

However, this policy of no-charge areas is a sound one, it seems to me, as otherwise many who now receive the BRB, and who are intimately involved in Borneo research, would not be able to continue receiving it on a subscription basis because of the high cost of foreign exchange. To help meet this aspect of the projected deficit, the BRC will consequently have to seek other financial support. Therefore, if any readers of the BRB know of a source of financial support for the activities of the BRB and BRC either through foundation sources, corporations, or individuals, the editor would be deeply appreciative of hearing of them. It seems rather clear that the BRC will have to turn to such sources if it is to continue its activities of furthering research in the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo. Otherwise its activities will have to be curtailed.

One of the implications of the continuing deficit in the BRB is that in addition to reducing costs there will also have to be a reduction in coverage of the BRB and the number of pages that can be printed per issue. We are holding the size of this issue to 36 pages and hope to reduce all further issues to 32 pages. To enable us to do this, we are considering eliminating the list of Fellows, listings of current publications, abstracts of dissertations, and book reviews. I frankly need guidance in these matters and would welcome suggestions from the readers as to which of these are the most useful to them and should therefore not be eliminated. These actions, however, will not completely eliminate the deficit.

Again, let me urge all of you who know of any possible source of financial support for the BRB and the BRC to please contact me in this regard so that we may take the appropriate action. And finally, let me again this year express our deepest thanks and appreciation for those who have made contributions to the costs of the BRB.

Contributions Received: G. N. Appell, Dr. J. R. Audy, I. D. Black, J. D. Boles, R. Inger, Margaret Roff, R. Russell, J. O. Sutter, Wang Gung-wu, and J. R. Wortmann.

DELINQUENT OR UNRETURNED SUBSCRIPTION AND FELLOWSHIP NOTICES

Part of the deficit of the BRB is attributable to the costs of carrying on our distribution list those individuals who are delinquent in returning their subscription or Fellowship notices. We are therefore unable to eliminate those from the distribution list who are not interested in receiving the BRB and who as a consequence do not bother to return the notices. To eliminate the costs of sending the BRB to those who do not wish to receive it any longer or to addresses that are faulty or out-of-date, we are sending a final notice with this issue to all those who have not as yet returned their notices. Let me urge all who wish to continue receiving the BRB, particularly those in the no-charge areas, to return this final notice as soon as possible.

# BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

Vol. 4, No. 1

June,

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REPORT FROM THE EDITOR: THE FINANCIAL STATUS OF THE BRB

The new format of this issue reflects the difficult financial status of the BRB. For Volume 3 (1971) we incurred a deficit of \$520.22. This deficit was met by a one-time-only, anonymous contribution, which will not be repeated for Volume 4. Consequently, we have taken drastic steps to cut the costs of the BRB in order to minimize this projected deficit. Before detailing these, however, let me first review the financial situation.

For the 1971 volume, income was as follows (all in U.S. dollars): Fellowships, \$511.94; Subscriptions, \$375.94; and Contributions, \$112.49. Expenses were: Printing, \$633.74; Secretarial Services, \$565.20; and Mailing (including envelopes, postal charges, etc.), \$321.65. This resulted in a deficit of \$520.22.

Mailing and printing costs are the only ones that are amenable to control and reduction, as secretarial costs reflects primarily the amount of correspondence that this office has to deal with, keeping the mailing lists up-to-date, handling subscriptions, and bookkeeping. To reduce mailing costs, we have chosen the lighter paper on which this issue is printed, which will result in an estimated savings of \$150 per year. By reducing the size of our print by about one third and moving to the new page size, we estimate that we can also save about \$150 in printing costs (continued on p. 35)

\* \* \* \* \*

THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 and its membership is composed of Fellows, an international group of scholars professionally engaged in research in Borneo. The goals of the Council are (1) to promote scientific research in the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo; (2) to permit the research community, interested Borneo government departments, and others to keep abreast of ongoing research and its results; (3) to serve as a vehicle for drawing attention to urgent research problems; (4) to coordinate the flow of information on Borneo research arising from many diverse sources; (5) to disseminate rapidly the initial results of research activity; and (6) to facilitate research by reporting on current conditions. In addition to publishing the Borneo Research Bulletin the functions of the Council also include providing counsel and assistance to research endeavors, conservation activities, and the practical application of research results.

R E S E A R C H N O T E S

THE BELAGA DISTRICT OF SARAWAK

Jérôme Rousseau  
Cambridge University

With 7400 square miles (19000 km<sup>2</sup>), the Belaga district is the largest in Sarawak, but it is sparsely populated with approximately 9300 persons. Most of the area is over the altitude of 1000 ft., but the population lives largely in the valleys under this altitude. Mountains limit strongly communications with other areas, except to the east by the Rejang-Baluy river and through the hills between the Belaga and Tubau areas. To the north is a rather arduous route to the Baram. Inside the area communications are difficult as the rivers are cut by many rapids, and, despite the small population, there is a large number of ethnic groups, who cultivate hill padi and live in long-houses. In the highlands, live the nomadic Punan.

In the Belaga district, the name "Baluy" is given to the Rejang river. A series of rapids, the best known of which is called "Bakun," divides the river into two parts. It is practical to divide this stretch over the Bakun into two parts again, the middle Baluy, and the higher Baluy. The settled population is formed by three main groups: the Kayan, the Kenyah, and the Kajang (see Map 1).

The Kayan (pop. 2508) are the largest unitary group, sharing the same language and culture, with small differences from one long-house to the next. They form 9 long-houses in the middle Baluy and 5 long-houses in the lower Baluy. They came to the Baluy and Baram valleys from the Kayan river, in what is now Indonesian Borneo, 150-200 years ago. They are still numerous in Kalimantan.

The Kenyah (pop. 3734) are linguistically and culturally divided into several groups but recognize themselves and are recognized by others as having some kind of unity, although not in the same degree as the Kayan. They are also much more scattered and migrated to Sarawak at various periods, some of them at the same time as the Kayan, others much later. There are in the Belaga river two long-houses speaking the same language (Sambup), with a few dialectal differences. They have close relatives in the Baram. In the middle Baluy is Uma Kelap, the only example here of a group represented also in the Baram and Kalimantan (Uma Pawa, Uma Timei). In the upper Baluy are two large villages, speaking different dialects: Uma Baka (pop. 458) and Uma Kulit (pop 745). The Uma Kulit migrated to Sarawak in 1941; the Uma Baka in 1945. There are still in Kalimantan long-houses belonging to these groups. Both villages are formed by several long-houses with one chief for the whole village, a situation which is very rare among Kayan and Kajang.

Two large villages, one in the Linau river (pop. 801), the other in the upper reaches of the Baluy (pop. 1120), belong to the Badang

group. The Badang of the Linau have been in the area for a long time; those of the upper Baluy moved into Sarawak just a few years ago. Very few Badang are left in Kalimantan (probably less than 100).

Except for Uma Kelap, all the Kenyah villages are far upriver or in rivers difficult of access and have few contacts with each other. There are large numbers of various groups of Kenyah in the Baram and in Kalimantan.

The Kajang (pop. 2062) are earlier occupants of the Belaga District and were pushed downriver by the immigrating Kayan. Their name comes from the Kajang River, a tributary of the Linau. They are divided into 4 cultural groups. The Kejaman, Sekapan and Lahanan speak different dialects of the same language, Sekapan and Kejaman being more closely related to each other. The so-called Punan Ba speak a completely different language and have no relation with the nomadic Punan. It is simply a matter of coincidence that both groups have the same name. This inclusion of the Punan Ba in the Kajang category makes it a somewhat artificial grouping with the Kajang being those who are neither Kayan nor Kenyah but who still belong to the super-group called Kayan-Kenyah-Kajang (KKK) by Leach. Some informants include also the Sihan and the Seping in the Kajang, but most do not, and, when they are included, this is merely because they are minority groups. There used to be a Seping long-house in the Belaga River, but it moved into the Baram, and only 6 individuals are left here. Some informants include them in the Kenyah. (For the Sihan, see below.)

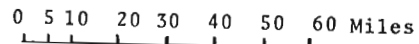
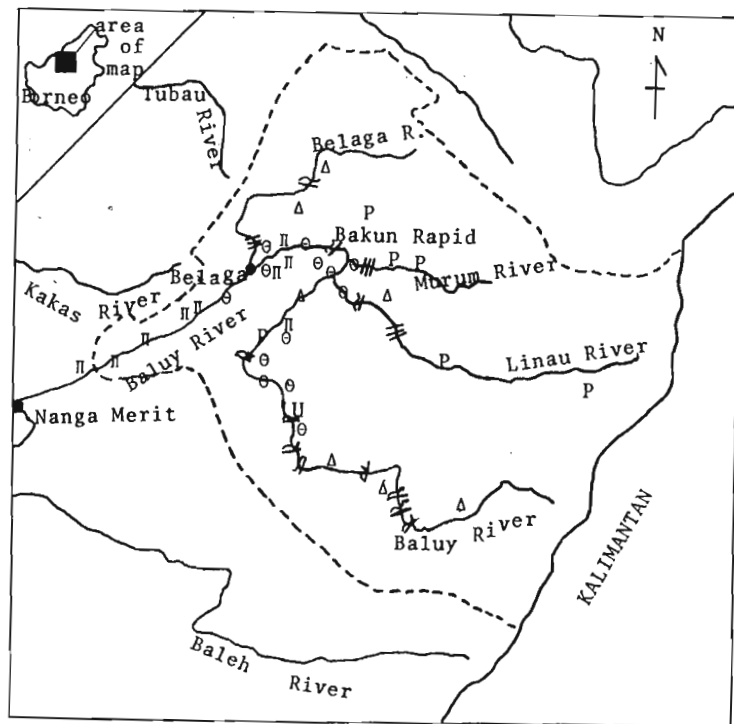
Except for the major Lahanan long-house, which is in the middle Baluy and has been much influenced by the Kayan, all the Kajang live in the lower Baluy, where there are 3 Punan Ba, 2 Sekapan, 1 Lahanan, and 2 Kejaman long-houses. Among the Kajang, only the Punan Ba are represented in another area; they form 4 long-houses in the Tubau-Kakus area (according to Needham).

The Kajang (I don't know if this applies to the Punan Ba) were in the past sago cultivators, but for a long time their main crop has been rice, although they still cultivate some sago.

The Sihan and the Ukit are two small groups, each represented by one village (Sihan, pop. 77; Ukit, pop. 125), who were formerly nomadic. The Sihan settled very long ago, and the Ukit after the beginning of this century. The Sihan are in the lower Baluy area but on a small non-navigable river. They formed four villages in 1882 but were decimated by headhunting and epidemics. It is difficult to predict their future. They might be assimilated by the ex-nomadic Punan, with whom they have most affinities and contacts.

The Ukit belong to the same group as the Baketan, on the Rejang at Nanga Merit. They used to live in the Baleh but ran away from headhunting Iban. They will probably be assimilated by the Kayan. They are considered inferior by the Kayan and Kenyah.

THE BELAGA DISTRICT



KEY:

- = Rapid
- ≡ Impassable rapid
- Kayan
- △ Kenyah
- ▣ Kajang
- Punan
- ⊖ Sihan
- ⊕ Ukit

The Kenyah and Kayan hold the same attitude towards the nomadic Punan, who in the Belaga District are divided in two groups, one of them, the Punan Busang (pop. 120), forms a single band. This group is also represented in Kalimantan. Most Punan are settling now, the first of them did so more than 10 years ago. Some of them cultivate only manioc, but most of them make hill padi, and the government encourages them in this direction. Besides the Punan Busang, there are approximately 600 other Punan, most of whom live far inland in areas difficult of access. They live in smaller groups and build long-houses of less durable material than the KKK.

The Kayan, Kenyah and Kajang share much of the same social organization, and they readily recognize their unity in opposition to, for instance, the Iban. The Kayan and Kenyah feel closer culturally; there are linguistic similarities, a community of origin (the Kayan River area), and many ritual similarities. Nevertheless, because many Kenyah groups are later immigrants and live far upriver, relations between Kayan and Kajang have been much closer and extended over a longer period. The exception is Uma Kelap, situated in a Kayan area, which has been much Kayanized.

According to de Martinoir, the Kayan imposed Kayan wives on Kajang chiefs, and therefore, the Kajang aristocracy has been much Kayanized also.

In the whole area, Kayan and Kajang chiefs are closely related by links of kinship and marriage, and this has much influence on intervillage relationships. Of course, the communities being usually rather isolated, they will not have significant relationships with more than 3 to 5 long-houses.

Before Brooke rule, there were no institutionalized paramount chiefs, but a few long-houses wielded much power, and if one of them had a chief with the proper personality characteristics, he could easily become a de facto paramount chief. These major long-houses have still much influence nowadays. There are now two regional chiefs, one for the lower Baluy, and the other for the middle and higher Baluy, appointed by the government in consultation with the long-house chiefs. But they have lost much of their importance in the last few years.

The Kayan, Kenyah and Kajang are divided into two classes of aristocrats, one of commoners, and one of slaves. This last class has almost entirely disappeared, being now assimilated among the commoners. Only the higher aristocrats had slaves, and the chief is always chosen from amongst their rank. If a chiefly family dies out, a long-house will seek a higher aristocrat from another long-house, even a different cultural group, to become chief. Women aristocrats have much influence, and among the Kayan, some of them acceded to chieftainship. In other classes, women have an inferior status and participate little in community decisions.

The lower aristocrats and commoners cultivate the farms of the chiefly group and do most of the other hard work for them. The

Kayan, and at least some of the Kenyah, cooperate in farm work, but amongst the Kajang each family works independently at their farm. Each family usually has two or more fields. A field is sometimes used two years in succession, but it is usually allowed to rest several years before being reused. Except in the lower Baluy, the land is plentiful, and a family may easily relinquish their rights to land they had used previously. On the other hand, the village territory is clearly defined, and infringement from another village will lead to conflict. In the past, long-house communities stayed less than a generation in a particular area, and questions of land tenure were thus unimportant. With the present sedentarization and demographic expansion, the situation will change, and has already changed in the lower Baluy.

Among the Kayan and Kajang, uxori-locality is dominant (approx. 75% of cases), except among the chiefly class. This is due to the presence of a bride-price in the case of virilocality and its absence otherwise. In all marriages there is at least a period of one year of uxori-locality; only then, and usually much later, can one pay the bride-price and bring back his wife to his room. Virilocality is a more prestigious form of residence and is usual amongst chiefly families. For them the bride-price is very high, and the whole community helps to pay it.

Marriage between classes is possible, and the children belong to the class of the room in which they live. Marriage is prohibited with relatives up to second cousins for Kayan (and third cousins for Kejaman and Sekapan according to de Martinoir). About two-thirds of all the marriages are between members of the same village. The majority of intervillage marriages end in divorce (at least for the Kayan), sometimes after several years of marriage and the birth of several children. Divorce is easy and frequent. Only the higher aristocrats have large fines to pay in that case. Nevertheless, it is among them that the incidence of divorce is highest.

The Kenyah have no bride-price, and there seems to be a balance between uxori- and virilocality, but there are no data on this. In the three groups the kinship organization is bilateral and there are no descent groups. The "room" (corresponding to the Iban *bilek*) is a jural entity with a continuity in time, as people join it by birth, adoption, marriage or otherwise. It is the room which has virtually all property and ownership rights, and these are lost by an individual who marries away. Affines living in the room have equal rights in it, even if their spouses have died.

The Kayan, Kenyah and Kajang religions are complex with a large number of rituals. Until the Bungan religious reform about 25 years ago, taboos and auguries had much influence on everyday life, and the main import of the reform was their dispersion. Until it was stopped by the Brookes, headhunting was important and practiced for ritual reasons. Headhunting rituals are still performed nowadays.

Outside influence has increased much recently. At the end of the last century, the two most important changes were the prohibition of headhunting and the establishment of the Belaga bazaar. Otherwise, they were left much to themselves until the Japanese invasion in 1941. After the war the changes came faster, with schools, dispensaries, and a more direct government involvement. The population started to expand in the late fifties. The villages of the lower Baluy, near the Belaga bazaar, were most influenced, although the introduction of outboard motors reduced also the isolation of the upriver groups. They bought these, and other implements (shotguns, sewing machines, etc.) with surplus rice, various jungle produces, and occasional work for timber companies. This has brought more affluence, but few changes in the ways of life. They still practice a subsistence economy, and the outlook is still traditional. For instance, although each family has a shotgun, the spear is still preferred.

Schools have not had much influence yet; a few children are just starting to go to secondary school. Missionaries have had more success with the Kenyah than the Kayan and Kajang, among which only a small minority has been converted, with the exception of two long-houses. Transformations will probably go on taking place at an accelerated pace, with the development of a secondary cash economy and the probable appearance of irrigated rice under demographic pressure. But a subsistence economy is likely to dominate for a long time, and the long-house mode of residence and the power of aristocratic chiefs show no sign of changing. On the other hand, the traditional religion has probably just a few years of existence left.

With regard to the current status of research, there are numerous data on the Kayan and Kenyah groups of the Baram and Kalimantan in the publications of early anthropologists (Nieuwenhuis, Furness, Hose and McDougall, Elshout, etc.), but many more data are needed based on modern theories and techniques. One important reason for studying these groups now is that they still largely function in ways little influenced by the outside. In 1961-63, Mr. Brian de Martinoir made a socio-anthropological study of the Kejaman and Sekapan of the lower Baluy, but his report has not been published yet. I am presently doing field work in a Kayan village of the middle Baluy, making a study of the social organization and religion. An historian, Mr. Kazuhiro Fuse, intends to spend one year among the nomadic (or ex-nomadic) Punan. The groups among which research is most needed and would be most rewarding are: downriver, the so-called Punan Ba; and upriver, the Badang and the Kenyah Uma Kulit and Uma Baka. Because of the much larger size of their settlements, there are probably significant differences in their social organization. The most interesting group of these would probably be the Badang.

#### PIONEER SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERN AND EAST KALIMANTAN

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In southern and east Kalimantan since the end of World War II, most transmigration or pioneering activity is taking place either on, or close to, the tidal swamp lands of the Barito River Basin of Kalimantan Selatan and Tengah and, more recently, in Kalimantan Timur either adjacent to or not far removed from that stretch of the Mahakam River between Samarinda and Tenggarong and, further upstream in the Longiram area. Some minor activity is also found along the Kedang Rantau and Kedang Kapala rivers and their tributaries as well as in the Balikpapan area. Eight categories of pioneering may be distinguished, all of them associated with very considerable, if not total, government commitments. Three types involve the movement of transmigrants from various parts of Java, while the others are associated with migration processes taking place especially within Kalimantan Timur. The role of the army and navy in some of these movements is significant. In east Kalimantan the ranks of pioneer farmers are being augmented by the migration of various interior peoples, principally Land Dayak and some Kenyah and Kayan, to permanent homes, especially in the middle Mahakam Basin. Although transmigration under Dutch auspices has been fairly well documented (Pelzer, 1945), apart from a few brief government reports developments over the past two decades or so remain largely unrecorded.

My current research in Kalimantan is part of a wider study attempting to analyze pioneer settlement processes in carefully selected study areas in Asia in which environmental and cultural conditions and approaches to settlement contrast strongly with one another. Settlement advances, and retreats if these have occurred, will be traced and mapped. The natural environmental and the cultural, social, economic and political conditions under which settlement is proceeding is being examined in detail. It is necessary to analyze closely the development of transportation, the availability of markets, educational and health services, and the role of local administrations. The character, extent, and type of pre-colonization occupancy needs consideration. It is hoped to demonstrate, at least in an Asian context, that many attributes and problems of newly settled lands are very similar. Particular attention is being paid to the goals of individual pioneers or colonizers in each area. As Bowman (1931) so frequently stressed, and as Fitzgerald (1967) has shown, success or failure in a new home is intimately linked with an individual's reasons for coming and his thoughts, hopes and ambitions during the first years of settlement.

In Kalimantan it is, of course, difficult to obtain reliable statistical data. The Department of Transmigration keeps fairly accurate records of the pioneer families which pass through its hands, but the numbers involved in "spontaneous" types of transmigration are difficult to assess. Much reliance has been placed on the help of



village chiefs and sometimes, where there was no alternative, or for purposes of double-checking, on such individuals as the local member of the provincial legislature, school teachers, or hadjis.

Some land-use maps have been published for the immediate Balikpapan area of East Kalimantan and scattered sheets for South Kalimantan. Apart from these, and some sheets relating to soils and water problems in southern Kalimantan, prepared during the Dutch period, together with a few sketch-maps of the soils of Kalimantan Timur, no good maps are available to assist in any detailed assessment of the natural environment. The soils of Kalimantan remain poorly known and understood. In order to overcome this problem, the one or more physical problems as seen through the eyes of settlers themselves have been mapped. Sometimes, of course, considerable misconceptions occur. This approach, however, does much to add to a pioneer's own appreciation of his activities.

The original field interview plan called for a 25% sample of all pioneer heads of families in each area and the preparation of a flexible and open-ended interview schedule, primarily requesting some account of personal backgrounds and areas of origin, initial problems on arrival, rate of land clearance, information on land titles, village plans, relationships with government officers and neighbors, current endeavors, extent of innovations and other pertinent data. A rather heavy emphasis was placed on the views, opinions, and aspirations of pioneers themselves. Sometimes it was possible to direct questions to an individual, but more frequently a village meeting was called; in a sense this made possible more rapid progress and time lost due to transportation difficulties could be recovered. Under the guidance of an energetic village chief much data was gathered. Although this method may be thought not to reveal unpopular opinions and minority views of a settlement, it was possible, either in the evening, or on a Friday, to discuss matters further.

From a preliminary examination of the data collected it is apparent that the pioneering populations of three of the four Kalimantan provinces represent only a small part of the total of each. Frontier agriculture may, therefore, appear unimportant. However, in Kalimantan Timur, for example, such endeavors include a high percentage of all the actively farmed land from which products are regularly sold, apart from tiny garden plots. In Kalimantan Tengah the only land continuously worked on a commercial scale is found in the tidal sawah of the southeast and operated largely by pioneer farmers.

The contributions of rice, cassava, and other crops to the total agricultural production of Kalimantan Seletan from tidal swamp lands, principally reclaimed since World War II, are small, no more than 10% at the most. In the view, however, of many experts, these lands have the highest potential of any in the province and probably Kalimantan as a whole. Success here, which has so far been rather disappointing, would perhaps pave the way to the rapid development of the Kapuas Basin and tidal swamplands in southern

Kalimantan. The relatively greater remoteness of these last areas from Java, Sulawesi and other sources of migration has up until the present discouraged even spontaneous transmigrants.

Frontier settlement in Kalimantan, at least over the past two decades, very considerably involves central and provincial government participation. Financial resources remain meager and little assistance can be given settlers. With only simple tools available most pioneers can successfully operate no more than two hectares of land. Most transmigrants are landless and usually regard Kalimantan as a second choice in their search for a new home; many are disappointed that they did not reach Sumatra. Government-sponsored settlers usually leave Java or Bali persuaded by propagand of various types, while the spontaneous migrant is much encouraged initially by visits back to the old home area by relatives or others who have been successful in their new home. Local migration movements results principally from government attempts to prevent the development of frontier slum conditions, or for political reasons such as these associated with the movement of people from the Interior or, in the past, from rather arbitrary military decisions.

There is little doubt that settlers not only attempt to bring their varied cultural and social ways with them, whether from Bali, a particular part of Java or elsewhere, but they also cling to these for many years, however anachronistic. Adjustments to both the physical environment and to a fully, or partly alien cultural milieu, are very slow. Most Javanese pioneers find life in the tidal sawah extremely hard. Some have left, for example, for the more familiar, drier and hillier, but agriculturally poorer lands, south of Martapura. Religious and cultural differences between peoples placed in the same area have caused many problems, as well as between army migrants and civilians, and Dyak and other indigenous peoples, and the Javanese. Official declarations that ladang gunung is not part of the developmental program for a particular area and, therefore, pioneers should be expelled, have lead to confrontations with provincial governments. An insistence by foreign organizations and countries that their assistance be used in a particular way, perhaps involving machinery which is totally unsuitable, has also provoked settlers. Land disputes between pioneers and longer-settled families, and with the Department of Forestry, have caused further difficulties. Military dictates have resulted in the placement of settlers in isolated interior areas, for example the Longiram region, with little or no concern for their social well-being and economic development.

Field evidence suggests very strongly that the most successful settlers are those pioneering largely as a result of their own initiative and individual decisions, and who moved into areas which offer opportunities to practice a very broadly based type of agriculture, including bush and tree crops. All advantages must be seized very early in agricultural development. The least successful pioneers would seem to be government-sponsored, those who expect to rely almost entirely on rice production, following the Javanese pattern for their well-being, and who also expect

continued government help. Many other factors, some contradictory, documented in field data, have contributed to failure or success. There is little doubt that Kalimantan's best farmlands, whether tidal sawah, reclaimed alangalang, river bank or interior forest clearings, present a totally different physical environment to the settler from Java, still the source of the largest number of pioneers.

Pioneering in Kalimantan since World War II has been taking place on a haphazard basis despite the efforts of the central government and a minimum of financial, health or educational assistance and scientific guidance. Settlers have been left largely to their own devices. Only recently has a concerted effort been made to incorporate them into the life of their respective provinces and, through their agricultural products, to contribute to the economic well-being of Indonesia, principally by sending rice to the rice-deficient parts of the country, usually Java. The outer islands of Indonesia are rarely regarded today as a principal solution to the population problems of Java. Many mistakes have certainly been made in settling pioneers, and it is surprising, unless viewed against the rather desperate alternative life available especially on Java, that more settlers have not given up. Attempts to listen to pioneers by government, to work with them at the grass roots level, and even in the absence of funds for research to experiment at a very modest scale, to encourage the use of other resources, to develop handicraft industries and fishing, are all beginning to pay dividends, while also reflecting of course the varying abilities of local officials. The experiences of Kalimantan pioneers suggest that much can be achieved in agriculture with the parang and changkul in the first period of settlement but in subsequent years more sophisticated approaches are necessary if progress is to continue beyond a mediocre, or even self-sufficient, level.

*Bibliography:* Bowman, Isaiah, 1931, *The Pioneer Fringe*, New York; Pelzer, Karl, 1945, *Pioneer Settlement in the Asiatic Tropics*, New York; Fitzgerald, Denis P., 1967, *Pioneer Settlement in Canada*, Toronto.

REPORT OF LINGUISTIC FIELD WORK UNDERTAKEN IN SARAWAK

Robert A. Blust  
University of Hawaii

GENERAL BACKGROUND: A number of languages in northern Sarawak and adjacent areas in Brunei and Kalimantan exhibit two sets of reflexes for PAN (Proto-Austronesian) \*b, \*d, \*D, \*j and \*Z. In one of these languages, the Bario dialect of Kelabit, the discrepant reflex is always a member of a series of phonemic voiced aspirates b<sup>h</sup>, d<sup>h</sup>, g<sup>h</sup>. Attention has been drawn to these facts recently (Blust, 1969), and a hypothesis called the "vowel deletion hypothesis" expresses a claim that B.K. b<sup>h</sup>, d<sup>h</sup>, g<sup>h</sup> (and the corresponding discrepant segment in cognate words in other languages) arose as the result of a series of changes that commenced when the first of like vowels

flanking the reflex of PAN \*S was regularly lost if it stood before the reflex of PAN \*b, \*d, \*D, \*j or \*Z. Because of its complexity, it is more reasonable to assume that the vowel deletion rule was added only once rather than on several occasions independently in the earlier stages of these languages. It follows that all languages which reveal the effects of this change are descended from a proto-language ancestral to them but not to certain other Austronesian languages that do not exhibit corresponding discrepancies.

PURPOSE OF THE FIELDWORK: As the vowel deletion hypothesis was constructed on the basis of first-hand work with only one language (the Bario dialect of Kelabit), there was a need to supplement or replace the second-hand materials available for the other languages with first-hand data relevant to testing the specific claims that had been advanced. Thus, field work was undertaken in the Miri and Baram Districts, Fourth Division, Sarawak, from April to November, 1971. The purpose of this field work was to collect data for these other languages and, through this material, to test the adequacy of the original hypothesis. Toward this end my wife and I spent three months in Miri, where I worked largely with students at the Kolej Tun Datu Tuanku Haji Bujang, and subsequently four months in Marudi, where I worked for the most part with students at the Marudi Government Secondary School and at St. Mark's School. Language coverage includes 3 Kayan dialects, Murik, 7 speech communities usually referred to as "Melanau," 10 Kenyah dialects, 3 Penan dialects, 4 Kelabit dialects, 1 Lun Bawang ("Southern Murut") dialect, Saban, 3 Berawan dialects, Kiput, Narum, Miri and 2 dialects of Bisaya.

RESULTS OF THE FIELD WORK: It is now possible to say with a high degree of certainty that all of the coastal languages between Bintulu in the south and Tutong in the north, and all of the non-Kayan languages of the Baram are descended from a language in which the first of like vowels flanking the reflex of PAN \*S was regularly lost if it followed the reflex of PAN \*b, \*d, \*D, \*j or \*Z. I use the term "North Sarawak" for this proposed subgroup. The North Sarawak subgroup in turn divides into four major subgroups (the complete membership of certain subgroups includes a considerably larger number of speech communities than indicated here; in general names listed refer only to those groups for which I was able to acquire data): (1) Kelabit - Lun Bawang - Saban; (2) Kenyah; (3) Lower Baram; and (4) Bintulu.

The Kenyah subgroup further subdivides into at least three major subgroups as follows: (1) Long Wat, Sebop, Long Labid (Penan), Long Lamai (Penan) and Long Merigam (Penan); (2) Long Nawang, Long Jeeh, Long Anap, Long Atun; and (3) Long Sela'an, Long San, Long Ikang and Long Dunin. In conflict with most traditional opinion (with the notable exception of Urquhart), it was discovered that there are no linguistic grounds for regarding Penan dialects as distinct from Kenyah.

The Lower Baram Subgroup comprises the Berawan dialects (Long Terawan, Batu Belah, Long Teru and Long Jegan), Kiput, Narum (spoken

in Kampung Narum, just below Marudi), Lelak and Lemeting, Dali' (spoken on the Bakong tributary of the Baram), Miri (spoken in the kampungs neighboring Miri--in Pujut, Luak Bay and Bakam), Belait (spoken in the kampung areas of Kuala Belait), and Tutong (in Brunei).

While there appears to be slight, but definite evidence that the Melanau--Kajang languages (the coastal languages from Balingian in the north to Rejang village in the south, Kanowit and Kajang complex in the Balui) are not members of the proposed North Sarawak subgroup, the position of Kayan--Murik (a subgroup composed of at least the Kayan dialects and Murik) remains unclear. For somewhat different reasons, there is also still some uncertainty with respect to the position of the languages of Sabah. I was able to collect first-hand data for two dialects of Bisaya (Bisaya Bukit and the Limbang dialect). These data, together with published materials available for Kadazan (Antonissen), Rungus Dusun (Appell) and Timugon Murut (Prentice) leave no doubt that some, perhaps most of the languages of Sabah show evidence of descent from a language in which the previously described vowel deletion took place. It is not clear how these facts are to be most reasonably interpreted. Taken at face value, however, they suggest that the North Sarawak subgroup as already defined is only one of two coordinate branches of a larger subgroup that also includes many of the languages of Sabah.

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A STUDY ON SNAKEBITE IN SARAWAK

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This report is a part of the investigation of snakebite in Southeast Asia, including Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia, which has been carried out from January through March, 1971, by the scientists of the University of Tokyo under the sponsorship of the Japanese government.

Haile (1968) reported that there are cobra, king cobra, krait, Wagler's pit viper and sea snakes in Borneo.

In February, 1971, two of the members of the party visited the general hospitals of Kuching and Sibü and investigated the snakebite patients with the aid of Dr. Chong, C. H., Medical Headquarters, Kuching, and Dr. T. C. Whitlam, Medical Department, Sibü. Seventy-nine patients with snakebite were admitted to the general hospital in Kuching during the years from 1966-70, and five patients (one eventually died) were found in the Lau King Howe hospital, Sibü, in 1969. These included 30 Chinese, 25 Malay, 24 Dyak, 3 Melanau, and 2 Javanese. Fifty per cent of bites occurred during the months from March to June. Fifty out of 84 cases were male. Snakebites in the lower extremities were four times as frequent as those in upper extremities. In lower extremities, fifty per cent of bites occurred in the foot.

Most of the snakes were not identified except three cases of snakebite by sea snake and one case by a king cobra. Fifty-six cases (66.7 per cent of cases) showed local swelling of which seven cases were noted of cellulitis and necrosis at the locus of bite. However, it is noteworthy that three cases of snakebite by sea snakes and one lethal case of bite by an unidentified snake showed no sign of swelling at the locus of bite.

Two fishermen were bitten by a sea snake while fishing in shallow water in Goebilt. Severe paralytic symptoms such as difficulty of speaking and movement or semiconsciousness appeared a few hours after the bite, although they recovered from the intoxication after treatment in the hospital. The establishment of educational techniques for the identification of snakes and more detailed observation of the snakebites need further investigation.

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A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS IN ENGLISH

WITH RELEVANCE TO BORNEAN HISTORY

Colin Crisswell

INTRODUCTION: This bibliography, which so far as I know is the only one of its kind, was compiled in connection with the research which I did on my Ph.D. thesis, "The Establishment of a Residency in Borneo 1881-1905." The material divides itself broadly into primary works, that is eye witness accounts, memoirs and commentaries by personalities involved in Bornean history, and into articles and books drawing upon these printed sources and upon the mass of unpublished material, much of which is to be found in the Public Record Office, London. Consequently, there is very little before Lord Stanley's edition of Pigafetta's description of his visit to Brunei in 1521 and the bulk is concerned with the mid-eighteenth century to the present day. However, I have included one or two



items dealing with the period before written sources commence, such as Tom Harrisson's "Kota Batu in Brunei," which I considered useful in establishing a link with what might be called Bornean prehistory. Since I have confined myself to works in English, most of the material here is concerned with northern Borneo.

I have endeavored to include all the essential primary works, such as those written by the Brooke family, Crawfurd, Darlrymple, Keppel, Belcher, Mundy, Treacher and Spenser St. John, many of which repay reading even by those familiar with the modern commentaries. The borderline between history and other disciplines is not a clear one, but all the works here seemed to me to have some bearing on Bornean history. Thus Everett's "Notes on the Distribution of Useful Minerals in Sarawak" is included because of the significance which the search for minerals by Everett and others had upon the attitude of interested parties to northern Borneo in the late nineteenth century. Some are even less obvious. Owen Rutter's Triumphant Pilgrimage would perhaps seem to have little or no relevance if one did not know that the thinly fictionalized "hero" was based closely on an influential friend of Rajah Vyner Brooke. With regard to the secondary works I have selected those which I considered had some original contribution to make. I have made a few exceptions to this rule in the case of reasonably sound but unoriginal books which are, however, relatively easily obtainable, e.g. Emily Hahn's James Brooke of Sarawak. Works like Baring-Gould's History of Sarawak, published in 1909, are now somewhat dated but still remain of basic importance as much for the attitudes of the authors as for the factual material. In recent years a lot of valuable new material has been published and I have tried to include all the important articles by contemporary historians like Leigh Wright, Tarling, Tregonning, and Brown. A number of these are in fairly obscure publications, and I may have inadvertently omitted one or two items but none, I think, of major importance. No serious student could omit to read Pringle's Rajahs and Rebels, Irwin's Nineteenth Century Borneo, Leigh Wright's Origins of British Borneo, and Tarling's Britain, the Brookes and Brunei, to name a few books published in recent years. Tregonning's frequently reprinted (and retitled) Under Chartered Company Rule I have found to be not very reliable.

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MELANAU STUDIES

I. F. C. S. Clayre  
University of Edinburgh

Under the general direction of Dr. H. S. Morris, of the Department  
of Anthropology, London School of Economics, an interdisciplinary

study of Melanau religion, social structure, and language has  
been pursued over the last two years. Morris' aim is the comple-  
tion of two major works on this people who have been the subject  
of his studies for twenty years. Clayre's is more modest: a  
description of language at all levels (phonology, morphology,  
syntax, semantics and style) which will lead to a doctoral  
dissertation.

In the course of my work, I have produced a number of small art-  
icles on various aspects of the language in the Sarawak Museum  
Journal, and in press for Anthropological Linguistics and Language.  
The phonological structure is set out in the SMJ; AL carries a  
note on the system of spatial deixis which is tied in a most  
interesting way to the Likou, the river which forms the main  
feature of the habitat of all Melanau groups, while in Language  
the note deals with the operation of focus and emphasis in the  
language. Appearing in Sarawak Gazette since October 1970 has  
also been a series of ethnographic notes on the customs and beliefs

The Melanau verb structure is particularly interesting in that  
its transitive verb class is divided into two completely different  
types of verb stem, taking different inflection. In brief, there  
is a large set of stems which are prefixed with me-, ne-, pe-  
prefixes (allowing of some metathesis to -em- and -en- infixes,  
but never \*-ep-) denoting broadly Subject Focus Dynamic (SFDyn),  
Object Focus Dynamic (OFDyn), and Subject Focus Static (SFStat).  
The same three focal possibilities are signalled on the other set  
of stems by verb ablaut, such that -u- signals SFDyn, -i- OFDyn  
and -e- SFStat. There are many flourishes to this basic system,  
but the paradigms will make its operation clear:

tinou "burn off" (a farm): meninou, teninou, petinou.

1-lou "wait for" : lulou, lilou, lelou.

Much confusion arises from a homophonous prefix peꞑ of reflexive  
action which can attach to UIE stems, but substitute in MNP, thus:  
pemui "kissing each other," pelelou "waiting for each other."  
(This pe- prefix is a problem in many Bornean languages.)

As well as this work of a major nature, Morris and Clayre plan an  
encyclopaedic dictionary of the Melanau language, and I am under  
obligation to produce a book of Melanau folklore in the dialects  
from which I obtained the material, an orthography having been  
devised to represent adequately each of those studied.

Related to these studies, Clayre and Clayre plan, funds and a  
suitable base being made available, to pursue a further related  
investigation into the Punan Ba', Sekapan, Kejaman and Lahanan  
languages, and investigate the history and present state of their  
extensive monumental culture. This has had the overall approval  
of the Museum in Kuching, but at present there is no movement  
on the necessary logistics.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

CONFERENCE ON THE PEOPLES OF THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

From Carol Molony  
Stanford University

The Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture (CISC) hosted an informal conference on current research on the peoples of the southern Philippines at Notre Dame of Jolo College, Sulu, August 15-18, 1971. Twenty-four anthropologists, linguists, and sociologists who were engaged in research in the area attended the meetings organized by Gerard M. Rixhon, O.M.I., Director of the CISC, and sponsored by Notre Dame and the Asia Foundation.

The participants (from the Philippines unless otherwise stated) included: Wilfredo F. Arce, Ateneo de Manila, Quezon City; David Baradas, Mindanao State U., Marawi City; Dietlende Behrens, Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), Basilan City; Francisco Demetrio, S.J., Xavier U., Cagayan de Oro City; Carlos Fernandez II, Ateneo de Manila, Quezon City; Charles O. Frake, Stanford U., U.S.A.; Samuel Gaabucayan, De La Salle College, Manila; William Geoghegan, U. of California at Berkeley, U.S.A.; Karen Larson, U. of California at Berkeley, U.S.A.; Frank Lynch, S.J., Ateneo de Manila, Quezon City; Charles Macdonald, U. of the Philippines, Diliman; Nicole Macdonald, U. of the Philippines, Diliman; Marcelino Maceda, U. of San Carlos, Cebu City; Carol Molony, Stanford U., U.S.A.; Janet Pack, SIL, Basilan City; Kemp Palleson, SIL, Siasi, Sulu; Robert Randall, U. of California at Berkeley, U.S.A.; Nancy Randall, U. of California at Berkeley, U.S.A.; Harriet Reynolds, Siliman U., Dumaguete City; Hubert Reynolds, Silliman U., Dumaguete City; Gerard Rixhon, Notre Dame of Jolo College, Sulu; Stuart A. Schlegel, U. of California at Santa Cruz, U.S.A.; John P. Thorp, C.S.C., Notre Dame College, Dacca, Pakistan; and John Wolff, Cornell U., U.S.A.

A single morning discussion meeting was held each day of the conference. The first day's meeting, chaired by Charles Frake, was about the Samalan-speaking peoples of the Philippines and its vicinity. The second, chaired by David Baradas, was on concepts of law and justice among selected peoples of Sulu, Mindanao, and Palawan. Frank Lynch chaired the final session, which featured a review of anthropological research underway in Philippine institutions and a discussion of ways in which visiting social scientists could participate in the development of these institutions.

The session on Samalan languages provided an opportunity to reassess problems of the origin, distribution and unity of Samalan-speaking peoples by bringing together a number of investigators who have made recent independent studies of these languages.

Kemp Palleson of the Summer Institute of Linguistics reported on a recently completed survey of Samalan languages in the Philippines. The survey had two aims: first, to assess relative mutual intelligibility of Samalan languages; and second, to investigate problems of linguistic differentiation using cognate counts and text analysis. Among the findings of great interest was that the peoples commonly termed Badjao in the Philippines (Sama Dilaut) speak a single language throughout Sulu and Zamboanga del Sur. This language most closely affiliated with Samal of the Siasi area. Palleson suggested that the Siasi area appeared to be the dispersal point of Samalan languages in the Philippines. Palleson also reported the existence of a Samal-speaking upland agricultural people, distinct from the Yakan, in the Sibuku area of Zamboanga del Norte. Both Palleson and John Wolff had information on the Samal spoken on Kapul Island, off Samar, by Christians.

William Geoghegan reported on work in progress on Balingingi Samal by himself and three students present at the conference: Bob Randall, Nancy Randall, and Karen Larson.

Carol Molony and Charles Frake reported on a Samal language spoken on Kajoa Island, near Ternate in the Northern Moluccas, Indonesia. The Samal language of this area exhibits a reduction of final consonants characteristic of Celebes languages and a less complex inflectional system than Philippine Samal languages.

The reports of this session make it clear that Samalan is a closely related group of languages and dialects with a uniquely widespread and scattered distribution in the southern Philippines, North Borneo Eastern Celebes, and North Moluccas. None of the participants had reliable information on the existence of Samal languages in Malaya or Western Indonesia, but what is known so far points to a Sulu origin for the Samalan group. It is in Sulu that we find the greatest linguistic differentiation and the largest contiguous block of speakers. There is no support for local traditions that have the Samal coming en masse from Johore in relatively recent times. Certainly it is clear that the Taw Sug represent a recent intrusion from the Bisayas into a Samal-speaking area.

The participants noted the need for further linguistic work in areas not yet investigated in order to determine the full range of Samalan languages and to determine the place of Samalan as a whole with respect to coordinate sub-groups of Austronesian languages. Samalan-speaking peoples, being of common linguistic origin, yet exhibiting a wide variety of ecological adaptations, also provide a nice context for controlled comparison studies in cultural anthropology.

This session clearly revealed that we are on the brink of a major reassessment of the role of Samalan-speaking peoples in Sulu cultural history.

During the second session several anthropologists discussed recent research on law and justice. Gerard Rixhon read portions of



Thomas Kiefer's forthcoming book on the Tausug legal system, David Baradas reported at length on the social structure of the Maranao and the manner in which it is manifested by judicial decisions, and Charles MacDonald discussed the ideas of law and justice among the Palawan. Some of the points brought out--particularly the symbolic character of fines, the coexistence of dual theories of justice in these societies, and the absence of institutionalized power in several groups from the southern Philippines--were summarized by Stuart Schlegel, and illustrated by reference to the Tiruray.

The final session began with a report on current research and teaching at each of the Philippine institutions represented at the conference. Categories suggested for the extemporaneous reports were (a) staff, (b) degrees offered, (c) number and level of students contacted, (d) project, and (e) publications. The picture which emerged from the nine local institutions reported on was one of small staffs working on large numbers of relatively practical projects. With the exception of those of the Institute of Philippine Culture (Ateneo de Manila), which is nationally involved as well, the projects tend to be regional or local-part of the institution's contribution to its community.

After these presentations, comments were solicited from the participants of the first 12 recommendations found in Richard N. Adams' "Responsibility of the Foreign Scholar to the Local Scholarly Community" (Current Anthropology 12:335-39). There seemed to be agreement that Adams' first 12 recommendations and commentaries, though prepared for the Latin American context, were relevant and useful for the Philippines. The possible role of the newly incorporated (1968) Social Science Council and the Philippine Sociological Review (since 1953 the quarterly review of Philippine sociology and anthropology) was discussed, particularly in regard to the visiting scholar's responsibility to report locally on his research progress and conclusions. If the visiting scholars cooperate regularly in this manner, and in other ways recommended by Adams, it is likely that the Philippine Social Science Council--a nonstock, nonprofit, private association of professional social science associations--will resist with vigor any attempt of government entities to impose the kind of mandatory registration and reporting found in other countries in Southeast Asia. Social scientists interested in doing research in the Philippines, or in reporting locally on research in progress or completed, are encouraged to write to Dr. Mercedes B. Concepcion, Chairman of the Executive Board, Philippine Social Science Council, P. O. Box 479, Manila, D-406.

RESEARCH ON THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SABAH BY THE SABAH MUSEUM

Henry C. Tsen Khin Siong  
Assistant Curator  
Sabah Museum

At present I am setting up a natural history field station at Mile 29 Penampang-Sunsuron Road at about 4,000 ft. on the slope of

Gunong Alab (6,400 ft). Gunong Alab can be reached from Kota Kinabalu in one hour on a good gravel road. It is almost undisturbed except for the new Road to the Interior, with no major agriculture, forest, park or kampong activities.

The aims of the field station is four-fold, namely:

1. To collect sub-montane natural history specimens from a totally new and uncollected area for reference collections; medical research (with IMR) and the Medical Department; exchange with other museums, etc.; sending for taxonomy purposes (BMNH); school service; contributions towards interested bodies, e.g. Forest Department and Kinabalu National Park, etc.
2. To study some of the animals in captivity, cages will be built in the natural habitat of the animals. This in turn will make live photography a lot easier.
3. To study and observe the behavior, etc., of the animals in an area undisturbed and unstudied before.
4. To provide a place where visiting scientists or interested intellectuals could go up for a day or two or longer to observe sub-montane species of some of Sabah's rich fauna and flora.
5. To help to conserve the Gunong Alab Forest Reserve.

However, because of the lack of funds, I have to be content with a simple building to work in and the bare necessities to start the research under way. However, I would be very glad to help in any way institutions interested in obtaining natural history materials from Sabah.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

ANTHROPOLOGISTS INTERESTED IN BORNEAN RESEARCH TO MEET IN TORONTO AT THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION MEETINGS

The Borneo Research Council is sponsoring a meeting of all anthropologists interested in research in Borneo at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association which will be held in Toronto. The gathering will be held on Friday, December 1, at 8 p.m., in the Prince Edward Island Room of the Royal York Hotel. The meeting is open to all interested in research in Borneo.

RESEARCH ON ISLAMICIZATION AND MALAYIZATION

AND A REQUEST FOR INFORMATION

Peter Linde, Im Fischpfad 5, 69 Heidelberg H'heim, Germany, is writing a dissertation on the Malayization and Islamicization of the Dayak of Borneo, especially of Kalimantan. He writes that information on the coastal Malays of Borneo is extremely limited and he is looking for references, material, and information on the culture and society of these peoples and on the process of Islamicization and Malayization. Any suggestions or correspondence on these problems would be very greatly appreciated.

NEWS AND PUBLICATIONS OF THE MALAYSIAN

BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Brian Peacock has recently resigned from the post of Hon. Secretary of the Society, and Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard has been appointed by the Council to replace him. Dato Sheppard also serves as Hon. Editor to the Society and has brought the publication backlog up-to-date. Volume 43, Parts One and Two (for 1970), and Volume 44, Part Two (1971), are currently ready for publication. Material for Volume 45, Part 1 (the first part for 1972), has also been sent to the printer.

UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA, PENANG, ANNOUNCES ACADEMIC APPOINTS

VACANT IN THE SCHOOL OF COMPARATIVE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Applications are invited for the following posts: Senior Lecturers or Lecturers in the fields of Economics, Sociology, Social Psychology, Political Science, and Social Anthropology. Senior Lecturers must have a doctorate from a recognized university with several years experience in research and teaching at the university level, together with publications. Lecturers should have at least a Masters degree. Salary range for Senior Lecturer is from US\$7,932 to US\$10,680; for Lecturers US\$5,964 to US\$9,420. The medium of instruction is either English or Bahasa Malaysia, and the teaching load is approximately equal to other Malaysian universities. Research opportunities for anthropologists are fairly abundant. The closing date of applications is 15 December 1972 although in certain cases this may be extended. Further information may be obtained from: The Registrar, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Minden, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia.

B O R N E O N E W S

Regional News

JAY B. CRAIN is now Assistant Professor of Medical Anthropology, Department of Psychology, University of California, Davis, and is also Associate Professor of Anthropology, at California State University, Sacramento.

GALE DIXON returned from his research in Sarawak and Kalimantan Barat to the Department of Geography, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon 97403, for the academic year of 1971-72. During his research he was also able to collect a word list from the Lara in Kalimantan Barat.

F. L. DUNN, Vice-Chairman of the Department of International Health, and Chairman, Graduate Group in Anthropology, University of California San Francisco, is currently engaged in the preparation of a Borneo biomedical and health-behavioral bibliography. During the academic year of 1972-73, Dr. Dunn will be on sabbatical leave, during which time he will be at the School of Public Health, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

SIN-FONG HAN is Assistant Professor in the Department of Geography, California State College, Los Angeles, California. He writes that he is conducting research on the Hailan Chinese in Sabah and is in the process of collecting data on these Chinese communities in Brunei, Sarawak, Singapore and west Malaysian states. He has recently delivered a paper entitled "A Conceptual Model for Ethnic Group Study" at the 1972 annual meetings of the California Council for Geographic Education, which was held in Pasadena on May 5-6, 1972. In the paper Han details the conceptual model for ethnic group study that he employed as an analytical framework in his study of Overseas Chinese in Malaysia.

BARBARA HARRISSON has been appointed a Senior Research Associate in the Southeast Asia Program at Cornell University for a further period of three years (1972-75).

MARGARET ROFF recently returned from an extended trip to Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei.

C. A. SATHER'S new address is c/o the Miri-Bintulu Study, PWD Depot, Pujut Road, Miri, Sarawak, Malaysia.

RICHARD SHUTLER, JR., formerly of the University of Victoria, has moved to the Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240, U.S.A.

R. O. WHYTE writes that in the latter part of 1971 he spent two months working in the Library of the Botanic Gardens, Singapore, on the first draft on an article for Asian Perspectives on the archaeology, history and taxonomic geography of the Gramineae, wild and cultivated, of Southeast Asia. He was also able to make a quick trip to Kuching to visit the Research Branch of the Department of Agriculture and their farms at Semongok and Tarat, near Serian, and the peat reclamation plots outside Kuching in accompaniment with the Conservator of Forests, Dr. J. A. R. Anderson.

JAMES WARREN, Department of Pacific History, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, is writing a dissertation entitled "Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Malay World: 19th Century Sulu A Case Study." The geographical areas to be considered in this study will be Jolo, British North Borneo, and Dutch Borneo in the 19th century. Warren's research will take him to Spain, Holland and England respectively, and subsequently to Manila and Jolo as well as Jakarta to consult archival materials.

#### Kalimantan News

FRANK L. COOLEY reports that FRIDOLIN UKUR presented his doctoral dissertation entitled "Tantang-Djawab Suku Dajak" to the Faculty of the Higher Theological School in Jakarta and successfully defended it on December 20, 1971. The dissertation is subtitled in translation: "A Research into Factors Surrounding the Rejection and the Reception of the Gospel Among Ethnic Dajaks Within the Framework of the History of the Church in Kalimantan; 1835-1945." Cooley notes that it is the first doctorate in theology ever granted in Indonesia and that the author is an ordained minister of the Evangelical Church of Kalimantan. Ukur is a Maanjan and served for more than ten years as rector of the Theological Academy of the Kalimantan Church in Banjarmasin. He has recently been appointed Director of the Research and Study Institute, Djl. Salemba Raja 10, Jakarta IV/3, Indonesia, which has been established by the Council of Churches in Indonesia and to which Cooley himself has been related for the past five years while in its embryonic form.

DENIS P. FITZGERALD has recently returned from his research in Southeast Asia and Kalimantan to the Department of Geography, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

VICTOR T. (TERRY) KING has a new address: c/o Djalan Pattimura 195 (Pastoran Katolik), Pontianak, Kalimantan Barat, Indonesia. He is planning research in the Sg. Emboloh region of the Kapuas Hulu area. His research will focus on the Maloh peoples, but he also plans to investigate the Kantu peoples as well as a few of the Iban long-houses that are in the area.

STEINER SÖRENSEN, Ethnographic Museum, University of Oslo, is working on the materials there from the Lumholtz expedition and

has recently published an article on these. He is also studying Lumholtz's diaries and notes in the view of publishing any relevant ethnographic information.

#### Brunei News

TOM HARRISSON writes that the Museum at Brunei was opened by Her Majesty the Queen on 29th February in the presence of Princess Anne and the Duke of Edinburgh and His Highness the Sultan of Brunei, who were conducted by the Curator, P. M. Shariffuddin, and Harrisson as Museum Advisor. Harrisson also notes that the Museum has excellent research accommodations. H.H. the Sultan of Brunei has conferred on Harrisson the honor of Dato Seri Laila Jasa for his services to the Brunei Museum and prehistoric studies. Harrisson has also been appointed Senior Research Associate in the Southeast Asia Program at Cornell University for a term of three years (1972-75).

#### Sarawak News

CHRISTOPHER COURT writes that he and Robert Na'en anak Jerman have collaborated to produce an English-Bukar-Sadong Phrase Book for the Borneo Literature Bureau. The book uses a modification of mission spelling to make it phonemic, contains a grammatical introduction, and shows all principal parts of the verbs. In September, 1971, Court also carried out a brief survey in the Pontianak region and reports that Land Dayak dialects are spoken throughout the Sakajam River area although the term "Land Dayak" is unknown on the Indonesian side.

I. F. C. S. CLAYRE writes that his wife has recently prepared a survey of focus in a dozen or so of the Borneo languages; and also a comparison of Murut (Sarawak), Kelabit and Sa'ban vocabularies to show remarkable details in an effort towards establishing a proto-language on other than speculation. Such triples as the Sa'ban *seu* "hand," *seu*<sub>2</sub> "salt," and *seu*<sub>3</sub> "stop" are shown to be equivalent to three separate words in a proto-language not far removed from present day Murut, derived by discreet rules of phonological change to their present Sa'ban form. Similar rules appear to account reasonably well for the occurrence in Sa'ban of the unusual geminated stops and voiceless-voiced pairs such as *nnoen* "stool" and *hnoen* "Penan tribe."

#### Sabah News

G. N. APPELL has recently returned to the Department of Anthropology Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, from a year as Visiting Professor to the Department of Ethnography, Aarhus University, Denmark, under the Fulbright-Hays Program. While in Europe during the academic year 1971-72, Appell was also invited to lecture at the Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics; the

Department of Social Anthropology, Manchester University; the Institute for Ethnography, University of Oslo; the Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen; the Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology and the Institute for Cultural Sociology, both of the University of Copenhagen; and the South-east Asia Centre, University of Hull. He also visited a number of museums to see what Borneo materials and manuscripts they might have and gave an illustrated talk on Borneo ethnography and research to the Danish Ethnographical Society at the National Museum, Copenhagen.

JOHN E. D. FOX'S new address is c/o Department of Forests, P. O. Box 5055, Boroko, Port Moresby, Papua, New Guinea. He writes that his Ph.D. dissertation, "Natural Vegetation of Sabah and Natural Regeneration of the Dipterocarp Forest," has been accepted by the University of Wales.

The Wall Street Journal (20 September 1972), a U. S. financial newspaper, recently carried a news article on the Orang-utan Rehabilitation Center founded by G. S. DE SILVA and located in the Sepilok Forest Reserve. De Silva has recently reported on this orang-utan project in the Malay. Nat. J. 24 (1971).

\* B O O K R E V I E W S

*Budu, or, Twenty Years in Sarawak.* John K. Wilson. North Berwick, Scotland: Tantallon Press, 1969. 280 pp.

Reviewed by James H. Cobbe  
Yale University

Few Westerners who spent much time in Sarawak in the 1950's or 1960's can have failed to have heard of J. K. Wilson. He was a minor legend in his own time, and most officials in education and other "development" departments had strong feelings about him, his methods, and his views, either one way or the other. "JK" has now published his own version of what he was trying to do, what he achieved and why, and why he eventually left in 1968. It is a very personal story, not without bias and strong opinions, but absolutely fascinating to anyone interested in the social, economic and political development of rural Sarawak.

Generalizing from his own experiences, the author makes many recommendations for the conduct of community development schemes. Unfortunately, interesting though they are, I doubt if they will be of much general application, since anyone who ever met JK, or even perhaps who read this book, will be convinced that the success of Budu and the other schemes with which JK was associated was largely attributable to JK's own remarkable personality.

Nevertheless, the book does describe what can be done by community development, and gives a viable, if tendentious, description and explanation of the development policies of the State and Federal governments up to 1968. The book is beautifully illustrated with a large number of line drawings depicting Iban life by Arthur Thwaites, who also worked at Budu and who contributes a description of traditional Iban life. There are in addition short pieces on particular aspects of the Budu scheme by five other persons who were connected with it. It is an extremely valuable book, well worth the effort required to obtain a copy, and much credit is due the Nuffield Foundation for making its writing possible.

*The Origins of British Borneo.* L. R. Wright. Hong Kong University Press, 1970. x 237 pp., maps.

Reviewed by Robert Pringle

Leigh Wright picks up approximately where Graham Irwin's *Nineteenth Century Borneo* left off, tracing the history of colonial policy toward what were to become the British Borneo territories from the early 1860's down to the establishment of protectorates over Sarawak, North Borneo, and Brunei in 1888. The book reflects a traditional British academic approach to studies of colonial policy. Based entirely on western source material, mostly official files, it emphasizes Britain's concern to forestall acquisitive moves by rival imperial powers in the strategic South China Sea area. Dr. Wright does not claim to take into account local factors, and the book is unleavened by attention to sociological or ethnographic considerations which were sometimes of crucial importance in determining the behavior of key figures such as Rajah Charles Brooke, if not of the mandarins of Whitehall. But this is a very solid study of diplomatic developments. It is also readable, well organized, and tightly written. Those who may be curious about the history of the Philippine claim to Sabah, a subject on which Dr. Wright is both lucid and expert, will find here a useful succinct review of the subject and some interesting comments on the several contemporary counterclaims to that of the Sultan of Sulu which could be assigned equal (if dubious) validity.

*The North Borneo Chartered Company's Administration of the Bajau, 1878-1909: The Pacification of a Maritime, Nomadic People.* James F. Warren. Papers in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, No. 22. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1971. xiv 109 pp, appendix. \$3.00.

Reviewed by C. A. Sather

In this brief but important study Warren outlines the measures taken by the Chartered Company to secure control of the maritime Bajau of southeastern Sabah and the consequences and local response

provoked by these measures within Bajau society itself during the first 30 years of Company rule.

Part of the importance of this study rests in the fact that it deals with the relatively neglected east coast of Sabah. In this connection Warren draws attention to the radically different socio-political organization of the northern and southern halves of the coast and traces its effects on the subsequent history of the two areas. In general, the political order established by the Company closely paralleled that which already existed among the coastal peoples with whom it came to deal, with the result that they became, at once, the Company's principal rivals and the chief agents through whom a workable system of local administration was developed. Along the coast north of Tambesan the Sulu state maintained a relatively stable political system based on control of the littoral and riverine procurement trade. By recruiting Tausug datu to its service the Company was able to absorb this system and legitimize its presence. Within the Darvel Bay area to the south nothing so simple was possible. Here maritime Bajau groups enjoyed considerable independence owing to their mobility and dispersed settlement of the scattered islands and broken coastline making up the region. What Warren describes as "pacification" refers essentially to the process by which the Company brought to an end the political autonomy of these groups.

The period described here ends appropriately with the first formal scheme to consolidate Bajau settlement ashore. In addition, a system of boat licensing was introduced to curtail the movement of seafaring groups and secure their recognition of Company sovereignty, taxes were imposed, and encouragement was given to the development of a cash market for local goods. These latter acts were aimed at altering traditional attitudes towards labor and the distribution of goods so as to increase Company revenues and weaken the former political order by undermining the economic basis on which it was predicated.

Together these measures set in motion changes that, inadvertently or by design, continue to transform Bajau society down to the present time. While Warren points up their significance, he quite rightly stresses that a full understanding of this transformation requires that it be viewed from the Bajau perspective through ethnographic and, in particular, ethnohistorical research, including the collection of oral histories. His study, though based entirely on European documentation, provides a valuable starting point for such an undertaking.

A B S T R A C T S

*The Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), 1961-1967; Regionalism, Ideology, and Declaratory Foreign Policy.* Vincent Kelly Pollard.  
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Division of the

Social Sciences, The University of Chicago, in candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts (Committee on International Relations), December, 1968. iv 86 pp.

The economic and political sources and motivations for the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) are developed, with emphasis on their context in Sino-American relations since 1949. The implicit and explicit goals of the ASA are related to a treatment of the ideology or these of "regionalism" in its contradictory forms. This "regionalism" was variously understood, developed, and projected in the declaratory foreign policies of the former Federation of Malaya (subsequently, Malaysia), the Republic of the Philippines and Thailand as these states aligned and interacted in the ASA in 1961, and, along with Indonesia and Singapore, in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in August of 1967. The respective and collective perceptions of the ASA/ASEAN states (in terms of their participation in these organizations) are related to the U. S. perceptions of the organizations. One central frame of reference focuses on the continuing desires and undertakings of U. S. policymakers to "contain" the People's Republic of China. Chapter IV locates the renewal of the Philippine claim to North Borneo (Sabah) in the geopolitical matrix of British and U. S. policies in Southeast Asia, the birth of Maphilindo, and the Indonesian Konfrontasi policies. Observers of ASA and ASEAN usually misunderstood these organizations, perceiving them as harbingers of meaningful economic and cultural collaboration to the benefit of the peoples of the five nations involved instead of as vehicles that tended to integrate the thrust of these states' foreign policies into the orbit of U. S. foreign policy endeavors in East and Southeast Asia.

A classified bibliography is found at pp. 75-86. Inquiries concerning xerox (6" x 9" or 8 1/2" x 11") or microfilm (postive) copies of the thesis (T-17304) may be directed to: Photo-Duplication, B-70, The Joseph Regenstein Library, 1100 East 57th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637, U.S.A.

REPORT FROM THE EDITOR (Continued)

per year. This total savings of \$300 still leaves us with a projected deficit of approximately \$220 for Volume 4 (1972) of the BRB.

One of the reasons that the BRB is operating at a deficit is the fact that 264 copies are sent without charge to individuals, universities and government departments in the Philippine Islands, Malaysia, Indonesia, etc. I should like to note here that some of the subscribers in these areas have in fact very thoughtfully sent contributions to the costs of the BRB. And we sincerely urge those in these areas who can afford to contribute to the costs of publishing the BRB to do so. Any suggestions with regard to the problem of currency exchange and exchange costs would indeed be most gratefully received by the editor.