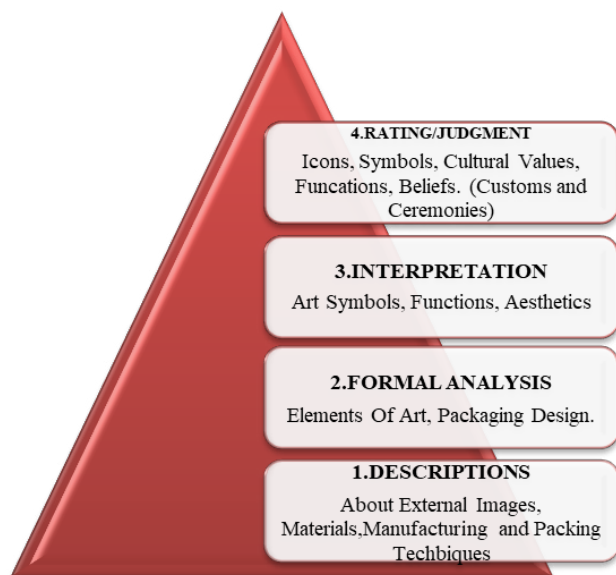


Figure 2: Edmund Burke Feldman (1967) Analysis Rubric

The order of data analysis in (Figure 2), refers to the rubric that explains the level of analysis by level. The description level discusses the external image, materials, manufacturing, and packaging techniques. The level of formal analysis discusses the elements of art, cake design, and packaging. While the level of interpretation discusses symbols of art, function, and aesthetics. At the evaluation level in this study, the study subject relates to the icon or implicit meaning as a cultural value in customs or ceremonies.

RESEARCH OBJECT

The study material in this writing consists of several types of traditional cakes selected in Brunei society as in Figure 3 (i-iii) as follows:



Figure 3: Brunei Ethnic Traditional Cake in Weston Village, Beaufort

Tilapam Cake Analysis

Tilapam cake is produced every day because this cake is made among the main menu for breakfast and afternoon tea. *Tilapam* is made from simple basic materials and is readily available from Brunei ethnic settlements in the Beaufort District. Among the ingredients used to make *tilapam* cake are rice flour, sugar, and tapai. The perfect *tilapam* cake batter will produce a delicious, fluffy, and white mattress. The soft and fluffy mattress texture explains the value of meticulousness and precision in every process performed to produce delicious *tilapam* cake.

Tilapam cake is cooked by steaming. The process of steaming makes the *tilapam* have a natural aroma from Nipah leaves which makes the *tilapam* delicious and fresh. The combination of snow-white on the contents and light yellow and dark green on the mattress cover gives a very attractive visual effect. Coupled with the delicious taste, making this traditional cake is like '*tak lapuk dek hujan, lekang dek panas*'. The wisdom of previous generations in processing simple raw materials until the creation of traditional cakes for the Brunei ethnic in Weston Village.

Nipah shoots or Nipah leaves are used as packaging material for *tilapam* cakes. Two Nipah leaves that are cut to the same size and then joined to get the right size. There are four corners of the folds in the *kulit* or *packaging* of the *tilapam* cake, each fold overlaps with each other and is trimmed using a *samat laki* or a sharp and loong smooth stick at the top to ensure the *kulit* of the *tilapam* cake is in a strong and stable condition. Each fold found on the *kulit* of the mattress shows an interconnected attitude and thought agreement and integration in the context of life. The function of *samat laki* in the design of this mattress *kulit* is so synonymous with the role and duties of men or fathers in a family to ensure safety and harmony. Simple folding techniques and Nipah leaf grafting can produce unique, attractive, and neat food packaging.

The role of color on the *tilapam* cake is very prominent and attracts public attention. The snow-white color on this part of the food gives a clean, harmonious, and cool effect. The *kulit* is made of *Nipah* leaves which are yellow and green. The combination of white, yellow and green gives a harmonious effect to this cake. The color white explains the culture of cleaning that is well integrated into the practice of Brunei ethnic life, especially in the making of traditional cakes.

The design of the packaging or *kulit* of the *tilapam* cake is very similar to the shape of a boat or canoe that can explain the ethnic identity of Brunei as a fisherman. Life as a fisherman so close to the river and the sea can inspire his ingenuity in producing daily necessities. The shape of the boat is adapted in solving life problems especially in terms of traditional cake packaging. Imitations of observations on the environment and settlements explain the value of

Brunei's creative culture and ethnic intellect. Care and neatness in the making of this traditional cake *kulit* can be seen from the way the leaves are folded using *samat*. Every fold and graft is done in an orderly and careful manner so that the *kulit* of the mattress is firm, stable, and attractive. *Tilapam* cake is a traditional cake that can compete with the new, more modern menu because of its unique packaging design, packaging materials used, harmonious colors that provide attractive visual images and delicious taste into Brunei ethnic identity with cultural values inherited from generations

Jalurut Cake Analysis

Kuih *jalurut* is a traditional Brunei traditional cake that is unique and interesting. Its uniqueness is evident in terms of packaging design, it is also interesting because of the color and texture of the contents. Apart from the delicious taste, kuih *jalurut* also has simple basic ingredients and is easily found around Brunei ethnic settlements in Kampung Weston and Kampung Lubuk. Although there are only a few types of raw materials it can be an important daily menu for Bruneian ethnic in the Beaufort area.

Jalurut cake is produced every day because it is one of the menus that is the favorite of the Brunei ethnic group during breakfast and afternoon tea. For fishermen, *jalurut* cake is used as a supply when going out to earn a living. Daily production makes *jalurut* cake a symbol of love and sorrow in the lives of Bruneians in Weston. This is because *jalurut* cake will be brought as a gift or *sedekah* to a family that holds feasts or who dies on that day. *Jalurut* cake is a symbol of close family ties, close friendships and as a statement of expression that is "*yang ringan sama dijinjing, yang berat sama dipikul*" in every matter. These cultural values explain the ethnic identity of Brunei in Sabah as mentioned by Andreas Eppink (1981), culture contains the whole meaning, values, norms, knowledge as well as the whole social structure, religion, and all the intellectual and artistic statements that characterize a society.

Packaging design globular explain the unity and cohesion of society Brunei in various other things like the Malay proverb that says "*bulat air kerana pembetung, bulat manusia kerana muafakat*". The round shape found on the mold or *kulit* of the cake is woven repeatedly to produce a solid and solid shape so that it can be filled with liquid that is heavy and able to withstand hot temperatures during the steaming process. Similarly, the nature of consensus among the Brunei ethnic group can cultivate true ancestral values so that everything done is borne together such as the concept of *baurung-urung* which is a cultural value that explains common sense.

The packaging or *kulit* of the *jalurut* cake is made from nipah leaves which are abundant in the mangrove forests of Weston Village waters. Nipah leaves have long been very beneficial to the economy of the Brunei community in the Beaufort District in the production of traditional cakes

in particular. The use of nipah leaves explains the cultural values such as diligent, careful, meticulous, and patient because to produce traditional cake packaging requires some relatively difficult processes and techniques. It is this kind of cultural value that has long been a practice in life which in turn became the Brunei ethnic identity in Kampung Weston. In accordance with the opinion of Clyde Kluckhohn (in Warsito 2012: 99) who mentions cultural values is as a general organized conception, influential on behavior related to nature, human position in nature, human relations with people and about things desired and unwanted which may be related to people's relationship with the environment and fellow human beings.

Producing the *kulit* of kuih *jalurut* cake requires certain skills to prevent the *kulit* from leaking or smudging. If the *kulit* is leaky, *jalurut* cake will not cook properly, as the contents will be left half or maybe empty during the steaming process. The *kulit* is produced by the technique of rolling slowly in a state of overlapping nipah leaves and then pulled to extend its shape. The top is trimmed by pinning it with the *samat*. Accuracy, efficiency, and perfection are cultural values that have been ingrained in the making of traditional cakes among Bruneian ethnic groups in Kampung Weston.

Materials from nature such as nipah leaves that thrive around their settlement become cultural icons in the making of traditional cakes in creating something useful in life. The attractive shape of the striped skin reflects the creativity of his community in creating something useful in life. The ability of *jalurut* packaging to function as a safe, healthy, and unique food wrapper can solve the packaging problem at that time and thus diversify the appearance of the traditional cake itself. An interesting line reflects the creativity of his community in creating something useful in life.

The round shape of the *kulit* of the mold of the *jalurut* cake also has similarities to the *takuyung siruk* its a kind of shell which is so widely found around Brunei ethnic settlements. There is an adaptation process that takes place in their lives from the appearance of natural materials being transferred in solving packaging problems and creating a cultural identity in their lives. Despite the time that has passed, progress and modernity that is happening rapidly nowadays, but *jalurut* cake still exists as a cultural icon for the Brunei community in Beaufort District especially in Weston Village.

Bikang Cake Analysis

Bikang cake is a traditional seasonal cake because this cake can only be found and enjoyed during the hajj season each year. Apart from having a delicious taste, *bikang* cake is also a cultural object for the Brunei ethnic group in Kampung Weston because of its function in the Hajj ceremony.

Bikang cake are made from finely ground rice flour, sugar, yeast and *tapai nasi*. The manufacturing process is quite simple and straightforward. Usually, the basic ingredients are left to flour for a few hours before cooking with the *manumpi* technique and then the sugar is sprinkled on the almost cooked. *Bikang* cake in the ceremony for the feast of Hajj and Hajj is served with *katupat lapas* and is served when the *badikir* or reading verses of the Koran the ceremony is end read.

Produced without any dyes, the *bikang* cake comes with a white image that can explain the cleansing culture of the Brunei community in Kampung Weston. The color white is also seen as symbolic of sincerity in hoping for the best for the family members who go on pilgrimage. Referring to Halena Sendera Mohd Yakin, as stated by Leach (1976: 59) all objects in the real world have colored properties. Therefore, the use of different colors on an object or cultural artifact is often used as a way to classify a concept. Turner (1967: 60) found that colors such as red, white, and black are often used by society in the cultural rituals performed.

According to informant Hajah Jainah Bt Laut (84), the use of traditional cakes in the hajj custom is a hereditary culture that aims to *mambisaikan* or get perfect the ceremony. According to the belief of the Bruneians in Kampung Weston, if the condition of the *bikang* cake is *basarang* or *gebu*, it indicates that the individual performing the hajj is safe, healthy, happy, and able to perform the pillars of the hajj while in Mecca. On the other hand, if the *bikang* cake is produced by *nda basarang* is believed that the family members who go on pilgrimage face problems such as illness, fever, hardship, and so on while in the holy land. This causes family members to feel sad and worried. Therefore, feasts and prayers for peace will be performed throughout the month of Hajj to request the well-being and safety of family members who go on Hajj. In this feast ceremony, *bikang* cake serves as a cultural object that can perfect the customs and culture inherited from generation to generation. During the feast, it has become customary for the female cake to be served and eaten after the prayer recitation is completed. *Bikang* cakes will be eaten together at the same time. This situation can explain the cultural values such as togetherness, unity, and unity of each family member and community in every situation. In short, the practice implemented in something custom in reality symbolizes the same concept or meaning although it is implemented and manifested in different ways in a culturally varied society.

In addition to the feast, a *sedekah* or gift in ceremony every Friday night will also be performed throughout the month of Hajj. In this Friday night *sedekah* ceremony, *bikang* cakes are produced or made to be used as *sedekah* and sent to a nearby mosque. This practice has become a habit and is inherited from generation to generation.

Symbolically, kuih *bikang* explains cultural values such as the love of family members towards family members who go on pilgrimage to be given security, well-being, and safe return to the bosom of the family after completing the pilgrimage. Sumaatmadja (in Koentjaraningrat 2000: 180) cultural values are the values inherent in a society that regulates compatibility, harmony, and balance based on the development of the application of culture in life.

Bikang cake is also manifested as a symbol of good or bad, sick or healthy, safe or unsafe through the physical elements of *bikang* cake. Fluffy or *basarang bikang* cake when topped is manifested as goodness and vice versa. This situation will make the *bikang* cake maker practice the nature of careful, meticulous, thoroughness, and always leave matters to God so that the results obtained are as expected. Nature as mentioned above has become a traditional practice that can explain the cultural identity of Brunei people in Weston Village. According to informant Hajah Jainah Laut, all this is done as a *sunak daya* which carries the aim of perfecting and heeding a ceremony. He further explained that a deeper understanding and knowledge of Islam has gradually removed practices that are no longer relevant today. In the opinion of Karta Jayadi in his writing mentions the resilience of culture including local culture, very much depends on the changes that occur in its society. This includes ethics and customs; a view of life or a system of life that is still adaptive in its society. The changes that have taken place in society are the result of the meeting of old and new values that continue to undergo assimilation.

CONCLUSION

Traditional cakes are part of the cultural elements that can give certain characteristics to an ethnic group or a society. The traditional cake which is seen as a material culture for the Bruneian ethnic group in the Beaufort district displays cultural values that are not small and carry implicit meanings so that it can explain the identity, thought, and philosophy in the making of a traditional cake. The intrinsic values behind the making of traditional cakes, customs, and traditions continue to remain the identity of Bruneians in Weston Village and must be preserved and nurtured so as not to be swallowed up by time.

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