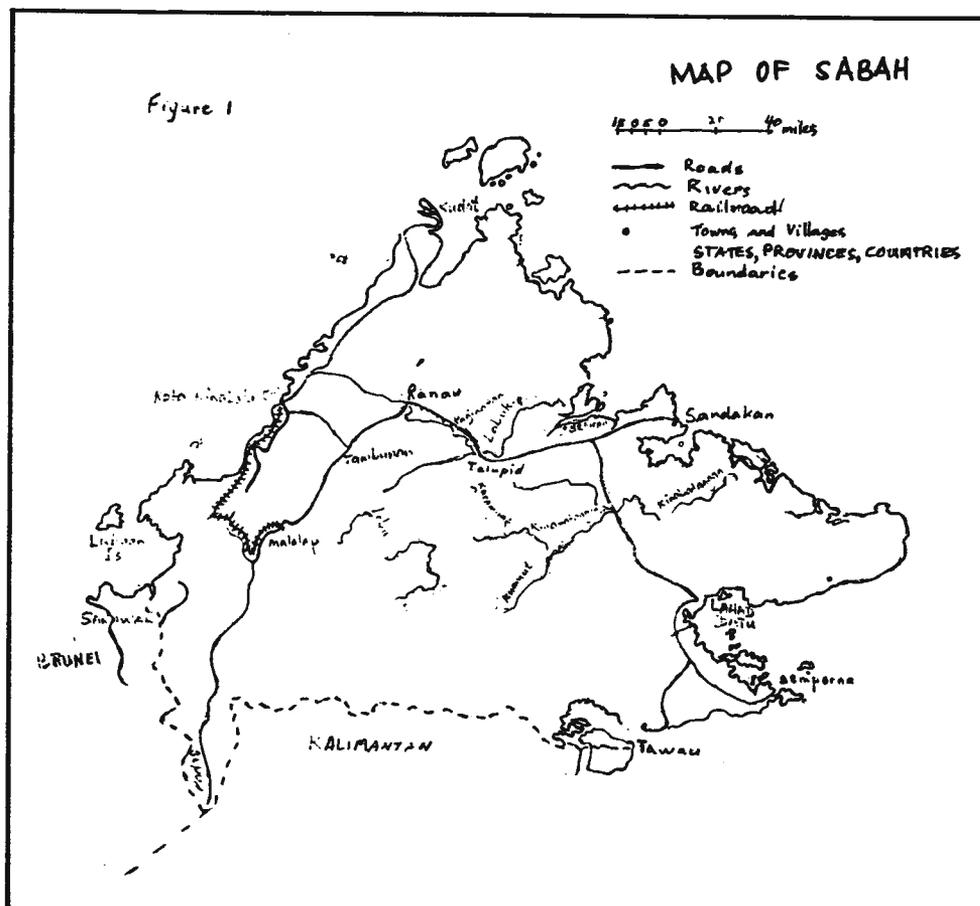


SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND KINSHIP AMONG THE LABUK KADAZAN PEOPLE

HOPE M. HURLBUT
Summer Institute of Linguistics

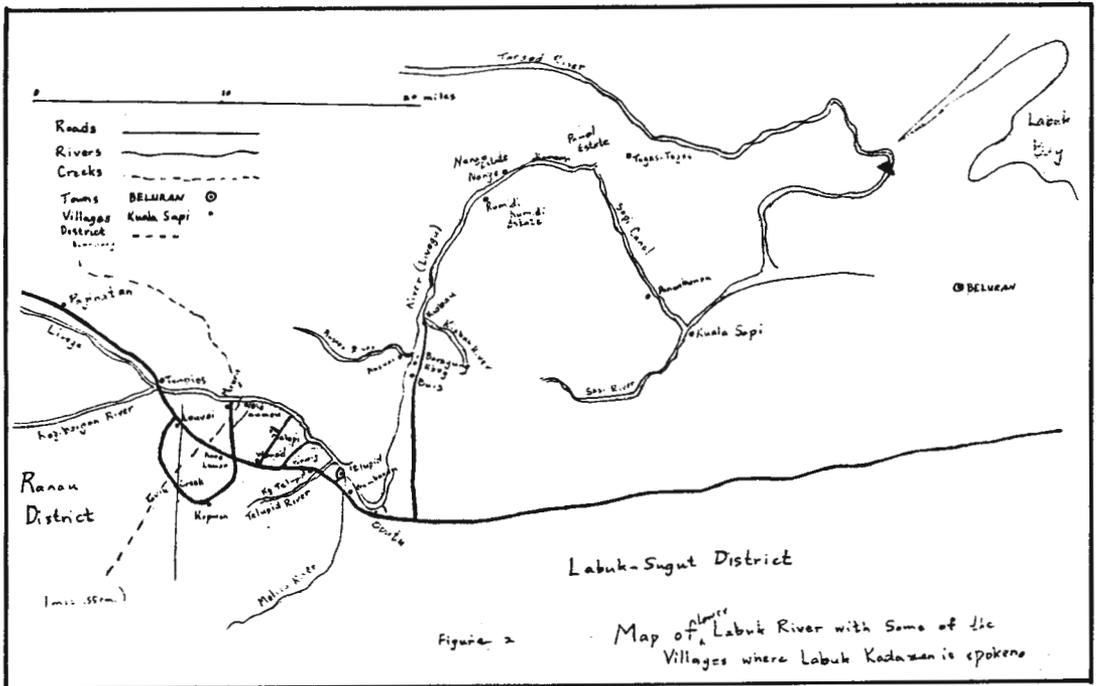
1. INTRODUCTION

The Kadazan people (also called Dusun) comprise the largest group of people indigenous to the State of Sabah, East Malaysia (Figure 1), numbering perhaps some 200,000. They speak an Austronesian language of the Bornean stock called Dusunic (Prentice 1971). Dusunic has many dialectal variants, forming a chain across the State from east to west coast, and spreading up to the north, especially along the west side of the State (Smith 1980). They are mainly subsistence farmers, the inland people usually practicing dry rice farming, while those in the low-lying valleys and on the coastal plains cultivate wet rice.



This study focuses upon the Labuk Kadazan¹ (hereinafter simply Kadazan) people, who reside in the vicinity of the Labuk River (Figure 2), and number about 6,000 to

¹The author has been working among the Labuk Kadazan people periodically since 1965, for a total of five years. The present paper was prepared under the auspices of Uncen-SIL project, a cooperative effort between the University of Cenderawasih, Irian Jaya, Indonesia, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. My thanks go to Dr. William Merrifield, who helped prepare the paper for publication, and to Matus Matulang, Sodjoi Tolibon, and Mili Timun for help in gathering data for the paper.



7,000 people. The Kadazan people live in communities from Paginatan on the Livogu (Kadazan for Labuk River) in the west, to Beluran in the east. A few rather isolated communities of Kadazan people speaking the same language are found on some northern tributaries of the Kinabatangan River which is south of the Labuk River.

2. HOUSEHOLD

The core of a household consists of a nuclear family: parents and unmarried children. Others who may become part of such a household, include young married couples, a widowed parent, or an orphan.

This nuclear family lives in a square or rectangular house, which may have only one level, or may have raised sleeping platform. The kitchen may be built separately with a short walkway to the main house, or may be built as an extra room on the back of the house. It is always twelve to eighteen inches lower than the main part of the house.

When a young couple moves into a household, the men in the family erect partitions to make a room each for the young couple, and the parents, so that they can have privacy. The older unmarried children continue to sleep in the main area of the house.

A young widow normally returns to her parents' house, or, if they are dead, to that of her brother, until she remarries. An orphaned child is raised by his father's brother. If the deceased father has more than one brother, the child is free to move from one household to another. Household 12 (Figure 4), includes three siblings, who all chose to follow their sister when she married, instead of continuing to live with their paternal uncle.

An older person cherishes his or her independence, even if widowed, and lives alone. He moves to his child's house when he is no longer self-sufficient. If he has several children, he may move from household to household to spend time with each, or he may settle down in the household where he feels most welcome.

Previously, Kadazan families tended to be small, because of high infant mortality, and early decease. With the advent of modern medicine, families are now larger.

3. COMMUNITY

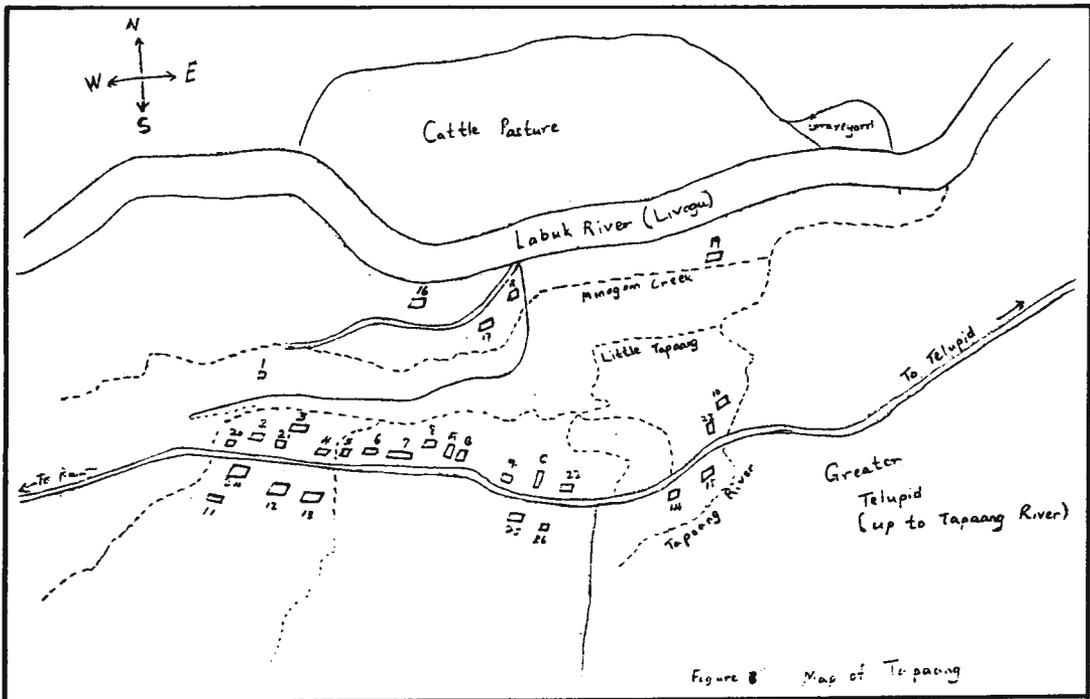
Traditionally, a Kadazan community was composed of a number of houses widely scattered along a river, either singly or in small hamlets.

The Kadazan people practice shifting cultivation on land that is used by the community as a whole. The head of a household chooses a suitable site for planting a rice

field. He then proceeds to build a small house a short distance from where the field is to be cleared. He and his family move to this house when they begin to work on the land. After the rice is planted, a more permanent house is built that will be used for two or three years. This pattern is then repeated.

Traditionally, only a few individuals would build even more permanent houses, where they would live for ten to fifteen years. In this case, the man would choose the site for planting rice, and build a small house, as above, but he and his family would only live in the small house while they were working in the fields, or guarding the rice. At other times, they would return to their permanent house to live.

In the past ten to twelve years, the Government has been urging people to live in more accessible areas. As a result, people have begun to build permanent houses closer together. If there is a road, they build along the road, and build temporary houses near their fields (Figure 3).



A Kadazan usually plants fruit trees close to his house, and in the fruit season will return to his former orchards to collect the fruit. The one who plants a fruit tree, or his descendants, are the permanent owners of the tree. For this reason, the tendency is for an owner to return to a former house site to clear a field there, after an absence of eight to twenty years. Once the jungle has been reestablished in an area, it is considered ready to use again, and anyone in that community can use it again. It is forbidden, however, for anyone from a neighboring community to use the land. If someone from a neighboring community wishes to use the land controlled by another community, he must get permission, and pay a fine for trespassing as well.

A sense of oneness is fostered in each community by periodic work parties (*mitabang*, literally 'help each other cut'). Anyone who feels in need of help can initiate a work party. Work parties are usually held during the busy season in the fields, for clearing the land, or weeding the rice. Occasionally, a work party is held to build a boat. Work parties are also held for planting (*mangasok*, literally 'punch a hole in the ground'), and for harvesting (*tuju*, a euphemism for 'harvest'). The work parties are held daily for several days in a row, going from field to field. As soon as one householder initiates a work party, others request the same help in turn. Each household who participates sends one member.

If a family does not send a worker, they cannot expect others to help them. The owner of each field makes known his preference for the day the work party comes to his field. While the work party is in progress, the women who do not work with it prepare a feast. As soon as the day's work is over, everyone feasts and drinks until late at night.

Other occasions for social gatherings are weddings, funerals, and the harvest festival.

4. LEADERSHIP

Each community is traditionally governed by one or more headmen (*Kotua Kampung* or *K.K.*, Figure 3), depending on community size. Each headman has from 150 to 250 people under his supervision.

His responsibilities include collecting Government taxes, administering justice in simple cases, settling disputes, and taking those who have committed serious offenses to a higher court. Such offenses include incest, adultery, and bodily injury.

Headmen were traditionally chosen by the people of the community. They look for qualities of goodness, hospitality, generosity, helpfulness, peaceableness, wisdom in dealing with problems, and an ability to deal with government officials. A headman's tenure is for life, after which his son might take over, if he shows the same qualities as his father. If a son does not show these qualities, however, the people choose another man.

In return for his services, the villagers help the headman with his farming, or with house-building. In addition, he receives a government allowance of M\$60 per annum. (M\$2.30 is equivalent to US\$1.)

More recently, the government has been appointing headmen in some villages. Government-appointed headmen serve only until age 65. They receive an allowance of M\$100 per month and a pension after retirement.

If a headman is very busy, or if he lives too far from the main part of the community, he may have an assistant. The assistant assumes the headman's responsibilities in his absence.

Another recent government innovation is the appointment of one community development officer in each community. The man chosen is usually younger than the headman. He typically has had some formal education, and is more 'progressive' than the other people in the community. He is responsible to attend all meetings called by the Government, to help the headman explain Government policies to the people, and to guide the people in modernizing their community. In the absence of the headman, he may be responsible for dealing with Government officials.

If a headman is particularly diligent in his service to the people, he may be given the position of Native Chief, and be over the headmen of several other communities, in addition to being headman in his own community. This position is by appointment of the Government.

If a headman feels that he cannot administer justice adequately in a certain case, he may call on the headmen from nearby communities to help him. He may also seek the advice of the Native Chief.

With the advent of a democratic Government, a headman may lose his position if he is not willing to follow the party in power. This has weakened the position of a headman. Furthermore, many people do not understand the reasons behind new developments, and sometimes are not willing to follow the direction of the headman.

5. KINSHIP

In Kadazan lineal kinsmen are distinguished from collateral in the first ascending and descending generations. Otherwise, there is bilateral extension of terms throughout each generation.

Terms of References. Kadazan terms of reference are presented in Figure 5.

Grandkinsmen. There are two grandkinsmen terms. A grandfather term (*aki*) is used reciprocally (Rule R) between a lineal male of the second ascending generation and lineal kinsmen of either sex of the second descending generation. Similarly, a grandmother term (*odu*) is used reciprocally between a lineal female of the second ascending generation and her lineal kinsmen of either sex of the second descending generation. These two terms extend both lineally and collaterally without limit (Rule 1) to any known ancestor or descendant, or generation peer of such an ancestor or descendant, as well as to any corresponding affinal (Rule S), either the spouse of a grandkinsman or the grandkinsman of spouse.

First Generation from Ego. Three terms (*amo*, *ino*, *tanak*) form a reciprocal set to denote father, mother, and child, respectively. These terms are used only in reference to a true parent or child.

All other consanguineal kinsmen of parent and child generations are classified by a second reciprocal set, as uncle (*maman*), aunt (*minan*), or nephew/niece (*kamanakon*). The uncle term bilaterally designates the brothers of father and mother; the aunt term the corresponding sisters. Both terms extend to all collateral kinsmen—male and female, respectively—of the first ascending generation as far as a genealogical connection can be traced (Rule G), and affinally to the spouses of such kinsmen (Rule -S). The reciprocal nephew/niece term denotes the child of ego's sibling of either sex and extends bilaterally to any kinsman of the first descending generation (Rule G).

In the Telupid area (Figure 2), another uncle term (*apa*), is often used reciprocally between a male of the first ascending generation and his collateral kinsman of either sex of the first descending generation (Rule R). Similarly, an aunt term (*abu*) is used reciprocally between a female of the first ascending generation and her collateral kinsmen of either sex of the first descending generation (Rule R). These two terms extend to include collateral kinsmen of both the first ascending and first descending generations as far as a genealogical connection can be traced (Rule G), and affinally to the spouses of such kinsmen and to the corresponding kinsmen of spouses (Rule S).

Siblings. Two sibling terms distinguish kinsmen of ego's generation by age relative to ego. Elder sibling (*aka*) extends to all older kinsmen of ego's generation as far as a genealogical connection can be traced (Rule G). Younger sibling (*adi*) extends similarly to all younger kinsmen.

There is a special term for a distant sibling (*pinsan*) to refer to those of ego's generation whom he knows are related to him, but for whom he is unable to trace the exact genealogical connection. This relationship would begin at about fourth cousin (in English), i.e. PPPPPCCCC(G). Some people, when pressed to clarify a relationship with a person, who is referred to as a sibling, but who has different parents, will describe him as 'someone like a distant sibling'.

Affinal Kinsmen. A single term classifies together both of spouse's parents (*iwan*), all of their generation peers (Rule G), and the spouses of the latter (Rule S). This term occurs in one other form (*tivanon*) which, in some villages, refers only to a deceased parent-in-law. A son-in-law term (*pinotokin*) means 'made part of the family' in Telupid area, but means 'the one who takes away' in Kiabau area, a reference to the ideal of patrilocal residence following an initial period of bride service at the home of the bride's parents. A daughter-in-law term (*pinooqom*) means 'the one who is brought to stay' (literally 'caused to sit down'), also referring to her being taken to her husband's village.

There are two sibling-in-law terms. A brother-in-law term (*ipag*) is used reciprocally between a man and his wife's brother (Rule R). This term extends to all the men to whom his wife refers as older or younger siblings (Rule G). A second sibling-in-law term (*longuon*) is used reciprocally between a woman and her sibling-in-law of either sex (Rules R and V). This term also extends to all those whom her husband refers to as older or younger siblings (Rule G).

The primary range of the two sibling-in-law terms are illustrated in Figure 6.



Figure 6. The Primary Ranges of Sibling-in-law Terms.

There are four co-sibling-in-law terms. A co-brother-in-law term (*iras*) is used reciprocally between a man and his wife's sister's husband. This term extends to all the men who are married to those to whom his wife refers as older or younger siblings (Rule G). Similarly, a co-sister-in-law term (*uvoi*) is used reciprocally between a woman and her husband's brother's wife. This term extends to all women married to those to whom her husband refers as older or younger siblings (Rule G). An opposite sex co-sibling-in-law term (*koonduo*) is used reciprocally between a woman and her husband's sister's husband. This term also extends to all men married to those to whom her husband refers as older or younger siblings (Rule G).

A fourth co-sibling-in-law term (*bois*) is used reciprocally between an individual and his siblings' sibling-in-law. The primary ranges of this term are illustrated in Figure 7. It extends to the siblings-in-law of all those whom ego or his spouse (Rule S) calls older or younger siblings (Rule G).

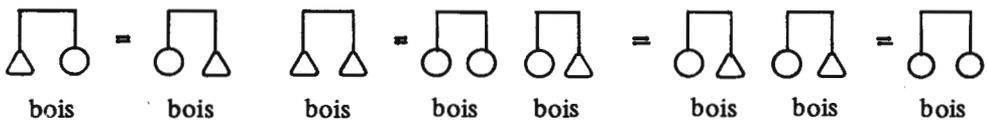


Figure 7. The Primary Ranges of *bois* 'sibling's sibling-in-law'.

There are three further affinal terms: *savo* 'spouse', *sangapid* 'co-wife', and *amod* 'co-parent' (child's spouse's parent). The word *koruang* 'friend', is also used in reference to spouse.

Terms of Address. Many terms of reference are also used as terms of address (as indicated by asterisk (*) in Figure 5). Those terms of address differing from the terms of reference are dealt with in this section. Some of the terms of address used in the Telupid area differ from those in the Kiabau area (about twenty miles downstream, i.e., north-east on the map in Figure 2). These differences will also be noted in this section.

A child term (*uszu*) is used to address ego's child of either sex without reference to age. Another child term (*oyong*) is used to address ego's child up to the time he gets married. A son term (*oli*) is used to address ego's male child without reference to age. Similarly, a daughter term (*oto*) is used to address ego's female child without reference to age.

The uncle and aunt terms (*maman* and *minan*) are used only in reference in the Telupid area. In the Kiabau area, however, they are used both in address and in reference. They extend, furthermore, to include all those to whom ego's spouse's parents refer as siblings and their spouses (Rules G and -S). A nephew/niece term (*aman*) (mPCC) is used by a man to address his collateral kinsmen of the first descending generation and extends to any collateral kinsman of that generation as far as genealogical connection can be traced (Rule G). It is further extended to include his child's spouse and all collateral kinsmen of that generation (Rule -S). In that area, the corresponding term of address (*abu*) (fPCC) used by a woman to her collateral kinsmen of the first descending generation is very rare. Normally, she only calls them by name. It is, however, used by a woman to her child's spouse, and to all her collateral kinsmen of that generation.

In the Telupid area, two special terms (*papa'* and *papu*) are used by a male and female respectively to address collateral kinsmen of the first descending generation of

either sex while they are still small. These terms extend to collateral kinsmen of the first descending generation as far as a genealogical connection can be traced (Rule G), and affinally to the corresponding kinsmen of spouse (Rule S).

In the Kiabau area, the parent-in-law term (*soiwan*) is used to address spouse's parent of their sex and extends to the same kinsmen as the term *iean*.

In the Telupid area, a daughter-in-law term (*pojong*) is used by either a male or female to a son's wife, and a son-in-law term (*akang*) is used by a female to her daughter's husband to indicate a closeness of relationship.

A term of address meaning 'friend' (*owo*) is used between spouses and between co-wives. In the Telupid area, a co-wife term (*kobiau*) is used by the children of the first wife to address the second wife.

Extension of Terms beyond Kinsmen. Four terms are extended to non-kinsmen, namely, *aki*, *odu*, *apa'*, and *abu*. The grandparent terms (*aki*, *odu*) are used as terms of address reciprocally between a man or a woman respectively of the second ascending generation and a person of the second descending generation. The uncle and aunt terms (*apa'*, *abu*), similarly, are used as terms of address reciprocally between a man or a woman respectively, of the first ascending generation and a person of the first descending generation.

Teknonymy. In addition to the above kinsmen terms of reference and address, the Kadazan people refer to a married person using the name of a spouse or first child. Before children are born, the person is referred to as 'the spouse of so-and-so'. After the birth and naming of the first child, a parent is referred to as the 'father-of-so-and-so' or 'mother of so-and-so'. These phrases are also used as terms of address, when speaking to a non-kinsman.

6. MARRIAGE

The Kadazan tends to marry young, the bride at about thirteen or fourteen, the groom only two or three years older. As soon as a girl has had her first menstrual period she is considered eligible to marry.

The bride cannot be of the same clan as the groom, nor can she be one of the proscribed relatives, e.g. niece, or one who is called a sibling. The Kadazan people have a number of named clans, such as Tompulong, Turavid, Kivulu, Sogilitan, Mangkaak, Sukang, Dalamason, Purili, Pution. The members of a clan are widely spread geographically, so that a number of clans may be represented in a community. The bride, therefore, may be chosen either from members of the groom's community, or from another community.

Engagement. Either the boy or his parents may initiate an engagement. If the boy wants to get married, he may say to his parents, I want to pick me up a "chick". In some communities 'pullet' (*taran*) is used instead of 'chick' (*piak*). His parents choose a girl they feel to be suitable, and his father hires a marriage broker (*koounan*), who is well-known for arranging marriages. The marriage broker cannot be a kinsman of either the boy or the girl. He advises the girl's parents that someone is interested in marrying their daughter. He then returns to the boy's family and takes them with him to the girl's house. The parents of the young people are not permitted to speak directly to each other, but only to the marriage broker who relays their messages to each other. On arrival at the girl's house, her parents set out cassava beer for the guests and feed them before the negotiations begin.

After the meal, the marriage broker begins by asking if anyone else has spoken for the girl. If she is not engaged, he asks if the girl is interested in the boy. If either the boy or girl refuse to marry the other, the negotiations are cancelled. If the girl is interested, her parents pass the message to the boy's parents. They, in turn, ask how much bride wealth the girl's parents request. The discussion continues until an agreement is reached.

They next discuss when the boy's family presents the bride wealth for inspection (*monullung di buru*).

Engagements may last only three months but may be as long as a year. If the en-

gagement is to be a short one, they 'knot the rattan' (*monimbuku*) at this time. This means that they decide on the number of days before the wedding and knot a piece of rattan with the corresponding number of knots. A knot is undone each day. Literate people now use a calendar. If the engagement is a long one, there is another meeting about one month before the wedding at which they 'knot the rattan'.

When the negotiations are complete, the girl's family opens more cassava beer, and everyone feasts until the following morning.

The groom's party may give the girl from M\$20 to 30, as a sign of the engagement, but this is not a requirement. The marriage broker is paid M\$5 or 10 for his services.

After the engagement, the girl is no longer free to visit with her friends, or go any distance from home by herself. She must stay with her family, either working in the house and fields, or accompanying her parents when they travel. This is to prevent any other young man from taking an interest in her.

The girl's family can ask the boy to do bride service for short periods during the engagement. The boy usually completes part of his bride service helping his fiancée's father prepare the house for the wedding. Her father may build a new house in which to hold the wedding, or he may extend his old one with an extra room to accommodate the wedding guests.

In some villages, it is required that the groom-to-be sleep with his fiancée in her father's house before the wedding. This may be for only a few days but may be several months. When this requirement has been fulfilled, the groom-to-be returns home to prepare for the wedding.

Bride Wealth. Bride wealth consists of a sum of money, one or two cows and some smaller gifts, which are given to the bride's father and jewelry which is given to the bride. In addition, the groom's family pays a fee to the bride's mother to compensate for the pain of birth; a fee to the bride's father for 'errors', and a fee to the headman for the marriage license.

Transfer of bride wealth takes place usually about a week before the wedding. It may take place at the wedding, but people try to avoid this, if possible, as a quarrel may start if there is not enough money.

The Government set the bride wealth at M\$80 many years ago, and this figure is still used as a basis for calculating the amount. The amount has, in fact, increased considerably and continues to do so with inflation. At present, the amount of cash varies from M\$500 to over \$1000. In addition, the girl's parents may request one or two cows, a gong, and jars. The girl requests jewelry, such as a gold comb, and necklace, and sometimes other household articles, such as a sewing machine. Cows seem to have replaced some of the jars that were traditionally part of the bride wealth.

'Errors' Fee. The groom's family pays a fee of M\$5 to 10 for 'errors' (*kasalaan*). When the groom's party comes up into the bride's house on the wedding day, there is at least some small breach of protocol. The groom's father, therefore, pays this fee at the same time as the bride wealth.

The Pain of Birth Fee. At this time also, the groom's father pays 'the fee for the pain of birth' (*kasagapan maganak*). The groom's father pays this fee, of M\$50, to the bride's mother, to compensate for the pain which she suffered in giving birth to her daughter.

The Marriage License Fee. The groom pays a fee of M\$10 to the headman of the girl's community to pay for the marriage license. It is the headman's responsibility to take the money to the Government office and obtain the marriage license. He may do this at any convenient time.

Some of the bride wealth is shared with the siblings of the bride's father. It may be shared at this time or after the wedding is over. The amount shared is about M\$5 to 10, or a large jar for each one. Some of the bride wealth may also be shared with the siblings

of the bride's mother, but this is not required. The purpose is to maintain family solidarity, so that family relationships are not lost.

If the groom's family does not pay the bride wealth in full at this time, or just before the wedding ceremony, the groom will pay it in installments over several years. If the bride's father dies before the groom has completed the payments, the bride's mother may marry one of her late husband's brothers, and the groom then continues the payments to him. If the girl's mother dies also, he continues to make payments to the bride's uncle. The debt is cancelled if there are no more male relatives.

Some men try to avoid paying the high bride wealth by delaying the payments until all the parties to whom they owe money or gifts are dead.

Wedding Preparations. The preparations for a wedding usually take up to one month. Many of the needed items are borrowed, such as mats for the floor, bowls, spoons, plates, trays, gongs for the music, a mosquito net, and wedding curtains (*tabir*) which are hung around the mosquito net to hide the bridal party. The fathers hunt and fish for food for the wedding celebrations. Their wives dry or pickle the catch so that it keeps until the wedding. With the help of neighboring teen-age girls, they also gather firewood, dry and pound large quantities of rice, and prepare many large jars of cassava beer for the wedding guests to drink.

The bride and groom each chooses an attendant (*mangagat*, literally 'the one who leads or guides'), to act as bridesmaid and groomsman respectively. They must be unmarried.

The Wedding. On the day before the wedding, the guests begin to arrive at the girl's house. They feast and enjoy themselves before the arrival of the groom.

The following morning which is called 'the first day' of the wedding, the groom and his family eat at home. About that time, the marriage broker ascertains when the bride's family are ready for the arrival of the groom's family. He then informs the groom's family. As soon as the groom is dressed up, someone in the groom's party sounds the gong. The groom's party then wait for a gong response from the bride's house, which gives permission to proceed there. Normally this takes only a few minutes but it may be as long as three hours before there is a response. A delayed response may be a gesture from the bride's family indicating their control of the situation. The groom's family views it as a means of causing them difficulty.

If the houses are far apart, the groom's family takes its gongs to the bride's community, sounding them when they arrive at the landing by the river, or on the trail approaching the house. As soon as there is a gong response from the bride's house, they are permitted to proceed to the house and climb the ladder. When the groom's party arrives, the bride, her bridesmaid, and some other women are inside the mosquito net, as the bride is still getting dressed. The groom and his family are seated on a special mat, or the groom is seated inside another mosquito net. As soon as the bride has finished getting dressed up, the groom is told to hurry and go to sit ceremonially beside her, as it is hot inside. He is led there by the groomsman. An older woman then opens the mosquito net, and the groom pays her M\$5 for doing so. The groom then sits down beside the bride (*popiurung*). The bride sits with her back to him, and he now pays M\$2 to the leading woman who helped get the bride dressed, as she now has to remove the bride's veil, and turn the bride around to face the groom (*pogiling*).

An attendant brings a tray with prepared betelnut chew and cigarettes, and gives it to the bridesmaid who passes it to the bride. With the attendant holding her arm, the bride offers the betelnut chew and cigarettes to the groom. He takes and chews the betelnut, and smokes one of the cigarettes. The attendant then gives the tray to the groomsman who passes it to the groom and he offers it to the bride. The bride also chews the betelnut and smokes a cigarette.

After the bride and groom have both finished chewing the betelnut and smoking the cigarettes, a small jar of cassava beer (about one gallon) is brought for them to drink. They both drink from it at the same time using bamboo straws. They are not permitted

to drink too much, lest they vomit. They are also served plates of food to eat. The guest are then served in groups, usually the men first, followed by the women. Older children are usually sent to the kitchen to eat.

A few years ago, if the bride needed to go to the river to bathe or defecate, she was always carried by friends; but this practice has been discontinued in many areas.

The remainder of the first day is spent in feasting and dancing. Periodically, the gongs are sounded and this may or may not be accompanied by dancing.

The bride and groom, the bridesmaid, and the groomsman all sleep together inside the mosquito net on the wedding night. Other young people may join them as well.

On the second day, the friends of the couple proceed to the house of the groom's family to prepare for the arrival of the wedding party. The couple and their attendants eat a meal with the bride's family in the morning. They then proceed to the groom's house (*mitonduli*).

After their arrival there, the feasting and drinking resume until the following morning. Once again, the bridesmaid and groomsman sleep with the couple while the guests celebrate.

On the third day, the wedding is considered to be over. The bridesmaid and groomsman prepare to leave, but the couple try to detain them. The bridesmaid and groomsman always excuse themselves and return home saying that they have too much work to do. Many of the guests also leave at that time. Some people continue on at the groom's house as long as there is any food and cassava beer left, which may be as long as four more days.

After the Wedding. When all the guests have finally gone home, the bride and groom are responsible to return all the borrowed items from both houses to their owners.

Residence Patterns. After the wedding, the young couple may go to live with the bride's family for two to three years to continue bride service. If the bride's mother is divorced and has custody of her children, the son-in-law is expected to continue to help her from time to time with heavy work until the other children are fully grown. After the period of bride service, the young couple move to the man's parents' house to live for a year or two until they build their own home. If they move away to find work, they can come back to the man's parents' house at any time between jobs, or until they build a house of their own.

7. IRREGULAR MARRIAGES

There are several types of marriage that the Kadazan people consider to be irregular, and in some cases even dangerous to the community.

Elopement. If a young couple wish to marry, and either the parents of the girl or the boy disapprove, they may elope (*mitangkap*) and spend a night together. Sometimes a couple elopes when they are drunk. This type of wedding is also called a cowboy wedding (*kawin kouboi*) from seeing such unions on television. In this case, the young couple are required to get married, the bride wealth must be paid, and in addition, a fine of a pig each must be paid to the community, a large pig for the man, a small one for the woman. The fine is used to cool (*monogit*) the community, as such an irregular union is considered to bring 'heat' to the community causing sickness and failure of the crops. All the villagers then share portions of the pigs, or have a feast together using the pigs as part of the food.

Incestuous Marriage. There are two types of marriage that are considered incestuous. The first is called 'pricked by the crab's claws' (*mitotobok pua*). This occurs if close cousins marry each other, since they are all called older or younger sibling. If they are fourth cousins (PPPPCCCCC), they are called distant sibling (*pinsan*), and are eligible to marry. If they are third cousins, there is some ambiguity whether it is safe to marry or not. Some people call third cousins by the term distant sibling, while others call them older or younger sibling. First and second cousins definitely are not supposed to marry.

The second type of incestual marriage is called 'narrow' (*aradaai*) or 'confusing'

(*oboringou*). This is marriage between father's or mother's brother, and his niece. With both kinds of incestuous marriage, if both parties are determined to get married, they each bring a pig, a big one for the man, and a small one for the woman. A feast is then held to 'break the blood relationship' (*pitas*).

Hurried. Another type of irregular marriage is one that is carried out hastily (*kawin do rondom*). The couple do not follow many of the usual customs, and may not even invite people to attend. There is no fine for such a wedding, but it incurs general displeasure.

8. MULTIPLE MARRIAGES

Most Kadazan marriages are monogamous. There are several reasons for taking a second wife (*mangapid*). A community headman may take a second wife to help with the work when he has business, guests, or visiting Government officials. Some men take a second wife to help get the work done, if the first wife is lazy. The first wife normally gives her approval before the husband takes a second wife. A second wife may be the first wife's younger sister. Both wives live together with the husband, but the first wife always takes precedence over the second one.

9. INCEST

The Kadazan people consider incest (*sumbang*) to be very dangerous to their community. It makes the community 'hot' (*alasu*). If this happens, animals eat the fruit, birds eat the rice, and other crops do not thrive.

Different kinds of incest are ranked as to degree of seriousness. Fines and jail sentences are imposed according to the degree of seriousness of the offense. In order of seriousness, the following are considered to be incest: child-in-law with parent-in-law (or vice versa), parent with child, sibling with sibling, uncle with niece, brother-in-law with sister-in-law (*longuon*). In the old days, the community punished both offenders with death by drowning. The headman now takes the offenders to a Government court, where a Government officer, a Native Chief, and the headman decide on a suitable sentence. The severity of the fines and length of jail sentences depend on the seriousness of the case. The man pays from two to seven pigs, a village fine of M\$40 to 70, and a Government fine of M\$80 to 100. The woman pays one to six pigs, up to six water buffaloes, a village fine of M\$30 to 60, and a Government fine of M\$70. Both of them go to jail, the man for eight months to two years, the woman for six months to one and a half years. If the crops of the surrounding communities are growing poorly, the headmen from those communities also attend the court case. One of them stabs a leg of both the man and woman. Each headman then collects some of their blood in a bottle, mixes it with water and takes it back to his community to sprinkle on the crops to ensure productivity.

10. ADULTERY

Infidelity is frequent among non-Christians, but infrequent among Christians. When a man and woman commit adultery, the man usually takes the initiative.

The Kadazan people also consider adultery (*lumapau*) to be dangerous to the community, but not as dangerous as incest. The Government fines are only M\$10 and 5 respectively, for the man and woman. Each one has to pay a female pig, and goes to jail, the man for two to three months, the woman for one month.

11. DIVORCE

Divorces used to be frequent but seem to be fewer now. There are several reasons for divorce: frequent quarrelling, incompatibility, insufficient food, or the man preferring another woman. The wife usually initiates the divorce and is considered to be at fault when she does so. The husband then takes the children. If they both agree to the divorce, however, they divide the children between them. They also divide the kitchenware between them. The wife keeps her clothing and ornaments, but the husband keeps the jars,

gongs, the house and other valuables.

The divorced woman can return to her parents' home, try to find another husband, or go to work and become independent. If she remarries, the second husband must pay bride wealth equivalent to approximately half of the amount paid for a virgin.

The divorced man can ask for part of the bride wealth back if there are no children. If he initiated the divorce, or if there are children, none of the bride wealth is returned.

12. WIDOWED PEOPLE

If a widower has pleased his parents-in-law, he may marry one of the sisters of his first wife. If she is a virgin, he pays bride wealth, just as he did to the first wife. Otherwise, he may marry another virgin. An older man usually marries a widow or divorcee.

When a woman becomes a widow, she returns to her father's house, and the children are taken to their paternal uncle's house. She is allowed to keep the smallest child, if it is still nursing. If her husband had any male kinsmen whom he called 'sibling', she is expected to marry one of them. In this case, the bride wealth is reduced to about half of the original price. When she marries her husband's brother, the children are returned to her, if they have been living with her husband's married brother.

13. INHERITANCE RIGHTS

Inheritance rights are vested in the man, so that when he dies his valuables are divided amongs his sons. Traditionally, land was used by the community as a whole and did not need to be divided. More recently, however, some of the Kadazan people have been applying for land grants, and it remains to be seen how this property will be inherited. If someone in the family has no land, he would be given first choice, but so far there have been no cases where it has been necessary to decide on the heir to the land. A daughter does not receive anything since she benefits by the property and goods of her husband's family.

Guide to Heads of Households and Public Buildings in Figure 3

Occupied Houses

1. Tambakau Kupia
2. Raimondo Regerdo
3. Francis Matulang
4. Magdalino
5. Manuil Matulang
6. D. Gagat Panyau
7. K.K. Matulang Amin
8. Bodoh Kiang
9. Samsir
10. Silang Puding
11. Siani Selanjat
12. Julius Matulang
13. Alius Matulang
14. Boon Amin
15. Appau Amin

Public Buildings

- A. Community Center
- B. Clinic
- C. Church

Second Houses and New Houses (*some owners live elsewhere*)

16. Francis Matulang
17. K.K. Matulang Amin
18. Manuil Matulang
19. Julius Matulang
20. Tambakau Kupia
21. Francis Matulang
22. Rosman Balli
23. Bingkorot
24. Siani Selanjat
25. Dunny Malinau
26. Inting Billed

Figure 4 Residents of Tapaang

House Number	Residents	Number of Occupants	Native to Area
1.	Husband, wife, children	9	both
2.	Husband, wife, children	5	*wife
3.	Husband, wife, children	10	both
4.	Husband, wife	2	*wife
5.	Husband, wife, children	3	both
6.	Husband, wife, children	4	*wife
7.	Husband, two wives, children	10	husband, one wife
	Married son, wife, children	4	husband
	Married daughter, husband, children	4	*wife
8.	Husband, wife, children	6	*wife
9.	Husband, wife, children	5	*neither
10.	Husband, wife, children	6	neither
11.	Husband, wife, children	8	both
12.	Husband, wife, children, wife's siblings	9	husband
13.	Husband, wife, children	8	both
14.	Husband, wife, children	6	wife
15.	Husband, wife, children	5	husband

*The head of these households is a foreigner, i.e. not a person from the Labuk River. Most are non-Sabahans; only a few are Kadazans from other areas.

Figure 5. Labuk Kadazan Kinship Terms

*aki	PPm(R,1,S)	grandfather
*odu	PPf(R,1,S)	grandmother
*amo	Pm	father
*ino	Pf	mother
tanak	C	child
maman	PPCm(G,-S)	uncle
minan	PPCf(G,-S)	aunt
kamanakon	PPC(G)	sibling's child
*aka	ePC	elder sibling
*adi	yPC	younger sibling
*iwan (soiwan)	SP(G,-S)	parent-in-law
pinotokin	CSm	son-in-law
pinoogom	CSf	daughter-in-law
*ipag	mSPCm(R,G)	man's brother-in-law
*longuon (langu/angu)	fSPC(R,V,G)	woman's sibling-in-law
*iras	mSOCm(G)	co-brother-in-law
*uvoi	fSPCSf(G)	co-sister-in-law
*koonduoi (onduoi)	aSPCSb(G)	opposite sex co-sibling-in-law
*bois	PCSPC(S,G)	sibling's sibling-in-law
savo	S	spouse
sangapid	fSSf	co-wife
*amod	CSP	co-parent

*This term is used in direct address as well as reference.

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