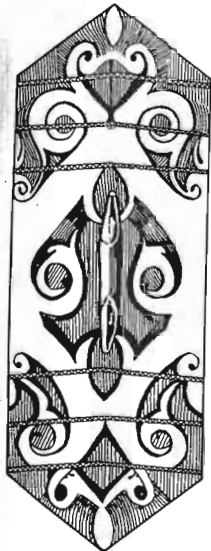


# BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

Papers on development dominate this issue of the Bulletin. National and international programs for redistributing the population of Indonesia, for changing indigenous techno-economic systems, and for harvesting Borneo's botanical wealth are the subjects of four papers.

The second part of Carol Colfer's controlled comparison of two Kenyah communities illustrates the flexibility and pragmatism of indigenes who are willing to change "when they perceive change to be in their best interests." Limited as it is to "one subgroup of one ethnic group in one province," Colfer's report makes a strong case for decentralized planning and development in situ. The "heavies" are timber concessionaires whose avarice and myopia are subverting traditional strategies with a quick-profit assault.

Three papers presented during the Council's program at the Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C., focus on customary and national land law (Donna Mayo Vargas), accommodations of transmigrants and indigenes (Mary Beth Fulcher), and control of rattan collection and trade (Nancy Lee Peluso). Though each author acknowledges familiar problems of uneven access to resources and law, each fairly portrays options by which the situations may be rendered humane and just.

Apropos concerns in these papers is an article in the Borneo Bulletin (August 27, 1983) in which questions are raised about the desirability of a hydroelectric dam at the Bakun Rapids, 37 kilometres upriver from Belaga. What will be the environmental impact? And will the benefits justify costs to ecosystem, including the human populations affected? Plans for impact studies under the direction of the Sarawak Museum are encouraging, and should become the sine qua non for all such development projects. Without them the follies of one generation impoverish and imperil the next!

By a two-to-one majority, those persons responding voted to alternate the programs of the Borneo Research Council between the annual meetings of the Association for Asian Studies and the American Anthropological Association. The program for this year at the AAA has been approved, and we shall plan a program for the AAS in 1985.

A financial statement is enclosed and despite continuing conditions of financial stringency, we are grateful to the following persons for their contributions: George N. Appell, Mrs. Louis Appell, Robert F. Austin, Timothy G. Babcock, Martin Baier, Ian and Mrs. L.M.S. Baillie, Richard B. Baldauf, Jr., Ruth Carol Barnes, Paul Beavitt, Jay H. Bernstein, Ian Donald Black, Eberhard F. Brunig, Jonathan D. Cole, Carol J. Pierce

Continued on Page 137

RESEARCH NOTES

Change and Indigenous Agroforestry in East Kalimantan  
(Continued)

Carol J. Pierce Colfer  
Hawaii Institute for Tropical Agriculture  
and Human Resources

Production, Consumption, and Commerce

This section is essentially an account of the differences that result when the third element, commerce, is introduced. To understand the changes and their impacts, we must first examine the system by which goods and food are produced and acquired in Long Ampung, in the virtual absence of commerce.

The crux or core of the economic system is a form of agroforestry composed of at least two important components: 1) a ricefield and its gradual transition back to (and including) primary forest, and 2) a number of special purpose plots that for one reason or another do not appear to be involved in the "normal" forest succession process.

Discussing the situation in the Apo Kayan, Jessup says,

Old fields and secondary forest communities provide a variety of foods and materials, which change as a community "ages," until it is cleared again and the successional process is renewed. Shifting cultivation maintains a "mix" of changing habitats, and since all of them are used and harvested for different products, it should be regarded as an agroforestry, rather than an agricultural, system (1980b:2).

As depicted in Figure B, forests of different ages provide different kinds of products that the people use. Although the Kenyah (and others) focus on the clearing of a ricefield as their "real" economic base, a glance at the kinds of products they obtain from subsequent successional stages shows the importance of maintaining this mix of changing habitats.

Interpreting Figure B requires remembering 1) that the forest changes from one labeled category to another (e.g., secondary to primary forest) in a gradual process without clear boundaries, and 2) that the crops and forest products listed are merely illustrative. The vital importance of what has previously been called "fallow periods" and their ongoing productivity should be clear.

Generally, the upper portion of Figure B refers to food products, and the lower to other kinds of useful forest products. Nanga and sip are used

Figure B  
Illustrative Ricefield and Forest Products  
Long Segar<sup>+</sup>

UMA (ricefield)	BEKAN (after crop)	JEKAU BU'ET (young secondary forest)	JEKAU DADU' (old secondary forest)	MPA' (primary forest)
rice	legumes		boar=====	
corn			deer=====	
peppers				
cucumbers		ferns=====		
		fruit trees+++++		
cassava+++++				
Banana+++++				
	Pineapple+++++			
		Eugeissona (nanga)+++++		
Stachyphrynium jagorianum (sip)+++++				
bamboo+++++				
			Cra Toxylon clandestinum (Tat)=====	
		tepo*=====		
firewood=====			ironwood=====	
			meranti=====	
				rattan=====
				Licuala (sang)=
				pandanus=====
				Korthalsia echinometra (uei sanam)=====

\*unidentified, used for mat weaving  
+Botanical identifications by Herwasono Soedjito, Researcher, Lembaga Biologi Nasional (1980)

Key:  
wild =  
planted +

as roofing materials; tat is used for shingles and house construction; tepo (the core of which is eaten) and pandanus are used for mat weaving; rattan and uei sanam (a kind of rattan) are used for tying and for basket weaving; sang is a hatmaking material; bamboo is used as construction and piping, material for carrying cases and basket weaving, and its shoots are eaten.

The other component of Long Ampung agroforestry, the special purpose plots, include:

marshlands -

planted with wet rice, with pandanus, or harvested for wild tika (Cyperus haspans, another matmaking material).

buk (Pteridium aguilinum) lands<sup>16</sup> -

planted with pineapple, cassava, or sugarcane.

special areas -

e.g., a hill planted with nanga; a hill covered with edible wild ferns (paku), an old village site populated with bamboo; etc.

Combined, these diverse biotic communities provide virtually all the needs of the people of Long Ampung. Traditionally, the men have left in search of salt (the gold of the Apo Kayan), sugar, tobacco, cloth, kerosene, cooking pots and guns; but quantities have been limited by human carrying power (Colfer 1982a).

Kenyah alertness to food and minor forest product gathering opportunities is striking. A trip to a ricefield to harvest corn requires passing thru secondary forest where some ripe fruit and edible ferns are observed and plucked. An abundant stand of bamboo is spotted from a canoe on a trip downriver, and all disembark to collect bamboo shoots. Kenyah men and women walk thru the forest like city dwellers saunter thru a supermarket.

The people of Long Ampung are aware of the existence of money, and indeed use it in interaction with outsiders (visitors or the Government); but on a daily basis, when people need something, they either get it themselves or ask for it. When someone has a surplus, he or she gives it away. Surplus rice and other agroforestry products are used, given away, or they rot, in most cases.

In 1980, the Resettlement Program (Respen) chose Long Ampung as the site for a new project, planning to move the people from Long Uro' and Lidung Payau (two Lepo' Tau Kenyah villages half a day's journey up the Kayan River) to Long Ampung (raising the population to about 1,419, Jessup 1980b:15). In preparation for this project, Respen has initiated the building of an 800 m airstrip, for which local people are being hired to clear and level the land. Daily wages for this work were originally intended to be Rp 1,000 per day; however, reportedly thru some sort of irregularity, workers were receiving only Rp. 500 per day in June 1980.

Men and women were about equally represented on the work crews; but, despite the lack of alternative money-making opportunities, people did not find the wage tempting.

The airstrip is hoped to solve the very substantial problem of transportation and communication with the outside world. The Government is giving this problem special attention because the exodus from the Apo Kayan continues. People are aware of the advantages of living closer to commercial centers; they want ready access to consumer goods, medical care, and education. The military, on the other hand, wants the borders of the nation protected; they are concerned that an empty Apo Kayan may invite guerrilla activity on the Indonesian-Malaysian border. Respen's current efforts in the Apo Kayan are an attempt to resolve these potentially conflicting desires, by providing necessary consumer goods from the outside and transporting possible cash crops from the Apo Kayan to urban centers by air. In the absence of help from the Government, however, similar airstrips at Long Sungai Barang and Long Nawang have not resulted in any kind of regular, reliable or profitable air service.

In contrast to the kinds of economic activities outlined in Long Ampung, Long Segar's involvement in the world of commerce is striking. Located on a major river that is regularly served by longboats and sporadically served by speedboats and planes, near a pilot plantation project and two foreign timber camps, Long Segar's people have regular opportunity to pursue many commercial endeavors. They can sell rice from their ricefields, vegetable produce from their gardens, timber and minor forest products from the forests, as well as their own labor.

The "traditional knowledge" of Long Segar's residents comes from Long Ampung. That a modified version of the agroforestry system in Long Ampung is still practiced in Long Segar is not surprising. The village is surrounded by a patchwork of botanical communities, providing diverse kinds of wild and cultivated food and products. The fact that the Long Segar region is predominantly primary forest has meant that a different balance of products is available. Table II shows some of the important forest products, with their differential distribution in the two locations (as reported by Kenyah informants).

The unavailability of some kinds of minor forest products in Long Segar coupled with the availability of commercial substitutes has resulted in a reduction of forest harvesting for personal use. Bamboo of large diameter are not found in this area; so plastic buckets have replaced their use as water-carriers. Nanga and sip do not grow in Long Segar; so people use ironwood shingles or, occasionally, tin roofing. The availability of kerosene and electricity<sup>17</sup> in Long Segar has meant that people need not travel the long distances in search of damar. Conversely, the presence of ironwood (a durable, longlasting wood) allowed Long Segar Kenyah to adopt its use in house construction, for shingles, and for pepper poles, discarding their traditional tat which also grows near Long Segar. The

presence of sang, combined with regular access to cloth and a hotter climate, encouraged the far more widespread use and construction of Kenyah sunhats in Long Segar. The presence of sufficient quantities of rattan has allowed people to make most backbaskets of this more durable material rather than the bamboo more common in Long Ampung.

But forest harvesting has taken on a significantly different aspect with the availability of commercial outlets and trade goods. Far less time is spent in subsistence-related forest harvesting; far more in acquiring forest products to sell (notably timber). Money is an important part of daily life in Long Segar, and everyone uses it--for salt, sugar, cloth, monosodium glutamate, coffee, tea, occasional tinned fish and packaged noodles; medical and educational needs; snacks in the small stores and eating stalls; village levies; as well as for the technological innovations discussed earlier.

Money is obtained in two main ways, sale of agroforestry products and labor, and one subsidiary way, shopkeeping. Eleven families (three of whom are the only non-Kenyah residing in Long Segar) own small stores, buying most of their produce from the longboats that regularly ply the Telen, and selling to Long Segar residents either for cash or rice. During 26.5 hours observed in four of these stores,<sup>18</sup> customers bought the equivalent of Rp. 50,625 worth of goods. Kenyah store-owners also have ricefields which typically form the mainstay of their family's subsistence, and which provide supplementary income even to the most successful traders. One of the most entrepreneurial Kenyah storeowners is a widow who also owns (in collaboration with younger male relatives in her household) a small longboat, the generator that sells electricity, and one of the operating commercial rice hullers. Women generally, however, have a disadvantage in these commercial enterprises because they have less familiarity with the Indonesian language and less experience dealing with outsiders than do the men.

Kenyah involvement in shopkeeping is an excellent example of human adaptability and responsiveness to changing circumstances. Commercial activity is inconsistent with frequently expressed traditional Kenyah values on generosity and sharing, and it is inconsistent with observed behavior in the Apo Kayan. Kenyah discomfort with the process of buying and selling is obvious. When tourists come in search of Kenyah handiwork (sunhats, baskets, knives, mats), the Kenyah are reluctant to name a price, unhappy with the price offered, uncomfortable with bargaining, and seldom leave such a transaction looking happy and satisfied regardless of the price ultimately paid.

Yet, at this point there are eight Kenyah stores in Long Segar; the headman regularly sells the elaborately carved knives he makes (for prices ranging from Rp 40,000 --Rp. 100,000); people collect and/or manufacture various products on an intermittent basis for sale to passing longboats. If an economic activity promises to be sufficiently profitable, Kenyah are usually willing to try it.

It is paradoxical that outsiders (government officials, tourists, foreign aid advisors) decry the obviously growing commercialism of the people of Long Segar at the same time that they complain about local traditionalism and reluctance to change. This is a strange but pervasive kind of blindness built on a largely unsubstantiated belief that rural people are stubbornly traditional and irrationally resistant to change. Table III shows a few of the changes that the people of Long Segar have made over the past twenty years: Hardly a testament to the force of tradition!

The sale of agroforestry produce typically includes the following: rice; garden produce (e.g., legumes, cabbage, amaranth, onions); occasional, experimental cash crops (pepper, coffee, cloves), fruits (oranges, coconuts, pineapples, soursop), and animal products (chickens, eggs, pigs); and forest products (ironwood shingles, boards and beams, rattan). The major buyers are the employees of the nearby timber companies, the plantation, and the longboats bound for Samarinda.

To date, sale of garden produce, cash crops, and fruits is not a regular, reliable source of income. In spring 1980, soybeans, peanuts, green beans, and cowpeas, were planted in the fields after the rice harvest to offset losses due to a three-week flood in December. Some people bought their own seeds; others received seeds from the Government. But marketing problems (related to perishability of produce and transportation difficulties) make such efforts less profitable than they could be. This particular land use would be less feasible in the Apo Kayan, because of a longer growing cycle required for rice in the cooler climate and higher altitude. The rice harvest was completed in Long Segar at the end of March, whereas in Long Ampung people harvest until the end of May. Planting is begun in both areas around the middle of August.

Gardening activity among the Kenyah has traditionally been considered even more a female endeavor than rice cultivation,<sup>19</sup> though gardening has been an activity with minimal cultural elaboration of symbolic value. Indeed, gardening has declined in importance in Long Segar, competing unsuccessfully with the allocation of time to activities that can more reliably bring cash income like rice production or wage labor (see also Colfer 1981b&c; Colfer, Soedjito and Azier 1980, for discussion of other factors inhibiting gardening). The fact that extension efforts, training, seeds and other agricultural inputs are consistently provided to men rather than women may well contribute to the diminution of gardening activity as well--particularly considering the frequency of male absence from the village (time allocation data show that of the men aged 20-49, 23 percent were typically "away working", Colfer 1981a).

Experimentation with cash crops is currently underway, both privately and governmentally initiated, but the coffee, cloves, and pepper planted in the last few years have yet to produce much. Rubber, cocoa, cloves, coffee, oil palm, pepper, and coconut are all being tried at the nearby pilot plantation project; and the multinational timber company has

Table III

## Recent Changes by Long Segar Kenyah

Sector	1960	1980
Religion	mostly animist	all Christian
Housing	longhouses/condominium	modified individual homes*
Commerce	none	plentiful
Agroforestry	one inventory/seeds one balance/minor for. prod. secondary forest no cash crops clearing/axe, knife	another inventory another balance primary forest some cash crops clearing/chainsaw
Food	no commercial preparations; rare purchased consumables	some canned meat, fish, milk noodles, MSG; plentiful sugar, coffee, tea, salt, tobacco
	hand hulled rice	machine hulled rice
Transportation	walking, paddling, poling	ces, longboat
Education	widespread disapproval	near universal approval
Medicine	mostly traditional	mostly western
Male Absence	one year -- common	rare
Birth Control	abstinence/male absence	birth control pills
Divorce	common	rare

\*One of the requirements laid down by Respen to receive housing benefits was adherence to a centrally-planned village layout, including single family housing. The Kenyah have complied with the requirements, formally; but about half of the homes contain more than one nuclear family, and several are essentially short longhouses. Several have also created architectural changes that retain the valued characteristics of longhouses at the same time that external appearances suggest the "modern" look Respen was probably striving for.

cleared an area 30 km upriver for a rubber and cocoa plantation. Such plantations are conceived by the Government to be the best economic base for the 22,000 households of Javanese transmigrants whose planned arrival in the area in the next few years is currently in limbo, because of the widely acknowledged probability of grave ecological problems accompanying such a population influx. For development purposes, Soedjito (1980:2) recommends increased cultivation of oranges, legumes, soursop, coffee, and coconuts, all of which grow successfully in Long Segar; as well as encouragement of home industries, aquaculture, and tourism.

In contrast to gardening and cash cropping, the reliable agroforestry moneymakers in Long Segar are rice and timber, with rattan and shingle production providing a distant third. As discussed earlier, ricefields in Long Segar are increasing in size. Indeed, the size of Long Segar ricefields is a point of some disgruntlement from neighboring communities. The largest harvest from a single household in 1980 was about 1,000 kalengs, or 11,000 kilos of unhulled, field dried rice. Estimates by quantitatively oriented villagers suggest that families use between two and three hundred kalengs (or 2200-3300 kilos) per year for subsistence needs (including non-foods).

Surplus rice is readily marketable. Longboats en route to Samarinda buy rice, as do the timber camps and the pilot plantation project. The American timber company requires six to seven tons of rice per month, which purchasing personnel prefer to buy locally as their workers consider local rice superior (Camp Manager, 6 July 1980).

Lumber is sold to the longboats, or even brought directly by Long Segar residents to Samarinda. There is a welter of conflicting laws, rulings and customs related to the use of timber within timber concessions; but because of 1) the obvious discrepancy in wealth between the people and the companies, 2) the fuzziness of the law, and 3) a shortage of enforcement personnel, the people are essentially free to do as they choose in harvesting timber. The contracts between the Government and the timber companies specify that the people are free to utilize the forests in their "customary manner," including using trees for housebuilding. This right is sometimes used to justify timber harvesting for sale, on the theory that nails and other goods must be bought with money to finish a house. Clearly, the phrase "customary manner" is open to diverse interpretations in the changing circumstances that characterize East Kalimantan.

Men are drawn to this economic activity because of its profitability and the freedom to determine times of work. But only about ten men pursue this option repeatedly (and no one on a daily basis). Constraints that limit involvement in this activity include:

- . the strenuousness of the work,

- . availability of a chainsaw,
- . uncertainty about its legality<sup>20</sup> both on the part of the would-be cutter and the longboat owner who typically buys such products.
- . skill--making straight boards and beams with a chainsaw requires real skill as well as strength.

On the other hand, its profitability is undeniable, when contrasted with rice production or typical wage labor (e.g., agricultural labor: Rp. 1,000-1,500/day; community worker: Rp. 20,000/month; experienced teacher: Rp. 27,000/month; head teacher: Rp. 56,000/month).

Kenyah disinterest in rattan collection and ironwood shingle making as economic activities is somewhat anomalous. Rattan collection is profitable in many parts of East Kalimantan, including the Long Segar area where Kutai people regularly collect rattan, make ironwood shingles, and sell both. However, Kenyah consider both activities to be alo' (non-Kenyah), and eschew them, except for personal use or in times of real scarcity.

On hearing that the American timber company had contracted to buy rattan for log raft construction from neighboring Long Noran (an Uma' Kulit Kenyah village) at a cost of Rp. 2.5 million/month, an uncharacteristic interest began to be expressed in Long Segar in rattan collection. This is another example of the pattern discussed earlier with regard to commerce. If something promises to be sufficiently profitable, people are willing to try it, even if it requires behavior that they have traditionally avoided.

Wage labor opportunities, the second major moneymaking activity in Long Segar, are available at the pilot plantation project, the two foreign timber companies (.5 and 1 hour away respectively by ces) and with individual farmers at peak agricultural seasons. Additionally, several entrepreneurial Kenyah seek contracts elsewhere to perform various tasks, recruiting their work teams from Long Segar. In June and July 1980, scores of men were involved in a contract to build a timber camp several hours upriver; in April 1980, perhaps a dozen men went up the Marah River to fell trees in what was erroneously understood to be a renewed governmental sanctioning of banjir kap.<sup>21</sup> In recent years a group went to Balikpapan to build a road for the Transmigration Department; another group was organized to dredge and clean a river so that log rafts could be floated downstream. This pattern is a clear extension of the Kenyah tradition of male expeditions out of the Apo Kayan in search of salt and trade goods (see Vayda 1979:24-25; Peluso 1980, for a discussion of present-day Uma' Tukung Kenyah expeditions).

Pay rates for daily labor at the American timber company start at Rp. 800/day; and general rates in the area are usually cited at between Rp. 1,000 and 1,500/day. Kinds of work typically done for these wages

include weeding, harvesting, and clearing ricefields or plantation plots. No Long Segar residents are permanent employees at the American timber company. Kenyah reluctance to work there derives from wages that are too low to persuade them to leave home (where supplementary food is readily accessible) or to commute, and from bad experiences with the sub-contracting company that managed the timber felling operations.

The American timber company personnel similarly expressed reluctance to hire Kenyah, citing their history of quitting when the agricultural cycle required their labor at home. Instead large numbers of Timorese, Bugis, and Kutai men are hired (bringing attendant problems with prostitution to the region<sup>22</sup>).

The economic activities outlined above represent a significant increase in the rate of forest cutting activity by the Kenyah over their traditional pattern. Not only are larger rice fields possible because of environmental and technological considerations, and desirable for commercial reasons, but a variety of income generating opportunities exist that encourage further forest harvesting (either direct sale of lumber or sale of labor, most of which involves cutting down trees). Add to this the increasing activity of timber companies, and the increasing population in lowland areas (from natural increase, resettlement, and transmigration), and a situation exists that can spell disaster for the forests--and of course, in the long run, for the people who inhabit those forests.

In Kenyah history, the forests have quickly reclaimed all cleared land that was not constantly weeded. There appears never to have been any real land shortage, as attested to by the general desire for large population clusters among Apo Kayan people, the welcoming arms of neighboring villages near Long Segar, and the rarity of land disputes. To this point, there had never been any reason to be concerned about the regenerative capability of the forests. The problem was, rather, carving out enough clear land to plant a little rice. Current trends, as outlined above, suggest that the problem for the future will be protecting enough forest to maintain the delicate balance that is required for the maintenance of soil fertility, prevention of erosion, and a host of other tropical ecological considerations.

Just as the changes discussed in this section have potentially adverse impacts on the forest, so do dangers exist with regard to women and their roles in Kenyah life. As noted earlier, the traditional position of Kenyah women is seldom rivaled globally. They have been economically independent; they have been able to lead autonomous, self-reliant lives; they have generally had the respect and cooperation of Kenyah men. Their central role in rice production has already been discussed, as has the fact that rice production has been the core of the economic base among the Kenyah.

But the freeing of time from agricultural activity, combined with the increasing importance of money for daily life, is pushing the people toward engaging in alternatives to rice production in their concern to display industry and in their pursuit of more adequate subsistence. The impact of this set of variables on women is potentially deleterious. First, the additional free time mentioned above derives from the adoption of valued technological innovations (ces, rice-huller, and chainsaw). Two of these are not available, or as available, to women as to men, thus reducing their autonomy and the relative productivity of their work as compared to men. Second, women have less access to alternative employment than do men; and therefore less access to money--money that is gaining an increasing importance, and already affecting the centrality of rice production to the economic base. Third, Kenyah involvement in interaction with outsiders increases as their involvement in a money economy increases, and that too has potentially negative impacts on women. Female knowledge of the Indonesian language is definitely inferior to that of males in general; female interaction with outsiders is characterized by tension because of differing customs pertaining to male-female interaction; and female educational opportunities<sup>23</sup> have been limited compared to those of men so that the women are less confident when handling money than are men.

Fourth, these factors that limit women's autonomy and value relative to men are operating within a context that includes a continuation of male absence. The men go away for wage labor, just as they went away on trading expeditions in the past. But now they are leaving the women to subsist within a money economy in which the women are disadvantaged. These "modernizing" influences in East Kalimantan, as in so many other places, will mark a step backward for Kenyah women if current trends persist.

But here we are looking at the broader scene. We are trying to predict impacts on the forest and on women, in general and in the future. If instead we look briefly at the situation in Long Segar again, we find people content with what they are providing for themselves. Their lives are easier than they were in Long Ampung. No one has moved back to Long Ampung, nor expressed a desire to do so; and there appears to be unanimous satisfaction with the overall change in lifestyle. The people, by creatively availing themselves of opportunities in their new environment (just as they would opportunistically harvest fruit or bamboo shoots from a secondary forest they passed thru on their way to a ricefield), have both improved their current way of life and increased their destructive impact on their environment (both biotic and human). So what then can we say about the policy issues we hoped to address in this analysis?

#### On Policy Implications

Looking first at Resettlement policy, the irony is that an anticipated bonus from the Government Resettlement Program was to have been a

decrease in shifting cultivation as a conservation measure. Wet rice cultivation, as in Java, was to provide the alternative subsistence mode. Consistent with this plan, since 1972, the Long Segar Kenyah have been consistently encouraged to switch from dry to wet rice (sawah) farming by Respen personnel. Their failure to do so provides an excellent example of what Helleiner has labeled "wise rejection" (1975).

Sawah came to Long Ampung in 1957 when a man returned from a several year stay down the Mahakam River with the necessary knowledge and seeds. He planted sawah in a usually marshy area where the topography allowed him to control the water flow into and out of the fields. His success persuaded others to follow suit, and in my 1980 complete household survey of Long Ampung, for example, 35 percent of the households reported having had some sawah planted in these marshy areas in 1964. People in Long Segar say yields are higher with sawah and they can have permanent fields, thereby avoiding the danger and hard work of clearing and felling every year. They also maintain there is less weeding.

But despite the agreement between Respen and local inhabitants about the desirability of sawah, there is only one small and very unsuccessful sawah plot across the Telen River from the village. And for very good reasons:

- 1) The topography does not allow the easy regulation of water flow that was possible in the Apo Kayan. If the water pumps that were promised by the Government had been provided, water could be supplied when needed (assuming a regular supply of fuel to run the pumps); but the fact that all the lowlying areas near the rivers are subject to periodic but unpredictable flooding is a more serious difficulty.<sup>24</sup> Neither the resources nor the knowledge necessary to construct elaborate irrigation apparatus has been available.
- 2) As noted earlier, the soil in the area is typically fragile and infertile, succumbing to Imperata cylindrica (alang alang) when cultivated for three successive years (including the areas where sawah was planted). Fertilizers might alleviate this locally defined problem but bring their own share of trouble considering the ever-increasing cost, erratic supply channels, and loss with runoff due to the force of tropical rains.

Without some additional and expensive inputs, sawah does not appear to be a viable alternative to the agroforestry system currently practiced in the area. Indeed, some question its viability at any point in time (though encouraging possibilities are being generated through CRFC/IRRI's cropping systems research in South Sumatra and West Java, e.g., McIntosh 1980).



As noted earlier, the quality of life for the people of Long Segar has improved in an overall sense (congruent with Respen's objectives), at the same time that their impacts on their environment have grown increasingly destructive. A greater emphasis on local-level planning and decisionmaking, a decentralization of development efforts could do much to avoid the wasted effort that frequently results from centrally planned policies (like the attempt to encourage sawah where--and when--it was not feasible; or the attempt to convert people's housing style to single family dwellings). And the creativity and energy of the Indonesian people can be tapped to a much greater degree. Rural people know their needs; extension workers can be informed about national needs (e.g., conservation); and together effective solutions can be forged. The new farming systems research and development approach (Gilbert, Norman & Winch 1980; Shaner, Philipp & Schmehl 1981; & others) may provide an effective mechanism for pursuing this.

In determining the appropriate rights and responsibilities of timber companies, current uses of the forests by indigenous populations must be attended to. The fact that Kenyah lives are intimately intertwined with the forest cannot be denied, nor can their dependence on it. Indeed, the same questions must be addressed when we look at the question of Transmigration in the area. Both timber companies and transmigrants represent an influx of potential users who are or will be competing for what are increasingly scarce resources (the forest and the land).

The issue is a complex one, because it is clear that the land and the forest cannot long support the kinds of human activity currently anticipated. Transmigrants in many other parts of East Kalimantan have had to resort to shifting cultivation, following local patterns, because of the infertility of the land (with sometimes disastrous infestations of Imperata cylindrica resulting); there is no reason to suspect otherwise in the Telen River region. Nor is there space for all the expected transmigrant families to support themselves by means of the quite extensive shifting cultivation methods utilized by the Kenyah--particularly located in the midst of timber concessions, bent as they are on one goal: timber removal.

Traditional land use rights of indigenous peoples are expressly protected by the Indonesian Government. Recognition of traditional land use rights must consider the fact that these systems are agroforestry--not simply agricultural--systems. Those "fallow" fields are in actuality areas where products other than rice are harvested. A recent Transmigration planning document (LEAP 1980), for instance, notes that only 5-10 percent of the land along the major rivers in the Telen River area is cultivated at one time. From this, they conclude that "...present land uses are not considered a significant constraint on land planning for (transmigrant) settlements" (Ibid:26). Recognition of Kenyah economic practices as part of an agroforestry system requires alteration of this conclusion. Indeed, if the 10 year regeneration cycle used by the Long Segar Kenyah for their own fields is adhered to, that land use figure would go up to 50-100 percent of the land along the major rivers in use at any one time.

Obviously, alternatives to this extensive land use must be devised (unless some creative--and improbable--solution to Indonesia's population problem can be devised.) The Indonesian government recognizes its needs for revenues from the timber concessions; its needs to conserve the forests at least to the extent that they are necessary for preserving the fertility and utility of the land; and its needs to plan for a better quality of life for its people.

One possible partial solution to the conflicts inherent in these needs is harnessing the resources and cooperation of the timber companies in development and conservation efforts. Indeed, this is already part of the formal requirements written into the contracts between the Government and the timber companies; but these requirements are inadequately enforced. Timber companies are still free to concentrate all their efforts on what they call "production" (extraction). If comparisons are made between the costs of timber production in 1978, for instance, and the costs in 1980 (remembering the devaluation of the rupiah), set against the price of timber during those periods, the phenomenal profits that derive from timber operations become clear. Indonesia needs to protect its rights both to a greater emphasis on conservation and silviculture and to a significant share of timber profits for the people, as advocated by Vice President Adam Malik (1978).

With regard to Transmigration, greater care needs to be taken that the transmigrants actually have access to the infrastructure and support services planned for them. Some of the worst environmental consequences of transmigration have derived from inadequate preparation and follow-up at transmigration sites. The plantations planned at the Maura Wahau site on the Telen River have potential as viable alternatives to the Kenyah's extensive agroforestry system; but not following through on critical parts of the plan is a proven route to disaster (both environmental and human).

In addressing the "fourth dimension", or the status of women, planned efforts need to be undertaken to orient extension workers, bureaucrats and planners toward providing services, information, and inputs to women. Women need to be trained, women need to be involved in agricultural projects, women need the same educational opportunities as men do. The deleterious effects of development projects on women have been documented all over the world, including on Java (Collier and Soentoro 1978). Indonesia, like other nations, needs to address this problem. The "development community" has begun to accept the inadequacy of the "trickle down" theory to Third World development; and it is now becoming necessary to accept the fact that benefits do not even "trickle down" within the household. Increases in men's earning power do not automatically improve the quality of life for their families; technological innovations can have unanticipated negative impacts on the very people they were hoped to help.

Women have been "invisible" (Blumberg 1979) for too long. National statistics and research in general have failed to provide policymakers with the necessary information to plan effectively for the female half of the population. Yet a continued failure to address these issues prevents us from optimizing the returns on our development investments.

Conclusions

The analysis presented here provides additional evidence in support of the flexibility, creativity, rationality and opportunism of rural people. Kenyah willingness to change, when they perceive change to be in their best interests, is striking. Equally striking, in the face of such changes, is the continued external perception that these people are "traditional" and "resistant to change."

Data on the nature of the Kenyah agroforestry system, as manifest in the two divergent contexts should be of use in attempts to structure policy that will be genuinely responsive to local conditions. Indeed, the differences, even within one subgroup of one ethnic group in one province, represent a rather potent argument for the importance of decentralized planning in a context as marked by diversity as Indonesia.

The impacts of change on women are not particularly unusual, in the development literature. What makes the case compelling is the traditionally high status that Kenyah women have held, and the danger of its imminent decline.

The increased forest clearing that is occurring in the lowland setting is cause for alarm, primarily because it serves as a warning for possible future directions, should the human influx to the province continue unabated. Such forest clearing is profitable; and profitability is a potent incentive. Such action in a sparsely populated region can be relatively harmless over the long haul; but there is a strong likelihood that the many immigrants to the area will follow the lead of the indigenous populations. People who resettle from the remote interior will continue much as they have in the past, making the same profitable alterations to their customary practices made by the Long Segar inhabitants. And Transmigrants from Java and Bali will follow the lead of local people because their own wet rice traditions will not work. A genuine solution to the problem will have to involve the development of equally profitable and possible uses of human energy that do not involve forest clearing. And of course, the taming of the timber companies.

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Notes

16. Buk is an indicator of infertile soils in Long Ampung, and considered to be comparable to infestations of Imperata cylindrica in Long Segar and some other parts of East Kalimantan. The generalized abhorrence of Imperata cylindrica is now being questioned by researchers (personal comm., George Appell 1981; Michael Dove 1982; Jerry McIntosh 1981), as it can apparently sometimes be used, controlled and cultivated. The more negative view is, however, the prevailing one in Long Segar, Long Ampung, and along the Mahakam River.
17. There are four generators in Long Segar, only one of which is used for the sale of electricity to homes. When that generator is functioning, those homes which purchase electricity are lit from 6 - 10 p.m. All electrical use is controlled from the generator, and only lighting is available.
18. Four stores were chosen, situated in differing parts of the community. Observation periods were four hours, on varying days of the week, in both mornings and afternoons. Customers' age and sex were recorded as well as the item of purchase, the cost, and the mode of payment (i.e., rice or cash). Two non-Kenyah stores were similarly observed, but are not recorded here.
19. This observation has been corroborated by a cognitive measurement technique called Galileo, the results of which are reported in Colfer 1982b.
20. Legality also varies with species. The private sale of meranti in any form, without paying a royalty to the concession-holder, for instance, is clearly illegal. Ironwood is the species about which the most conflict and confusion exists. As it is not owned by the concession holder, it is considered an endangered/protected species, yet it holds a prominent place in traditional human timber use patterns in the area.
21. Banjir kap is a method of harvesting trees that was outlawed in 1972 as environmentally damaging. Individuals cut down trees near the river's edge, felling them into or very near the water. The logs are then floated down the river whenever it rises sufficiently to carry them away.
22. Most prostitutes in this area are migrants from East Java.

23. These educational opportunities have been provided by outsiders who generally considered male education to be more important.
24. In December 1979, many fields were ruined (according to my 1980 land use history survey of all households in Long Segar, 36 percent of the households had at least one field ruined by flooding), being inundated for 3 successive weeks. See LEAP 1980, for a discussion of potential agricultural problems associated with rainfall and flooding in a comparable area 30 km upriver from Long Segar.

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#### KEDAYAN IN THE SHAIR KEN TAMBUHAN AND KADAYAN IN BRUNEI<sup>1</sup>

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##### kedayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan

The frequent occurrence of the word kedayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan has been called to our attention (Kimball 1983). By my count it occurs once in each of at least 29 different verses (i.e., [ch.] 2.[v.] 3:[p.] 14, 2.34:14, 2.37:15, 2.49:17, 2.50:17, 4.79:53, 4.118:59, 4.122:60, 5.28:66, 5.117:81, 7.18:119, 7.28:120, 7.34:121, 7.39:122, 7.60:126, 7.62:126, 7.67:127, 7.75:128, 7.77:128, 8.4:141, 8.23:145, 8.53:150, 8.59:151, 8.62:151, 8.67:152, 9.106:173, 9.116:175, 10.9:185, 10.73:195--Teeuw 1966). Kimball indicates that the meaning of this word "appears problematical" (1983:21), and that while "fully understandable" Teeuw's transcription of it is "probably incorrect" (1983:24). She suggests, on the basis of an interlocutor's interpretation, that "kaudthian" fits the context and meaning of the text (1983:23-24). It is implied, but not directly claimed, that "kaudthian", meaning 'companions, associates', is Arabic in origin, and that this word has failed to be properly transcribed, as it were, due to something like a scribal "slip-of-the-pen" (1983:24).

However, I will adduce evidence and argument to show that (1) the meaning of the word kedayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan is in no way problematical; (2) it is highly unlikely that Teeuw's transcription is incorrect; and (3) the suggestion that Teeuw's kedayan be replaced by "kaudthian" is ad hoc, and presently lacks empirical foundation.

(1) Numerous Malay and Indonesian dictionaries have long recorded the word kedayan with meanings which are unexceptionable in the 29 verses in which it occurs in the Shair Ken Tambuhan. For example we find in Marsden (1812) kadān (kaf-dal ya-nun) 'attendants, domestics, slaves'; in Wilkinson (1959) kēdayan [Java Malay] 'retainer, member of a prince's suite', kadang-kēdayan [Java Malay] 'suite of a prince of medieval romance, made up of his kadang (relatives) and kēdayan (retainers)'; in Poerwadarminta (1961) kedajan [classical literature] 'sanak saudara jang mendjadi pengiring', kadang [III, Javanese] kadang

kedajan/kadajan [classical literature] 'sanak saudara radja dansebagainja [jang mendjadi pangiring]'; in Winstedt (1965) kedayan [Java, archaic in Malaya] 'retainer, serving man'; in Iskandar (1970) kedayan [classical literature] 'pengiring, hamba'; and in St. Mohd. Zain (n.d.) kedaian [Java] 'hamba, pengiring orang besar'.

(2) The word kedayan also occurs in at least one other traditional Malay literary work. Wilkinson (1959:s.v. kedayan) cites the following line from the Hikayat Hang Tuah: "Ratu Melayu mēnitahkan kedayan-nya bermuat ayer dan kayu." 'The prince of Malacca told his retainers to procure wood and water for the ship' (Hg. Tuah 61). Consequently it is highly unlikely that Teeuw transliterated the form in question incorrectly. If he had, a claim alone would not be sufficient to establish the error. It could only be substantiated through an examination of the seven jawi manuscripts he utilized in preparing this edition of the Shair Ken Tambuhan (Teeuw 1966:229-236).

(3) Kimball's comments about how the nature of the Arabic alphabet may beget scribal errors are well taken, but they do not explain why the word kedayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan should be replaced by "kaudthian." In the first place, the sequence dth (presumably to represent the Arabic letter dzal--?), or ḏ, is not phonologically possible in Malay (i.e., it does not occur in the common ordinary everyday speech events of native speakers of Malay, forcing the conclusion that it could only be a borrowing). For example, the Arabic term spelled dzal kaf-ra, often transliterated dzikir, is phonologically realized as dikir 'chant liturgy' in Brunei Kadayan, as well as in Peninsular Malay (cf. Winstedt 1964). Secondly, a search of a number of Arabic dictionaries (Wehr 1966, Elias 1972, Abcarius 1974, Hava 1964) turns up no possible entry from which "kaudthian" may be derived.<sup>6</sup> Consequently the question remains open whether a form "kaudthian" can have an Arabic etymology. It is to be expected that if a Malay dialect has borrowed a particular lexical item from a lexically well described language such as Arabic, Sanskrit, or Persian, the borrowed form should be etymologically traceable (as is the case for countless other lexical items which have been borrowed from these languages--see, e.g., Gonda 1973, Wilkinson 1959, Iskandar 1970, Winstedt 1963, 1964).

In addition to the occurrences of the word kedayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan already mentioned, Teeuw describes three individuals as 'kedayan' of, and one person as a 'pengiring' ('follower, attendant') of Prince Raden Inu Kertapati, Ken Tambuhan's beloved (1966:310). These are the kedayan Wirakerta (mentioned in text 5.27:65; 7.68-69, 71:127; 7.74:128; 8.59:151; 8.65:152), Wirapendapa (7.27:120, 8.63:151), and Wirapuspa (7.68:126); and the pengiring Wiradandani (3.8-9, 11:19; 3.16:20; 3.21:21; 4.2-4:40; 4.6:41; 7.16:118; 7.21:119; 7.25:120, 7.41:122; 7.59:125; 7.68:127). In the text Wiradandani appears to actually be a leader of the other three Wira's. For this reason, and because 'pengiring' appears in the definiens of kedayan in the monolingual dictionary entries cited earlier, it is apparent that all four Wira's can be considered 'kedayan'.

Interestingly, if the full names of the four Wira's are segmented, they decompose into meaningful, elements derived from Old Javanese, in the pattern of one of the descriptive accolades of Kertajaya (san wiranindita [wira 'manful' + anindita 'blameless'] cri krtajaya 'the honored manful blameless illustrious Kertajaya' -- Pigeaud 1960a:30, 1960c:45, 1962:121, 1963:68), a King of Kediri mentioned in the Nāgarakṛtāgama. All four names begin with the element wira 'manful'; their final elements are, respectively, krta 'done, in good order', pendapa 'open hall or pavilion', puspa 'flower', and [n] dandan-i '(tie with) strong bamboo rope (?)'.

A similar onomastic pattern is found in the names (with one exception) of certain female characters in the Ken Tambuhan text, who are either princesses, or heavenly nymphs or maids. These are Puspajuita (e.g., 5.33:66), Puspakemala (e.g., 9.23:159), Puspakenchana (=Ken Tambuhan; e.g., 1.14:3), Puspakertika (e.g., 5.17:63), Pupalangu (e.g., 9.8:156), and Puspawati (e.g., 5.17:63). Puspalara (e.g., 9.11:157), however, is the name of a garden in Indera's heaven. The first element in all six female names is Old Javanese puspa 'flower; flower offering'. The second elements are, respectively, Skr. juita 'precious, charming, lovely' (puspajuita 'flower of life'--Wilkinson 1959), Skr. kemala 'precious stone, bezoar', Skr., O.J. kenchana 'gold, golden', Skr. kertika 'the Pleides', langu 'unpleasant taste', and Skr. wati 'firmament, vault of heaven'.

These examples may constitute a case of onomastic gender symbolism in which the Old Javanese elements wira and puspa designate males and females, respectively. The structural pattern is not carried out exhaustively in the text because the names of other characters (males: Mesa Sinom, Rajuna; females: Nilautama, Ratnapekaja) follow different patterns. However, the initial name element wira does uniquely identify the kedayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan.

The results of a content analysis<sup>3</sup> of those lines of the Ken Tambuhan text containing the word kedayan and the names of the four Wira's supports construing the meaning of 'kedayan' as 'followers, ones who serve and support'. If we first ask what the kedayan and the four Wira's do in the text, and then inspect the relevant lines, the following results emerge. The occurrences of these nouns can be sorted into three general categories, according to whether they illustrate showing DEFERENCE (i.e., making obeisance; or ceremoniously presenting, proceeding, or addressing), exhibiting EMOTION (i.e., smiling, laughing, crying, joking, embracing; or being fearful, startled, excited, happy, noisy, or agitated), carrying out ACTIVITY (i.e., looking, speaking, carrying, existing, directing, listening, bathing, accompanying, entering, arriving, gathering, leaving, running to, being present, setting afire), or some combination of these.

The examples of deference (19) and the various types of activities (26) are consistent with the semantic interpretation of 'kedayan' being members of a prince's retinue, as indicated in the dictionary citations

Noun (occurs in # v.)	DEFERENCE	EMOTION	ACTIVITY	Subtotal
kedayan ( 29 v.)	10	8	15	33
Wiradandani (15 v.)	8	4	6	18
Wirakerta (7 v.)	1	-	6	7
Wirapendapa (2 v.)	-	1	3	4
Wirapuspa(n) (1 v.)	-	1	-	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	19	14	30	<u>63</u>

presented earlier. Thus the claim that the traditional Malay literary meaning of this term is appropriate to a reading of the text of the Shair Ken Tambuhan is justified.

#### The Setting of the Shair Ken Tambuhan

A further difficulty is encountered in Kimball's claim that the Ken Tambuhan tale is not set in Borneo (1983:21). She presumably follows Teeuw's suggestion that this *sha'ir* may have been originally composed in southern Sumatra, possibly Palembang (Teeuw 1966:xxii, xxxiii-xxxiv). But Teeuw's position depends wholly on indirect evidence, that is, evidence which--however closely associated with it--lies outside the text of the Shair Ken Tambuhan itself.

J. J. Ras has advanced a different hypothesis: the Shair Ken Tambuhan is indeed set in Borneo, in the Banjarmasin area (1968:152, 1980). "In view of the fact that the story is obviously not set in Java but in Southeast-Borneo [Ken Tambuhan was born in the *kraton* of Daha, also called Tanjong Pura or Banjar Kulon (the Djadjahan Kulon of the Tjarita Wayang Kinudang)], however, it is more likely that this story too originates from that country" (Ras 1968:152). This view is based on a variety of data, including (1) internal evidence, derived from the text of the classical Malay Shair Ken Tambuhan itself,<sup>7</sup> (2) comparative evidence drawn from the Hikayat Banjar and the Banjarese Malay *sha'ir*, Carita

Wayang Kinudang, and (3) the application of Soekmono's geomorphological interpretation of the location of Srivijaya (Soekmono (1963) to the complex drainage area lying west of the Meratus Mountains and southeast of the Schwaner Mountains in southeast Borneo.<sup>6</sup>

The toponym "Tanjong Pura" occupies an important place in the early times which the Shair<sup>7</sup> Ken Tambuhan and the Carita Wayang Kinudang purport to describe. "It is evident that in both tales Tanjong Pura is the name of a kraton which had long disappeared and continued to exist only in the memory of people as a place of legendary fame" (emphasis in original--Ras 1968:190). In the former tale, Ken Tambuhan is said to be the daughter of the King of Tanjung Puri (*anak ratu di Tanjungpuri*, 1.13:3). Later on while confronting her executioner she speaks of having lived in the country of Tanjong Pura (*tatkala didalam negeri Tanjungpura*, 6.132:109); and her father, the King of Banjar Kulon (*Ratu Banjar Kulon*, 10.1:183) is also referred to as the King at Tanjung Puri (*Ratu di Tanjungpuri*, 10.3:184). This name, Tanjong Pura or Tanjung Puri (Malay *tanjung* 'cape, promontory', Sanskrit *pura* 'fortified town, city', Old Javanese *pura* 'palace', Sanskrit *puri* 'town, fortress') has been consistently identified by scholars with the island of Borneo (e.g., Broek 1962:137-139; Coedès 1968:187; Cortesão, in Pires 1944:132 n.1, 223 n.1, 224 n.1; Be Barros, in Logan 1848:503; Gonda 1973:342; Hall 1964:75; Meilink-Roelofs 1962:18, 50, 85, 101, 111, 148, 341 n.86, 349 n.197; Schrieke 1966:22, 30; Veth 1854:148).<sup>8</sup> Gonda specifically identifies *Tanjunpuri* as "the capital of Borneo (or Kalimantan) which bears the same name (*Tanjun-nagara*)" (1973:342), and indicates that "In Java the word *puri* meant 'a royal residence', in the first place the ruler's residential quarters and then also the whole palace enclosure" (1973:313 n.8).

While the term Tanjung Pura or Tanjung Puri does not occur in the Hikayat Banjar, Ras identifies the Banjarese *pulau Hudjung Tanah*, where Ampu Djatmaka lands to establish the new country of Negara Dipa, at the beginning of the text, as the equivalent of the Old Javanese *nuṣa tañjuṅ nāgara* in Canto 13 of Prapañca's *Nāgarakṛtagama* of 1365 A.D., that is, the 'Island of Land's End' (1968:188). There is no doubt that this island of *tañjuṅ nāgara* is Borneo (cf. Pigeaud 1960c:16-17, 1962:29-32, Gonda 1973:342). This toponym introduces the names of 23 supposed "tributaries" of Majapahit which were located in Borneo. The recitation ends with the phrase *makapramukha ta ri tañjuṅpuri* 'now having for [their] principle [town] *tañjuṅ puri*' (Pigeaud 1960a:11, 1960b:16-17, 1960c:17; cf. Hall 1964:75, 82).

#### Kadayan in Brunei

This now brings us to the word 'Kadayan,' that is the name of the Malay-speaking ethnic group living along the northwest coast of Borneo centered on Brunei (cf. Maxwell 1970, 1980). Kimball may be correct in asserting that there is no relationship between the *kedayan* in the Shair Ken Tambuhan and the Kadayan of Brunei, Sarawak, and Sabah (1983:24). However, the possibility of a connection between these two words (the

spelling difference between <e> and <a> is nonsignificant phonologically--cf. Maxwell 1970) cannot presently be ruled out, because the etymologies of both these terms are unknown.

Wilkinson proposed the Old Javanese (he used 'Kawi,' but this term is best confined to scripts--cf. Casparis 1975:29) word kadyahan as the source of the literary Malay term kedayan, indicating it "...suggests 'gentlemen-in-waiting'; but allowance must be made for the simple character of Indonesian courts" (Wilkinson 1959:s.v. kedayan). Morphologically the term kadyahan could be a derivational formation based on the Old Javanese root dyah 'high-born' (Pigeaud 1963:210), plus the circumfix ka- -an (or ka- -en).

Wilkinson, however, supplies no Old Javanese textual attestation, making this proposal problematical. Such a term, kadyahan, does not appear to occur in any of the Old Javanese texts I have been able to examine (i.e., the Nāgarakṛtāgama and related texts edited by Pigeaud--1960-1963; the texts published by Casparis--1950, 1956, 1975; and those edited by Sarkar--1971-1972), or in any of the Old Javanese lexicons available to me (i.e., Teselkin 1972, Wojowasito 1980, Zurbuchen 1976; also, Horne 1974). In addition, the term kadyahan does not occur in any of the 13 Old Malay inscriptions (i.e., Kedukan Bukit, Talang Tuwo, Kota Kapur, Karang Brahi--Coedès 1930; Telaga Batu, Fragment a, Fragment e, Bukatedja--Casparis 1956; Gaṅḍasuli epigraph--Krom 1913; Gaṅḍasuli--Casparis 1950; Kebon Kopi--Bosch 1941; Pagarruyung 1--Kern 1873; Trengganu--Paterson 1924). Consequently Wilkinson's suggestion that kedayan derives historically from kadyahan should not be accepted, at least until it can be attested in Old Javanese or Old Malay and given a plausible semantic interpretation.

Tom Harrisson has suggested that the two ethnonyms 'Kadayan' and 'Daya' (Dayak) may be related (1950:273), following the earlier ideas of Baring-Gould and Bampfyld who included a third term, 'Kayan' (1909:24, 33). Harrisson states that "The term 'Dayak' (which really means only 'inland chap', from the root daya or aya) is used in varying connotations in different parts of Borneo..." and "Much play has been made of the word [Kadayan] itself, but it is only a Malay modified form of the root daya already discussed, plus prefix and suffix" (Graydon et al 1952:694, 697--but, cf. Veth 1881). These suggestions, however interesting, must await a systematic comparative linguistic analysis before anything more than a purely offhand assessment can be made of them.

Thus, because neither the etymology of kedayan nor that of 'Kadayan' has been established satisfactorily, it is not presently possible to conclude that the two terms are either related or unrelated. We have no empirical foundation on which to base a choice between two logical alternatives: either 'Kadayan' and kedayan constitute an example of homonymy, in which case the meanings and histories of the two terms would be unrelated; or, they constitute an as yet undetected case of polysemy, with semantically, and possibly historically related senses of meaning.<sup>10</sup>

## NOTES

1. Research in Brunei was supported by National Institute of Health Grant 1 TOL MH 11, 213-01, and Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Pre-Doctoral Fellowship No. 2173, and locally by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Brunei. I would like to thank Michael D. Murphy for comments made on an earlier version of this paper.
2. The closest entry which I have been able to locate (in Wehr, 1966) is under the root kha-dal nun III 'to befriend', i.e., kha-dal ya-nun, kadin 'intimate friend, companion, confidant'. I do not believe that it is phonologically realistic to propose this as the etymology of "kaudthian". In Brunei Malay, Arabic word-initial kha- is more often h- than k- (e.g., hamis 'Thursday', hianat ~ ianat 'greed, envy'); the second consonant is clearly dal not dzal; and final-syllable i, not aya, would be expected for Arabic final-syllable i.
3. I follow Stone's (1966:5) characterization of a content analysis here: "Content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within text." Especially pertinent to my concern here is the following statement. "The social scientists may also go directly to cultural rather than personal language products. The content of folktales or the scripts of traditional plays and songs may reflect the characteristics of an entire culture. Such materials, as suggested by their repetition over many generations, may depict persisting focal concerns and problems within the social life of a culture" (Stone 1955:6).
4. Teeuw dissociates himself from Winstedt's suggestion that the provenience of the Shair Ken Tambuhan may be found in 15th century Malaccan times (Winstedt 1969:186--cf. Ras 1968:152). He is of the opinion that the sha'ir begins as a form of Malay literature in about 1600 with the compositions of Hamzah Fansuri of Aceh (1966:xi, xxxiii), and that Shair Ken Tambuhan dates from no earlier than 1650, and more likely from the 18th century.
5. Teeuw bases his view on the following: (1) possibly Roorda van Eysinga's first Dutch language edition of 1838, and certainly de Hollander's brief edition of 1856 were based on manuscripts from Palembang; (2) many other traditional Malay manuscripts derive from south Sumatra, and the nearby island of Bangka; (3) Palembang has long been a meeting-point for the Malay and Javanese literatures; (4) Palembang has since early times been a meeting-ground of the Malay and Javanese cultures, and remains a place in which the influence of Javanese culture is still strong; and (5) many wayang tales are said to originate in Palembang.

6. Based on the earlier works of Dutch geologists, air and ground reconnaissance, and archaeological survey, Soekmono reconstructs the coastline of southeastern Sumatra during the 1st millennium A.D. Since then the deposition of alluvium by the Batang Hari, and the Musi, Ogan, and Komering rivers has extended the coast seaward so that Jambi and Palembang are now approximately 70 km. from the sea. In his reconstruction, the present-day locations of both of these settlements were situated on the seacoast: Jambi, on the southern shore of a large gulf; and Palembang, at the tip of a long promontory (Soekmono:80-83, map).

Ras applies Soekmono's findings to what he believes is a similar situation in southeast Borneo, in order to explain both the contemporary distribution of Banjarese settlements, as well as his reconstruction of the pattern of gradual southward movement of the four Banjarese kraton (Nagara-Dipa/Candi Agung; Nagara-Daha; Banjarmasin; Kaju Tangi, Martapura)--plus an earlier long-forgotten and farther inland kraton of Tanjung Pura--which form the historical sociopolitical framework of the Hikayat Banjar (Ras 1968:192-200, et passim). He suggests that during the 1st millennium A.D., Malay-speaking settlers (the ancestors of the present-day Banjarese) moved from Sumatra to the "...eastern shore of the shallow gulf which now forms the lower drainage basin of the Barito, the Kapuas Murung and Kahajan rivers" and that the original kraton of this colony "...was called Tanjung Pura, after the promontory at the base of which it was situated" (Ras 1968:196).

7. It should be noted that Teeuw acknowledges contributions and suggestions which Ras made to the preparation of the Oxford/Malaya edition of the Shair Ken Tambuhan, indicating Ras' close familiarity with this work (Teeuw 1966:vii).

One wonders whether the classical Malay Shair Ken Tambuhan and the Banjarese Malay sha'ir, Carita Wayang Kinudang, might represent different versions of a single Ur-text which may or may not have ever existed in written form. Ras believes that both stories must have originated in a time when wayang theater was very popular in southeast Borneo, before the introduction of orthodox Islam (1968:152).

8. Ras also interprets the 'Tanjung Pura,' mentioned in the Sejarah Melayu, to which Sang Suparba sailed in six days and six nights from Palembang, as designating the oldest Banjarese kraton in southeast Borneo (cf. Shellabear 1967:30; Ras 1968:191).
9. The relevant passages are the last two verses of Canto 13, stanza 2, and Canto 14, stanza 1 (Pigeaud 1960a:11--toponyms are identified by underlining):

len tekaṅ nūṣa tañjuṅ nāgara ri kapuhas lawan ri katiṅān,  
sāmpit/ mwaṅ kūṭaliṅa mwaṅ i kuṭawariṅin/ sambas mwaṅ i  
lawai.

kadaṅ daṅan i laṅḍa len ri samḍaṅ tiṛm tan kasaḥ, ri seḍu  
buruneṅ ri kalka saluḍuṅ ri solot/ pasir, baritw i sawaku muwaḥ  
ri tabaluṅ ri tuñjuṅ kute, lawan ri malano makapramukha ta ri  
tañjuṅpuri.

Tanjung Pura/Puri and the other toponyms of nūṣa tañjuṅ nāgara have been variously identified with a number of places in Borneo by Krom, Rouffaer, Pigeaud (see Pigeaud 1962:29-32), and Broeck (1962:130-139, et passim). Their precise locations within the island are not germane to the present point: tañjuṅ nāgara and tañjuṅpuri of the Old Javanese Nāgarakṛtagāma were in Borneo and have been convincingly identified by Ras with Hujung Tanah in the Hikayat Banjar, and Tanjung Pura/Puri in the Carita Wayang Kinudang and the Shair Ken Tambuhan.

10. See, e.g., Scheffler and Lounsbury's discussion of the lexical relationships of homonymy and polysemy, and their applications to kinship terminological data (1971:6-7, et passim).

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A Note on Pronouns in the Long Gəlat and Busang Languages  
(Upper Mahakam, Kalimantan Timur)

Antonio J. Guerreiro

Basically the personal pronoun represents the name of an individual or a group of people. It expresses the relationships between individuals and between social groups, mostly by operating a classification of the social units, either inside or outside their ethnic affiliation. Possessive pronouns and adjectives point out the property of individuals and groups.

The Long Gəlat and Busang<sup>2</sup> Languages<sup>1</sup> both have a rich set of pronouns, personal<sup>3</sup> and possessive<sup>2</sup>. We will examine first the Busang pronominal system<sup>4</sup>:

BUSANG<sup>4</sup>

- 1.1 Singular  
 first person akuy: I, me. (a) put in front in a verbal construction: ak, ku, kuy; (b) suffixed forms for possessive and genitive: -k, -ak, -kuy.  
 second person ika: you. (a) in front: ka, im (im for imperative only); (b) suffixed: -m, -ka, -kam  
 third person: hia': He, she. Suffixed form: -ha', -n. hia': it, for objects and animals.  
 impersonal ita': one, -ta'.
- 1.2 Dual  
 first person itu': We two (inclusive), -tu'. kawa': We two (exclusive).  
 second person kwa': you two.  
 third person dəhawa': They two. dawa' (contracted form).
- 1.3 Plural (3 to 10 people)  
 first person kəlo': We (exclusive). təlo': We (inclusive).  
 second person pəlo': You several.  
 third person dəhalo': They.
- 1.4 Plural (over 10 people)  
 first person itam: We (inclusive). -tam. kam ε': We (exclusive).  
 second person kam: You many. -ka, -kam, suffixed for possessive.  
 third person dəha': They, the<sup>8</sup>.
- 1.5 Possessive Pronouns

To form possessive pronouns the third persons of the singular are agglutinated with anu': belong to.

A. Personal Pronouns and Genitive: 1. Busang 2. Long Gəlat  
(i) inclusive - (e) exclusive

	Singular	Dual	Plural (3-10 people)	Plural (over 10 people)
First person	1. <u>akuy</u> ( <u>ak</u> , <u>ku</u> , <u>kuy</u> , <u>-k</u> , <u>-ak</u> , <u>-kuy</u> ) 2. <u>koy</u> (-k)	1. <u>itu'</u> (i) ( <u>-tu'</u> ) <u>kawa'</u> (e) 2. <u>məgaw'</u> (i)	1. <u>təlo'</u> (i) <u>kəlo'</u> (e) 2. <u>kaa</u> (i) <u>mə kaa</u> (e)	1. <u>itam</u> (i) ( <u>-tam</u> ) <u>kamε'</u> (e) 2. <u>lən</u> (i) <u>mε</u> (e)
Second person	1. <u>ika</u> ( <u>ka</u> , <u>im</u> , <u>-m</u> , <u>-ka</u> , <u>-kam</u> ) 2. <u>kay</u> ( <u>ky</u> , <u>-m</u> )	1. <u>kwa'</u> 2. <u>kəgaw'</u>	1. <u>pəlo'</u> 2. <u>kə kaa'</u>	1. <u>kam</u> ( <u>-ka</u> , <u>-kam</u> ) 2. <u>kə kaw'</u>
Third person	1. <u>hia'</u> ( <u>-na'</u> , <u>-n</u> ) 2. <u>hi</u> / <u>səh</u> ( <u>-ah</u> )	1. <u>dəhawa'</u> 2. <u>səgaw'</u>	1. <u>dəhalo'</u> 2. <u>sə kaa</u>	1. <u>dəha'</u> 2. <u>sah</u>
Impersonal	1. <u>ita'</u> ( <u>-ta'</u> )			

B. Possessive Pronouns

First person	1. <u>anu'</u> 2. <u>nək</u>	1. <u>anun-tu'</u> (i)	1. <u>anun-tam</u> (i)
Second person	1. <u>anum</u> 2. <u>nəm</u>		2. <u>nən kaa</u> (i) <u>nən mə kaa</u> (e)
Third person	1. <u>anun</u> , <u>anun-na'</u> 2. <u>nə n-ah</u>		
Interrogative	1. <u>nun hi</u> 2. <u>nən hay</u>		2. <u>nən sə kaa</u>

singular  
 first person anuk: Mine.  
 second person anum: Yours.  
 third person anun or anun-na': His, her.

dual  
 first person anun-tu': Our (dual inclusive), ours.

plural  
 first person anun-tam: Our (plural inclusive), ours.

### 1.6 Interrogative Construction

anun hii: To whom belongs (this, that).  
 Q. anun hii tajaw ni: To whom does this jar belong?  
 A. anuk: It's mine.

or

A. anuk tajaw ni: This jar is mine.

### 1.7 Genitive

ajat - kuy: My basket<sup>10</sup>  
ajat - ka: Your basket  
ajat - na': His/her basket  
harin - tu': Our brother  
lɛ po - tam: Our farm

### LONG GəLAT

#### 2.1 Singular

first person koy: I, me. -k (suffixed)  
 second person kay: You. ky, (contracted form).  
 third person hi or he: He, she. (When the person is there, near/or facing you). sɛh or sih: He, she. (When the person is not there, although he/she might be elsewhere in the house or outside).<sup>11</sup> -ah: Suffixed form for possessive and genitive. hi, he: It (for objects and animals).

#### 2.2 Dual (from two: əngaw')

first person məgaw': We two (inclusive).  
 second person kəgaw': You two.  
 third person səgaw': They two

#### 2.3 Plural (3 to 10 people)

first person kaa: We (inclusive). məkaa: We (exclusive).  
 second person kəkaa: You several.  
 third person səkaa: They

#### 2.4 Plural (over 10 people)

first person mɛ: We (exclusive). lən: We (inclusive). lən hasaw-hasaw: We all. (All the people present, all the inhabitants of a village).<sup>12</sup>  
 second person kəkaw: You many.<sup>13</sup>  
 third person sah: They, the (pl.)<sup>13</sup>

#### 2.5 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed with nən: belonging to as the Busang above.

nək: Mine  
nəm: Yours  
nən ah: His, hers  
nən məgaw': Our, ours (dual, inclusive)  
nən kaa: Our, ours (plural, inclusive)<sup>14</sup>  
nən səkaa: Their, theirs

#### 2.6 In An Interrogative Construction

nən hay'  
 : To whom belongs (this, that)  
 Q. nən hay' taja' nii saw: To whom belongs this jar.  
 A. nək: It's mine.

or

A. nək taja' nii saw: This jar is mine<sup>15</sup>

#### 2.7 Genitive

lə biət koy: My basket  
lə biət kay: Your basket  
lə biət - ah: His basket  
haləwk lən: Our canoe

#### 3. Remarks

Thus it appears that in the Long Gəlat and Busang languages<sup>15</sup> the agglutination between nən, anu', and the personal pronouns: -k, -m, -n, is structurally similar. Nevertheless Long Gəlat doesn't operate this agglutination for a great number of words as does Busang - Kayan<sup>16</sup>, except for nən and the particular figure of indirect speech: kurin (B), kə-lən (L.G.): 'Say.

It usually follows a statement in indirect speech:

(B) ara masak hiti, kurim: You said there is a lot of  
(L.G.) m ə goon tawk l ə noəa, k ə lam: fish here  
(B) d ə ha' aw kuman, kurin: He says that they have  
(L.G.) sah nga' muiñ, k ə l ε ñ -ah: already eaten.

But it can be placed at the beginning of the sentence to confirm it:

(B) kurik bakin - na' t ε ' hal ə m harok t ə lo'  
(L.G.) k ə laik loih - ah t ε ' ε aən mi halawk l ə n  
I say/think that his spear is in our canoe.

(B) kurik, kurim, kurin or kurin - na'  
(L.G.) K ə laik, k ə lam, k ə l ε ñ -ah. PI k ə l ε ñ.

Also:

(B) Kurin p ə lo': You several say  
(L.G.) K ə l ε ñ k ə kaa: You several say

in an interrogative construction:

(B) nuun kurin p ə lo' d ε é: What did you (PI) say a moment ago.  
(L.G.) nuun k ə l ε ñ k ə kaa n ə ha: What did you (PI) say a moment ago.

In this sentence, the focus is on 'you several'.

## NOTES

1. Dahon Busang and wé Long Glit are the real autonyms in these tongues whereas Long G ə lat is an exonym given by the Busang to this group. We will use the term Long G ə lat, as it has appeared previously in the literature. The Busang language is related to the different Kayan dialects in Sarawak: Baluy, Baram, and in Kalimantan: Mendalam, Apo Kayan, also the Bahau language in the middle Mahakam area.

Paradoxically, the upper Mahakam Kayan have been linguistically assimilated by their former slaves, (Nieuwehuis 1904-1907, Vol. II:278); Long G ə lat belongs to a language family which include the Modang dialects: Belayan, Kelinjau, Wahau, Telen rivers, (Kabupaten Kutei and the Segay (Ga' ay) dialects, Kelay and Segay rivers (Kabupaten Berau). Long G ə lat here in has been noted in Long Tuyo'.

2. In such a society where kinship for instance plays a secondary role, there is not a specific reference term for the kindred (or rather

ego's cognates network) of an individual other than 'relative', (B) pəharin, (L.G.) sahana, this latter term including affines. Corporate groups: lineage, sib or descent groups are absent (if one excluded aristocratic ambilineage).

So it seems that these numerous personal pronouns function at the same time as social indicators thus classifying social relationships within the domestic group, ego's cognates network, and the longhouse group, the village, the river basin group. In a way they interconnect these different social units. One can note that often pronouns are used instead of the names of the individuals or instead of the kinship terms for address and reference, even if one knows whom it is about.

However the Long G ə lat has a particular combination of personal pronouns and kinship terms, see below note 13.

3. As these languages do not distinguish between possessive adjectives and possessive pronouns, we have only presented possessive pronouns and genitive. (cf. Clayre and Cubit 1971:48)
4. Busang Uma' Suling, a dialect from Long Pahangei and Lirung Ubung on the Mahakam, Naha Aru' and Long Isun on the Meraseh, which differs slightly from the Busang Mahakam, lingua franca in this area.
5. Barth has confused, ita "one", impersonal with a plural pronoun first person, "we" (inclusive), cf. Barth 1910:85.
6. According to Barth this term is formed from the contraction of d ə ha', "they" with halo', "stranger", "other people"; halo' indicates also collectively the Malays and other foreigners to the Dayak world, the Chinese (Barth 1910:46).
7. Note also: Kam ε ' lim-lim, kam ε ' pah "we all", lim "all", pah "all". (F. H. Soembroek P.C) One must also mention another term formed with kam ε ', kam ε ' t ə lo' "we all", whose meaning inclusive or exclusive is not very clear, see Barth 1910:214.

According to him, the use of kamε' t ə lo' is quite rare, the contracted forms kamalo', and particularly kamtdo' being more frequent.

8. D ə ha' can be used to represent a social stratum or an ethnic group: d ə ha' hipuy, "the aristocrats", d ə ha' Penihing "the Penihing", or a territorial ascription for large ethnic group: d ə ha' Apo kayan, i. e., the Kenyah (Barth 1910:47).
9. Clayre and Cubit describe this as a fusion of possessive. This phenomenon occurs also with nouns for the first two or three persons

of the singular: daho': "word", dahok, dahom, dahon -na'; hawa(n); "wife," "husband," hawak, hawam, hawan-na'. (Clayre and Cubit 1974:58, Rousseau 1974:94-95)

10. But usually, itam hipun, kam ε' hipun, ita' (-ta') hipun: "to own," "to possess", also dahalo', d ə ha' hipun. Traditionally the hipuy, "aristocrat," possess a longhouse and followers. The hipuy aya', the village chief, owns the whole village (H. Soembroek Ms. p. IV). Hipuy seems to be a grammatical exception in Busang, hipuy comes from hipun, the n is dropped being replaced by y. But a similar phenomenon appears in the terms of address for "mother" (iney) and "father" (amey), instead of the teknonyms, inan, "mother of", taman, "father of"; the reference terms being respectively ina' and tama'. In this latter case the n indicate the possession.
11. A rattan tote - basket from uchan ga' (Calamus Caesuis Bl) a fine rattan. Long G əlat: guy g ə tka'.
12. Today the use of séh is fading out, hi being employed in both situations.
13. Sah b ə l ε : "the strangers", "other people", sah p ə η ε ñ "the commoners", sah B ə gaik: "The Bugis".

In addition this term enters in the formation of many words connotating kinship: sam ə sən oan koy: lit. "My (true) grandchildren (including the children of an adopted child)", when showing or speaking of them to somebody external to the domestic group or ego's cognates networks; sam ə η ow koy: "my brothers/sisters-in law"; when agglutinated with a noun in front of a consonant the h is dropped, sahana'-ah "his relatives"; sahul ε ñ kay, "your siblings". It functions as a collective indicator of kinship both in descent and alliance.

For the Kayān cf. Blust 1977:59.

14. Frequently the verb p ə ñ, "to own", "to possess" is used with s ə kaa, m ε, m ə kaa, kaa, l ə n.
15. The symbol a represents a short central vowel whose range is between [ə] and [e] .
16. Cf. Clayre and Cubit 1974:87-88, Blust 1977:40-44. The Long G əlat can be classified as belonging to the Kayan group of languages, together with Modang and Segay, even if lexically and phonologically these languages are rather distant. Other central Bornean languages as Bukat, Punan Tubu, illustrate a similar agglutination for certain words with personal pronouns, first, second, sometimes third person singular. (B. Sellato p.c.). (For the Kenyah, see Elshout, 1930 Ms: 21-22.)

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#### RECENT RESEARCH IN BORNEO

The following three papers were presented in the session on "Recent Research in Borneo" held during the Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C. Four other papers presented in the session were published in the last issue of the Bulletin.

#### THE INTERFACE OF CUSTOMARY AND NATIONAL LAND LAW IN EAST KALIMANTAN, INDONESIA

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My research focused on land law in East Kalimantan. In addition to telling you some of the things I learned about land law, I will begin by briefly describing the people I lived with.

#### Jonggon

Jonggon, a village in the lower Mahakam region on the Jembayan tributary, was my primary field site. Jonggon is located in the administrative subdistrict Loa Kulu, and in the geographical center of the two million acre timber concession of P.T. International Timber Company of Indonesia (ITCI). The majority of people in Jonggon are referred to as Basap Dayaks by neighboring villagers. However, they refer to themselves as Kedang Dayaks.

Jonggon was settled around the turn of the century by migrants from a village in the subdistrict Kota Bangun called Kedang Ipil. The inhabitants in Kedang Ipil also refer to themselves as Kedang Dayaks. One anthropologist has labelled this group "old Kutai." However, unlike Kutai, the Kedang are by and large animists.

According to local Jonggon history, the Basap were living in the area when the Kedang migrated there. The Basap and Kedang intermarried, and today all villagers refer to themselves as Kedang. Basap is considered a derogatory name, implying that someone is primitive, still wears a loincloth, gathers their water in bamboo tubes, etc.

#### P. T. International Timber Company of Indonesia (ITCI)

Jonggon is in the center of the ITCI timber concession. Until December, 1981, ITCI was a joint venture company of Weyerhaeuser Timber Company of the United States and an Indonesian partner. This Indonesian partner was a holding company of seventy-five Indonesian army generals. As George Weyerhaeuser put it, the Indonesian government is using timber companies as a pension fund for its army. ITCI is now a wholly Indonesian owned company.

ITCI has built many miles of logging roads. One such road is about 2½ kilometers from Jonggon at its nearest point. When ITCI built the road there were two rounds of compensation for tree crops owned by the villagers. The first round was for a satellite village directly in the path of the road. Timber company surveyors came in, checked the crops with a village elder, and promptly paid compensation. Compensation rates were determined and published at the provincial level.

In Jonggon itself, there was a problem with ITCI compensation. The villagers did not have a timber company representative with them when they "checked" their trees. Instead, they asked ITCI for compensation based on their own figures. ITCI was not willing to pay the entire amount. (At that point, much of the evidence had already been bulldozed.) The villagers admitted they had made a mistake, and they agreed to compromise with ITCI. The total amount of compensation for crops amounted to Rupiah (Rp) 529,550 (over \$850), a windfall in the economy of the village.

Closer to the base camp of ITCI, compensation has presented more of a problem for ITCI. There are two groups of overlapping claims. The villagers, who are Kutai Muslims rather than Dayaks, are asking for compensation for land, for crops, and for losses they incurred as a result of not being able to use their land. They are asking for thousands of dollars. The case has lasted for years.

Aside from compensation, the introduction of the timber companies has had other important results. For example, villagers are forbidden from opening primary forest by national land use regulations. Timber

company personnel try to see to it that this particular aspect of national law is enforced.

Also, timber roads are rapidly being settled by shifting cultivators from other parts of Indonesia. For example, ten years ago, there were two households in the satellite village on the logging road. Now there are twenty, and all of the newcomers are from outside the area.

Rapid intrusion of spontaneous migrants along the timber roads is happening throughout the concession. This has led to higher population density, more land pressure, and more competition for the dwindling rattan and iron wood supplies.

#### Transmigration

A 3,000 family transmigration site has been planned for the Jonggon area. The goal is to eventually have a 12,000 family site. When I left, land clearing for the site had begun.

Transmigration authorities in Samarinda said that crop compensation would not be paid to the Dayaks. Rather, the villagers would have the option of entering the transmigration site.

Reactions within the village to the site were mixed. Some people were glad that the transmigrants were coming. Others, including the village head, were afraid they would no longer have enough land for making their fields.

The Weyerhaeuser manager was not pleased about the transmigration site. He was worried about theft of machinery and logs, and he also felt that an area potentially valuable in kapur logs was being clearcut. ITCI was informed about the plans for the site after the decision to place the site had been made. The current directors of the company think the site will be a good source of labor if ITCI decides to begin a plantation.

#### National Land Law

National land law is based on the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960. Article 5 of the BAL states that "the agrarian law which applies to the earth, water, and air space is the adat law as far as it is not in conflict with the provisions of the Basic Agrarian Law." However, the customary law referred to in Article 5 does not include the Dayak customary law. In Jonggon, there are definite owners of the surrounding secondary forest. However, if land has been put under shifting cultivation as in Jonggon, no national land rights of ownership accrue to the shifting cultivator. According to the national government, all land used for shifting cultivation is government land.

Shifting cultivators do have the right of exploitation for three years after opening a field. However, the practical effects of this regulation

are negligible. The regulation assumes that farmers ask permission from the subdistrict head before opening a field on so-called government land. Technically, the subdistrict head would deny permission to someone to farm a plot that someone else had farmed within the last three years.

There are two ways the Dayaks could obtain nationally recognized land ownership rights, based on specified customary legal rights, or by government decree. To become the owner based on customary legal rights in East Kalimantan, one must have used the land continuously since before September 24, 1960. To become the owner based on government decree, one, in essence, buys the land from the government.

These land titling procedures and regulations apply only to the Dayaks. Javanese transmigrants are all, eventually, to be given official title to two hectares at Rp 100 per hectare. Cost for the land titling procedure alone would be approximately Rp 30,000 for Dayaks.

At present, no Dayak villages in East Kalimantan have received land titles. It is doubtful that any Dayak land, either for houses or fields, has been occupied continuously since 1960. Therefore, the Dayaks would not be able to claim ownership rights based on customary law. Department of Agraria officials did not know how much the Dayaks would have to pay for agricultural land received by government decree. In any event, the cost of the land plus the titling cost would be paid by the individual.

This is so even though there is now a national program to give land titles to poor people--PRONA (Proyek Operasi Nasional Agraria). Shifting cultivators are not eligible for this program.

#### AVOIDANCE AND AMBIGUITY IN INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS: POPULATION RESETTLEMENT IN EAST KALIMANTAN

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Within the field of Borneo studies, the topic of population movement and resettlement is not uncommon. In fact, the current and ancient migrations of indigenous groups such as the Kenyah, Kayan, and Punan, are a major focus of anthropological and historical research. Government sponsored inter-island resettlement in the form of the Indonesian transmigration program, which began in Kalimantan in the 1950's, has introduced yet another level of complexity to an already complicated field. In this brief presentation, based on research in East Kalimantan in 1980-81, material on relations between indigenous Tunjung and Benuaq Dayak and the resettled Javanese will be reviewed.

From the Dutch colonization schemes to the present day transmigration projects, population resettlement has been a multi-purpose program, with many of these purposes vague or otherwise ill-defined. Evaluations of transmigration have focused on a wide variety of topics, ranging from the selection of transmigrants to site preparation costs and even to the national defense aspects. However, one area, that of the relations between transmigrant and indigenous communities, has received little comprehensive attention. References to inter-group relations are sparse and lacking in detail; yet one of the more commonly found criticisms of the resettlement program is that it merely produces enclaves of Javanese in the Outer Islands. This is often expressed in terms of an assimilation problem; specifically, that there is limited contact between the groups or that such contact is indifferent or even antagonistic. Research in East Kalimantan confirms that Javanese transmigrants do indeed remain in enclave communities, that relations between groups are most often indifferent but are, on occasion, hostile. The position taken here is that, rather than serving the stated purposes of promoting national unity and integration, transmigration presents a situation whereby ethnic status is maintained. It is suggested here that the formation of enclaves has considerable utility; it is a strategy to reduce competition and to structure the interactions of groups (cf. Barth, 1969).

The number of Javanese transmigrants sent to East Kalimantan since 1957 is approximately 12,000 families. Given this limited number, it would seem that the problems associated with resettlement and the formation of enclaves are of relatively minor significance. However, the Government's commitment to resettlement of Javanese is firm and increasing in scale. In addition, since the early 1970s a program for the resettlement of indigenous Dayak communities has also moved some 10,000 families within East Kalimantan. The decisions of the Government to place Javanese agricultural communities in the interior of Kalimantan and to resettle indigenous communities highlight a number of assumptions which have been made concerning the nature of shifting cultivation and the conditions of Kalimantan and the other Outer Islands (i.e. Sulawesi, Sumatra, and Irian Jaya). These assumptions, which are frequently invoked in the transmigration literature are: 1. that the indigenous populations are backwards and therefore in need of development assistance; particularly that shifting cultivation is destructive and must be controlled; 2. that the Outer Island territory is under-populated and is mostly empty, unused or under-used land; and finally; 3. that the Outer Islands are rich, fertile, and are currently in a state of underdevelopment. From these assumptions alone it should be apparent that resettlement will carry with it numerous problems, not the least of which is in the area of land use. A final background note is that the granting of full title to land is the major incentive for Javanese to join the transmigration program.

The research locale, in the middle Mahakam River area, is populated by Tunjung and Benuaq Dayak, indigenous Kutai, immigrant Javanese and Buginese, and the more recent transmigrants. The Kutai and Buginese, living along the river, are primarily traders and middlemen who dominate

the transportation links both on land and by river. Further inland are the Dayak groups and the transmigrants in separate but neighboring settlements. Tunjung in this area report that the traditional longhouse life was in decline since the 1940s, mainly due to activities of the Dutch. Another reason for the decline of longhouses and the subsequent move of the Tunjung into other areas or into single-family dwellings locally, is the lack of large timber for the construction and repair of the longhouse. Today, the Tunjung and Benuaq are encouraged by government agencies (by offers of money and other incentives) to build single-family homes in designated village sites.

Areas of contrast between the Dayak and the transmigrants, excluding the obvious factors of religion and language, are those of agricultural practices, resource use, and residence patterns. Transmigrants are sedentary and hence require large amounts of land in the direct vicinity of their permanent homes. The Tunjung and Benuaq maintain field homes in addition to village homes, (neither of which are as permanent as the homes of the transmigrants) and divide their time between these residences; it is not uncommon to find Dayak fields at great distances from the village sites. The agricultural techniques of the Javanese are modified from the dry-field techniques known on Java, with little interest or attention paid to Dayak techniques. Tunjung and Benuaq, who have observed the Javanese, cite the similar crop yields obtained as reason why they do not follow Javanese agricultural practices, although some Dayak are now hoeing their fields as the Javanese do. The transmigrants, who say they were sent to provide models for the improvement of the Dayak standard of living, in turn claim that the Dayak are masih bodoh ("still stupid").

Daily life in a transmigration village involves agricultural work, attendance at life-cycle rituals or other activities which do not require meeting with anyone outside the village. It is often the case that transmigrants, in their eighteen years in Kalimantan, have not gone farther than the local market; hence there is little opportunity to associate with non-transmigrants. Cultural activities are strictly Javanese-with wayang kulit and home-made gamelan the favorites. The village head, the Javanese lurah, holds an important role in the community: it is this individual who handles all important matters which arise, such as meeting with the district officer or handling initial conversations with visitors. Any problems which arise are handled and mediated by the lurah. Dayak villages, on the other hand, are smaller in size and often are not inhabited year round by the same family members. It is not unusual to pass through a Dayak village and find many of the homes locked and empty. Dayak men are frequently absent, as, for example, when they are collecting rubber rotan or cutting timber. Dayak patterns of forest product use are not found among the Javanese, who express fear and distrust of forest areas, preferring instead the clean-cut areas near the transmigration sites. However, transmigrants in need of cash will for short periods cut timber, although they must first obtain permission from local Dayak.

By frequency, the most common interaction is that which occurs in the schools and in the marketplaces. These situations are themselves limited; schools enroll younger children and adolescents, while markets are held only for a few morning hours twice weekly. Dayak and transmigrants who pass each other on the roads or who work in adjacent fields will rarely speak to one another. Only four cases of intermarriage for the ten upriver transmigration sites are recorded, with three of these ending in divorce. A pattern was established of mutual avoidance shortly after the arrival of the transmigrants in 1965. At least two incidents between Tunjung and Javanese required police and military attention; the resulting reprimands were stern and swift. In one of these incidents, a dispute over the theft of gold from a Tunjung home escalated into a confrontation with armed Tunjung threatening a transmigrant village. A truckload of police restored order and the transmigrants were ordered to remain in their homes for the next twenty-four hours. A second incident at about the same time involved the cutting down of a Tunjung bamboo grove in violation of local adat. Again, threats were made, and the matter was resolved by the district army captain. Under this agreement, the transmigrants were to pay compensation in accordance with Tunjung adat. The transmigrants refer to this as the "buying ghosts" affair. A continuous record of minor incidents between the groups was collected in the course of fieldwork; these include the theft of food crops or household possessions, accidental destruction of land or property such as that occurring when a burn-off fire spreads from one field to another, destruction of crops by Tunjung pigs, and the subsequent destruction of pigs by angry Moslem transmigrants, to name the more common incidents. Currently both transmigrants and Dayak are reluctant to go to the police with their complaints as this obligates the police to report to the camat (district officer) and from there on up the administrative hierarchy. Additionally, the first reaction of the police to these complaints is to lecture the involved parties on good citizenship and then to send them back to their villages. Therefore, complainants try to handle all matters on a family-to-family basis if such communication is possible. If discussion at this level is ruled out or if it fails to resolve the matter (a usual solution is the payment of compensation in money or goods), the kepala kampung will be consulted. But it must be noted there is often a long time lag involved; for example, a single act of crop theft is not enough to begin a dispute. Repeated theft may bring repeated warnings; it may still be months or even years before the kepala kampung is consulted. These proceedings are open to the general public and generate considerable excitement and entertainment. If discussion at this level again fails to yield an agreement, the option remains to go to the police or to the camat, but, as previously mentioned, this option is seldom used. Instead, the matter is left unresolved, or agreements may be unenforceable. Parties involved in the complaint avoid one another in these cases: in one case which occurred in early 1980, the young transmigrant involved in a complaint brought by a Tunjung family moved to Samarinda after the transmigrant village head, after an evening's discussion, refused to accept the complaint for discussion.

Land related issues are more complex than the other inter-ethnic matters which can be resolved through the payment of compensation, warnings, or simple avoidance behavior or lack of acknowledgement of wrongdoing. Land is perhaps the major area of potential competition as both Dayak and transmigrants require fallow and active fields. For the time being, the Tunjung and Benuaq are willing to travel long distances to their fields and the transmigrants use their fields for longer periods of time than do the Dayak groups so they shift fields less often. As the Javanese spread, due largely to population growth, the need to claim more land nearby transmigration sites is increasing. The advantage is clearly with the Javanese, who can cite national law and transmigration policies in support of their claims. Under national law, for example, a field not cultivated for three successive years reverts to state ownership. Transmigrants may borrow or buy land or may claim use rights on the grounds that the Tunjung who claims a certain plot does not hold title to that land. In a few cases, transmigration preparation teams left enclave land to local Dayak within the boundaries of transmigration sites; other Dayak have refused to move from transmigrant-claimed land, while some Dayak have moved into transmigration sites which are still forested. Forcible eviction is virtually unknown; transmigrants questioned on this issue responded by telling of an official who had demanded a Dayak family leave one of the sites. The family moved but threatened to take revenge. Subsequently, two of the transmigration official's children died: these deaths were attributed to Dayak "revenge".

Javanese have a tendency to dominate land issues through appeal to national regulations and law. Their advantage may be linked to their ability to appeal directly to the national or provincial level agencies without recourse to the chain of local administration and the fact that there is little local opposition from the Dayak, whose lack of cohesion is reflected in the lack of authority of the kepala kampung and in their dispersed settlement pattern. Features of local administration also prevent local opposition from developing; for example, the district officers are transferred every three years. In one research district, the camat had always been a Moslem and the staff primarily drawn from Kutai residents. In the second district, while the camat, until February 1981 had always been a Moslem, the staff was largely Dayak. Dayak considered this latter office to be more responsive to Dayak issues. That the transmigrants do have significant leverage in disputed issues is attested by the fact that they have on several occasions demanded Javanese teachers for the local schools, by the fact that they are occupying land outside the original allocations with little reaction, and are in some cases encroaching upon Dayak villages. Given this situation, it is noticeable that the transmigrants do not always press their advantage; in fact, there is considerable reluctance to do so. It would be simple enough to explain this by referring to pan-Indonesian characteristics such as the desire for harmony and distaste for direct confrontation, but this is, at best, a sketchy argument. One would think the loss of resources such as land would be incentive for the local Dayak to risk some confrontation. Research suggested, however, that the Dayak have an indirect but

powerful means of responding to the transmigrants; a source of "power" which kept the transmigrants from extending their advantages. This factor of black magic (ilmu) is one significant reason why transmigrants do not press complaints or potential conflicts too far.

Fear of black magic is a critical factor in Dayak-transmigrant relations, although it is entirely one-sided. Transmigrants often hesitate to bring up complaints with Dayak for fear of retaliation through the use of black magic. Every transmigrant can recite a number of cases of death, illness, or misfortune which they attribute to Dayak black magic-black magic resulting from revenge or anger on the part of the Dayak. Dayak, for their part, seldom acknowledge and rarely deny such accusations. Accusations of black magic are not exchanged between the groups, and no action is taken against the accused Dayak. Dayak lack of denial may be seen as tacit acceptance of the situation. That the Dayak may also, on occasion, take credit for deaths or illnesses, or make pointed threats, indicates they are not above manipulating the Javanese fears; and the Dayak will also accept payment for curing ceremonies which Javanese request to counteract suspected black magic.

There is considerable ambiguity regarding the position of Dayak and transmigrants vis-a-vis one another. Trouble between transmigrants and Dayaks immediately calls into play supra-local agencies for what is essentially a local-level problem. The camat does not have full jurisdiction over transmigration sites which have only been transferred to provincial authority since July of 1981. At another level, national law, while generally recognizing the existence of local adat law, provides no procedural function or authority for local adat. Further, at yet another level, the Javanese who were sent as models for development, are actually less well off economically than are the indigenous Dayak and Kutai; yet these same Javanese carry the identification as representatives of the central government and as members of Indonesia's largest ethnic group.

The uncertainty prompted by the overlapping jurisdiction, unenforceable intergroup agreements, mutual fears and distrust and other conditions does not necessarily produce an unmanageable situation. It does allow for considerable flexibility and a situation-by-situation handling of problems. Avoidance, whether between indigenous and resettled communities or between levels of government administration is an effective strategy for managing situations deemed either sensitive or senseless. It is apparent that indigenous and resettled villages are treated differently; but until the legitimate needs of Dayak shifting cultivators are acknowledged by governmental agencies, avoidance between the communities is the safest means of preventing conflict or aggravation of potential difficulties or more open conflict.

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# NETWORKING IN THE COMMONS: A TRAGEDY FOR RATTAN?<sup>1</sup>

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The more accessible canes are rapidly becoming exhausted, not only from the destruction of the forests to make way for agriculture, but because of the failure of regeneration to keep pace with collection... the buyers, who are almost invariably small Chinese shopkeepers, cannot afford to be too particular, for they do not care to risk losing the advances<sup>2</sup> in goods or cash that they have had to make to the collectors.

Although written 50 years ago, the above passage expresses the current fears of Indonesian foresters, exporters and government officials concerning an important forest product: rattan. The importance of Indonesian rattan on the world market began in the mid-nineteenth century or earlier.<sup>3</sup> Proportional estimates of the world's supply of rattan produced in Indonesia vary from 76 percent<sup>4</sup> to 90 percent<sup>5</sup>. Its commercial value is also significant; rattan generates more<sup>6</sup> foreign exchange for Indonesia than any other forest product except logs.

The world demand for rattan, the spiny climbing palms of the *Lepidocaryeae* sub-family of the family *Palmae*, also known as cane or wicker, is increasing rapidly. Indonesian exports have increased at least 200 percent in the ten-year period from 1968 - 1977<sup>7</sup>, while domestic craftsmen have been complaining of raw rattan shortages.<sup>8</sup> According to Chaiyapechara, 49 percent of the rattan exported from Indonesia grows in Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo). The largest rattan production area of both wild and cultivated varieties is in the province of East Kalimantan, with approximately 4,375,000 hectares.

Of the 11 genera consisting of approximately 550 species scattered throughout Southeast Asia, the island of Borneo contains about 150 species; approximately 70 are found in East Kalimantan Province. Nearly 60 percent of these belong to the genera *Calamus*.<sup>10</sup>

Recently, the riverine and land networks through which rattan is traded have ballooned. As a result, collectors complain that they must cover increasingly greater distances in the forest to reach areas where rattan is sufficiently mature to harvest. Despite the general awareness that immature canes bring lower prices, many collectors cut the young shoots growing in the forest locales closest to their riverside villages. Urban rattan buyers and exporters confirm that immature canes comprise an increasing percentage of the overall supply.

The central government of Indonesia plans to regulate the trade and collection boom by "shortening" the trade networks and eliminating many

of the trade links currently controlled by "middlemen". Their alleged objectives in implementing this plan are to increase the net profits of rattan collectors and to "protect" the supplies of rattan by restricting access. The plan, however well-intentioned, has not allowed sufficient consideration of local variations in environmental, socioeconomic and cultural circumstances or of the differences in the functions and services provided by the various middlemen who will be eliminated from the system. It has neither addressed the performance of these functions under the new system, nor is it responsive to the cause and effect aspects of the problem: the need to redefine property rights to an open access resource.

There are thus two purposes to this paper. The first is to identify the events that have led to the "population explosion" of traders along the rivers and in the villages of East Kalimantan and to the demise in the quality of the rattan. Subsequently I argue that the establishment of upriver rattan plantations and processing centers combined with locally-specific systems for the definition of property rights would deal more effectively with a potential "tragedy of the commons" than the proposed plan for government regulation.

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This paper has explored the basic question of whether private or public control of rattan collection and trade is appropriate for East Kalimantan. In the past, social controls were imposed on the supply, while demand for rattan apparently did not exceed the supply. The situation has become increasingly precarious since the early 1950s as

1. the traditional controls were relaxed;
2. the trading channels were expanded;
3. the demand for rattan increased; and
4. the competition for the limited supply increased.

In an attempt to deal with this problem, the central government of Indonesia, in particular the Forestry Department, has designed a plan to regulate the collection, purchase and sale of rattan through government-controlled "cooperatives". This proposal is likely to encounter difficulty because

1. the proposed scope of village or sub-district cooperatives is too broad for optimal social effectiveness;
2. the bureaucratic channels may be too slow to respond effectively to erratic environmental and market changes;
3. the cooperatives will be costly to establish and these costs may be borne indirectly or directly by the collectors;
4. such a system will not channel credit as efficiently from downriver to upriver, even though interest rates on loans may appear lower; and
5. the idea was neither suggested nor supported by the people themselves.

If no action is taken, a "tragedy of the commons" may play itself out and both present and future generations will suffer. At this point, a return to the old system also seems impossible. Too much time has passed, too many newcomers live in the area, traditional religious beliefs have lost their strength and the new government might feel its sovereignty had been infringed. A combination of two complementary courses of action might be implemented in order to achieve the optimal solution.

The first step would entail allocation of rights to wild rattan to small groups--whether trader-collector collaborations, kin groups, field-neighbors or other mutually responsible groups--and limiting both the number allowed in each group and the amount of effort expended by members. Such action should increase the incomes of group members, protect the resource from extinction and result in a socially beneficial redistribution of revenues from rattan. Not only is this plan conducive to retaining the part-time nature of rattan collection activities, but also to the continued operation of the current trade system under less pressure.

Pressure on the trade network also can be reduced through provision of other cash-earning opportunities, particular preference being accorded those which will increase the quantity and improve the quality of rattan. Enterprises such as rattan plantations and first-stage processing centers will absorb more labor and raise the opportunity wages of collectors. Processing rattan before shipment downriver prevents water or fungal damage, thus raising the price and funneling a greater percentage of profits to participants in the early stages of the trade networks rather than assuring high returns for only those traders operating at the urban end.

Similarly, classifying rattan upriver according to internationally accepted grading standards would increase the value-added to the initial stages. Temporary or part-time job opportunities such as these conform with the temporary nature of the work preferred by local farmers who must also cultivate their fields; seasonal fluctuations in both the labor supply and the demand for the rattan require flexibility. Restricting entry into the commons--the forest--as in the above plan, demands the provision of alternative employment opportunities if the people's increasing need of cash is to be served.

As former middlemen of all types are drawn away from the trade sphere, their skills and experience can be used to advantage in the processing centers. Moreover, there will be no need to eliminate the credit networks running from the cities to the upriver locales. In fact, the opportunity to earn wages may enable people to pay back loans more quickly without denying them the security of dealing with someone familiar. It would also satisfy what Emerson calls the "part-time mentality"<sup>11</sup> in speaking of fishermen who prefer to spend small amounts of time working at different income-earning activities. Again, local level

data to choose appropriate systems will be needed, as well the participation and advice of local collectors, traders and others affected by the changes.

Perhaps the most valuable role the government can presently play in developing East Kalimantan villages where rattan constitutes a major source of cash income is to develop appropriate income-earning opportunities. Again, this would relieve the strain on the forest resources. A variety of employment options spreads risks while decreasing the pressures on any single option. In the long run, a plan of action combining all or some of the elements described above will improve vertical linkages (resource--collector--distributors) and horizontal linkages (between plantation, processing centers, ownership groups and other rural institutions). Such a holistic approach to rural sector development views the solution as well as the problem as diverse wholes composed of interacting and interdependent parts.

#### NOTES

1. The Introduction and Summary/Recommendations of Peluso's paper are printed here, but the full text appears in Indonesia, Vol. 35 (April, 1983), pp. 95-108.
2. J. H. Burkill, A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula. (Kuala Lumpur: Gov't. of Malaysia and Singapore, 1966), pp. 1904-1905.
3. Harun Alrasyid, "Penanaman Rotan." Paper presented to Jakarta Discussion on Increasing Production Potential of Non-Timber Forest Projects (July 10-12, 1980), p. 10.
4. Anon., "Industrialisasi Rotan di Indonesia," Kehutanan Indonesia (Jakarta), Vol. 6, no. 7 (July, 1979), pp. 17-29.
5. K. E. Menon, "Rattan in the South East Asian Region." Forest News for Asia and the Pacific (Bangkok), Vol. 2, no. 4 (November, 1978), pp. 32-25.
6. Djwa Hui Liang, "Beberapa Pendekatan Dalam Usaha Pelestarian Rotan." Typed manuscript (South Kalimantan: Kinas Kehutanan Propinsi DATI I, November, 1979), p. 1.
7. Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Industri Departemen Industri, "Pengembangan Industri Komodite Export Rotan di Indonesia Didasarkan Pada Teknologi Tepat." Paper presented to Nakarta Discussion of Increasing Production Potential of Non-timber Forest Products (July 10-12, 1980), p. 7a.

8. Djwa Hui Liang, "Beberapa Pedekatan Dalam Usaha Pelestarian Rotan." Typed manuscript (South Kalimantan: Dinas Kehutanan Propinsi DATI I, November, 1979), p. 3.
9. Chaiyapechara, "Rattan," Forest News for Asia and the Pacific (Bangkok), vol. 2, no. 4 (November, 1978), pp. 31-47, p. 38.  
  
Dransfield (pers. comm., 1982) describes the distribution of rattan in Southeast Asia as "a dartboard with the bulls' eye in Malaysia." Most of the data on the natural history of rattan were provided by Dr. John Dransfield of Kew Gardens, Surrey, England.
10. Calamus boasts the most important commercial varieties, especially Calamus caesius; C. trachycoleus; C. manan and C. optimus. The references made to rattans and canes in this paper refer primarily to the first two of these prominent commercial varieties of Calamus.
11. Weinstock, Joseph, pers. comm. (1982).

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### P. J. VETH'S "ORIGIN OF THE NAME DAYAK"

Allen R. Maxwell  
The University of Alabama

The ethnonym 'Dayak' is well-known to anyone acquainted with the island of Borneo. Its accuracy, acceptability, and appropriateness as an ethnic designator have been discussed by scholars too numerous to exhaustively detail here (e.g., Harrisson 1950:273). P. J. Veth's brief note, 'De Oorsprong van den Naam Dajak,' published in 1881 in the Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, 5, Mededeelingen, p. 182, is not often cited in the English language literature on Borneo.<sup>1</sup> It summarizes an interpretation of this term which, while hardly universally accepted, certainly should be more widely known.

#### The Origin of the Name Dayak

P. J. Veth

It is odd that conjectures concerning the origin of this obscure name are so seldom made. Most writers on Borneo recognize that it, at least as the name of a people, is unknown

to the natives of that island, and regard it as deriving from the Malays; but almost no one ventures upon an attempt at clarification. Crawford constitutes an exception to this. In his (A) Descriptive dictionary of the Indian islands (& adjacent countries) we read in the article Dyak (1971:127-134), that this word is a generic term used by the Malays for all the wild races of Sumatra and the Celebes, and more particularly of Borneo where they are the most numerous, and seems for them to be the equivalent of the European "savages," and further, that it is probably derived from the name of a particular tribe which has spread to all similar populations. Actually he states that, in a list of wild tribes of Northwest Borneo furnished him by Malay merchants, one tribe appeared which simply was named Dayak.

To me the name Dayak is never found otherwise than as the general name of the non-Muslim population of Borneo. I have never found a trace of an individual tribe named the "Dayak." The name Dayak is frequently used with the addition of the particular name of one of the tribes, of which the population of Borneo is composed, such as Peai Dayak, Ribun Dayak, Kantouw Dayak,<sup>2</sup> yet obviously for this very reason its generic character is to be acknowledged. On the other hand no evidence at all of the extension of the name Dayak to the populations of Sumatra and the Celebes has appeared to me.

A recent writer, Mr. Perelaer, has now proposed a more plausible explanation of the name Dayak in his work, "Borneo van Zuid naar Noord (Borneo from South to North--pub. 1881)," vol. 1, p. 149.<sup>3</sup> In his earlier work "Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks (Ethnographic description of the Dayaks)," (which) appeared in 1870, the same writer yet said, p. 2: "To me (it) is not possible to trace how we Europeans come by the word Dayak. Nowhere in Borneo, at least in that part of the island which is among our (i.e., Dutch) possessions, is that word familiar; it is only known in the districts which have come into contact with us Europeans." But in the work (which) just appeared recently, Mr. Perelaer gives an explanation which he considers to be indisputably true, and which also seems to really be very plausible: "Dayak," he says, "is a shortening of the word dadayak, which in the local language means: 'walk with a totter'. The denomination Dayak is then a contemptuous term, which was thus taken up and used by the Europeans alone. The inhabitants of the lowlands, with very few exceptions, all have crooked, contorted bones, and as a consequence, a tottering (or staggering) gait. The cause of this defect lies in this: they spend the largest part of their lives sitting cross-legged in their canoes."<sup>4</sup>

The meaning ascribed to the word dadajak by Mr. Perelaer was fully born out by Hardeland's "Dajacksch-deutsches Wörterbuch (Dayak-German Dictionary--pub. 1859)," sub voce. We read these: Dadajak, dajadajak, kadajak, wackelnd gehen (walk with a totter)--Kadajadajak, immer, noch immer wackelnd gehen (continuously walk with a totter). --Baradajak, alle wackelnd gehen (all walk with a totter)." It does not really seem to have occurred to Hardeland himself to explain Dayak in this way.

Banjarmasin is certainly the part of Borneo that in earlier times came into contact the most with Europeans; the name may very well have originated there and subsequently carried over to other similar populations in different sections of the island as well. The shortening or mutilation of the word in the mouths of foreigners is not improbable. But it certainly is somewhat strange that the Europeans have taken their byword for the Dayaks from that people's own language. This point still requires further clarification.

Veth's note is important for at least two reasons. Historically he has come to be recognized as one of the most important scholars of Indonesian (earlier, Dutch) Borneo. Helbig describes him as the most knowledgeable mid-19th century authority on the published literature and credits his Borneo's Wester-afdeeling (2 vols., 1854-1856) with being one of the few exhaustively researched, comprehensive, and general works on this part of the island (Helbig 1955:106-107, 120, 128; cf. Veth 1854:xi-xiii). Koentjaraningrat has also underscored the significance of Veth's major work on West Kalimantan, although more for its information on geography, colonial history, and the spread of Christianity than for its ethnographic content (1958:51-52). He points out, however, that Veth lacked extensive firsthand acquaintance with the area (which could only be acquired from the experience of intensive field work or long term residence, but Veth had pursued a distinguished academic career in Franeker, Amsterdam, and Leiden), even though he understood its crucial importance and desirability for ethnological and ethnographic studies (Koentjaraningrat 1958:98). Semantically, Veth articulates an alternative view of the origin of the word 'Dayak' to one very commonly encountered in the English language literature on Borneo; namely, that it derives from some widespread form having cognates in many languages meaning something like "inland" (see, e.g., Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909:24, 33).

A number of scholars, however, have criticized this semantic interpretation. In his article "Ueber die Namen Papua, Dajak and Alfuren," published in 1882 in the Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien, 101.16:537-552), A. B. Meyer points out that J. F. Becker had earlier been a missionary in the same area (Pulau Petak) as August Hardeland. Meyer quotes a different conclusion about the meaning of this word from Becker:

"There exists in the Daijak language the word daijak, or reduplicated, daija-daijak, which refers to the walking of small or lame people; but there seems to be no reason to derive the name Daijak from this" (Becker 1849:423, quoted in Meyer 1882:544; on Becker's place of residence, see Helbig 1955:135, on Hardeland's, Helbig 1955:135, 187). Meyer continues, suggesting that Perelaer, from the time of his ethnographic description (1870) to the time of his ethnographic novel (1881), may have simply adopted and applied the semantic interpretation of this verb to the ethnonym Dayak without either explanation or acknowledgement (Meyer 1882:544).

The ethnographer and professional collector Fritz Grabowsky (Helbig 1955:142, 185, 202) casts further doubt on the validity of the Perelaer-Veth interpretation of 'Dayak' in his article 'Ueber den Namen Dajak,' published in 1883 in Das Ausland (56.3:53-57). Grabowsky indicates that in his own travels over nearly the whole length of the Kapuas Murung, among "thousands" of Oloh Ngadju he had seen only a few individuals who had "crooked bones." He also suggests that Perelaer had actually spent little time in Oloh Ngadju villages and had insufficient firsthand experience on which to base his views. In addition to their small canoe, the Ngadju often used a large canoe (praw) in which they stretched their legs out straight, folded them up compactly touching the chest, or hung one foot over the gunnels, and actually only seldom paddled sitting in a cross-legged position (Grabowsky 1883:56).

Grabowsky did observe the Oloh Ngadju exhibiting a tottering gait, "however, by no means so sharply pronounced," but suggests an ingenious explanation of this behavior which indicates a sensitivity to ethnographic method rarely found in similar 19th century writings. "As is well-known the primitive (sic) Oloh Ngadju wear a tjawat (loincloth), often more than a meter long, wound repeatedly around the abdomen, with an approximately three-finger wide strip between the legs. It is made of beaten tree-bark, and is so fastened that the strip is drawn in tight. As I made sure of myself through personal experiment, such a garment unquestionably affects the gait, and my conviction finds support therein, (since) one observes no trace of an abnormal gait with pants-wearing Dajaks" (Grabowsky 1883:56).

Clearly Perelaer's explanation of the etymology of the word 'Dayak' presented by Veth cannot be accepted. Meyer shows that Becker had observed (in 1849) the phonological identity of 'Dayak' and Ngadju dayak 'walk with a totter' before Hardeland carried out his linguistic studies (in 1850-1856--Hardeland 1858:iii), but rejected the notion that the two forms were semantically related. We presume Hardeland did likewise. Grabowsky faults the semantic connection because of the inadequacy of Perelaer's ethnographic observations. "Thus where the name Dayak originates from is still an open and difficult question to answer, inasmuch as the people themselves know not the least how to give an account of it" (Grabowsky 1883:56); and, we might add at this point, nor do we.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT: I would like to thank Michael D. Murphy for comments made on an earlier version of this paper.

Notes

1. A German version of the note, 'Ueber den Ursprung des Namens Dajak,' was published in 1882 in Das Ausland, 55.8:157-158.
2. The Kantouw Dayak are the Kantu', studied by Michael R. Dove (e.g., 1980), in the upper Kapuas drainage area in Kalimantan, just across the border from Lubok Antu in Sarawak. Veth earlier located them slightly farther up the Kapuas in the vicinity of Selimbau (1854:165). The Pari Dayak are probably those mentioned as living along the Malo and Madei rivers and the far upper reaches of the Kapuas (Veth 1854:57, 166-167). Veth located the Ribun Dayak on the Sekajam River, which enters the lower Kapuas near Sanggau (1854:169).
3. The relevant passage in the English editions is the following: "'You really are too handsome for Dayaks,' said Dalim (one of the 'Dayaks' accompanying the Europeans on their northward trek in the story); nor was he wrong to think so, for though the Europeans exposed their broad chests and finely-developed arms and shoulders proper to their assumed caste, they lacked the crooked legs to which the inhabitants of Borneo owe their name. Dayak is really an abbreviation of dadajak--to totter. With very few exceptions all the natives have bandy legs, which circumstance causes their peculiar tottering gait. This physical deformity is the result of the position they are compelled to assume while sitting in their canoes. But though their natural fondness for the sea thus attenuates and deforms their lower extremities, the upper parts of their bodies become so developed as to make them fit models for the sculptor" (Perelaer 1887:51-52, n.d.:51-52).
4. Meyer (1882:543) also quotes this same passage from Perelaer's Borneo van Zuid naar Noord, but continues further: "On the other hand their upper body is so developed, through frequent and persistent rowing, that for the most of them it can very well serve as a model for a sculptor. In the local language the tribes which we term Dayaks are called Olo Ott, if it means mountain dwellers; Olo Ott Danom, if one denotes the inhabitants of the lower reaches of the rivers and streams; and Olo Ngadju if inhabitants of the coast or estuaries are mentioned. The name of the mountain, the stream or river by which those meant live is mentioned just after the initial indicator. So: Olo Ngadju Kapuas, the Ngadju's of the Kapuas region; Olo Ott Danom Kahajan, the Ott Danom's of the Kahajan region; Olo Ott Bohong, the Ott's who reside near Mt. Bohong."

5. Hardeland, in the introduction to his grammar, contrasts "our Dayaks," 'inhabitants of the interior, or uplanders,' who call themselves Olo Ngadju, with the "Malays," who are settled fairly well everywhere on the seacoast (1858:2).
6. Neither Veth (1881) nor Grabowsky (1883) describes the pronunciation of the word 'Dayak.' Meyer (1882:550) simply indicates that the final k is "unessential" (unwesentlich), and cites the additional example of 'Suluk' (which is the Brunei Malay pronunciation) versus 'Sulu' (which is a widely used English pronunciation). Hardeland, however, is quite clear that in Ngadju the final k of dadajak, etc. is a voiceless velar stop: "k, as in German; at the end of the syllable always exactly as sharp and clear as in the beginning, not as in Javanese, where it is often nearly silent at the end" (1858:11-12).
7. Michael Theophile Hubert Perelaer was a colonial officer who led the civil administration in the Kahajan and Kapuas Murung areas, 1860-1864, after having participated in a campaign against Banjarese and Dayak insurgents (Helbig 1955:135). The adapted English translation of his ethnographic novel (1877, n.d.) lacks any explanatory material, which led one contemporary reviewer to pause over endorsing its authenticity (Anon. 1887:1709). The novel is a romantic tale about four Europeans who fled from southeast Borneo to Rajah Brooke's Kuching, and is replete with hair-raising adventures. For a description of the trying times and circumstances, which undoubtedly gave birth to this novel (originally published in Dutch in 1881), Barbara Harrison's article on the activities of the Rheinische Mission in southeast Borneo outlines some of the uncertainties of life for European missionaries in the area, especially during the decades of the 1850s and 1860s (Harrison 1959).

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(\* - not examined)

#### SCHÄRER'S BAHASA SANGIANG DICTIONARY

For nearly 40 years Hans Scharer's Bahasa Sangiang Dictionary has been lost. Recently it was found again, and Martin Baier is busy with its revision.

The dictionary is described in:

SCHÄRER H.: Der Totenkult der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo. 's-Gravenhage 1966. Page 5 seq.

There are about 2,520 words and it will require typing about 80 pages. If any institution is willing to publish it, it must pay the costs for typewriting (D-Mark 300., three hundred). If not, then the dictionary will be copied at a cost of D-Mark 120 per copy. The following is a sample of the dictionary.

#### KAMUS BAHASA SANGIANG - BAHASA DAYAK NGAJU - BAHASA JERMAN disusun oleh Hans SCHARER diperiksa kembali oleh M. BAIER

ahoi (HARDELAND 13)	layang	verirrt
ajong (ajang) (HARDELD 2)	banama (randing)	großes Boot
akan nduenam	kandue	wozu, wofür, aus welchem Grunde, zu welchem Zwecke
ambo	panjang	lang
ambo-ambo	papanjang	ziemlich lang
ampah	sampai	bis zu
ampong		Zufluchtsort
ampong kalawet		Zulf.ort der Kalawet-Affen
	ampong	Trost
ampur (HARDELD 8)	amok	mörderischer, wütender Anfall
anau	atau	es ist, es wird
	toto	wahr, wenn es so ist
anden (HARD 10)	ewah	Lendengürtel, Schamgürtel, männl. Bekleidung
andoh buno (HARD 10)	panga	Strafblock, in den man die Füße einschließt
bangkangm tapatasa andoh buno		du selbst wirst in den Block eingeschlossen
anggan (HARD II)	pakaian	Kleider
kalanjangan anggan tabuhi		geschützt durch ein überflochtenes Kleid
anggon (HARD II)	sarangan sirih	Sirihdose

anggon manggala ngatil lameang		eine bengalische Betelnußdose auf einem Gestell von Achatsteinen
anjai (HARD 10)	hantu	Leiche
mananya, anjal tambon bahantong mijen gohong hagandang		wehe, die Leiche des Herrlichen treibt hin im Wasser, dem rauschenden
	SCHÄRER:	Verloren ist er ! Weggetragen wird die Leiche des Tambon vom Wasser, das rauscht wie der Schall der Trommel.
anjo	hanjaliwan	Otter
antah ramoan penda bendang		panggirih antah ramoan penda bendang
anteanter	harajur	fortwährend
anting (HARD 13)	suwang	Ohringe
anyam (HARD 13: "bas. Kah." !)	angat	Gefühl
apang	hapan	mit, zu
arepm	arep keton	euch selbst
aring		Freund, Freundin (von Männern und Frauen je untereinander gebraucht)
	aring	Freundin (nur unter Frauen, unter Männern : ule)

## BORNEO NEWS

Regional News

Kwiton Jong, Senior Lecturer in South-east Asian Botany and one of the three staff members associated with the Institute of South East Asian Biology, University of Aberdeen, has decided to take early retirement from October this year. Sadness at this news is tempered by the fact that Kwiton will still be working part-time in the Department of Botany until 1985, and thereafter plans to remain in Aberdeen and continue his botanical studies.

A year ago we in the Institute, and indeed most of our colleagues throughout this university, were deeply worried about the appalling financial position of the university and the suggested methods of alleviating it. Twelve months later, due in large measure to the massive take-up of the voluntary early retirement plan, the university has become a calmer place in which to work. Furthermore, our optimism about the future has been greatly enhanced by three recent occurrences. Firstly, the Royal Society's Tropical Rain Forest Collaborative Research Programme which has been in the wind for four years, is finally underway; and Kwiton Jong has been appointed the U.K. Scientific Coordinator. Secondly, the planning of another major biological initiative in South-east Asia is forging ahead; the Royal Entomological Society is proposing a Centenary Expedition to Sulawesi, Indonesia in 1984/1985, and I have been appointed Research Director for its Forest Regeneration Programme. Thirdly, our new link with Prince of Songkla University is off the ground; Dr. Noel Pritchard of our Botany Department is currently in Thailand, and we expect a further three staff exchanges and a student expedition in 1983. (Adrian G. Marshall)

Brunei News

PG. ISMAIL PG. HASHIM is following a three year B. Sc. course in Montreal, Canada. He left Brunei in September, 1981 on government scholarship.

AWG. ABD. RAHIM POKIDDP HJ. MUSA returned from the United Kingdom in July, 1982 where he successfully obtained a Post Graduate Certificate of Education at Wolverhampton Polytechnic. He was sponsored under the in-service training scheme of the Establishment Department.

Kalimantan News

ANDREAS MASSING has just completed his MSc thesis in AgEconomics on "The Economics of Bride-Price Payments with Data from Seven East Kalimantan Societies." His new address is: c/o Consultat a l'Ambassade de la Republique Federale d'Allemagne, Rebat.

Sabah News

CAROL WARREN has published (1982) Ideology, Identity and Change: The Experience of the Bajau Laut of East Malaysia, 1969-1975. The 115 page monograph is Number 14 in the series of the South-East Asian Studies Centre, James Cook University, Townsville, Australia and may be ordered at a cost of Australian \$8.00 plus postage AUS 1.40.

Sarawak News

Dr. FRANCIS E. PUTZ of the Department of Botany, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611 was back in Malaysia 1 May- 20 August 1983 studying the ecology of woody climbers and forest dynamics in the mixed dipterocarp forests of Sarawak. He was associated with the Research Branch of the Sarawak Forestry Department and worked in the Fourth Division in both primary and logged-over forests. The research is an extension of his studies in Peninsular Malaysia and in the neotropics.

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lawyer in The Wilderness. By K. H. Digby. Ithaca: Southeast Asian Studies Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University. Data Paper No. 114, 1980, 102 pp.

The literature on Sarawak history is hardly exhaustive;<sup>1</sup> furthermore, we know considerably more about the nineteenth and early twentieth century than we do about the rule of the third rajah or the early crown colony years. Fortunately, this lacuna has now been remedied by the recent publication of two books dealing with the 1930s and 1940s. Bob Reece, an Australian historian, has provided a stimulating and definitive analysis of late Brooke and early colonial political history in his book, The Name of Brooke<sup>2</sup> (see my forthcoming review in the American Historical Review). K. H. Digby, in the volume under review here, gives us an exceedingly useful memoir of his government service in Sarawak during the same crucial period.

Like the earlier published memoir by A. B. Ward,<sup>3</sup> a long-serving official to both the second and third rajahs, Digby's account tells us much about the administration of a most singular state. A British lawyer, Digby completed the writing of this retrospective on his Sarawak experience soon after his final journey home; hence the reflection is fresh. Although an opinionated work by an author deeply involved in some of the major developments of the time, Digby supplies a pleasant, readable, enlightening and, on the whole, fairminded account. Digby's approach is engagingly candid and disarmingly self-critical; his writing reveals him to be a humane, liberal and broadminded intellectual with a good sense of humor. A brief but helpful introduction by Bob Reece places the memoir

in context and summarizes the importance for the historian. Rather than recapitulating these points, I want to highlight and assess some of the insights and experiences offered in this book.

Digby joined the Sarawak service in 1934; as an Oxonian and recent law school graduate he already possessed educational qualifications superior to most Sarawak officials. Furthermore, his anti-imperialist, socialist, pro-Labor Party sympathies contrasted sharply with the political allegiances commonly encountered in both British colonial and Sarawak government ranks. Digby was openly skeptical of Western cultural "superiority" and highly critical of the often reactionary views of his colleagues: "(the Sarawak Gazette editor) could be as reactionary as he liked so long as he did not actually inspire nausea." (p. 26) Between 1934 and his resignation in 1938 Digby worked in Miri, Serian, and Simanggang. His vignettes and description of outstation administration are not only interesting but often amusing, in the process conveying something of the flavor of life outside Kuching. Outstation Brooke officials had considerable flexibility and authority in determining their course of action. The ad hoc nature of local government was inconsistent and often arbitrary; policies were subject to revision or reversal whenever personnel changed. But officials had to work within the spirit of the law and often (as Digby admits) relied heavily on the local Asian staff for advice. Nor did the system enjoy immunity to corruption; according to Digby, officers could be "softened up" with hospitality and neglect their inspections.

Digby clearly portrays the growing tensions between autonomy-loving outstation officials and a centralizing Kuching bureaucracy (a development Reece analyzes in detail in his book). Since he later worked in Kuching and understood both sides of the conflict, Digby was well-placed to consider the conflict dispassionately. The memoir also discusses the conflict between veteran officers and the younger staff, especially those of the latter group who had not had the benefit of assignment to the "real Sarawak" (upcountry Dayak districts): "there was a horrible old saying that a man did not become a 'real Sarawakian' until he had 'had clap twice and been sick in his soup three times'." (p. 11) Among other topics, there are good discussions of Miri as a "company town" where oil company and Brooke officials coexisted somewhat uneasily, and the development of the Serian Road settlements.

In 1940 Digby rejoined the service as legal advisor to the government, playing a major role in the writing of the 1941 Constitution. According to Digby, most officers shared his affection and respect for the third rajah, Charles Vyner Brooke; but this account also describes a ruler tired of his responsibilities who had long since delegated much of his power to senior civil servants. The Constitution merely ratified this situation. But not all officers shared this view. Digby's account is in no way meanspirited and vindictive but one Brooke official receives harsh criticism. John Beville Archer, the Chief Secretary both before and after the Japanese Occupation, was Digby's chief nemesis on the Constitution issue; he is portrayed as a duplicitous reactionary. There is also much



interesting material on the nature of the Brooke legal system, which can only be described as rudimentary, leaving much to local discretion and often native custom. Digby also outlines the hitherto little understood British attempts to impose more control on Sarawak; the author helped prepare the Brooke counterattack and shared local fears: "It was clearly most undesirable that independent Sarawak, in which native interests had always been treated as paramount, should be placed at the mercy of people who might see our family rubber gardens welded into large commercial estates, and our hunting and fishing Malays and Dayaks responding smartly to the sound of the factory hooter." (p. 44)

Digby's account of the Japanese Occupation is characteristically fairminded and dispassionate. He refuses to criticize his colleagues who chose the option of leaving their posts and the country rather than facing the possibilities of Japanese invasion. Digby himself endured four years in Japanese prison camps and his account of the Batu Lintang camp in Kuching nicely supplements earlier published recollections. The memoir discusses the gradual breakdown of morale and cooperation among inmates; both the rigors of confinement and the lighter side of camp life, such as the informal intellectual activities, are described. Digby demonstrates little rancor toward his Japanese captors; on the whole, he feels, those in his group were strictly but not badly treated, while the Japanese guards were as much victims of a brutal and unjust military system as the prisoners. There is also some material on wartime Iban headhunting and a sensible evaluation of the collaboration issue.

The memoir supplies considerable material on the transition to crown colony status and the bitter conflicts which marked the late 1940s. As editor of the Sarawak Gazette Digby helped push the cause of Cession to Britain. Hence, his discussion perhaps too easily dismisses the opposition to Cession. Nor does he tell us much about the mysterious G.T. MacBryan, a pivotal and seemingly sinister figure in the late Brooke years with whom he was apparently well acquainted. But Digby was soon at odds with the new colonial regime because of his populist views; he argued unsuccessfully against such decisions as payment of war damages to powerful financial interests and the recruitment of Ibans to fight the communist insurgency in Malaya. No doubt Digby seemed a dangerous radical to the conservative, mostly Tory, bureaucrats of the British colonial service. For his part Digby came to regret his support of Cession, believing that it did not bring the promised economic development and substituted worship of the British Royal Family for that of the Japanese emperor. Most significantly, he considered the colonial government impersonal and remote, staffed largely by outsiders who had little interest in the peoples, customs or languages of the state, in sharp contrast to the Brooke officer corps. Furthermore, the British governors were needlessly belligerent in antagonizing opponents, thus provoking increased resentment and anti-Cession activity. By 1951 Digby had seen enough; the frustrated maverick resigned a colonial administration from which he felt increasingly estranged.

This work, along with the more comprehensive and scholarly account by Reece, gives us a critical but not unsympathetic view of these crucial years and can be used as a contrast to the writings of earlier observers such as Runciman, MacDonald, and Liang. Cornell's Southeast Asian Studies Program is to be congratulated for locating and publishing a long-neglected and unavailable memoir certain to interest all students of Sarawak history (Craig Lockard).

NOTES

1. See Craig Lockard, "A Survey and Evaluation of the Literature on Modern Sarawak and Sabah History," Sarawak Gazette, June, 1980, 3-14.
2. The Name of Brooke: The End of White Rajah Rule in Sarawak (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982).
3. Rajah's Servant (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Data Paper No. 61), 1966.

Hartmut, K. Hilderbrand, Die Wildbeutergruppen Borneos (The Nomadic Groups of Borneo), Minerva Publikation, Munich, 1982.

This study, based on a Ph.D. dissertation, aims at a review of all published materials on the nomadic hunters and gathering groups of Borneo because of their past neglect by anthropological research, as the author claims. The book consists of six main parts:

- past research and critical evaluation of the sources;
- classification of nomadic groups;
- present territories of the nomadic groups;
- contacts;
- settlement and dwellings;
- subsistence activities.

Unfortunately, the book is not based, like many of the publications it discusses, on fieldwork and first hand experience which limits its value despite the unquestionable merits which such a collection of source materials has. The title of the book is therefore somewhat misleading; incidentally, the English summary speaks of 'collecting groups' which should be replaced by the more common 'hunters and gatherers' or 'forest nomads'.

The author's attempt to come to grips with the confusing multiplicity of references to apparently nomadic groups of the interior of Borneo suffers from the inherent weakness to confuse facts with fiction. Due to the lack of first-hand knowledge it cannot guide the reader to distinguish names referring to real groups from those which are contrived; it also cannot distinguish extinct from still existing bands.

Another problem is the way the publication approaches treatment of the individual groups. The geographical principle of regional distribution which the author introduces for the discussion of such major groups as Ot, Punan, Bakatan or Bukitan, and Basap, is later abandoned in favor of alphabetic ordering of the individual groups. While the author argues convincingly that the above terms are generic terms with a certain regional distribution, e.g. the Ot in the headwaters of Barito and Melawai, the Bukat or Bukitan in the headwaters of the Kapuas of West Kalimantan and the Balui in Sarawak, the Penan/Punan in East Kalimantan and the Baram of Sarawak, the Basap in coastal East Kalimantan - terms often introduced by the surrounding Dayak groups to designate the nomads in their area - the following discussion of local groups in alphabetic order is confusing, all the more as in Section D, in the treatment of present territories, the geographical principle is reintroduced. A discussion of all individual groups on the basis of their approximate living territories might have enabled the study to focus on regional differences in social organization in relation to environment and surrounding groups. As it is, the discussion, in parts E, F, G, of contacts, settlement and subsistence patterns, seems over-generalized being detached from particular groups. Information about the cultural system is completely missing from the account; it is unclear whether this is due to the author's bias or the absence from the published material which he discusses.

A more systematic presentation of materials, for example, in tables and with an alphabetic index of groups and the sources which mention them might have resulted in a useful reference work. As it is, the reader has to wade through a number of names of which it remains unclear to which real units they refer. For example, the Punan Ulu Makkam are mentioned (p. 105) and equated by the author with a group on the Segah river; however, the name rather seems to refer to a group on the Upper Mahakam than on the Segah which belongs to a different drainage system. On p. 123 are listed a group as Punan Sei Naha; however, everyone familiar with Indonesian maps knows that Sei stands as abbreviation for sungai/sungei = river, and therefore, what appears as an individual group name is nothing but the reference to a nomadic group on the Naha river. In any event, most of the names of local groups are derived from rivers or other toponyms, which have most likely also been coined by the surrounding Dayak, like the generic names Punan, Ot etc. The discussion of such names represents a classificatory enterprise of the kind which have been referred to as 'butterfly collecting' by E. Leach.

The following sections of the book about material culture and trade contacts give a somewhat more vivid picture of the daily life; however, the symbiotic character of Punan-Dayak interrelations who exploit different ecological niches in the same environment and exchange the products of their activities, is unrecognized. Also, the fact that the nomads served as messengers and war patrols for the hostile Dayak groups in their wars and headhunting groups, being much more skillful of moving about in the forest, is not given sufficient emphasis.

More recent developments such as the increasing sedentism of nomad groups, be it by economic necessity or by government intervention, are ignored by the study as they are not mentioned in the publications so far. In this context we should refer to the work under way by C. Hoffman (cf. his article in Borneo Research Bulletin, Vol. 13, No. 2, Sept. 1981) which is based on actual field research. In addition, useful detailed information is included in Lontaan, Sejarah Hukum Adat das Adat-Istiadat Kalimantan Barat, Pemda Tingkat I KalBar, Pontianak, 1975, and in the East Kalimantan Border and Coastal Area Survey, TAD Project, Samarinda, 1980, two works which are only in limited circulation (Andreas Massing).

The Material Provisioning of Mualang Society in Hinterland Kalimantan Barat, Indonesia by Richard Allen Drake, Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1982.

This dissertation is a study of the economic life of a Mualang village in the Belitang Hulu, Kalimantan Barat, Indonesia. The Mualang are swidden agriculturalists supplementing hill rice production with swamp rice cultivation, rubber-tapping, forest-gathering and the husbanding of pigs and chickens. The economic focus of the study provides an understanding of the performance dimension of such a community, thus complementing the organizational dimension furnished in the now standard work of W. R. Geddes and J. D. Freeman.

Following an examination of Mualang social and political organization, economic data on production, exchange, distribution and consumption is presented and analyzed as materially provisioning this sociopolitical order. A major feature of the study is the various analyses that are developed from the data on household production performance. The data is organized to permit the testing of the "Domestic Mode of Production" schema proposed by Marshall Sahlins in his Stone Age Economics (1972). The slope of the community production profile (a "peasant slope"), obtained by plotting each household's product against its consumer-per-worker ratio, was found to correlate with the economic expressions of community sociopolitical order as Sahlins hypothesized.

Elaborations of Sahlins' analytical technique are presented which reveal that various aspects of household production strategy correlate with particular segments of the community's consumer-per-worker ratio spectrum. Especially interesting in this regard is the relationship between rubber-tapping and rice production. Those families with disadvantageous consumer-per-worker ratios are shown to self-exploit to achieve the "community level of livelihood" by tapping more rubber and buying rice on the market rather than intensifying rice production.

The production performance data also permits the calculation of returns to labor for the various forms of production, as well as the quantification of such analytic concepts of subsistence economics as the

"socially-defined level of well-being," household self-exploitation and asymmetrical linkages to a market economy.

The final chapter attempts to accommodate the findings of the study to the predominant models of tribal society and primitive and peasant economic order. The economic order analyzed is characterized as primitive, based upon a detailed examination of the place of trade goods in the local economic context. The inconsistency of this characterization with the "peasant-like" slope of the community production profile is explained by the prominence in the village order of political egalitarianism that expresses itself materially in balanced reciprocity between households.

Karl Helbig, A Crossing of the Island Borneo (Kalimantan). From the diaries of 1937. 2 volumes. Total of 784 pages and 64 pages of pictures with 200 illustrations, plus a multi-colored fold-out map.

Karl Helbig was born in 1903. The author of various textbooks, travel logs and juvenile texts; he worked in agriculture, mining, trade and had long service in the merchant marine, mostly as a stoker. He moved to the study of geography, geology, ethnology and Indonesian languages. After he had conducted comprehensive studies on several other Malaysia islands, Karl Helbig, together with his travel companion Erich Schreiter crossed Asia's largest island, Borneo, in a zig-zag march of 3000 kilometers.

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THE SIAUW GIAP. "Rural unrest in West Kalimantan," IN Leyden studies in Sinology: papers presented at the conference held in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Sinological Institute of Leyden University, December 8-12, 1980 ed. by W. L. IDEMA, Leiden: Brill, 1981 - p. 138-152 - (Sinica Leidensia, vol. 15).

The author sketches the developments in West Borneo from April 1912 onward when a disturbance broke out in the village of Budok, when the Chinese there believed that after the Chinese Republic had been declared, it would not be too long before they would be able to free themselves from the authority of the Dutch-Indies government. The Chinese were complaining about high taxes they had to pay to the Dutch, which money the Chinese wished to send to China. The money was collected through associations known as the Shubao she, aspects of which the author discusses. In 1912 the resident H. de Vogel forbade the associations to collect money for China, in May 1913 taxes for the Chinese were raised and also a regulation for compulsory labour was issued, leading to social unrest towards the end of 1913, which flared into open rebellion in July 1914. It was suppressed in August. The law on forced labour was abolished in 1917.

DOVE, Michael R., "Household composition and intensity of labour: a case study of the Kantu' of West Kalimantan," Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies. Vol. 17, no. 3, Nov. 1981, p. 86-93.

This paper examines the theoretical relationship between household composition and labour intensity in the context of a tribal economy based on subsistence, swidden agriculture. It is shown that (1) the use of household labour is intensified (or not) in accordance with Chayanov's theory. (The theory of peasant economy, Homewood, III., 1966), (2) this intensification, in the face of constraints by techno-environmental variables, is achieved through the hiring-in of wage labour, (3) households with high consumer/producer ratios tend to hire-in wage labour while households with low ratios tend to hire-out as wage labourers, and (4) this use of wage labour is not necessarily associated with either capitalistic motivation or differentiation. The economy examined is that of the Melaban Kantu', a Dayak people of the Kapuas river valley in West Kalimantan.

SAUNDERS, Graham, "Seekers of kingdoms: British adventurers in the Malay archipelago," The Brunei Museum Journal, Vol. 4, no. 4, 1980, p. 137-154.

In the hiatus between the ending of the Napoleonic Wars and the new imperialism of the 1870s and 1880s, government interest in colonies was not very great. The way was open for individuals, for their own gain or for that of their country, to make their mark. This article looks into the lives and vicissitudes of six "would-be White Rajas" who attempted to establish a kingdom of their own in the Malay archipelago: Alexander Hare, John Clunies-Ross, Erskine Murray, Robert Burns, Adam Wilson, and Tristram Charles Sawyer Speedy. The author finishes up with some conclusions on requirements for success for these adventurers.

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