SYSTEMS OF APPELLATION AMONG THE KENYAH DAYAK OF BORNEO

by

Patricia Ruth Whittier

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ABSTRACT

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This study presents one aspect, the naming system, of the culture of the Kenyah Dayak people of central Borneo. The Kenyah are swidden rice agriculturists occupying longhouse villages in the Borneo highlands in both the Indonesian province of Kalimantan Timur and the Malaysian state of Sarawak. Field research among the Kenyah was carried out in 1970-71 (Kalimantan Timur) and in 1973-75 (Sarawak); a one-month visit to the Sarawak research site was made in March-April 1980. One chapter contains an ethnographic summary as background to the specific discussion of Kenyah names and other forms of address. Comparative material is drawn from other Southeast Asian societies where appropriate. The focus here is on names and other forms of address as social and cultural, rather than linguistic, phenomena.

There are several sub-systems that comprise the Kenyah system of appellation. These include kin terms; autonyms, teknonyms, necronyms, and gerontonyms. Some of these catagories provide alternate forms available to a given

individual (e.g., a kin term or an autonym); others are mutually exclusive (e.g., teknonyms and necronyms), but taken as a whole they form a coherent system.

A Kenyah in his/her lifetime bears a series of appellations that change with changes in the closest interpersonal relationships. The arrival of children and grandchildren and the deaths of certain relatives are all occasions for changes in forms of appellation. For small children, persistent illness may also result in name changes. The name sequence in both biographical and social. It underscores not only the stage of a person's life and the major events of that life, but also his/her social context. An individual's name shows where he/she fits into the geneological layers of children, adults, and elders that cut across Kenyah society as well as his/her membership in the primary social units: conjugal pair, household, and longhouse.

In summary, this study attempts to show not only how the sub-systems of Kenyah appellation are related to each other to form a coherent cultural segment, but also how this cultural segment is articulated with Kenyah social structure.

To my mother,

Ruth Preston Jenks

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> When a child is named, he is both individualized and incorporated into society (Van Gennep 1960:62)

Every society has forms by which its members address and refer to one another and to themselves. Exactly what are these names; "what's in a name?" One of the earliest extant debates on the nature of names is in Plato's Cratylus in which Cratylus begins an argument about the connections between words and things by jesting at the dull-witted Hermogenes about his name. Hermogenes cannot be the man's true name suggests Cratylus because Hermogenes means "born of Hermes", god of good fortune, money, and cleverness and this so-called Hermogenes is not only dull but also impecunious and generally wretched. Hermogenes replies that he is indeed stating his true name because people call him Hermogenes and what a person is called is, after all, what a name is.

This argument has continued to the present in the fields of philosophy and linguistics with technical debates about the nature of names (or "proper names") and how, if at all, they are to be distinguished from the rest of

language.[1]

There are many studies of names as historical phenomena, usually related to the tracing of geneologies, of the etymological bases of names, and of names as linguistic phenomena. These commonly attempt to distinguish between "true proper names" and other forms of address and reference. There are, however, very few studies of names as social and cultural phenomena and as but one aspect of a larger system of addressing and referring to others. The question to be discussed here is the total system of personal address and reference in a particular society.

In the title of this study, I have used the term "appellation" because I believe that the study of names as social and cultural phenomena must include not only what are commonly referred to as "names" but also the variety of other forms used to address and refer to individuals. An attempt to distinguish too rigidly between "true names" and other forms produces ambiguity and disregards the fact that the forms of appellation, taken as a whole, constitute a coherent system. Because the word "name" is usually associated with what are often called "proper names" or "personal names," I have chosen the term "appellation" to encompass the greater range of forms.[2]

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[1]A fairly recent summary of this debate can be found in John Algeo's On Defining the Proper Name (1973).

[2]The word "appellation" is from the Latin appellare, meaning "to address," "to accost," "to call," or "to appeal."

At face value, appellation are just what the term implies: what people call each other. But they also have social and cultural application. There are appropriate forms of appellation which make statements about individuals (i.e., biographical statements) and statements about relationships between or among individuals and, thus, about society. This is then a study of the statements made by the system of appellations of a particular people -- the Kenyah Dayak of Central Borneo.

During the initial phases of my research among the Kenyah, I shared a experience common to many investigators in unfamiliar societies of being confused by a variety of responses to my requests for names. This confusion was increased by listening to the usage of people around me as they addressed and referred to one another. Once I had established a name to apply to each person, however, I did not pursue the matter further. It was after I returned from the field and began to reexamine my data that I began to take a deeper look at names and to view them as more than trivial pieces of cultural baggage. I had the outlines of a system, or rather of several sub-systems, of appellation. These sub-systems could be articulated into a coherent cultural pattern, in Geertz's term a "fragment of culture" that was "saying" something.

During the course of a second, year-and-a-half period of field research, I focussed more specifically on the

system of appellation. Another primary research topic was ritual language and the single most common ritual in which I participated was the infant naming ceremony, including the naming of my own infant. This research period provided the majority of the detailed data that went into my analysis of the Kenyah system of appellation.

The mold in which my particular view of social anthropology is cast owes a great deal to the work of Geertz and Berger and Luckman (1966). Geertz says,

> Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning (1973:5).

The question I am interested in here is the meaning of appellations not in the etymological sense but as "webs of significance." How does the system of appellation as a fragment of culture, as a protion of a total web, relate to the network of relationship that is society? Society is a collection of individuals tied to each other in certain ways. How are these ties reflected in and created by the system of appellation. What aspects of social reality are both ordered and constructed by the "knowledge", the system of meanings and understandings of the system of appellation.

In the case of the Kenyah, the system of appellation is a window into society. It is a system of symbols that talks about the nature of human beings and their most significant relations with each other; thus, it talks

about the nature of society as well. The analysis of the system of appellation is a way of discovering important social realtions. It is not the only way because in any society these statements about the nature of persons and their relationships are made many times over in various ways, but it is one that is often overlooked or passed over.

The literature on appellations in anthropology is varied in that certain types of appellations have received far more attention than others. Kinship terms, of course, have their own vast body of literature. Many ethnographies incorporate references to other forms such as personal names, birth-order names, or teknonyms but rarely is there an analysis of an entire system of appellation. Works that analyze in detail one or another aspect of appellations include Geertz and Geertz (1964 and 1975), Levi-Strauss (1966), Needham (1954a, 1954b, 1965, and 1971) and Benjamin (1966). Their insights and comparative data have been particularly useful in working out the relationships among the several sub-systems of Kenyah appellation.

Because the Kenyah are not a well known group, I have given in Chapter II a brief survey of the ethnography as background for the discussion of appellations among the Kenyah. This survey presents only the general economic situation and the major organizational features of Kenyah life plus some data on the relatively new forces of formal education and Christianity.

Chapter III presents the Kenyah system of appellation in detail in both its formal, paradigmatic aspect and in its daily use. It is a description of how the system should and does work. The Kenyah subsystems of appellation include kinship terms, autonyms, teknonyms, necronyms, and geron-tonyms, each of which is defined and discussed in detail.

Chapter VI contains comparative material and contrasts elements of the Kenyah appellation system with elements of those found in other societies, particularly in Southeast Asia. This comparative data highlights some of the prominent features of the Kenyah system.

The final chapter, Chapter V, draws from the preceeding chapter in a summary analysis and shows how the Kenyah system of appellation is a cultural paradigm which both reflects and models social reality. This fragment of culture, as a coherent set of ideas, contributes to the persistence and maintence of social structure. It does not merely rationalize and reflect social structure, but, as a set of ideas in terms of which people pattern their behavior, shapes it.

CHAPTER II

THE KENYAH: ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Introduction

I have been fortunate in having had the opportunity for two periods of extended research among the Kenyah Dayak[1] of central Borneo. In 1970-71 I worked in East Kalimantan, Indonesia, and in 1973-75 (18 months) in Sarawak, Malaysia (see Figure 1). My main bases were the villages of Long Nawang (population 1000) and Mara Satu (population 250) in Kalimantan and the village of Long Moh (population 750) in Sarawak.[2] In addition to these two periods of extended research, I revisited Long Moh in March/April of 1980.

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[1]The term "Dayak" is used in the Dutch and Indonesian literature to mean the indigenous, non-Muslim peoples of Borneo. Recently, it has come into greater use among these peoples themselves as they perceive a common political interest. In the British and Malaysian literature, the term "Dayak" is restricted to the so-called Sea Dayak (Iban) and Land Dayak (Bidayuh). I will follow the Indonesian usage for convenience since it serves to distinguish the indigenous population from the other two major groups in Borneo, the Malays (includes indigenous peoples who have become Muslims) and the Chinese.

[2]Mara Satu is a composite emigre village; population figures are for its Kenyah component. By 1974, when I returned briefly to Mara Satu, its Kenyah population had increased to about 750 and by 1980 it has surpassed 1000. Long Nawang by 1980 had declined to about 750 because of a government resettlement program focused on Mara Satu. The population of Long Moh in 1980 remained unchanged.

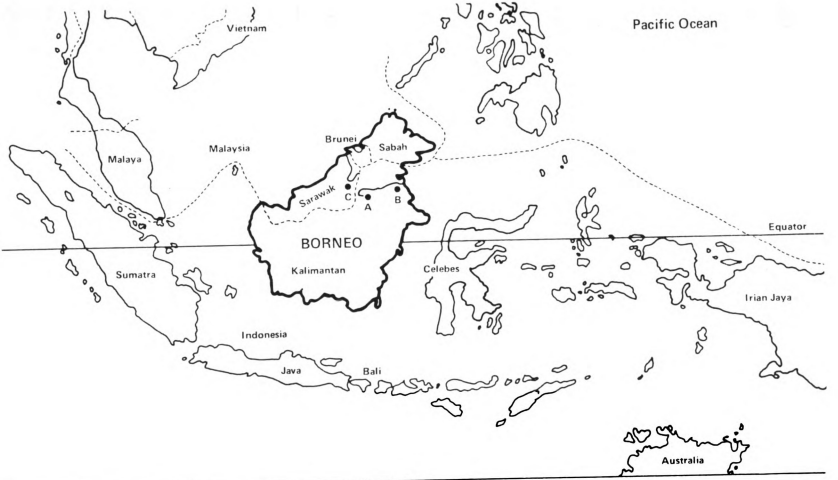

Figure 1. Research sites in Borneo.

Legend

A = Long Nawang } Kalimantan 1970-71
B = Mara I
C = Long Moh – Sarawak 1973-75

The two villages of Long Nawang and Long Moh were one about two hundred years ago. At that time, the single village, located on the Iwan River in Kalimantan, split. The people who eventually founded Long Nawang (and part of whom subsequently moved to Mara Satu) moved onto the high plateau known as the Apo Kayan in Kalimantan. The people who eventually founded Long Moh moved into the Baram River area of Sarawak's Fourth Division. Mara Satu is a recent (1970) village of migrants from Long Nawang; it is a short distance (1 hour) upriver from the coastal town and government center of Tanjungselor.

The following is a brief ethnographic sketch of the Kenyah as background for the discussion of personal appellation to follow.[3]

The Kenyah are swidden rice agriculturalists inhabiting the highlands of central Borneo in both Sarawak, Malaysia, and East Kalimantan, Indonesia. The Kenyah divide themselves into about 40 named sub-groups in over 110 communities; their total population is about 40,000. Although the Kenyah recognize and name themselves as a distinct group, there is no single, unifying political office. The Kenyah's nearest neighbors, both geographically and culturally, are the Kayan, who are also swidden rice agriculturalists, and the Punan, former hunting and gathering nomads whom the governments

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[3]For a more detailed ethnographic picture of the Kenyah Dayak, see Whittier (1973 and 1978a) and Conley (1976).

are encouraging to a more settled existence. The Kenyah consider themselves quite distinct from both of these groups on the bases of both language and adat.[4]

Of the forty named sub-groups of Kenyah, the Lepo Tau is one of the largest (about 4000 people in 10 villages). The villages of Long Nawang, Mara Satu, and Long Moh, where my research was conducted, are all Lepo Tau villages. There are minor linguistic differences among the sub-groups and minor differences in adat, but the general principles of social organization are much the same. Thus, I have used the term "Kenyah" throughout this work although I certainly do not claim the Lepo Tau to be the quintessential Kenyah. Specifically, I am certain that the comparison of the system of appellation discussed here with that of other Kenyah groups would reveal some differences in terminology, but I think the principles of usage would be much the same.

Making A Living

Swidden rice agriculture is central to Kenyah life. Even in the hereafter where the fields till themselves with no human labor, rice is still the basic food. It is basic not only for humans but also for dogs, chickens, and other domestic and pet animals. Daily activities, as well as a major portion of the annual ritual cycle, revolve around

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[4]For purposes here, adat may be defined as simply "custom" or "customary law." For a more detailed analysis of the concept of adat among the Kenyah, see Whittier (1978b).

the cultivation, processing, and preparation of rice.

The rice cycle is punctuated by rituals at every stage. These rituals are performed on behalf of the entire village by a specialist, the laki malan. The laki malan is selected anew each year unless there has been an exceptionally good harvest in which case the laki malan may be asked to serve a second consecutive year but never a third. Informants said that any adult male could be selected to serve as laki malan, but when I solicited a list of the last several laki malan (fourteen individuals), I noted that all had been widowers. This may be a holdover from the past when the duties of the laki malan ere more arduous, involving a number of food taboos, celibacy, and isolation.

The annual rice cycle begins in March/April with the ritual called nyat tana ("to ask for land"). Each individual or conjugal pair selects its field location(s), negotiating with the heads of the households in which it has land rights for the use of certain fields or selecting tracts of primary forest. The hard work begins in April with the cutting of the forest. Men do the heavy labor of felling the large trees and women clear away smaller trees and brush. The clearing of the fields is a time for exchange labor groups. Membership in these groups, usually from 6 to as many as 20 people, is based on friendship and field location. Teenagers often form their own groups to work on either their own or their parents' fields. For those of marriageable age, it is a good opportunity to demonstrate to members

of the opposite sex how hardworking one is. These exchange labor groups are strictly reciprocal; they put in one day's labor on the field of each group member. After the cycle is complete, they may make another round or the group may dissolve and its members join or form other groups. The person whose field is being worked that day provides the noon meal, preferably with meat as well as rice. The exchange labor system incorporates a sort of welfare system to aid widows, the elderly, or other households suffering an acute shortage of labor. Such people are consciously included in labor groups in which they will receive the greatest return on their own labor (e.g., groups composed largely of strong, young men). When the group works the field of one of the "welfare" recipients, the workers expect less for the noon meal and may even bring their own rice.

Another form of group labor is the obligatory labor owed to the village headman and to the laki malan. Each of these people is entitled to four days of labor from the village per year: one day each for clearing, planting, weeding, and harvesting. Each household must send a representative on each of these obligatory labor days. The yield from the field on which villagers contribute labor for the laki malan is considered to belong to the laki malan. It is a form of payment in return for the heavy responsibilities he carries. The labor for the headman, however, is done on an "official" field, apart from his personal one. The yield from this official field is to aid the headman

in discharging his obligations of hospitality to visitors to the village.

In some Christian villages, the obligatory labor that formerly went to the laki malan has been transferred to the local pendeta ("pastor") or guru injil ("gospel teacher"). There is some difference in intent here: the work of the laki malan is absolutely necessary for the success of the rice crop, and labor on his field is due because of this; the labor for the Christian specialist, on the other hand, is seen as more of a gesture of good will and participation is often less than 100 percent. Also, the laki malan may levy fines on households who do not participate while the Christian specialist has no such sanction.

After the clearing is completed, the brush and timber in the fields are allowed to dry for up to two months. This is a period of relative leisure when men (and occasionally women) may travel downriver to the bazaars or to other villages to visit friends and relatives. Many people engage in work around the village such as building canoes and repair or rebuilding of houses.

As mid-July approaches, everyone scans the skys anxiously for rain clouds. A rain can delay the burn and thus, the planting and, ultimately, the harvest. This could move the harvest into another rainy period with the danger of the crop being destroyed by a storm or being too wet to harvest. The laki malan chooses the day to begin the burn. People whose fields are contiguous burn on the same day.

If the burn is not good, people re-pile the remaining brush and re-burn within a couple of days. The larger trees do not burn and are left where they have fallen. They provide walkways through the fields, are a source of firewood and, on steep slopes, help prevent erosion.

The day for planting to begin is selected by the laki malan based on the angle of the sun. The laki malan plants first and then others in a strict rotation of days based on social class. On a given day, only the fields of those designated for that day may be planted. Planting is a time of fun and the work is always done in exchange labor groups. In the evenings these groups may gather at the lamin of a group member to drink borak (rice or cassava beer), sing and tell stories. It is also a time for courtship as the labor groups of teenagers gather and wander around the village from house to house. Teenagers may dress in costumes with elaborate masks representing spirits that will protect the newly planted rice. They go to each longhouse begging food and borak. The spirits are pleased with these offerings and will do their job with enthusiasm.

Planting is done with a dibble stick, the men going ahead in a line and making the holes and the women following along dropping the seeds. The whole process may take as long as a month, but after two circuits of the social class hierarchy, planting days are no longer restricted. Anyone can plant on any day.

Several weeks after the planting is completed begins the

most arduous and despised task, the weeding. The majority of the weeding is done by women. There is no prohibition against men weeding, but many find it another convenient time for traveling.[5] Women faced with weeding usually get together in small exchange labor groups (3 or 4 women); the gossip opportunity is excellent since no one is near to overhear. Late September and October are the height of the weeding season. After this, the growing rice is large enough not to be threatened by any new weeds that spring up.

Harvest may begin from mid-December to early January with the first day's harvest on the field of the laki malan. After this, the work proceeds in a rotation identical to that of the planting days. The harvest is the high point of the year. After several months of last year's rice, or cassava if last year's harvest was bad, the taste of new rice is welcome. Great jars of borak are brewed to enliven the evenings as the exchange labor groups gather to enjoy the hospitality of the recipient of the day's efforts. The harvest may take two months or even more depending on whether the laki malan has done well and the harvest is good. After the completion of the harvest, the laki malan performs his final task, the ritual pelepuk Bungan (lit., "to turn Bungan") which informs the goddess Bungan that the harvest

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[5] In the days of inter-tribal warfare, this was also the peak season for headhunting forays. Women weeding were frequent victims since they were out and away from the village unprotected.

is finished and the year is ended.

The mamat or adat ayau[6] ceremony, a four-day (some say formerly eight days) ritual involving the bringing of fresh heads into the village, is held after pelepuk Bungan. These days the heads are old ones, relics of the past, but mamat is still the high point of the ritual calendar. It is a warrior's ritual with no role for women other than the preparing of food and borak. Two of the evenings of mamat are the one time in Kenyah life when women are secluded with ritual sanction. During these evenings all females with the exception of young children must be inside their houses.

The Kenyah insist that the year ends with pelepuk Bungan and begins again with nyat tana. The mamat falls between these and so is, in a sense, outside of time, a truly liminal period. A few days after mamat, the new laki malan is chosed. With the performance of his first task, nyat tana, the new year begins.

Although rice is undoubtedly central to Kenyah life, other food crops are also important but without the ritual attention lavished on rice. The most important secondary crop is cassava. The leaves are a popular vegetable and the starchy roots become a staple in the event of a poor rice harvest. Other minor crops include corn, Job's tears,

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[6]To the best of my knowledge, in 1980, Long Moh is the only Kenyah village that still performs the mamat and other ceremonies mentioned above. The others have become Christians.

cucumbers and squashes, sweet potatoes, taro, coconut, bananas, and sugar cane. Tobacco is also important, especially in Long Nawang with its relative inaccessibility to markets. The ingredients for the betel chew are essential.

A few domestic pigs are kept but these are saved for special occasions such as a death or marriage or an aristocrat's naming ceremony. Chickens are scrawny, tough, and reluctant egg producers. The chickens are also saved for special occasions such as rituals or important guests from other villages. The few eggs are used for rituals and occasionally for the sick; they cannot be said to form any real part of the diet. The other two domestic animals are the dog and the cat. Cats are kept primarily as protection against rats and are rarely seen; they spend nights prowling in the rafters and days well out of reach of dogs and children. Dogs are kept for hunting; they are valuable and the pups of a well-known hunting dog fetch a good price. When past their prime, they are permitted to retire, and every village has its quota of ancient and mangey retired hounds.

The Kenyah are agriculturalists and it is thus that they differentiate themselves from their neighbors, the hunting and gathering, semi-nomadic Punan whom they regard as uncivilized savages. But, nonetheless, it would be a mistake to underestimate the reliance of the Kenyah themselves on hunting and gathering. I would estimate that about half of the vegetable products other than rice in the

daily diet are gathered from the jungle. Most of the fruit consumed is wild. The vast majority of the animal protein in the diet is from hunting and fishing. The primary object of the hunt is the wild pig since it provides animal fat for cooking and seasoning as well as meat, but deer, birds, and monkeys and other small animals are also taken. Other jungle products, such as rattan, are used in hundreds of ways in the village and traded downriver.

The Kenyah are still primarily subsistence agriculturalists although they do produce some cash crops in some areas. The extent of participation in the market economy depends to some degree on location. Long Nawang is too far from markets to make such cash cropping feasible. Mara Satu, being a short distance from a coastal town, is able to sell vegetables and agricultural produce to town dwellers. In Long Moh, rubber is the major cash crop, but in none of these locations is there a regular and reliable source of cash income. If a Long Moh man, for example, finds a pressing need for cash, such as to pay school fees for a child downriver, he will tap rubber and sell it downriver. Most people, however, do not tap their rubber and sell it on a regular basis. It is there when needed just as are the jungle products (e.g., rattan, sandalwood, etc.) that may also be sold downriver.

Another common source of cash for market needs (e.g., kerosene, sugar,salt,cloth, etc.) is the sale of one's labor. Men, and particularly younger men, travel downriver

in groups to do manual labor, especially in the timber industry, for several weeks, months, or even years. Before returning home, they spend all their wages to purchase the goods mentioned above as well as trinkets for wives, sisters, and children. Occasionally, the wages go for a major item such as an outboard motor or a sewing machine.

In recent years, the villages have been supporting small shops, or even co-operatives, to supply daily needs such as salt, kerosene, and chewing tobacco on a small scale. To get the cash for these purchases, people sell small quantities of rice, rubber, or other products to the shop. These shops have not, however, done away with the trips downriver to labor for wages and purchase in the quantity and variety unavailable in the village shops.

Units of Organization

In both Kalimantan and Sarawak, there are high chiefs, recognized and supported by the governments, with authority over several villages to arbitrate when necessary in matters of adat law and to bring government directives to the attention of village headmen. These positions are only partly traditional ones. Before the colonial period, there were leaders whose influence extended beyond their villages, but their constituencies were fluid, depending on the formation and dissolution of alliances as well as on the personality of the individual leader. British and Dutch colonial authorities formalized and solidified these positions, alloting each a specific territory. The present

governments have continued these positions. They are filled partly on the basis of heredity subject to government veto. Occasionally, these chiefs may call meetings of their village headmen to discuss common problems or to explain new government edicts, but the organizational units headed by these chiefs are significant largely in the eyes of the governments not in the view of the Kenyah. For the Kenyah, it is the village that is the largest significant organizational unit.

The typical Kenyah village consists of several longhouses located at the confluence of a stream with a main river, and it is from these locations that the villages characteristically take their names. The word long means "confluence"; thus, Long Moh is the confluence of the Moh River with the larger Baram River. Long Nawang is the confluence of the Nawang River with the Kayan River.

Under both traditional Kenyah religion (adat po'on) and adat Bungan (a reform system that eliminates some aspects of adat po'on such as bird augury), the village is a ritual unit. Periodic rituals protect the village as a whole from disease or other adversity. Certain acts by individuals can place the entire village in jeopardy and necessitate ritual protection for the village. On the days of such village-wide rituals, the village proper is closed. No one may leave, even to go to the fields, and no stranger may enter. On the death of a villager, the village is likewise closed. On these occasions, the village is in a state of malan ("ritual prohibition"). Lack of co-operation

from one individual places the entire village at risk.

The village also acts in concert in the timing of the events of the agricultural cycle. The laki malan performs the essential rice cycle rituals on behalf of the whole village. For each of the major rituals, a representative of each household must attend. This situation still obtains in Long Moh where a large majority of the population follows adat Bungan. There are a few Roman Catholic families in Long Moh, but there is a great deal of tolerance between the two groups. The Catholics hold their own agricultural rituals but time them to coincide with those of the adat Bungan people. They also observe the prohibitions on leaving the village on malan days.

The Kenyah of Long Nawang and Mara Satu are fundamentalist Protestants and have no agricultural rituals or other supernaturally sanctioned occasions for acting in concert. Each household can set its own timing of agricultural tasks. Considerations of the weather and the desirability of being able to work in exchange labor groups mean that people do, in fact, time their agricultural work to coincide with that of their neighbors, but there are no supernatural sanctions against not doing so. In Long Nawang and Mara Satu there is a general feeling that everyone should be present in the case of a death, but should someone choose not to do so, the act would bring social disapproval on that individual alone. In Long Moh it would place the entire village in danger. In other words, in the Christian

villages, the village is a social unit but not the ritual unit it is under adat Bungan and adat po'on.

Each village has a headman called, in Kenyah, paran lepo (lit., "village leader") or pengabio dalem lepo (lit., "big one of the village"). These offices are now more frequently referred to by their Malaysian or Indonesian terms: tua kampong or kepala kampong. The tua kampong generally come from the higher aristocratic families although not necessarily in direct patrilineal succession. Present day tua kampong often experience a conflict between their traditional style of leadership by consensus and expectations of villagers and the demands placed on them by the government. Many complain of the difficult position they are in by being responsible to the government for the carrying out of possibly unpopular directives. A tua kampong was traditionally expected to hold his post for life and would likely be replaced by his son on his death. This is no longer necessarily true. The problems generated by conflicting expectations of villagers and the government from the tua kampong have caused some tua kampong to request replacement and some qualified candidates to refuse to serve.

One of the primary qualities desired in a tua kampong is the ability to speak well; skill in public speaking is exhibited at village meetings. The tua kampong may call a village meeting to discuss any matters of general concern. Anyone may attend and speak but the important voices are those of the elders, and especially the aristocratic elders.

The tua kampong presents the matter to be discussed at the outset, but he usually does not speak again until the end of the meeting. After everyone has spoken -- sometimes for hours -- and a general feeling of consensus is reached, the tua kampong presents his view. Since his view is an elegant restatement of the consensus, there is usually no disagreement at this point and the matter is settled.

The extent of each village's lands is clearly defined, and inter-village land disputes are rare. People from other villages may ask permission to use land within the village territory. If no villager has claimed the land for that year, permission is usually granted. Land is "owned" by the village in the sense that all villagers have a common interest in it. Every household has established rights to use certain areas of the village land, initially gained by cutting primary forest.

The longhouse is a characteristic feature of central Borneo. Most Kenyah villages contain several longhouses in contrast to other Borneo groups where each village consists of only one longhouse. Kenyah longhouses average 10 to 14 apartments although there is a story about a longhouse in the old days of 100 apartments. The individual apartments are called lamin which might also be translated as "household" since it means not only the physical structure but also its inhabitants. Each lamin is a single room with separate areas for cooking and eating and for sitting and sleeping. The lamin open on to a common veranda, and

the entire structure is elevated several feet off the ground. Access to the house is a notched log at either end of the veranda. The veranda is both an informal and a formal meeting place. During the day, people sit on the veranda to do sedentary work such as sewing or repairing of fishing nets in the company of their neighbors. At the same time, they can easily watch the small children playing on the veranda and on the ground below. At night the veranda provides a cool place to sit and discuss the events of the day or gossip. It may also be a sleeping area for young boys and visitors. A formal meeting called by the tua kampong is usually held on the veranda in front of his lamin; often this area of the veranda is built especially wide just for this purpose.

Each longhouse has its own leader (paran uma' or pengabio dalem uma'), who usually occupies the central lamin, but the longhouse rarely acts as a unit apart from the other longhouses in the village. The exceptions are in the rebuilding of the house and in parts of the annual mamat rituals. For the mamat ritual, each house has its own ritual paraphrenalia and its own heads. For parts of the ritual, the warriors of the village act together, but for other parts, they gather at their own houses.[7]

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[7]Since the main occasion on which the longhouse acts as a formal ritual unit is mamat, it may be that the significance of the longhouse as an organizational unit was greater during the days of headhunting.

Longhouse neighbors are expected to participate and help in the life crisis rituals of one of the component lamin and should receive shares from a good hunt. An individual lamin may move and join another longhouse only with the permission of the paran uma' of both houses and the payment of a fine to the house being left. New lamin may be added to either end of a longhouse at any time, but it is more usual to wait for the longhouse to be rebuilt to add new lamin to it.

The household or lamin is the basic organizational unit in daily life. Most Kenyah state as an ideal a large lamin full of children and grandchildren but the problems and practicalities of interpersonal relations intervene, and at least 75 percent of the lamin in all three villages contain nuclear families or stem families. Joint families form one stage in the domestic cycle. A young couple may live with the parents of either spouse; it is a matter to be decided before the marriage. At this stage, when the parents are still living and the children are just beginning their marriages, there may be two or more married siblings, their spouses, and their young children together in the lamin. It is very rare, however, for adult siblings to remain together permanently, especially after the death of the parents. In the few cases where it has occurred, the siblings are two sisters or a brother and a sister but never two brothers.

The lamin is a unit of production and consumption and

is also a ritual unit. Each married couple and each single adult in the lamin makes one or more rice fields, but the yield goes into a common store and cooking is done in common. The appearance of separate storage and cooking facilities (cha paman, dua apui = "one door, two fires") signals the imminent breakup of the lamin.

At village-wide rituals marking steps in the rice cycle or any other occasion, a representative of each lamin (usually the head) must attend. He does so on behalf of the entire lamin. Some rituals are conducted at the lamin level. On such occasions, the lamin is malan; all of its members should be present and no outsiders may enter. At each stage of the rice cycle, the lamin head conducts rituals in his own field. These rituals act on behalf of the entire lamin. Other members of the lamin do not need to repeat the rituals in their own fields even though these may be widely separated from the field of the lamin head.

The lamin is the locus of rights to land and to the use of heirloom property. Primary land-use rights are gained by the cutting of primary forest. These rights are vested not in the cutter but in the lamin in which he resides at the time of cutting. People who move out of their natal lamin retain secondary rights to that lamin's land. Heirloom property likewise remains in the natal lamin; those who leave their lamin retain rights in the property. The various claims on both land rights and rights in heirloom property are mediated by the head of the lamin.

Thus, the lamin is the center of the individual's life. It is through lamin membership that rights to land and heirloom property are obtained. It is with one's fellow lamin members that one works to produce the rice crop and with them that the rice is prepared and consumed. The head of one's lamin attends all necessary village rituals on one's behalf. If an individual is ill, it is the members of the lamin who provide care and participate in any rituals and prohibitions necessary for curing. They will sponsor all of the necessary life crisis rituals for one of their members. Should an individual grow up in a lamin with cousins or step-siblings, he cannot marry them even though their relationship might permit marriage were they not of the same lamin. Having grown up in the same lamin is enough to create a bond that would make such a marriage incestous.

Social Stratification

Social stratification among the indigenous peoples of Borneo reaches its fullest expression among the Kenyah and related groups (Leach 1950:76). Under adat po'on there were five strata distinguished: deta'u bio ("major aristocrats"); deta'u dumit ("minor aristocrats"); panyin tiga ("good commoners"); panyin ja'at ("bad commoners"); and panyin lamin ("household commoners" or slaves). These distinctions were given recognition in ritual, in adat, and in marriage rules. Certain symbols, such as tiger teeth, could be used

only by deta'u. In some villages, the roofs of deta'u lamin were raised above those of their panyin neighbors, and the portions of the veranda in front of their lamin were wider. In village-wide rituals, each strata was mentioned by name and separate offerings made on the behalf of each. Lamin rituals varied in form depending on the strata of the lamin. During the planting season, different days were devoted to the fields of each strata in rotation.

Under adat Bungan and national government laws, the system is somewhat simplified. Government laws have outlawed the panyin lamin or slave classification. It is theoretically a fineable offense to refer to a person as a slave or the descendent of slaves. Of course, everyone knows who such people are and they still tend to occupy the lowest rungs of the social ladder, but, for ritual purposes, they have become merged into the panyin category. For ritual purposes, adat Bungan makes only two divisions, deta'u[8] and panyin, with the exception of the planting days. For planting days, the adat po'on distinctions remain.

Aristocrats are presumed to have superior knowledge of adat; it is they who control the ritual and who preside over problems concerned with breaches of adat. They should behave like aristocrats and be models for the community. An aristocrat who does not will be censured by others

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[8]Another term sometimes used is paran which is more closely "leader" but the categories overlap to a great extent since most leaders are aristocrats.

of his class. People speak of class distinctions as matters of "blood," "we and they," "our kind."

On one occasion, I went with a woman of the highest aristocratic strata to a festive meal at another longhouse. We arrived early and people were sitting in small groups on the veranda visiting. My escort paused for a moment at the top of the steps and surveyed the scene. Then she said quietly to me, "Kini; kini kelunan me'" ("Over here are our people"), meaning that here was the appropriate group for us to sit with.

Deta'u believe that panyin are generally coarser in speech and manner than deta'u; they do not speak well in public, that ability being one of the attributes of Kenyah aristocracy and leadership. Indeed, in the presence of deta'u in a formal situation, panyin often do not speak at all.[9] The deta'u tend to have a greater knowledge, in both depth and breadth, of geneologies, but this is not invariable. They also feel, of course, that only deta'u geneologies are worth knowing.

For ritual purposes, a lamin is unambiguously either deta'u or panyin; it uses one or the other form of adat. This does not mean that the system is totally rigid. There is room for social mobility, at least within the middle

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[9] This may present a difficulty for the short-term investigator; as long as he remains a visitor, he will be monopolized by the aristocrats. Thus, Leach says, ". . . almost all published records -- as well as my own notes -- are based on information supplied by members of the aristocracy" (1950:77).

ranges of the system. The primary mechanism for mobility is intermarriage coupled with the personal characteristics of individuals. Class endogamy is the norm and interclass marriage is discouraged, but the course of true love does not always follow the wishes of parents. Should a deta'u girl, for example, marry a panyin boy, the girl's parents would almost certainly insist that postmarital residence be in their lamin. They are thinking of the grandchildren because a child follows the adat of the lamin into which it is born. The marrying-in boy also follows the adat of his new lamin although he is not "really" a deta'u and any attempt by him to presume such would be met with ridicule or maybe even parib.[10] His children, born of a deta'u mother into a deta'u lamin come closer but people still remember that their father was only a panyin. Personal characteristics come into play here. If, as the young man grows older, he proves to be a man of wise judgement and a good speaker, he will gain status. Perhaps his son will, in turn, marry a deta'u girl. His grandchildren may then be deta'u, not, perhaps, of the highest levels but certainly deta'u. If they accord themselves well, behave as deta'u, and play their part in village affairs, geneological amnesia sets in. In tracing the

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[10] Parib is a state of ritual impurity resulting from presuming above oneself generally or from specific offences such as using symbols reserved to those of higher class or adat of higher class. The state of parib can result in illness or even death for the offender. In Christian villages, of course, fear of parib no longer obtains, and even under adat Bungan, it has lost much of its force.

straight line geneologies up to the apical ancestors, the panyin grandfather will be forgotten and the deta'u grandmother link will be used. In speaking of these cross-class marriages, Leach says, "Individuals of strong personality will use their aristocratic lineage to elevate themselves into the ruling clique but others quickly sink into commoner status" (1950:76). The first part of this statement is not quite true; such strong individuals will not elevate themselves but rather their descendents sometimes to the point where, ironically, they themselves are quite forgotten. In the rare case of the deta'u spouse moving to the panyin lamin, the reverse occurs; even though the children are panyin, and if they marry panyin, their grandchildren are unambiguously panyin, every attempt is made to preserve the deta'u ancestor.

In Christian villages, the official church ideology has it that social class is no longer operative or relevant, but this kind of social change is not made by fiat. Even though Christian ritual does not distinquish different ritual forms for different classes and such things as different planting days are eliminated, people remain quite conscious of social class. A glance into the church on a Sunday morning demonstrates this; the seating arrangements are what they would be for any gathering with deta'u elders given pride of place. Class endogamy is still encouraged. In the first generation of Christians, there was a strong tendency for church leaders to be deta'u but this has declined somewhat as it has become

abundantly clear that the rewards of church leadership are strictly spiritual. Sometimes in these Christian villages, one finds people using symbols (such as tiger teeth or other decorations) inappropriate to their class. They no longer fear parib nor are they subject to fines, but they may be subject to subtle ridicule. But even among these Christians who say they no longer fear parib, Whittier (1973) notes that on the events of danger involving the attachment and detachment of souls (i.e., birth and early infancy and death), the correct and appropriate class symbols are used.

In adoption, too, the influence of social class is clear. Adoption is a common solution to a childless marriage and an adopted child has identical rights of inheritance with his/her adoptive parents' biological offspring. The adopted child also shares unambiguously the adoptive parents' social class. This could present a problem because social class is generally thought of as a matter of "blood" and "the right stuff." It would be difficult to consider a child of panyin "blood" to be a deta'u. Thus, adoptions across class lines are very rare. The majority of adopted children are the children of siblings or first cousins of the adoptive parents so the child's adoptive and biological parents are ipso facto of the same class. Even in those adoptions from people other than close relatives, the biological and adoptive parents are generally of the same class. There are only three cases in my records where this is not so. Two cases occurred in the Catholic longhouse of Lepo Jingan

Kenyah attached to Long Moh. This longhouse was trying to increase its numbers so that it could separate from Long Moh.[11] When a panyin woman died leaving several children, the two youngest, both still very small, were adopted by childless deta'u couples in the house. There were panyin couples in other Long Moh houses who would have adopted the children, but in their attempts to increase the size of the population, the deta'u of Lepo Jingan preferred to adopt the children themselves rather than have them lost to the longhouse. The third case involved a couple who were very low on the social scale. The man had worked for several months at a stone quarry downriver. His wife had accompanied him, and, while downriver, they had adopted a Kayan child.

Despite changes brought about by adat Bungan and by Christianity, social class is an ever visible and pervasive force in Kenyah society. A force that will bring changes in social class in the future is education. The number of young Kenyah who receive secondary schooling is still small and the number who pass the government exams is smaller

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[11] A government regulation specifies a minimum of ten households to constitute a separate village. Lepo Jingan had been depleted by epidemics and fallen below this. They had been forced to join Long Moh temporarily. Their house, with its own headman, was separated from Long Moh proper by a small stream (evil spirits cannot cross water). As Catholics, they maintained their own ritual calendar and festivities. They were part of Long Moh in the eyes of the government only. In every marriage between Lepo Jingan and Long Moh during my stay, the spouse from Long Moh joined the Lepo Jingan house. This is another indication of Lepo Jingan's determination to increase its numbers.

yet but it is increasing. Successful completion of secondary school brings with it the possibility of employment in the civil service or in private business. Both of these possibilities carry not only a good, steady income and increased standard of living, but also status and prestige. Many young girls stated that they would rather marry a boy with education and a job than an uneducated boy of higher class. Educated boys also prefer wives with at least some secondary schooling. Their parents might not agree, but they do not always have the final word. There have already been cases of deta'u girls refusing what were in their parents' eyes appropriate matches in favor of educated panyin boys and the promise of a future in the "modern" world.

Kinsmen

In a village of only a few hundred souls in which village endogamy is the norm, in a sense almost everyone is a kinsmen. But the Kenyah view is not quite so broad, and, as do most people, the Kenyah single out some for special regard. Geddes says, " With any people, geneologies are mainly of concern only for those who have a vested interest in them " (1957:33). For the Kenyah this means that the most devoted geneologists are the deta'u. They are interested in two types of geneologies. One is a straight line geneology or a sort of pedigree tracing an individual back to a founding ancestor/culture hero. The second type, at which women are especially proficient, traces out broader

connections of collaterals and demonstrates clearly who are "our kind" not only in the village but in other villages as well. A deta'u woman laid out for me one night, using bits of leaf as counters, a chart of over three hundred kinsmen without pausing for breath.[12] This sort of chart, of course, also displays clearly possible appropriate matches for one's children.

Another use of geneological knowledge is in the establishing of rights to land and heirloom property. But for this neither great breadth nor depth of geneological knowledge is required. It is enough to know the rights held by one's parents; the degree of one's own rights in that same land and property then depends on whether one remains in their lamin or not.

In constructing both of the sorts of geneologies mentioned, one may use either male or female links, for the Kenyah give almost equal emphasis to maternal and paternal kin. The straight line geneologies generally use male links[13] but where necessary to keep the line moving straight and true to its object female links are used without hesitation.

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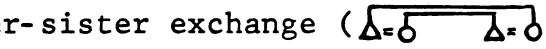
[12]Although she was illiterate, she quickly understood the symbols I was using in constructing my chart and asked for a copy "for the grandchildren". When I returned to the village five years later, she opened her treasury of valuable goods and retrived my chart. Tracing my lines with a finger, she then supplied all the names without an error, adding in the marriages, births, and deaths of the intervening years.

[13]Since the naming system uses patronyms, male links are easier to remember.

The broader geneologies include males and females equally although, in the case of deta'u they tend to exclude those who have made "unfortunate" marriages or otherwise fallen from grace, especially after two or three generations have elapsed.

The term chenganak has two meanings, a restricted one of "sibling" and a broader one of "relative" or "kinsman", which, depending on context, may include affines. As noted, deta'u generally recognize a wider range of kinsmen including collaterals to the fourth degree as chenganak. Chenganak form the sort of grouping that Freeman (1961) and Leach (1950), among others, refer to as a personal kindred. A person can usually define what would be an ideal relationship between himself and a member of a particular category of kinsman, but people are individuals and one's actual relationship with this mother's brother may be quite different from that with another mother's brother although both fall within the same category. One generally expects help and cooperation from one's chenganak in the ceremonies and rituals attendant on life crises but these are very general expectations. One also expects help from one's longhouse neighbors. Kinship is a powerful force but it is not the be all and end all of social organization. Kinship is but one of the webs of Kenyah society; social class, age, proximity, and the mutual tie of friendship also supply social glue.

Marriage is the proper state for an adult and, with

few exceptions, all adult Kenyah are or have been married. The choice of a marriage partner is constrained by social class, kinship and proximity. Class endogamy is the preference and the norm. The attractions of young love sometimes leap class boundries; parents try to prevent it but there are, as discussed previously, interclass marriages. Marriage is always permitted with second cousins and beyond. Deta'u, in the interests of class endogamy, may marry first cousins with payment of a fine. First cousin marriage is, for unspecified reasons, dangerous and "hot" and is not preferred, but the fine helps to "cool" the situation and it is still better than marrying a panyin. Marriage outside of one's structural generation is also "hot" but may be permitted on payment of a fine.[14] Another ideally prohibited form, for which I was unable to obtain an explanation, is brother-sister exchange (); again it is possible on payment of a fine.

Children who have grown up in the same lamin may not marry regardless of their relationship or lack thereof; they are "like siblings". Thus, step-siblings who are small when their parents marry may not themselves marry. If the parents marry when the children are grown, it would be theoretically

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[14]The two cases of this sort of marriage that I know well cause all sorts of joking because, in the generational system of kin terms, they raise ambiguities about proper forms of address and reference. In both of these cases, although the partners are of different structural generations, they are close in age. Kenyah girls laughed hysterically when I described the marriage patterns of the Tiwi of Australia.

possible for the children to marry although there was no case of this during my research period. The opposite case, however, did occur. A woman's elderly widower father married her husband's elderly widow mother, making the woman and her husband step-siblings. This situation brought about some joking but no serious concern. The lack of concern here brings up another point about marriage rules and interest in post-marital residence. These rules and constraints apply primarily to first marriages and to subsequent marriages only if there is the possibility of children. Except for unions prohibited as incestuous, the constraints do not apply to the "companionship" marriages of older people.

Some informants maintained that patrilateral parallel cousins are, in some unspecified way, "closer" than other types of cousins and should not marry. This was puzzling until I realized that the people who held this view were high aristocrats. Their contention was based on ideas about post-marital residence and lamin composition rather than convictions about geneology. These highest deta'u also maintain that post-marital residence should be virilocal and, for them, it is often the case. This is because the highest deta'u are more likely to contract inter-village marriages. A young man who will probably succeed to a position of power and leadership in his natal village will stay there after marriage and his wife join him. His sisters, in turn, are likely to marry high deta'u of other villages and move out. This pattern, in conjunction with the stated

but seldom realized ideal of several siblings remaining together in the natal lamin, would produce a lamin of brothers, their wives, and their children. The children, of course, would be patrilateral parallel cousins, but that is not the operative factor in forbidding their marriage. Any cousins who grow up in the same lamin are under the same restrictions. What my informants were stating were ideals about post-marital residence and lamin composition for a particular social strata.

Girls usually marry at about 16 to 18 years of age, rarely younger. The older teenager period is one of hard work but also a great deal of fun and companionship with one's agemates. As strongly as they desire marriage and children, most girls are not willing to give up their freedom too soon. Boys usually marry a couple of years later than girls, at about 18 to 20, or even later if they have the opportunity for secondary education.[15] Early courtship is a group enterprize with young people of marriageable age and both sexes frequently joining together for work parties, to assist in the preparation and serving of food for feasts, or other projects. On any festive occasion, a ritual or the welcoming of a visitor, they organize the dancing that is the customary evening

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[15]Kenyah children often start primary school a year or two later than the standard age of six and, with the other delays they are likely to experience along the way, may be in their early 20's before they finish secondary school.

entertainment. On ordinary evenings they wander around the village in small groups, gathering to chat, sing, and joke on the longhouse verandas. Any special relationship between a boy and a girl remains circumspect until formal arrangements have been made. The first move is up to the boy, but, of course, a girl will do all in her power to attract a particular eye.[16] If a boy is attracted to a particular girl, he sends a group of his friends to find out whether his feelings are reciprocated. If they are, the boy tells his parents and, if they approve, they seek a go-between. If the boy's parents do not approve, they will try to direct his attentions to more suitable candidates. All my informants said they would not want to marry without the approval of their parents; after all, the couple will have to live with one set of parents. But most parents said that if all efforts to change a boy's mind failed, they would probably give in eventually. Marriages arranged entirely by parents occur only at the highest levels of the aristocracy where they are used to build a wide network of political alliance. Even at this level, however, the couple has to consent. A great deal of pressure is brought to bear to encourage them to do so but, if they withstand it and absolutely refuse, the marriage cannot take place.

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[16]Part of her power, in addition to physical attractiveness, is in demonstrating a capacity for hard work. This is also true for boys in attracting girls. For this reason, a lamin with teenagers is blessed in terms of its labor force. Not only do its own teenagers work hard, but they also bring others in exchange labor groups.

If the boy has his parents' blessings, the go-between, an older person but not necessarily a relative, approaches the girl's parents. It is a subtle and delicate matter and the go-between should be skilled in diplomatic speech. The go-between does not set out the matter straightaway but engages in polite conversation working gradually around to the subject of the visit. In the context of the conversation, the go-between asks whether the girl has already been spoken for. The reply should be negative since the boy has already ascertained that the girl is interested in him. The go-between then brings up the name of the boy, presenting his merits very diplomatically. If the girl's parents are unfavorable, the go-between reports back to the boy's parents, leaving the girl to fight it out with her own parents. Something may be worked out eventually. If the girl's parents agree to the match, the go-between arranges a meeting between the two sets of parents and acts as mediator. Agreement on the desirability of the match already having been obtained, the important issue of this meeting is the question of post-marital residence; the amount of bridewealth is another important, but secondary, question. Potential unions may falter at this point. As noted previously, the Kenyah generally value large lamin, and both sets of parents are likely to want post-marital residence to be in their lamin. There are many factors to be considered and the discussions may run through long valleys of controversy and irrelevance. They will be

replete with exemplification and will include such matters as the relative resources of the two lamin, the relative ages of the parents, the presence or absence of other siblings, and the needs for labor as well as questions of interpersonal relations. Should one of the potential spouses be of a higher social strata, the matter becomes difficult. No one wants to see his/her grandchildren born into a lower class lamin. Should one of the partners be an only child, the matter is practically closed; no child could be expected to leave his/her parents alone. When aggreement is reached, an approximate time for the wedding is decided (usually after the next harvest) and the boy can begin to spend the night with the girl at her lamin (nyadap).[17]

Even during the nyadap period, the couple should be somewhat circumspect. The boy may give the girl small personal gifts, but he should not spend the daylight hours at her house or take meals with her family. He should confine his visits to hours after dark and should be back at his own house by morning.

The actual wedding ritual, tebuku tali ("to knot the string"), usually takes place after the harvest. The size of the event and the scope of the guest list depends on the

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[17]The cognate Iban term nyayap refers to any premarital sexual involvement. This is not to imply that sexual activity without prior parental approval of a union does not occur among the Kenyah, but only that the Kenyah are much less permissive about it than the Iban are reported to be. This is probably due in part to the Kenyah concern with preventing inter-class marriage. Pregnancy would force a marriage regardless of the social class of the partners.

social class of the couple. For the wedding of high deta'u from two different villages, the event would involve hundreds of guests. For people at the lower reaches of panyin, it might involve only close realtives and longhouse neighbors. The value of the gifts to the bride and her family also depends on social class. At the upper levels, the most valuable heirloom beads, gongs, brassware, and swords are used. In the event of a divorce with no children, these gifts are returned. If there are children who stay with the mother (as they normally do), the gifts are retained. Personal equipment such as clothing and work implements is supplied to the young couple by their respective parents.

After the tebuku tali, the couple takes up residence in the lamin decided in the premarital negotiations. The first few months, they may actually move back and forth several times, but, by the time the first child comes, they should be settled in the agreed-on lamin.

In both Long Nawang and Long Moh, all informants state that post-marital residence may be either uxorilocal (ngiban leto) or virilocal (ngiban laki); there is no preference except among the very highest aristocrats in cases of inter-village marriages. In Long Nawang, the statement of no preference is borne out in actuality, with the post-marital residence in 131 cases almost equally divided between uxorical and virilocal. Long Moh, however, shows a very different pattern with almost 75 percent uxorilocality. In neither case, is there a significant difference

between deta'u and panyin in post-marital residence patterns. Whittier (1978a) offers the possible explanation that the Long Moh people have closer relations with the Kayan than do the Long Nawang people; the Kayan express a preference for at least initial uxorilocality.

Marriage is the proper state for adults, and the proper result of marriage is children. Should there be no children, the marriage is incomplete and, in fact, there are no couples who remain childless. There are two solutions to the problem. The first is adoption; the vast majority of adoptions are by couples who have no children. The other possible solution is divorce. Divorce in such a case is not difficult but the marriage gifts must be returned. Divorce is not especially frequent but there is a difference between Long Nawang and Long Moh that is not readily explained. Even though the Long Nawang people are Christians of a fundamentalist sect that theoretically forbids divorce, the divorce rate there is about twice that in "pagan" Long Moh where people consider divorce a step not to be encouraged but nonetheless a rational solution to a childless marriage or insoluable incompatability.

Children complete a marriage and, in a sense, make their parents adults. Children are generally indulged, and at least during infancy a child is the object of a great deal of parental attention and affection. Part of this attention consists of all the steps necessary to ward off or cure the all-too-frequent ailments of infants and young

children. The infant is never alone; the idea of an infant sleeping apart from its mother is met with horror. The child sleeps with the parents until it is weaned (about 2 years) and joins a grandparent or the pile of older children. As the child grows older, it is less the companion of its mother and spends more time with grandparents and older siblings and, finally, by the age of 5 or 6, with agemates. By this time, a child should be polite and respectful to parents and other adults and accept their advice and counsel, at least in theory. What the child does out of their sight can often be ignored. Parents should instruct their children in adat and proper behavior and discipline them, but they are not ultimately responsible for how the children turn out. Should a child destroy someone else's property, no one would hold the parent responsible. If a child should turn out badly, it is not the parents' fault; they may be disappointed but their self-esteem need not suffer. Likewise, if the child turns out well, the parents are due no special credit; they may be pleased but pride would be out of place.

As the child grows up, he/she should rely on the parents' guidance; they are experts in all matters. Even in the choice of a spouse, grown children are reluctant to go against the wishes of their parents. Throughout adult life, one should at least listen to the advice of one's parents.

The prime of adulthood extends from the arrival of

children through the much desired arrival of grandchildren. In many societies, the relationship between alternate generations are especially warm, and the Kenyah are no exception. Grandchildren are indulged thoroughly. During infancy, most of a child's care falls to the mother, but after this period, a great deal of the child's care may be turned over to a grandparent. There may be a younger sibling occupying the mother's attention or, if not, her labor is needed in the fields. It would be wrong to say that the love and attention lavished on grandchildren is less than totally unselfish, but people do say that it is desirable to establish especially close relations with at least one grandchild because, when one is really old, it is a grandchild who can be expected to provide care. One's own children, in the prime of their adulthood, will have other responsibilities. They will, of course, provide food, shelter, and other necessities, but a nearly grown grandchild, as yet free of responsibilities for his/her own family, will provide those little extras of personal service that make for a comfortable old age. Great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren, should one be so blessed, are no less indulged but, by this time, the elder's role is more likely to be one of passive admiration than active, physical care.

Age brings increasing respect; even those no longer physically active may still be quite influential in the sphere of religion and politics. They are the authorities

on adat and adat law. They are provided for by their children and waited on by their grandchildren. An aged person who is senile becomes, the Kenyah say, "like a child" and is treated with a mixture of indulgence and respect. He/she is never made fun of or addressed improperly. The ideal end of life is a comfortable old age surrounded by all of one's children, their spouses, and grandchildren gathered into a single, harmonious lamin. This ideal is seldom realized, but it is a reasonable expectation and the norm to come into old age in a lamin with a child, his/her spouse, and grandchildren. As long as he/she remains mentally alert and active, the old one is the head of that lamin.

The scope of a funeral, like that of any other life crisis event, depends to a large extent on the social class of the deceased. A high point of the ceremony is the nidau, a long chant directing the soul of the dead to its final resting place. In this nidau, the deceased is placed in social context; the singer recites a geneology, enumerating ancestors and descendants.

The terms Kenyah use to address and refer to kinsmen are part of the system of appellation and will be discussed in Chapter III rather than here to save the reader from turning back.

Religion and Modernization

There is no Kenyah term for religion. Understandings about the cosmos and how it came into being, about man's

relations with it and with the hundreds of invisible beings who share it with him, and about good and evil and how the former may be obtained and the latter avoided are all subsumed under the term adat.[18] Adat could, perhaps, be defined as "the way things ought to be." According to Whittier (1978b), the pre-missionary, pre-colonial Kenyah did not see "religion" as a separate aspect of life, although some do so now. Christians try to retain the term adat in the sense of "custom" or "customary law" while stripping it of its supernatural content. They use the terms adat lama ("old adat") and adat po'on ("original adat") to mean Kenyah pre-Christian beliefs. Their own beliefs they refer to as agama Kristen. The reform cult centered on the goddess Bungan Malan is referred to as adat Bungan.[19]

Adat po'on or adat lama no longer exists as a viable system. The last man who was an avowed believer and practitioner of adat po'on died in Long Moh in 1976. Long Nawang is entirely a Christian village. The majority of villagers belong to a fundamentalist Protestant sect acronymed KINGMI; a few belong to the slightly less fundamentalist GPBI; and, a very few are Roman Catholic. Long Moh is the only Kenyah village that is not now Christian. The majority at Long Moh follow adat Bungan; there are a few

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[18] See Whittier (1978b) for a more complete discussion of the Kenyah concept of adat.

[19] See Whittier (1973) for a discussion of the history of adat Bungan; several other sources include Aichner (1956), Prattis (1963), and White (1956).

families of Roman Catholics and, recently, a very few members of the Protestant SIB sect. The Lepo Jingan house at Long Moh is entirely Roman Catholic but, as noted previously, it is part of Long Moh only in the eyes of the government.

Details of the beliefs about bali (spirits), their activities, and their rituals in adat po'on are available elsewhere as is information about adat Bungan.[20] I mention them only in passing here before moving on to consider the force of Christianity in Kenyah life.

Adat Bungan has eliminated from adat po'on some of the more onerous taboos and prohibitions. Its founder was a Christian and this influence is clear. Bird and animal augury is eliminated except for a few specific occasions where signs are specifically sought. The rituals of the rice cycle remain and the task of the laki malan is still time-consuming but the office is no longer surrounded by food prohibitions and isolation. The supreme dieties PeSalong Luhan and Bungan Malan remain although in most matters we need be concerned only with Bungan Malan; PeSalong Luhan has retired. There are still numerous bali who can bring good fortune or cause illness, poor harvest, or other bad luck. To keep the bali happy, they must be invited to feasts and routinely mentioned in chants. Periodic rituals cleanse the village of those bali who bring only harm and

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[20] Whittier (1973 and 1978a); Elshout (1923 and 1926); Niewenhuis (1900 and 1904); Galvin (1966, 1968, and 1970); Harrisson (1966); Hose and McDougall (1912); Madang and Galvin (1966); Mojberg (1927); and Rudes (1972).

spiritually fence them away.

Christianity, according to some of the missionaries and stronger adherents, has done away with the world of invisible spirits and the need to propitiate them. But many people who are quite sincere in their profession of Christianity nonetheless take precautions. At times of real crisis, such as the illness of a child, Christianity may not offer quite enough, and most people see no harm in using all the help available. Some missionaries maintain that Christianity represents little change in Kenyah life in that Christianity substitutes new rituals for "pagan" ones. Christianity provides rituals for the life crisis events, such as naming, marriage, and death. Some Catholic missionaries have even tried to evolve rice cycle rituals. Some say that Easter, coming like mamat after the harvest, is a satisfying substitute for the formerly paramount mamat ritual. Christianity also provides curing rituals in the form of prayers for the sick. To what extent Christianity fills the same emotional and spiritual space as adat po'on or adat Bungan is a moot question. But, certainly, Christianity and all that comes with it have brought changes in more than beliefs about the supernatural.

Christians retain the belief that all should be present in the village at the time of a funeral or a major village ritual (e.g., Christmas or Easter) but their reasons are social rather than spiritual. The absence of a villager does not endanger others and sanctions against him/her are

in the form of social disapproval rather than spiritual danger.

Christians retain the adat belief that one should be humble and not presumptuous; this is in accord with Christian ethics. In adat, however, the belief is supported by a strong class system and transgression may bring supernatural sanction in the form of illness or even death. For Christians, the sanctions against one who is arrogant or does not give proper respect to a deta'u are social.

Matters of adat prescription such as, for example, the sharing of the fruits of the hunt, are not delineated by Christianity and some are unsure whether, as Christians, they are bound by such prescriptions. Should Christians for example, give marriage gifts? If heirloom property has no spiritual component, can it be sold? Spiritually, Christianity is a more individualistic matter than adat. One's sins are one's own and a matter between the sinner and God or, at most, the sinner, God, and the priest. At any rate, they do not endanger the community.

This is not to imply that Christianity promotes a disregard of one's fellows. The ethics of all varieties of Christianity encourage one to "do unto others." But in the case of the Kenyah, Christianity does break the back of the ritual community. The delicts of one's fellows are of social interest only; they are not generally a threat to one's own spiritual or physical well-being.

On the part of Christians, ideas about being Christian

are inextricably bound with ideas about being modern and progressive as these concepts are perceived by the Kenyah. Even though in fact adat Bungan entered the Kenyah world after Christianity, Christians think of adat Bungan adherents as being old-fashioned and out-of-date. It is not a matter of timing but of the source of the beliefs; Christianity comes from the outside, from the modern world.

Christianity, brought as it is by outsiders, carries with it the baggage of the morals and values of the cultures of its carriers. Thus, in Protestant areas, festive days and relaxing evenings around the jars of borak are gone. Hymns replace Kenyah songs and Bible stories take over some of the place of the myths of culture heros. Women and girls cut off their stretched ear lobes because, in some eyes, they look "pagan" and "primitive." The Catholic missionaries, at least in Sarawak, have tried to encourage the retention of aspects of Kenyah culture that are not, in their view, directly tied to religion, but there are still questions. If divorce is prohibited and no children are available for adoption, what is the solution to a childless marriage?

It would be wrong to suggest that all change is brought about by missionaries and Christianity and that, without them, the Kenyah would exist in some mythical pristine splendor. There are many other outside influences on Kenyah life. There are colonial and national governments, education, mass media, tourists, and the travels of the

Kenyah themselves. In a general sense, however, for most Christian Kenyah, being a Christian is itself a symbol of modernity and of a progressive up-to-date outlook on life.

Formal Education

Education is one of the many sources of new ideas and different views of the world for the Kenyah in their relatively isolated upriver villages.

In the mid-1920's, the Dutch established a three-year primary school in Long Nawang. The medium of instruction was Malay (now Indonesian). It was attended largely by children of deta'u, and in 1970 there were several older men who were literate as a result of this schooling. But the majority of the people over 40 are illiterate. Schooling was interrupted by World War II and again by Confrontation with Malaysia but most men in their mid-30's or younger are literate; about half the women in this age-range are literate. Schooling was increased to six years in 1950. Continuing one's education beyond the primary level is difficult. Secondary schools are downriver -- a canoe and foot journey of two weeks or more -- and the combined costs of transportation and tuition are high. Parents are unlikely to see the child more than once a year, if that. The difficulties are mitigated slightly by the fact that many people have relatives in Tandjungselor (the coastal town) or the nearby emigre and resettlement village of Mara Satu and can be assured that their child is well cared for and

is not set among strangers.

Long Moh opened its primary school in 1950. Thus, people older than their mid-30's (in 1975) are, with a few exceptions, illiterate. The medium of instruction in this school has always been English with Malay taught as a subject. This is somewhat misleading though; the vast majority of the teachers are themselves Kenyah and tend to use a great deal of Kenyah in the classroom. The few older literate people are men (in all cases) who were sent to the school of the Catholic mission one-half day downriver or otherwise had opportunity to go downriver. Again, secondary schooling involves going downriver to the larger settlements of Long Lama (two to three days travel) or Marudi or Miri (three to four days travel) and the expenses of transportation and tuition. A relatively large number (about 75 percent) of the students who successfully complete the six years of primary school begin secondary school, but very few finish. Kenyah girls almost never go beyond Form Three (the third year); I know of but two in the entire Baram River area. A few more boys continue but the hurdle of the state examination at the end of Form Five is almost insurmountable. I was in Long Moh in 1975 when the exam results were announced; two Kenyah boys from the Baram (one a Long Moh boy) passed; the boy from Long Moh was the first from that village to have ever passed the exam. In 1980, three Kenyah boys and one Kenyah girl passed the exam. The Kenyah and other upriver children generally have much lower

success rates on these exams than their more urban classmates.

In both Long Nawang and Long Moh, parents who have themselves led lives in the upriver villages as swidden farmers are in many ways ambivalent about their children's desire for a secondary education. A primary education is unquestionably good; one should know how to read and write to avoid being swindled at the bazaar. But a secondary education is something else. The loss of a teenager's labor is significant and parents know that such a child is unlikely to return to the village to live as a swidden farmer; this must be weighed against the unquestionable benefits of having a child with a secure white collar employment.

But parents' attitudes are changing too. One family who very reluctantly sent their oldest son to secondary school (he says that at every vacation he was in doubt whether he would be able to return to school) is now so encouraged by his success and his position as a secondary school teacher that they are sending his younger sisters with his financial assistance. A village headman with three sons at good jobs with the government and with business was asked if he had any regrets about having sent them to school. "None" he replied, " My only regret is that it took me so long to learn. Their older brother was the smartest of them all but I took him out of school at 13 to help with the farming. Who knows how far he might have gone?"

Although the numbers are still small, young Kenyah are, through education, moving out of the village and into the outside world of government officials, school teachers, and private business. They, in turn, are becoming major brokers for cultural and social change within their natal villages.

Conclusion

This brief summary gives a general view of the Kenyah in the mid 1970's. I have concentrated here on the context of village life and interpersonal relations trying to show the significant webs of relationships that are the locus of everyday life. It is by no means a complete picture, but is intended only as a backdrop against which to view the material of the following chapter, the data on Kenyah systems of appellation.

CHAPTER III

KENYAH SYSTEMS OF APPELLATION

Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the several systems of appellation used by the Kenyah. Kenyah appellations may be divided into two general classes: relational and oppositional. Oppositional appellations are those that define an individual as opposed to other individuals. These include "personal names" or autonyms and designations. Designations are one variety of what are usually referred to as "nicknames"; they are frequently conferred on an individual as a result of some personal or physical characteristic. English examples are such forms as "Minnesota Fats" or "Richard-the-Lionhearted."

The other classes of appellations are relational rather than oppositional. They define the individual in reference to other individuals or in terms of a relationship to others. Kenyah oppositional appellations include kin terms, teknonyms, necronyms, and gerontonyms.

Kin terms are, of course, those terms by which relatives address and refer to one another although they may, in some

circumstances, be used by and for non-relatives as well. Teknonyms appear frequently in the anthropological literature; they are terms that show that the individual is the parent of a child and usually incorporate the child's autonym, as in Taman Apoi (Kenyah: "Father of Apoi"). In some cases, they are carried another generation to indicate grandparenthood, as in Kak Loh (Balinese: "Grandfather of Loh"). The term necronym[1] refers to appellations acquired by an individual on the deaths of certain relatives; they express a relationship to the deceased or make a lasting reference to the fact of berevement. Gerontonyms[2] are appellations that designate a particular stage of life.

Patronyms are forms incorporating the autonym of one's father. As used by the Kenyah, they are both relational and oppositional. Because they use autonyms in their formation, they will be discussed below in the section on autonyms.

Autonyms

Autonyms are what are usually called "personal names" or "proper names." Levi-Strauss uses the term autonym to differentiate these forms from other appellations such as teknonyms and necronyms (1966:192). It also accords with the Kenyah view that the autonym is no more or less "proper" than any other appellation form.

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[1]Levi-Strauss (1966) coined the term necronym but the form has been described by others.

[2]The term gerontonym was coined by Rousseau (1978).

The autonym is the second form of appellation applied to a Kenyah infant. A newborn, unnamed infant is referred to and addressed as Weng (if a male) or Apeng (if a female). These forms behave linguistically as autonyms; they are not merely sex designations. The answer to an enquiry as to the sex of a new infant is "cha laki" ("a male") or "cha leto" ("a female"), not "cha weng"* or "cha apeng"*; the forms do not take the indefinite article. Even after they have autonyms, small children may continue to be addressed and referred to as Weng and Apeng until they are two or three years old.

In the Kenyah autonym system, the autonym-givers are usually the parents of the child who make their choice in consultation with grandparents and other relatives. They have a more-or-less standard list to choose from but their choice is governed by several factors, including the sex of the child, social class, and potential namesakes.

All Kenyah autonyms are sex specific; there is no case of an individual bearing an autonym considered appropriate to the opposite sex. There are no autonyms that can be used for both sexes. Some autonyms are restricted in that they may be used only by deta'u. For males, Kuleh and Lenjau are so restricted and, for females, Aren.

The Kenyah child must be "named after" someone; that is, the autonym chosen must be borne by someone of a higher generation, usually, but not necessarily, a relative. The person whose name is chosen may be living or dead but should

not be someone who has died recently. For reasons that will be clear in the discussion of patronyms, children are never given the autonyms of their parents. Siblings, of course, never bear the same autonym but cousins may, commonly by having taken the autonym of the same grandparent. Grandparents are commonly the first choices as sources of autonyms for the eldest children.

The individual whose autonym is chosen for the child is honored and expresses quiet pride in the distinction. He/she will point out to strangers that the child has ala ngadanku ("taken my name"). This does not, however, imply any special relationship between the two individuals as is the case, for example, among the !kung (Marshall 1957). A case that occurred during my research will illustrate the seriousness of the conviction that a child should be the namesake of a particular individual. Jalong was a young man who had joined the army and had lived for several years in a coastal town with his wife. Both of their children had been born on the coast and had had no Kenyah naming ceremonies. When they came to the village for their first visit in several years, the families decided to hold the ceremonies for the two children despite the fact that they were by now four and two years old. The educated and sophisticated Jalong did not particularly care but went along with the plans to please his relatives. All went well up to the point in the ceremony when the father is asked what the child's autonym is to be. The autonym of the

grandmother had been selcted for the four-year-old girl; this was quite appropriate and met with approval. For the two-year-old boy, Jalong announced that Lenjau (Tiger) had been selected. Given he was an aristocrat, it was an appropriate choice. But, "who," inquired the attendant old women, "is the child being named for?" Jalong replied that he and his wife had selected the autonym "Lenjau" because the child had been born in the Chinese Year of the Tiger. This announcement was met variously by stunned silences and sharp intakes of breath. Then the geneologists in the group rummaged around in the child's geneology until they found an appropriate "Lenjau" to supply an autonym for the child. They announced their findings and the ceremony continued. Jalong's choice of an autonym for his son had been fine, but his reason had been at fault and was corrected for him.

The autonym is bestowed at a ceremony called petakau anak or chut tana ("free the child" or "touch earth").[3] It serves purposes for both mother and infant. The ceremony takes place from two to four weeks after the birth, the exact day depending on the appropriate phase of the moon. For the mother, the petakau frees her from the prohibitions on certain foods, on bathing, and on leaving the lamin

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[3]This ceremony is sometimes referred to as nutong pusa ("to burn the pusa"); the pusa is a slice of bamboo bent into a horseshoe curve. At one point in the ceremony, the pusa is burned as a predictor of the baby's future. If the two ends burn evenly,it is a good sign. If they burn unevenly, future misfortune is indicated.

that have been in effect since the birth. The infant receives an autonym and is formally introduced to the community and to the spirits. It is taken from the lamin for the first time carried on the mother's back in a carrier (ba') especially prepared for the occasion. It is brought down from the house to the earth and introduced to the implements it will use in later life. A boy is taken on a symbolic hunt where he kills a pig (made from a banana with twig legs); a girl goes fishing and brings back a dried fish in her net. These foods are brought back to the lamin where everyone tastes a tiny bite and praises the infant's skill at providing for the family and guests. The infant is now a member of the community of Kenyah. Should it die after the petakau, it would receive a funeral and the body would be taken to the village cemetary. Had it died previous to the petakau, there would be no funeral and the body would simply be disposed of.

The scale of the petakau ceremony and the number of people in attendance depend on the social class of the child. At a minimum, the lamin co-residents, the members of the niban parent's natal lamin, and immediate longhouse neighbors attend. For a high deta'u child, virtually the entire village assembles.

Unless the child is seriously ill or other unforeseen circumstances intervene, the child will bear and use this autonym at various times and in various forms throughout his/her life.

There are few examples in Kenyah of what we usually call nicknames, forms used in addition to or as alternatives to the autonym bestowed at the petakau. One type of nickname is the hypocorism; an example in English would be the use of the form "Willie" for a person with the autonym William. There is only one such form in Kenyah; a child with the autonym Jalong may be addressed as "Dong." It is a form of address only and does not appear in teknonymic use. There is no Tama Dong; the boy's father is Tama Jalong. Even as a form of address, "Dong" disappears after childhood; it does not appear in patronymic form.

The other form of nickname is one bestowed because of some circumstance surrounding the birth or the early weeks of a child's life. These forms are fairly uncommon; I have recorded only four examples. In the first two cases, a specific event prescribed specific forms. If the people who go to the fields to collect the special plants needed for the petakau ceremony see a pelaki (a species of hawk considered to be a messenger of the gods), then the child must be called "Li'" (if a boy) or "Sulau" (if a girl). Another autonym is bestowed in the usual manner at the petakau but it is not used during childhood. Sulau and Li' are common Kenyah autonyms and may be used for any child, but, in the circumstances cited, they must be used. When they are given under these circumstances, they are used in the parents' teknonyms but are not passed on as patronyms. It is the petakau autonym that will be used as a patronym.

In the third case, the child (a boy) was born during the mamat ceremony just as the returning warriors began the chant called lemalo'. The boy received his petakau autonym Sigau (taken from his maternal grandfather) but is called Lalo' because of the significant event that occurred at the time of his birth. The nickname Lalo' is used in his parents' teknonyms but it will not appear in his children's patronyms. When Lalo' is an adult, he will be called Sigau.

In the fourth case, a small weasel-like animal called a "bunin" appeared in the house during an infant boy's petakau. This indicated that the animal wanted to give his name to the child. The child was given the autonym Apoi but was always called Bunin. He is now an adult with children of his own; their patronym is Apoi, not Bunin.

In a non-Christian village, Kenyah children may receive a second autonym at a village-wide ceremony called ngalang anak. This is a large, four-day ceremony requiring the slaughter of large numbers of pigs and chickens. Guests are invited from other villages for the festivities. The ngalang anak is not held regularly but when village resources permit and there are enough children participating to make the outlay worthwhile. I have never seen a ngalang anak, but they seem to occur about every eight to ten years. At each ngalang, all children who have received their first autonyms at the petakau but have not yet participated in a ngalang anak, receive a second autonym or ngadan ngalang. This ngadan ngalang ("ngalang name") is viewed as a sort

of spare or extra autonym. There is no evidence that the children who receive their ngadan ngalang at the same time form any sort of formal age grade. They do not think of themselves as a group or act as a group again.

The autonyms discussed thus far apply to non-Christian Kenyah. Among Christians, there is some variation depending on denomination and location. In Long Moh most Christians are Roman Catholic. For Roman Catholic children, baptism replaces the petakau in its function of bestowing an autonym. The child is given a Christian name at baptism; parents may already know a Christian name they would like to use. If they do not or if their choice is inappropriate,[4] the priest may make suggestions or present a list of approved choices. The infant receives a traditional Kenyah name at baptism as well as the Christian one.[5] Thus, a child may be baptised, for example, "Thomas Balan" or "Margaret Bungan."

The use of the Christian names is fairly restricted. Among adults, they are generally known only to their bearers and the Christian names of young children are usually known

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[4]As noted previously, the distinction between "Christian," "modern," and "Western" is not always clear, and parents sometimes select forms that they regard as Christian names but the church and the priest do not.

[5]The late Bishop of Miri and the priests of the Baram River have always been particularly sensitive to Kenyah culture and, in this instance, they insist that a child be baptized with a Kenyah autonym as well as a Christian one. For adults being baptized, this, of course, is unnecessary since they already have Kenyah autonyms.

only to their parents. In Long Moh the most widespread use of Christian names is among teenagers but, again, there is a lack of distinction among "Christian," "modern," and "Western." An alternative term for all of these is "school name." Particularly if they go downriver to school, even teenagers who are not Christian almost aways adopt for themselves "Christian names" or "school names." Thus, there are autonyms such as Harrisson and Diamond that certainly do not appear on the priest's list but are regarded by their bearers as Christian names. Teenagers may use these names among themselves, at school, and with outsiders, but they remain generally unknown by others in the village. A teenager may inform an outsider that his name is Paul but, upon asking for Paul at the longhouse in the village, the stranger is likely to get nowhere unless there happens to be another teenager around who will know that Paul is Epoi. The Christian name/school name generally appears on school records along with the Kenyah autonym and the patronym. At school, Epoi's son Sigau, for example, is listed as Davis Sigau Epoi. He is called Davis by his teachers and classmates. His peers in the village may call him Davis and refer to him as Davis among themselves but to everyone else he is Sigau. These Christian names seem to be dropped, even among peers, at adulthood. They do not appear as patronyms. Davis Sigau Epoi's daughter is Bungan Sigau, not Bungan Davis.

In Long Nawang, a fundamentalist Protestant village,

the use of Christian names is somewhat different from that in Long Moh. The church does not specify appropriate autonyms for children. One may use Kenyah autonyms, Biblical autonyms, or any other forms. The difference is that, unlike in Long Moh, children are christened with one form or another so that there are some children (and a few adults) with no Kenyah autonym at all. Biblical names are in their Indonesian forms rather than the English forms used in Long Moh (e.g., Daud rather than David). Old Testament names are much more common in Long Nawang than in Long Moh; one family has Sadrakh, Mesakh, and Abednego (Shadrack, Meshak, and Abednego).

These remarks also hold true for the Long Nawang people who have moved to Mara Satu near the coast. Especially in Mara Satu, one finds other "modern" forms as well. "Calendar" names (e.g., Juli, Augustus, Septipanus), for example, are popular. The most unusual "modern" name I encountered was a girl called Olri. She is named in honor of the holiday dedicated to the veterans of the struggle for Indonesian independence; Olri is an acronym for Oktober Lima Republik Indonesia (October Fifth, Republic of Indonesia).

All of these forms differ from the Christian/school names at Long Moh in that they are the only autonyms their bearers possess and are used in all forms including their parents' teknonyms and in patronyms. In Long Moh, the Christian/school names function more as temporary nicknames,

used for a short time during the teenage years among peers, at school, and outside the village but abandoned in adult life.

Patronyms have been referred to in passing, but the form should be described more fully. The Kenyah do not use surnames or "family" names but they do use true patronyms. A reply to the question, "What is your name?" might well be the individual's autonym followed by his/her father's autonym. Kuleh Sigau. for example, is Kuleh whose father's autonym is Sigau. If the respondant supplies only his/her own autonym, Kuleh, for example, further enquiry of the form, "Kuleh what?" will elict the father's autonym.[6] The patronyms are used frequently in reference. Since a number of people may bear the same autonym, the addition of the patronym serves to further specify the referent. Thus, the patronym is both relational and oppositional. It is relational in that it identifies one as the offspring of a particular individual, but it is also oppositional in that it specifies which Sigau among several possibilities is intended.[7]

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[6]Children are often taught the straight-line geneologies referred to in Chapter II with a game of this form. The questioner begins with, "What is your name?" and the child replies with an autonym, "Sigau," for example. "Sigau what?" "Sigau Apoi." "Apoi what?" "Apoi Jalong." Question and answer follow in a rhythmic chant, preferably ending with a famous culture hero. To this end, matronyms may sometimes be used instead of patronyms.

[7]We use surnames in a similar way. In one respect, the surname identifies a person as a member of a group, as a Smith, for example. But more commonly, we use it to distinguish a particular person from others with the same autonym. "John who?" "John Smith, not John Harrison."

The autonym in one of its several forms (e.g., teknonym of one's parents, necronym, gerontonym, patronym of one's children) is generally with one for life, but there are circumstances under which an autonym can and should be changed. These changes take place only in childhood. I know of no case of an adult's autonnym having been changed with the partial exception of the somewhat different changes sometimes used by elderly persons; they are discussed below under the section "Gerontonyms."

The most common reason for changing a child's autonym is persistent ill health or general fretfulness. If the child cries too much or has a lingering fever, the most likely cause is evil spirits. If the child's autonym is changed, the evil spirits will be confused and turn their attention elsewhere. If the child has a ngalang autonym, it may simply replace the first (petakau) autonym. A second way of finding a new autonym is through a dream by a parent or other relative. A woman related to me a dream in which a man she did not recognize appeared and told her that her three-year-old son's autonym should be changed from Epoi to Lian in order to get rid of the fever that had been plaguing him. She discussed the dream with her parents and other elders, and all agreed that she should follow the advice. A third source of a new autonym is the spirit medium. A spirit medium called upon to cure a sick child seeks the advice of the spirits, and part of this advice is frequently to change the autonym to one specified. In

all of these cases, the new autonym totally replaces the old one.

There is another category of forms that, for young children, may replace the autonym, but these replacements are temporary. They are called in Kenyah ngadan ja'at (lit., "bad names") and are given to young children when a close relative, almost always a member of the lamin, dies. Very young children are particularly vulnerable because their souls are not well attached to their bodies and can be easily attracted away by evil spirits, resulting in illness or death. If a death occurs in the lamin, it is well to direct the spirits away from these vulnerable ones by the use of ngadan ja'at. Examples of ngadan ja'at for boys include Su'ok ("hidden"), Seli' ("to look around and see no one"), and Iot ("small, insignificant"). For girls, there are, among others, Ape' ("rags"), Jamung ("dirty"), and Lum ("hidden"). These forms replace the autonym for several years and are used in the parents' teknonyms but are gradually discarded in later childhood. The ngadan ja'at tends to stick on a few years past the period of vulnerability, and it is often the child him/herself who makes the first move towards getting rid of it.

Kin Terms

Forms for addressing and referring to kinsmen are relational terms; they define a person in terms of a relationship to others. Because kin terms are Ego-centered and Kenyah terms are generational, the simplest approach is to

discuss kin terms by their generational distance from Ego.

Consanguinal Terms

The term chenganak can be used in a broad sense of "relatives," but its narrower meaning is "sibling," extended to include cousins to the third degree. "Sibling" can be distinguished from "cousin" by the terms chenganak sa' or chenganak cha liwe ("first cousin"), chenganak dua liwe ("second cousin"), and chenganak telu liwe ("third cousin"); these terms are, however, rarely used and are never used in address. Chenganak is sometimes used in individual address, but it is more commonly heard in public speaking as chenganak-chenganak, something like "brethern." By far the most common terms for addressing and referring to siblings and cousins are sekun ("Older sibling") and sadin ("younger sibling"). When an attempt is being made to generate warm, friendly relations, these terms may even be used with non-kinsmen of Ego's generation.

Lineals in the generation above Ego are ame ("father") and uwe' ("mother"); currently these are terms of both reference and address.[8] Parents' siblings are referred to as ame mpe' (for males) and uwe' mpe' (for females) with no distinction between mother's siblings and father's siblings or between parents' older siblings and parents' younger siblings. These forms are not used in address. Parents'

[8]Some of the older literature, e.g., Pollard and Banks (1937), give these as forms of address only with taman/tama and tinan/sinan/tina as forms of reference.

siblings are usually addressed simply as ame (males) or uwe' (females) unless one's own parent is dead. In that case, the siblings of both parents who are of the same sex as the deceased parent are addressed as mpe'.

In the second generation above Ego, there is a difference in terms between Long Nawang and Long Moh. In Long Nawang, the second generation above Ego is poi ("grandparent") and the third generation is uko' ("great-grandparent"). In Long Moh, uko' is used for the second generation and above.[9] These are terms of both reference and address.

Ego's own children are referred to and addressed as anak ("child"), often in the form anake' ("my child"). A specific term of reference for the children of siblings or cousins (chenganak) is anak a'ong (or, in Long Nawang, anak ahong),[10] but it is never a term of address. The affectionate term of address for these children is anake'.

Ego's grandchildren and the grandchildren of siblings and cousins, insofar as they are still recognized as chenganak, are referred to and addressed as tsu. The children of tsu may be referred to as tsu siku (lit., "elbow grandchildren") and the children of tsu siku as tsu lup (lit., knee grandchildren"). These are terms of reference only.

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[9] In Long Moh, the term poi is a kind of necronym and is discussed in that section.

[10] In other contexts, the term a'ong (ahong) means "stored" or "put away." Thus, the children of chenganak are "stored" children; most adoptions are the children of chenganak.

It is a matter of some pride to have tsu siku and, especially, tsu lup. To indicate that a person has attained a ripe old age, rather than stating the fact baldly, one says that the person has tsu siku or, more rarely, tsu lup.

Affinal Terms

There are very few kinship terms applied specifically to affines, and my informants were in disagreement as to whether there is a term that applies to affines in general. The term sabai, heard very rarely and only in reference, is said by some people to apply to affines in general. Others say that it applies only to affines of Ego's own generation (i.e., SbSp;CoSp;SpSb;SpSbSp).

Husband and wife refer to each other as lakike' ("my man") or letoke' ("my woman") or pesaitke' (lit., "my sexual partner"). These are all technically possible but rare forms of address.

Ego's spouse's parents may be referred to as ame niban and uwe' niban for specificity but they are more usually referred to and always addressed as ame and uwe'. Likewise, a child's spouse may be referred to as anak niban but anake' is the more usual term of address and reference where a kin term is used.

In general, Ego refers to and addresses his/her spouse's relatives by the same term the spouse would use, modified by relative age in Ego's generation. For example, if Ego's spouse refers to an individual as sekun ("elder sibling")

Ego would do the same as long as the individual is actually older than Ego. If the individual is younger, then Ego would use the term sadin ("younger sibling"). For ascending and descending generations, Ego uses the terms that his/her spouse would use. This generally produces no conflicts because spouses are almost always of the same structural generation; as noted previously, marriage across generations is strongly discouraged.

The rare case of spouses not of the same generation demonstrates the primacy of generation in kin terms. If a male, for example, is a generation higher than his wife, he uses the term sekun ("elder sibling") in addressing her father, rather than the term ame ("father") which he would use to a male of higher generation. Such a situation makes people uncomfortable and makes for a great deal of joking and awkwardness.[11] This confusion is often cited as a secondary reason for avoiding cross-generation marriage.

Figure 2 summarizes consanguinal kin terms of reference. As noted, affinal terms are, in most cases, identical to consanguinal terms. Long Nawang terms are in parentheses. This outline is a paradigm; it shows what kin terms may be used for referring to one's relatives. Address terms are, in most cases, identical to reference terms. If one were to use a kin term, these would be the appropriate terms to use, but the kin terms are only one alternative. How this set of

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[11]As described to me, this awkwardness is similar to that produced in our own society by the question of how to address one's parents-in-law.

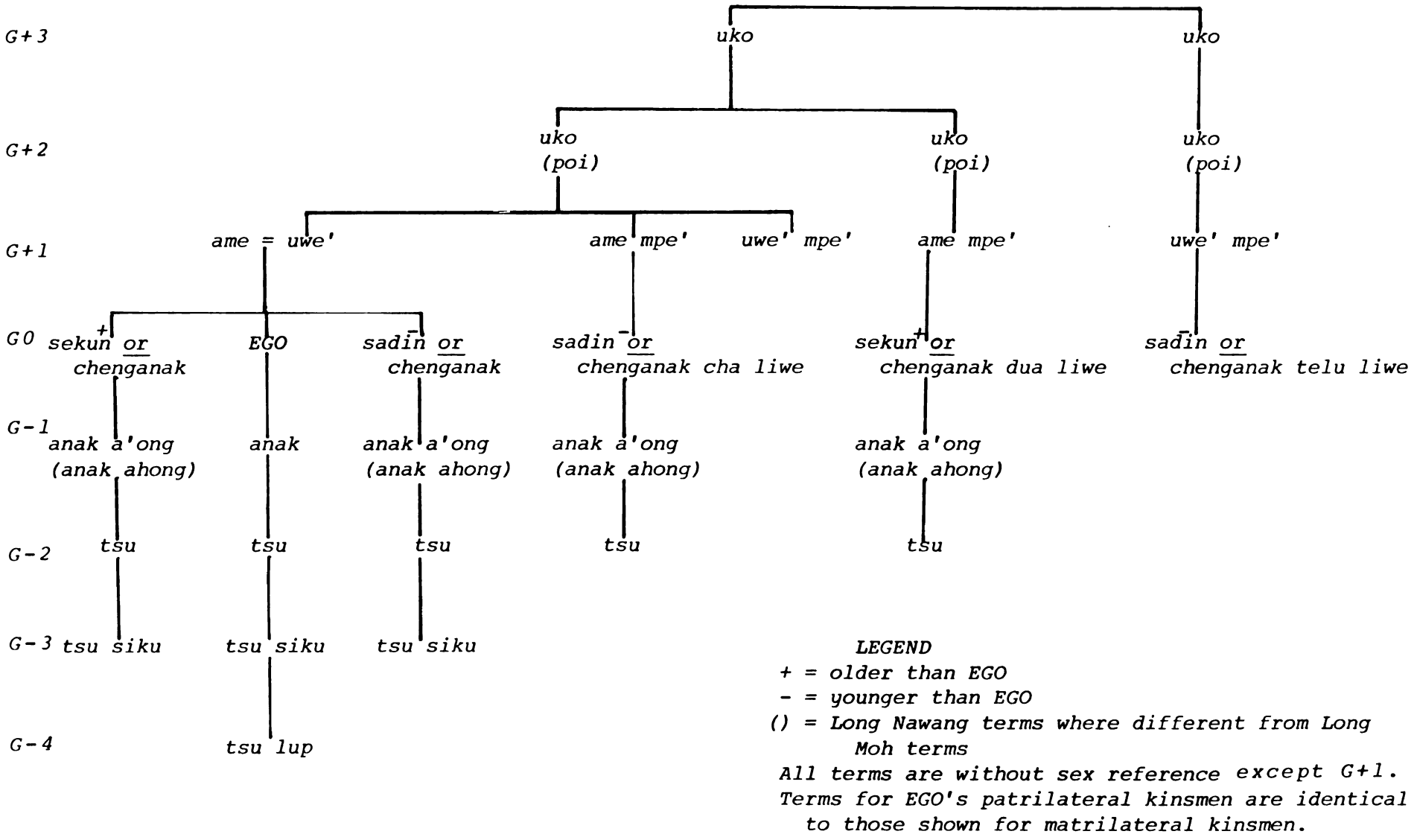

FIGURE 2: Consanguinal Kin Terms of Reference

appellations articulates with other sets will be discussed later.

Extension of Kin Terms

As forms of address, kin terms are widely extended to non-relatives, especially across generations. It is proper to address anyone the age of one's parents as ame or uwe' or anyone the age of one's grandparents as uko' (in Long Moh) or poi (in Long Nawang). It is possible to use the forms sadin and sekun for non-relatives of one's own generation, but it is fairly rare and used only if a particular attempt is being made to establish a warm, friendly relationship. Any child may be addressed as anak, but when a special closeness is being evoked, the common form is anake' ("my child"). The term tsu is very widely used to address children of the generation of one's own grandchildren or below. Informants said that, in many cases, they did not know the autonyms of young children and, in any case, it was emotionally gratifying to use the term because it was a reminder of one's age and, thus, prestige.

Teknonyms

> Teknonymy, the practice of designating adults according to the names of their children, is not often examined for its functional significance, but more frequently assumed to be a mere ethnological detail, or a minor nomenclatural usage (Geertz and Geertz 1964:94).

The teknonym is one of the most common Kenyah forms of appellation. As soon as their first child is born, parents assume teknonymic forms, even before the infant itself is

given an autonym. If the infant is a male, the father becomes Tama Weng[12] and the mother Uwe' Weng. If the infant is a female, the father becomes Tamapeng and the mother Uwe' Apeng. The forms Tama and Uwe' are those currently used to form teknonyms in Long Moh. In Long Nawang, the form Ame has almost entirely replaced Tama so that the father of a male infant, for example, is Ame Weng. Ame has the general meaning of "father" and is the kinship term. It is used as a form of reference and address as well as in teknonymic form. Tama, on the other hand, is used only as a teknonymic form. People in Long Nawang knew the Tama form and generally felt it was more "respectful" than the Ame form. They were aware that Tama was still used in other villages but could offer no explanation for its having fallen into disuse in Long Nawang. In both Long Nawang and Long Moh, the kinship term uwe' has replaced a previous form in teknonymic usage. The equivalent form to Tama is Tina, but it is very rarely heard in either Long Nawang or Long Moh although people in both villages can supply it. Again, there is no explanation for the form to have fallen out of use.

As soon as an infant receives an autonym, about a month after birth, the parents may be addressed and referred to by teknonyms that incorporate the infant's autonym: Tama (child's autonym) and Uwe' (child's autonym).

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[12]Tama is used before an autonym beginning with a consonant and Taman before an autonym beginning with a vowel. An exception is the "father of a girl child" form which is Tamapeng rather than Taman Apeng*.

People in the child's household, close relatives, and others who know the child's autonym begin using the new teknonyms immediately, but it may take several months or longer before they gain village-wide currency. The parents may continue to be Tama Weng/Tamapeng and Uwe' Weng/Uwe' Apeng to more distant villagers. Elderly people especially may not know the autonyms of young children (and, thus, their parents' teknonyms) unless the child is a close kinsman or a high aristocrat. But, with the Weng and Apeng forms available, it is not necessary to actually know a child's autonym in order to address its parents in proper teknonymic form.

The teknonyms incorporating the autonym of the first-born child remain with the parents. They do not change teknonyms with the births of subsequent children unless one of their children dies (any child, not just the teknonymous one). In that case, they change from teknonyms altogether and use necronyms until another child is born. Then they again return to teknonyms, this time incorporating the autonym of the latest child. That teknonym, in turn, remains unchanged despite subsequent births unless there is another death.

One function of teknonyms is that they mark their bearers as adults, i.e., members of the community who have produced children and are occupying adult roles. In his discussion of Penan teknonyms, Needham (1954) says that for the Penan the teknonym is not an honorific. If one has no children (and, thus, no teknonym), the situation is

sad, ". . . but you are not ashamed. Why should you be?" It is not the individual at fault (417). The Kenyah express much the same sentiment, and yet, at the same time, the teknonym is clearly a mark of adult status. This is demonstrated by the tendency of those few Kenyah who are not parents and not technically entitled to teknonyms to acquire them. Since married couples who are childless always adopt children or divorce and try new partners, the situation of being truly childless is confined to those very few Kenyah adults who remain unmarried. I have data on but four cases of unmarried adults. One is a man who was elderly but still very active. He was a hunchback and had never married. He lived in a household with his sister, who had been widowed many years previously, two of her grown children, their spouses, and several of their children. He was considered the head of the household and was treated as such by its other occupants and by the rest of the village. By the time I knew him. he was generally known by a gerontonymic prefix attached to his autonym, but I was told that he had previously been known as Taman Along; Along was his widowed sister's youngest child. This man had actually acted for many years as the "father" of his sister's children -- in all respects except as their mother's husband. The child whose autonym was used in the teknonym had been very young when his father had died and had known no "father" other than his mother's brother. In this case, although he was not actually a parent, the man's teknonym went along with the

role he had played for many years.

The other three cases of unmarried adults all involved adults who were somewhat younger than the man mentioned above but past the normal marriage age and generally considered no longer "in the running." In all three cases, the unmarried individual resided in a household with a married sibling, the sibling's spouse, and the sibling's children. These unmarried individuals each had a teknonym incorporating the autonym of one of the sibling's children resident in the household. In no case is the child whose autonym is used the same child as that whose autonym is used in the parents' teknonyms. For example, male X lived with his married sister Y and her husband Z as well as the children A, B, C, and D of Y and Z. Y and Z were known as Uwe' A and Tama A. X, however, was known as Tama D. The other two cases, both unmarried females, were similar. In all three cases, the unmarried adult took a special interest in the child from whom his/her teknonym was derived, but there were no formal adoptions. Often these teknonyms were used almost jokingly, as though in acknowledgement that they were somehow different from normal teknonyms, but they were used and used rather consistently. In all three cases, the teknonym was said to have come into use as a result of the adult's special relationship with the child. It would be misleading to say that an unmarried adult cultivated a special relationship with a sibling's child in order to acquire a teknonym as a badge of adult status, but this is the result. A teknonym is

certainly not the only badge of adulthood, but in the normal course of events, all adults do acquire teknonyms.

An unmarried adult is in an anomalous position, particularly the latter three cases described. The position of the man in the first case is less anomalous since he is recognized as a household head and carries out adult responsibilities on behalf of that household. A teknonym, despite its having been acquired from a sibling's child and its being used almost jokingly sometimes, is part of the proper baggage of an adult. To have a teknonym is not to be, ipso facto, an adult but it helps to reduce the anomaly of the position of the unmarried adult, as does having a special child to take an interest in and care for.

In an article on the Kajang peoples of Sarawak, De Martinoir (1974) notes a practice he refers to as "metonymic teknonymy" which he defines as "the transfer of the teknonym from the individual normally designated by it to one of his relatives or friends (for instance, the person called 'Father of X ' may be in fact a brother, an uncle, or a far relative of X)" (271). In this brief mention of the practice, De Martinoir does not make it clear whether the teknonym is actually "transferred" or is shared. Nor does he detail the circumstances under which such a transfer or sharing, as the case may be, takes place. Are there two people referred to by the same teknonym taken from the same child or does a relative derive a teknonym from a child whose autonym does not otherwise appear in teknonymic usage? If

the latter is the case, the practice would seem similar to what I have described above although I would not call it "transfer" since the teknonym does not switch from one person to another. The childless relative is merely using a form that would be otherwise unoccupied.

It is clear that the teknonym can designate not only a tie of biological or adoptive parenthood but an affective tie as well. Metcalf's discussion of Berawan[13] adoption practices supports this view (1974). Metcalf says that among the Berawan, there is a wide variation in how closely the adopted child is tied in to the adoptive family. This ranges from not at all, as in the case of adoption on purely formal grounds to avoid bad luck on a technicality,[14] to totally, as in the case of a childless couple arranging for the adoption of an infant before it is even born. In all instances, the adoptive parents are entitled to use the child's autonym in forming teknonyms, but, in the cases that Metcalf mentions, it is the closeness of the tie that determines whether they do so. At one end of the range, where the tie is entirely formal, the teknonym is not used. Only when the relationship is an affective one is the child's autonym used in forming teknonyms for the adoptive parents.

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[13]Berawan are classed by some as a Kenyah sub-group. Whether they are or not is outside the scope of this discussion. At the least, they are closely related peoples.

[14]Among many Borneo groups, a common motive for parents' having a child adopted by others is that the child has been in poor health. It is hoped that the change will bring better fortune.

In connection with the use of teknonyms by adoptive parents, Needham (1954) notes that the Penan distinguish between the teknonym of a biological father and an adoptive (sociological) father.[15] The teknonym form for the former is Tama (autonym of child) while the form for the latter is Tamen (autonym of child) (416). The Kenyah ignore this distinction and quote proverbs such as, "He who raised me is my father" or "He who fed me is my father." This lack of interest in a terminological distinction between biological and adoptive parenthood may be partially due to one of the motives for adoption among the Kenyah. Kenyah are concerned with the perpetuation of the descent line and with the perpetuation of the household (lamin) as a unit which is the locus of rights in land and in heirloom property. Adoption fills the need for an heir to perpetuate both the descent line and the lamin; whether the heir is adopted or not is irrelevant.

A secondary function of the use of teknonyms among the Kenyah is the terminological identification of husband and wife as a unit. Because husband and wife always take their teknonyms from the same child, it is clear that, for example, Tama Lenjau Along and Uwe' Lenjau Along are husband and wife. They will be identified by a common teknonym (or necronym) throughout their childbearing period. The only

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[15]Needham does not note a parallel distinction between biological and sociological mother.

husband and wife units not so identified would be: 1) young couples who have not yet produced children and are, thus, considered sub-adult; 2) couples who are past their active years and have moved into other forms of appellation (i.e., gerontonyms); and 3) couples with previous marriages, dissolved by divorce or death, who have produced no children of the current marriage.

Once an individual has acquired a teknonym, he/she is almost always referred to by it, and it is a frequent form of address. As a form of address, it is used commonly by one's contemporaries and seniors. It can properly be used by one's juniors as well, but kin terms are commonly employed in address by juniors to seniors, particularly by the most junior members of the community (i.e., children). This common use of teknonyms is in contrast to the usage reported by Rousseau for the Balui Kayan:

> Teknonyms may be used both for reference and address by everyone but an individual's children. However, teknonyms are not in common use because they must be abandoned definitely either as soon as any child dies, or when one becomes a grandparent. Even if none of these events occur [sic] , most parents are known by their personal name (1978:89).

The implications of the wide-spread use of teknonyms among the Kenyah will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

Extension of Teknonyms

The logical extension of the teknonym, which designates parenthood, is a form designating grandparenthood. These "grandparent" forms are of two types. The first is truly

an extension of the teknonym form and has the structure "grandparent of (child's autonym)," designating an individual as the grandparent of a particular child. This form is used by, for example, the Ma'anyan of Borneo (Hudson 1972) and the Balinese (Geertz and Geertz 1964). The second type is not truly an extension of the teknonym since it does not incorporate the autonym of a particular child but, rather, adds a prefix to the individual's own autonym. In the minds of its users, it is associated with having grandchildren, but it does not designate one as the grandparent of a particular child. Rousseau, in describing the use of this form among the Kayan, has coined the term "gerontonym" (1978:89).

Both of these forms, according to their formal rules, function as markers of grandparenthood. The Kenyah use the second form, a prefix Pe-[16] attached to the individual's autonym. Although the formal rule states that the form marks grandparenthood, it is more exactly a marker of a stage of life, old age with its accompanying status in the community, that is normally coterminous with grandparenthood. In fact, however, the possession of a grandchild is neither necessary nor sufficient for the use of the gerontonym.

The Kenyah state that one is entitled to use the gerontonym after the birth of the first grandchild. If one listens to its actual use, however, it is clear that the gerontonym

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[16] Pe- is used before autonyms beginning with consonants; P- before those beginning with vowels. Thus, Jalong becomes PeJalong, but Apoi becomes Papoi.

is never adopted immediately and unanimously upon the birth of the first grandchild. Many individuals who have not one but several grandchildren are still addressed and referred to by teknonyms or necronyms. If one asks explicitly why so-and-so who has grandchildren does not use the gerontonym, the reply is usually something to the effect that perhaps the person in question does not "feel like it" yet. This contrasts with the parental teknonym in that everyone who is entitled to the teknonym, this is, has children, uses it (as do some who do not have children). What then are the constraints limiting the use of the gerontonym?

There are two main constraints operating. The first is that people who are still in the childbearing period, even though they may have grandchildren, do not use gerontonyms. In this sense, the gerontonym marks the end of childbearing.[17]

Another factor limiting the use of the gerontonym is a general Kenyah value against presuming above oneself. The possession of descendants, age, and the status those bring is a highly desired and honorable state. On the other hand, humility is greatly valued. In some instances, it is backed by ritual sanction, but, in any case, a general reluctance to take one's station for granted should be exhibited.

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[17]Although there is no physiological end to the childbearing period for men as there is for women, there is a sociological end in that the vast majority of men are married to women who are approximately their own age. The case of an older man marrying a much younger woman is extremely rare and the reverse is unheard of.

A man entering a longhouse veranda for a meeting or ceremony, for example, will not approach straightforwardly and take his place. He will stand on the edge of the group or slip into a place at the rear until he is urged forward into his proper place. He knows, and everyone else knows, where he should sit, but to go there directly and sit down would be presumptuous. He waits each time for the social concensus, the reaffirmation of his standing. The assumption of the gerontonym is similar. There is no special moment on which it is bestowed; it does not come automatically with the birth of a grandchild. No one would presume to announce that henceforth he/she should be addressed by a gerontonym. It is a gradual process whereas the acquisition of the teknonym is immediate and automatic.

Another distinction between the teknonym and the gerontonym is that, in the event of the death of a child, the teknonym is replaced by a necronym whereas the gerontonym, once acquired, is permanent. Should the individual become entitled to a necronym, it is prefixed to the gerontonym. Thus, PeBungan, on the death of her husband, becomes Balu PeBungan, not Balu Bungan.

Although the formal expression is that the gerontonym follows the birth of grandchildren, there are individuals who are known by gerontonyms but, in fact, have no direct lineal descendants. These cases are all people who are of advanced age and "should," in the eyes of the Kenyah, have grandchildren.

The Kenyah do not formally recognize any change in the individual's life, other than the acquiring of grandchildren, as a factor in the use of the gerontonym, but most people who are known by gerontonyms are beginning to "retire." Kenyah never really retire from public life unless they are incapacitated mentally as well as physically; the advice and views of the elders are actively sought by the community. Nonetheless, the gerontonym does mark the lessening of at least economic activity. The individual gradually ceases going to the fields daily and begins to perform more tasks in or near the village; men cease hunting. Some may continue to make fields close to the village but are included in cooperative work groups where it is clear that they will receive more labor return than they contribute. This lessening of activity in the economic sphere does not mean a lessening of activity in the political and ritual spheres; in fact, the opposite is often true.

These observations on the actual use of the gerontonym, as opposed to the formal statement of its use, all indicate that the gerontonym is a marker of a respected stage of life when it is appropriate and expected to have grandchildren, but the actual possession of them is coincidental to the use of the gerontonym. The gerontonym as a status marker is perhaps indicated by its differential frequency of use between Long Nawang and Long Moh; the use of the gerontonym is more frequent in Long Nawang. The Kenyah of Long Nawang gained a reputation, beginning about the turn of the century,

of representing the apex of Kenyah culture, the height of Kenyah refinement. Or, at least, this is the view that emerges from the writings of European observers;[18] how widely this view was shared by other Kenyah is unclear, but the Long Nawang people themselves share it. Other groups sometimes remark that the Long Nawang people lack kemut luba' ("humility"). And even a Long Nawang man once remarked to me that he thought Long Nawang had "kado' paren, kediot panyin," a phrase which loosely translates "too many chiefs and no Indians." Perhaps people who regard themselves, as a group, as having higher status than other groups are inclined to be freer with the use of status markers.

The period of old age in which gerontonyms are used is one period, the other being childhood, in which autonyms are occasionally changed, but the situation is unlike the childhood change situation. In childhood autonyms may be changed permanently or temporarily (ngadan ja'at) for quite serious reasons of current or potential illness or misfortune. The old age changes more often take the form of jokes. They are nicknames or designations that last for the lifetimes of their bearers only. They do not appear in the patronyms of their bearers' children nor in geneologies. These designations are usually invented by their bearers and are prefixed by the Pe- form.

Several examples will illustrate the sorts of jokes

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[18]See Whittier (1973) for a detailed account of the history of Long Nawang including the reports of early European administrators and travelers.

used in these old age designations. One man of the senior generation had no grandchildren. He was beginning to feel that his advanced age and status qualified him for the gerontonym; all of his contempories used it. He began calling himself PeTurut (turut = "to follow" or "to join in") because, he said, his siblings all had grandchildren and he was following them. Another old man in a similar situation called himself PeSukat (sukat = "can" or "is willing to") because, he explained, he had done all he could; it was not his fault that his children had not yet presented him with grandchildren. PeLigun (ligun = "to rock back and forth") also had no grandchildren but those of her siblings were numerous and she said she felt herself "rocking back and forth" among them. PeLampit (kelampit = "to have many connections") had an unusual daughter, promiscuous to an extent rare among the Kenyah. She had four children whose four fathers had been traders, soldiers, etc. Thus, PeLampit's grandchildren had been obtained by "many connections.

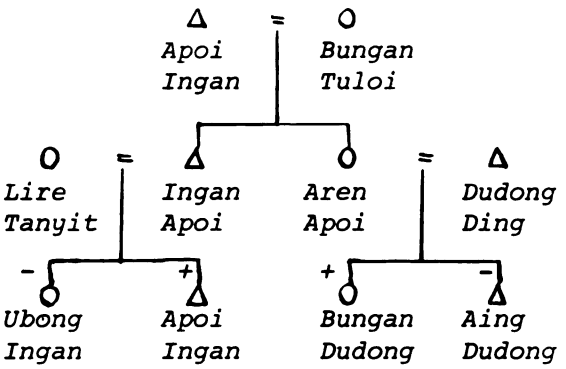
A few of these designations have been taken from physical or personal characteristics. Paga' (aga' = "to shake") was a very old woman whose head shook and nodded. PeLibu (libu = "thousand") was known for his always excellent rice harvests. One old man had been absent from the village for long periods under medical care and had never married, had children, or even taken up a significant role in the household of a sibling. He was known as Pasa (asa = "a dead

branch"). Paga' and Pasa in particular may seem cruel jokes but they, like all the examples cited with the exception of PeLibu, were invented by their bearers.

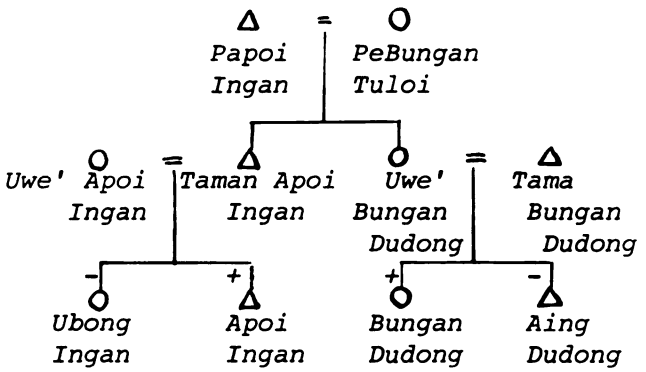
These few available examples of old age designations illustrate three things. First, such designations are relatively rare; the vast majority of Kenyah use the gerontonym prefixed to their original autonyms. Second, the designations frequently make reference to the lack of grandchildren, or, in one case, to unusual ways of obtaining them. Third, of the seven cases cited, not one is a high deta'u. The individuals mentioned (with the exception of PeLibu) have, by the invention of these jokes, themselves instituted the use of their own gerontonyms. Normally it would be considered presumptuous to do this. Possibly the force of what could be presumption is mitigated in these cases by attaching the gerontonym to a joking reference to one's deficiencies.

A Kenyah enters the community of Kenyah and becomes a person upon being given an autonym. This autonym (or another if a change is necessary) may be used to address and refer to the individual until he/she becomes a parent. A teknonym is then appropriate and, if the individual is a male, his autonym becomes his child's patronym. When the individual is elderly, his/her autonym returns with the addition of a gerontonym. Figure 3 illustrates these changes.

1. Examples of autonyms and patronyms



2. Examples of teknonyms and gerontonyms for the persons in 1 above



3. Examples of changes with the elimination of the highest generation in 1 and 2 above and the addition of a new generation

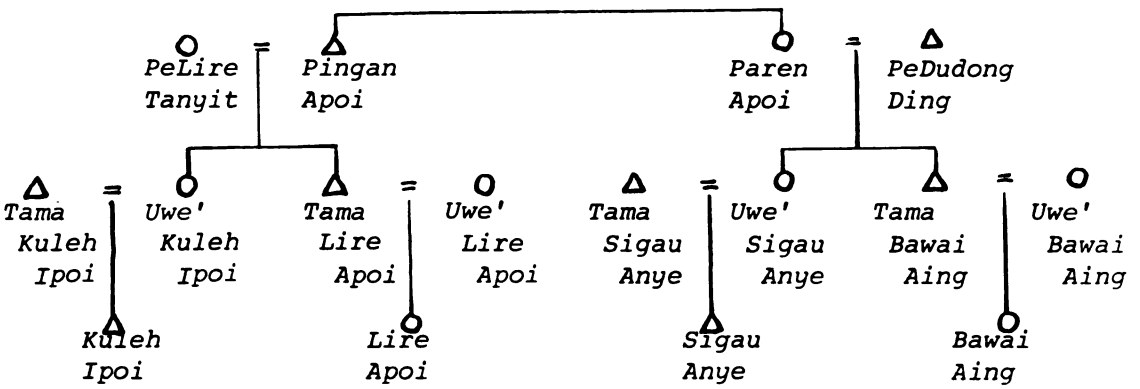


FIGURE 3: Teknonyms and Gerontonyms

Necronyms

The Kenyah system of necronyms,[19] terms by which individuals become known on the death of a relative, is complex and interwoven with the teknonymic system described previously. When an individual acquires a necronym, as he does immediately and automatically on the death of a relative in the appropriate category, the necronym is prefixed to his autonym in reference; in address, the necronym alone is most commonly used.

The categories of relatives whose death requires the use of a necronym vary according to the age of the survivor. Children and young adults (either unmarried or married but as yet without children) acquire necronyms on the death of a grandparent, a parent, or a sibling. Upon the death of a grandparent, a child receives the necronym Upu which is normally used alone in address but prefixed to the autonym in reference. The use of Upu continues until another death requires a change of necronym, another sibling is born, or the individual acquires a child of his own. In the first instance, the necronym Upu is replaced by another referring to the new death; in the second instance the necronym

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[19] Elshout(1926:157) calls these "mourning terms" but their usage does not correspond with the formal mourning period (lumo). Needham (1954;1965) uses the term "death names". I agree with Benjamin (1968:102) that this is ambiguous and following his usage and that of Levi-Strauss (1966:191) use the term "necronym." Pollard and Banks (1937) class these forms with teknonyms and do not give them a separate term.

is dropped and the autonym used; and in the third instance, the necronym is replaced by a teknonym. Although all informants could readily supply the term Upu and describe its use, it is not used consistently. It seems, on my observation, to be used more readily when the deceased grandparent is a member of the child's household.

The death of a parent always results in a necronym. Upon the death of the father, a male child becomes Uyau and a female Utan. As with other necronyms, these terms are used alone in address or affixed to the autonym in reference. A male child whose father dies while he is still an infant may be called Uyau Iot ("iot"- small) indicating that he did not really know his father but there is no similar usage for a female child whose father dies while she is still an infant. A child of either sex whose mother dies is Ilun. None of these terms have any other meaning in the Kenyah language; in English they would be translated "orphan." There is one further necronym used on a parents' death; a child who is born after its father's death is called Tapa which is a Kenyah word meaning "left behind; abandoned." There is no special term for a child whose mother dies at its birth; it is simply Ilun as would be the case should the mother die in any other circumstances.

Unlike the necronym for a grandparent's death, the necronyms for parents' deaths are always used. In the case of an adopted child living with his adoptive parents, the necronyms apply on their deaths, not those of the biological

parents. I do not know what the situation would be in the cases described in the section on teknonyms where an unmarried adult had adopted a teknonym using the autonym of a sibling's child. Would the child use a necronym indicating the death of a parent should the person employing his autonym in a teknonym die? I suspect not but no one could recall such a situation actually happening and Kenyah are generally not very clear on hypothetical situations.

There is a series of necronyms to be used on the death of a sibling. Theoretically, these apply to all sub-adults (i.e., those who do not have children of their own). These necronyms generally apply only on the deaths of true siblings but they may occasionally be used on the deaths of cousins if they are members of the same household. On the death of an elder sibling, a child of either sex is known as Abeng. The terms for the death of a younger sibling vary depending on whether there are other younger siblings still living. If a child's only younger sibling dies, he/she becomes Lubet. If a younger sibling dies but there are still other younger siblings living, the child is known as Anta. These sibling necronyms are used for varying periods, and the circumstances that end their use are like those ending the use of the grandparent necronyms, i.e., a new death requiring a different necronym, the birth of a new sibling bringing the use of the autonym alone, or the birth of one's own child bringing about the use of a teknonym. As in the case of the grandparent and parent necronyms the sibling necronyms are

most often used alone in address but in reference they may be prefixed to the autonym. Thus, Jalong whose younger sibling died is referred to as Lubet Jalong.

It should be noted again that the terms discussed so far apply only to children (or sociological children); adults do not adopt necronyms on the deaths of their grandparents, parents, or siblings.

For adults (i.e., people with teknonyms) there are two other sets of necronyms: one for the death of a spouse and another for the deaths of lineal descendants. On the death of his wife, a man becomes Ampan, and a woman whose husband dies becomes Balu. These terms are, again, often used alone in address where there is little chance of ambiguity. In reference, the necronym is prefixed to the autonym. These spouse necronyms are among the most permanent. They are usually abandoned only if the individual remarries and has more children. He/she then changes to a teknonym. Remarriage alone is not sufficient; there are several cases in which a widow or widower has been remarried for twenty years or more but, having no children of the union, is still known as Balu or Ampan. Even the death of a child does not usually eliminate the spouse necronym. If the widow or widower is elderly and uses a gerontonym, the necronym is prefixed to the gerontonym. For example, the elderly woman Bungan is addressed and referred to as PeBungan; upon the death of her husband she becomes Balu PeBungan.

The second type of necronym used by adults refers to

the deaths of lineal descendants; that is, children and grandchildren. For the deaths of one's children, the particular necronym used designates the birth order number of the deceased child, not the number of children dead. The necronym is prefixed to the autonym of the parent. Following is a list of child necronyms:

1st child dead = Uyong
2nd child dead = Mboi
3rd child dead = Mawa'
4th child dead = Sawang
5th child dead = Lara
6th child dead = Saba'
7th child dead = Uka'
8th child dead = Luhut
9th child dead = Sade
10th child dead = Nja'
11th child dead = Nawe'

Some informants gave an additional term for second child dead; they specified Mboi for male child and Buyo' for female child but this was by no means consistent. Nor should it be assumed that this list is by any means definitive. Virtually all informants agree on the first four or so terms and, of course, these are the ones one hears most frequently. For the rest of the series, one gets varying answers and to ask for these terms in a group results in prolonged discussion and the dredging of memories for examples. If one asks why an individual is called Saba', for example, the answer will most likely not be a straight forward "because his sixth child died", but rather a recounting of the births and deaths of Saba''s children until the answer is arrived at. Upon the death of Taman Apoi's fifth child, there was a discussion

generally dominated by older women to determine that Lara was the proper necronym for Taman Apoi and Uwe' Apoi. They then became Lara Ingan and Lara Ubong, the necronym prefixed to their autonyms. The list of child necronyms may vary from one village to another and even from one informant to another, especially after the first four or five terms but the principles of their use are the same.

The child necronym is replaced by a teknonym on the birth of another child (using the autonym of the new child) or by another necronym. If the parents are already using a child necronym and another child is born but dies shortly after birth they may or may not change necronyms. Particularly if they are using a necronym that is into the fuzzier reaches of the set (i.e., from number four or five on) they are likely to stick with the same necronym. Lara Lanyau and his wife, for example, are using the necronym they acquired on the death of their fifth child although another infant was born and died after the fifth.

There are some exceptions to the standard list. The necronym for parents whose child has died far away from home is Tukuang. In some instances, bereaved parents have made up individual necronyms. When a chief's eldest son (who would have become chief) died shortly after the death of the chief's wife, the man adopted the term Mape ("collapsed, destroyed") prefixed to his autonym; he was thus known for the rest of his life. Another couple who had lost all their children were known as Tubang (also "to collapse" or "to fall

as a tree falls).

After a parent's children are fully adult (i.e., married and have children of their own), the parent no longer uses necronyms on their deaths.

There is one necronym for a grandchild's death, Piat, but informants disagree on whether it is used for the death of one grandchild or only if all grandchildren have died. In one instance in which I heard it used regularly, all of the individual's grandchildren had died, but some people maintained that it could be used in the event of the death of any grandchild and that this would be most likely if the grandchild were a resident of the same household as the grandparent. The term is definitely not used if the grandparent is still in the childbearing period. Thus, the grandchild teknonym is confined to relatively elderly people.

The Long Moh and Long Nawang Kenyah do not use necronyms on the deaths of siblings' children, parents' siblings, grandparents' siblings or other collaterals. The only exception is the case of a first cousin (PaSbCh) who resides in the same household; in this case, a child may use a sibling necronym on the death of a cousin.[20] There are also no necronyms used on the deaths of affines with the exception of spouses.

An additional necronym, Poi, is used in Long Moh but

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[20]First cousins who reside in the same household are also not permitted to marry although first cousin marriage is permitted under other circumstances.

not in Long Nawang.[21] In Long Moh, this form is used to address and refer to a parent who is bereaved, i.e., a parent who is addressed and referred to by people other than his/her own children with a necronym. A child does not use the usual necronym form to his/her parents. Normally, he/she would use a kin term but, in this case, the term Poi is used. Linguistically, Poi behaves like a kin term in that it can take the possessive pronoun (e.g., poiyo "your bereaved parent"; poiye "my bereaved parent"). In direct discourse with the child, other people say poiyo rather than ameko ("your father") or uwe'ko ("your mother").

Figure 4 illustrates the use of necronyms for kinsmen.

Summary

In this chapter I have delineated the various forms of appellation available to the Kenyah. The subsystems of kin terms, autonyms, teknonyms, necronyms, and gerontonyms overlap and there may be several alternatives that one individual may use in relation to another at any given time. The choices are restricted by the biographical status of the individuals, by their geneological relationship, by their residence, and by the circumstances of the particular interaction.

Some forms, as previously noted, are what might be termed oppositional; that is, they define the individual as a separate person in opposition to other persons. Autonyms

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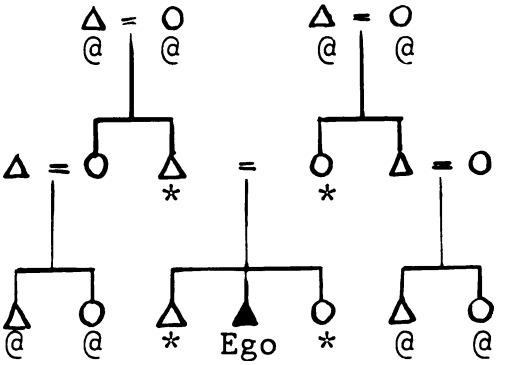
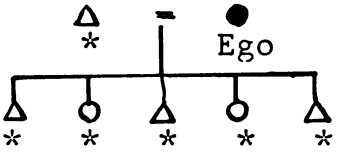
[21] In Long Nawang Poi is the kin term for grandparent.

1. A child (Ego) always uses necronyms on the deaths of those marked * and may do so on the deaths of those marked @, regardless of the sex of either Ego or the deceased.



2. An adult (Ego) always uses necronyms on the deaths of those marked * , regardless of the sex of either Ego or the deceased.



3. An elder (Ego) always uses a necronym on the death of the person marked * and may do so on the deaths of those marked @, regardless of the sex of either Ego or the deceased.

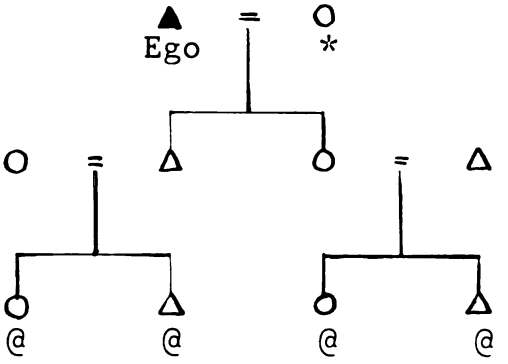


FIGURE 4: Necronyms

and other similar forms such as designations and ngadan ja'at are of this type. Patronyms are an intermediate form. They define an individual oppositionally and also in relation to others, specifically as the child of a particular individual and as a member of a group of siblings.[22] Kin terms, teknonyms, and necronyms are relational in that they define an individual in relation to others. Relational terms are of two types which I call ego-focused and diffuse. Kin terms are ego-focused in that they define a relationship of which the speaker is a part. The kin term individual A applies to individual B implies its reciprocal, the term B applies to A. Teknonyms, and necronyms are diffuse in that they define a relationship of which the speaker is not a part. To address someone as Tama Kuleh defines him as the father of Kuleh but the speaker is neither the father nor Kuleh nor does the form imply a reciprocal form.

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[22]Or, rather as a member of a group sharing a father. In Kenyah terms, half-siblings related through the mother share the same status as those related through the father.

CHAPTER IV

COMPARATIVE DATA ON APPELLATIONS

Introduction

In this chapter I will present some comparative data from other societies, the majority of them insular Southeast Asian ones, because I found this data critical to my analysis of Kenyah appellation systems. No one society, of course, presents a system precisely like that of the Kenyah, and I have not yet come across an analysis of a total system of appellation. I have, however, found discussions of parts of systems which are particularly illuminating and, to my thinking, crucial in that what eventually emerge as the salient aspects of the Kenyah system are thrown into relief by comparison.

The most detailed discussions of aspects of appellation systems in insular Southeast Asia are on the Temiar (Benjamin 1968), the Penan (Needham 1954a; 1954b; 1959; 1965; and 1971 and Nicolaisen 1978), and the Balinese (Geertz 1964; 1973; and 1975) and I have drawn heavily on these sources. I have also used, in more abbreviated fashion, material from other Borneo groups such as the Ma'anyan (Hudson 1972; 1978), the

Kayan (Rousseau 1978), the Kajang (De Martinoir 1974), and the Land Dayak (Geddes 1957) and from the Mnong Gar (Condominas 1977) and the Javanese (Jay 1969; Geertz 1960) as well as the inevitable comparisons with my own American society. The only other non-Southeast Asian society referred to here is the !kung (Marshall 1957) of South Africa which I have included because Marshall's excellent description of the practice of institutionalized name-sharing illustrates so well the connections between two sub-systems of appellation.

The locations of the groups referred to, with the exceptions of the latter two, are shown on Figure 5.

Autonyms

Every society, insofar as I know, gives its members autonyms of one sort or another. Levi-Strauss (1966) distinguishes polar types of autonyms. At one extreme are those expressing on the part of the bestower of the autonym only " . . . a transitory and subjective state of his own by means of the person he names " (181). These we might call "made up" autonyms. At the most extreme, they might be arbitrary nonsense syllables and, indeed, this is the case for the Balinese (Geertz 1973b:369). The Temiar also may use any unoccupied forms of the shape CVC (Consonant-Vowel-Consonant) within the normal restrictions of Temiar phonology (Benjamin 1968:105).

At the other extreme are autonyms that are automatic

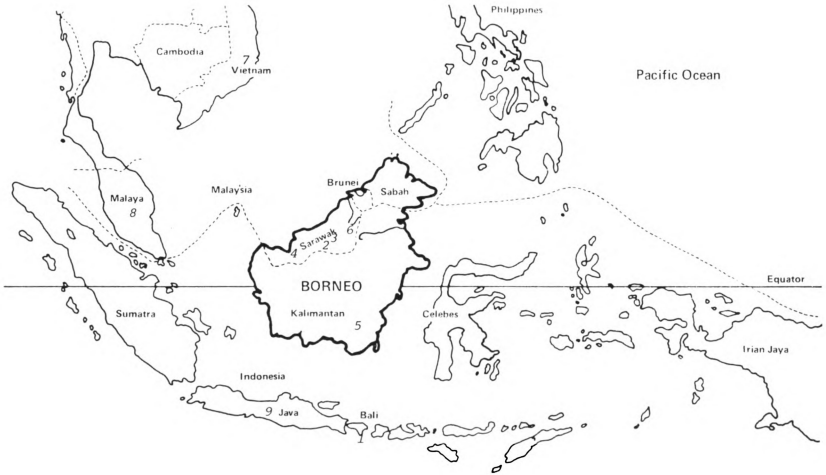

FIGURE 5: Locations of Southeast Asian Ethnic Groups Discussed

KEY:

1. *Balinese*
2. *Kajang*
3. *Kayan*
4. *Land Dayak*
5. *Ma'anyan*
6. *Penan*
7. *Mnong Gar*
8. *Temiar*
9. *Javanese*

as is the case of some kinds of clan-owned autonyms or those that exist " . . . before the individuals who bear them . . . " and are " . . . assigned to them on account of the position which is objectively theirs but in which other individuals may equally find themselves" (Levi-Strauss 1966: 180). This form is represented by, for example, birth-order names as used by the Temiar (Benjamin 1968) and the Balinese (Geertz and Geertz 1964; 1975) among others. Other types are the "day-names" common in West Africa and the special names prescribed for twins or other infants born under unusual but specified circumstances in many societies.

Most autonyms fall between these extremes. In some cases, the name-giver may express a "transitory and subjective state" by choosing not nonsense syllables but any preexisting forms (i.e., words) in the language. Or, with more restriction, the name-giver may choose some event surrounding the child's birth or some personal characteristic of the child. These autonyms, as well as those at the second extreme above, may be said to have "meaning" in the sense that they are words used in ordinary language and were bestowed as autonyms because of those meanings.

I am frequently asked what Kenyah autonyms "mean" and, in the sense these inquirers are using, in many cases the answer is "nothing." Kenyah autonyms may have etymological "meanings" in the same sense that English ones do. These are the kinds of "meanings" given in books entitled "1000 Names for Baby and Their Meanings." The autonym "Kuleh,"

for example, in this sense means "clouded leopard" but Kenyah approach these "meanings" in the same way that English speakers approach the etymological meanings of their autonyms; that is, autonyms are not chosen on the basis of these meanings. My Kenyah neighbor did not choose the autonym "Lenjau" for his son because it means "tiger" any more than I chose Robert for mine because it means "bright fame." Nor did my neighbor hope that his son would manifest tigerly traits. We both chose our children's autonyms for reasons that were both personal and social, but not on the basis of etymological meanings. Some Kenyah autonyms do have etymological meanings; others do not, or, at least my informants could not supply them.

For non-Christian Kenyah, there is a standard list of acceptable autonyms. Some are much more common in one area or one village than another, but all are recognized as Kenyah autonyms. Sometimes when I enquired about a certain form, I would be told, "Oh, yes, that's a common name in such-and-such a village but we don't use it much here." "Could you use it here?" "Yes." In other words, the form was recognized and acknowledged as a proper Kenyah autonym but one that did not happen to be currently in fashion in the area.

The autonyms Sulau and Li', prescribed for children with specific circumstances (the sighting of a hawk) surrounding their naming ceremonies are similar to the sort of prescribed autonyms noted above, but, in this case the autonyms are temporary. They are replaced in usage by the one

given at the naming ceremony once childhood is past. In addition, while they are prescribed in the conditions noted, they are not proscribed in other cases. The case of an autonym given because of a particular animal appearing at the naming ceremony is also marginal. According to my informants, it was imperative to use the animal's name; there was no element of choice. This was, however, an odd chance. There is very little likelihood of any animal appearing in the house other than cats and dogs and they "belong" there. Like Sulau and Li', this autonym is transitory.

Most Kenyah autonyms are selected from pre-existing forms commonly recognized as autonyms with the considerations of sex, kinship, and social class as well as personal preference. They are in no sense, free creations of the name-giver. The choice is also limited by the restriction that a child must be named after someone of a higher generation. The only exceptions to these limitations are the designations or nicknames sometimes taken with the gerontonym in old age. These are "free creations" insomuch as they express a subjective state of the name giver (the person himself), but even these are Kenyah words. They are not, as Benjamin describes for the Temiar "unoccupied forms." And, by virtue of the circumstances under which these designations are acquired, they tend to class their bearers as people who are out of step with the normal progress of human life.

These various ways of choosing autonyms have different implications. In the case of the Balinese with their

"nonsense syllables" and the Temiar with "unoccupied forms" it is possible for every individual to bear a unique autonym or, at least, locally unique. This is explicitly sought; " . . . the duplication of personal names within a single community -- that is, a politically unified, nucleated settlement -- is strenuously avoided" (Geertz 1973b:369). It is unclear how explicit this is among the Temiar, but Benjamin says, " . . . each autonym is, in practice, borne by a single individual" (1968:106).

The Kenyah, by contrast, not only choose autonyms from a standard list of acceptable forms, but also require a namesake. This means that at any time there are likely to be several persons bearing the same autonym.

The situation of two or more persons sharing an autonym is not an uncommon one. It occurs in any society where autonyms are more-or-less standardized, and, in some societies, name-sharing establishes a special relationship between the individuals involved. In some cases, this relationship is limited to the name-sharers themselves, but it may be further reaching.

Marshall (1957) describes a situation among the !kung in which the autonym is a factor in kinship terminology. The kin term system is constant but the terms are applied in two different ways. In the first instance, they are applied in the usual way to individuals in specified consanguinal and affinal categories. In the second instance, the kin terms are applied to individuals who are classified

in certain ways because of the sharing of an autonym. This latter case Marshall refers to as the "homonymous" method of classifying persons for appropriate use of kinship terms. This practice carries the common belief that the autonym is in some way an intrinsic part of personhood to a logical extreme. The !kung believe that " . . . when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree" (1957:22). Thus, the !kung have a very complex set of rules specifying kinship terms to be used between name-giver and namesake and the relatives of each. Only within the immediate nuclear family (i.e., parents, siblings, and offspring) and primary affines do the terms specified by geneological relationships take preference over those specified by the "homonymous" method of classifying individuals.

This use of autonyms to classify persons for the application of kin terms can also be extended beyond the realm of relatives. When a !kung meets a stranger, he must find out the person's autonym. If he has a relative of the same autonym (very likely, given a limited number of autonyms), he then applies the appropriate kin term which is reciprocated and a relationship is established; the status of stranger is done away with. In these instances, it is the perogative of the senior person to apply the term which is reciprocated by the junior.

In most cases, this use of reciprocal kin terms between strangers ends with the two individuals who establish the

relationship. If however, a person should meet someone with whom he shares his own autonym, terms are extended to the parents, offspring, siblings, and spouse of that person as well. The !kung must know people's autonyms in order to apply kin terms. The application of kin terms obliterates the dangerous stranger. There are, however, limits.

> . . . at Nuragas, about 200 miles away from the Nyae Nyae region, there are !kung Bushmen. Although none of the Nyae Nyae people have been there, the people of the Nyae Nyae speak the same language. The people of Nyae Nyae say that they hear that the people of Nuragas put a strange poison in the pipes they give you to smoke which makes you become as thin as a stick and then die. The people of Nyae Nyae do not know the names of the people at Nuragas (Marshall 1957:24).

It might seem on the surface as though there should be some common difference between those societies in which autonyms are totally unique and those in which autonyms may be borne by several individuals at once, but the idea springs from a confusion about the autonym as a unique reference and is related to the long standing logical and linguistic problem of the definition of an autonym (more usually called in these discussions a "proper name"). The traditional view is that a proper name is one with a unique referent but this has posed complex problems since in societies like the Kenyah, the !kung, or our own, it is clear that in fact each autonym (proper name) has more than one referent. One answer is to approach the problem from the point of view of the referee. In any given discourse, a speaker uses an autonym with the intention of identifying a particular individual.

The speaker further assumes that the autonym will indeed identify a particular individual to his listener. He takes into account verbal and situational context. This is what we commonsensically mean by saying that an autonym identifies an individual in opposition to other individuals. It is interesting that in the two societies noted above (Temiar and Balinese) in which there is actual, objective unique differentiation by autonym, these autonyms are rarely used.

The custom of, by one means or another, giving autonyms to members is probably found in all societies. But how these autonyms are used is an entirely different question. The idea that autonyms are an intrinsically private possession and not to be used or even divulged is commonly found in anthropological literature. In the case of the Temiar, the use of the autonym may bring disaster. According to Benjamin, the Temiar is reluctant to reveal his own or anyone else's autonym, and it is particularly dangerous to address an adult by his autonym. Autonyms are used unguardedly only for young children.

> . . . to address a person of higher generation by name is a heinous act, and a foolish one insofar as it tempts fate in some undefined way. Such fate-tempting acts are generally believed to bring danger upon the offended party rather than on the person who offends (Benjamin 1968:103).

Thus, the Temiar is well-advised to take care about divulging his autonym. Benjamin reports that he failed entirely to elict informants' autonyms in some cases and, in addition, sometimes could not even elict them from other people. Temiar theory is inconsistent on why this should be so, but

there is an association of the autonym with the soul (in itself a vague concept) which is vulnerable and likely to become separated from the body causing illness or, if it does not return, death. This vulnerability is exacerbated by the indiscriminate use of the autonym.[1]

> The autonym represents, even "is", the true self: the other classes of names represent the person in society, posing less of a threat to the autonomy and integrity of the individual (Benjamin 1968:104-5).

Perhaps the other extreme is American society where autonyms are used with a frequency startling to even Europeans. But even here there are rules and restrictions. There are many exceptions, but generally children do not address adults by autonyms unless prefaced by a kin term or a title. Nor do we generally address people considerably older by autonyms unless invited to do so. These general age provisions may be overridden by considerations of relative status, actual or perceived. An older person would not normally be addressed by an autonym but if he is a definite social inferior, the autonym may commonly be used. Thus, Mrs. Richperson addresses the doorman of her apartment building as "Joe" while he addresses her as "Mrs. Richperson." In some cases of conflict between the principles of age and social status, as in the case in which the addressee is both a child (and, thus, to be addressed by an autonym) and a

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[1]It is not clear why this theory should not hold for children. Among the Kenyah, the souls of children are, in fact, the <u>most</u> vulnerable and loosely attached.

definite social superior (title and surname used), there may be a compromise of the form as in "Miss Mary" or "Master George."

The mutual use of autonyms implies social equity, an egalitarianism which most Americans publicly espouse even if they are privately uncomfortable with specific instances of it. It represents what most Americans regard as the admirable "openness" and "friendliness" of themselves and their countrymen. The extreme expression is bonhommie "civic" organizations and conventions where members wear nametags declaring, " Hi, I'm Bill."

Even though they are much more free in the use of their autonyms than are the Temiar and do not guard them jealously, there remains for Americans a sense in which autonyms somehow represent the individual. Most people are fairly rigid in insisting on correct spelling and pronounciation of their autonyms. A not-uncommon sign of an emerging sense of individuality and adulthood among adolescents is for "Judy" to become "Judi" or "Bobby" to become "Bob" or even "Robert", or the adolescent may change altogether and move from his "first" name to his "middle" name. An appropriate autonym represents the person he is becoming or would like to become or in more popular parlance, the "image" he sees of himself. The case of show business people is similar. "John" (Wayne) is certainly a more appropriate autonym for a cowboy than

Marion.[2] Although, unlike members of some societies, Americans may legally give their children any autonym they wish (e.g., Grace Slick's child, "god")[3], there is a tendency to avoid very unusual autonyms, particularly for boys, for fear they will prove embarrassing or detrimental to a career. This remains true despite the recurrent appearance in magazines and Sunday supplements of lists of "weird" names with the classic Ima Hogg always leading the list. Autonyms certainly pass in and out of fashion but parents usually select ones that are, if not currently fashionable, at least generally accepted as autonyms in their cultural milieu.

Both Americans and Temiar view the autonym as an integral part of personhood, but the former use the autonym openly whereas the latter guard it closely and avoid its use except for with children. For the Temiar, not only are the chances or occasions for misuse of the autonym greater but the consequences of such misuse are far more severe. For the American, misuse of an autonym constitutes a violation of the canons of proper social behavior, a breach of etiquette. Indeed, the misuse may be purposeful with insult in mind. In any case, there is no spiritual danger involved

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[2]Partly because "Marion" is one of a few sexually ambiguous autonyms in English which are generally disliked by men. Others include: Francis/Frances; Sydney/Sidney; Leslie, etc.

[3]Holland, for example, has a list of "legal" names: France proscribes the use of certain names, etc.

and the "social danger" accrues to the addressor not to the addressee. For the Temiar, on the other hand, the misuse of an antonym (e.g., use of a senior's autonym by a junior) is not merely a breach of etiquette but brings danger not only to the offender but also to the one whose autonym is so used. Thus, the prudent individual, for fear that his autonym might be used improperly, placing him in supernatural danger, is reluctant to divulge it.

In most societies, the use of autonyms falls between these extremes. Among the Balinese, autonyms are used freely only for children and, even for them, other, alternate forms (i.e., birth order names) are more common. To use an individual's autonym after childhood is a breach of etiquette, but it is not clear whether it is more than that. Geertz and Geertz report, " It becomes extremely discourteous to use a person's childhood name instead of his teknonymous name, for to do so is to imply that he is still immature . . ." (1964:95; 1975:86), an indication that it is proper social form that is involved. But in another article Geertz says, "As the virtually religious avoidance of its direct use indicates, a personal name is an intensely private matter" (1973b:370). This would imply that something more than a breach of etiquette is involved, but what it might be is not explicit. The autonym is private; it is not used, but there is no indication that its owner fears himself in some danger from its use.

Among the Ma'anyan of Borneo usage of autonyms is

somewhat broader. After adulthood is reached and a teknonym acquired, the autonym falls into disuse especially as a form of address although it may continue to be used in reference. The use in either reference or address of the autonym of one's parents-in-law is definitely avoided, but " . . . there is no actual adat prohibition on the use of birth names i.e., autonyms " (Hudson 1972:65). That is to say, there is no sanction against the use of autonyms, no ritual danger but, for adults, they are generally inappropriate as forms of address. "The only adults who were consistently known by their personal names were people who had disabilities making them unfit for marriage" (Hudson 1972:65). These individuals " . . . were still called by their personal names, assigning them more or less to the status of children " (Hudson 1972:65). Autonyms are not consciously guarded or obliterated; people know each other's autonyms but they are not used.

Land Dayak usage of autonyms is broader yet; after a person receives a teknonym it is bad form to use his/her autonym; juniors especially, should not use autonyms to seniors. The autonym may, however, still be used by " . . . close friends of one's own age or older relatives speaking to younger" (Geddes 1957:37). It is, in addition, bad form to speak one's own or one's parents' autonyms. Where the autonym is demanded, as by a government official or an anthropologist, another person present may supply it, but the individual himself would be "embarrassed" to do so (Geddes 1957:35-36). To speak one's dead parent's autonym

may be dangerous but Geddes does not specify how.

The use of autonyms among the Kenyah is similar to that of both Ma'anyan and the Land Dayak with its own peculiarities. Children under the age of two or three (i.e., when they still spend most of their time in the company of a caretaker -- parent, grandparent, or elder sibling -- and have not yet joined a peer group) are often addressed and referred to as Weng or Apeng. After this, the autonym is used and continues to be until they have children of their own and, thus, teknonyms. In address, it is rude to use the autonym of an adult although how rude varies with the relative social status of the addressor and the addressee. Autonyms are possible between equals (in both generation, age, and social class) who are close and unthinkable by child to adult or panyin ja'at to deta'u. Such an act falls under the general category of presuming above oneself and may result in parib. This applies only to address; autonyms may be used in reference but it is uncommon in normal conversation; they are used freely in geneological discussions. Children will freely reveal the autonyms of their elders insofar as they know them. A child always knows his/her father's autonym as it is his/her own patronym and also the mother's and, usually, the grandparents' autonyms but he/she may be unsure of those of, for example, grandparent's siblings. Children would never use autonyms in address to senior relatives but they are not forbidden to know or reveal them.

Although the autonym falls into a period of relative disuse for address during adulthood, it is never permanently submerged or forgotten. Men's autonyms are always at hand in their children's patronyms; matronyms are also possible though uncommon. One's autonym may resurface periodically in adulthood as a component of a necronym, and in old age it returns permanently as a component of the gerontonym.

A class of names that Benjamin calls designations brings to mind those substitute autonyms that the Kenyah call "Christian", "school", or "modern" names. The Temiar recognize these forms as specifically for use with outsiders or outside the Temiar world. Benjamin was warned by his informants that he should use these forms when enquiring about them from outsiders; he would not be understood if he used their Temiar autonyms. The Temiar regard the designations and their Temiar autonyms as belonging to two separate sets. Both are equally autonyms but their appropriate situations are different. This is similar to the Kenyah attitudes about "Christian" names, at least in the Baram River area where they are used in addition to, not in replacement of, Kenyah autonyms. Each has its appropriate context. The forms of these "outside" names for the Temiar are different from the forms of indigenous Temiar names. They may be Temiar versions of Malay names or simply Malay words or, since the involvement with the British military during the Emergency, English names or words. But, in any case, they serve the same purpose of delineating inside and outside

and showing that their bearers move, or have at one time moved, between two worlds.

Teknonyms

Tylor coined the term teknonymy and defined it as " . . . the practice of naming the parent from the child" (1961:4).[4] Tylor's definition corresponds more or less to the standard dictionary and athropology textbook definitions. A Random House dictionary (1971) uses Tylor's definition and adds the etymology: from the Greek tekn(on) "child" and onym(a) "name".

The term teknonym is often considered in anthropological literature to be so widely understood that it requires no definition. Or, the definition, if offered, is a very minimal one. In the opening sentence of their article on teknonymy in Bali, Geertz and Geertz say, "Teknonymy, the practice of designating adults by the names of their children, . . ."(1964:94). Needham is even less specific. " By a teknonym I mean a name which indicates that the person designated by it is the parent of a child" (1954:416). In an article on Korean terminology, Lee and Harvey define teknonymy as " . . . the practice of addressing an adult not by his or her own name, but by the name of a child, adding the relationship between the adult and the child" (1973:38). There are

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[4]Tylor theorized that the practice originated from matrilocal residence and was associated with son-in-law avoidance. Lowie (1921) criticized Tylor's theory and conculded that each instance of teknonymy had to be accounted for individually.

many other examples, but these will serve the point. These definitions are loose; they presume a great deal of knowledge on the part of the reader and often that the reader and the author treat these forms as more or less trivial cultural tidbits.[5] Furthermore, the authors themselves, having given these definitions, proceed to pay little attention to them; they go on to say what they mean without further reference to their introductory definitions. Geertz and Geertz in the article referred to above, go on to discuss how Balinese are referred to not only by the names of their children (or rather, a particular child) but also, later, by the names of their grandchildren and their great-grandchildren. This is extending the definition to another generation or more of lineal descendents, a not uncommon practice. The Needham and Lee and Harvey definitions begin to stretch beyond this. The question of definition turns out to be all the more complex because "teknonymy" is such an accepted part of the anthropological vocabulary that we often feel it requires no definition at all or only a very loose one. These loose definitions work if one is talking about a specific case. One can say, then, this is what teknonymy in X is and this is how it works. But when one tries to make comparisons, difficulty arises. What is referred to as teknonymy in X is not at all what is referred to as teknonymy in Y. This is only to point out that, despite the use of a fairly standard definition of

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[5]This latter is <u>not</u> the case with the three articles cited.

teknonymy in the anthropological literature, the practices that are so labelled are various.

I will describe the usage labelled teknonymy in several studies and compare these with that described for the Kenyah in Chapter III.

Teknonymic usage among the Ma'anyan is straightforward. As soon as a couple has a child, they adopt teknonyms from the autonym of the child (Pa' X, "father of X" and Ineh X or Tu' X, "mother of X") regardless of its sex. These forms are used in both reference and address and are the preferred forms. The autonym should be avoided especially in address, although it may be used occasionally in reference. The Ma'anyan extend the teknonymic form one generation. After people have grandchildren, they become known as grandfather and grandmother of the eponymous grandchild. The forms, insofar as I know, are permanent; that is, a person in the parent teknonym stage is known by the same teknonym, regardless of the birth of further children, until he moves into the grandparent teknonym (Hudson 1972:64-6).

The Land Dayak practice is similar to the Ma'anyan in that with parenthood, the parents become known as "father of" and "mother of" a particular child. Likewise, upon attaining grandparenthood, they change to "grandfather of" and "grandmother of" a child of a lower generation than the first. But the Land Dayak give the system their own particular twist. The eponymous child need not be the offspring of those who use its autonym in their teknonyms; it need not

even be a relative. In a few cases, the "child" is not even a human one but a pet animal. And, the "parents" may not be parents but have only reached the age of parenthood or grandparenthood (Geddes 1957:35-37).

The Kayan also have teknonymic forms; after the birth of the first child the parents may be known as "father of" and "mother of" (child's autonym). According to Rousseau (1978), however, the teknonyms are not in common use. For adults, there are other forms -- necronyms, and for older adults, gerontonyms brought into use by the deaths of relatives and the appearance of grandchildren. "Even if none of these events occur, most parents are known by their personal names"(1978:89; emphasis added).

Teknonymic usage among the Penan incorporates an uncommon feature, the differentiation between the presumed biological father of a child (Tama X) and an adoptive father (Tamen X). The mother, in either case, is Tinen X. Teknonyms are the most common forms of address and reference for an adult none of whose children has died. Autonyms and kin terms are also available, but the teknonym is preferred (Needham 1954a:416-17).

For the Javanese, the teknonym in its parental form is possible, but the extent of its usage is very situational. No one would reply to the question, "What is your name?" by supplying a teknonym. The form is much more common among rural people and among the urban lower class than among the middle and upper classes. But even among these classes it

may be used in the context of the family. A wife may refer to her husband among the other family members as "Bapak X" (Father of X) but such usage is not standardized to a particular child. If being the parent of a particular child is the salient fact, as far as the speaker is concerned, about a person, then the speaker is likely to use a teknonym.[6] Jay describes the case of an older childless couple who took in and raised an abandoned child. In recognition of their achievement, however roundabout, of the much-desired status of parenthood, the neighborhood addressed them by teknonyms (1969:75).

The use of teknonyms in the village is by no means uniform. The teknonymic forms are "Pak" (father) and "Bok" or "Bu" (mother) prefixed to a child's autonym. "Pak" is short for the more formal "Bapak", "Bok" is short for "Mbok" and "Bu"[7] for "Ibu" (of these two, the latter is more respectful). These terms alone are appropriate forms of address for any adult regardless of marital status or children. A very common form of reference and address for a man is to use "Pak" prefixed to his autonym;[8] his wife is called "Bu" (husband's autonym) or "Bok" (husband"s autonym); in this sense, "Pak" and "Bu" are more correctly translated as "Mr." and "Mrs.".

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[6]Thus, in Java I am referred to by my neighbors whose children are playmates of my child and by the servants of other foreigners as "Ibu Kuleh".

[7]This may all be complicated further by the fact that "Bu" is also used as an abbreviated form of address or reference for a female servant ("Babu").

[8]Javanese do not have surnames or patronyms.

Since the forms are the same, one would have to know a man's autonym or that of his child to know whether he was being addressed/referred to by a teknonym or not.

The teknonyms described by Benjamin (1968) for the Temiar are somewhat unusual. They are of two types. In the first type, a married couple called each other Baleh ("parent of a daughter" or Litau ("parent of a son"), normally depending on the sex of the eldest surviving child. These forms of address may also be used by other people. The second kind of teknonym is simply the autonym of the child which may be used for either parent. In either case, the parents may bear precisely the same teknonym. But, in practice, the mother is much more likely to be addressed and referred to by the teknonym whereas " . . . the husband's teknonym alternates freely with any other of his names that he does not object to" (Benjamin 1968:112).

An interesting variant of the identification of spouses under one term is the Mnong Gar practice of taking the conjoined autonyms of the pair. A man whose autonym is Krong married to a woman, Joong, is Krong-Joong. The wife is Joong-Krong (Condominas 1977:16). Condominas also mentions a teknonym using the autonym of the eldest child but he mentions it specifically only in connection with the father. "If a man has children, he is very often referred to by the name of his eldest child preceded by the term baap ("father of ") . . ." (1977:16). He does not mention the mother, and in the text there are instances of a man being referred to

by a teknonym and his wife by a nickname or designation. The implication of the text (Condominas 1977) is that various forms of address and reference exist simultaneously but the data is not available to know how they are used or how one of several alternatives is chosen.

The use of teknonymy in Bali is pervasive, at least among the ninety percent of the population who are commoners. The teknonym is the most common form of address and reference. Even children address and refer to their own parents by teknonyms. The teknonym is generally taken from the first child, male or female. Even if this child should die, the teknonym is retained if it has become firmly attached to the parents. When the couple become grandparents, their teknonymic focus shifts downward and they become "grandfather of" and "grandmother of" the first grandchild. This teknonym remains until there is a great-grandchild; the teknonymic focus then shifts down one more generation to produce "great-grandparent of". Autonyms are used only for children.[9] Kinship terms are rarely used. Teknonymy is the overwhelming preference (Geertz and Geertz 1964; 1975; Geertz 1973b).

Teknonyms, in their most rudimentary form, may have several effects. First, and most obvious, they identify their bearers as parents and, thus, in many societies, as full adults. They are marked as people who are actively

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[9] Autonyms are sometimes not even used for children; birth-order names are used frequently in address for children.

contributing to the continuity of the community, as opposed to children. Where their use is standard and widespread, they identify a strata of adults. Where they are extended into the next generation as grandparental teknonyms, they divide a community into the immature (children), active adults, and "retiring" adults or elders.

Second, where both parents (or both members of a conjugal pair) take their teknonyms from the same child, they are terminologically identified as a unit.

Third, extensive use of teknonyms, to the exclusion of other forms, may act to suppress the keeping of deep and elaborate geneologies.

In most of the cases mentioned, the practice of teknonymy produces at least the first two effects to some extent.

Among the Ma'anyan, the Land Dayak, the Penan, and the Balinese, the use of the teknonym in delineating the entire community into the immature, active adults, and elders (children, parents, grandparents) is unambiguous.[10] In these cases, teknonyms are in common use and the preferred, though not the only possible, forms of reference and address. The stricture on the use of autonyms varies but it is generally considered, at least, rude and inappropriate.

For the Kayan, the case is not so clear. Rousseau says that teknonyms <u>may</u> be used for adults by everyone except their children but that autonyms are used for most people

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[10]In Bali the process extends a step further.

in the active adult (parent) stage, thus, it would seem, not differentiating them from the immature. But he also says, "Teknonyms, necronyms, and gerontonyms thus give a rough indication of an individual's position in the life cycle, and of his familial situation" (1978:89). How teknonyms play their part in this system when they are not used is unclear.

The Temiar teknonyms are more restricted. The first type, which translates as "parent of a son" and "parent of a daughter" certainly set off parents as a distinct strata. The other type, in which parents are simply addressed by the autonym of their child does not; there is no way to distinguish this form from any other autonym. In any case, in practice only a portion of the adult community is terminologically identified since the teknonym is highly preferred only by women. For men it is not necessarily the preferred choice of alternative forms. In addition, these teknonymic forms seem to apply largely in address.

A teknonym is possible for Mnong-Gar but, apparently, only for males. Condominas (1977) says that a man is "often" referred to as "father of" his eldest child but, of the hundreds of individuals mentioned in the text, only two are thus referred to.[11] If the names by which individuals are known in the text are indeed commonly used forms, then the

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[11]Because of the way this book is written, as a chronological narrative of events unfolding with very few general statements and no direct dialogue, it is difficult to know whether the names by which individuals are referred to are the most commonly used forms, are used also as terms of address, etc.

use of teknonyms is very occasional and in no way underscores a strata of adults distinguished from children.

Likewise for the Javanese, the teknonym is a possible form of address and reference but it is restricted to some individuals, and it is restricted by context. Thus, it does not mark out adults from children in any regular way.

Teknonyms in the first four cases also clearly underscore the unity of the conjugal pair. In all the groups, the conjugal pair form or are the basis of one or more of the primary economic, social or ritual units.

Among the Kayan, teknonyms, in so much as they are used at all, also delineate the conjugal pair, as do their alternative, parental necronyms.

The case is different for the Temiar since teknonyms are preferred only for females. Parents address each other by teknonyms but this does not designate them as a couple in terms of the community.

The very restricted Mnong-Gar teknonymic usage does not differentiate a conjugal pair but the Mnong-Gar accomplish this identification in another way. The couple's autonyms are linked with the autonym of the one being addressed or referred to first, i.e., Krong-Aang is the husband of Aang-Krong.

The Javanese teknonym may identify a conjugal pair but its use is so variable that it does not regularly do so. If the teknonym is combined with the other common form of reference and address, however, conjugal pairs are regularly

identified. An adult man is regularly addressed and referred to as "Pak" followed either by his or his child's autonym. His wife is "Bu" followed by the same autonym. Thus, Pak Tandyo's wife is Bu Tandyo.

The third possible result of extensive use of teknonyms is clear in the Balinese case where it produces geneological ignorance. "The average man knows virtually nothing about any of his forebearers whose lives did not happen to overlap with his" (Geertz and Geertz 1964:101). This average Balinese also has difficulty constructing with any precision collateral kinship ties. This may seem, on the surface, to be not unlike the American situation; Americans generally have what would seem to many people an abyssmal ignorance of relatives. But, according to Geertz and Geertz, there is a difference. The American's ignorance is mostly due to neglect, lack of concern, a passive process. "In Bali, the process is an active one, a regularly enforced amnesia, one which starts cutting of kinship information even at the parental generation" (1964:101). And the major force in accomplishing this is teknonymy. Autonyms are totally replaced by teknonyms; even a man's children address him by his teknonym. Autonyms are used for neither the living nor the dead except for a brief period in childhood. Even in childhood, there are alternatives to autonyms. Thus, autonyms are forgotten by all but one's contemporaries and are not used even by them. People do not know the autonyms of their seniors to say nothing of those of deceased ancestors.

> There is in fact no way older people can communicate to younger people about a dead individual whom the older knew as a man but the younger did not in more than general terms so far as social identity is concerned (Geertz and Geertz 1964:101).

The foregoing data serves, by contrast and analogy, to underscore some features of Kenyah teknonyms. Kenyah teknonyms are used extensively. If an individual has a teknonym, it is available to all except his own children and grandchildren as a form of address and reference.[12] Not only is it available, it is widely used, even by kinsmen. It is also used in self-reference, e.g., in reply to a request for one's name.

This wide usage means that, for Kenyah, teknonyms do terminologically discriminate between strata of children and adults. They do not extend into the grandparent generation as is the case with the Ma'anyan, Land Dayak, and Balinese systems. However, the same sort of three generational distinction is accomplished by the addition of gerontonyms. The significance of these generational strata is illustrated by the exceptions: the cases of individuals who are not technically entitled to teknonyms finding ways to acquire them and, thus, fit into the appropriate strata.

The Kenyah teknonyms also identify the conjugal unit since both parents acquire their teknonyms from the same child. For the Kenyah the conjugal pair is the primary

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[12]Even his own children/grandchildren may use it occasionally in reference, depending on the context.

production unit in both senses. For ritual purposes, the primary unit is the household (lamin) as it is for consumption, but within the household, each conjugal unit makes its own rice fields. The teknonyms identifying this unit begin to fade when both types of production cease, i.e., when childbearing ends and economic activity slows.[13] This identity of the conjugal pair by teknonym, it should be noted, underscores the fact of parenthood not simply of marriage as is the case with the forms mentioned for the Mnong-Gar (linking of autonyms) and the Javanese ("Pak" and "Bu" prefixed to the husband's autonym).

This rather extensive use of teknonyms by the Kenyah does not, however, serve to diminish or eliminate knowledge of autonyms as it does for the Balinese. Several usages keep autonyms in evidence. First, patronyms are common in reference. Thus, a certain child may be referred to not just as Kuleh but as Kuleh Sigau. His father, then, for specificity, may be referred to as Taman Kuleh Sigau. Second, at the end of the teknonymic stage (i.e., the stage of active adulthood), the individual returns to his autonym which is then prefixed by a gerontonym.

Necronyms

Necronyms, names taken by the living on the deaths of certain relatives, seem to be a limited phenomenon. They

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[13] It should be noted here that teknonyms may undergo changes on the deaths and births of the eponymous or subsequent children but the same change applies to both parents.

appear in a very restricted form in English and some European languages in expressions such as "Widow Smith" and "Orphan Annie." Of the societies discussed here, the Javanese, Balinese, and the Ma'anyan seem to use no necronyms. Land Dayak and Mnong-Gar have forms designating "widow" and "widower."

More extensive systems of necronyms are reported for the Temiar, the Kayan, and the Penan. Of these, the Temiar system seems to be the most limited in the sense of having the fewest terms as well as in the extent of their use. Benjamin reports a list of necronyms but says, "Necronyms are not very frequently employed. Altogether I came across only three of them in actual use (i.e., without specifically elicting them) . . . " (1968:113). The Temiar system of necronyms makes reference to deaths only in the nuclear family and there only to the deaths of one's spouse, children, and parents. Furthermore, " . . . it does not seem as if a person with surviving children is ever called by a necronym" (1968:115). Necronyms among the Temiar seem to cluster around the idea that the individual so identified is without issue. The necronym applied to one whose parent(s) have died is used only by children. Those obtaining in the case of deaths of one's children are used when there are no surviving children and, further, there are no grandchildren. The term for death of one's spouse indicates not just spouse but "spouse and all children " (1968:112). Thus, people designated by necronyms are those who have either not yet produced

children (i.e., are themselves children) or those whose reproductive efforts have failed.

The Kayan necronym system is slightly more complex than that of the Temiar in that it includes siblings among those whose deaths require the use of necronyms. In the Kayan system, a child receives a necronym on the death of a parent. The term is the same regardless of whether it is the father of the mother who is deceased, but the survivor is differentiated by sex. There are three terms for the deaths of siblings: one term, used by both males and females, for siblings of the same sex as the deceased; and two terms, one for males and one for females, for siblings of the opposite sex. It is not clear whether these terms are used only by children or also apply to adults whose siblings die. An interesting feature of this system is that the necronyms that apply on the death of a spouse are exactly those used for siblings of the opposite sex.[14] The remaining necronyms are used on the deaths of one's children. There are five terms here: one that applies to both parents on the death of their first-born child; one for the father and another for the mother on the death of any subsequent child; one that applies to

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[14] In a brief article on the Kajang, a relatively small group in the Balui River area of Sarawak, De Martinoir (1974) notes a similar but more restricted practice. According to De Martinoir there is a ". . . very particular link, marked with affectivity, between a man and the sister born immediately after him " (270). Upon her death, the man is called Avan , the same term that would apply on the death of his wife; on his death, she (the sister) is called Balou, again the term she would also use on the death of her husband.

both parents if several children have died; and one that applies to both parents if all their children have died (Rousseau 1978). It is not clear whether or not it makes a difference if these children have produced children of their own.

Undoubtedly, the best described system of necronyms available is that of the Penan. The works of Needham (1954a; 1954b; 1959; 1965) and Nicolaisen (1978) provide extensive data on necronyms and analysis of their use. The sheer number of possible necronyms recorded is staggering. Needham lists 13 terms for the Eastern Penan and 26 for the Western Penan (1954b:419); Nicolaisen lists 43 terms for the Penan of the 7th Division, Sarawak (1978:31-2). Needham"s Western Penan list includes terms used on the deaths of one's spouse, one's parents, one's grandparents, one's siblings, and, one's children and grandchildren as well as terms used on the deaths of collaterals (parents' siblings and cousins) and affines (spouse's parents; spouse's siblings; sibling's spouses). Nicolaisen adds to this list terms for parents' deaths under various circumstances (e.g., child not present; father died before child's birth, etc.) and refinements of various terms depending on such factors as the sex of the speaker, whether the deceased spouse was the first or the second, etc.

According to Needham, these necronyms apply to what Penan call as "true" as opposed to "distant" kinsmen. Although mother's brother and mother's cousin are classified

together by the kin terminology (i.e., the same term applies to both) one would use the necronym "parent's male sibling deceased" on the death of the former but not the latter.

The necronymic term alone may be used as a form of address; in reference it is more commonly prefixed to the autonym (Needham 1954b:420). Here Nicolaisen's report disagrees with Neddham's if I interpret Nicolaisen correctly. He does not say so directly but the implication of his analysis is that the necronymic terms are always used alone in both reference and address.[15] This must be so because, in his analysis, the purpose of the necronyms is to avoid the use of the autonyms of those who were especially close to the deceased for fear that hearing them will cause the spirit of the deceased to want to return; this frustrated desire could cause unrest in the spirit world which, in turn, might have adverse consequences for Penan subsistence activities.

The relatives on whose deaths necronyms are used vary according to the age of the survivor. If the survivor is a child, he receives a necronym on the death of any "true" kinsman, i.e., Pa, paSb, GrPa, Sb, SbSp.[16] If he is a married person but does not yet have children, he uses necronyms on the deaths of those already listed plus Sp,SpSb, and SpPa. People who have or have had children use necronyms

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[15]This is conjecture on my part, Nicolaisen does not distinguish between referential and addressive usage.

[16]Eastern Penan include PaSbCh; Western Penan do not.

only on the deaths of spouse and children (Needham 1954b: 421).[17]

For the first group (children), the necronym is retained until it is changed by the death of another relative except in the case of a sibling necronym; if a child is using a sibling necronym when a new sibling is born, it discards the necronym and resumes its autonym. For young married people, all necronyms are discarded on the birth of the first child and the parents begin to use teknonyms. They will acquire necronyms should a child die; the birth of another child will give them teknonyms again. The necronym acquired on the death of a spouse remains unless changed by the subsequent death of a child or the individual remarries and has another child (Needham 1954b).

It should be no surprise that the Kenyah system of necronyms is similar to that of the Penan since they are linguistically related peoples. The Kenyah system is, however, somewhat more restricted in the number of terms it contains. Furthermore, not all of the terms are used regularly and with equal frequency; in some there appears to be an element of choice.

Children always use necronyms on the deaths of their parents and almost always on the deaths of siblings. If the sibling is married and living elsewhere, the necronym may not be used. Whether or not a child uses a necronym on the

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[17] I would assume also on the deaths of grandchildren but Needham does not so specify in this context.

death of a grandparent seems to be optional and depend primarily on co-residence. Likewise, the sibling necronyms may extend to cousins if they are co-resident. Married adults who do not yet have children also use necronyms on the deaths of parents and siblings and, in addition, on the death of the spouse. Adults with children or who have had children no longer use necronyms on the deaths of their parents or siblings but only on the death of a spouse or child. These necronyms are always used although the particular one to be used on the death of a particular child is not always clear. Older adults, i.e., those who have passed the child-bearing years and have grandchildren, do not usually adopt necronyms on the deaths of their children but there are exceptions. An older adult may adopt a necronym on the death of a grandchild but not all do. Like its reciprocal, co-residence seems to be a factor in the choice. The necronym is commonly used if all of one's grandchildren have died. The one occasion on which older adults always use necronyms is the death of a spouse.

Like the Penan necronyms, the Kenyah necronyms apply only to "true" kin. That is, the term that applies to a male child on the death of his mother, Ilun , is used only on the death of the sociological mother[18] not on the deaths of parents' sisters even though the child addresses them by the same kin term used for the mother. Likewise, the term

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[18]If the child is adopted, he uses the necronym on the death of his adopted mother, not his biological mother.

for "grandchild dead" is used only for one's lineal descendents's death although the kin term. tsu, is applied to the lineal descendents of one's siblings as well.

Kenyah necronyms, unlike Penan ones, tend to emphasize the residence pattern. Necronyms are used on the deaths of people who normally share the same lamin with the exception of parents' siblings. In the cases in which the use of a necronym is not regular, co-residence with the deceased seems to be a primary factor for its use.

As Needham has demonstrated for the Penan (1965), when the Kenyah move into situations in which their interactions are no longer restricted largely to other Kenyah but involve a wider range of others, i.e., in a situation of culture change, the use of necronyms becomes more restricted.

The primary factor around which the Temiar system of necronyms seems to revolve -- being without issue -- is of minor importance in the Kenyah system. And, in fact, as noted previously, such a situation is rare. Adoption is almost always available to fill nature's gaps. Only one term, the grandchild term, can be used to signify that an individual is without descendents. One can adopt children but not grandchildren.

Gerontonyms

Gerontonyms, terms applied to elderly persons usually denoting honor and respect, are found among the Javanese, Kayan, and Penan. In all these cases, they are forms affixed to the individual's autonym. For the Javanese, this is

simply the kin term "grandparent." Jay says, "The change seems to be connected with the emergence of a couple's grandchildren into social maturity within the comunity" (1969:42). This coincides with a lessening of participation in the economic sphere and a gradual withdrawal from social responsibility and reciprocity in food and labor exchange.

For the Kayan, Rousseau reports: " As soon as someone becomes a grandparent, he abandons any teknonym or necronym he may have, to prefix his personal name by what we might call a gerontonym " (1978:84). These gerontonyms are: Lake' (for a male) and Doh (for a female) which are also the ordinary Kayan words for "male" and "female." Very old people replace Lake' and Doh with Uku (from muko = "old") (1978:91).

Needham refers in passing to honorifics relating to age and experience used by the Penan (1954a:425) but he gives no detail.

The Kenyah gerontonym is similar to the Javanese in that, rather than being used automatically on the birth of grandchildren, as Rousseau describes for the Kayan, it tends to coincide with a gradual retirement from economic (although not political or ritual) participation.

In my limited personal experience, the Penan do have gerontonym forms similar to those I have described for the Kenyah. I have heard them used only very rarely but this may be because my main association with Penan has been in their visits to Kenyah villages, a situation in which they are extremely shy and self-effacing.

Whether or not these gerontonyms are actually acquired with the possession of grandchildren, they do have the general effect of delineating a strata of economically less active community members and a strata of people who, in these societies are due a measure of honor and respect and whose accumulated experiences and wisdom are valued. In this, it is similar to the extended teknonym usage found among the Ma'anyan, Land Dayak and Balinese.

Summary

In this chapter I have surveyed briefly several subsystems of appellation as they are represented in various societies. The purpose of this was not a comparative study as such but to look at these practices for the light they might shed on similar practices among the Kenyah. As Geertz has remarked in another context, " a way of seeing is also a way of not seeing," and, from my point of view trying on other ways of seeing systems of appellation has made what now appear to me as salient features of the Kenyah system stand out.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, ANALYSIS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Thus far, the various subsystems of Kenyah appellation have been discussed separately but, of course, they are not so separated in use. This has been apparent in the discussion since mention of several articulation points has been unavoidable. It remains here to demonstrate how the subsystems fit together into an integrated framework.

From the perspective of the individual biography, one progresses through life with various significant events marked by changes in form of appellation, from autonym to gerontonym. Figure 6 illustrates these changes for one hypothetical male, Jalong, son of Apoi and Bungan. For purposes of illustration, Jalong's family exhibits a fairly high mortality rate.

The forms listed in the last column in Figure 6 are those forms that would be the reply to the question, "What is your name?" In address, shorter forms might be used, as they might in reference also, depending on context, the knowledge that can be assumed on the part of the listener, and the relationship of the speaker to Jalong.

The alternatives to these forms are kin terms. In their

Event	Form of Appellation	Example
Petakau	autonym/patronym	Jalong Apoi
Ngalang	autonym	Sigau
Death of younger sibling	necronym/ngadan ja'at	Lubet Su'ok
Birth of new sibling	autonym	Jalong Apoi
Death of grand-parent	necronym	Upu Jalong Apoi
Death of father	necronym	Uyau Jalong Apoi
Marriage	no change	Uyau Jalong Apoi
Birth of first child - Bulan	teknonym	Tama Bulan Jalong
Birth of second child - Apoi	no change	Tama Bulan Jalong
Death of second child	necronym	Mboi Jalong Apoi
Birth of third child - Ubong	teknonym	Taman Ubong Jalong
Birth of first grandchild	no change	Taman Ubong Jalong
Death of grand-child	necronym	Piat Jalong Apoi
Gradual "retirement" more grandchildren	gerontonym	PeJalong Apoi
Death of wife	necronym	Ampan Pejalong

FIGURE 6: Changes in Appellation Form

restricted use in reference, kin terms outline, from the point of view of Ego, a bilateral group of persons who are relatives, the kindred, as opposed to non-kinsmen. This grouping is centered on an individual perspective; the entire society is not objectively divided into non-overlapping groups on the basis of kinship. The kindred establishes only potential rights and obligations between individuals, not between groups. Two individuals may both be kinsmen of Ego, but they are not thereby necessarily kinsmen of each other. Some of the relationships between kinsmen are "potential" in that they may be active or inactive. A third cousin, for example, is technically a kinsman, but the content of the relationship depends very much on the personal inclinations of the persons involved. If the relationship is an active, "kinship" one, the two individuals will know precisely their geneological relationship. If it is not, they may know only rather vaguely that they are "related."

It is theoretically possible for any Kenyah to address any other by a kin term; that is, what is usually called the "extension" of kin terms is possible and quite common. The extension of kin terms is often pictured graphically as a set of concentric circles. Ego, at the center, "extends" these terms from his primary kin out to the further reaches of kinsmen and, finally, to non-relatives. Ame, for example, extends from one's own genitor to the genitor's brothers and cousins, to Ego's own affinal kin,

and, finally, to non-kin. The pattern that the Kenyah exhibit in the choice of kin terms as alternate forms of address, however, looks more like a doughnut. There is a circle in the center of people for whom kin terms are used (primary kin), a circle around that of people for whom other forms (autonyms, teknonyms, necronyms, gerontonyms) are more commonly used, and a further surrounding group of people for whom kin terms are used again. Kin terms are used first for very close kinsmen. People in the second ring but still close (kinsmen, longhouse neighbors, peers who work together, friends) are more likely to be addressed by other forms. Kin terms are returned to for people who are distant in generation or in age and persons who are not well-known to the speaker, who are physically and/or emotionally distant. Thus, kin terms can express both emotional closeness and distance or anonimity. The term itself may be extended but not the content of the relationship it implies. This is in contrast to the common experience of the English speaker which is that the extension of the kin term implies an analogy; it means that, to some extent, the relationship in which the extended kin term is used is analogous to the kin relationship that is the locus of the term. For example, kin terms commonly extended by American English speakers are "uncle" and "aunt," used by a child to close friends of its parents. The implication is that the relationship between the child and the parent's friend is similar to that which would (ideally) obtain between the child and the

kinsman addressed as "uncle." By the same token "Father" as a form of address to a priest implies a relationship analogous in some respects to that between a father and his child; the character of the relationship is indicated by the formal term "Father" rather than its more informal alternatives. The use of the term "sister" in the women's movement implies what participants conceive of as the ideal character of the relationship among women working for a common cause. It is tempting to view the extension of kin terms in other societies in the same way. Among the Kenyah, kin terms are used in the closest relationships, but they are also used in the most distant, most anonymous ones. It would be misleading to assume that in all cases the use of kin terms implies relationship that are but paler versions of the primary kin relationships.

The effect of the wide extension of kin terms in Kenyah society is not to extend the content of kin relationships but to produce, from the point of view of the individual, a model of society as divided into generational layers. There are children, immature members of society; adults, those members of society who are the most economically productive and who are engaged in producing the next generation; and elders, those people who are no longer engaged in productive efforts of either variety but whose wisdom and advice are sought.

The other forms of appellation (autonyms, teknonyms, necronyms, gerontonyms) repeat the generational layer model

in that certain forms are appropriate to each generation. The child generation, for example, comprises those people who may be addressed by autonyms and certain necronyms. Adults are addressed by teknonyms or necronyms that differ from those borne by children. Elders are addressed by gerontonyms or necronyms. Figure 7 illustrates the articulation of forms of appellation with the generational layers.

Generation	Appellation
Child	Autonym or Necronym on death of: Sb; Pa; GrPa
Adult	Teknonym or Necronym on death of: Sp; Ch
Elder	Gerontonym or Necronym on death of: Sp; GrCh

FIGURE 7: Generational Layers and Appellations

These appellations -- what could collectively be called names -- not only repeat the generational layer model of the kin terms, but they also relate the generations to one another. An individual's autonym is taken from a person of a higher generation, often a grandparent, and it appears in a higher generation in the teknonyms of his parents. In the descending generations, a man's autonym appears in the patronyms of his children (and sometimes a woman's autonym appears as a matronym). One's autonym will most likely appear again as the autonym of a grandchild. An elder's autonym, perhaps not used for a number of years, will

reappear in his gerontonym. Thus, the generations are linked together as the individual is tied into the on-going progression of the generations.

For the Kenyah, the appellation system is a cultural pattern that embodies important notions about personal and social identity. It is an apparatus in terms of which people think about themselves and others as people and about relationships among people. In order to make sense of events, it is necessary to characterize people both as individuals and as they relate to one another and form groups. The system of appellation -- what people "call" each other -- provides the meaning to do this. People perceive each other not merely as representatives of a species but as specific sorts of individuals. To name or "call" is to perceive individuality as well as to categorize and socialize.

Wild animals are not individuals but representatives of their species. Those who study wild animals in the field often confer names on particular animals as they are selected or emerge from the group as individuals. And the same holds true for domestic and "pet" animals. Among animals that are kept in groups, those few who seem to emerge from the group as individuals are often named. This is likely to be those that are singular, such as the rooster in a flock of chickens, or that exhibit unusual behavior that sets them apart, such as the duck who hates water. When certain animals are seen as individuals, we "name" them. We "anthropomorphize" them, that is, make them human. These creatures appear to us as

individual "personalities" and the concomitant of individuality is a name.

To be a human, or even drawn metaphorically into the human group, one must first be individualized by being named and, by being individualized, is socialized or brought into society. "Names . . . express individuality at the social level and social being at the individual level" (McKinley 1976:118). Society is a collection of individuals interacting. Cultural patterns such as the system of appellation provide a context of meaning for those interactions and, at the same time, shape and define them.

The first significant event in a Kenyah's life is when he is given an autonym, named and individualized, given his own identity. He is, for example, Jalong, a unique combination of a body (usa'), a soul (berua), and a name (ngadan). If the child's soul wanders, causing illness, someone close to the child may be able to entice it back by calling the name repeatedly. In a small child, the component parts of the person are not well connected; it takes time for their unity to gel. A child's soul that often wanders may be being called by evil spirits. If the name is changed, the spirits are confused and can no longer call the soul.

The Kenyah clearly conceive of each combination of body, soul, and name as a singular unity; they are individualists but not in the sense of devaluing the social. They also recognize that man is nothing if not a social being. Under traditional adat, the most severe judgement that can be

meted out to a person is not death but ostracism from the adat community, which amounts to pretty much the same thing. They are individualists in that they view each person as a particular character. Individual personality is taken into account, for example, in making decisions about post-marital residence. Food taboos for pregnant women are private, individual matters. The truly singular, the insane, unless they are physically dangerous to others, are generally dealt with politely and on their own terms. No one is responsible for another's behavior; the sins of the fathers are not visited on the children nor vice versa.[1] If an individual incurs a heavy fine for a breach of adat, his kinsmen will gather the goods to help pay it but not because they are responsible for their kinsman's behavior. People help those from whom they, in turn, can expect help.

Even though forms such as teknonyms and necronyms define people in terms of their relationships to others, the identity of the individual is never really submerged. Teknonyms and necronyms do not obscure the autonym; they add to it and what they add are social facts.

Having noted individuality, the appellation system proceeds immediately to social identity. Jalong is not just Jalong; he is Jalong Apoi ("Jalong, son of Apoi"). He is Jalong whose sibling or grandparent or father has

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[1]There are occasional exceptions in the cases of offences resulting in parib. Parib incurred by an individual may sometimes have consequences for his descendants (Whittier 1973:140-44).

died. He is not just a parent or a father; he is Tama Bulan Jalong ("father of Bulan Jalong"). He is Jalong whose second child has died, Jalong whose grandchild has died, Jalong the widower and Jalong the elder. He is identified both as an individual and in terms of his significant relationships to others.

Appellations define basic social relationships. The conjugal pair is the fundamental unit for the maintenance of society. The link between husband and wife is expressed in terms of a common link to their children, their common necronym and the common teknonym they bear in the event of the death of one of those children. The death of a spouse results in a necronym for the survivor, the only member of the deceased's own generation to bear a necronym for him. The necronym symbolizes the absolute dissolution of the procreative unit. Even entering into another such unit does not remove the necronym unless the new union is in fact productive, that is, unless another child is born.

The essential unity of the conjugal pair is expressed also by the highest deities, PeSalong Luhan (male) and Bungan Malan (female), a conjugal pair somewhat reminiscent of the Hindu Shiva and Shakti in that the deity comprises a male and a female principle. In ritual invocation, their names are not linked with "and" (ngan) but are given as one: Bungan Malan PeSalong Luhan. Even though they are the ultimate conjugal pair, they do not bear teknonyms emphasizing their joint progeny. Some say that this is because

they are not the parents of anyone in particular but are the metaphorical parents of all Kenyah. Their names are significant; Bungan is a common Kenyah female autonym, but the word "malan" means "taboo" or "prohibited." PeSalong Luhan's name contains the words "salong" and "luhan" both of which have the meaning of "holder" or "container." These names distinguish their respective functions. PeSalong was the creator and among his creations is the human body which is but a container. Bungan Malan directs the contents, the active principles of life. It is Bungan Malan who is concerned with the day-to-day activities of the world and may intervene in them. These differing funtions are congruent with another aspect of their names. For humans, a man and his wife would normally assume the gerontonym at about the same time. In the case of the deities, PeSalong's gerontonym indicates that he is "retired," no longer directly concerned with the day-to-day activities of the world. Bungan, lacking the gerontonym, is still active and very concerned, especially with the economic sphere and the growing of rice. Although PeSalong is "retired," the deities are considered as a unit.

The human conjugal pair is likewise a unit. It is the unit that produces society's two most valued items: rice and children. In terms of kinship obligations, the conjugal pair is inseparable. If, by virtue of a kinship link, a man must help a relative build a new field house, his wife is also obligated in the associated women's tasks.

Contributions of rice for a kinsman's ritual come out of their joint production. A child given to a childless kinsman is, of course, their joint progeny. For kin obligations, they may be interchangable. Should a woman's kinsman die and she be unable to attend the funeral (pregnant women and mothers of very small children should not do so), her husband will replace her. An older woman may even attend a village meeting in place of a sick husband. If her husband is a lamin head and dies, she, not her son, becomes lamin head. This idea of the essential unity of the conjugal pair is one reason that Kenyah discourage and laugh at cross-generation marriage or even marriage within a generation where there is a wide age gap. Marital partners should be colleagues and equals. The shared teknonyms and necronyms linking them to their joint progeny and the teknonym one bears for the death of the other indicate the collectivity of the couple.

The reciprocal potential of the necronyms marks other units in addition to the conjugal pair. A parent and an immature child, an older sibling and a younger sibling, a grandparent and a grandchild all bear necronyms on the death of the other.

The breach of the parent-child bond results in a necronym for the survivor. Either death leaves the survivor vulnerable. The parent who has lost a child has seen the failure of reproductive efforts. The child who has lost a parent is under direct threat in that he has lost a provider

and the producer of and for his sibling group.

Only in childhood do siblings (and co-resident cousins) use necronyms on each other's deaths. These necronyms mark a break, a vulnerable spot in the sibling group. The birth of a new sibling heals the breach and eliminates the necronym. These are the only members of one's own generation on whose deaths one uses necronyms. They are the people with whom one will share rights in land and in heirloom property and with whom sexual relations are absolutely proscribed.

The other pair that use reciprocal teknonyms is the grandparent-grandchild dyad (who may also share an autonym). The grandchild and grandparent are linked by their mutual caring for one another and the resulting affective relationship. They do not provide for one another economically; active adults do that for both. But when a child is weaned but still in need of affectionate care from adults, it is often the grandparent who provides that care. It is the grandchild, in turn, who privides care, personal services, and affectionate companionship to the aging grandparent.

The people who are connected by teknonyms, patronyms, and necronyms are the members of the lamin. The use of necronyms by the survivors on the death of one of the lamin members expresses a threat to the essential unity, solidarity, and continuity of the lamin. The lamin is the center of the individual's life. The lamin into which he is born gives him his social class, his rights to land,

and his rights to heirloom property. There is a special term for the lamin of one's birth; it is one's lamin po'on (po'on means "beginning, origin, basis"). One's lamin po'on must never be allowed to die out. One child always remains in the lamin po'on not only to look after the aging parents but also to ensure the continuity of the lamin po'on.

The lamin is a primary economic and ritual unit. The head of the lamin performs and attends rituals on behalf of the entire lamin. Lamin members are interchangeable in cooperative labor groups. Land rights gained by cutting virgin forest for a field are vested in the lamin of the cutter not in the individual himself. Should he ever move from that lamin, he retains only secondary rights in the land.

The persons with whom one shares a lamin are those on whose deaths one will adopt necronyms and vice versa. Children always adopt necronyms on the deaths of their parents and siblings, members of their lamin. They may use necronyms on the deaths of cousins and grandparents but are likely to do so only if these people are members of their lamin. Adults always adopt necronyms on the deaths of spouses and immature children, members of their lamin. Elders adopt necronyms on the deaths of spouses and co-resident grandchildren.

Necronyms mark vulnerable spots in society -- the widow and the orphan, those whose reproductive efforts have failed, those whose productive partners are lost, those

whose sibling groups are threatened, the loss of the grandparent and the grandchild who care for each other at the extreme ends of their lives, the lamin whose solidarity and continuity is threatened.

The interplay of appellation forms expresses an elementary concern with the perpetuation of society. Appellations tie the generations together in their on-going progression. Those persons immediately responsible for the production of succeeding generations, active adults, alternate teknonyms -- terms embodying a positive tie to the next generation -- with necronyms marking a failure of that tie or of the conjugal bond ("mother-father" tie) entirely. An adult does not use a necronym for the deaths of children who have themselves produced children; continuity is guaranteed. Should that grandchild die in childhood, however, a necronym is used; continuity is threatened.

The set of appellations serves to identify, individually and socially, persons within the village and in nearby villages. To outsiders Kenyah further identify themselves and others by sub-group and village. At school downriver, for example, Jalong Apoi may identify himself and be identified by others as Jalong Apoi Long Moh or Jalong Apoi Lepo Tau Long Moh. Or, depending on the needs of the interaction, he may identify himself simply as a Kenyah. A new, more encompassing category of social identity, brought about by the increasing participation of Kenyah and other indigenous peoples in the affairs of town, state, and nation,

is found in the use of the terms "Dayak" and "Orang Ulu." The former term is used in Kalimantan to include all of the indigenous, non-Muslim peoples of Kalimantan. The latter term is used in Sarawak to include the Kenyah, Kayan, and other indigenous, upriver peoples with the exceptions of the Iban and the Bidayuh. "Orang Ulu" was originally a census category, but it is now being used, like the term "Dayak" in Kalimantan, by its referents themselves to express a political unity and a commonality of interest that become more salient as they are increasingly involved in electing representatives to regional and national government bodies and participating in national development.

The Kenyah appellation system provides its users with a system of meanings with which to consider the most important social relationships. It is a vehicle of models that provide a meaning basis for social action. What people call each other tells them who they are and how they are what they are only in terms of each other. They are individuals in the sense of being unique persons but they are persons only by being social, by being engaged in society.

The system of appellation is but one of the cultural patterns that embodies notions about personhood, and it is not claimed that appellations are equally significant in this regard in every society. Other vehicles may be more salient and compelling in other societies. But, to some extent, what people call each other always expresses ideas about personal and social identity. Only comparative

material analyzing complete appellation systems can tell us how and to what extent it does so in other societies.

In the case of the Kenyah, what is now a close congruence between a cultural framework of meaning and the pattern of social action will undergo change. The Kenyah are beginning to move from a way of life not so much isolated from the outside world as independent of it into the economics and ways of life of a larger world. As they participate in new forms of social action and new systems of meaning, ideas about the nature of persons, what their relationships are, and what binds them together will change. What these new meanings will be and what symbols will embody them cannot be predicted. Only future research will show whether the appellation system in changed conditions can continue to be a primary locus of notions about personal and social identity and, if so, how.

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN TERMS

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN TERMS

Unless otherwise stated, all terms are Lepo Tau Kenyah. Indonesian terms are marked (I); Malay terms are marked (M); and Javanese terms are marked (J).

Abeng	(necronym) child whose older sibling has died.
adat	custom, tradition, customary law; in a larger sense, proper and appropriate behavior.
adat ayau	warrior adat; the annual ceremony incorporating new heads into the village.
adat Bungan	the reform cult centered on the goddess Bungan Malan.
adat po'on	also adat lama; traditional Kenyah custom and belief, as opposed to adat Bungan or Christianity.
aga'	to shake.
agama (I)	religion, usually implies a "world" religion as opposed to kepercayaan ("beliefs").
ame	father; a form of address to any male of the next higher generation; in Long Nawang, a component of the teknonym as in Ame Kuleh ("Father of Kuleh").
ame mpe'	parent's male sibling.
ame ngiban	father-in-law; spouse's father.
Ampan	(necronym) widower; man whose wife has died.
anak	child; form of address to person of the next lower generation.

anake' — my child; affectionate form of address to a person of the next lower generation.

anak a'ong — sibling's child; in Long Nawang, anak ahong.

Anta — (necronym) child whose younger sibling has died but who has other younger siblings still living.

Apeng — female child; used like an autonym before the autonym is given.

asa — a dead branch.

bali — spirit

Balu — (necronym) widow; woman whose husband has died.

Bapak(I/M) — father; in short form, Pak, a form of address to an older man.

berua — soul of a human.

borak — rice beer

bunin — a small, weasel-like animal

Bungan Malan — the supreme Kenyah goddess who is concerned with the day-to-day affairs of humans.

Buyo — (necronym) parent whose second-born child has died.

chenganak — sibling; in a larger sense, relatives.

chenganak cha liwe — first cousin; parent's sibling's child.

chenganak dua liwe — second cousin; grandparent's sibling's grandchild.

chenganak telu liwe — third cousin; great-grandparent's sibling's great-grandchild.

deta'u — aristocrat

deta'u bio — higher aristocrat

deta'u dumit — lower aristocrat; of mixed aristocrat/commoner heritage.

guru injil(I) teacher of the Christian gospel.

Ilun (necronym) child whose mother has died.

iot small; tiny.

kelampit to have many connections.

kemut luba' proud; arrogant.

Kepala Kampong(I) village headman.

lakike' my man; my husband.

laki malan the practioner in charge of all ritual involved in the rice cycle.

lamin household; longhouse apartment; means the inhabitants as well as the physical structure.

lamin po'on lit., original household; one's natal household.

Lara (necronym) parent whose fifth child has died.

lemalo a kind of chant.

letoke' my woman; my wife.

libu thousand.

ligun to rock.

long the confluence of two rivers.

Lubet (necronym) child whose only younger sibling has died.

luhan container

Luhut (necronym) parent whose eighth child has died.

lumo mourning

malan forbidden; taboo; in a state of ritual prohibition.

mamat see adat ayau.

Mawa' (necronym) parent whose third child has died.

mape collapsed; used in one case as a necronym.

Mboi	(necronym) parent whose second child has died.
Mbok(J)	mother; in a short form, Bok, a form of address to an older woman.
Nawe'	(necronym) parent whose eleventh child has died.
ngadan	name; appellation.
ngadan ja'at	lit., bad name; a word, usually with unpleasant meaning, that temporarily replaces the autonym for a small child when there has been a death in the lamin.
ngadan ngalang	a second autonym given in a ceremony held every few years for all children who have not yet participated.
ngiban	to move to the natal lamin of one's spouse.
ngiban laki	for a female to move to the natal lamin of her husband.
ngiban leto	for a male to move to the natal lamin of his wife.
nutong pusa	lit., to burn the bamboo; a part of the infant naming ceremony in which a piece of bamboo is bent double and the ends burned to predict the baby's future.
nyadap	for a boy to spend the night with a girl to whom he will be married before the actual wedding takes place.
nyat tana	to ask for land; the first ritual of the new agricultural year.
Nja'	(necronym) parent whose tenth child has died.
panyin	a commoner.
panyin	lit., a bad commoner; a lower commoner in the adat po'on five part system of stratification.
panyin lamin	lit., a household commoner, i.e., a slave.
panyin tiga	lit., a good commoner; a higher commoner in the adat po'on five part system of stratification.

paran — a leader.

paran lepo — village leader

paran uma — longhouse leader.

parib — a state of individual ritual impurity usually resulting in illness. A person may become parib by breaking specific taboos or simply by presuming above himself.

Pe- — (gerontonym) prefixed to the autonym indicates advancing age and partial retirement from economic affairs.

pelaki — the hawk; messenger of the gods.

pelupuk Bungan — lit., to turn Bungan; the ceremony ending the agricultural year.

pendita(I) — a Christian pastor

pengabio dalem lepo — lit., the big one in the village; village headman.

pengabio dalem uma — lit., the big one in the house; longhouse headman.

pesaitke' — my sexual partner, i.e., my spouse.

PeSalong Luhan — the supreme god who created the world and retired.

petakau anak — lit., to free the child; the first naming ceremony for an infant in which it receives an autonym and is introduced to the community and to the spirits.

Piat — (necronym) grandparent whose grandchild(ren) has(have) died.

poi — in Long Moh, a form of address by children to parents who are using necronyms. In Long Nawang, a kinship term: grandparent.

po'on — origin, basis, stem; e.g., po'on kayu (tree trunk).

Saba' (necronym) parent whose sixth child has died.

sabai affines in general or affines of Ego's generation.

Sade (necronym) parent whose ninth child has died.

sadin younger sibling or cousin.

salong container

Sawang (necronym) parent whose fourth child has died.

sekun older sibling or cousin.

sukat want to; be willing to

Tama(n) father in teknonym form; i.e., Tama Kuleh ("Father of Kuleh").

Tamapeng teknonym for father of unnamed female child.

tana land; earth.

Tapa (necronym) child whose father died before its birth.

tebuku tali lit., to knot the string; the wedding ritual.

Tina(n) mother in teknonym form; i.e., Tina Kuleh ("Mother of Kuleh").

tsu grandchild; form of address to people two generations lower than Ego.

tsu lup great-great-grandchild.

tsu siku great-grandchild.

Tua Kampong (M) village headman.

tubang to fall over, as a tree; used in one case as a necronym.

turut to follow, to go along.

Uka' (necronym) parent whose seventh child has died.

uko in Long Moh, grandparent and above; in Long Nawang, great-grandparent.

Upu (necronym) child whose grandparent has died.

usa'	human body; also used as a counter for people.
Utan	(necronym) female child whose father has died.
uwe'	mother; form of address to any female of the next higher generation; in Long Nawang, a component of the teknonym, e.g., Uwe' Kuleh ("Mother of Kuleh").
uwe' mpe'	parent's female sibling.
uwe' ngiban	mother-in-law; spouse's mother.
Uyang	(necronym) parent whose first child has died.
Weng	male child; used like an autonym before the autonym is given.

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