"I AM A GRANDPARENT AND MY NAME IS GOOD": STATUS, FOOD, AND GENDER AMONG THE KELABIT OF SARAWAK

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In this article, I will explore the way in which the system of address and reference of the Kelabit people of Central Borneo highlights the importance of the role of parent and grandparent and indeed the nature of Kelabit kinship and its relationship to gender differentiation and status. I have explored these topics more fully in other publications (e.g., Janowski 1995, 2003a, 2007).

I have been researching in the small community of Pa' Dalih in the southern part of the Kelabit Highlands since 1986. The Kelabit Highlands lies on the island of Borneo, at the headwaters of the Baram River, close to the international border between Sarawak, which is part of Malaysia, and the Indonesian province of East Kalimantan. The Kelabit belong to a larger linguistic group, sometimes called the Apo Duat group (see Hudson 1977),[1] which includes the Lun Dayeh, who live in other highland areas in East Kalimantan and in Sarawak; the Lun Bawang, who are essentially the same people as the Lun Dayeh but live downriver in the Fifth or Limbang Division of Sarawak, with a small number in Sabah; the Sa'aban living in the Fourth or Baram Division of Sarawak and across the border in East Kalimantan; the Libun, the Potok and the Milau or Berau, living on the Bahau River in East Kalimantan; and smaller groups living further down the Baram River, in rivers draining into the Baram and in the rivers draining to Brunei Bay, including the Treng or Tring, the Adang, and the Belait (see Janowski 1991, chapter 1).

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The data on names presented here (and also discussed in Janowski 2005) was mainly gathered in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It reflects a way of life grounded in a close relationship with the natural environment. While much of what is presented here remains very relevant in the highlands a large proportion of the Kelabit now live outside the Highlands, mainly in the city of Miri near the mouth of the Baram River. Some data on the way in which the Kelabit naming system was used in town in the 1990s has been presented by Matthew Amster (Amster 1999).

The Kelabit system of address and reference is rather elaborate, and much of it seems to be, and to have been in the past, absent among other "Apo Duat" peoples. The only details available on other Apo Duat systems are provided by Crain (Crain 1970, chapter 3). From data that I have collected in Pa' Dalih among people visiting from Long Layu in the Kerayan area across the border in Kalimantan, Indonesia, who belong to the Apo Duat language group and with whom with the people of Pa' Dalih have close kin links, a system similar to the Sipitang system seems to be the basic system of address and reference in the Kerayan. Sipitang and the Kerayan are at the extreme geographical limits of the present Apo Duat area, and it seems probable that the system in these two places is the usual Apo Duat one. The Kelabit system has developed in a different direction.

Naming among Apo Duat peoples

In Sipitang and in the Kerayan area, a name is given to a child when he or she is a few weeks old, and this is the only name the child ever receives. For both address and reference, either this name or a kin term is used. In the Kerayan, teknonyms are also used once an individual is a parent, although the precise contexts in which they are used is not clear. In the Kelabit Highlands, too, a name is given to each baby shortly after birth. This is termed a *ngadan i'it* (literally, a small name). Certain ngadan i'it are said to have been reserved for the children of aristocrats in the past, although now this is said by informants not to be the case. Many ngadan i'it in recent years have been borrowed from other peoples, beginning in the 1960s when the names of British soldiers stationed in the highlands during the "Confrontation" between Indonesia and Malaysia were given to children born at that time.

In address, and often in reference too, it is not only the ngadan i'it that is used to refer to and to address children. Very often a term meaning female child/childless female (*mo'*) or male child/childless male (*ta'i* in the southern Kelabit area, *bo'* in the northern Kelabit area) is used by those of ascending generations (see Fig. 1). Adults often do not remember a child's ngadan i'it, especially if the child is still quite young. Crain reports

FIGURE 1. **A young *ta'i*: Morgan with a large rice basket (*bu'an*) (Photo Kaz Janowski 1987).**

terms that appear to be cognate and to have similar meanings to the Kelabit ta'i/bo' and mo' among the people of Sipitang—*asi'* and *amu*. However whereas among the Kelabit ta'i, mo' and bo' cease to be used once an individual has a child himself/herself, in Sipitang asi' and amu continue to be used throughout life to address a person of a descending generation from ego. It is not clear whether these are the terms used in reference as well, but this may well be the case. There are also, in Sipitang, terms for elder male and younger male of the same generation as the person speaking (*ale* and asi'), the latter also being used to address boys of the first descending generation. The sole term for sister, elder as well as younger, is used for girls and women of the first descending generation as well as for women of the same generation as ego. Crain seems to imply that this term is not, however, used to address individuals of the second, third, etc., descending generations. It would seem, then, that the Sipitang terms are rather different from the Kelabit ta'i/bo' and mo', since these are not used by siblings but by individuals of all ascending generations from the individual addressed or referred to.

Ta'i/bo' and mo' are, as mentioned above, used in reference as well as in address, although not so frequently. If used in reference they will refer to the ta'i/ bo' or mo' regarded as most closely related to ego. This normally means a child or young person without children residing in the same agricultural, residential, and commensal unit, which I term the hearth group (see Janowski 1995, 2003a, 2007). Thus, a Pa' Dalih grandmother will refer to her coresident grandson as *ta'i ueh* (my ta'i). Crain does not tell us whether or how asi', ale', or amu are used in reference.

Naming among the Kelabit: Marking the Status of Parent and Grandparent

It is at the birth of one's first child that the Kelabit system of address and reference departs significantly from that practiced by other Apo Duat peoples. Among other Apo Duat peoples, it would appear that adults are very often, if not normally, addressed and referred to by kin terms, both lineal and affinal. The Kelabit, however, use kin terms in address and reference very infrequently. Instead, the emphasis is placed on using terms that emphasize a person's status as parent and grandparent, through the use of what I term parental and grandparental names and titles.

Among the Kelabit, once a child is born to an individual, whether or not that individual is married to the other parent, he or she is normally never again addressed by the terms ta'i/ bo' or mo', or by the small name on its own. This is a great point of transition in life, primarily because a person is

not seen as taking responsibility for anyone else (even if he or she is married). Taking responsibility for others is the foundation of social status.

There are two ways of addressing and referring to parents or grandparents among the Kelabit. One is by using names with meanings, which are adopted at feasts called *irau*. This has some echoes in the Kerayan where some past leaders are said to have had names with meanings. The other is through the use of parental and grandparental titles. These are related to, although much simpler than, what Needham terms death names and teknonyms among neighboring peoples, including the Penan whom he studied (Needham 1954 and Elshout 1926 as referred to therein; Urquhart 1958b,a; Chin 1985). I am not using the term teknonym in the same way as does Needham; I reserve this term for the calling of a parent after a child using that child's given name (as in "father of Mary"). Parental and grandparental titles do not refer to the child by name but use a general term for either female child or male child, as discussed above. Needham includes both what I call teknonyms and what I call parental titles under the heading of teknonyms (Needham 1954). I have felt it necessary to distinguish between these because they appear to me to fulfil, among the Kelabit, very different functions. Nowadays, at any rate, the Kelabit system of titles lacks any death names, although Urquhart recorded in 1958 that it possessed some traces of these (Urquhart 1958b). It has been suggested that the Kelabit borrowed these terms from the Kenyah (Pollard 1935, 226; Pollard and Banks 1937, 398), although this contention has been questioned (Urquhart 1958a, 736).

Among the Kelabit living in the highlands, an individual's standing in the community depends very largely on their relationship to the status of parent or grandparent, what can be termed their child-related status. This is described in terms of how big (*merar*) a person is; a full *lun merar* (big person) is recognized as a grandparent, and is, with his/her spouse, the head of a hearth-group (*tetel*), the basic economic and social unit in Kelabit society. Being lun merar is fundamental to status and prestige in the Kelabit Highlands. It is grounded on the one hand in the production of children and grandchildren and on the other hand in the provision of the rice meal for children and grandchildren (Janowski 1995, 2007). In a traditional context within the highlands, founded in a way of life involving growing rice and using forest resources, it meant being able to care for as many people as possible, all conceived of as kin, and considered to be equivalent to dependent children and grandchildren.

The status of lun merar did not refer only to the head of a hearth-group. The term was also used to refer to the leaders of longhouses. In the highland area, small longhouse-based communities were, until the middle of the twentieth century, seen as extended nuclear families, centered on one

conjugal couple who led the longhouse. This couple was viewed as the genealogical source of that longhouse (see Janowski 2007). Through the skills of the female member of the couple, rice could be successfully grown to feed the whole longhouse, and through the forest skills and leadership of the male member of the couple, meat and other resources were brought in from the forest. The longhouse was also kept safe from attack, and the status and life-force (*lalud*) of the community was maintained through head-hunting expeditions; the importance of this was stated through the telling of stories about super-expeditions, attacking powerful longhouses inhabited by spirits and semi-spirits, launched by culture heroes like Tuked Rini (Janowski 2014c; also see Fig. 8). Both male and female members of the lun merar couple needed to have good relations with the creative force or spirit or the cosmos, known as Derayeh or Ada' Rayeh (Great Spirit), enabling them to be good leaders and provide for others. If their ability to lead waned, they would lose this position, and people would leave and set up new longhouses under more vibrant and successful leading couples.

In this system, status was rooted in this care for others. Effective leading couples would gather followers around them to form a longhouse. Their own hearth-group, located in the center of the longhouse, would contain large numbers of dependents, war captives and debtors who would be regarded as their grandchildren; and members of the other hearth-groups of the longhouse would regard them as parents and would depend on them to resolve disputes, organize the regular rebuilding of the longhouse every few years, lead the men in defending the settlement against attack and in attacks on other longhouse, and lead everyone in rice-growing. The importance of the status of lun merar went beyond simple progression through life. The leaders of longhouses and of groups of longhouses are also described as lun merar, and in the past this was the usual term used to describe them, although the terms *paran*, *maren*, and *aren*, meaning aristocrat and probably borrowed from the more clearly stratified Kayan/Kenyah groups, were also used, according to Kelabit informants.

As I have discussed elsewhere (e.g., Janowski 1995, 2007), lun merar of larger social groups than the basic hearth-group—the longhouse, and groups of longhouses—can be said to be heading wider, symbolic hearth-groups. There is an equivalence between the hearth-group and higher levels of social organization. Both the hearth-group and the longhouse may be termed *ruma'*, which may be translated as house, although the hearth-group may also be referred to as tetel, literally hearth, which is why I refer to it as hearth-group. It is the commensal daily consumption of the rice meal that generates and identifies membership of the basic hearth-group. On certain occasions, the members of a group of longhouses eat a rice meal together

and on others—irau feasts—the entire Kelabit population resident in the highlands and a proportion of those resident in towns on the coast joins together to eat a commensal rice meal together, marking both levels as symbolic hearth-groups.

It is, then, being at the center, and being the grandparents, of a group of dependents focused on a hearth-group, that is at the basis of prestige. The equivalence of the different levels of hearth-group is expressed in the terminology used within the hearth-group: the big people of each level are, terminologically, the parents/grandparents of their dependants within the hearth-group. Lower status members of a longhouse, for example, would address the big people of the longhouse as grandparent (*tepo'*, using the vocative form of *tepoh*).

Thus, marking the status of lun merar is of fundamental importance not only to being recognized as an adult, but to one's relative prestige within the community, which is imaged in terms of parenthood and grandparenthood, the status of lun merar. As we shall see, Kelabit names with meanings constantly refer to the ability to provide not only for those within the same hearth-group but for those outside it as well, within wider symbolic-level hearth-groups.

The Transition to Parenthood and Grandparenthood

Among the Kelabit, the transition from being a person without children, an *anak adi'* or small child, to parenthood—making the first step on the path toward becoming a lun merar—is based on the simple fact of the birth of a first child to a couple, or the adoption of a child; the Kelabit do not appear to distinguish between social and biological father, as Needham reports that the Penan do (Needham 1954) by using different terms for father (see Fig. 2).

Becoming a grandparent, on the other hand, does not occur at a clear point in time. This is because the link to the biological child of one's biological child, although somewhat stronger than that to other close classificatory grandchildren (such as biological children of one's siblings or first cousins), is not considered in the same definitive light in the establishment of grandparental status as is the birth or adoption of a child to the establishment of parental status. In other words, it is not clear which of an individual's classificatory grandchildren is his or her first, and so the point at which he or she becomes a grandparent is moot. In fact, a person's transition to grandparenthood means much more than that to parenthood because it implies having taken responsibility for a hearth-group—being its lun merar, in fact—thus, it is not surprising that this is a more difficult transition.

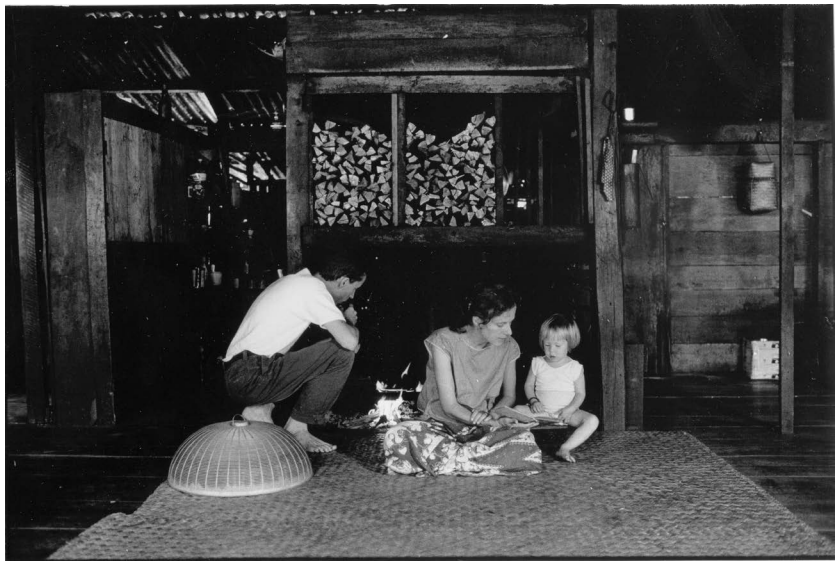

FIGURE 2. **Achieving the status of parents, in charge of a cooking hearth: Batang Kelapang and Sinah Batang Kelapang (Kelapang River and Mother Kelapang River) aka Kaz and Monica Janowski (Photo Sally Greenhill 1987).**

Despite the differences between the two statuses, the distinction between grandparent and parent is one of degree and not of kind. A grandparent is simply more of a lun merar than a parent. A parent has just embarked upon a road that culminates logically in the production of a tutul or descent line, if an individual's achievements prove great enough for him or her to be remembered down the generations. The taking of parental and grandparental names mark an individual's reaching a certain point on that road.

It is, nowadays, through the holding of an irau (known in the past as *tseraad*), that the transition between the status of anak adi' and that of parent and between the status of parent and that of grandparent are marked formally. An *irau mekaa ngadaan* is held after the birth of a child to a couple, at which time a parental name is given to the young couple, and the grandparents of the child take new names. With a young couple living in the highlands, the name is chosen by the lun merar of the hearth-group to which they belong (their parents and parents-in-law), who themselves take grandparental names. The child or children born to the young couple is/are displayed, and his/her/their names are stated (see Fig. 3).

FIGURE 3. **Grandparents, new parents, and children display themselves at an *irau* feast at Bario Asal longhouse. The young couple lives in town and already has three children (one, a small baby, remained in town during the irau). The young mother, Dayang, is Kelabit, whereas her husband, Raymond, is Eurasian. They took the name of Balang Ngeluun—Spirit Tiger Above all Others (Photo Kaz Janowski 1987).**

In pre-Christian times, the naming of children, known as *ngelua anak*, was accompanied by drinking of rice beer (*borak*), and there was much elaboration of the transition undergone by the child. It would appear that only rarely was a full-blown irau held at which a name with a meaning was taken. The function of ngelua anak was primarily to effect a ritual transition, that of the child from the spirit world to the world of living humans, and this was underlined by the slaughter of pigs and the use of pig's blood and pig's fat (see Janowski 2003b, 2014a). *Irau/tseraad* were usually held at the secondary funerals of important individuals (*irau até*, death irau), which were the major means of advertising and generating status for the living holder, normally the coresident child and child of the law of the deceased. Sometimes such irau were held while the person or couple whose achievements were being celebrated was still alive.

Secondary disposal of the dead is no longer practiced among the Kelabit now that they have become Christian. Irau are now held only at namings, which have risen in prominence to become the major means of generating and displaying status. Certain characteristics of irau até have been introduced to naming irau, which seem to transfer the prestige-generating function to the naming irau. Nowadays, at naming irau, both pigs and buffaloes are slaughtered. Buffaloes, which were killed in the past at irau até, are associated with prestige. Pigs remain the *sine qua non* of the feast, however; I do not know of an irau mekaa ngadan at which no pigs were slaughtered.

I was told that, in the past when individuals did adopt names with meanings, this was always at irau até /tseraad. It seems likely that all names with meanings in the past were equivalent to grandparental names nowadays: that they marked an individual's achievements. It does not appear that names with meanings were taken by young couples who had just had children, as is usual now. In the past, it seems that women and men took different parental names, as is the case nowadays with grandparental names; therefore, the names appear to have been more like grandparental than parental names.

The Taking of Names with Meanings among the Kelabit

The fact that names with meanings are present in Kelabit legends such as that of Tuked Rini (see Janowski 2014c) recited until the middle of twentieth century, which are likely to be very old, suggests a long history for such names. However, it seems that the system of names with meanings adopted at irau was used in a much more restricted way before the middle of the twentieth century, being limited to those of high status. Teknonyms were common and perhaps usual. Thus, ancestors even three generations back are frequently referred to by parental teknonyms. These teknonyms may have been the usual names of individuals, taking the place now taken by parental and grandparental names.

Nowadays, names with meanings and the irau at which they are taken are not restricted to a small number of high-status couples; unless one individual dies first, practically all couples eventually hold an irau together, as a couple, and each takes a grandparental name with a meaning at the irau. Such an irau is held by the couple for their own biological child plus spouse either living in the same hearth group or conceived of as belonging to the same hearth-group, although actually residing in town.[2] At the irau the host couple take grandparental names, parental names are given to the young couple, and their child or children receive name(s). The fact that all couples hold irau nowadays is related to a heightened level of

competition for status and greater access to resources from the outside world (Janowski 2003a).

Couples often hold irau quite some time after one or both of the individuals in the couple has already begun to be considered by others and to consider themselves grandparents. Once an individual reaches his or her midforties, he or she appears to feel like a grandparent. There will have been a number of irau held for children who are the biological grandchildren of their close relatives and whom they consider in some sense their grandchildren, too. At irau, only one young couple normally takes parental names. However, not only the host (grandparental) couple, but any person who considers themselves related to the child in question, can take a grandparental name; indeed this is welcomed by the hosts because this emphasizes their centrality in the kinship system. Many individuals take this opportunity before they hold irau for their own first coresident grandchild.

An individual is considered to be in a grandparental relationship with all related children of the appropriate generation and, therefore, can take a grandparental name, or renew (*ngebru*) the one he or she already has, at any irau held after the birth of such a child, whoever hosts it. It is considered unprestigious to keep changing one's grandparental name, because it denotes weakness of purpose, but it is an important statement of kinship to renew one's name at any irau held within the same longhouse community for a child of the appropriate generation, for children of close (*moneng*) relatives living in other longhouses—this category varies according to personal situations but tends to always include at least the biological grandchildren of siblings and first cousins. Also, it is common for names to be renewed at irau held for children of the appropriate generation whose biological grandparents are of high status. To take or renew a grandparental name at an irau hosted by another couple not only underlines and boosts their status; if they are already of high status, it also boosts the status of the person who takes the name. Close relatives—those categorized as *lun royong moneng*—who take a grandparental name at an irau are given gifts by those hosting it, and there is often a gradation of gifts with the largest going to those most closely related and/or those of highest status (to emphasize this kin connection).

Names with meanings consist of two chosen words, which I call name elements. A parental name is taken together by the couple, with the word *sinah* (mother) at the beginning of the name, for the wife. Parental names are usually selected by the grandparental generation, or the young couple chooses from a selection suggested to them. They are often names said to have been held in the past by prominent ancestors. Grandparental names are different for the husband and the wife and are chosen to reflect the character of the person and his/her achievements. Although it is likely that at the irau which

they hold jointly for their first coresident grandchild they will both take new names, and sometimes the two names are planned together and have one name element in common (they may also share an element with the name taken by the young couple), it is very likely that the first grandparental name they take, and any others taken after their own irau, will be taken separately and will be quite different. This is because each of them has different kin networks and is in classificatory kin relations to different grandchildren.

Irau as Competition

Although all parents and grandparents take names at irau nowadays, not all irau are equal. Irau are essentially competitive events. All couples hosting irau have as their aim not only the confirmation of their status of lun merar within the hearth-group and the launching of their young couple, their child and child-in-law, on the road to becoming lun merar, but also the generation of prestige and the status of lun merar within the wider community for themselves. However, not all succeed equally. The point of an irau held in the Kelabit Highlands is to attract as many guests as possible and to provide for them as lavishly as possible.[3] A huge rice meal is provided, at which rice and meat from valuable domestic animals rather than wild animals (which provide everyday meat) is provided. Town-bought snacks and drinks made with tea, coffee, milk powder, and sugar are provided. The more people attend, the greater the name (*rayeh ngadan*) of the hosts.

A major point of highlands irau is to emphasize wide kin links, which are prestigious. The more people take new grandparental names or renew (ngebru) their grandparental names at the irau the better, because this implies many kin; the more people declare themselves as the host couple's kin—which they do because of the prestige that couple has already accumulated—the more prestigious for the host couple, thus further strengthening their position. The giving of gifts at irau by the hosts underlines these kin links.

Parental and Grandparental Titles

Although a parental name is not taken until the irau, the birth of a child to a couple is marked immediately by the adoption of parental titles to address and refer to them by everyone else in the community and by their beginning to address each other by these. These are: *tamabo'*(father whose first child is a boy), tamamo' (father whose first child is a girl'), *sinabo'*(mother whose first child is a boy) or sinamo'. *Tamah* means person who is a father, and sinah means person who is a mother; bo' and mo' mean, as pointed out above, male child and female child, respectively.

Grandparental titles are tepabo‘ and *tepamo‘*, deriving from the term for grandparent, tepoh (vocative tepo‘), and the terms bo‘ and mo‘. Which is adopted depends on the sex of an individual’s first grandchild, although it would appear that the title may change later if an individual changes his or her name again and the link with the child concerned is considered very close, for example if the child is one’s own grandchild, within the same hearth-group.

Unlike parental titles, grandparental titles are not adopted immediately but gradually, with the parental title slowly falling into disuse as the person’s grandparental status becomes accepted within the community. It is likely that grandparental titles have a much longer tradition as a widespread, common practice in the Kelabit Highlands. They are a fundamental mark of the biological and social transition to parenthood and then to grandparenthood, rather than being grounded in competition for relative status as are parental and grandparental names with meanings. However, this is complex as parental and grandparental titles can be used in combination with parental and grandparental names with meanings.

The Choice of Name or Title

Parental and grandparental names and titles are both used on a daily basis, and individuals have quite a bit of choice and latitude available to them to use one or the other system or a mixture of the two, and are able to convey complex messages through their choice. Table 1 sets out the choices which are normally followed. As is apparent from the table, an individual’s choices are constrained somewhat by the relationship between him or her and the person being addressed or referred to.

Parental and grandparental titles can only be used on their own in contexts (especially in address) where it is clear who is being addressed or referred to. The context in which this is particularly likely is among members of the same hearth-group. There is a certain intimacy, and an assumption of equality, associated with the use of these titles on their own. Husband and wife always use them to address and refer to each other; I have been told by Kelabit that these titles are the equivalent of the English darling.

The title can also be used together with the individual’s name, preceding it. This can be the small name (ngadan i‘it); for a short while after the holding of irau, parents may continue to be addressed and referred to by their small name, although only together with the title. The parental name is only used with the parental title and the grandparental name with the grandparental title. The combination of title and name may be resorted to where confusion would arise as to who is being addressed or referred to if the title were used

TABLE 1. **Terms of address.**

	Person without children (addressed)	Person of parental status (addressed)	Person of grandparental status (addressed)
Person without children (speaking)	*ngadan i'it* or contraction	*tama'/sina'*[9]	**1. *tepo'*** 2. *tepo'* + most recent grandparental name or contraction 3. *tepo'* + name of first grandchild
Person of parental status (speaking)	1. *ngadan i'it* or contraction 2. *ta'i/bo'* (boy) or *mo'* (girl)	1. parental title 2. parental title + *ngadan i'it* or contraction 3. parental name or contraction 4. *tama'/sina'* + name of first child 5. *aja'/lango'/ngeruai* (rare)	1. *tama'/sina'/tepo'* (last if person is at least two generations up from speaker) 2. *tama'/sina'/tepo'* (last used as above) + most recent grandparental name, previous grandparental name, parental name or contraction of one of these, according to current usage in community vis-à-vis this person
Person of grandparental status (speaking)	1. *ngadan i'it* or contraction 2. *ta'i/bo'* (boy) or *mo'* (girl)	1. parental itle' 2. parental title + *ngadan i'it* or contraction 3. parental name or contraction 4. *tama'/sina'* + name of first child	1. most recent grandparental name or contraction 2. previous grandparental name, parental name or contraction of one of these according to current usage in community vis-à-vis this person 3. *aja'/lango'/ngeruai* (rare)

TABLE 1. **Continued.**

Terms of reference			
	Person without children (referred to)	Person of parental status (referred to)	Person of grandparental status (referred to)
Person without children (speaking)	*ngadan i'it* (small name) or contraction	1. *tamah/sinah* (for own parents) 2. *tamah/sinah* + name of first child (especially when speaking to a child) parental name or contraction	1. *tepoh* + most recent grandparental name 2. most recent or previous grandparental name, parental name, *ngadan i'it* or contraction of one of these, depending on the usual way of referring to the individual within the community 3. *tepoh* + name of first grandchild
Person of Parental status (speaking)	1. *ngadan i'it* or contraction 2. *ta'i/bo'* (boy) or *mo'* (girl) (if clear who is being referred to) 3. *ta'i/bo'ueh* (my *ta'i/bo'*) (boy) or *mo' ueh* ('my *mo*') (girl) (referring to most closely related unmarried person, normally coresident with speaker)	1. parental name or contraction 2. parental title + *ngadan i'it* 3. parental title + full parental name (formal) 4. parental title (if clear who is being referred to) 5. *tamah/sinah* + name of first child (especially when speaking to a child) 6. *aja'/lango'/ngeruai* (rare)	1. *tamah/sinah* (for own parents) 2. *tamah/sinah/tepoh* (latter if person is at least 2 generations traceable up from speaker) + most recent grandparental name or contraction (formal) 3. most recent grandparental or previous grandparental name, parental name or *ngadan i'it* or contraction of one of these, depending on the usual way of referring to the individual within the community 4. parental or grandparental title (if clear who is being referred to) 5. *tepoh* + name of first grandchild

TABLE 1. **Continued.**

	Person without children (referred to)	Person of parental status (referred to)	Person of grandparental status (referred to)
Person of grandparental status (speaking)	1. *ngadan i'it* or contraction 2. *ta'i/bo'* (boy) or *mo'* (girl) (if clear who is being referred to)	1. parental name or contraction 2. parental title + *ngadan i'it* 3. parental title + full parental name (formal) 4. parental title (if clear who is being referred to) 5. *tamah/sinah* + name of first child (especially when speaking to children)	1. most recent grandparental name or contraction (polite) 2. previous grandparental name, parental name, *ngadan i'it* or contraction of one of these, depending on the usual way of referring to the individual within the community 3. parental or grandparental title (if clear who is being referred to) 4. grandparental title + full, most recent grandparental name (formal) 5. *tepoh* + name of first grandchild (especially when speaking to a child) 6. *aja'/lango'/ngeruai* (rare)

N.B. First grandchild means the child for whom the person being named, together with his or her spouse, held *irau*. This child is the first coresident grandchild. It is likely that the person concerned became a grandparent before this in the sense that he or she took a grandparental name, for a related child for whom another couple held *irau*.

alone. However, because names consist of two elements, preceded by sinah for a woman, this means that the full name and title are very long and awkward. In fact it is only in formal contexts that the full name and title is used.

While there appears to be a preference for using titles on their own in address, names on their own are very often used in reference. Although it is not polite to use a small name on its own to refer to someone who is a parent, it is quite proper to use a parental or grandparental name on its own.

Relative child-related status, as I am terming it, (childless, parent, or grandparent), relative generation and relative age affect the choices available to an individual. Table 1 is arranged on the basis of relative child-related status, which appears to be the most important of the three factors, but relative generation and relative age qualify an individual's potential choices. Of these two, relative age appears in practice to be a more potent factor than relative generation if the relationship is fairly distant (second cousin or beyond), except where there is a desire to emphasize the relationship, for reasons of actual personal closeness or of status. A Kelabit is almost always related through a number of kin links to another Kelabit and has therefore a choice of which to emphasize.

The choices set out in Table 1 will usually be followed assuming that there is enough difference in age between the person speaking and the person addressed or referred to for it to be feasible for the difference in status between the two individuals to accord with a parallel difference in generation. Thus, a person without children will follow the choices set out on the table as available to him or her in addressing or referring to a person of parent status if it is feasible that that person is his parent (i.e., if the age difference is great enough).

If the difference in status between two people does not accord with this sort of feasible generation difference based on age difference, one of these two people, in choosing how to address or refer to the other, will tend to consider that the choices available to someone in the child-related status relationship with the other person, which the first person should be in with him or her—going by age difference—are also available to him or her (e.g., a twenty-year-old girl without children, in addressing or referring to a twenty-one-year-old mother who is her father's cousin, will use the options that should be available to another person of parent status, addressing the mother as Sinabo'). This is paralleled by what Needham says about Penan usage of terms of address: "Although death-names are commonly used as terms of address it is improper and disrespectful to address an older man by one. The actual kinship category to which he belongs is of no importance, and a man who is of the same age as oneself but in the category of 'grandparent' may properly and normally be addressed by his death-name" (Needham 1954, 425).

The only category of terms upon which traceable generation difference does have an effect, regardless of relative age, is kin terms. These are: tamah, sinah, tepoh, and the affinal terms *langoʻ*, *ajaʻ*, *iban*, and *ngeruai* or *ruai*.

However, the Kelabit are rather lax about the use of kin terms, particularly in reference. Although it is said to be polite always to address an individual of an ascending generation by a lineal kin term, this is by no means always followed, except in formal contexts such as at irau, when names of people changing or renewing their names are read out. Affinal kin terms are practically never used. In fact, most Kelabit are rather unsure about the exact meanings of the affinal terms ajaʻ and ngeruai.

The choice of terms of address and reference is, within the scope of the choices available based on relative child-related status, age, and generation, based on how polite an individual wants to be. The fuller the form of addressing or referring to a person, the more polite. The most formal and most polite is the full name preceded by either the appropriate title (grandparental rather than parental if the person concerned has adopted a grandparental name) or tamah, sinah, or tepoh, as appropriate to relative generation.

Where a name on its own is used, it is most polite to use the most recent that an individual has adopted. However, this is by no means always followed. I have already pointed out that small names may still be used even after an individual has a new, parental name. Likewise grandparental names are not adopted immediately, and sometimes they are never adopted. The speed of adoption of parental names seems to depend on how quickly the young couple take on the responsibilities of parenthood (taking a responsible role in the hearth-group, going to work in the fields), in a context where, because they invariably live with either his or her parents at least initially, they can—especially the young husband—get away with doing very little. The speed of adoption of grandparental names depends on various factors: how respected a person is in the community, how old he or she is when the name is taken, how often the individual concerned has changed his or her grandparental name (changing one's name too often is not well regarded, because it demonstrates lack of stability of identity), and how suitable the name is considered to be. The suitability of parental names is not really an issue; parental names are always big (rayeh or merar) and do not relate to the character or qualities of those holding them. Grandparental names, on the other hand, are supposed to reflect the achievements of the individual.

It is usual for a given person to generally be known within the community by only one name, often an abbreviated form of it, at a particular moment in time. This may be the most recent or not, and this reflects the regard in which the person is held. He or she is usually both referred to and addressed by this name. In formal contexts, though, the most recent name will be used.

In informal contexts, the choice between parental/grandparental title and name is not one between a more and less polite option. It is perfectly polite to use the title rather than the name; the choice appears to depend on the need for clarity. In formal contexts, however, it is important to use the full, most recent name together with the title.

The use of a person's title rather than their name is restricted to those of the same child-related status or higher, except where relative age or generation does not tally with relative child-related status (see the example of the twenty-year-old childless girl addressing her father's cousin as Sinabo', given above). A woman of parental status does not address someone of grandparental status as Tepabo', although the latter will address the former as Sinabo'. Rather, the younger woman will tend to use the older person's name, although if she wishes to be more polite she will address him or her using *sina'* or tepo' (vocative), whichever is appropriate to the kin relationship between the two of them which is usually emphasized. This restriction of the use of titles appears to derive from the intimacy and implication of equality that the use of titles involves.

Individual Kelabit vary in how formal or polite they tend to be in address and reference, and this, as would be expected, reflects an individual's character. In particular, some individuals are very particular in using the kin terms tamah, sinah, and tepoh even in fairly informal contexts. Individuals who are particular in this way tend to be those who are generally held in high esteem by others. However, there is no censorship of those who are rather slapdash in their modes of address and reference.

People tend, for obvious reasons, to be less polite in reference than in address. They are freer in reference with terms which are more likely in address to be restricted to those of a higher child-related status, an ascending generation and/or a greater age. Thus, in the one case that I know of where a small name is actually used for someone who should be considered of grandparent status—the first individual in Hearth no: 2, long longhouse—this is only ever used in reference.

What I am referring to as teknonyms are, as has been pointed out, not widely used. However, occasionally a tekonym is the usual way of referring to a person. Grandparental teknonyms, but not parental teknonyms, may be taken as grandparental names at irau. Grandparental names in general often refer directly to grandchildren or the relationship with grandchildren, and the adoption of a grandparental teknonym as a grandparental name would appear to fit in with this trend. Teknonyms are the usual way of referring to someone when speaking to small children.

The use of a teknonym instead of the proper name or a title is not impolite. It appears to reflect a special attachment that certain people have with the

first child or a certain grandchild. Teknonyms are also a means of referring politely to an individual who is a parent but who has not yet adopted a parental name at an irau; this occurs in the case of women who have illegitimate children, for example. Eventually, such individuals may adopt a parental name at someone else's irau; having to resort to this is not prestigious, however.

The Nature of Kelabit Names

The majority of the names in use in the longhouse community of Pa' Dalih when I lived there between 1986 and 1988 are laid out in the Appendix at the end of this article. The reader may wish to look through these before reading this section, to get an idea of the nature of Kelabit names.

Kelabit names usually consist of two words, occasionally three words, which I call name elements. The name elements in use in the late 1980s appear, in fact, to be very similar to those in use in 2015, despite changes that have taken place in the way of life of the Kelabit and in particular an increasing orientation toward town; the fact that names have not changed significantly is explicable in the context of the fact that names are a powerful means of stating ethnic identity and there is a desire to maintain continuity with the past.

The combination of name elements in a name adds up to more than the sum of the parts; together they imply something deeper and more subtle. As discussed further below, names are regarded as *dalim*, a word that means deep but conveys a sense of mystery. The aim of a name is to convey a meaning in a way which is not linear but somehow sensory; the understanding of a name must, as it were, be discerned, rather than understood in a logical manner.

Advertising Parental Ambition and Grandparental Achievement

Both Kelabit parental and grandparental names have meanings that are meant to relate to their holders; but whereas grandparental names are meant to refer to the actual achievements and character of the individual holder (because grandparental names are taken individually by the two members of a married couple), parental names are meant to refer to the potential of the couple holding the name. Related to this is the fact that, while grandparental names are chosen by the individual concerned, parental names are chosen by lun merar (full adults, heads of hearth-groups) related to the young couple, primarily the lun merar of the hearth-group to which they belong. The couple may be given a selection of two or three from which to choose.

Criteria used to select names are very different for parents and grandparents. For young parents, the name is usually one said to have belonged to an ancestor (tetepoh). It is usually a very big (rayeh, merar) name, and many young couples express their embarassment at the name they are given. Grandparents, on the other hand, select a name for themselves that they consider to be appropriate to their own personal characteristics and achievements. Of course, others may not agree with their estimation, and this leads to the name not sticking, as it was once described to me (in English). When this occurs, the person concerned may attempt to establish the name a few times at successive irau, but he or she will eventually give up and try another name.

Boasting is not uncommon among the Kelabit. The Kelabit term for this is *balih*, which means to lie, show off, to make yourself big without justification. Balih is considered by the Kelabit to be a vice, but it is nevertheless very widespread. Big names fall into the category of balih if they are not appropriate to the holder. The fact that so many names "balih" is often discussed by the Kelabit and regretted—but the practice continues. It should be noted that simply selecting a big name will not lead to its not being used just because the person concerned is not of high status, however, because it has over the last couple of decades become commonplace to use such names, and they have ceased to have much impact. The fact that this has happened has led to bigger and bigger names being used—Paran Raja (King among Aristocrats), Pu'un Maren (The Origin of all Aristocrats) were two of the names in use in Pa' Dalih in the late 1980s.

Although in the past this undoubtedly took place to some extent, there has been an extremely widespread adoption of names which are considered by others to be too big since the Second World War and particularly since the 1970s. This seems to be related to the rapid change, which some Kelabit certainly see as a disruption, in the prestige generation system, which has derived from greater exposure to the outside world consequent mainly upon the introduction of a regular air service to Bario in 1962. Before this, the Kelabit had a hierarchy of status and believed that position on this hierarchy was inherited. Although it was possible to move upward and downward on the hierarchy, this was not openly recognized, and it only occurred slowly over the generations. Position on the hierarchy was described in terms of goodness (good = *doo'*). The leaders of communities and especially of groups of communities—their lun merar—were known as *lun doo' to'oh* (very good people). Being good depended primarily on the ability to provide for others, particularly in terms of rice both in the form of the rice meal and in the form of rice wine. A couple would be considered basically good if they could, as its lun merar (big people), maintain a separate hearth-group and provide for its members. A couple who were leaders of a longhouse and really good people

were such because they were seen as providing, ultimately, for the whole longhouse. Provision for others, and status, was expressed most clearly in the ability to hold irau. Only really good couples appear to have held irau in the past, because it was difficult to accumulate enough rice (rice wine had to be provided in large quantities as well as rice for consumption as food) and domestic animals for meat. Nowadays, greater access to cash, attributable to the sale of rice by air to the coast and to work in town on the part of at least one member of most hearth-groups, has made it possible for all heads (lun merar) of hearth-groups to hold irau, give a name to their young couple, and take grandparental names themselves.

In the past, it was fairly clear who was considered to belong where in the hierarchy of status, at least at any given point in time. Nowadays, the confusion caused by greater exposure to the outside world (which has introduced different measures of prestige as well as access to cash) has meant that who is good and really good is no longer clearly based upon the old standards. While in the past it was based on success in rice growing, now success in town has confused matters. However, the idea that it matters whether you are good or not is as important as ever. There is very fierce competition for social status. Almost everyone makes claims to good ancestry, using the endless potential kin links inherent in the cognatic kinship system. Although it is theoretically ancestry that determines social status, the kinship system of the Kelabit makes it possible to trace kin links with anyone—indeed the Kelabit make it very clear that, if they are all Kelabit, they must be related. Bids for upward mobility can, then, be fairly easily validated; indeed, this was true in the past. In the past, though, the wherewithal for making bids was less easily available. The holding of irau forms part of such bids. Everyone holds irau, each more lavishly than the last, and big names are so common that they have lost any meaning. Constant creativity is exerted in trying to think of new ways of putting together names which are big but original.

The Choice of Names and Meanings

I discussed the meanings of the names in use in Pa‘ Dalih in the late 1980s with two good friends: Bayeh Ribuh (One Thousand Crocodiles), the headmaster of the primary school in the community at that time, and his wife Sinah Bayeh Ribuh (Mother One Thousand Crocodiles). The conclusions of our conversations as to appropriate glosses for the names are laid out in the Appendix at the end of the article. In some cases, I was also able to discuss the meanings with the holders of the names, and where I did do this, these discussions are taken into account in the glosses in the Appendix; however, it proved difficult to discuss meanings of names with many of their holders

because there is a reluctance to be too explicit about the meanings of names. This is because the meanings of names are subtle and many layered—indeed, it appears to be considered admirable to have a subtle name, which can be understood in a number of different ways—and only some, if any, of the implications intended by the holder or whoever gave him or her the name may be accepted by others. The holder may be unwilling to admit to the meaning intended or may have changed his or her mind about the desirability of that meaning. Even Bayeh Ribuh and Sinah Bayeh Ribuh were reluctant to get too involved in interpreting meanings in any detail. The extreme sensitivity of the subject of the meaning of names indicates how important the topic is. Names are also often boastful and self-praising, and this made it difficult to discuss them with their holders.

It can be said, in general terms, that Kelabit names try to achieve two things: to imply high status and, in the case of grandparental names, to reflect the true character and achievements of the holder. Many words used in names are complex in meaning and can be understood at different levels. This is related to the fact that words taken together mean more than the sum of their parts. The combination of the two name elements very often produces a meaning that is not simply the meanings of the two words added together in a straightforward way. Examples are: Sewa Mangang, literally "exchanges barks" but actually implies that he has many grandchildren or followers and that he is in constant contact with them; Nekap Bala, literally "searching for news" but implies that the holder (a Kelabit woman married to a Malay; although technically it is both her name and his, the name refers primarily to her) is good, i.e., respectable, prestigious, in a different way from other Kelabit (an assertion of something not necessarily believed by Kelabit, who do not like Kelabit marrying Malays), and that she wants others to know this; Matala Ulun, literally "set aside human life" but implies that the couple concerned (this is a parental name) brought the same life together through their marriage, i.e., that they were related (bringing related people together through marriage is desirable for the Kelabit); Ru'ib Tekapun, literally "sought after waterfall" but implies that all the holder's grandchildren will hear the sound he makes, as though he were a waterfall, and will come and visit him; Inan Tauh, literally "we (inclusive of listener) have", but implying that the holder (a female grandparent) has accommodation for visitors, that she is at the focal center of the community, that she is capable of looking after others.

Complex words, often used in names as name elements, are described as deep (dalim). These are words also used in old myths and legends like that of Tuked Rini (see Janowski 2014c). A number of these words are archaic and their meaning is not properly understood by younger people; sometimes even

older people are not entirely sure of their meaning. They are used because they are said to have been used by ancestors (*tetepoh*). In theory, names are supposed to be passed down the generations and people often advertise the fact that they have used the name of an ancestor. In these cases, though, the name is not considered to be particularly appropriate to the character of the holder. Such names tend to be used for parental names and probably imply a hope that the holders will turn out like their ancestor, in a context of a strong belief that personal qualities are inherited.

Advertising the Ability to Manage the Transmission of Power and Life Force

Two deep words that are particularly important in names are ulun (human life) and lalud (raw potency or life force). The possession or control of ulun and lalud are implied either in the use of these terms as name elements or through their being implied, for example through the use of the names of powerful animals. Both concepts are central to the construction of the status of lun merar, because they imply potency and centrality and being at the pivot of others' existence. It is very common for names to express an assertion of being able to look after others. Examples from Pa' Dalih are: Akan Lemulun (A Place Where All Can Stay); No'o Aio' (Always Looks after Others); Tolong Ribuh (Helping Thousands). The occurrence of the term ulun in names for lun merar is not surprising; I have heard grown men and women referred to in terms of the strength of their ulun. However, I have never heard a living individual referred to as possessing lalud. The term lalud is most often used, nowadays, in the context of Christianity; God (Tuhan Allah) is referred to as possessing great lalud (when Malay is used, the term *kuasa* is used). It is also used extremely often in the stories about heroes like Tuked Rini. In everyday life, the word is rarely used. However, the fact that lalud is implied in names for lun merar, and that it tends to be used in male grandparental names and is never used in female grandparental names, is significant, because this underlines the importance of lalud in making human life possible. The fact that name elements implying lalud are usually used for men is also significant, because this underlines the association of lalud with maleness (Janowski 2003b, Janowski 2014a,c). The powerful male culture hero Tuked Rini is believed to have shimmered with lalud (see Fig. 8).

Ulun is probably the most important deep (dalim) name element. This word refers to human life, to what humans have that makes them able to live as humans. Now that the Kelabit are Christian, the word is used in that context. Christianity is believed to confer new life, *ulun bru*, both in this world and in the next. When the Kelabit converted to Christianity, many people

FIGURE 4. **Ngimat Ulun (Holding on to [Christian] life) praying in the church in Pa‘ Dalih (Photo Monica Janowski 2007).**

took names with ulun in them to indicate that they hoped for a new life—e.g., Makio‘ Ulun (changed life) and Ngimat Ulun (holding on to [Christian] life) (pictured in Fig. 4). However, the word is used also to refer to human life in a way that does not directly refer to Christian ulun—e.g., Malamud Ulun, literally "mixed life", taken, the holder told me, because her children all married people from different races (*bangsa* Malay), and Ngemong Ulun, literally "gathering life together", taken because the person concerned had many grandchildren.

Introducing the names of certain animals into names implies strength and lalud. Lalud, which can be glossed as raw potency or life force, is profoundly important as a concept. It has its source in the Creator Deity. It may be considered equivalent to the Javanese *kasekten* (Anderson 1972), the Balinese *sekti* (Geertz 1980), and the Polynesian concept of *mana* (Geertz 1980, 106). It is the precondition for the generation of human life (ulun). Lalud is present in all living things and is particularly strongly present outside the areas controlled by humans, which includes the forest, mountains, and mythical realms where culture heroes like Tuked Rini are said to venture (see Janowski

2014c). It is believed to flow through the cosmos and to cohere in certain powerful places, animals, and people (Amster 2009; Janowski and Langub 2011; Janowski 2012). Nowadays, it is associated with the Christian God and with Jesus Christ. It is present in large quantities in powerful animals and especially those that are present in spirit form. It is also present in stone (Janowski and Barton 2012). Animals that are associated with lalud include the (spirit) tiger (*balang*), which no longer exists in Borneo but is important in myth (Sellato 1983), the leopard (*kuer*), and the crocodile (*bayeh*). The leopard is rare and the crocodile does not exist in the highlands areas of Borneo. Both the balang and the bayeh are said to exist in the Kelabit Highlands as spirits (*ada'*); spirits are considered to be full of lalud. All three of these animals occur regularly in Kelabit names, balang in parental names and kuer and bayeh in male grandparental names. Names including these animals include: Balang Paran (Spirit Tiger Aristocrat); Kuer Mangang (Barking Leopard); Baye Ribuh (One Thousand Crocodiles); and Balang Pelaba (Forever/Very Much a Spirit Tiger) (pictured in Fig. 5). Elsewhere I have discussed Kelabit pre-Christian animistic beliefs in more detail (Janowski 2012, 2015).

Advertising Kin/Social Centrality

Many names assert high social status. This may be through the use of the word doo, good, in the name, for example in Doo' Pu'un (Good from the Beginning)—as discussed above, goodness is associated with high status among the Kelabit. Status is also expressed through the use of the words paran, maren, and aren; paran is used among the Kenyah and maren among the Kayan to describe those who among the Kelabit are usually known as *lun doo' to'oh*, "really good people". Although the Kelabit do not usually use these three terms, which are clearly cognate, in everyday speech (at least not nowadays), they are used in names, as is *raja*, a term borrowed from the Malay. Thus, we find, for example: Pu'un Maren (Origin of all Aristocrats); Rabruh Aren (Deep Pool of Aren) (pictured in Fig. 6); and Paran Gerau' (Wealthy Aristocrat).

Many grandparental names refer to having lots of grandchildren or to the relationship with them, and this also implies high social status, given the fact that those regarded as grandchildren are not necessarily biological grandchildren but are those who more distantly related and who are regarded as dependants. Examples of names that emphasize many grandchildren are Belan Mupun (Reveals [lots of] Grandchildren or Revealed to Grandchildren), Siren Tauh (Visible to Us, i.e., to grandchildren), Balang Darin (Spirit Tiger Sought after by Grandchildren) (pictured in Fig. 7), and Belalong Tepun[4] (Grandfather of a Basketful of Grandchildren). In fact, names that imply centrality and gathering people together also imply having

FIGURE 5. **Balang Pelaba (Very Much/Forever a Spirit Tiger), our next door neighbor in Pa' Dalih longhouse in the late 1980s. In his youth, Balang Pelaba was a shaman and a friend of the Great Spirit, Ada' Rayeh, also known as Puntumid (see Janowski 2014b). In 1986, he recited to me the legend of Tuked Rini, telling of a powerful culture hero who traveled the cosmos (see Janowski 2014c) (Photo Monica Janowski 2007).**

FIGURE 6: **Rabruh Aren (Deep Pool of *Aren*) (Photo Monica Janowski 2007).**

FIGURE 7. **Balang Darin (Spirit Tiger Sought after by Grandchildren) (Photo Monica Janowski 2007).**

grandchildren, because grandchildren/descendants and followers cannot be separated conceptually.

Since the 1980s and 1990s, many young people have gone to live on the coast, mainly in the town of Miri. This has meant that many grandparents do

FIGURE 8. **Culture hero Tuked Rini Luun Atar (Rini, Prop for All, Living on the Flat Land), showing him shimmering with *lalud* (cosmic power). Painting by Stephen Baya, 2009.**

not have their grandchildren around them. Although there is pride in success in town, the absence of grandchildren has clearly caused a lot of pain, too, and the fact that names often imply scattered grandchildren—calling out to them, gathering them together—reflects this. This trend may be said to underline the importance of emphasizing centrality.

It is seen as admirable to be clear in purpose, steadfast, and unchanging, to have others follow your lead rather than following theirs, and to be still—to remain in one place. A number of names reflect this: Raja Siren (King who can be clearly seen, i.e., reveals all about himself); Balang Tapan (Spirit Tiger copied by others); Raja Todo (Sitting King, i.e., King who stays in one place); Balang Muned (Spirit Tiger who is in the middle, i.e., who can be trusted). These characteristics emphasize the association of status with stillness in the geographical area.

Names in the Legend of the Hero Tuked Rini

The legend of Tuked Rini, a version of which I collected from Balang Pelaba (Forever/Very Much a Spirit Tiger) of Pa' Dalih in 1986 (see Janowski 2014c; Rubenstein 1973 also includes a version), is one of at least three stories about heroes of ancient times that were told traditionally in the Kelabit Highlands and in the Kerayan area across the border about culture heroes. The legend relates the exploits of the male leaders of Luun Atar (literally on the flat land; human settlements are associated with flat areas, whereas areas inhabited by spirits are craggy and mountainous) in their battles with groups of people—or are they spirits?—living in such places as the surface of the moon and inside huge rocks. The time during which Tuked Rini and other heroes lived is described as *getoman lalud*, or linking with lalud. At that time, people were giants and had more power than anyone has nowadays.

Most of the names in the story are made up of a greater number of name elements than is usual in names nowadays. Leaders in the story include Tamah Baru' Lanawa Balang Tolang Kayuh Ngelungung (Father Creator Shadow-Making Spirit Tiger with Bones of Wood, Descendant of Great People); Séwan Balang Ian Apui Nalan (Séwan the Spirit Tiger with Breath of Walking Fire); and Siok Balang Tetem Depun (Siok the Spirit Tiger Who Distributes Powerful Smoke with His Fingers); Obé Balang Mopo Lemulun (Obé the Spirit Tiger Who Watches People). All of these names include the name element balang, spirit tiger. The balang is, as already noted, considered to have great power or lalud.

Tuked Rini and his fellow heroes have enormous amounts of lalud, and they are able to do things impossible for normal people (even others living at that time), such as leaping to faraway mountains, on to the sky (imaged as a dome over the earth) and beyond, and even to the moon, and fighting for aeons until their enemies are beaten. Not only the male heroes who travel around the cosmos but high status women too, in particular Tuked Rini's wife, Aruring Menepo Boong (Aruring Who Gathers Lots of Huge Beads) may, like the male heroes, be seen to literally glow and shine with lalud.

While male lalud is associated with war and headhunting (and success in hunting animals for meat), female lalud is associated with rice-growing success. The two are complementary and together mean that a couple is able to provide the rice meal for dependants and display their status and power (Janowski 1995, 2007). The heroes are, of course, lun doo‘ to’oh, really good people, people of very high status; lalud, like ulun is closely associated with being leaders of communities and of high inherited social status.

The story of Tuked Rini is told over the border in the Kerayan as well as in the Kelabit Highlands and, indeed, is said to come from there, as I have been told in Pa‘ Dalih that the Kelabit themselves did originally. This story, then, implies that the use of names with meanings, at least for a limited number of leaders, may be an ancient Apo Duat custom.

Gender, Individuality, and the Couple as Reflected in Names

A young married couple who have just become parents take the same name, with the prefix Sinah for the woman. This seems to underline an emphasis on the importance of solidarity and one-ness within the couple at this point in their lives, when they are being joined. At weddings, this closeness is very much emphasized; at one that I attended for a close friend in Pa‘ Dalih, a banner with “Two Become One” on it was displayed at the church. Once the couple has grown together and it is clear will stay together, and the two individuals have become more mature and their individual characters and achievements have developed, it is perhaps more appropriate to emphasize these through separate names.

As has been noted, the parental name is taken together by a couple, but in the case of the woman, the parental name is preceded by Sinah. Does this mean that the name is really the man’s? I have sometimes been given this interpretation, but most people were reluctant to say that this was the case. In fact, some informants have told me that the woman has the prefix sinah to emphasize the closer tie she has with the children, to give her special respect. If the name is really the man’s, does this have its roots in the fact that names were originally mainly taken by men following exploits in war?

It is interesting to note that male and female are differentiated more at the grandparental level than at the parental one. The fact that a married couple, when they become grandparents, take different names at different irau reflects the actual character and achievements of individuals. Also, each individual has a different network of classificatory grandchildren and, therefore, takes and renews names at slightly different irau. Each man and woman has his or her own life history, and his or her name reflects this history, much of which is not related to gender. Both men and women take names that

imply high status and centrality and that focus on grandchildren. Men often include the names of spirit animals—balang and bayeh—that imply lalud. This is tied to the fact that men are more closely associated with the forest in which these spirit animals dwell, which was the pre-Christian source of lalud (Janowski 2003b).

Conclusion

Other Apo Duat peoples in Borneo use kin terms to address and refer to each other; I have discussed in this article how by contrast the Kelabit use parental and grandparental names and titles. In recent years this has become highly competitive, with ever more elaborate irau feasts held, not only by leading couples but by all couples, to advertise their grandparenthood, their child-related status (as I have described it) through the taking of big (merar), good (doo) names. This status is equivalent, I have argued, to social status, to leadership not only of the hearth-group but of the longhouse community.

Parental and grandparental titles, which are used by the Kelabit in place of kin terms in address, might appear to substitute the importance of child-related status for that of kin relations. However the use of parental and grandparental names with meanings, used in both address and reference, actually underlines the importance of kin relations. This is true not only through the emphasis on both on breadth of kin and on specific kin relations at irau but also through the actual meanings of names taken at irau. Some names directly imply that other people are dependent on the holder; this includes names emphasizing ties with grandchildren. In other names, the use of words implying leadership or high status or of terms for aristocrat—paran, maren, and aren imply that the holder of the name is at the center of a large group of dependents. This is the same as being at the center of a kin network—among the Kelabit, if people depend on someone, they are by definition related to them, as anak to lun merar, children to big people. Thus, the emphasis on child-related status, and particularly on grandparenthood, can be seen as placing emphasis on kinship, both on particular kinship links and also on the wide net of kinship in descending generations; the more people choose to emphasize that such-and-such is their tepoh (grandparent), the greater is not only his or her child-related status but the wider is his or her de facto kin network in descending generations—the two are, in fact, the same thing. In the Kelabit context, then, being more of a parent/grandparent, more of a lun merar, means having more kin. Lineal kin relations are inextricably entangled with lateral relations.

I have argued elsewhere that the status of parent and grandparent—child-related status—is at the basis of the Kelabit notion of human society and of

what it means to be human and to have human life, ulun (e.g., see Janowski 1995, 2007). Briefly, it is what lun merar (big people), also described as lun doo or good people, provide for their dependants in the hearth-group, at the rice meal, that makes ulun possible. The rice meal is made up of rice plus side dishes presented as made up of wild foods that are either actually wild or are cultivated plants treated as though they were wild. I have argued that it is this combination of rice and wild foods that makes ulun possible. The possibility of generating ulun depends on having lalud, which is associated with wild foods, the forest, and the male, and this, I would suggest, is behind the use of name elements implying lalud in grandparental names adopted by men. The prestige associated with establishing child-related status, the status of lun merar and lun doo, derives from the fact that through being lun merar and lun doo one becomes the source of human life. This cannot be disassociated from being at the center of a kin network and being ultimately at the source of *tutul*, descent lines.

Thus, I would suggest that it is not accurate to say that kinship has been displaced as focus in the Kelabit system of address and reference, when it is compared to the more usual system among other Apo Duat people, speaking related languages, although there is perhaps more emphasis in the Kelabit system on the general existence of lots of kinship than on specific kin relations, and there is certainly less emphasis on affinal links. In fact, though, it should be noted that it could be argued that the *purut/sulang* system of marriage exchanges, which exists among some Apo Duat peoples, also fulfils the function of focusing in on the developing child-related status of both the couple whose marriage generates the affinal link and of other members of their close families in ascending generations, who are in grandparental relationships with the young couple's children. It is not possible to make any definitive comparative statement about the differences between the Kelabit system and those of peoples speaking related languages because very little information is available on the latter. However it seems quite likely that there may be a less radical split than might appear at first glance.

I would suggest that all Apo Duat kinship, including that of the Kelabit, has to be understood as having both a lineal and a lateral aspect. In my own work, I have explored how it is important to approach an understanding of kinship by beginning at the center—the hearth, its lun merar, the rice meal provided by lun merar for descendants—and to then look outward from this center. Kelabit society and Kelabit kinship are simply larger versions of the microcosm centered at the cooking hearth. Kinship within the hearth-group, between providers and those provided for, lun merar and *anak adik*, is simply a microcosm of kinship within the longhouse, the group of longhouses that makes up a community and wider Kelabit society. The system of names and

titles reflects the importance of this relationship between lun merar and anak adik and also the fact that it applies both within the basic hearth-group and wider symbolic-level hearth-groups, at various levels.

The significance and function of the Kelabit naming system is changing with the opening up of direct communication with the outside world between the highlands and the coast, beginning in the early 1960s with the establishment of the air service to Bario, with education, and with the migration of large numbers of people to the coast and the building up of personal achievement and possessions. I would argue that the naming system does function still as a means of underlining the nature of status as something derived from caring for others, and founded in kin ties. However, there is no doubt that the naming system is increasingly used—especially in town but also to some extent in the highlands—as a means of advertising status deriving from success in employment or initiative in town, rather than status derived from caring for others. Irau feasts, which in the highlands are open to all and indeed welcome large numbers of guests to advertise the ability of the hosts to feed as many kinspeople (real and fictive) as possible, are, in town, restricted to a guest list; in other words, it seems to be not the absolute number of people fed but who those people are that matters. Also, names are taken now in a context where Kelabit are interacting regularly with non-Kelabit, meaning that they are used as a means of projecting ethnic identity, both within the Kelabit community and outside it. But these changes can only be properly explored in the context of further, comprehensive research on the taking of names and the use of names in town.

NOTES

1. The Lun Dayeh/Murut peoples of the highland areas and the Lun Bawang have been described by Hudson as Apo Duat, after the name of the mountain range running down the border (Hudson 1977). By rights, this should be Apad Uat—literally, in Kelabit or Lun Dayeh, Root Mountain/Mountain Range.

2. Only one couple with children can, in theory, reside in one hearth-group in each generation. However, where some of a couple's children live in town, it would appear that they are in some sense conceived of as still belonging to their hearth-group. Rice is sent down to them; they are still being fed that all-important nutrient by the hearth-group in the highlands.

3. In recent years, irau have begun to be held in town, and here they are often invitation-only; this marks a different and less inclusive dynamic to the generation of prestige.

4. Tama', sina', and tepo' are what we would in English term the vocative forms of the words tamah, sinah, and tepoh.

5. See note 4.

6. See note 4.

7. See note 4.

8. See note 4.

10. Tamah, sinah, and tepoh are used in reference, whereas tama‘, sina‘, and tepo‘ are used in address.

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Appendix: PA' DALIH NAMES 1986–1988

With Glosses as Discussed With Holders of Names and With Baye Ribuh, Headmaster of Pa' Dalih School.

Not all names were current when collected, and some were names held sequentially by the same person.

Parental names of nonresident children of *lun merar* who are heads of Pa' Dalih hearth-groups are included if they are not resident in another hearth-group in Pa' Dalih but in town or in another Kelabit community.

Glossary of borrowed-in terms for high-status person:

Raja = Malay term for leader or king.

Aren, paran, maren = Term used for high-status person among Kayan and Kenyah tribal groups, sometimes glossed as aristocrat or ruling estate (see Rousseau 1990).

Tuan = Malay term used in colonial times to refer to British administrative officers.

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Hearth no. 1 (long longhouse)		
Makio' Ulun	Changed Human Life (*ulun*) (Christian sense of *ulun*)	Male grandparental
Pian Aio'	That's Just What She Wants (*ngan nok doo'*—what is *doo'* (good) or *modeng ngan mupun*—to live with her grandchildren	Female grandparental Holder originates from Kerayan area in East Kalimantan
Bala Paran	News of a *Paran* or Well-known *Paran*	Parental

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Mawan Aren	Clearly Visible *Aren*	Parental
Hearth no. 2 (long longhouse)		
Mada‘ Ulun	Shows Others How to Live (as a Christian)	Male grandparental Only used in formal contexts; Holder normally referred to by *ngadan i‘it*
Batang Kelapang	Kelapang River	Male grandparental (previous grandparental name of above; tried it, but it did not stick, so he abandoned it). Taken as parental name by Monica and Kaz Janowski in 1986
Mariar Aren	Revolving *Aren*, i.e., turning over a new leaf because most children married and many grandchildren	Female grandparental
Mada‘ Tauh	Shows Us All How to Live (because male of couple is a teacher)	Parental
Raja Bala	Well-known *Raja* or Well Thought of *Raja*	Parental
Paran Galih	Polite *Paran*	Parental
Hearth no. 3 (long longhouse)		
Balang Muned	Tiger in the Middle, i.e., whose words can be taken as appropriate, who can be trusted	Male grandparental
Doo‘ Ngadan	Good Name (because she was from the Kerayan area in East Kalimantan and took a Kelabit-style name)	Female grandparental

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Raja Belan	Talked of *Raja*	Parental
Hearth No. 4 (long longhouse)		
Baye Ripug	Crocodile who Splashes the Water (the ripples and noise spread out to all his grandchildren)	Male grandparental
Balang Patala	All Tigers or Tiger of Tigers	Male grandparental (previous name of above)
Maren Doo‘	Good *Maren*	Parental
Doo’ Bala	Good News or Well Spoken of	Parental
Maren Ribuh	One Thousand *Maren* or *Maren* of *Maren*(s)	Parental
Maren Belan	Talked of *Maren*	Parental
Balang Paran	Tiger *Paran*	Parental
Hearth no. 5 (long longhouse)		
Luun Aio‘	Above all Others	Parental
Bued Kelapang	Source of the Kelapang River	Female grandparental
Bekun Aren	A Different (special ?) Kind of *Aren*	Female grandparental (previous grandparental name of above; this did not stick and was abandoned)
Hearth no. 6 (long longhouse)		
Melamud Ulun	Mixed Human Life (because children all married non-Kelabit)	Female grandparental
Ra‘an Kerayan	Mountain Pass to the Kerayan or Linked to the Kerayan (because one parent from Kerayan and many relatives there)	Male grandparental

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Pasen Raja	*Raja* ? (meaning of *pasen* unknown to informants; said to be the name of an ancestor)	Parental
Lutu Ayu‘	Doesn’t Follow Other People’s Ways (wife of couple is a Kelabit, married a Malay)	Parental
Hearth no. 7 (long longhouse)		
Lawe Padan	Insists on Living his Life in His Own Way	Male grandparental
Balang Tapan	Tiger Copied by Others	Parental (previous name of above)
Sewa Mangang	Exchanges Barks (with followers/grandchildren, i.e., reacts to their needs)	Male grandparental (most recent grandparental name of above, but in late ’80s/ early ’90s didn’t seem to be sticking)
Maren Telona	*Maren* Available to All	Parental
Nekap Bala	Searching for News (said to be nice and unusual by informants; taken by Kelabit woman married to Malay man, and she says she wants people to give her news—of what they think of her marriage)	Parental
Aren Tuan	*Aren Tuan*	Parental
Telona Bala	Reveals News	Parental
Tagong Aren	? *Aren* (meaning of *tagong* unknown to informants; an old word)	Parental
Hearth no. 8 (long longhouse)		

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Balang Pelaba	Always a Tiger or More than a Tiger	Male grandparental
Belan Mupun	Talked of by Grandchildren	Male grandparental (new name of above)
Maren Belan	Talked of *Maren*	Parental (taken by young, second wife of above on her own)
Siren Aren	Clearly Visible *Aren*	Female grandparental (new name of above)
Hearth no. 9 (long longhouse)		
Na'am Tepin	Nobody to Compare her With	Female grandparental
Kuer Mangang	Barking Leopard	Male grandparental
Matala Ulun	Set Aside (Human) Life (i.e., bringing the same together, because the couple were close relatives)	Parental
Doo' Paran	Good *Paran*	Female grandparental
Hearth no. 10 (long longhouse)		
Adun Rewat	Exceeds all Others	Parental
Siren Tauh	Visible to Us (i.e., to grandchildren; she has no biological grandchildren and wants, according to Baye Ripug with whom this was discussed, to be sure that her close classificatory grandchildren and her one adopted grandchild pay attention to her)	Female grandparental (grandparental name of above)

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Hearth no. 11 (long longhouse)		
Akan Lemulun	A Place Where All Can Stay	Parental
Hearth no. 12 (long longhouse)		
Raja Umong	*Raja* who Gathers People Together	Male grandparental
Na'an Raja	The Best Kind of *Raja*	Parental (previous name of above)
Hearth no. 13 (long longhouse)		
Balang Telian	Scrutinized Tiger	Male grandparental
Borong Le'o	Transparent and Well-Known	Male grandparental (new name of above)
Doo' Belan	Well Spoken Of	Female grandparental
Beken Aren	A Different (Good) Kind of *Aren*	Female grandparental
Ngelawan Aren	*Aren* who Challenges Others	Parental
Paran Belan	Talked of *Paran*	Parental
Belan Paran	Talked of *Paran*	Parental Wife of couple is sister of wife in above couple ; therefore, they took what is basically the same name
Hearth no. 14 (long longhouse)		
Ribuh Paran	One Thousand *Paran*(s)	Parental Husband from Kerayan area in East Kalimantan
Hearth no. 15 (long longhouse)		

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Balang Darin	Sought-After/Called-For Tiger (by grandchildren)	Male grandparental
Tse Aren	Bringing All the *Aren* Together Under Her or the only *Aren* (this is said to have been her great grandmother's name)	Female grandparental
No'oh Aio'	Always Looking After Others (because husband of couple was a medical assistant as a young father)	Parental (previous name of the two above people, who are a couple)
Hearth no. 16 (short longhouse)		
Belalong Tepun[5]	Grandfather of A Basketful of Grandchildren	Male grandparental Holder is from the Kerayan area in East Kalimantan
Pun Ngelipo[6]	Jumping Grandmother (because she is from the Kerayan; she jumped over the mountains to reach Pa' Dalih)	Female grandparental Holder is from the Kerayan area in East Kalimantan
Balang Pelewan	Tiger of the Pelewan River (because husband is from Pa' Bengar in Kelabit Highlands, near the Indonesian border ; now abandoned, and the Pelewan River is near there)	Parental Wife from Kerayan area in East Kalimantan
Hearth no. 17 (short longhouse)		
Maren Aio'	Naturally a *Maren*	Parental Holders from Kerayan area in East Kalimantan

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Hearth no. 18 (short longhouse)		
Muned Aren	*Aren* in the Middle, i.e., appropriately an *Aren* or trustworthy *Aren*	Female grandparental
Aren Raja	*Aren Raja*	Male grandparental
Terawe Ulun	Thinking about Human Life (*ulun*) (this refers to the Christian way of life or *ulun*)	Parental Previous name of two people above
Paren Raja	*Paran* among *Raja*(s)	Parental Name of child + spouse of Muned Aren and Aren Raja
Paran Aio‘	Always a *Paran* or Simply a *Paran*	Parental Name of child + spouse of Muned Aren and Aren Raja
Adun Aren	Very Much an *Aren*	Parental Name of child + spouse of Muned Aren and Aren Raja
Hearth no. 19 (short longhouse)		
Bala Ukong	Gathering News Together	Male grandparental
Na‘em Tenan	Don’t Talk About Me	Female grandparental
Pu‘un Maren	Origin of All *Maren*	Female grandparental
Ngimat Ulun	Holding on to Human Life (*ulun*) (refers to Christian *ulun*)	Parental
Rabruh Aren	Deep Pool of *Aren*	Female grandparental (new name of wife in above parental couple)

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Balang Tekapan	Sought after Tiger (by his grandchildren)	Male grandparental (new name of husband in above parental couple)
Ngeluun Aren	*Aren* Above All Others	Parental
Hearth no. 22 (short longhouse)		
Ribuh Ulun	One Thousand Human Lives or Human Life One Thousand Times Strong	Male grandparental
Ribuh Aio‘	Always One Thousand	Female grandparental
Bala Aran	News of *Aren*	Parental (previous name of above couple)
Maren Deta‘	High *Maren*	Parental
Ribuh Paran	One Thousand *Paran(s) or* One Thousand Times a *Paran*	Parental
Hearth no. 23 (school buildings)		
Menge Aren	*Aren* Who is Fully a Grandmother (because she has great-grandchildren)	Female grandparental
Ngemong Ulun	Gathering Human Life	Female grandparental (previous name of above)
Pun Punang Kelapang[7]	Grandfather Kelapang River	Male grandparental
Tolong Ribuh	Helping Thousands	Parental (previous name of two above individuals)
Bayeh Ribuh	One Thousand Crocodiles	Parental
Hearth no. 24 (school buildings)		
Inan Tauh	All of Us (all Kelabit) have somewhere to stay (i.e., with holder of name)	Female grandparental

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Pian Tauh	We Like Her or She Likes to Please All of Us	Female grandparental (previous name of above)
Raja Mawan	*Raja* who Stands Out	Parental
Paran Gerau‘	Wealthy *Paran*	Parental
Raja Siren	*Raja* who can be Clearly Seen *or Raja* who Reveals All About Himself (no secrets)	Parental
Hearth no. 25 (school buildings)		
Paran Bala	News of *Paran*	Parental
Hearth no. 26 (school buildings)		
Bala Lemulun	Greater News than Other People	Parental
Hearth no. 27 (separate house)		
Doo Pu‘un	Good from the Beginning	Parental
Raja Todo	*Raja* who Stays in One Place (i.e., is reliable)	Male grandparental (new name of husband of above couple)
Pu‘un Aren	The Original *Aren*	Female grandparental (new name of wife of above couple)
Pun Balang Tepun[8]	Grandmother of Tigers or Grandmother Tigress	Female grandparental
Batu Patong names	«	
Riwed Bala	News That Is Passed Around and Around	Male grandparental

Name	Gloss of meaning	Type of name and any comments
Ru'ib Tekapan	Sought-After Waterfall ("all my grandchildren will hear the noise I make and they will come and visit me," as the holder put it)	Male grandparental (new name of above)
Balang Maren	Tiger *Maren*	Parental
Bala Lutu	Different Kind of News of News That Is Hard to Handle	Parental
Ngeluun Paran	*Paran* Above All Others	Parental
Rang Bala	News in Between (i.e., between Batu Patong and Long Peluan, the Kelabit settlement where the husband of the couple came from)	Parental
Paran Lemulun	*Paran* Leading Other People	Parental
Paran Aio'	Simply a *Paran*	Parental