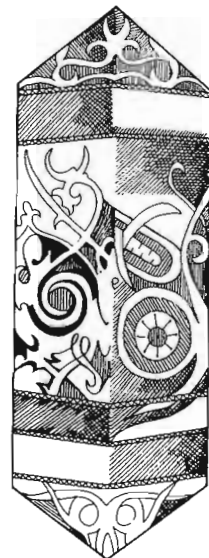


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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

Technological advances account for the tardiness of this issue of the Bulletin. One year ago we acquired a microcomputer system for the production of copy and the management of our records. The latter has proceeded smoothly; data on Fellows and subscribers are on file. The former, however, has lagged. Originally we planned to transmit by modem to the printer's computer. After copy was edited and proofed, we entered the proper codes. Then, we learned that the printer's rep had quoted the cost incorrectly, and we had to remove all codes and produce camera-ready copy with our own high quality printer.

We believe the advantages of the new system are numerous. First, editing of copy is much simpler. Second, authors with access to a micro-computer can submit their materials on disks. The first article in this issue was produced in this way. (If you consider sending copy on a disk, please contact us about word processing programs.) Third, we are able to manage our records much more efficiently. For example, we now can reproduce the mailing list of the Bulletin upon order, for the reasonable cost of US\$10.

I am pleased to report that the Borneo Research Council is now the Borneo Research Council, Incorporated. We have incorporated in the State of Virginia, and are proceeding to acquire tax-exempt status for the Council. I shall keep you informed of progress.

We are grateful to the following persons for their contributions to the work of the Council. It is no exaggeration to write that without their generosity, we simply could not continue publication. Contributors are: G. N. Appell, Robert Austin, I. C. and L. M. S. Baillie, Richard Baldauf, Mr. and Mrs. Luke Beidler, Ian Black, Eberhard Brunig, Donald Brown, Paul Bucher, Patrick Cassels, G. Chandler, R. G. P. Claydon, E. J. H. Corner, Jay B. Crain, Gale Dixon, Michael Dove, Richard and Doris Drake, the Earl of Cranbrook, John Elliott, Wayne Frank, W. R. Geddes, (Cont'd. on pg. 78)

RESEARCH NOTES

RESETTLEMENT OF PEOPLES
IN INDONESIAN BORNEO:
THE SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF
ADMINISTERED PEOPLES

Edited by
George N. Appell, Ph.D.
Department of Anthropology
Brandeis University

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RESETTLEMENT OF PEOPLES IN
INDONESIAN BORNEO:
THE SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
OF ADMINISTERED PEOPLES

Edited by G. N. Appell
Department of Anthropology
Brandeis University

PREFACE
THE USES OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL INQUIRY

G. N. Appell
Department of Anthropology
Brandeis University

The tribal peoples of Southeast Asia are undergoing rapid modernization largely as the result of government plans for economic and social development. As with all social change there are advantages and disadvantages, gains and social costs. The social costs include social and personality disorganization that arise when modernization moves too rapidly to be assimilated or when the plans by which a population is brought into the modern world are inappropriate to their own needs or for the ecosystem in which they live. Inappropriate administration of the social change itself may also incur unnecessary social costs. These social costs can be extremely expensive for a developing nation and in many cases can be minimized or avoided with proper planning and insight into the processes by which social change occurs.

Can the discipline of anthropology offer any practical advice or insight on the problems of modernizing populations? Can anthropological knowledge be of any use to the policy maker at one level and to the local administrator at the other level? These questions were posed at a symposium entitled "The Anthropology of Reservations," which was organized by G. N. Appell and Barbara Nowak and held at the

1984 annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association. The papers included here are from that session. They are presented here in the hope that they may aid the development of anthropological knowledge on the processes of social change now going on in the region as well as provide some help and assistance to government planners and administrators.

INTRODUCTION

THEORETICAL ISSUES IN THE STUDY
OF RESERVATIONS AND RESETTLEMENT

G. N. Appell
Department of Anthropology
Brandeis University

In 1980-81 my wife and I and three daughters undertook field work in Kalimantan Timur. During that time we visited nine resettlement sites on the Sibuku, Sekatak, Bengara, and Batayau Rivers. We were struck by the similarities of these both in terms of housing styles and layout to Indian reservations that we have visited in Canada. I was also struck by the similarities in purpose and social form of these resettlements not only to Indian reservations in Canada but also to the Indian reservations in the late 1800's in the American West.

The consequence of resettlement, as was the case in Canada and the United States, has been that the ethnic groups involved were being deprived of access to their traditional areas of village settlement upon which they depended for economic survival. We also found that the economy of the resettlements was such that many of the people perceived that there would be a shortage of food in the future. The administration of the resettlements involved various forms of corruption, including the misuse of government allotments so that the full amounts were not reaching

the resettlement villages areas. The ethnic groups were also being converted to Islam or Christianity. As a result, they were being discouraged from continuing their ceremonial life, including their funeral ceremonies, their traditional patterns of courtship and marriage, and their traditional form of dwelling, the longhouse. Anyone who has read accounts of the reservation process in the American West, such as in Tibbles (1957) will recognize familiar patterns.

To cap it off we experienced a symbolic statement that I find hard to interpret fully. We attended a wedding, and, as we arrived at the house of the bride, we found on the doorstep her father, a former headhunter, dressed in a loincloth, with tiger teeth in his ears, and wearing a blue, double-breasted, pinstriped suit jacket. I was suddenly transported back to drawings and pictures of Indians and early reservation life in western America before the turn of the century.

In discussing this with a colleague, Barbara Nowak, who had worked in a resettlement area in Malaysia, we discovered that she had had similar experiences. As a result of this discussion there arose the idea of organizing a symposium to look at reservations as a social type, as a distinct social form.

The Reservation as a Social Type

The concept of a reservation as a method of dealing with ethnic minorities seems to arise in all parts of the world at various times without any common historical, geographical, or cultural roots. It seems almost as timeless a social type as the nuclear family or the community. And it is an enduring type of social form that in the modern world is finding increasing use in certain regions. Yet we know little about the reservation as a social form in terms of its defining features, how it functions, or how it is articulated to the larger society. Thus, it is important to reach some generalizations and theories about the reservation area as a social system for several reasons.

First, from the view of the development of anthropological knowledge, we have an opportunity to witness first-hand the processes which lead to the development of reservations and the consequences of these, processes and consequences which have formed a major part of the expansion of Western culture and the industrial economy for the past two centuries. It is important that these processes be fully recorded and analyzed, not only in terms of their intrinsic interest but also so that we have the data and insight to reinterpret historical accounts of these processes which in the past were not witnessed by trained social scientists.

Second, by understanding these processes and the management of administered peoples we can perhaps develop better approaches to the problem so that impact of resettlement on minority ethnic groups is minimized. At this point it would be useful to put forward a tentative definition of what constitutes a reservation. It is important to do this so that we do not get misdirected in our analysis by what we find under the "reservation" label here in America or founder on names such as "resettlement areas," "re-education centers," and the like, which may in fact hide the critical defining features.

The reservation, as a social type, is an institution that involves the relocation of a minority ethnic group to an area chosen by the government so that the group no longer has access to its traditional lands for economic exploitation, and as a result of the institution or administration of the reservation, the ethnic group is prevented from practicing its traditional culture. There may be good and sufficient reasons given for the establishment of a reservation, such as the providing of modern welfare services, the protection of the ethnic group from predatory or unscrupulous representatives of the dominant society, etc. Nevertheless, the reservation social type has certain social consequences that need examination. We should also not be led astray in attempting to isolate the defining features of a reservation by developments that may take place once the reservation system becomes a mature institution in any society. I refer here to the

manipulation of the reservation system by ethnic minorities to advance their own interests. For example, there is the recent case of a previously unrecognized Indian community in the southwest United States applying successfully to the federal government for federal land to form a small, residential community. But this was well after the loss of their traditional culture.

There are a number of critical questions that need investigation in developing a theory and understanding of the reservation as a social form, some of which will be addressed in the following papers. These questions include:

What are the common features of the social structure of the reservation? Are there developmental stages to the reservation social structure? What are the social roles found on the reservation and which of these are occupied by members of the dominant society? Does the dehumanization of the ethnic minority by the dominant society always precede the creation of a reservation? What methods are used to obtain control over the administered population and how is social control maintained? Does the development of the local political administration or the social conditions that precede the establishment of the reservation foster the development of corrupt administrators and predatory traders? Is this a function of the developmental stage of the reservation social structure?

What is the function of the juxtaposition in the same social environment of indigenous symbols with symbols of the dominant society in terms of dress, dwellings, and

behavior? How do the traditional methods of conflict resolution fit in the new social situation? Are there more conflicts and conflicts of a type not previously dealt with? As a result are the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms overwhelmed? What new mechanisms grow or are instituted in their place?

Do all reservation systems result in the breakdown of the cultural ecology of the subject population and the restructuring of the indigenous system of economic exchanges? How does the dominant society's educational system affect the adaptation of the reservation population? What are the health consequences of the reservation experience? Does the reservation experience produce a common psychological adjustment? Does the reservation facilitate or hinder the adaptation of the minority group to the dominant society and its economic system?

Under what conditions does the reservation become a total institution analogous to a prison, as Robertson (1970) has claimed? How do the administrators of an ethnic group report on their success or failures to their superiors? What statistics are used to justify their administration?

Many of these questions are addressed in the following papers.

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RESETTLEMENT OF THE BULUSU'
AND PUNAN IN INDONESIAN
BORNEO; POLICY AND HISTORY

Laura P. Appell-Warren
Laboratory of Human Development
Harvard University

Introduction

The Indonesian government has for the last two decades been bringing the so-called "primitive peoples" of Indonesian Borneo together into government reservations which they refer to as "resettlement areas." These "primitive peoples" include swidden agriculturalists living in nucleated villages as well as various groups of hunters and gatherers, collectively referred to as Punan. The swidden agriculturalists are also viewed by the government as being nomadic and, like the Punan, are considered to be "primitive" because in addition to being classed as "nomadic" they do not follow a major world religion (or are considered not to have any religion), they do not wear clothes purchased at a shop--such as blouses and trousers, and they do not live in communities large enough to support schools and health centers.

The purposes for resettlement are stated in the formal development plans of the Indonesian government. However, there are many less than explicit purposes for these resettlement plans. I am first going to discuss the development policies of the Indonesian government that inform these resettlement plans. I will then look at how these national policies of development are implemented at the local level, how they are intertwined with the informal purposes for development, and how they shape life at the local level.

National Development Policies

Full scale development and development planning began in Indonesia in 1952 with the formation of the State Planning Bureau. However, it was not until Suharto came into power in 1965 that any substantial development policies or plans were made.

In 1968 President Suharto put into action the First Five-Year Development Plan. The purpose of this development plan was to "raise the standard of living of the People of Indonesia, which aim can only be achieved by carrying out development by stages and according to plan" (Department of Information n.d.:xiii). Although this First Five-Year Plan gave priority to economic and agricultural development, it also stressed the "socialization of primitive peoples" as being of importance (Department of Information n.d.:2).

Socialization in Indonesian is "hidup bermasyarakat," which is defined as living in an organized group. It is implied that this refers to a general form in which the people live in Javanese style villages that include schools, medical facilities, etc.

The philosophy behind the development plans of Indonesia is derived from the Panca Sila, or "The Five Principles," which form the national ideology of Indonesia. These principles are: belief in one Supreme God; just and civilized humanity; nationalism; democracy; and social justice (Vreeland 1975:215).

However, it is the importance of the belief in One Supreme God that is stressed with great vigor throughout Indonesia.

In the First Five-Year Development Plan it is stated that:

In the Republic of Indonesia, religion represents not only the universal service of creation to its Creator, but also gives citizenship a nobility that constitutes a spiritual

infrastructure to the success of national development efforts.

Religion also serves as protection against the position of atheism-communism that undermines the Pantjasila foundation of the Republic.

The Government ... has the duty of giving guidance and assistance in religious development in accordance with all religious teachings and of conducting the supervision in such a way that the fulfilling of these religious teachings by each citizen and the development of religion ... can run smoothly. . .

Isolated groups are found in some areas who, in general, still believe in atheism or in no religion at all. Along with the programs for "socializing" them the problem of their religious life will also be tackled. [Department of Information n.d.:1-2]

The belief that atheism and animism and communism are one and the same is widespread. During the 1965 confrontation with Malaysia all those who were not believers of one of the five recognized religions (Islam, Hinduism, Roman Catholicism, and two forms of Protestant Christianity) were forced to convert (Conley 1973:312). Conley reports that if they did not convert they risked being labeled communist and perhaps killed (1973:310). It is in this way that most indigenous peoples became, at least nominally, Christian or Muslim. Recently Kaharingan, an indigenous religion in South Kalimantan, has become another acceptable religious choice.

The Second Five-Year Development Plan was scheduled to take place between 1974 and 1979. Although still concerned with economic growth, the

second Five-Year Plan was primarily concerned with the "satisfaction of pressing social needs" (Vreeland 1975:309). This included supplying a sufficient amount of food, clothing, housing, and employment to all Indonesians--including the so called primitive peoples.

The Third Five-Year Development Plan was scheduled to take place between 1979 and 1984, and again focused on economic growth, "social justice" and national stability (Booth and McCawley 1981:318). Emphasis was also placed on more "equal access to basic need" (Booth and McCawley 1981:318) such as food, clothing, housing, education, etc.

In evaluating development in Indonesia, Soemardjan states that "development [in Indonesia] is a process of phasing out many social and cultural elements followed by painful efforts to adjust to new situations, new technologies and new ways of organizing and working" (1972:1). He also implies that development in Indonesia is hampered because it is performed in a "vacuum of established supporting organizations, or with the support of an insufficient number of inadequately experienced institutions" (1972:1-2). Although Indonesia frequently receives technical aid from foreign countries, all of the socio-political decisions are made by the Indonesian government. Unfortunately these decisions are poorly made due to inexperience (Soemardjan 1972:2). In addition development is hampered by a lack of adequate communication between the isolated provinces and the central government in Jakarta.

Another factor that has hampered development in Indonesia, especially in the more remote areas, is the widespread corruption in all levels of the government. This corruption takes various forms. Customs officials demanding bribes to ensure the export or import of shipments. In the banking world bribes are made to get a loan, with the bank employee gaining 10% of the loan. Embezzlement of funds earmarked for local development projects is also common (Business International 1968:13).

Implementation at the Local Level: The History of "Lansat"

Resettlements in Indonesian Borneo are referred to as *respen*. *Respen* is the acronym for *Resetelmen Penduduk*--"resettlement of citizens." In this study one particular *respen* in East Kalimantan will be examined. In particular, the process of resettlement, the implementation of national development policies at the local level, and how these national development policies are interpreted at the local level will be examined.

We have given the name of "Lansat" to the resettlement village to be discussed. Lansat is located on a river which is on the mainland of East Kalimantan near the island of Tarakan. The *respen* of Lansat is multiethnic, including Bulusu', Punan, Bulungan, and Tidung peoples as well as a few representatives of other Indonesian ethnic groups such as the Timorese. The two groups that are most directly affected by the resettlement project are the Bulusu' and the Punan.

The Bulusu' are a group of swidden agriculturalists who traditionally dwell in longhouses scattered along the banks of the rivers in the area. The Punan are a group of nomadic hunters and gatherers who traditionally inhabited the headwater regions of the rivers, and who prefer to remain in the interior of the jungle (see G. N. Appell 1983).

East Kalimantan is currently being exploited for timber and minerals. As there are plans to expand these operations in the future, the semi-official policy for development, mentioned by local officials, is to free the land for the use of the timber and mineral companies. Thus the resettlement of the indigenous peoples appears to be partially motivated by the promise of economic gain.

The resettlement of the Bulusu' and Punan may also be motivated by the belief of government officials that the longhouses that they live in are disease ridden, and should therefore be eradicated; by the

belief that these "primitive" people have no "social construction," i.e. they are without any formal society in the sense that they are perceived not to have a form of government, economy, or a sufficiently developed culture (Pribadi 1979:37); and by the belief that the practice of swidden agriculture will lead to "catastrophe" with floods, erosion, earth slides, damming of the mouths of rivers (Pribadi 43,1979:37) and loss of valuable timber occurring.

In this section of the paper I am going to outline the history of the village of Lansat as an illustration of how the national development policies are implemented at the local level by local officials. I will not, however, discuss the consequences of this change as that is the topic of the following paper by Dr. Appell.

I was not able to ascertain the exact date of the beginning of the resettlement process in this area, but it appears that it was in the late sixties or, more probably, the early seventies. The general thrust of the resettlement process is to force the people to move to the resettlement village from their traditional villages.

The history of the resettlement of the Bulusu' and Punan in this area is complicated by the indecision of the development planners in Samarinda and Jakarta. Initially there were to have been several small resettlements for each of the major river systems. The first site chosen for the downriver Punan and Bulusu'; one of the initial small resettlements, was an area somewhat south of Lansat. This area was chosen by the local official in conjunction with the Bulusu'. Although the water was dirty and saline, and the boats could not enter the river more than 30 meters, informants reported that it was a satisfactory resettlement for the Bulusu' and Punan involved. The swiddens were good, there was plenty of fish, there were fruit trees and the government officials did not come frequently to "bother" them. At this point each original village head was given a grant of 150,000 rupiahs with which to purchase a small outboard motor for the village to use.

In the resettlement process the original villages are aggregated in separate areas and maintain separate village heads. Thus, when grants are given they are given to each original village, even though they now live in one community.

After this resettlement was established, it was decided that it would be easier for the government officials if there was only one large resettlement for all the villages from the various tributaries of the main river, and this to be established at the Lansat location. Having one resettlement would reduce the amount of travel that the official would have to do. One village of Punan moved downriver into this large resettlement area. Then it was decided by the development planners that there should instead be three resettlements, two for the upriver Bulusu' and Punan, and one for the downriver Bulusu' and Punan. Because--as one informant put it-- they were sick of being moved around, the upriver Punan village refused to move from the downriver resettlement of Lansat to the upriver resettlement.

In 1974, after the division of the villages into three respen locations, the Bulusu' and Punan were told to move to their allotted respen. The resettlement of Lansat is now composed of the aggregation of nine traditional villages. When the entire population is present in the resettlement there are approximately 870 people, including a few Muslim families from the Tidung and Bulungan ethnic groups that have also moved in. The two upriver resettlements are composed of two and six traditional villages respectively, but include many more coastal Muslim. The upriver resettlements thus have a total population of 2150 Bulusu', Punan and Muslim families. The total area of the three resettlements is approximately 9 by 6.7 miles. The residential area of the respen of Lansat is approximately .5 by .5 miles.

When the village of Lansat was set up a valuable fruit grove was cut leaving the area without any shade. This barren, unshaded area was then laid out with streets and village sites. Each original village

drew a number for a new village site. At this time each head of the original villages was given a pressure lamp as enticement to get their village to move to the resettlement. During this period of the resettlement there was a great deal of unrest as people were bullied for wearing loincloths and for not moving to the resettlement. Because the people did not willingly capitulate to the rules against wearing their traditional clothing and did not build their houses in the new village, they were often forced, at gunpoint, to stand in the river--it was recounted that one person was forced to stand in the river during a flood--or various Bulusu' and Punan were forced to stand in the sun all day. Informants also reported that men were beaten and humiliated by having their loincloths ripped off.

It was also at this time that a school and medical facilities were built--neither of which have ever received much use. Three million rupiahs worth of medicine was given to the resettlement by the government. However, much of it was never used and became outdated and had to be buried. In addition the local health official, or dresser, was supplied with medicines that he does not have the knowledge or equipment to administer.

The medical facilities are now closed and there is still a large amount of medicine sitting unused in the building. According to the dresser, the medicines locked in the building are useless because "they are for illnesses that do not occur in Lansat." Medicines are no longer given to the resettlement, but the dresser purchases the medical supplies out of his own pay and then charges for them.

In 1976 a fist fight between a group of local Muslim and a group of Bulusu' and Punan broke out when a Muslim man said that the Bulusu' and Punan had a bad smell from eating pork. The Bulusu' and Punan perceive that they were victorious in their fight and shortly thereafter the Bulusu' and Punan moved out of the resettlement village and returned to their traditional villages. At this time the local government official also left the resettlement.

In 1978 a new official arrived in Lansat and the process of moving the Bulusu' and Punan into the resettlement was started again. Each household listed in the census was promised a grant made up of the following items: 90,000 rupiahs; 45 pieces of sheet metal for roofing; 75 boards; or a smaller number of boards and 10-15,000 additional rupiahs. In addition each household received from the community fund 20 boards, 2 to 4 kilos of nails, and several beams to build houses in the respen. However, the Bulusu' and Punan did not receive the amount that they were promised as much of the cash allotted to purchase the materials is reported to have been embezzled by the local officials. As a result many of the Bulusu' and Punan were forced to sell some of their valuable jars to subsidize the building of their new houses.

In 1980 and 1981, at the time of this study, the resettlement village was only intermittently inhabited as many of the Bulusu' and Punan maintained their original villages and swiddens, returning to the resettlement area when pressured by government personnel or when there was a hiatus in swidden activities. Despite the belief of the local officials, there is not enough swidden space at the resettlement to sustain the resettlement population. However, there are a few families who are trying to build their swiddens within the resettlement boundaries.

The local officials still bully, threaten and humiliate the Bulusu' and Punan. However, they no longer beat them or force them into the river after a delegation complained to the governor of the province. The Bulusu' and Punan are frequently given grants for outboard engines, chainsaws, sewing machines and other items, and a portion of each grant is still embezzled by the local officials.

In 1981 a new school was constructed. (The old school was burned down.) And shortly thereafter the Javanese teacher began to hold classes. Only a few children attend the school and then only when they are not needed to help with the gardens.

At the time of this study there appeared to be an

uneasy truce between the Bulusu' and Punan and the government, with the Bulusu' and Punan maintaining much of their traditional way of life and the government allowing a certain amount of this to go on.

Conclusion

As was mentioned earlier, there is a disparity between the explicit goals of the national development plans and the actual implementation of these plans. This disparity is due to the fact that at the local level there are a great many values, beliefs and stereotypes that color the interpretation of the development plans.

While the nationally generated goals of development are ones that insure economic growth for Indonesia, which necessarily includes the resettlement of the indigenous peoples to make way for the exploitation of timber and mineral resources, the goals for development on the local level involve an Islamization or Javanization of the indigenous peoples. These local goals include an element of cultural imperialism as the Muslim and Javanese perceive that the indigenous people are inferior to themselves. It is because of this feeling of superiority that the Muslim and Javanese are so eager to teach and change the indigenous people until they fit the accepted (i.e. Islamic/Javanese) model of modernity. This belief in Javanization or Islamization stems from the fact that the local government officials are Islamic, and many of them are also Javanese.

These local officials also perceive that the "primitive peoples" are an embarrassment to their country that is striving to become modernized. To the local officials "primitive peoples" are people who walk around without a shirt on, who do not wear store bought clothes, and who have long hair. Therefore, in the resettlement of the Bulusu' and Punan it is these aspects of their primitive background that the officials try to erase first. However, it is ironic that in the effort to be modernized the local officials force the Bulusu' and Punan to give up their traditional loincloths in exchange for jockey shorts or swimming

briefs, neither of which provide more cover or modesty than the loin cloths, and sometimes less.

One of the major failures of the development plans of the Indonesian government is the fact that the government's socio-cultural perception of people such as the Bulusu' and the Punan is uninformed. Because of this lack of information the national development policies are inappropriate to the needs of the indigenous peoples and their environment. These plans are also self-defeating as the interests of the local people are lost sight of and sacrificed to the larger issues of modernization, both nationally and locally defined. As a result there is a tendency for indigenous people to be reduced to poverty and become land impoverished.

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RESETTLEMENT OF THE BULUSU' IN
INDONESIAN BORNEO:
SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES¹

George N. Appell
Department of Anthropology
Brandeis University

The Bulusu' are a people of East Kalimantan, Indonesia. To understand the social consequences of their removal to the resettlement area, it will be necessary first to describe their traditional sociocultural organization.

The Bulusu' are longhouse dwellers and swidden agriculturalists. Post-nuptial residence is virilocal, and a bride-price is paid of gongs, jars, cannon, and various other items. The kinship system is essentially of the Eskimo type.

The developmental cycle of the Bulusu' domestic family differs from that of the Rungus and Iban. The domestic family is a patrilineal extended family. It occupies a longhouse apartment and is typically composed of the two founders, their unmarried daughters, their unmarried and married sons, the wives of the sons, and children of the sons. This is primarily a consumption unit and not a production unit. There is one hearth, but each nuclear family in the apartment has its own swidden and its own swidden house. The nuclear family spends much of its time in its swidden house during the agricultural year. But when living together in the longhouse apartment, each nuclear family contributes food from its own swidden to the domestic economy.

A son with his own family will remain in his father's apartment until his children have reached marriageable age. He will then build his own longhouse apartment, from which his children will marry, on to the longhouse in which his father dwells,

and the three generational structure of the family will be created again. However, the eldest son remains in his parents' apartment to care for them in their old age.

Village organization is not complex. There is a village headman, appointed by the government, and a number of male and female shaman, who are employed generally for curing illness. There are no hereditary classes. Each village consists ideally of one longhouse. In addition each nuclear family builds a field house. If a group of families are cultivating an area far from the longhouse and intend to remain in that part of the village territory for several agricultural seasons, they may make their field houses together in the form of a longhouse, but a smaller version.

The village controls a large tract of forest where the village members have traditionally cultivated swiddens. Under certain conditions in the past when forest products were more valuable, certain villages developed more distinct, hard boundaries. But usually the boundary of the village territory is indistinct. Instead of the emphasis on land and its boundaries, the village was defined more by the area of dispute resolution that was under control of the headman. That is, there were no restrictions on a foreign family cultivating in a village area, but if this were done without the approval of the village headman, such action put the cultivator beyond the protection of the village adat.

The system of land tenure is of the circulating type (Appell 1983). When a disused swidden area reverts back to forest, it returns to the area of disposal of the village (Haar 1948), and it can be used by anyone. That is, no permanent rights over the area are created by cultivating it, unless fruit trees are planted in the old swidden.

Fruit is a major crop of the Bulusu', significantly more than any other swidden cultivating group that I am aware of in Borneo. However, only every 3 to 7 years are there major fruiting seasons. And it is at

those times that new fruit groves are planted in the current swidden area.

This summary provides the basic sociocultural profile of the Bulusu'. I now turn to the sociocultural changes that are occurring as a result of the removal of the Bulusu' to the resettlement area and the attendant health consequences. Some of these changes were imposed by the administrators of the resettlement, and others are second level changes as a consequence of the imposed changes. Few of the imposed social changes were necessary to achieve the stated goals of the resettlement policies.

The residential section of the resettlement area was divided up into contiguous hamlets, with each hamlet assigned to one village. Thus, all the members of one village lived in a clearly demarcated area, along with their headman. Families were instructed to build individual houses, and a village office was also built for the headman. Near the boat landing were constructed the offices, combined with living quarters, of the dresser, school teacher, and assistant district officer, along with a small structure that served as a temporary jail. Also located near these buildings was a small shop owned by a Muslim. About three rows back from the landing a school was built, and also a small cottage hospital, which was never used. A mosque, used primarily during Ramadan, was also constructed near the landing.

This form of settlement pattern results in the Punan, Bulusu' and Coastal Muslim being residentially segregated, but nevertheless thrust together in the use of the resettlement services such as store, landing, athletic fields, and government offices. Tension between these ethnic communities has sometimes resulted in fights. The ones we observed were usually between young adolescents engaged in play that got out of hand, and sides were drawn up on ethnic lines.

We observed a considerable amount of antisocial activity, especially stealing. For example, one could not leave one's longboat equipment at the landing, as

is usual under traditional conditions, as the equipment frequently would disappear, and sometimes even the longboat itself. The point being is that the residential density is much higher than the residents are used to in their own villages, and furthermore, they are not accustomed to living cheek by jowl with strange ethnic groups, whom they really do not trust. I frankly do not know what would be better: either geographically spacing the hamlets further apart, or completely intermingling the houses of members of the various ethnic groups in the settlement.

All trees, even the fruit trees, were cut down in preparing the residential site, so that the area is now extremely hot. This is exacerbated by the issuance of metal roofing for the individual domestic houses. The Bulusu' were prevented from building longhouses, with the reason given that they were unsanitary. However, a mile or so down the river are two timber company areas with housing for the laborers that are essentially longhouses, but much smaller per unit family and without the usual ecology that aids in the sanitation of the traditional longhouses. I refer to the use of pigs and chickens that clean up the refuse and turn over anything that might contain water and thereby become a breeding ground for mosquitoes. Yet these labor lines were not perceived to be unsanitary.

The individual houses that the Bulusu' were required to build were of sawn timber involving a clapboard exterior wall. This required an unusual expense that many Bulusu' found hard to meet. The houses are small, so that the patrilineal extended family has a difficult time fitting into them, and it is expected that each nuclear family should eventually have its own house. One of the major drawbacks of these domiciles is that they are too small to carry on the traditional Bulusu' ceremonies for weddings or for illness and death, which involve performances by shaman.

Pigs were not allowed in the residential area in deference to the Muslim inhabitants. This may result in lower protein intake. However, the most serious problem was the use of the river both as a latrine and

for drinking water. Under conditions of lower densities of population, it is possible that this would not present a sanitation problem, particularly if there were a sufficient number of fish in the river to perform cleaning functions. However, the fish population has been depleted as a result of overfishing by the residents of the resettlement area, and the high density of population along this stretch of the river has created a situation in which floating feces were a common occurrence and troublesome when bathing or gathering water. I suspect that the river represented an epidemic waiting to happen.

The increased densities of people will also aggravate the incidence of infectious diseases as does the increased travel and contact with the outside world that has arisen as a result of timber exploitation, oil exploration, and the establishment of the resettlement program. This had already become a problem for the more usual childhood diseases before removal to the resettlement area. In one river basin in one year about one third of the children died from measles and its complications. But there is little interest in instituting mass inoculations for these highly contagious diseases that present a problem during this period of rapid social change.

The resident dresser provided minimal medical aid. Whether this was the primary fault of the dresser or the support given him by the medical department is not known. And he did not travel to villages where the population had not all moved to the resettlement area or to swidden areas where the farming population was in residence during the agricultural season. His level of knowledge on medical matters was deficient. In some instances his activities were an active threat to the health of the community. He provided an antibiotic for TB, but did not give the second antibiotic necessary to prevent the development of antibiotic resistant bacillus. Hypodermic needles were never thoroughly sterilized, as the water was never permitted to come to a boil when preparing needles.

The traditional dress of the Bulusu' men was a loincloth. At all levels of administration this dress is

perceived as "primitive" or indecent. In the early days of the resettlement area, we were told that all the males were made to line up by the Javanese resettlement workers, and their loincloths were stripped off, thrown in a barrel, and they were handed shorts. One man who persisted in wearing his native dress was made to stand outside in the sun all day to "dry out." There is a very strong informal pressure for the Bulusu' to give up their native dress by all the Coastal Muslim groups, as they are ridiculed when they wear it. However, the shorts worn by the Coastal Muslim people are sometimes only jockey undershorts and are much more revealing.

This form of dehumanization had been occurring prior to the creation of resettlements. When Bulusu' males went to the nearby town, the local police harassed them for wearing loincloths so that now loincloths are worn only in the home villages or during ceremonies.

On establishment of the resettlement center, the Bulusu' were "given religion," as the process is referred to by some administrative personnel. That is they were given the choice of conversion to one of the major world religions that are recognized by the government. The Bulusu' are perceived not to have religion by some, and by others not to have a belief in a creator god. There is the widespread belief in Indonesia that those who do not have a religion may be communists. Therefore, the Bulusu' converted either to Islam, Catholicism, or KINGMI (Kemah Injil Gereja Maseh Indonesia--"Gospel Tabernacle Christian Church of Indonesia"). There was a Catholic mission in Tarakan that visited the Bulusu' and the KINGMI had a major center in Tarakan. However, there is some consternation in the department of religion at the Residency offices because they did find out that in the Bulusu' religion there was a creator god, and this seemed to suggest that there was no need for forcing conversion.

The funeral practices of the Bulusu' are offensive to the Muslim administrators. Traditionally for the Bulusu', after a short period of up to a day for

viewing the body, it is placed in a casket carved from a tree trunk and sealed. This casket might remain in the longhouse for up to a year or more until all the relatives had accumulated enough supplies to hold a funeral feast. Then the casket is put in a raised funerary house for permanent entombment.

The Muslim burial form involves sewing the corpse in a cloth and burial in a grave before sundown on the day of death. In one situation that Mrs. Appell-Warren observed, a child had died in the resettlement area, and the parents were in a quandary about managing the funeral. They wanted to return to their old village to hold the funeral ceremonies and entombment there. But the assistant district officer forbade them to leave the resettlement area, and argued that now that they lived in the resettlement they should bury their child there, and immediately. The government officer was afraid that if the family went back to its own village and the traditional rites were carried out, the body in the coffin might be stored for a year or so in the longhouse till enough expenses were accumulated for the full funeral ceremony. But the only place set aside for burial in the resettlement was where an upriver Punan had been buried. Using this violated the Bulusu' adat, as it was a ritual offense to entomb a corpse in a village entombment area which was not one's own. The usual fine was a heavy one, requiring a fine jar. The assistant district officer changed the fine to a plate and a knife.

So there was a great deal of dithering after the death of the child as to what the parents were to do. Finally they acquiesced to the demands of the government officer, but left the resettlement area for their old village once the entombment had been done. The whole affair precipitated a great deal of tension and anxiety on the part of the Bulusu' family, and an inability to fully work out their grief in the traditional way. And one wonders what impact these new forms will have on the psychological health of the Bulusu' given the findings on the study of bereavement. Traditional ceremonial behaviors are critical to the working through of grief, and there are grave psychological and physiological consequences of

interruptions in the normal grieving process (see Appell n.d.).

Bulusu' weddings are now taking a different form. The local Muslim administrator of the resettlement center now is pressuring all Bulusu' who have chosen the Muslim religion to carry out a Muslim wedding. And this has an impact on the traditional redistributive system of the Bulusu'.

Weddings, funerals, and bride price payments all involved the redistribution of goods in the form of food and drink to the larger Bulusu' community. The Muslim administrators of the region perceive that this is an unconscionable waste of money. And as a result they are trying to discourage these traditions. On the other hand they are requiring the Bulusu' to participate in festivals that they organize for honoring political candidates or visiting officials. And the Bulusu' find that the contributions towards the expenses of these, either in the form of foodstuffs or money, is more difficult to meet over a year's time than the expenses for their traditional ceremonial life. I find it fascinating that Tibbles (1957), in his description of the economic impact of reservation life on the Plains Indians describes almost exactly similar attitudes on the part of the United States tribal administrators and similar consequences.

In the destruction of a native economic system, I hypothesize that predatory traders can be a usual concomitance. Part of the reason for this includes the following factors: (a) the resettled group has been either dehumanized by the administration, or allowed to be by civilian personnel in the region, so that traders perceive them in less than human terms, which permits the traders to treat the population in unscrupulous ways; (b) the ethnic group has been deprived of its power by the administration, so that it is essentially powerless to deal with predatory traders, and they have not yet learned to use the national or regional system of justice; and (c) as reservations are usually established on the geographical frontiers of an administrative system, control systems to prevent flagrant abuses by either administrative personnel,

those who provide services to the reservation, or the local civilian population are seldom installed until later phases of the development trajectory of the reservation.

In the Lansat resettlement center, a store was established by a representative of the major Muslim family in the area, a family that always entertained the district officer when he visited the area. As a result, this Muslim trader could bring to bear the force of the administration to reinforce his economic interests, such as the repayment of debts, the seizing of property for debts, whether these actions were justified or not.

The economic situation for the Bulusu' in the resettlement area is not as good as previously. There is little employment and not sufficient area for cutting swiddens. Some still cut swiddens in their traditional area, returning to the resettlement center only when there are visits by government officials to the center. Others are making swiddens in the area of the resettlement, even though the soil is of lower quality and there is not the same opportunity to plant orchards on swidden land going back into forest. Others have sought wage labor to support themselves. The Muslim trader established contact with a contracting firm in Tarakan for rock to crush for road ballast. And he employed a few local Bulusu' to gather rock from the river bed. However, this contract eventually went bad, and the Bulusu' were not paid for the rock that they had gathered.

Previously the Bulusu' had sold fruit, vegetables, rice, and manioc to Tarakan, the major commercial center in the area. Tarakan has been growing as the result of oil exploitation and timber extraction and needs foodstuffs that the Bulusu' were selling at the local markets. However, because of being removed from their normal areas of agricultural activities, the Bulusu' are no longer able to gather as much fruit from their orchards as they had in the past, and the new swiddens in the resettlement area, or close by, are not as productive as their traditional village areas. This suggests that the export of foodstuffs will even deteriorate further in the future. At the time of our

study, our informants estimated that there had been a drop of 40% to 50% in the export of food to Tarakan. And one Muslim trader, who covered a number of river systems in his activities, prophesied that the river basin of the resettlement area would become a rice importing region in the near future.

The economic future does not look too bright for the Bulusu'. And these social changes will have considerable impact on their health and welfare. The direction that this will take is not known at the current time. However, Appell-Warren in her study of children's play (n.d.) discovered that in the resettlement area there was a decline in play, both in terms of amount and creativity, because of the hostile environment. Furthermore parental attitudes toward children were becoming much more negative and restrictive as a result of the stresses of the resettlement environment.

NOTE

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Linguistic Relations Among the Dusunic Groups in the Kota Marudu District

Paul R. Kroeger
Summer Institute of Linguistics

This paper discusses the linguistic classification of the various Dusunic dialects traditionally spoken in the Kota Marudu District of Sabah. Speakers of these dialects are identified by the ethnonyms Tebilung, Luba, Garo, Tinagas, Talantang, Kimaragang and Sonsogon, but not all of these names are used as autonyms. The speakers of the Central Dusun dialect, relatively recent arrivals from the Kota Belud and Ulu Tuaran areas, are not included in this study, even though they are probably the largest segment of the population in the western half of the district.

The nature of the self-conscious, named sub-groups among the Dusunic population of Sabah has been a topic of heated anthropological debate. Williams (1965) describes such groupings among the Dusun of the Tambunan District as ambilineal descent groups. Appell (1966) and Sather (1966), among others, have

vigorously contested the existence of descent groups among the Dusun. They point out that Williams had earlier referred to these groups (e.g. the Tagas, Tohau and Tibabar Dusun of Tambunan) as sibs (Williams 1961), and that descent groups have not been found in the social system of any other Dusunic group in Sabah. Appell and Sather seem to prefer the term "tribe", employed by an earlier generation of writers about the indigenous population of Sabah.

Several factors contribute to the confusion that exists concerning the identity and nature of these groups. Some labels applied to certain groups by their neighbors are never used by the groups themselves; "Garo" seems to be such a label. Some names are geographical, rather than hereditary. The inhabitants of Kg. Marak Parak, Kota Marudu, are referred to as Sayap Dusun, because they originally came from Kg. Sayap, Kota Belud.

On the other hand, these are cases where migrant groups give their traditional names to the areas in which they settle. Kg. Talantang in Kota Marudu is so named because it was originally settled (some hundred years ago, by local reckoning) by members of the Talantang tribe from the Sugut river to the South.

Bundu is one of the most widely used Dusunic ethnonyms in the State. For the most part, the term is applied to speakers of the Central Dusun dialect who originally came from the Ulu Tuaran area. Clayre (1966) uses Bundu as a dialect name, to designate the variety of Dusun spoken in Ulu Tuaran and southern Kota Belud District (e.g. Kg. Taginambur). Williams (1961) also refers to Bundu as a dialect group, but later (1962) says that Bundu is one of the territorial units of Kg. Sensuron, Tambunan. Further confusion is evident in a description of the "Bundu Dusun" of Kuala Penyu by C. V. Creagh (Tregonning, 1955), which apparently refers to the Tatana. People who call themselves Bundu Dusun are now found in the Ranau, Kota Belud, Tambunan, Keningau, Beaufort and Tuaran Districts.

In some areas, traditional group names appear to be dying out. Young people, particularly those who have some degree of formal education, seem to be much less aware of group identities and boundaries than their parents. This trend is perhaps a result or correlate of the government's policy of emphasizing national and state unity, rather than ethnic diversity.

Williams used the Dusun term sinakagon for the ambilineal descent groups he reported among the Tambunan Dusun. Antonissen (1958) defines the term (from the root word sakag, 'descendent') as meaning 'offspring, posterity, seed, generation, descendents'. Some speakers of Dusun react to the term as archaic or esoteric; one man from Tambunan offered 'heritage' as a rough English translation.

A Dusun woman from Kg. Taginambur, Kota Belud, Mrs. Stemmah Sariau, has told me that the term sinakagon corresponds approximately to the English word 'clan.' In her dialect, it refers to a relatively small group, e.g. 200-300 people, each of whose members would recognize kinship ties to the others. She used the term payat, 'tribe,' for larger groups which may include many villages. Members of a payat may all claim to be descended from a common ancestor in the semi-historic past, but they will not recognize specific kin relationships to every other member.

Most of the groups discussed in this paper seem to view membership in the social unit named by their autonyms as implying common descent. These groups correspond to the "tribes" mentioned in earlier literature and may also correspond to the payat described by Stemmah Sariau. One language helper used the Malay term keturunan, 'generation' or 'descendents', to refer to this unit.

Linguistic Overview

The Kota Marudu District is a fertile ground for the study of language contact. The boundary between the Dusunic Rungus language to the north, and the very large and prestigious Central Dusun dialect to the south, runs through the district on an east-west

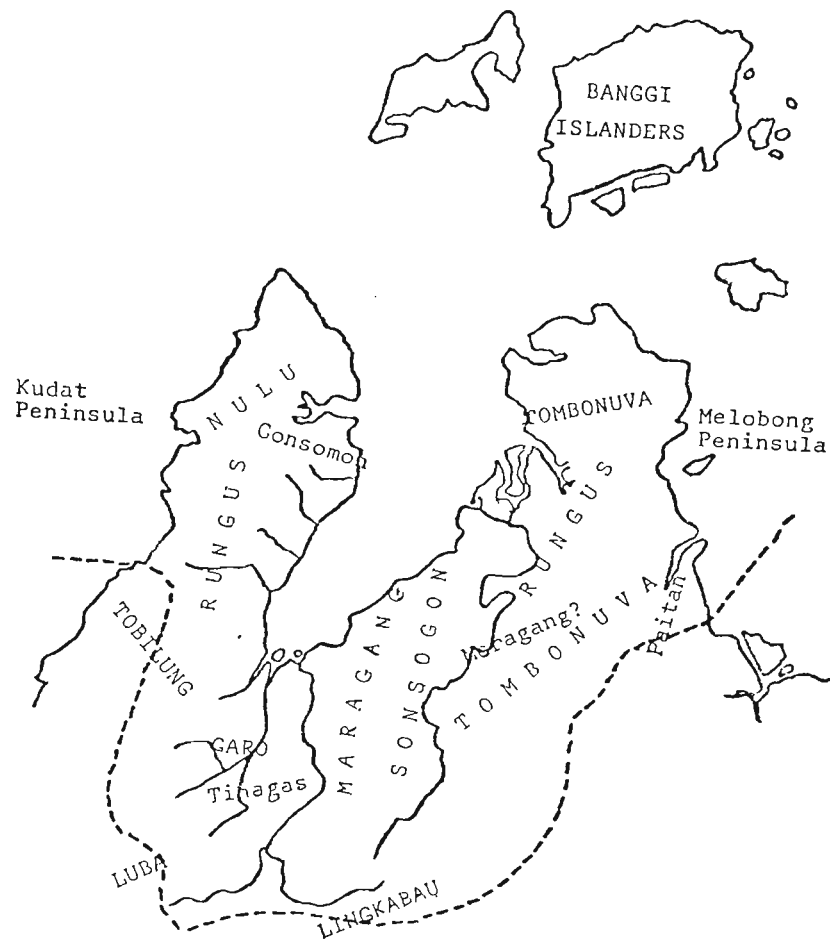
axis. Most of the Dusunic tribes discussed below have contact with both of these larger language groups. In addition, the boundary between the Dusunic and Paitanic language families runs from north to south through the eastern half of the district.

Appell (1966) has published a map (Figure 1 below) of the major Dusunic groups in the Kudat Division, which includes the districts of Kudat, Pitas and Kota Marudu. He does not give the source of his information, but the map is both complete and geographically accurate. Recent studies (Smith 1984) have shown that the Tambanua and Lingkabau languages belong to the Paitanic rather than the Dusunic family (Paitan is a dialect of Tambanua); and that the Banggi language is an isolate, as Appell suggested, more closely related to the Molbog language of the Philippines than to any Sabahan language. Of the Dusunic groups of Appell's map, all but the Rungus, Nulu and Gonsomon are represented in the Kota Marudu District and will be discussed below.

Appell himself (1968) points out that these perceived ethnic boundaries do not necessarily correspond to language or dialect boundaries. Names based on geographical considerations (e.g. place of origin) tend to have less correlation with linguistic distinctions than do those which identify tribes. In the latter case, however, even when neighboring tribes speak the same dialect, there tend to be subdialectal phonological and lexical differences which enable the native speaker to distinguish the speech style of each tribe in his area. Appell (1968) recognizes this fact in labeling the names of his map "isoglots", rather than simply "populations" as in his 1966 paper.

In 1978-79, Julie Blom King and Phyllis Dunn of the Summer Institute of Linguistics carried out a socio-linguistic survey of the Kudat Division (Blom 1979), as part of the state-wide language survey conducted by SIL (King and King, in press). They collected worklists from Tebilung, Pitas Kimaragang and Kota Marudu Talantang villages, which Smith (1984) used in his lexicostatistic classification of the

Figure 1. Map of Ethnic Groups in the Kudat Division (from Appell 1966).



languages and dialects of Sabah.¹ In 1983, my wife and I spent approximately 12 days in the Kota Marudu area collecting more wordlists and sociological data to supplement the original survey.

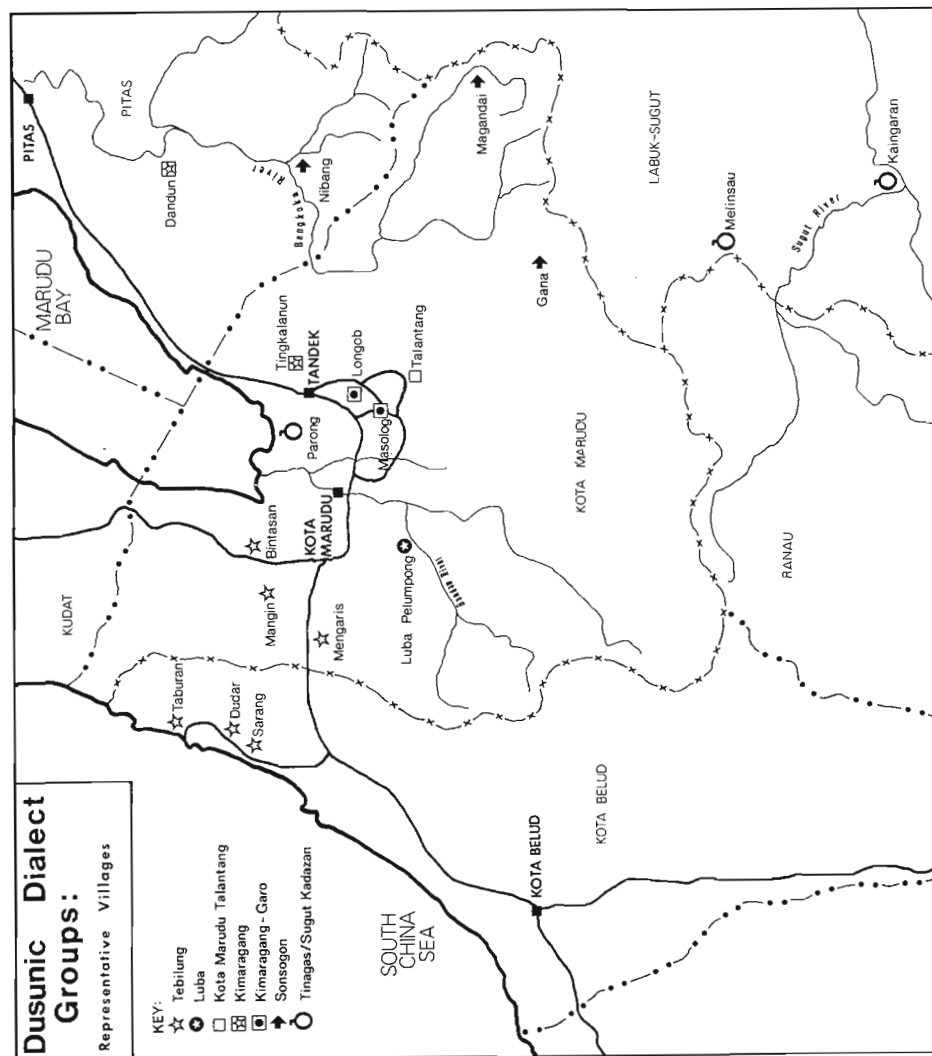
Smith had very little information about perceived social boundaries to refer to in his analysis. While linguistic boundaries do not in general coincide with perceived ethnic groupings, the knowledge of these emic social distinctions can be a very useful tool in structuring the raw linguistic data. For example, the lexicostatistic data alone are somewhat ambiguous with respect to the classification of Tebilung Dusun. Smith assigned the Kota Belud and Kota Marudu branches of this tribe to different dialect groups. The lexical data support equally well the classification (suggested below) of Tebilung as a single distinct dialect group, but do not uniquely determine either analysis.

Tebilung

The Tebilung Dusun live in several villages in northern Kota Belud District, as well as at least three villages in Kota Marudu. Several of these villages are shown marked on the map in Figure 2. Tebilung is a distinct dialect of the Kadazan/Dusun language, with a subdialect distinction between the Kota Belud and Kota Marudu branches of the group, which are 86% cognate with each other. Lexically, Kota Marudu Tebilung is slightly closer to the Central Dusun dialect than is Kota Belud Tebilung. However, intelligibility testing shows that the Kota Belud Tebilung understand Central Dusun far better than the Kota Marudu Tebilung (see Banker 1984, Figures 6 and 24).

The Tebilung in Kg. Bintasan are reported to speak a mixture of Tebilung and Rungus, but this claim is not supported by the wordlist collected there. The Bintasan and Mengaris wordlists have an identical range of cognate scores with Rungus (74%-77%), and the range for Dudar is not significantly lower (73%-76%). Taburan, Kota Belud shows the lowest rate of lexical similarity with Rungus, at 70%-73%.²

Figure 2. Map of Villages Referred to in Kota Marudu and Neighboring Districts



The nearest neighbors of the Kota Belud Tebilung, both linguistically and geographically, are the speakers of the dialect which Smith labeled Kota Belud Dusun. The latter group includes Kg. Mantanau, Rosok, Bangkahak, etc. It is very difficult to determine a sharp dialect boundary between Tebilung and Kota Belud Dusun on purely lexicostatistical grounds, but the people themselves seem to be very aware of who is "Dusun" and who is Tebilung. Lexical relationships among these groups are shown below (Fig. 3).

}Bangkahak KB (Kota Belud Dusun)									
}82 }Taburan KB									
}83 }91 }Dudar KB									
}80 }86 }89 }Mangin KM									
}80 }86 }86 }87 }Bintasan KM									
}83 }84 }86 }87 }92 }Mengaris KM									
}85 }80 }81 }83 }83 }86 }Panaitan KM ---}									
}81 }78 }78 }77 }81 }84 }87 }Bundu Tuhan, RU---} ---}- (Central Dusun)									

Figure 3. Cognate percentages among Tebilung and other villages
 KB = Kota Belud KM = Kota Marudu RU = Ranau

The Tebilung of Kg. Mangin, Kota Marudu, report that they migrated from Kg. Dudar and Kg. Sarang, Kota Belud, about one generation ago (when men who now appear to be in their 40's were small children). Before that, many many generations ago, they say that the Tebilung came from somewhere in the interior of the Tuaran District. This is the same approximate area that Smith (1984, footnote 12) points out was the original home (within recent memory) of all but one of the "core" villages in his Central Dusun dialect group.

Luba

The Luba Dusun live along the Bandau River, in the steep valley it has cut through the rugged hills of western Kota Marudu. They appear to be migrating gradually down river to be closer to the schools, clinics, markets, etc. of Kota Marudu. This movement is bringing them into increasing contact with the Central Dusun immigrants from the South, who live on the coastal plain in the villages of Panaitan, Taiwan, Gosyen, etc.

The village where I collected a wordlist³ was Kg. Luba Pelumpong, just a few miles upriver from Kg. Panaitan. The people of Luba Pelumpong originally came from Kg. Pampang Poring, in the headwaters of the Bandau, less than 20 years ago. They report that Pampang Poring is now nearly deserted, and that several other Luba villages on the upper Bandau are completely deserted.

Luba Dusun is a subdialect of Central Dusun. The Luba Pelumpong wordlist is 87% cognate with four of the Central Dusun wordlists used in Smith's study, including Kg. Panaitan, Taiwan and Lotong, Kota Marudu. However, the people of Luba Pelumpong are obviously eager to assimilate, both linguistically and culturally, to their more prestigious Central Dusun neighbors. The younger people do not seem interested in maintaining their separate identity as Luba; they will use the term to refer to themselves as a social group, but not to refer to their language (unlike the other tribes discussed in this paper). Outsiders seem to be more aware than the Luba themselves of linguistic differences between Luba and other Dusun dialects. More data from upriver Luba villages, e.g. the relatively accessible Kg. Terintidon, is needed before the linguistic classification of Luba can be accurately determined.

Tinagas

The Sugut Kadazan dialect group, living along the upper Sugut River in the Labuk-Sugut District, consists of two major subgroups: the Tinagas and the Talantang. A third, very small group, the Tanggal Dusun, reportedly speak the same dialect, but no data have been collected from a Tanggal village.

The Tinagas villages in Kota Marudu are in the south-central part of the district, more easily accessible from Ranau (via Kg. Melinsau, Labuk-Sugut) than from the town of Kota Marudu. The Tinagas (Sugut Kadazan) dialect is approximately 80% cognate with Kimaragang and Kota Marudu Tebilung, slightly lower with Kota Belud Tebilung.

One migrant group of Tinagas, mostly from Kg. Tagibang, Kota Marudu, has settled in Kg. Parong, just north of Kota Marudu town. These people are reported to speak a mixture of Tinagas and "Garo". The Parong wordlist is 86-88% cognate with Sugut River Tinagas, 86% with Pitas Kimaragang and 85% with Kota Marudu Talantang. However, Parong is only 80-81% cognate with "Garo", or Tandek Kimaragang, about the same relationship as between Sugut Tinagas and Garo.

Kota Marudu Talantang

As mentioned above, Kg. Talantang is so named because it was settled by members of the Talantang Dusun tribe. However, the dialect of the Kota Marudu Talantang is now quite distinct from that of the parent group on the Sugut River; it is only 83% cognate with the Sugut Talantang of Kg. Kaingaran, Labuk-Sugut, and 82-83% cognate with Sugut Tinagas. The Kota Marudu Talantang dialect is lexically closest to the mixed Tinagas spoken in Kg. Parong, at 85% cognate.⁴

Garo

The term "Garo" is essentially an exonym, though it is part of the autonym of two villages. Outsiders use the term to refer to the Kimaragang Dusun living in the Tandek subdistrict of Kota Marudu. The Tandek Kimaragang themselves use this term only for the people living in Kg. Masolog and Kg. Longob. The inhabitants of these two villages refer to themselves as "Kimaragang Garo", saying that they represent a mixture of the Kimaragang and Garo tribes, but that the pure Garo have now died out.

The Kimaragang-Garo speak the same dialect, with very minor phonological variation, as the other Tandek Kimaragang (e.g. Kg. Tingkalanun). The people of Tingkalanun perceive the Kimaragang-Garo as speaking differently from themselves, but the latter group insist that there is no difference whatsoever.

The term Garo is sometimes applied to the Kota Marudu Talantang as well, by people living outside the Tandek subdistrict; but the Talantang, like the Tandek Kimaragang, use the term only for the village of Masolog and Longob.

Kimaragang

The Kimaragang (or Maragang) Dusun live in the Tandek subdistrict of Kota Marudu, where they are the majority group, and in southern Pitas District, where they are mixed with other groups including the Sonsogon, Rungus, Tambanua and (reportedly) a group called the Kendangan (probably Paitanic immigrants from the Kaindangan River).

The Kimaragang themselves perceive a dialect distinction between the Pitas and Tandek groups, but the perception of an ethnic or tribal boundary is asymmetric. The Pitas Kimaragang call the Tandek group Garo or Napu ('flat land'), while the latter group says that they are all just Kimaragang. Both subgroups claim that the two dialects are mutually intelligible, but both are aware of linguistic differences. For example, in Kg. Tingkalanun I was

told (correctly) that the Pitas people use simple voiced stops in certain words where the Tandek Kimaragang use glottalized voiced stops.

The Pitas and Tandek dialects are 86-87% cognate, just above the threshold used by Smith to distinguish dialect groups. This is the same lexical difference as that between the Kota Belud and Kota Marudu Tebilung, but the Kimaragang seem much more conscious of the linguistic distinction than do the Tebilung.

Kimaragang Dusun is approximately 80% cognate with Sugut Kadazan, just at the threshold value used by Smith to determine language boundaries. Thus, lexically the two could be considered dialects of a single language. However, Sugut Kadazan is clearly a dialect of the Kadazan/Dusun language, whereas Kimaragang is more closely related to Rungus (76-81%) than to Central Dusun (70-77%). Moreover, intelligibility testing (Banker, 1984) shows that Kimaragang is not mutually intelligible with Sugut Kadazan, Central Dusun or Rungus. Thus Kimaragang must be considered a distinct Dusunic language.

The Kimaragang living in Kg. Dandun, Pitas, have borrowed a few Paitanic words from their Tambanua neighbors (e.g. runat, 'day'), and are said by other Kimaragang in the Pitas area to speak a "mixture" of Kimaragang and Tambanua. However the cognate percentages between the Dandun list and Tambanua are not significantly higher than those between Tambanua and any other Dusunic dialect in the area.

Sonsogon

The Sonsogon are hill people living primarily in the southeastern part of the Kota Marudu District, and in a few villages of the Pitas District. Lexicostatistic data indicate that Sonsogon is a dialect of the Kimaragang language, being 79-85% cognate with the Tandek and Pitas dialects. However, the Sonsogon are culturally and sociologically quite distinct from every other group in the area.

The term Sonsogon is an exonym with highly derogatory connotations. A Kadazan man from Papar told me that the term Sonsogon is roughly equivalent to the Malay sakai, 'aborigine', or the English 'barbarian'. I was unable to elicit an autonym for this group at any of the three Sonsogon villages I visited (Gana, Magandai and Nibang). Outsiders also refer to the Sonsogon contemptuously as orang bukit, 'hill people', and they are clearly the lowest prestige group in the area. They have had relatively little contact with the outside world, as logging roads have only very recently penetrated to their home areas.

Some of the Sonsogon in the Tandek subdistrict prefer to call themselves Kimaragang. There are signs that the term Kimaragang is gaining prestige and being adopted as a cover term for all Dusunic people indigenous to the Tandek area. The "Kimaragang Garo" situation described above may be another result of this trend.

There is some lexical and phonological difference between the Sonsogon subdialects spoken in the eastern and western ends of the language area, represented in my data by Kg. Magandai and Kg. Gana, respectively. The wordlists from these two villages are only 87% cognate, and the people in Kg. Gana are aware of a difference between the speech of the Magandai people and their own. There are some cultural differences as well, with the Sonsogon in the east living in long houses, like the Rungus, and those in the west living in single family dwellings, like the other Dusunic groups in the area.

The lexical relationships among the Kimaragang and Sonsogon dialects are summarized in Figure 4.

{Dandun PS	---	Pitas Kimaragang
{87 Tingkalanun KM	--}	
{87 93 Longob KM (Kimaragang-Garo)	--}	Tandek Kimaragang
{81 83 85 Gana KM	--}	
{79 82 84 87 Magandai KM	--}	Sonsogon

Figure 4. Cognate percentages among Kimaragang and Sonsogon villages.
KM = Kota Marudu PS = Pitas

NOTES

1. Cognate percentages in Blom (1979) are slightly different from those found in Smith (1984). Blom's percentages were computed by hand from a 367-word list, while Smith used percentages calculated by computer from a 327-word subset of that same list.
2. Cognate percentages from the SIL Language Survey of Sabah.
3. During our visits to the Kota Marudu area in 1983, new wordlists were collected at the following villages: Tingkalanun and Longob (Kimaragang), Mangin (Tebilung), Gana and Magandai (Sonsogon) and Luba Pelumpang (Luba). These wordlists were coded for computer comparison, and cognate percentages were calculated (based on the 327-word list) between the new lists and the entire set of 344 lists collected in the SIL survey. These calculations used the same programs and same data base as those which produced the data for Smith's paper, so the new scores are entirely comparable with those in Smith (1984).

4. Cognate percentages from the SIL Language Survey of Sabah.

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APPENDIX: Suqut-Kota Marudu Dusun Dialect-Village List

As an appendix to this paper, I include a list of villages for each of the named Dusunic groups mentioned above, including those that speak the Sugut Kadazan dialect. Population figures are supplied by

the Kota Marudu and Labuk-Sugut District Offices,
based on the 1970 State Census.

G = Government census figures
R = Reported population
KM = Kota Marudu
PS = Pitas
KB = Kota Belud
LS = Labuk-Sugut

<u>Language</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>Population</u>
Kimaragang:		
Tandek	Tingkalanun KM	1,500 G (80 households R)
dialect	Marion KM	600 G
	Tondig KM	600 G
	Togudon KM	300 G
	Nolotan KM	500 G
	Batition KM	600 G
	Samparita KM	500 G
	Tinogu KM	600 G (387 R)
	Bombong II KM	200 G
	Liabas KM	400 G
	Taritipan Darat KM	---
	Damai KM	1,500 G (mixed population)
	Rasak Darat KM	---
	Minitampak KM	500 G
	(= Metampak?)	
	Masolog KM	500 G
	(call selves Kimaragang-Garo)	
	Longob KM	450 G (396 R)
	(call selves Kimaragang-Garo)	
	Salimandut KM	---
	Mantus KM	---
Pitas		
dialect	Dandun PS (mixed)	---
	Mandamai PS (mixed)	---
	Bilangau PS	---
	Bilangau Besar PS	---
	Mandurian Laut PS	---
	Sinanggip PS	---
	Pinapak PS (mixed)	---
	Rosob Darat PS	---
	Salimpodon Darat PS	200+ R
	Marasinsing Darat PS	---

	Toliduson PS	---
	Mempakad Darat PS	---
	Tanjung Batu Darat KM	---
	(dialect boundary ?)	
Sonsogon	S. Magandai KM	250 G (90 families R)
	S. Suyad KM	105 G
	S. Paliu KM	250 G
	S. Mogis KM	300 G
	Piso KM	100 G
	Gana KM	350 G
	Makatol KM	---
	Malukidiu KM	---
	Nibang PS	153 R
	Maliau PS	---
	Pinapak PS	---
	Saniatan PS	---
	Mangkabusu PS	---
	Perupok PS	---
	Tukal PS	---
	Bombong I, III, IV KM	600 G
Tebilung	Mengaris KM	110 G
	Bintasan KM	200 G
	Mangin KM	---
	Dudar KB	---
	Taburan KB	---
	Sarang KB	---
Luba	Rugading KM	
	Luba Pelumpong KM	100 G
	Pampang Poring KM	45 G
	Pampang Gantoi KM	39 G
	Terintidon KM	60 G
	Lampadak KM	---
	Pangapuyan KM	90 G
	Kalom Pisahon	deserted
	Tendok Serong	deserted
Kota Marudu		
	Talantang Talantang KM	175 households R
	Mangkalua KM	200 G (mixed)

Sugut Kadazan		220	G	
Tinagas	Tagibang KM	237	G (mixed)	
	Parong KM	---		
	Sugud KM	---		
	Nawanon KM	300	G	
	Melinsau Darat KM	---		
	Melinsau LS	180	G	
	Tinangian LS	229	G	
	Tanid LS	---		
	Karagasan LS	160	G (mixed)	495 R
	Karagasan I LS	94	G	
	Karagasan II LS	34	G	
	Bensalu LS			(called Tambanua by Karagasan KK)
	Gadingan LS			(called Tambanua by Karagasan KK)
Bururai LS	(called Tambanua by Kaingaran KK)			
	Sinurai LS	221	G	
	Sumbalingan LS	---		
	Tinindoi LS	---		
	Menedai LS	---		
	Murud Kurud LS	---		
	Mokodou RU	---		
	Nawanán RU	---		
	Mangis Sugut	300	G	
Talantang	Kairingaran LS	250	G (mixed)	
	Kotog LS	---		
	Patau LS	320	G	
	Kuala Patau LS	120	G	
	Talanas (=Kilanas) LS	150	G	
	Poralai LS	---		
	Giring LS	---		
	Kawiyán LS	90	G	
	Monikulau LS	---		
	Boganding LS	---		
Tanggal	Magkapoh (I and II) LS	270	G	
	Gana LS	---		
	Tambaliwan LS	166	G	

A Note on the Kawaguchi Detachment 1941-2
by A. V. M. Horton

1. The Invasion of NW Borneo 1941-2

The Kawaguchi Detachment, the Japanese task force destined for Northwest Borneo, proceeded from Canton via Camranh Bay in the first part of December 1941. General Seiken (or Kiyotaki) Kawaguchi decided that

a landing would be made at Miri and Seria to capture and secure the oil field district and airfields in that area. A large part of the force would then re-establish the Miri oilfield while the main body was to capture the Kuching airbase.¹

Following the unopposed Japanese landing in the Miri-Seria oilfield on 16 December 1941, Brunei Town fell on 22 December, Labuan on 1 January 1941, Jesselton on the 6th and Sandakan on the 19th. A force of approximately 1,100 soldiers of the 2/15th Punjab Regiment had been stationed in Kuching to guard the airfield, which afforded access to Dutch Borneo. When the Japanese landed in overwhelming numbers on 24 December 1941, little could be done beyond denying the airfield to the invaders and retreating into the interior. Although one former Brooke civil servant who took part in the retreat from Kuching states that it was principally a case of "run, boys, run", the Allies - according to a post-war Japanese source - inflicted one hundred fatalities and a further one hundred wounded upon the Japanese,² admittedly for the loss of five hundred men of the Punjab Regiment alone. The remnant of the British-led forces surrendered in April 1942 when Java fell and Allied resistance in the area ceased.³

2. The Kawaguchi Detachment

The Kawaguchi Detachment, controlled by the Eighteenth Division stationed in Canton, comprised the following units:

35th Infantry Brigade HQ
124th Infantry Regiment
One platoon, 12th Engineering Regiment
A part of the 18th Division's Signals Unit
A part of the 18th Division's Medical Unit
4th Field Hospital, 18th Division
A part of the 11th Water Supply and Public Works
Section.4

Mr. J. L. Noakes MBE, Secretary for Defense in Sarawak in 1941, recalled that the Japanese

impressed one as fine soldiers. They were short in stature, but were intelligent-looking, wiry, strong and obviously inured to hardship. They were admirably dressed for jungle warfare and were lightly but competently armed (even with rope for prisoners). Their jungle camouflage was excellent, as their clothes were covered, even to their helmets, in string netting in which they placed leaves and twigs. Probably they were picked troops as the troops that followed weeks later were sloppy and unintelligent-looking.5

The following reinforcements were expected from Manchuria and Japan:6

33 Field Anti-Aircraft Battalion
One Company, 26 Independent Engineering Regiment (minus two platoons)
2nd Independent Engineering Company
80th Independent Radio Platoon
37th Fixed Radio Unit
A part of the Oil Drilling Section of the 21st Field Ordnance Depot
1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Well Drilling Companies
118th Land Duty Company

3. The Fate of the Kawaguchi Detachment 1942

In March 1942 the Fourth Independent Mixed Regiment Commander, directly attached to the Southern Army (with HQ in Singapore), took over the duties of the Kawaguchi Detachment in Northwest Borneo and was responsible for peace and order, the establishment of a military government, the development of natural resources and the mopping up of the remaining enemy in the mountain ranges of West Borneo.7 In April 1942, in order to expand Japanese Military Government, Tokyo ordered the activation of the Borneo Garrison Army, commanded by Goichi Nakahata, who established his headquarters in Kuching.8

Meanwhile, the Kawaguchi Detachment had left Borneo, first for the Philippines and then forward to Guadalcanal, where its fate was as follows:

A 6,000 man brigade, under Major-General Kiyotaki Kawaguchi, landed on both sides of a 9,000 yard perimeter on Guadalcanal in early September 1942. The main body, about 4,000 men, mostly of the 124th Infantry, pressed inland under cover of jungle to attack from the South against the inland perimeter toward the airfield. That portion of the (American) marine line was thinly held. . .

The Kawaguchi Force lightly probed (Colonel Merritt A) Edson's position on September 12. . . On the 13th Edson tried a counter-attack but was forced back to his original position: the Japanese were too strong. That night in a driving rain that severely limited visibility, the Japanese poured out of the jungle, smashing into the ridge position and forcing the American flanking companies back on the centre of the ridges. There the (US) marines held; the artillery smothered the attacking columns and troop assembly areas, the reinforcements from the 5th Marines joined the raiders and paratroopers in their foxholes. In the morning there was little left to do

but mop up. Only about 500 of Kawaguchi's men struggled back alive through the jungle. . .9

The Kawaguchi Detachment had been eliminated principally because of "their own relentless courage in the face of killing fire".10

Notes

1. (Imperial War Museum, IWM, London): Box 6, AL 1099, Col Itsu Ogawa and Lt. Col. Ino Sei, Borneo Operations 1941-1942 (Japanese Studies in World War II), p. 254.
2. Ibid., p. 258.
3. (Public Record Office, Kew): WO 203/2689, p. 57.
4. Ogawa and Sei, loc. cit., p. 253 (my italics).
5. (Rhodes House, Oxford) Mss Pac s 62, JL Noakes MBE, Report upon Defence Measures Adopted in Sarawak from June 1941 to the Occupation in December 1941 by Imperial Japanese Forces, p. 72.
6. Ogawa and Sei, loc. cit., p. 253.
7. Ibid., p. 261.
8. Ibid., p. 262; and (IWM) Box 22, AL 5256 Col Itsu Ogawa and Lt. Col. Masah Ino, Borneo Operations 1941-1945 (Japanese Monograph No. 26, HQ US Army Japan, 1957), p. 21.
9. Henry I. Shaw, "Guadalcanal: A Triumph" in World War II (Orbis, London, 1971-3), Vol. 5, pp. 1249-50 (my italics).
10. Ibid., p. 1249.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Who is in the Shair Ken Tambuhan?

Linda Amy Kimball

Difficulties in interpreting the word kědayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan (Teeuw, 1966) have recently been discussed (Kimball 1983, reply by Maxwell, 1983). But the word kaudthian is a Brunei Malay literary lexeme in need of further consideration.

Maxwell (1983) makes a clear case for kědayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan having the meaning of "retainer, royal attendant," based on discussion of its use in Javanese and classical Malay literature, and reference sources to them. In the absence of refutation based on copies of the original manuscript(s) from which Teeuw worked, this would seem reason to let the published reading stand.

However, Brunei Malay experts in traditional literature do not accept the reading kědayan and insist upon kaudthian (the medial dth representing [ǝ]). Their interpretation is based upon a long oral literary tradition, which intertwines with an ancient written literary tradition, and cannot merely be dismissed as ad hoc.

It seems clear that for the Brunei Malay traditional literary experts there exist three separate and distinct words: kadang, kadayan, and kaudthian. Each of these should be considered separately.

The word kadang is a lexeme referring to intermittent temporal periods. The most frequently occurring form is the reduplicated kadang-kadang meaning "sometimes." The non-reduplicated form kadang appears in certain constructions. The two most frequently used of these are kadangnnya, "at times," and kadang-kala, "upon occasion" (colloquial usage), "upon certain occasions" (literary usage).

The word kadayan (the Brunei Malay realization of kedayan) is a proper noun referring to a member of the cultural group identified as "Kadayans", or to the group itself. The "historical" explanation attended by traditional Brunei Malays for them is that the Kadayans originated from the rice farmers whom the Sh'ler Awang Simaun¹ says were brought over from Java by the ruler Awang Alak Batatar. The etymological explanation offered by these same traditional literary experts is that the term kadayan derives from ka + daratan, "on the (dry) land, landsmen," with the r being lost by batingglor (the old Brunei Malay pronunciation in which r → i/y), and the t being lost by syncope; thus ka + daratan:, the original term meaning "landsmen" (as opposed to Brunei Malays who are orang laut, "sea-people") has become kadayan.²

The word kaudthian is a literary common noun having the meaning "companions" in the sense of those surrounding or accompanying or attending-upon a royal personage, an interpretation fully consistent with the usage and deference pattern elucidated by Maxwell (1983:87-90). The Brunei Malay definition of kaudthian was given as badangan, "companions," pangiring, "those surrounding," urang-nya, "his/her people (in this case implies "followers"); all of these terms occur as literary references to retainers in the palace, that is, royal attendants.

The etymological origin of kaudthian remains problematical. Brunei Malay traditional literary experts venture no etymological explanation for the word kaudthian, simply saying that it is a word which means what it means. Apart from Arabic, the most obvious sources from which kaudthian might derive are Sanskrit and Tamil. A preliminary check shows no obvious derivational source in either.³ However, it is possible that borrowing from Pali or some other Sanskrit derivative has occurred, or else borrowing from early or middle Tamil, or from a cognate Dravidian language; but it has not proved feasible to check these sources. Given this, plus the fact that Maxwell (1983) finds no clear Arabic source for the

word, the issue of the origin of kaudthian must remain an open question for the present.

By contrast, the pronunciation of kaudthian presents no difficulty. Although [ʔ] does not occur in common daily Brunei Malay speech (as Maxwell 1983:88 points out) it nonetheless does occur infrequently when daily speech uses the Arabicized pronunciation, such as ramadthan (medial [ʔ]) for the name of the fasting month, which is normally pronounced ramadan. Also, the Shair Ken Tambuhan is a literary work rather than daily speech, and in literary works pronunciations not used in daily speech do occur.⁴ Considering the range of variations encountered in literary usage, it is tempting to speculate that kaudthian could be related to the kadian (kaf-dal ya-nun) listed in Marsden (1812): Arabicization of the medial d to [ʔ]; with diphthongization of the preceding a, possibly as a type of labialized concord with the k..ʔ structure. At present, however, it seems safest to view kaudthian as a lexeme unique to literary Brunei Malay.

Maxwell (1983) presents a good case that the Shair Ken Tambuhan is set in Borneo, rather than in Palembang as Teeuw (1966) suggests. It would therefore seem worthwhile for future research to seek a cognate for kaudthian in the languages of Southern Borneo or in the neighboring archipelagoan region.

Who then is in the Shair Ken Tambuhan: Not "Kadayans" in the sense of the cultural group in Brunei. The group in the Shair Ken Tambuhan are companions or attendants or retainers of royalty, known as kēdayan in Java Malay, known as kaudthian in literary Brunei Malay.

NOTES

1. The reference is to the version which the author is presently writing up for publication. Unless cited to the contrary, all data given throughout are based on the author's unpublished fieldnotes.

2. "Folk-etymology" though this may be, it is a reasonable explanation and warrants full consideration.
3. The sources consulted for Sanskrit were Coulson (1971) and Williams (1971), for Tamil The Great Lifco Dictionary (1972). The present author's knowledge of both these languages is exceedingly limited; it is possible that a scholar with deep knowledge of them would see an obvious source of origin.
4. Such variants occurring in a relatively high frequency word, "news, to relate, to tell," are kabar (normal colloquial); khabar (the initial kh is a fricative, in traditional literature the kh spelling is usually used, but is commonly realized orally as k), or even kahabar (epenthetic a supplied, usually to meet metrical requirements). The kahabar form also occurs sometimes in daily speech.

Bibliography: Coulson, Michael. 1976. Sanskrit: An Introduction to the Classical Language, Teach Yourself Books, Hodder and Stoughton, London. The Lifeco Dictionary. 1972. (dustjacket title: The Great Lifeco Dictionary), eleventh edition, The Little Flower Company, Madras. Kimball, Linda Amy. 1983. "Kadayans in the Shair Ken Tambuhan." Borneo Research Bulletin 15.1:21-25. Marsden, William. 1812. A Dictionary of the Malayan Language, in two parts, Malayan and English and English and Malayan, Cox and Baylis, London. Maxwell, Allen R. 1983. "Kedayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan and Kadayans in Brunei," Borneo Research Bulletin, 15.2:87-97. Teeuw, A., ed. 1966. Shair Ken Tambuhan, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur. Williams, Monier. 1971. A Dictionary, English and Sanskrit, third Indian edition (original edition 1851), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi.

Museum Exhibition on Borneo

Jan Avé and Victor King write that the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, is to hold a major exhibition on Borneo commencing January 1986. After nine months in Leiden it is planned to transfer it to other locations in Europe, including England. The exhibition will cover all areas of Borneo; the majority of the objects will be from the Dutch collections on Kalimantan (Leiden, Amsterdam and Groningen), but there are loan items on Malaysian Borneo from the Museum of Mankind, London. Museums at Basel and Zurich are also to lend some of their Borneo materials. Avé and King are now engaged in writing a general background book on Borneo. The book will be illustrated with a considerable number of black-and-white, and colour photographs. It will be published in the Netherlands in both English and Dutch to accompany the exhibition. The tentative title of the English version is 'People of the Weeping Forest: Tradition and Change in Borneo'. The main theme of the book and exhibition will be the intimate relationship between the social, economic and cultural life of Borneo peoples and the surrounding tropical rainforest environment. The consequences of forest destruction, 'transmigration' and land settlement schemes on the populations will also be covered, particularly using examples from West Kalimantan and Sarawak, of which the authors have personal knowledge. In sum, the project will look both at 'traditional' Borneo cultures (the exhibition will display some of the finest examples of 'Dayak' material culture in European museums) and processes of change.

O B I T U A R Y

David William McCredie

The death of David William McCredie on January 1, 1984 from a road accident while on a visit to Scotland, was a shock to all those who knew him in Sabah. He died at the age of 42, and at the peak of his museum career. He established the new Sabah Museum, located on the site of the old Government House in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia, which had since its founding in 1965 occupied temporary premises in shophouses in town. However, he did not live to see the official opening by the King which was held on April 11, last year.

David first came to Sabah in 1965 as a volunteer soil scientist with the Department of Agriculture. As a soil scientist with the Department and later the Sabah Land Development Board he travelled extensively throughout the state and developed an interest in the customs and history of Sabah. This prompted him to change career in 1977 and become Curator of the Sabah Museum, a post which he held until his sudden death last year.

During his curatorship he encouraged and assisted research and study particularly by visiting scholars of collections in the Museum and work with museum personnel in the field. In 1980 the Sabah Museum hosted a workshop on conservation of museum objects in tropical conditions organized by the Museum Association of Malaysia. A few months before his death, the Museum organized a live-handicraft show for the 128th Malaysian Rulers Conference, hosted in 1983 by the State.

One of his most lasting literary works was the Sabah Society's first monograph "The Prehistory of Sabah" by his friends, Tom and Barbara Harrisson, which he edited in 1971. Another literary effort was the Sabah Museum Annals, which he launched in 1981, to publish research undertaken or assisted by Sabah Museum.

He leaves behind his wife, Catherine, and two sons, Malcom 6, and Benjamin 3.

N E W S A N D A N N O U N C E M E N T S

Journal of Tropical Ecology

The Journal of Tropical Ecology will be launched in 1985 by Cambridge University Press on behalf of INTECOL, the General Ecology Section of the International Union of Biological Sciences. It will publish papers in the general field of the ecology of tropical regions. Papers may be devoted to the results of original research either experimental or descriptive, or may form significant reviews. Short communications are also welcome, in the expectation that these will allow discussion to develop between readers. It is hoped that the Journal will not only act as a valued means of communication between established ecologists, but will, by the breadth and quality of its papers, its format and price, stimulate the research activities of young ecologists in tropical nations. In conjunction with the newsletter Wallaceana published at the University of Malaya, it will act as a forum of exchange on the broad topic of tropical ecology. To encourage Third World participation, the Journal will be available to subscribers in developing countries at a substantially reduced cost.

Members of the Institute of South-East Asian Biology also have a major role to play in the planning and production of the Journal of Tropical Ecology. Adrian Marshall has been appointed the founding Editor and Mike Swaine the Deputy Editor. The international coverage of the Journal will be assured by the appointment of an Editorial Board drawn from many different nations. Papers will be in English, the language most widely used by tropical ecologists, and each submitted paper will be assessed by two reviewers. As each annual volume will consist of four quarterly numbers it is expected that the rapid publication of accepted papers will be possible.

Further information on submitting papers is available from Dr. A. G. Marshall (Editor - JTE), Institute of South-East Asian Biology, c/o Department of Zoology, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen AB9 2TN, Scotland, U.K.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS SERIES

The Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, continues its Occasional Papers Series (each paper is L1.50, exclusive of postage). The Papers thus far available are:

- No. 1 'British attitudes to indigenous states in South-East Asia in the nineteenth century' by D. K. Bassett, 71 pp.
- No. 2 'Ethnic classification and ethnic relations: a Borneo case study' by V. T. King, 49 pp.
- No. 3 'Internationalism and Nationalism: Western Socialism and the problem of Vietnam' by C. J. Cristie, 43 pp.
- No. 4 'The Sukarno-Controversies of 1980/81' by Oey Hong Lee, 42 pp.
- No. 5 'Institutional Credit and Small-Scale Farmers in North Eastern Thailand' by Paul Lightfoot and Jacqueline Fox, 46 pp.
- No. 6 'The British Residency in Brunei, 1906-1959' by A. V. M. Horton, 95 pp.

ORGANIZED SESSION, 84th ANNUAL MEETING
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 5-8, 1985

Members of the Borneo Research Council present in Denver agreed that we should attempt to organize a session for the presentation of papers at the 1985 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C.

The theme for the session will be, "Nation States and Tribal Societies in Southeast Asia," permitting us to involve anthropologists from other parts of the region.

B O R N E O N E W S

Brunei News

SINAUT AGRICULTURAL TRAINING CENTRE

The Sinaut Agricultural Training Centre dates from 1964 when Brunei Shell Petroleum Company Berhad put forward proposals to the Brunei Government to develop a farm management project which could contribute towards the development of the agricultural industry within the State. The Government gave the Company every encouragement and, after exploring several possible areas, a site was chosen at Mile 21 adjacent to the main highway between Bandar Seri Begawan and Tutong in Kampong Sinaut.

The 21 hectare holding, which illustrates the majority of the soils and topographic features encountered within the farming areas of the State, was cleared and four smallholder units established, each with a major and one or two subsidiary enterprises. The former were rubber, pepper, rice and beef cattle. Reports on the progress of the project appeared annually from 1966 to 1973. As time went on it became possible to evaluate the economic viability of the major crop and livestock enterprises under prevailing Brunei smallholder conditions. A composite farm management study was published for Government in 1974.

Concurrently, in 1974, discussions were held with the Honourable State Secretary, the Director of Agriculture and Members of the Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry Sub-Committee of the State 1975-1979 Five Year National Development Plan on the future of

the Sinaut project. It was mutually agreed to use the experience gained in the farm management project as a basis for an agricultural training programme and, following approval by His Majesty The Sultan, Sinaut was established as the Agricultural Training Centre for the State.

Brunei Shell Petroleum Company Berhad contributed the twenty one hectare developed and equipped site and the Brunei Government the capital to build a sixty four bed residential block, staff housing, classrooms and office facilities. The operating costs are shared more or less equally between the two partners with the Brunei Shell contribution covering the salaries of the senior teaching and project staff, the purchase of books, farm machinery and a variety of ancillary items. The building and farm development programmes were started in mid-1975, the first trainees enrolled in January, 1976 and the facilities finally completed in June, 1977.

Course Options

The main emphasis of the full-time residential training programme during the first two years was the training of young men to become commercial farmers. This was thought to be an important contribution towards the expansion of commercial farming within the State and an appropriate level at which to initiate training at the new Centre. This latter objective provided an opportunity to concentrate on teaching skills and farming procedures so that from the beginning all the teaching work could be based on a sound knowledge and ability in practical farming.

During 1978 it was decided to establish two further courses at junior technician level. One of these was orientated to train personnel for the Government mechanised rice production scheme and the others to provide qualified Bruneian staff to man Government and commercial livestock projects. Both were established during 1979 with the former catering for two intakes of trainees and the latter for one. Discussions with the Department of Agriculture during 1980 resulted in a decision by the Advisory Board to

suspend these specific technician courses in favour of establishing a more broad-based agricultural technician training programme.

This was programmed to be a two-year course demanding the same entry requirements as the one year courses. A wide range of crop, livestock and mechanisation subjects were included plus opportunities for technical specialization during the second year of the training programme. The final intake of students for this course was in 1982 and the successful students graduated in 1984.

In June 1983 the final intake of students were enrolled at the Centre under the Young Farmers' Resettlement Scheme. The successful students will graduate in 1985.

The initial intake of students were enrolled in June 1983 in the newly-initiated Brunei National Diploma in Agriculture course.

AWANG G. V. BAUTISTA attended the Ninth Asian Pacific Week Science Society Conference, November 28 - December 2, 1983 in the Philippines.

DR. W. J. BURROWS replaced Awang, J. St. Groome in April 1983 at the Sinaut Agricultural Training Center. He is on assignment from Shell Research Limited, United Kingdom.

AWANG J. ST. J. GROOME ended his long association with the Centre in February, 1983 to take up an appointment within the Non-traditional Business Division of Shell International Petroleum Company Limited.

LINDA KIMBALL is translating Brunei Malay folktales. She hopes to have the prose ones completed by the end of this school year. She plans to work the material up into a monograph.

AWANG THOMAS LEE KOK CHO presented a paper entitled 'Feed Resources and Availability of Swamp Pastures in Brunei' in Tokyo, Japan during the 5th World Conference on Animal Production from August 10 - August 17, 1983.

AWANG MATZIN BIN SALLEH, AWANG SHAHRILL BIN HJ SHAHBUDIN and AWANG MD NOOR BIN HJ DAUD attended an intensive course in the New Spelling System at the Language and Literature Bureau, Bandar Seri Begawan, February 21 - 27, 1983.

Kalimantan News

CARL HOFFMAN has taken an indefinite leave from academia and is a Peace Corps volunteer, posted to a remote community of Hanuno-o in the mountains of Southern Mindoro. His new address is: U.S. Peace Corps, P.O. Box 7013, Airmail Exchange Office, M.I.A. PHILIPPINES area 3120.

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS
& BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOK REVIEWS

Review of: Sabah Museum Annals, Nos. 1 and 2. Kota Kinabalu: Muzium Sabah. 1979 and 1980.

These two volumes inaugurate a new publication series. In an introductory note to the first number, the late Curator of the Sabah Museum, David McCredie, describes the series as addressing a major task of the Museum -- the "dissemination of knowledge concerning life in Sabah, both past and present" (p. iv). To this end, the volumes make an auspicious start.

The first number contains four papers. All were presented originally at a seminar sponsored by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, entitled "Application

of Linguistic Studies to Sabah Cultures". The first paper by Kenneth Pike describes the various academic programs which SIL has undertaken elsewhere in the world, showing how, in different ways, linguistic research has addressed a variety of national language issues. A concluding paper, also by Kenneth Pike, treats "Some Universals of Human Behaviour", as represented in language theory. The second paper in the volume, "Language Considerations in Community Development" by Evelyn Pike deals chiefly with national-ethnic language relations. In it Evelyn Pike reminds us that "Language is at the core of human experience"; that ethnic languages can serve as a bridge to the acquisition of a national language; and that all languages, including "ethnic" ones, encode unique elements of human experience (pp. 13-16).

While the preceding papers are relatively general in scope, the third by Julie Blom, "Dialect Comparison and Bilingualism: the Kudat Division", reports specifically on the results of current research. In 1979, when these papers were originally presented, the Summer Institute was just beginning the first comprehensive linguistic survey ever undertaken in Sabah. Indicating something of its magnitude, as well as the richness of the linguistic situation, findings to date have provisionally identified 51 languages and 83 dialects in Sabah, the majority of them centered entirely in the state (cf. Miller "Update on linguistic Research in Sabah", BRB (1984) 16:34). Against this background, Julie Blom's paper is especially valuable, not only for its results, but also because it discusses the goals and procedures of the SIL survey.

Blom lists the main goals as follows: "1) to determine dialectical boundaries within defined geographical areas which together comprise the entire State of Sabah; 2) to determine more precisely the degree of intelligibility across major and minor dialect boundaries; and 3) to determine, by means of a national language intelligibility test, the level of bilingualism in the state by computing the levels of understanding of the national language" (p. 24).

Blom in her paper also discusses procedures beginning with the preliminary identification of survey communities. Once this identification is made, an initial survey trip is carried out in which word lists are recorded, an ethnographic questionnaire administered, and a short tape recorded story collected in the local dialect. Word lists provide the (lexicostatistical) basis on which dialectal boundaries are established. The subsequent stages of research concern mainly intelligibility testing. A dialect test is developed from the story collected during the initial survey trip and takes the form of a narrative and running questions administered to a selected cross-section of informants in each of the communities surveyed. The results are then compared with the lexicostatistical results. The significance of the comparison is nicely illustrated by the work of Blom and her colleagues. Although the results are similar, there are also differences, and using data from the ethnographic questionnaire, these are briefly analyzed in terms of the influence of non-linguistic factors on intelligibility, in particular the presence of tamsu market towns as bilingual environments.

A similar testing technique is used to measure Bahasa Malaysia bilingualism, and the narrative and questions used to test intelligibility are appended at the end of the paper.

The more specific results of the study are themselves significant. The Kudat Division includes the Kudat, Pitas and Kota Marudu districts. The principal language of the Division is Rungus, and the study specifically concerns Rungus and related dialects and languages with close affinities to Rungus. Thus the study excludes Banggi, Bajau and Suluk; these the author tells us, though spoken in the Division, are to receive separate treatment elsewhere.

Excluding these latter languages, Rungus is the sole dialect of the Kudat district. It is also extensively spoken in the Pitas district. In order to gauge relationships between geographically dispersed forms of Rungus, Blom and her colleagues worked in both districts, surveying, in all, nine Rungus

communities. In the Pitas district, beside Rungus, four other groups are locally distinguished: Tambanua, Orang Sungai, Kimaragang and Sonsogon. Blom and her co-workers found that the distinction between Tambanua and Orang Sungai is based on religious affiliation, not language. The Orang Sungai are Muslims; the Tambanua, neither Muslims nor Christians. Both are classed by Blom as Tambanua-speakers. Similarly, Blom found Sonsogon, which is also spoken in the Kota Marudu district, to be a Kimaragang dialect. The linguistic picture in the Kota Marudu district is complicated by immigration. Here there are seven locally recognized groups: Tebilung, Tanduk, Kinagas, Dusun, Lingabau, Garo and Sonsogon. Garo is found to be mutually intelligible with Kimaragang, while the distinction between Tanduk, Kinagas and Dusun is social rather than linguistic and all three are classed as "Dusun". In summary, the findings of Blom and her co-workers greatly clarify the picture of linguistic relationships in the Kudat Division. They also point up a number of socio-linguistic issues related to multilingualism that future research might profitably pursue.

The second number of the Sabah Museum Annals contains two papers. The first, "Museum Activities", provides a brief, but timely review of the history of the Sabah Museum and describes its collections, special exhibitions, staffing and research programs. In terms of research, the museum has been most active in the area of archaeology, undertaking important work at Madai, Baturong and Tingkayu, all on the East Coast, and it is hoped that the results of this work will find their way into future numbers of the Annals. Finally, the last paper, "Sabah Peoples' Who's Who" by Phillis Dunn presents an extremely useful glossary of terms and ethnonyms which appear in the published literature, or are in local use, for the various languages and ethnic groups of Sabah. (Clifford Sather)

William H. Smith (editor). WORKSHOP ON RESEARCH PRIORITIES IN TIDAL SWAMP RICE. Manila, International Rice Research Institute, 1984.1

This book consists of 17 short papers concerning aspects of rice cultivation in tidal swamps. The papers had their genesis at the Tidal Swamp Rice Workshop held in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan in June 1981. Eleven of the papers are wholly or partially about tidal swamp cultivation in Indonesia.

This is a very useful book because it describes rice cultivation in a harsh, waterlogged environment. It is a book that can be of considerable value to government planners, cultural geographers, and anthropologists because it describes how peasants achieve subsistence in localities that are rarely visited by outsiders and where the government of Indonesia exercises minimal control over land use. Because it describes subsistence in a harsh environment, it is comparable to the cultivation of sugar producing lontar palms on the arid islands of Savu and Roti that is described by James L. Fox in HARVEST OF THE PALM.

The main criticism of this book is the use of the word "farmer." Not only is this technically incorrect, it also creates confusion, the bane of effective government action to increase food production. The proper word to describe tidal swamp rice cultivators is "peasant." The average size of their holdings is 1.5 to 2 hectares, just sufficient to produce enough food for household subsistence, plus an average annual 10-15% surplus for market sale that is used to purchase a very limited number of manufactured items. The peasant cultivators of tidal swamps do not produce an assured food surplus for market sale in all crop years. They are vulnerable to hunger in poor crop years, especially when there have been excessive or prolonged floods.

Peasants could cultivate more land if they wanted because they are on the agricultural frontier where land is available to those who will clear it. If an assured food surplus is to be produced, the acquisition of new agricultural land must be taken from village councils. The central government could then allow energetic households to acquire more land than is

needed for subsistence. These households would bring this land under cultivation by performing the requisite labor -- or government policies could induce some households to expend this labor. Yields can also be increased by building more sluices to control water and by double cropping. The persons who wrote the papers about Indonesia clearly tell the reader that both double cropping technology and local varieties of rice are available that can produce one crop in the wet season and another in the less wet season. Some households already practice double cropping,

"Farmer" is the term for cultivators who produce an assured food surplus in all years. The object of farmers is to sell their crops on the market and measure their social security by the amount of their money incomes. The peasant cultivators of Indonesia's tidal swamps do not do this. Until this difference in social motivation is clearly understood by government planners, they will fail to induce cultivators of new lands to produce an assured food surplus for market sale. Subsistence will be replicated on these new lands regardless of how efficient plant breeders are in developing higher yielding varieties of rice for tidal swamp cultivators. (Ronald E. Seavoy)

¹Reprinted by kind permission of John A. MacDougall, Editor, Indonesia Reports.

Haji Zaini Haji Ahmad, BRUNEI KEARAH KEMERDAKAAN 1984. The revival of Brunei, after centuries of seemingly-irreversible decline, dates from January 1906, when Mr. M. S. H. McArthur assumed office as the first British Resident in the Sultanate. Originally the initiative remained firmly with the imperial power, but following the Second World War the balance shifted towards the people: British administrators, instead of initiating policy (as formerly), were obliged increasingly to react to demands made upon them by an emerging nationalist movement led by the charismatic Sheikh Ahmad Azahari.

On the eve of the Residential Era, Brunei was "a dying kingdom":¹ all but a small remnant of its once extensive empire had been lost (though one historian has suggested recently that "the impression of prosperity" conveyed by Mr. Pigafetta's well-known 16th century account may be misleading);² the Sultan and nobles were bankrupt and, their revenues having already been anticipated for many years ahead, were "face to face with beggary";³ disaffection, caused by oppression and misrule, was general in the out districts, particularly in Belait and Tutong, where (according even to a friendly observer) the inhabitants were kept peaceable only "by the idea which prevails among them that the country is soon to be merged in Sarawak";⁴ and, finally, Rajah Charles Brooke, who owned considerable rights within even the rump of territory remaining to Brunei, was restrained from delivering the coup de grace only because the Sultanate enjoyed the status of a British protectorate.⁵ First and foremost, therefore, the Residency preserved the existence of the Sultanate as a separate State. Second, after a lengthy struggle, full internal sovereignty was regained in the sense that further territorial encroachments by the Brooke State were prevented and the Rajah's influence within Brunei was first contained and then eliminated.⁶

The Residency, which lasted until 1959, resulted in much more besides. The traditional system of administration, taxation and land tenure based on kerajaan (crown), kuripan (ministerial) and tulin (private) rights was swept aside; a natural concomitant was the abolition of serfdom and the possibility, for the first time, of land ownership by the ordinary people. The British introduced instead a new system of central government and district administration, controlled by the Resident (acting in the name of the Sultan), whose writ was effective throughout the country. They laid the foundations for a new bureaucracy (public treasury, works department, police force), introduced a single legal tender (the Straits' dollar) and issued Brunei's first recognized postage stamps. The capital was removed from its unhealthy location over the river at Kampong Ayer to a new site on neighbouring terra firma. In the

economic sphere, the new political stability, coupled with freedom from arbitrary confiscation of property by pengirans (nobles) renewed incentive, previously stifled, for indigenous agricultural production. Equally important were innovations of principle: whereas Bruneians had tended to conceive of their society as static,⁷ for example, they now became aware of the advantages of development.

In short, the beginning of the Residential Era marks a major point of departure in the history of the Sultanate. On the other hand, encouragement was given to traditional forces in Brunei society, such as the Muslim religion: in 1906 there was only one mosque in the Sultanate, a wooden structure dating from 1902, which itself had been built with British assistance.⁸ A new programme of mosque-building was undertaken, four being completed in 1911 and three more in 1928-9.⁹ Even the current royal autocracy¹⁰ in Brunei is not without a debt to the Residents, for when Mr. McArthur first arrived in the country (1904) Sultan Hashim (r1885-1906) was unable to count on the implementation of his directives even in the capital.¹¹ The British policy of bolstering the prestige and authority of the monarchy reached its natural conclusion in 1959, when power was transferred, not to the people, but overwhelmingly to the crown.

Another watershed was reached in 1932 when the first consignment of oil was exported from Seria. To give a few statistics, production totalled 600,000 tons annually on the eve of the illegal Japanese occupation (1941-5), but scaled a yearly level of five million tons during the mid-1950s. Brunei's national income increased in tandem: annual Government receipts, a mere \$51,777 in 1907 and still only \$362,403 on the threshold of the oil era (1932), had reached over \$129 million at the end of the Residential Era (1959). The 1940s - a time of war and reconstruction - was a decade wasted, but during the 1950s the new wealth was used to lay the foundations of a welfare state and to establish an infrastructure for future economic growth.

Meanwhile, the people were demanding a greater say in determining their own future. In 1956 Sheikh Ahmad Azahari founded the Brunei People's Party (Partai Rakyat) which immediately won overwhelming popular support, attaining a membership of 16,000 within one year. (To give an idea of scale, Brunei's total population increased from 41,000 in 1947 to 84,000 by 1960). The Party demanded independence, the reunion of Kalimantan Utara (N.W. Borneo) under Brunei's control, and an improvement in the people's standard of living. In 1957 Sheikh Azahari, a spell-binder of a public speaker who enjoyed full backing from the people, headed a merdeka mission to London, but returned empty-handed, after which the People's Party appeared to loss momentum.

Meanwhile the Sultan's own constitutional proposals were implemented in September 1959, when the Residential System was abolished and Brunei acquired full internal autonomy. In place of the Resident there was to be a Mentri Besar - appointed by the Sultan. In place of the discredited State Council, there was to be an Executive Council - entirely nominated by the Sultan; and a Legislative Council to be partly elected by universal suffrage - but to have a majority of members nominated by the Sultan. As Mr. Raeburn, the Partai Rakyat's legal adviser, commented when these plans were first revealed (1957), the monarchy retained "autocratic powers"; nominated members depended on goodwill and could not speak freely; and a constitution "which depends entirely for its safeguards for the subject on the benevolent forbearance of the sovereign is in effect no constitution at all".¹²

At the District and Legislative Council elections of August 1962 - held almost one year behind schedule - the People's Party took 90% of the poll and all the seats. But Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin 3 (r1950-67) proceeded as though nothing had happened, as instanced by his continued negotiations (perhaps under Whitehall pressure) for entry into Malaysia, despite the fact that opposition to Brunei's inclusion within the proposed new Federation had been a principal plan of the Partai Rakyat's manifesto. As Sheikh Azahari had

warned repeatedly, the people's anger erupted and on 8 December 1962 four thousand men of the Tentara Nasional Kalimantan Utara (TNKU) (National Army of Northern Borneo) rose up in revolt. According to the Borneo Bulletin there were "rebel flags everywhere. . .and the insurgents were given every assistance by sympathizers". The "headshakers", the paper added, were mainly non-indigenous people, pengirans and senior Government officials.¹³ The cause of the revolt, the Bulletin declared, was "genuine dissatisfaction" with the Brunei Government:

Supreme power was in one person.

The wrong men were in many jobs. The right men were ignored. There was a mad rush to get rid of British expatriates. There was a running down of what was once a fairly efficient service.¹⁴

Sir Omar's throne, however, was saved by the speedy intervention of British forces despatched from Singapore. Thereafter, the People's Party was banned, political activity forbidden and a battalion of Gurkhas stationed in the Seria oilfield, ostensibly to ward off foreign invaders, a contingency which does not appear to have been envisaged before December 1962. The United Kingdom - which had been responsible for Brunei's foreign policy since 1959 - retained an increasingly-reluctant protectorate over the Sultanate, until, on 1 January 1984, Brunei assumed "full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State".¹⁵

These reflections have been prompted by the appearance of a new book, Brunei Kearah Kemerdekaan 1984, written in both Malay and English, by Haji Zaini Haji Ahmad, and including a Foreword by Inche Yasin Affandy. Both of these people were founder-members of the People's Party. Haji Zaini (b1935), son of a distinguished civil servant,¹⁶ appears to have had a disagreement with his colleagues, for in 1958 he left Brunei to spend two years at the London School of Economics, returning to prominence in December 1961, when he announced the formation of his own party,

the Brunei United National Organization, which aimed at the total liquidation of colonialism, the establishment of a truly democratic constitutional monarchy, and the eradication of poverty. By February 1962, however, he had abandoned this project, subsequently rejoining Sheikh Azahari as prospective Minister of Economics in the Revolutionary Cabinet. After the failure of the 1962 uprising, Haji Zaini was imprisoned for ten years, before escaping to Malaysia, where he has remained ever since. His colleague, Inche Yasin Affandy (b 1923) was Secretary-General of the People's Party and military commander of the TNKU. Although the rebellion lasted little more than a week, Inche Yasin Affandy himself was not captured until 18 May 1963. He escaped from gaol, along with Haji Zaini and six others, on 26 July 1973.

Haji Zaini's book, dedicated to the martyrs who fell in battles during the revolution, is essentially a pictorial record of the growth of Brunei nationalism, but he has included some interesting extras, such as copies of important historical documents and newspaper clippings, as well as his own commentary. The 1984 Proclamation of Independence, symbolically, is given in Malay only.

The road to merdeka is traced back to the Japanese occupation, the founding father of Brunei nationalism - being Cikgu Harun Muhammad Amin, a teacher brought from Perak by one of the last pre-War Residents. A number of nationalists were sent overseas for training by the Japanese. One of these, Pengiran Yusuf (Mentri Besar 1967-72), helped to establish the Malay Youth Movement (Barisan Pemuda), which flourished in 1946-7, but then fizzled out. One photograph shows Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin (r1924-50) standing to attention as the Barisan Pemuda's flag was raised in 1947. If Sir Ahmad had not been "a drunkard and . . . altogether unworthy"¹⁷ he might have performed a more signal service for his country: for, in 1943, when discussing what to do with North Borneo after the Chartered Company should have been bought out, the British Government considered a retrocession of their territory to the Sultanate, but ruled out this option on the ground that the Brunei

royal house had "shown no qualities which would justify such an extension of its territories".¹⁸

Sheikh Azahari also received overseas training from the Japanese. He first rose to prominence in late 1952, when he attempted to form a "Film Production Company" which was banned by the British authorities because it was perceived as a "swindle", a cover for a "secret society", and a means whereby Sheikh Azahari might "collect funds either for himself or for political purposes".¹⁹ After organizing an entirely peaceful protest demonstration, which was deemed "an illegal gathering", Sheikh Azahari was arrested and put on trial. The savage sentence (one year's imprisonment), imposed by "the learned magistrate" (Mr. G. A. T. Shaw), was denounced by the Straits Budget:

Brunei is likely to make headlines again if its courts and its officials do not move a little more with the times.²⁰

Even the halving of the sentence, on appeal, was "harsh". The British appear to have learned their lesson, and were more liberal subsequently; in the years 1956-9, at least, the People's Party enjoyed freedom of association, speech and demonstration.

It was the film company episode which obliged Sir Omar Li to announce an intention to make constitutional reforms. Sir Anthony Abell, the British High Commissioner, reported that there were

signs of a clash between members of the ruling class who wish to retain a feudalistic State, and the growing and more vocal opposition to nepotism from the ordinary people, especially the young intelligentsia.²¹

The Sultan had been pressing for a revision of the 1905-06 Treaty, so that he might obtain "greater responsibilities for the internal affairs of his State"; but Sir Anthony insisted that "a revision of the treaty cannot be contemplated until His Highness has

established a constitution on democratic and acceptable lines".²² The Sultan's announcement that he intended to grant a written constitution, therefore, was made under British pressure which, in turn, was a response to the demands of the nationalist movement. On the other hand, as early as 1944, Whitehall had established the policy objective that Brunei should be guided towards independence, but that

self-government. . . should not merely develop towards a system of autocratic rule, but should provide for a growing participation in the Government by people of all communities.²³

In the light of this evidence Haji Zaini's reference to a struggle against the British for democracy and independence would appear to be entirely misplaced. The 1959 Constitution, indeed, was a victory for Sir Omar Ali, who got his revision of the 1905-06 Treaty whilst making the minimum concession to British demands that he should introduce a constitution on "democratic and acceptable lines".²⁴

Apart from this reservation, Haji Zaini's book is to be welcomed; it should certainly help to dispel the historical amnesia prevalent in certain quarters in Brunei. I have one or two disagreements with his commentary (the Sultanate was founded in the 16th rather than the 14th century, for example) and his description of Sir Omar Ali as "an enlightened ruler" rests uneasily with earlier public pronouncements. But I do not lay great stress on these quibbles. On the contrary, it is greatly to be hoped the Haji Zaini will now turn his hand to providing that full-length written (as opposed to pictorial) account of Brunei nationalism which is so badly lacking. Few people can be in a better position than he to fill this gap. (A. V. M. Horton)

NOTES

1. Sir Hugh Clifford, A Dying Kingdom in Macmillan's Magazine, May-October 1902, pp. 106-114.

2. Dr. D. K. Bassett, British Attitudes to Indigenous States in S. E. Asia in the 19th Century (Hull, 1980), p. 20.
3. CO 144/77 (20118) Mr. G. Hewett to Marquess of Lansdowne, 10 April 1903, paragraph 4.
4. FO 572/39 M. S. H. McArthur, Report on Brunei in 1904 (dated Singapore, 5 December 1904), paragraph 30.
5. Ibid., paragraph 129.
6. Brunei's other near-neighbour, North Borneo, had long ceased to entertain designs on the Sultanate's territory.
7. For example, in August 1906 the boy Sultan, Muhammad Jamalul Alam sent a petition to the High Commissioner demanding that Brunei's "customs and laws shall be kept inviolate and unaltered for ever". (CO 144/80 36822). Cf, also, the Amanat of Sultan Abdul Mumin, 1885.
8. FO 572/37 p. 32. In 1902 Consul Hewett "assisted the Sultan to obtain timber for the new mosque in Brunei, free of cost or duty, from Sarawak territory". Cf. McArthur, op. cit., paragraph 55, who remarked that in 1904 the wooden mosque was the only public building in the Sultanate.
9. CO 824/1 Brunei Annual Report 1911, p. 12; BAR 1928 (p. n/a); and BAR 1929, p. 24.
10. The current Sultan, His Majesty General Sir Hassanel Bolkiah II, GCMG has been described as "virtually an absolute ruler" who "makes Louis XIV (Lewis 14) look like a social democrat". (Christian Science Monitor 11 January 1984, courtesy of Professor D. E. Brown; and Telegraph Sunday Magazine, 5 February 1984, p. 16, courtesy of both D. Thomas and W. M. Johnson).
11. CO 144/78 (33750) M. S. H. McArthur to Sir John Anderson, 12 August 1904 (?), paragraph 2.

12. Borneo Bulletin 26 October 1957.
13. Borneo Bulletin 22 December 1962 (Brunei Emergency Edition)
14. Borneo Bulletin 5 January 1963.
15. Longman's Annual Register 1978 p. 280.
16. Pehin Orang Kaya Shahbandar Haji Ahmad bin Daud (1907-?1970s), MBE 1954, DSN 1949. District Officer in three of the four regions. 1961: 1st Resettlement Officer. 1967: Director, National Bank. Privy Councillor.
17. CO 943/1 File 20 minute by J. D. Higham, 2 June 1949.
18. CO 825/42 File 55104/3 (1943-1944), item 1 (A): Extract from memorandum for plans for constitutional advance in the Far East (20 March 1943).
19. CO 1022/396 item 8 Sir Anthony Abell to Colonial Office, No. 32 (Saving), 10 March 1953, paragraph 3.
20. Loc. cit., item 14, extract from Straits Budget, 12 March 1953.
21. Loc. cit., item 12, Abell to CO, No. 54 (Saving), 13 May 1953, paragraph 3.
22. Ibid., paragraph 7.
23. CO 825/42 File 55104/3 War Cabinet (Attlee) Committee: Print of Draft Directive on Policy (Borneo), paragraph 1 (c). Also in CAB 98/41.
24. Nor has there been as subsequent democratization in the Sultanate. On the other hand, one is entitled to wonder how far and for long the Brunei People's Party would have retained a commitment to democracy if their demand for immediate

independence had been met. (It will be remembered that Sheikh Azahari had close links with President Sukarno).

ABSTRACTS

Agriculture and Subsistence in a Lowland Rainforest Kenyah Community

See Chung Chin, Ph.D. Disseration, Yale University, 1984

This report presents a study of the relationship between a Kenyah longhouse community and its lowland rainforest environment on the island of Borneo. It describes and analyses the Kenyah swidden system, and patterns and strategies of resource utilization through hunting, fishing, gathering, collecting and cash cropping. Also discussed are, the physical and social environment, land tenure system, diet, domesticated plants and impacts on the ambient vegetation. The longhouse apartment unit maintains continuity; it inherits property and establishes permanent rights over land. Swiddening for rice requires about 101 man-days/ha/season in old secondary vegetaiton, and the average yield of about 800 kg/ha is adequate for subsistence. The swidden area farmed per adult worker is about 0.55 ha. Ninety percent of swiddens are cropped with rice for only one season. More than 200 specific plant types (at least 95 botanical species) are cultivated; 78% of these provide food, others provide materials for technology, fish poison, cash, social and ritual use. Gathering, hunting and fishing provide more than half the side-dishes (by frequency of consumption). Cash income is primarily from tapping Hevea rubber, collecting illipe nuts and incense wood. The fallow vegetation regenerates very rapidly; after four years the basal area/ha is about 6 sq m, and after 50-60 years, is about 29 sq m (similar to that in a primary forest). One of the long term impacts of cultural activities is to increase the number of fruit trees per unit area of forest. The traditional Kenyah swidden

and resource utilization systems are sufficient for subsistence and are sustainable under present conditions. Population increase, education, new agricultural options and logging activities will cause major changes.

Notes from the Editor (Cont'd.)

Jack Golson, Monica Janowski, Timothy Jessup, V. T. King, Dietrich Kuhne, John Landgraf, Michael Leigh, Cynthia Machie, Rex Marshall, Peter Martin, Virginia Matheson, Peter Metcalf, H. S. Morris, Alastair Morrison, John Musgrave, Shuichi Nagata, Rodney Needham, H. Arlo Nimmo, Christine Padoch, J. R. Palmer, Ifor B. Powell, Ronald Provencher, A. J. N. Richards, Rolf Schlomer, Joan Seeler, Jack Stuster, Andrew P. Vayda, Carol and James Warren, Bruce Wheatley, Herbert Whittier, William Wilder, and Leigh Wright.

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