

BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

GUEST EDITORIAL

THE FUTURE OF THE BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

The future of the Borneo Research Council looks very bright. Under Vinson Sutlive's energetic management the BRC now has a sizeable endowment: The Borneo Research Bulletin is growing in coverage and in subscribers, and research in Borneo is expanding. Yet there remains that old, nagging problem of the deficit incurred in publishing the Bulletin. Let me review the history of the BRC since Vinson Sutlive took over the editorship of the Borneo Research Bulletin in 1975.

Since then the number of subscribers has increased by about 50 per cent, and the Bulletin itself has grown in importance and size. The number of pages now published per year is about twice the number published previously.

Each year in conjunction with the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association Vinson Sutlive has organized a Borneo Research Council symposium and held a business meeting. Each of these takes many hours of preparation, but they are exceedingly rewarding to those doing research in Borneo as they permit the exchange of ideas, discussion of recent research results, and the development of personal contact between those starting off in Bornean research and those who have had extended experience in this.

In addition, last year Vinson spent considerable time and effort in incorporating the Borneo Research Council as a tax exempt organization. This permits the BRC to raise significant funds and engage in various new programs.

With all this effort the BRC is increasing its influence and becoming more important to the scholarly world. The articles now printed in the BRB are major ones that create interest far outside the field of Borneo scholars. The

(Continued on Page 214)

RESEARCH NOTES

KAYAN LAND TENURE AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF DEVOLVABLE USUFRUCT IN BORNEO

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INTRODUCTION

The literature on land tenure among the indigenous peoples of Borneo perpetuates an error with regard to the Kayan system of land tenure. It is stated that among the Kayan no devolvable usufructary rights are created by the clearing of primary forest (e.g. Rousseau 1977:136) and that the Kayan land tenure system is, therefore, like that of the Rungus of Sabah. However, according to my field inquiries the Kayan and Rungus have radically different systems of land tenure. In correcting this misapprehension it will be necessary to review the status of research on land tenure in Borneo and pose critical questions for further research.¹

THE TYPES OF LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN THE SWIDDEN SOCIETIES OF BORNEO

There are two basic types of land tenure systems found in those societies practicing swidden agriculture (see Appell 1971a). First, there is what I term "the circulating usufruct system"; and second, there is what I call "the devolvable usufruct system" (See Appell 1971b).²

In the system of circulating usufruct, once a swidden area has reverted to forest, any member of the village may cut the forest again to make a swidden without seeking permission of the previous cultivator. In other words, no devolvable or permanent use rights are established by cutting primary forest. Examples of this type of system may be found among the Rungus (See Appell 1971b, 1976) and the Bulusu' (see Appell 1983a, n.d.).

In the system of devolvable usufruct, the cutting of primary forest creates rights in the area that may be exercised over a period of years or permanently, and these rights may be transferred to other jural entities. The Iban (Freeman 1955), the Bidayuh Land Dayak (Geddes 1954), the Kenyah (Whittier 1973), the Lun Bawang (Deegan 1973), the Mualang (Drake 1982), the Ma'anyan (Hudson 1972), the Melanau (Morris 1976), the Bisaya (Peranio 1977), the Kantu' Dayak (Dove 1981, n.d.) and the Selako Dayak (Schneider 1974), the Maloh (King 1978:206-7), the Punan Bah (Nicolaisen 1983), all have this form of land tenure. Jural rights over secondary forest may be transferred to other jural entities, either individuals or corporate groups, by various mechanisms, and these include devisal, sale, gift, or division between sections of a partitioning Iban bilek (see Freeman 1955:43). The mechanisms of devolution and the jural entities with the capacity to hold rights vary with each society, and this variation produces two subclasses of devolvable usufruct.³

Among the Iban, rights lie with the bilek as a corporate group. As this is a perpetual corporate group, the possibility of transfer by devisal, i.e. by inheritance, does not arise. When partition in an Iban bilek occurs, the rights to this secondary forest are divided between the two sections over time as they each reuse parcels of secondary forest for the first time and thereby establish new rights over it.

However, among the Land Dayak rights established by the individual cutting primary forest are inherited by all his descendants. That is, the rights reside with individuals and not a corporate grouping (see Appell 1971b). To distinguish these two types, I propose to refer to the former as "partitionable usufruct" and the later as "devisable usufruct."

This results in the following classification:

- 1.0 Circulating usufruct.
- 2.0 Devolvable usufruct.
 - 2.1 Partitionable usufruct.
 - 2.2 Devisable usufruct.

An interesting variation on devolvable usufruct occurs among the Mualang Dayak, according to Drake (1982:101-102):

The felling of large trees in primary forest is very considerable work, and a man is compensated for such work by having rights to cultivate that land for four consecutive times before fellow longhouse members can use it. Given an average fallowing period of seven years, this extended tenure would consume, at a minimum, 32 years and, most likely, somewhat longer. These extended use rights are shared by the spouse and children and will pass on to their descendants until consumed.

Because of this example of use rights of limited duration, I have termed the general class as "devolvable usufruct," and this subclass as "devisable usufruct," to avoid any use of the term "permanent," as I have done in the past before reading Drake's work (cf. Appell 1971a). Permanency is not necessarily associated with the establishment of rights over secondary forest.

The Kenyah of Kalimantan also have an interesting variation of devolvable usufruct, according to Whittier (1973). Rights over secondary forest may be of three types: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Chin (1984), however, does not discuss this in his study of Kenyah agriculture in Sarawak. Since Whittier also studied the Kenyah in Sarawak, it is reasonable to assume that Chin overlooked this variation.⁴ Whittier (1973:62) writes:

The man who first cuts primary jungle gains rights to that parcel of land. Children remaining in the household inherit primary rights to the land. Those who move to other households in the village retain secondary rights, i.e., they may use the land if no primary right holder wants it. Children moving to other villages, retain a tertiary right to the land, but with land pressure in the area today, it is unlikely that such rights can be activated.

It would thus appear that the primary rights are partitionable usufruct and the secondary and tertiary rights are devisable.

RESIDUAL RIGHTS HELD BY THE VILLAGE

In all land tenure systems residual rights over land are held by the village as a corporate group. However, the development of the jural personality of the village varies among the various societies. In some instances the jural nature of this village entity may verge on being an actual corporation (see Appell 1976).⁵ In other instances, as among the Bulusu', the jural personality of the village is only minimally developed. Bulusu' village boundaries are not heavily guarded, and a nonvillage member can cut his swidden within the village boundaries without permission of the headman. But if he chooses to do so, and this only rarely happens, he forfeits his right to turn to the headman for help in the settlement of any dispute that might arise. In the time prior to the establishment of the Dutch colonial government in the area, this could result in the intruder losing his life..

Thus, in each jural system the nature of the residual rights held by the village varies. At a minimum the residual rights involve only the power to restrict all nonresidents from cultivating in the village reserve or territory. In other instances, where the jural personality of the village is more developed, rights to other resources may be involved, as, for example, nonresidents may not enter the territory while the village is carrying on a ceremony to re-establish the fertility of the village and its territory, or nonresidents may not cut timber in the village territory to use for longhouses. Or there may be incidents of ownership by the village over the usufruct that prevent the holder of them from selling them to nonresidents. Or the owner of rights on leaving a village may have to relinquish them so that the land returns to the village reserve. And any other resident may then establish permanent rights on cutting the forest (see Dove n.d.).⁶

THE KAYAN LAND TENURE SYSTEM: DEVOLVABLE USUFRUCT

In 1980 I visited Sarawak and spoke to a Kayan informant from the Balui region then living in Kuching. In reply to my inquiries, he stated that the cutting of primary forest does establish use rights over the area. That is, an individual desiring to cultivate a swidden in secondary forest first has to obtain permission from the individual who had originally cut the primary forest in that area.

In 1980-81, while conducting research in East Kalimantan, I was able again to discuss with a Kalimantan Kayan living in Tanjung Selor the nature of the Kayan system of land tenure. He also stated that the cutting of primary forest establishes use rights by the cutter over the area.

I then wrote C. Hudson Southwell, an authority of Kayan adat, and inquired as to his understanding of the matter. He replied (letter September 7, 1982):

You asked about Kayan social organization, with special reference to land tenure.

My information about rural land tenure among the Kayans is the same as yours, that when a Kayan cuts down virgin forest he establishes hereditary rights to that land for future cultivation. By customary Kayan lore, and Kayan law, he holds exclusive right to that land. If someone else wishes to use the land, the owner of those rights may lease it to others for a fee in cash or for a share of its produce; or the rights may be sold altogether for any other purpose, such as a plantation of rubber or coffee.

DO THE KAYAN HAVE PARTITIONABLE USUFRUCT OR DEVISABLE USUFRUCT?

The nature of my inquiries were such that I was not able to ascertain whether the Kayan have partitionable or devisable usufruct. Since I have not conducted research on this in a Kayan village itself, I have not had the opportunity to inquire as to whether or not the Kayan domestic family is a corporate unit--crucial to this form of inquiry.

And if it is, whether it is of limited duration or perpetual and with regard to what types of property, i.e., land, fruit trees, gongs, jars, etc. Therefore, I have been hesitant to push my informants any further in this matter to resolve this part of the problem.

OBSERVATIONAL PROCEDURES TO DISTINGUISH PARTITIONABLE USUFRUCT FROM DEVISABLE USUFRUCT

There are several crucial tests to be applied to distinguish partitionable from devisable usufruct. These tests have to do with the structure of the domestic family at the time of cutting primary forest (see Figure One.)

In the case of 1.0, if A cuts primary forest while his children Y and Z are living in his household but X has married and is living with his own wife in a separate house, do all children, X, Y, and Z get rights to the area on his death? If this is the case, this is an example of devisable rights in which rights are created by the actor individually and not on behalf of a corporate domestic family that exists either in perpetuity or for a limited life.

However, if the jural system considers that only Y and Z have rights in example 1.0, there may be two bases for this. Y and Z, as opposed to X, may have claim to the rights on the basis that they were helping their father during the agricultural years that the primary forest was cut. An example of this type of preferential claim occurs among the Rungus with regard to moveable property purchased while a child was actively farming with his parents (see Appell 1974). Or, only Y and Z have a claim because when the father cut the primary forest he is considered to have done this as a representative of the family, as structured at that time. To date we have no ethnographic examples of this but it is conceivable that this type of legal reasoning could occur in some society in Borneo. Such an instance would indicate that the family is a corporate grouping with respect to rights over land. But as I shall demonstrate shortly, it would be a corporate group of limited life rather than a perpetual corporate grouping.

To distinguish these forms of devisable rights from partitionable rights, the following question has to be asked: Do those children who have joined their spouses' households on marriage, but after the clearing of the swidden areas in question, lose their usufruct rights? If they do, it is partitionable usufruct. For example, in illustration 1.0, if Y marries and moves into his wife's longhouse apartment, joining the domestic family of his wife, under partitionable usufruct he would have no rights to secondary forest from his natal family. He could only use those held by his wife's domestic family.

The case of 2.0 illustrates another test for the locus and type of rights over secondary forest. Individual A marries and creates family 2.1. He then divorces and creates family 2.2. If Z has rights in primary forest cut by A while living in 2.1, or if X and Y have rights in forest cut by A while living in 2.2, then the system is devisable usufruct. If children from other marriages do not share in these rights, then the rights are corporately held by the domestic family in which the individual resided while he cut the primary forest. And in this case it would be a system of partitionable usufruct if the domestic family exists in perpetuity as the Iban bilek, and rights are not owned by those marrying out.

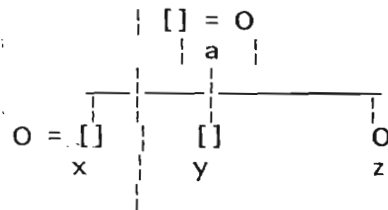
Since it is possible that a domestic family might exist in perpetuity with regard to other assets and not land rights, it is critical to establish whether the use rights are held by the corporate grouping or by individuals. That is, are they devised to all children or kept within the domestic family so that those marrying out receive no rights.

There is still the possibility that the domestic family is corporate with regard to land rights but nevertheless has a limited life. The Rungus domestic family provides an example of this with regard to property other than land rights. At the dissolution of the parental domestic family in such a case, all corporately held assets would be devised on the children. In instances such as this it is again devisable usufruct.

Thus, we end up with three classes of devisable usufruct on the basis of the conditions under which they were created: those rights corporately created in a limited

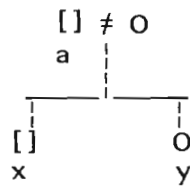
FIGURE ONE: DOMESTIC FAMILY STRUCTURE

1.0

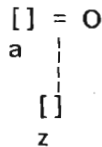


2.0

2.1



2.2



Key: [] - Male O - Female ≠ - Divorce

life domestic family; those rights which seem to adhere to the individual who does the work, as in the case of 1.0 above and which are inherited by his children; and those rights which are created by the family as a unit and which are devised only on those children who participated in the creation of them.

CONCLUSION

All external classifications do some violence to the ethnographic facts. In this instance we have the Kenyah land tenure system which appears to fall between the two major classes. That is, the Kenyah have both partitionable and devisable usufruct. Secondary and tertiary rights are devisable as all children participate in them. But primary rights are partitionable usufruct since the children who remain in the household of the original family have access to these prior rights over the swidden areas, and these prior rights are held by the continuing domestic family as a corporate asset.

We have also presented evidence that the Kayan system of land tenure involves devolvable usufruct. It is of considerable importance now for someone to conduct field research to establish whether this devolvable usufruct is partitionable or devisable.

But this is only one part of the research that is necessary to clarify the nature of land rights in Borneo societies. There are many aspects of the nature of land rights that are not touched upon in many of the ethnographies cited above. For example, it is not clear whether the rights described pertain both to wet rice land, where such is cultivated, in addition to the swidden areas. And it is also not clear in some instances whether the domestic family exists in perpetuity, whether it is a limited life corporate group with regard to land rights, or whether it is neither of these so that land rights are held by individuals and not corporate groups. Thus, the distinction is often not made between rights held by a group versus rights held by the individual (see Appell 1971b, 1983b, 1984).

Finally, to complete our understanding of the land tenure systems of Borneo, we badly need research on land

rights over permanent field systems such as found in societies practicing wet rice agriculture.

NOTES

1. I want to express my appreciation to the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, and the National Science Foundation (Grants GS-923 and BNS-79-15343) which have at various times supported by research on land tenure in Borneo. I also want to express my appreciation to the Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, for their sponsorship of my recent research.
2. In Appell (1983a:41) I use the terms "circulating system" and "contingent system" for these two systems. The terminology I use here supercedes this as I believe it is more appropriate.
3. In Appell (1971a) I suggested that there might be an ecological explanation for the development of devolvable usufruct. Secondary forest is of some value in regions of high rainfall. This is because the slash from secondary forest dries out faster than that from primary forest, and therefore it has the potentiality of burning more completely. Further field research in 1980-81 among the Bulusu' suggests that the matter is more complicated than that. The Bulusu' system is that of circulating usufruct, yet this occurs in a region of very high rainfall in contrast to the Rungus ecosystem which has a significant dry season. However, see Dove (n.d.).
4. Hudson (1972) reports a somewhat similar system among the Ma'anyan.
5. See Appell (1983b, 1984) for the distinction between a "corporate group" and a "corporation."
6. Padoch (1978) suggests that among the Iban the loss of rights on leaving a village may be a relatively recent

development. Earlier a bilek did not lose its rights on moving to a nearby village, only if it moved out of the region entirely.

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THE EARLY STAGE VOCABULARY AND GRAMMAR ACQUISITION OF A BRUNEI MALAY CHILD

Shawna Craig
Linda Amy Kimball

Relatively few papers have dealt with the acquisition of Austronesian (AN) languages (Kimball 1970, 1971, 1972, 1974; Slobin 1976). Yet the theories regarding Indo-European (IE) child language acquisition are tacitly assumed to apply to non-IE cases as well. Through examples and application the present study will show that such an assumption is not valid. The reason for this is twofold. There are differing cultural modes and world views at work; and this in turn is accompanied by different functional and grammatical categories in the AN child language acquisition stages.

Introduction

The present paper explores the early stage of a Brunei Malay child's language acquisition. It focuses upon three topics in detail. First, the nature of the child's interaction with his mother and siblings. Second, factors influencing his language acquisition, including the cultural and social setting. And third, some of the semantic and linguistic properties of Brunei Malay (an AN language) which differ significantly from IE and affect its acquisition.

The study is based upon the longitudinal data collected in the course of Kimball's fieldwork in Brunei, Borneo, from November 1969 to September 1971.¹ At the beginning of the study a young male child, Ramlan, was approximately 18 months old. This precluded the possibility of recording the acquisition of his phonology, since by that time he had acquired the Brunei Malay phonological system. This accords with Jakobson's observation (1968, p. 24) that by this age the child has his basic sound system and is now at the level where, "...utterances are employed for purpose of designation...".

Early detailed studies of child language acquisition were written by psychologists and linguists who recorded their own children's process of language acquisition. The studies of Roman Jakobson, Jean Piaget, and M. Cohen

appeared in the 1920s and 30s at the time when pedagogue or child language was establishing its academic niche in Europe (Slama-Cazacu, 1972). Since then the tendency has been increasingly toward cross-sectional rather than longitudinal studies. The early works mentioned above provided the broad framework of IE language acquisition which subsequent works have filled in and modified. The present study follows in the path of early IE studies. It reports some of the results of a longitudinal study, conducted in prolonged daily contact with the child over a period of two years. What emerges is that while there are some similarities with the IE pattern, there are also significant differences. These differences arise from the different cultural setting, and from the very different nature of AN from IE.

Kimball was taken as an adopted daughter into a Brunei Malay family. Having realized the significance of the opportunity to study a young child's language acquisition, she soon fell into the culturally expected baby-tending role of an older sister. (Though at first things were complicated by her having to learn her own way around the culture and the language.) Thus she was in a position to record the young child's speech. As a member of the child's family, she was part of the normal social setting. Thus there was no hampering of the child's speech, nor pressure for him to speak in a structured formal situation. In addition, there was no strain on the parents for their child to speak to a professional outsider. The child, Ramlan, was simply talking to one of his older sibling.

Undeniably, psychological testing, speech formulae, conversational and other formal study devices have their place in the study of child language acquisition. But it must be borne in mind that their use presupposes a rather westernized cultural setting, and must of necessity impose restraints upon the child. In non-Western cultures their use may be inappropriate and lead to very limited or even erroneous results. Close prolonged contact with the child means that the researcher sees him at all hours of the day and night, in sickness and in health, in all sorts of weathers and under many varied conditions, and forms a detailed picture of the child as a whole, not just as a speaking instrument. Furthermore, the child is accustomed to, and undisturbed by, the contact with the researcher.

There is a danger, of course, to our rational systematic academic egos in this. It is not the obvious one of too small a sample, for observation of other small children makes it clear which of the speech patterns are idiosyncratic and which fit into the more general pattern. No, the real danger to our western academic egos lies in the fact that the young child so lovingly tended becomes a part of oneself, and oneself a part of him; knowing foibles and weaknesses is most definitely a two-way street. Yet it is all worthwhile, and more than worthwhile. Jean Piaget favored an in-depth study of the child (1926). He was very involved in semantic and psychological factors in his studies, which remain today the base model for psychiatrists, educators, and some linguists.

Nature of Mother-Child and Child-Sibling Interactions

Much literature emphasizes the parent-child interaction as one of the driving forces in child language acquisition. Relatively few articles have been written in defense of a non parent-child interaction. Slobin (1976) has done a cross-cultural study on child language acquisition using a sample of 18 languages from various language families. This study supports the hypothesis that mother-child interaction does not have to be the most important aspect in grammatical development. Slobin states that the primary emphasis of a mother's speech is on etiquette and communication. Roger Brown (in Slobin, 1976) notes that reinforcement tends to focus on trust of the utterance rather than on correctness of grammar within a mother's speech. Slobin's study (1976) found that mother-child interaction is important only within American, some European cultures, and a Mayan village. It has been assumed that this interaction is important in establishing the groundwork for language socialization by providing the child with fundamental behavior patterns for discovering language and its appropriate use (Blount, 1982). If a child learns socialization from parent interaction then one would assume that if there were no emphasis upon this interaction that the child would be lacking in these skills; yet this is not the case.

The predominant literature is based upon child development in the "traditional" western nuclear family units where the mother is the prevalent speech partner of the child. But even in western cultures this is by no means

always the case, (Ward, 1971), much less is it so in other cultures. Different interaction patterns occur when the culture dictates an extended family unit as the social core. The environment in which one lives dictates upon whom the child will be patterning his speech. Martha Coonfield Ward's study (1971) of a southern black community where the family unit was not the nuclear family, supports the view that mother-child interaction is not always the dominant factor in speech acquisition. In an extended family setting a child will have major speech interaction with siblings and with relatives outside of the nuclear family, such as cousins and grandparents. Size of the family is also a factor. In the turn-of-the-century rural white American family the structure might be that of the nuclear family, but its size large, with six to ten children not uncommon. In such cases older siblings rather than parents were the child-raisers and speech models (Hodgson, personal communication). Nor can it be taken for granted that parents have extensive verbal interaction with young children. Each culture dictates the age bracket of conversational partners for young children. In Brunei the conversational partners of children are other children, not adults. Adults talk about children, and in the presence of them, but their conversation with children is very limited.

Thus in the Brunei Malay family studied, young Ramlan learnt to master his language through his siblings, who were his caretakers. Blount (1982) has stated that parental-child interaction is to be emphasized through modes of attention phrases, high usage of repetition, and instructional speech. Within the present case study it is the siblings who use these modes in their role as caretakers of Ramlan. Ramlan and his mother have comparatively brief social contact as a Brunei woman has many duties to perform in order to maintain her family.

Of the sum total of 1898 utterances recorded in Ramlan's speech only 206 of these are mother-child specific. An "utterance" is here taken in Bar-Hillel's sense (in Slobin, 1971) as the linguistic outputs of humans with sentences being the realization of utterances. Ramlan's verbal interactions with his mother comprise only 10% of his total speech which supports the view that mother-child interaction is not always the dominant factor in speech acquisition.

Brunei Malays consider a child a competent speaker when he has mastered the 5-6 word sentences. By the end of the study Ramlan had just begun to attain this mastery. Over 50% of his utterances fall within the 1-2 word range. So long as Ramlan's utterances were limited to 1 or 2 word utterances his speech was infantile, falling within the Brunei description, "Doesn't yet know how to speak." At 3 and 4 word coherent utterance he was in the Brunei's, "Is learning to speak." Once he consistently used 5-6 word coherent utterances he fell within the description, "He knows how to speak; he can be taught." Consistent use of 4 word utterances formed the beginning of a crucial watershed in his life. Now he began, linguistically and culturally, to be a functioning member of the children's play group, rather than just a nuisance to be looked after by other children. He also was beginning to use language to learn about language. At development into use of 5-6 word utterances Ramlan became a full member of the children's play group both linguistically and culturally, thus beginning his existence as an independent member of society. The social marking of this transition is twofold. On the positive side, he can begin to fulfill a functioning role in daily life and economic activity. On the negative side, should he die, his funeral rites and memorial feasts would be a scaled-down version of that for adult; whereas the funeral rites and feasts for a younger child are more limited and generally confined to members of the immediate family. Thus Brunei culture recognizes a child's change of status by virtue of having acquired language.

Chomsky has stated that reinforcement, casual observation, and natural inquisitiveness are important factors in a child's learning of language (in Allen and Van Buren, 1971). This theory seems to be supported by Ramlan's curiosity about the world and how it works for him.² Ramlan tries very hard to copy and repeat what his mother and siblings say to him. For example, Mother said, "pakai sluar" (put on your pants/shorts); and Ramlan echoed, "pakai luar lan" (put on trousers, lan). (The lan is an affectionate diminutive of Ramlan, and the way he is often addressed; luar is a mispronunciation of sluar, "pants/shorts/trousers".) He is viewing and assessing the world that surrounds him and tries to encode his experiences into language with results that constantly prove a source of amusement to those around him.

Piaget has said that at the earliest stage the human child is totally egocentric in terms of knowledge. That he/she has not yet differentiated the "self" from the "outside" (1954). Once the child begins to differentiate he/she learns that the knowledge that is stored within himself is not always shared by others and hence the child must repeat himself and explain his topic in a variety of ways in order to make clear to these outsiders just what it is that he is trying to communicate. Jespersen has stated that, "Someone feels an impulse to express something, and at the moment has not got the traditional form at command, and so is driven to evolve a form of his own from the rest of the linguistic material." (1922, p. 163). This drive to use language and to encode and experience life results in many various forms that differ from the "adult" speech. Ramlan has a limited vocabulary, to begin with around 213 words, but the main core of his speech with his mother centers around a few high frequency words. Ramlan's pattern follows that of the common early-coded messages as they center around food, general-want, and pleasure. Thus, makan ("eat"), kipak ("carry me on the hip"), susu ("bottle"), and uching ("cat"), are high frequency words that dominate Ramlan's utterances with his mother. The early communication is overwhelmingly concerned with the here-and-now, you-and-I, and visible objects in the immediate perceptual field (Piaget 1932, 1954; Bloom 1973; Givon 1979). This early communication is mainly manipulative in nature. Givon (1979) has given six basic message codes and all but one are of the manipulative manner. Ramlan, too, tries to manipulate his environment and those who tend him through the use of language.

Ramlan's speech interaction with his mother falls into this manipulative fashion. Ramlan has an extensive fussing repertoire that he never fails to use when dealing with his mother. This fussing does not work as well upon his siblings so he must then use a different approach with them. Brunei Malay culture maintains that young children should be given whatever they strongly want; for if they are not, they will become ill and die. Mother may yield to Ramlan's persistence and his fussing, but this in no way guarantees that the communicative mode is going to be light and airy. Mother's speech with Ramlan is often brusque and short; she is a busy woman with many things to do and seemingly never enough time to do them all in. In accord with the

general pattern Ramlan is given into the care of his older siblings who have more time for him. Key repetitive phrases that Ramlan uses in his speech with his mother are, "ey ma," (hey, mother) and "ma" (mother), as though by repeating her name over and over again he might have a small part of her time. Seventy-five of Ramlan's specific mother utterances use ma, mama, or ey ma.

Factors Influencing Language Acquisition

Many factors within Ramlan's life influence his acquisition of language. Culture dictates that he reside in an extended family situation as opposed to a nuclear one. This extended family arrangement allows the child to come into contact with more than just the usual mother-child verbal play. Ramlan's mother is but one of several focal points in his early life; his older siblings assume the major caretaker role. Having his siblings as speech models may at times be very confusing for Ramlan as the children use varying word order patterns among themselves. The older school children use a slightly different vocabulary and word ordering pattern that they have learned in school. For example, in Brunei Malay ma or mama means, "mother;" but the school word (Standard Malay) for "mother" is mak. Ramlan alternates between the two forms in his speech. Ramlan is also exposed to his brother-in-law's speech which differs in that he uses a dialect quite divergent from that which is spoken in Ramlan's village.

Islam is the religion of Brunei Malays. Both of Ramlan's parents are devout Moslems and follow the Islamic way of praying and teachings. Ramlan is thus exposed to the Koranic intonational pattern as his parents read or recite the Koran. One morning Mother had just finished her prayers and ended her session with, "saleum aleikum", when a little voice piped back, "saleum aleikum." Ramlan learns a few of the rituals and knows some of the chants and prayers. One day he and Linda were pretending to have a wedding ceremony and both he and Linda were using the appropriate chants. And this from a child who still does not know all his colors or numbers yet. Which points out that for the Brunei Malay child, as for the adult, the nexus of social relationships and interactions is paramount in life, taking precedence over "whys", queries, and material things.

Ramlan's grandfather³ is an older village religious leader and medicine man who visits his family and uses archaic words while regaling the children with tales of how things once were. From his grandfather Ramlan is thus exposed to a vanishing aspect of the culture. Some visitors from the village and surrounding areas speak differing dialects, or with various accents; and Ramlan hears all of these.

Ramlan lives near the river in a rural area. Boats and water fascinate him. One of his favorite activities is playing in the water so long as it is not time to be bathed. As gubang (dugout canoes) and other water-craft float by Ramlan's speech excitedly picks up and he becomes a little chatter-box. "Wave!", ombak, he cries excitedly over and over again as he views the waves that boats have caused. Occasionally he used the word ambok which means, "monkey," but he soon learnt to differentiate the vowel sounds. An occasional helicopter flies by and causes Ramlan to launch into monologues where he plays with the sounds of the word for aircraft. The flying doctor or occasional government official making a visit have the effect of converting Ramlan into a shy mute creature; yet, if a neighbor or merchant visits Ramlan always puts in his two cents, usually asking for something until he is sent away with an older sibling.

Visits up or down the river by boat would intrigue any youngster, and Ramlan is no exception. He stays very close to his mother or sibling in town and frequently wants to be held. "Carry me on your hip, Mother," kipak, ma kipak, he says as he leans into his mother (this leaning is a nonverbal cue to be lifted up onto the hip). This is his security against a fast-paced noisy world of cars, new faces, large buildings and other strange sights. His family lives in town so he plays with some of his urban age mates. Here again he is exposed to varying dialectical patterns and must incorporate this into his formulations. His relative Noi, a young female, had a speech defect which Ramlan acquired much to the dismay of his family. He mispronounced words that he once said correctly with Noi's lisp and used a city version of some words, as she did. Where once he called Linda "lin" or "linda" he now used Noi's "lida." He frequently switched from using the correct form to his mispronunciations. But when Noi left and so ceased to be a

part of Ramlan's daily world, he reverted to the correct speech forms he heard around him. Noi was close to Ramlan's age, and his assumption of her forms instead of the correct ones his older siblings and parents were still using, shows that Ramlan's speech model was preferentially a companion only slightly older developmentally than he. The significance of this choice for language alteration, loss and switching, is obvious. In the village Murut children who play mostly with Malay children tend to learn Malay, and forget or use passively their parents' Murut language. But Ramlan was occasionally exposed to Murut children speaking Murut. (Murut is an AN language closely related to Brunei Malay.) On trips to the village store he heard Hailam Chinese and in the city some English. But of all these languages he heard, he understood and learned only Brunei Malay.

At this point it is of interest to look briefly at what, specifically, Ramlan was learning. Because Ramlan was acquiring an AN language he was entering into a set of linguistic patterns very different from those of IE.

Speech Patterning on a Time Scale

Brunei Malay has no inbuilt distinctions of case, number, gender, or tense. It is a polysyllabic language which has no article but makes extensive use of particles to indicate directionality (static or in motion), focus, recipient, mode, and agentiveness. Time indication is by insertion of a time word or phrase into the utterance. Two markers normally occur on the verb. One is the prefix ma- (me-, many-, and meng- are common conditioned variants)⁴ which corresponds to nothing in IE.⁵ In a general sense it connotes that some aspect of the verb is being put into focus, either the nature of the action itself, the imperativeness of its performance, of the actor and/or recipient of the action. The other main verb marker is the suffix, -kan, which indicates potentiality of the action taking place, as opposed to the unmarked actuality of actions that are or have not taken place. Potential action is obligatorily marked. Thus, most futurity is indicated by -kan, (sometimes erroneously called the "future tense marker"), but not at all, particularly if the indefinite karang, "presently" time word occurs in the utterance. Word order is crucial in

determination of meaning. Differences of word and sentence usage indicate levels of social status.

In the beginning of the present study Ramlan was using an almost strictly one-word pattern. By February and March of 1970 he would also use the word "ma" as an attention term thrown in for repetitiveness. He also was at the stage where he would repeat the same word more than once within the same utterance. Kenyeres (in Slama-Cazacu, 1972) has stated, "Use of the word by the child does not imply his also possessing the respective notion; hence, more interesting than establishment of number of words, is the analysis of their sense for the particular child." Only once did Ramlan use the word pattern of ABA, in bangun, ma bangun, "get up, mother get up." This pattern of an imperative statement, vocative, imperative statement, also occurs in adult speech, though particles will modify one or both imperatives and in some instances a word approximately equivalent to American-English, "Well," substitutes for the vocative. Among older children the imperative-vocative-modified-vocative (usually for emphasis) is rather common: At this time Ramlan had a repertoire of 30 utterances specifically with his mother. The prevalent theme was demanding that his needs be met. There was only one negative utterance used in this two month period with his mother.

By April Ramlan had the ABA pattern down fairly well. He used this pattern four times with his mother. He now used negation more often and had picked up more than just using indah, ("no") before the utterance.⁶ He now employed nah and nda as negators. Common negators for verbs are inda', and ndah. The words indah, ndada, tidak, bukan, nda, inda', and nda' occur in somewhat complex patterns with nouns, phrases, and verbs. Of these inda' and nda' occur frequently and also serve as isolated emphatic negatives; Ramlan had acquired the vehement negatives.

Ramlan was very attuned to the familial environment and picked up on the social names that one uses to preface the names of other people. Thus he said, ma, shah des, "Mother Des." Des was an older male sibling, and the shah an affectionate, but not familiar, vocative.

In April Ramlan also occasionally uses the particle, tu. Thus, he said, tu rabus ain rabus, "That boiled/boiling water boiled/boiling." (The full correct form would be tu/atu aing rabus, "That broth boiled/boiling.") The demonstrative adjectives ani, "this," and ato/atu, "that," (often contracted to ni, to/tu) normally follow the noun, as do all adjectives. But in the sense of pointing out or indicating something specific they occur before the noun.

By May Ramlan's longest utterance was four words in length and he used the term ma to preface the utterance; but basically his utterances were still one and two words. He continued a repetitive pattern within his utterance. He used baby names for his siblings or called them by the appellations the family usually used. He frequently dropped the final, "h," at the end of the word; thus, shah des would come out as sha des.

By June his basic pattern of one word utterances was changing. Two word sequences occurred more frequently; and Ramlan would repeat words over again within a given utterance, but alter the word order, as in minum ain, ain minum, "drink water," and aing minum is the usual short form of the full phrase aing (untok) di minum, "water (which is) to be drunk. (In rapid speech the final ng of aing, "water," assimilates to n.) Ramlan probably has no knowledge at all of this longer form, but has often heard the commonly used shorter variant. Ramlan is now using da as in, "da rumah," and Mother thinks he means, "di rumah," "in the house." She says, "In the house," the little fellow knows how to say where something is," after Ramlan had said, "da rumah." He uses the term ku as in ikut ma, minum ruti ma, minta ruti, "Follow me, ma, drink cracker ma, give me cracker." Here one observes that he has the idea of "ingestion" but confuses minum, "drink," with the correct verb, "eat," which would be makan.

By July mana has become a high frequency word. The full "where" construction is di-mana-kah-susu?, "At-where- (question particle) bottle?", "Where is the bottle?" However, in everyday speech the shortened form mana susu?, "Where bottle?" occurs far more commonly than the long form. Three-word utterances are now used more often but there is still the repetition of phrases within the utterance. He now uses the term di, "at (no motion involved)" as in di rumah.

This is in contrast to the previous month when he used da instead of di.

By August he is using the suffix -kan in both correct and incorrect fashion as in tunokan, ma tunokkan bukkanan (partially correct). The term, "tunnokan," is a polite imperative, one heard often in a world of kerosene lamps, candles, and wood stoves, as in, tunokan dian, "Light a candle." The bukakan is a polite imperative, "open," and bukan means, "not;" but there is no such word as bukkanan, though bukankan is a rare formal word, "Shan't eventuate." He now uses the term ku, "I, me, mine," alone or attaches it as a suffix; as in makan mana larik ku, "Eat where is my larik," with larik an incomprehensibly mispronounced noun to which is correctly attached the possessive suffix, ku. Three words is still the basic utterance length.

By October Ramlan is affixing mau, "To want to," to words; as in indamau mandi, "I don't want to bathe," and also after the word ne (variant of ni/ini, "this") as in ey ma ne mau ane ne mau, "Hey mother want this, this one want." (The ane ne is a variant of ani ni, literally, "this this," which has the sense of the English phrase, "This one.")

By September Ramlan is using the prefix me- in some set phrases as in nyusu, uching menysu, "Drink milk, cat drink milk." (The nyusu is baby talk for manyusu, "nursing.") The ma-/me- construction is the last major one Ramlan will learn. Correct usage involves complex semantics plus knowledge of allophonics and combining forms. Here he is using set phrases he has heard without in fact manipulating verbal prefixes or suffixes. He uses sa, "one" now as in batis, sa butir, "foot, one item." With this he is also using the measure word construction; in Brunei Malay the enumeration of anything must follow the form 'number + measure word + noun,' thus, sa butir batis, "one foot (a human foot); this is analogous to the English, "a pair of gloves, three brace of quail." Ramlan seems to have regressed back to the two word stage. But this is deceptive; the utterances may be two words long, but they are morphologically, grammatically, syntactically, and semantically more advanced than the previous two-word stage. Ramlan is grappling with inner complexities of language.

By November he is using negatives quite regularly. He uses the word di- affixed as a prefix, as in di-mana topi bapa, mana ia, "Where cap father, where it?", a fully normal correct enquirative used in adult language.

By January 1971 and on into February Ramlan is using a four-word pattern. The mau is no longer affixed to words but stands as a separate entity. Thus he no longer uses it as a fixed phrase, as in the earlier indahmau "not want to," but no manipulates it actively.

By March he is still using three-word sentences but is not using his pattern of embedded repetitiveness as he once did. He now uses nya as in the set phrases, andang nya, "That's just the way it is," the answer commonly given to pestiferous inquiries and to questions that seem "dumb".⁷ Ramlan knows the name patterning of his siblings and cousins, sometimes using the full names, but normally saying the diminutive and nicknames the family commonly uses; both are correct social tags.

By April he is using a standard three to four word pattern. He no longer uses repetitive phrases or the vocative of ma or the ABA pattern as much as before.

By May 1971 Ramlan is using the three word pattern most extensively, but occasionally regresses back into his repetitive stage. Due to circumstances beyond control, June-August are poorly recorded. However, at this time Ramlan began to work out the use of the ma-/me- verb prefix. One day while walking along the path with Linda, he asked, out of the blue, kahlin, ambil baju, mangambil baju? "Linda, fetch the shirt, fetch the shirt?" a query as to whether or not the ma- form should be used. (In this isolated case either is correct, usage depends on a larger context.)⁸ Other utterances in other contexts bore out that Ramlan was working out this subtle, difficult, and pervasive construction. He also began more extensive use of four word and longer utterances. Socially, Ramlan was now, at close to four years of age, fully a member of the child group.

Ramlan had quested for language, and found it.

Summary and Conclusions

The child language acquisition event is unique in both its universality and its particularity. In a very real sense through this event the child becomes both a human and a member of society.

The nature of the child's interaction with either his mother or siblings differs from culture to culture. Imitation and correction methods may be applied by whomever is the child's main interactor. The child's curiosity about his world spurs him on to learning to communicate with others. Whether the child is a "tabula rasa" as Locke (in Heatherington, 1980) has stated, and Chomsky (in Allen and Van Buren, 1971) and others have purported, cannot be accurately measured at the present time.⁹ Regardless of biological parentage, a child will learn the language that surrounds him or her. Thus, Ramlan became a competent speaker despite the varying dialects and vocabularies he heard, and used his innate capacities to acquire an AN language and unravel the mystery of its grammar. Mother-child interaction must not be assumed a priori as the sole or even the primary focal point in a child's acquisition of language. Even in situations where non-mother and child interaction predominates, as in Brunei Malay, the child learns socialization skills through the language and becomes able to communicate with the world on many levels.

Each language, and indeed dialect, is acquired within a particular cultural milieu which vitally affects the child's development, including language acquisition. Thus, there is no one set pattern, though different patterns may show certain similarities. Differing cultural world view and circumstances may lead one child to learn some aspects of life at different stages than another child of a different culture world. Modes of thought such as time, space, and social nexus are unique to each culture, and this in turn is reflected in the child's conceptualization of the world which stresses, holds neutral, or lacks, varying grammatical and semantic components. This may appear in something so basic as sibling nomenclature: English-speaking children classify siblings as brother (male) and sister (female); Brunei Malay children classify them as kakak (older than I), and adi (younger than I).

The wide variety of factors affecting child language acquisition bears upon a basic premise: for language families other than IE it is necessary to examine child language acquisition anew; it cannot be assumed that IE linguistic models or behavioral and conceptual patterns will apply. The present paper has undertaken one such examination, based on detailed longitudinal study of a Brunei Malay child and corroborated by observations on other Brunei Malay children. There is a great need for further such studies in AN; once they suffice, cross-sectional and specialized studies can begin. In AN child language acquisition research, as in AN linguistics in general, much remains to be done.

Child language studies are a relatively new discipline of science, having only been present for the last sixty years; one can only hope that further enlightenment is yet to come. Perhaps Karl Buhler (in Jakobson, 1968, p. 1) best stated the main drawback in this science when he said, "The child provides the only opportunity that we have to observe language in its nascent state." Data are often hard to obtain on children's speech without either losing the context or environment within which the speech took place. Unless we can train more parents, and parents of many different cultures, to keep records of their children's speech, or are able ourselves to be at the right place and the right time to fully observe for two to three years a child learning to speak, we will continue to be quite limited in our understanding of child language acquisition.

The world of language is vast and wondrous, both to the linguist and to the child growing from a crying squalling bundle into an articulate participating member of culture and society. The study of that process is non-IE languages holds promise of deepening and enriching our understanding of language and linguistics.

NOTES

1. The data upon which this paper is based were gathered by Kimball during her fieldwork in Brunei, Borneo from November 1969 to September 1971. (Funded through personal savings, a travel grant from Ohio State University graduate school, a grant from the National

Academy of Sciences - Division ACDA of Behavioral Science, Committee on Support of Dissertation Research, and a loan from parents). Apart from the earlier publications of Kimball, in the Brunei Museum Journal, this material has not been worked upon because the American linguistic climate did not seem appropriate for such. That situation has now changed.

The present paper is based upon analyses and compilation by Craig, under the aegis of Kimball. The two then discussed and revised the work jointly.

2. This and the ensuing description uses the historical/ethnographic present to describe the activity of Ramlan.
3. His grandfather has since died or, as the Brunei Malays say, "He has returned to Allah."
4. Brunei Malay "e" is not the mid central schwa like the Standard Malay "e"; rather, it is low central, tending toward /a/.
5. Thomas (1978) classifies the similar construction in Indonesian as, actor focus. The issue remains problematic. It has not yet been studied for Brunei Malay.
6. The basic word is inda' (' glottal stop); but in emphatic utterance which is not impolite the final -a' becomes -ah as the a is released with aspiration. An emphatic inda' with final glottal stop is impolite, coarse speech. (There is a refined literary term for, "beauteous," indah, but its context of usage is utterly other than the word under discussion here; it is unlikely that Ramlan has ever heard this indah, "beauteous.")
7. Linda early in the study learned, andang nya, and heard it often in response to anthropological queries.
8. The answer given was that either was correct but one normally says aku mangambil baju, dia mangambil baju, "I fetch the shirt, he/she/it fetches the shirts." In actual speech the personal subject pronoun, "I", is often omitted, with the third person title or proper

name sometimes used instead, thus, "Linda is reading the book," instead of, "I am reading the book."

9. The Hindu-Buddhist theory of reincarnation would argue that the child has memories of past lives and that his or her present life is the result of actions in past lives.

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THE TARAKAN DIALECT OF THE TIDUNG LANGUAGE OF EAST KALIMANTAN: DISTRIBUTION AND BASIC VOCABULARY

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INTRODUCTION¹

Speakers of the Tarakan dialect of the Tidung language inhabit the island of Tarakan as well as the lower reaches of the rivers on the mainland between the Sekatak and Kayan Rivers, according to informants. The present sample of the Tarakan dialect was collected from Tarakan Tidung inhabitants of the Sekatak River. The major informant was the son of full-Tarakan Tidung parents and had lived in Tarakan for 26 years. For the past 12 years he has been living on the Sekatak River:²

There are several other dialects of Tidung. These dialects are usually named for the river system that the Tidung inhabit, such as the "Sembakung Tidung."

A major misconception about the Tidung is that their name, incorrectly rendered as "Tidong," means "Hill." Beech (1908) uses this as evidence to infer that the Tidung have come originally from the interior hill regions (see also LeBar 1970:167; and Gender Stort 1916:i). However, in the Tidung language there is a minimal pair; Tidung:tidong. The word "tidong" means "hill"; the word "Tidung" refers only to the ethnic group.³

In the literature there is also some confusion as to the linguistic affiliation of the Tidung (Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958:30). However, Prentice has suggested the existence of a Tidung language group within the Murutic subfamily of the Idahan languages (see LeBar 1970:167). The Tidung themselves perceive that their closest linguistic affiliation is with the Bulusu' language. The Bulusu' are non-Islamic, swidden cultivators who inhabit the middle reaches of the rivers on the mainland opposite Tarakan. The two languages share many similarities in vocabularies, but are not mutually intelligible. Originally the Tidung people and the Bulusu' were also culturally similar, according to my informant.

Another misconception in understanding the linguistic and ethnic status of the Tidung is the claim by Beech (1908) that the Bulungan language is a dialect of the Tidung language.⁴ However, Prentice has argued that the Bulungan language is not only a non-Tidung language, but that it is also a non-Idahan language (personal communication quoted in LeBar 1970:167).

The Bulungan and Tidung today intermarry freely and in many places have become one ethnic group, frequently referred to as "Tidung-Bulungan." Originally the Tidung and the Bulungan were culturally dissimilar and at one point in their history they carried on warfare against each other. Today, Tidung-Bulungan households speak either Tidung or Bulungan in the house depending on the closest affiliation, but most members of the family speak both languages. Both the Tidung and the Bulungan have been Islamicized for generations. This perhaps accounts for their close cultural relationship today.

The Tidung most commonly live in settlements along the rivers, usually just above the high tide level. They are excellent boatmen and often make their living as traders and fishermen. Much of their trade is with the interior indigenous peoples. The Tidung also often maintain small gardens of vegetables, coconuts, bananas, manioc, sugar cane and rice.

BASIC WORD LIST5

I. NOUNS

A. Human Beings

1.	man	d laki'
2.	woman	d nando;
3.	old man	ulun tuwo'
4.	old woman	d nando' tuwo'
5.	married man	d laki' pongo' kawin
6.	bachelor	bebuaiyoi popiyo' kawin
7.	clever man; medicine man	tukang nguwod
8.	baby (male or female)	anak
9.	boy just walking	anak nigkang makow
10.	young boy (5-10 years)	
11.	older boy (10-15 years)	
12.	husband	d lakino'
13.	wife	yanduno'
14.	small girl	d nando' lumot
15.	girl at puberty	semandak
16.	mother	ina'
17.	father	yama'
18.	elder brother	yaka'
19.	younger brother	yadi'
20.	sister of man	
21.	daughter of man or woman	
22.	son of man or woman	
23.	people in general	ulun

B. Parts of the Body

24.	head	utok
25.	hair of the head	abuk
26.	hair of the body	bulu'

27.	forehead	abas
28.	eye	mato'
29.	nose	adung
30.	ear	t lingo'
31.	mouth	kabang
32.	tongue	djila'
33.	throat	liyog
34.	nape of neck	bulu' ipus
35.	lip	bibir
36.	tooth	ipon
37.	mustache	cumit
38.	beard	jangkit
39.	cheek	pelingas
40.	jaw, chin	bagang
41.	shoulder	likip'
42.	chest	kubab
43.	breast of woman	titi'
44.	belly (exterior)	tinai'
45.	stomach (interior)	udan tinai'
46.	heart	penyawo'
47.	skin	kulit
48.	liver	
49.	kidney	ginjal
50.	blood	dada'
51.	fat	ente' kamuk
52.	upper arm	belinger
53.	lower arm	tendulu'
54.	thigh	apa'
55.	knee	atud
56.	lower leg	lulud
57.	foot	tano'
58.	ankle	perapatan
59.	buttocks	alu'
60.	navel	pusod
61.	back	awak
62.	backbone	tulang awak
63.	bone (in general)	tulang
64.	nail of finger or toe	samdop
65.	a sore	pilad
66.	body	anci'
67.	soul (of living person)	menbuluwo'
68.	ghost	setan

C. Landscape and Nature

69.	sun	mato adow
70.	moon	bulan
71.	star	bintang
72.	Pleiades	
73.	sky	kuanan
74.	cloud	titai' bariu'
75.	lightning	kerijat
76.	thunder	tengkarud
77.	rain	dasam
78.	rainbow	belitung
79.	dew	ambun
80.	fog	ambun
81.	night	kiwon
82.	morning	sumpur
83.	midday	mundok adow
84.	afternoon	adow madow
85.	evening	jualop
86.	water (fresh)	timug
87.	river	sungoi'
88.	bank of river	bibir sungoi'
89.	earth, ground	tana'
90.	mud	langas
91.	clay	tana' belita'
92.	stone	batu'
93.	cave	guha'
94.	sand	agis
95.	light	cahaiya'
96.	darkness	niyod
97.	island	pulu
98.	hill, mountain	tidong
99.	valley	tidak
100.	plain	dumut
101.	bush	lagar
102.	bay	laruk
103.	shore	bibir
104.	garden	kubun-dangan
105.	swamp	lagar
106.	current of river	arus
107.	north	utara
108.	south	selatan
109.	east	timur
110.	west	barat
111.	wind	bariu'

112.	wet season	musim pendasam
113.	dry season	musim lasu'
114.	fire	apui
115.	smoke	lisun
116.	path	dalan
117.	charcoal	
118.	ashes	kawug
119.	food (generally)	nakan
120.	greens	sayur
121.	ginger	laiyo'
122.	tree	upun
123.	root	pakat
124.	stem, trunk	tangkai, batang
125.	forked branch	adan
126.	leaf	dawun
127.	flower	busak
128.	fruit	bua'
129.	seed	umi'
130.	grass	rumpot
131.	sago (palm)	natok
132.	bamboo	bulu'
133.	banana	punti'
134.	coconut	piasau
135.	sugarcane	tabu'
136.	betel nut	bua' pinang
137.	pepper	sahang
138.	betel lime	apug
139.	sweet potato	sabai demarat

E. Animals, Reptiles, and Birds

140.	tail of animal	ingkoi
141.	fur of animal	bulu' bintang
142.	bird	pempulu'
143.	wing	alad
144.	feather	bulu'
145.	egg	talu'
146.	nest	sanong
147.	dog	asu'
148.	rat	tikus tupar
149.	bat	bengkawot
150.	flying fox	mendipo'
151.	snake	tembulalas
152.	lizard	
153.	monitor lizards	

154. frog	keladak
155. crocodile	buaiyo'
156. green pigeon	
157. eaglehawk	
158. parrot	
159. hornbill	sangang
160. fowl	manuk (chicken)
161. duck	bibik
162. goose	angsa'
163. owl	puwok
164. crow	mangkak
165. turtle	s lanid

F. Fishes, etc.

166. fish	kanon
167. scale of fish	sulud
168. fin	sirik
169. tail of fish	engkui
170. shark	keritan
171. stingray	
172. crab	lemangu
173. eel	balul

G. Invertebrates

174. fly	bengalod
175. lice	kutu'
176. worm	lengguwang
177. black ant	lensadom
178. red ant	
179. yellow ant	semut
180. mosquito	namuk
181. butterfly	kulit bambang
182. moth	ngabut
183. centipede	endipal
184. scorpion	antpikala'
185. spider	tengekerawa
186. grasshopper	tetuka'

H. Weapons and Utensils

187. material for making fire	pekakos apui
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188. house (single)	baloi
189. house (longhouse)	baloi buat
190. village	pagun
191. spear	ganjul
192. fish spear	jerampang
193. shield	
194. axe	kapas
195. belt	panding
196. canoe	padau
197. paddle	busai
198. string, rope	tabid
199. skirt	rok
200. knife	lading
201. blow pipe	sapuk
202. blow dart	anak sapuk

II. ADJECTIVE

203. alive	muyag
204. dead	matoi
205. big	tupar
206. small	lumot
207. long	buat
208. short	jiwa'
209. good	bayis
210. bad	marat
211. sick	dualan
212. well	subur
213. thirsty	pua' liyog
214. hungry	dedusan
215. tired	mumpoi
216. red	liya'
217. white	pulak
218. black, blue	mitom
219. yellow	silow
220. hot	lasu'
221. cold	salui
222. lame	pingka'
223. blind	balow
224. sad	keujuran
225. happy, glad	sanong
226. full, sated	panu'
227. empty	kusung
228. quick	capot

229. slow	buoi
230. new	bagu'
231. old	tuwo'
232. strong	mikang
233. weak	lemami'
234. right	kemagot
235. left	kayit
236. right (correct)	manong
237. wrong	sala'
238. fat	entaramuk
239. thin	temukar
240. angry	mengitan
241. peacable	mangow
242. sleepy	gendangdungol
243. young	embulok
244. grey-haired	abuk nyalot
245. pregnant	kitian
246. hard	kotoa
247. soft	lami
248. sweet	mamis
249. bitter, sour	payit

III. VERBS

250. die	ngapung
251. eat	ngakan
252. drink	nginum
253. stand	kemindi'
254. sit	temudung
255. rise	kadat
256. speak	ngendagu'
257. call	lagow
258. run	menturus
259. walk	makow
260. bring	ngibit
261. take away	munit
262. get	ngalap
263. snatch, grab	sedia'
264. give	saiyang
265. hit	menambang
266. break	putul
267. fall	datu'
268. see	gilong
269. watch	ngenjaga'

270. hear	kedingog
271. like, want	guang
272. sing	buadingang
273. cry	gelandui
274. steal	gentakow
275. cook (boil)	kupos
276. roast	awak
277. ask (for or about)	manot, ngentano'
278. answer	ngenawop
279. blow (with mouth)	benaposbuat
280. wind blows	mujuk
281. sun rises	matanadowsemila
282. sun sets	matanadowmumpos
283. moon rises	bulan semila
284. moon sets	bulan mumpos
285. climb	nakod
286. jump	semamput
287. laugh	gadak
288. tickle	ngenjajog
289. scratch	engkukut
290. remember	ningot
291. forgot	lapanan
292. throw away	menabo'
293. send	pibit
294. scold	hadir
295. swim	ensadui
296. fish swims	ensaduiengilad
297. look for	giyum
298. smell (a thing)	awow
299. cover up	tenutub
300. uncover	senukap
301. wait for	galung
302. dance	menari'
303. finish (a job)	pango'
304. make	ngentugos
305. tell a lie	rebutan
306. go (away)	pango'
307. turn	tengibong
308. come	kesaboi
309. come back	menduli'
310. put	nitau
311. hold, keep	nyanggol
312. show	penilong
313. hide	semuni'
314. lose	tatag

315. hunt	peninda
316. move (by itself); move (something)	ngentimung
317. leave	napung
318. follow	maya'
319. carry	
320. we meet	intamu'
321. pass by	insayil
322. crawl (of snake)	gebebinit
crawl (of baby)	enkamang
323. lead (a person)	ketuwo'
324. push	minit
325. pull	ngedulun
326. roll (an object)	
327. wave (a flag, etc.)	ngelamboi
328. fly (of bird)	ngentulud
329. dive	ngentalop
330. catch	ngendakop
331. miss	tatog
332. shoot (fun)	ngeduang
333. knock at	temitik
334. kick	nupak
335. bite	ngabut
336. pinch	nancip
337. dodge	ngensala
338. spear	mintar
339. whistle	besuit
340. spit	ngiwog
341. vomit	gerua'
342. grow	tumu'
343. cough	gusod
344. sneeze	imberasin
345. shiver	temintig
346. bend down	bungkung
347. chop (wood)	ngeampal

SUPPLEMENTARY WORD LIST

I. THE BODY, LANGUAGE AND MISCELLANEOUS NOUNS

348. eyebrow	bibir mato'
349. eyelash	bulu mato'

350. brain	utok
351. waist	awak
352. thumb	tempupu tendulu'
353. first finger	tunjuk
354. second finger	tenggagai bantong
355. third finger	tenggagi
356. little finger	tengkikis
357. muscle	uwat
358. wrinkle	kemerudot
359. fist	sintuk
360. lap	empaiyu'
361. armpit	belekitok
362. penis	butu'
363. testicles	tali'
364. anus	tumbang
365. vulva	badi'
366. lump	lemantub
367. boil (sore)	kupos
368. fever	gegaran
369. pain	dualan
370. tears	timug mato'
371. juice	pataw
372. marrow	sumsum
373. talk, conversation	dagu'
374. book	buku'
375. paper	keratos
376. argument	bakacou
377. agreement	bebakot
378. a lie	lebutan
379. truth (to tell the truth)	manong
380. a song	lagu'
381. a story	cerita'
382. a dance	tari'
383. circle, ring	lingkor
384. centre	pusod
385. outline	garis tupar
386. parts of spear, butt; half; point	
387. bundle	benungkus
388. funeral	kubur

II. ADJECTIVES

389. awake	kadat
390. clever	pintor
391. clumsy	enggalaiod
392. sensible	akal mikang
393. anxious	kuatir
394. astonished	jayip
395. lonely	beberinow
396. alone	siowkebatid
397. selfish	perilu diri kebatid
398. liberal	ngamit
399. beloved	kekasih
400. eager, keen	ketilai kepaiyang
401. patient	sabor
402. impatient	nuposabor
403. famous	tekanol
404. lazy	bentiron
405. active	petulid
406. busy	kacou
407. idle	bentiron
408. rich	keliliran
409. poor	iskinan
410. just	adil
411. unjust	nupo' adil
412. taboo	senaoi
413. secret	rahasia
414. foreign	nupo' payu'
415. shy	ngiwan
416. naughty	jayil
417. crippled	pingka
418. cunning	teliwot pintor
419. thick	kapar
420. thin	mipis
(of objects)	
421. narrow	kasip
422. wide	tawa'
423. high	sawat
424. low	disau
425. absent	nupo' adir
426. upright	siap
427. horizontal	lantak
428. steep	sawat
429. loose as a post	lelupos
430. tight	kasip

431. extra colors	
432. bright	mengkilop
433. raw (meat, fish)	gerua'
434. cooked	ensubon
435. wild (animals)	binatang buas
436. tame	
437. savage	ganas
438. barren	keranggasan
439. important	penting
440. alike	serupa'
441. different	ando'
442. apart	penasuai
443. easy	gampang
444. difficult	pagon
445. true	manong
446. false	palsu'
447. vain, proud	tekabur
448. early	tikas
449. late	buwoi
450. strange, peculiar	heran
451. slippery	lamog
452. insecure (as a stone not balanced)	nupo mikang

III. VERBS

A. General

453. begin	nimpun
454. hurry	mumpoi
455. put off	ngelugot
456. stop	berhantikogulu'
457. change	beruba'
458. replace	genantimum enduli'
459. need	penereluno'
460. to be unable (to do)	nupo' malap
461. scatter	nyimbor
462. renew, make new	perbagu'
463. embrace	ngamol
464. kiss	ngadok

465. commit adultery ngehina'
466. "hang around," berkeliaran
refuse to go

B. Natural

467. float belabu'-labu'
468. sink lasod
469. melt (as fat in
fire) lemanak
470. tremble temintig
471. swell lemantob
472. flow temiris
473. overflow bunsu'
474. burst ngelagum
475. stick, adhere nyikot
476. shine, of a
light ngintai
477. reflect; dazzle tepenaru'
478. fade, of colors malis
479. decay mutong
480. be suspended beniling
481. to lean semandig
482. slip kelidas
483. drip matok
484. splash temundang
485. revolve penutor
486. wither melaya'

C. Action, etc.

487. enter penumpos
488. go out semila
489. wander aimlessly makow
490. go on hands
and knees berangkat
491. ride makow mudan sidon
492. steer a boat ngupir
493. ring a bell gebungkung
494. swing (by itself) nindong
495. row a boat busai
496. roll (by itself
as down a hill)

497. point petada'
498. fetch ngalap
499. leap as a frog laiyut
500. chase muga'
501. stray from a path palid
502. bow down temukom
503. bend the head temukom
504. fold the arms beselibon tangan
505. cross the legs beselibon tango

D. Human and Animal

506. fell ngangkam
507. sneak up on nyerimud
508. taste rasa'
509. touch kegagad
510. bury nerasok
511. smile bekanyom
512. marry (man or
woman) kawin
513. wound penilat
514. sweat begumos
515. cure (sick person) penebayis siya
516. shve begunting
517. comb hair senulud
518. curl hair bekeriting
519. tear a thing benincang
520. feed kenakan
521. sting minduk
522. swallow tenalom
523. kneel begatud
524. bow down penembungkung
525. open senukab
526. shut tutub
527. lick nyila'
528. frown kenijat
529. choke (by
oneself) satap
530. choke (someone) senakak
531. stoop bungkung
532. crawl temungol
533. hiccough kemensibok
534. peep nyigag
535. stare kerenduong

E. Mental

536. mind, care for	mapas
537. remind	ngingot
538. mean (what do you ...?)	maksud
539. believe	percaya'
540. excite	penapanas
541. choose	ngempili'
542. adopt (child)	tenangung
543. promise	denindang
544. praise	ngunpod
545. blame	ngensala
546. accuse	nandos
547. forbid	nyawai'
548. flatter	nganja'
549. tease	ngeguda'
550. annoy	nyusa'
551. worry	perduli'
552. confuse	ngacau
553. quarrel	beselisihan

F. General

554. leak	pasut
555. swing	ngindong
556. sprinkle	ngambur
557. smash	mantung
558. poke	ngajuk
559. squeeze	neramos
560. prick	nyusuk
561. paint, decorate	beukir
562. sew	nyalut
563. twist	ngempili'
564. scrape (as a hide)	ngegarisi
565. upset, spill	saud'
566. stir	penembaoul
567. mix	penambap
568. pour out	tenumtug
569. dip	nyibuk
570. sweep	ngempapas
571. wipe	mumpapas
572. pluck, as a bird	ngelikas

573. stretch, make taut	tebabar
574. cut	mutul
575. fasten	ngendulung
576. grind	ngerinda
577. crush to powder	gemusug
578. tie	ngendukug
579. fasten	
580. wrap up	bemungkus
581. pack up	bekamor
582. leave out	getetatag
583. waste	garas
584. share out	ayam
585. whisper	giyum
586. swear	besumpa
587. win	manong
588. draw (picture)	ngegambor
589. console	ngelilin
590. arrest a man	ngadakop
591. tempt, to try out	gemuda'
592. warn	peningot
593. attack	sesawai'
594. escape	napungno'

NOTES

1. Field work among the Bulusu' was undertaken in 1980-81 under the sponsorship of N.S.F. Grant BNS-79-15343 with G. N. Appell, Ph.D., as principal investigator. I undertook linguistic research among the Tidung as a research assistant. I am indebted to him for his guidance in this work and for his help in the preparation of the final draft of this paper.
2. My major informant was Muhidin A. R. an inhabitant of the village of Sekatak Buji on the Sekatak River of East Kalimantan.
3. An article discussing and correcting Beech's 1908 dictionary is forthcoming.
4. A basic word list of the Bulungan language is also forthcoming.

5. The Language Questionnaire used was prepared by the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University, for collecting data for their Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific. The values for the symbols used in rendering the vocabulary can be found in Gudschinsky (1967).

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THE BULUSU' LANGUAGE OF EAST KALIMANTAN: ETHNOGRAPHIC PROFILE AND BASIC WORD LIST

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INTRODUCTION1

The Bulusu' are a people of East Kalimantan. They inhabit primarily the middle to lower reaches of the Sekatak River, the Bengara River, and the Batayau River in the Kecamatan Tanjung Palas of the Kabupaten Bulungan. In the literature and government reports the Bulusu' are referred to as Berusu. However, Berusu is an exonym (see Appell 1968) and Bulusu' is the preferred autonym.

The Bulusu' maintain that their closest linguistic allies are the Tidong, who inhabit the lower reaches of these rivers frequently interspersed with Bulusu' villages. Upriver from the Bulusu' are Punan, whose language is considerably

different from the Bulusu' so that it is not mutually intelligible.

The Bulusu' traditionally are longhouse dwellers and swidden agriculturists. Their main crops are rice, manioc, and taro. Maize is also grown. Of major importance are a variety of fruit tree crops which in the fruit season provide considerable income as the surplus is sold to the markets in Tarakan.

The Bulusu' are experienced canoe builders and river travelers. Much of the travel to swidden fields is done by canoe, and considerable fishing along the river and out to the river mouths is done by canoe.

The social organization of the Bulusu' is cognatic (see Appell 1982). The kinship terminology is of the Eskimoan type. Residence after marriage is virilocal and a large bride-price is required. The farming unit is the nuclear family. However, the consumption unit can be the larger extended family that live in the longhouse apartment. This is based on a married couple, and their male children with their spouses and children.

Inheritance rights of certain items are preferentially sex linked. Head beads are usually devolved on female children, and swords are devolved on males. Fruit tree groves and scarce jars and gongs which have high value and important ritual functions are devolved on all children with the eldest male having preferential rights, so that in the case of jars they will be lodged in his longhouse apartment.

BASIC WORD LIST2

Human Beings

1.	man	laki
2.	woman	dandu'
3.	old man	laki tuo
4.	old woman	dandu' tuo
5.	married man	laki pongow pagandu'
6.	bachelor	buaiyoi

7.	clever man; medicine man	gantū
8.	baby (male and female)	anak
9.	boy just walking	anak bagu timpun makow
10.	young boy (5-10 years)	-
11.	old boy (10-15 years)	-
12.	husband	laki
13.	wife	dandu'
14.	small girl	anak dandu' rumot
15.	girl at puberty	samandak
16.	mother	inda'
17.	father	yama'
18.	elder brother	aka'
19.	younger brother	ari'
20.	sister of man	gari' (sibling)
21.	daughter of man or woman	anak
22.	son of man or woman	anak
23.	people in general	ulun

Parts of the Body

24.	head	utok
25.	hair of head	abuk
26.	hair of body	bulu
27.	forehead	rabas (face)
28.	eye	mato
29.	nose	adung
30.	ear	tilingo
31.	mouth	kabang
32.	tongue	dila'
33.	throat	liog
34.	nape of neck	ipus
35.	lip	munung
36.	tooth	dipon
37.	moustache	sarub
38.	beard	sarub
39.	cheek	ilan
40.	jar, chin	ya
41.	shoulder	lep

42.	chest	kubab
43.	breat of woman, nipple	titi'
44.	belly (exterior)	tinai
45.	stomach (interior)	udan guang
46.	heart	paru-paru
47.	skin	kungkung
48.	liver	kada'
49.	kidney	sasapad
50.	blood	dada'
51.	fat	lomok
52.	upper arm	bingoi
53.	lower arm	leset
54.	thigh	tolompo
55.	knee	atud
56.	lower leg	lua' tonok (calf)
57.	foot	bukung
58.	ankle	bentengel
59.	buttocks	alu
60.	navel	pusod
61.	back	bukurung
62.	backbone	tulang bukurung
63.	bone (in general)	tulang
64.	nail of finger or toe	sindilu
65.	a sore	kadul
66.	body	kiring
67.	soul (of living person)	lingu
68.	ghost	mburuow

Landscape and Nature

69.	sun	matow odow
70.	moon	bulan
71.	star	bilitin
72.	Pleiades	-
73.	sky	kuanan
74.	cloud	laput
75.	lightning	ganit
76.	thunder	tangkarud
77.	rain	dasam/durat
78.	rainbow	bilitung
79.	dew	titu

80. fog	ambun
81. night	rondom
82. morning	nyuap
83. midday	undok odow
84. afternoon	matow nimpon aba'
85. evening	sudung
86. water (fresh)	timog
87. river	sungoi
88. bank of river	ribun sungoi
89. earth, ground	tuna'
90. mud	ruke'
91. clay	lisak sinan
92. stone	batu
93. cave	luwang batu
94. sand	agis
95. light	sahaya'
96. darkness	rondom
97. island	puru'
98. hill, mountain	muruk
99. valley	apas
100. plain	lempey
101. bush	togonok (specifically, "sapling")
102. bay	lidung
103. shore	-
104. garden	umo
105. swamp	dagar
106. current of river	arus
107. north	odow silan
108. south	odow silan
109. east	odow matoi
110. west	odow uyag
111. wind	ribut
112. wet season	paiyang dasam
113. dry season	pangaraw
114. fire	apui
115. smoke	lisun
116. path	alan
117. charcoal	ba
118. ashes	awa
119. food (generally)	akan
120. greens	sayur
121. ginger	layow
122. tree	taun

123. root	bakag
124. stem, trunk	batang
125. forked branch	-
126. leaf	daun
127. flower	busak
128. fruit	bua'
129. seed	umi
130. grass	dikut
131. sago (palm)	rimbiow
132. bamboo	bulu'
133. banana	punti
134. coconut	piasau
135. sugarcane	tabu
136. betel nut	pindang
137. pepper	sang
138. betel lime	apug
139. sweet potato	sabai lawing

Animals, Reptiles, and Birds

140. tail of animal	iku'
141. fur of animal	bulu
142. bird	pumpulu
143. wing	alad
144. feather	bulu
145. egg	talu'
146. nest	bulunan
147. dog	asu
148. rat	tikus tana'
149. bat	lukuan
150. flying fox	mangkawot
151. snake	dipo
152. lizard	busow (tree lizard)
153. monitor lizard	kadaiya
154. frog	sai/tegek
155. crocodile	buaiow
156. green pigeon	-
157. eaglehawk	kanui (specifically, Brahminy Kite)
158. parrot	-
159. hornbill	sangkang
160. fowl	manuk
161. duck	bibik
162. goose	-

163. owl	u'ot-u'ot
164. crow	bangkak
165. turtle	kolop/labi'

Fishes, Etc.

166. fish	pait
167. scale of fish	sisi'
168. fin	kakapir/tikon
169. tail of fish	iku' pait
170. shark	giritan
171. stingray	-
172. crab	bambanga
173. eel	lamang
174. fly	mongolod
175. lice	gutu
176. worm	lungkuwang
177. black ant	kilau
178. red ant	kilau
179. yellow ant	kilau
180. mosquito	tuntunung
181. butterfly	kangkalayat
182. moth	kiriapo
183. centipede	dipal
184. scorpion	arip-arip
185. spider	lawa'
186. grasshopper	pamparu kalap (locust)

Weapons and Utensils

187. material for making fire	tik
188. house (single)	baloi
189. house (longhouse)	baloi buat
190. village	balayan
191. spear (kinds)	sasalap/tongkoyon
192. fish spear	sarampang/tumpuling
193. shield	kalid
194. axe	pana'
195. belt	panding
196. canoe	padau
197. paddle	kakabir
198. string, rope	tali'

199. skirt	tapi'
200. knife	payis
201. blow pipe	sapuk
202. blow dart	anak sapuk

Adjectives

203. alive	bugay
204. dead	angkai/ondot
205. big	adang
206. small	rumot
207. long	buat
208. short	dui'
209. good	pili'
210. bad	arat
211. sick	kagui
212. well	iga, sikar
213. thirsty	poi yog
214. hungry	bitil
215. tired	umpoy
216. red	ria'
217. white	purak
218. black, blue	itom
219. yellow	silow
220. hot	lasu'
221. cold	sarui
222. lame	pingka'
223. blind (one or both eyes)	bolow
224. sad	lap sonong
225. happy, glad	lamadon
226. full, sated (or of bucket)	panu'
227. empty (of bucket)	mbuluwa
228. quick	ligow
229. slow	uyut
230. new	bagu
231. old	laid
232. strong	pangkor
233. weak	mikai
234. right (hand)	pimidis
235. left (hand)	kaiit
236. right, correct	lawong/monong
237. wrong	sala'

238. fat	lomok
239. thin	mbarasa
240. angry	siog
241. peacable	aman
242. sleepy	ki turug
243. young	mbolok
244. grey-haired	uog-uog abuk
245. pregnant	kitian
246. hard	kotog
247. soft	lami'
248. sweet	amis
249. bitter, sour	pait

NOTES

1. Field work among the Bulusu' was undertaken in 1980-81 under the sponsorship of N.S.F. Grant BNS-79-15343, with G. N. Appell, Ph.D., as principal investigator, and a Ford Foundation grant. I undertook linguistic research among the Bulusu' as a research assistant to my father. I am indebted to him for guidance in this work and help in preparing the Introduction. My linguistic informant was Imran, now living in the resettlement village Tangap on the Sekatak River. Imran was nineteen years old at the time of field work and had completed grade school in a nearby village and then gone to Tarakan for one year of junior high school. He was fluent in Indonesian, the language used for inquiry.
2. This questionnaire was prepared by the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University for their Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific. The linguistic symbols used are from Gudschinsky (1967) with the exception that /' indicates a glottal stop.

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BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL PROGRAM FOR
RESEARCH IN SABAH

G. N. Appell
Brandeis University

and

The Borneo Research Council

The Borneo Research Council is engaged in developing a social anthropological research program in Sabah in cooperation with various departments of the Sabah government. The research will involve basic ethnographic research as well as applied research and studies of social change.

As is well known, Sabah is very rich in cultural traditions. It has been estimated that there may be over one hundred named, self-conscious ethnic groups in Sabah. Each of these groups has its own isoglot, its own adat, its own cultural ecology, its own oral literature, and its own sociocultural system differing to a greater or lesser degree from its neighbors. But to date there has not been a great deal of research on these groups, with the exception of linguistic research (see below). Thus, it is essentially unknown how close these various traditions are to each other, how much they share and what is unique, or their historical relationship to each other. Social anthropological research has only been done on four of these groups (see Appell 1968, 1969a, 1969b, 1976, 1978 and Sutlive 1979 for reviews of social anthropological research in Sabah). Consequently, in one sense all anthropological research is urgent in that there is a tremendous amount of ethnographic work to be done before social change erodes the traditional cultural contours. I estimate that we have only five to ten years to do this work, and even so much of it will have to be reconstruction. Therefore, it has been hard to prepare

the following list of particularly urgent projects, since so little is known. As our knowledge expands, the list will change.

SOME URGENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROJECTS

1. Northern Murut

The Northern Murut are believed to consist of a number of related peoples, each of whom have their own dialect, or isoglot, and distinct customs and adat. These peoples are distinguished from the Southern Murut, or Sarawak Murut, who are found primarily in Sarawak but who have a series of villages along the southern Sabah border.

There has been one study of a Southern Murut village (Crain 1070, 1982). But there has been no in-depth ethnographic study of any of the Northern Murut peoples. Consequently, the number of these groups and the degree of their relationship to each other has not been addressed in the anthropological literature.

D. J. Prentice, a linguist, made a fine study of one of these Northern Murutic languages, and he has investigated the relationship of the various Murutic isoglots to each other (Prentice 1965, 1969a, 1969b, 1971, 1981). But the ethnographic literature on this group of peoples is almost nonexistent. As there are many aspects of the cultural traditions of the Northern Murut that are unique, it is important to begin a study of these peoples before their traditions die.

2. Wet Rice Agricultural Societies

There are a number of villages in Sabah from various dialect groups that practice wet rice agriculture. However, the majority of these are members of the Dusunic language group. Wet rice agriculture is based both on rain water as well as water supplied from dams. There has not yet been an anthropological study of the social economy of wet rice agriculture in Sabah, or for that matter in any part of Borneo. While there have been studies of hill rice agriculture (swidden agriculture), the nature of irrigation agricul-

ture is unknown. Yet such a study is critical not only for the advancement of anthropological knowledge but also as a foundation for development work. We thus know very little about the technology of wet rice agriculture, the nature of the yearly agricultural cycle, the ownership of fields and how they are inherited, the ownership of water rights, the methods of construction of head dams and canals, how these are owned, how they are maintained, what social elaborations are required by the technology of irrigation in the region, etc.

It is of particular interest to anthropological inquiry to compare the social organization of hill rice villages to wet rice villages to understand the social concomitance of engaging in a wet rice economy. It is generally argued that wet rice agriculture results in social elaboration, but there is no evidence as yet for this among the wet rice villages of Sabah, or the rest of Borneo.

3. Oral Literature

There is a highly developed, exceptionally beautiful oral literature in Sabah that is found among both agricultural and coastal groups. While its existence is recognized by many, its importance is frequently overlooked, and it is not well documented. Much of this literature is based on the prayers and chants that are used in the agricultural and/or fishing cycle, in courting and marriage, in curing illness, and in protecting or renewing the fertility of the village territory. It is fully as beautiful and sophisticated in its poetic imagery as the Old Norse Sagas, the literature from India, etc. Thus, in terms of its aesthetic values it is equivalent to any of the world's great literatures. In this literature there also occur detailed descriptions of the past events and social history, and so it has an important historical value in addition to its literary value (see Appell n.d.).

The contents of this literature vary from village to village, area to area. But it is rapidly disappearing. Much is no longer used. And the practitioners who learned these extensive poems and chants are dying off with few in the younger generations now bothering to learn them.

It is incredibly important that this literature be recorded and translated before it is too late. Within ten or fifteen years it will be all gone, and it will be an incalculable loss not only to Sabah but to all mankind, for it is irreplaceable.

Thus, it would be extremely worthwhile to mount a major effort to record this literature and get an exegesis of it from those who are knowledgeable in it before all understanding of its symbols and referents are lost.

4. Peoples of the Kinabatangan Region

Anthropologists have long believed that all the societies of Borneo are cognatic. About fifteen years ago an anthropologist briefly visited the Kinabatangan region. I asked him to make a preliminary survey of the region. And he reported that he found villages in which there were sections that regulated marriage. A man could only marry a woman who was a member of a section different than his own. And furthermore, membership in such sections was inherited through one's father, which would make such societies unilineal, specifically patrilineal. He also reported two variants. Some villages were composed of two sections, will others were composed of multiple sections.

This discovery raises the question as to the possibility that there are unilineal societies and not cognatic ones in the Kinabatangan region. Recently I talked with a student from that region of Sabah here in the U.S.A., and he seemed to confirm in general outline the findings of the original survey. If there are marriage sections in the Kinabatangan region, this is an anthropological discovery of great importance.

However, according to the information I have been able to obtain, these marriage sections have fallen into disuse and only the older people know about them.

Then, during my last field session in Sabah (Summer, 1986) I discussed this with a Rungus informant who had traveled to the upper reaches of the Kinabatangan River. His understanding of the Kinabatangan marriage systems is different, but he did not visit the same region in which the original ethnographic survey was made. My informant stated

that in that region an individual had to marry into a different village from his natal one. This is also different from all the studies made to date of villages in Borneo. Intravillage marriage is permitted, as far as I know, without exception. Only kin relationship or apartment residence determines eligibility of marriage partners, not village residence.

It is very important to the development of anthropological theory that this situation be studied in considerable detail throughout the various dialect groups in the Kinabatangan before it disappears completely. If the information proves to be correct, it will change much of anthropological theory with regard to the societies of Borneo and their history. It is also of major importance for the social history of Sabah, and it needs to be described in full detail.

Thus, general ethnographic inquiry into the peoples of the Kinabatangan is of considerable importance. We know almost nothing about what ethnic groups are there, their distribution, their cultural economy and so forth.

5. The Banggi Islanders

Off the northern coast of Sabah in the Kudat Division lies Banggi Island. The inhabitants are referred to as Banggi Islanders, and they consist of only a few hundred individuals. While of small size, their ethnographic importance is considerable. These people have a language that is not closely related to the Dusunic languages found in the Division, and either is an extension of Palawan languages or is intrusive into the area. Their culture is also highly different with dependence almost entirely on cassava, the wearing of loin cloths, and the lack of a longhouse. Houses are reported to be built in trees in the interior.

At present there are major changes going on in this society, and there is some urgency to do an ethnographic study as soon as possible. Currently there is a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics Malaysian Branch working on the language.

6. Development Anthropology

Ethnographic research, in my experience, can be of considerable help in development planning and implementation. However, this is a complex subject with many ramifications. Some countries have developed the role of government anthropologist or ethnologist. An anthropologist in such a position engages in critical research and provides advice on development projects. Other countries ignore completely the uses of anthropological insight and knowledge. Then there are some countries that require an anthropological assessment of any project before it is completely formalized, and others require that an anthropologist also be on the staff of any such project. As a result there is now a large literature in anthropology on resettlement and development planning and implementation.

The Sabah government has not used anthropologists in development planning or actual projects. This situation is now changing, and it is my understanding that Sabah would welcome as a start an evaluation of development projects that have been tried to understand how they can be planned for greater success.

STATUS OF LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

Modern linguistic studies began with the work of Prentice. Then in 1978 the Summer Institute of Linguistics Malaysian Branch began a program of linguistic research. Linguists from the Institute have been engaged in the intensive study of thirteen languages: Banggi; Coastal Kadazan; Eastern Kadazan; Ida'an; Keningau Murut (Nabay); Kimaragang; Kuijau/Gana; Lotud; Pensiangan Murut (Tagal); Tatana'; Timugon Murut; Tambanua/Sungai; and Upper Kinabatangan (see Jones 1986 and the various annual reports of Institut Linguistic SIL Cawangan Malaysia obtainable from its office address: WDT 26, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah).

Linguistic research such as this will facilitate social anthropological inquiry and relieve much of the burden of research. Previously social anthropologists had to do their own linguistic analysis prior to engaging in ethnographic inquiry in any depth. Thus the work of the members of the

Summer Institute of Linguistic Malaysian Branch will complement the urgent social anthropological and ethnographic research that now needs to be done.

CONCLUSION

If anyone is interested in undertaking any of these research projects or participating in the program that the Borneo Research Council is developing, please contact me and I will be very glad to provide further information.

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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Society for Iban Studies Formed

On 11th July, 1984, the Society for Iban Studies (SIS) was formally registered in Kuching, Malaysia.

The Society affirms that: (i) Iban culture and society is a vibrant and living entity existing in its own rights; (ii) that Iban people truly desire to maintain and cultivate their customs, traditions, and culture; (iii) that Iban society can contribute to the development of a Malaysian culture, and the consolidation of the Malaysian nations; and (iv) that Iban culture and society can contribute to human and scientific knowledge, which may be used to foster better understanding between peoples of different cultures.

The aims and objectives of SIS are: 1. To collate and study all cultural, social, economic and other aspects of Iban society; 2. To publish and disseminate research works for scientific, educational, and community interests by means of lectures, publications, seminars, and such other media as the executive committee of the Society may, from time to time consider fit; 3. To organize libraries, archives, museums, research projects and, Institutes for Iban Studies; 4. To

establish technical service departments; to serve as consultants and advisers, upon requests, for commerce, industry, agriculture, mining, etc. regarding research projects which fall within the field of the Society's objectives; 5. To undertake, promote, and encourage other academic and cultural projects which fall within the aims and objectives of the Society; 6. To establish connections with other bodies having similar aims; and 7. To solicit, receive, and hold funds and properties for purposes of research, publications, and promotion of the Society's objectives.

The categories of membership are as follows: 1. Ordinary membership, which shall be opened for all Iban who are citizens of Malaysia; 2. Associate Membership, which shall be opened for all non-Iban; 3. Corresponding Membership, which shall be opened for any person living abroad who has a special interest in the Society; and 4. Life Membership, which shall be opened to any ordinary member who pays a subscription of M\$200.

There is an annual subscription fee of M\$20 for every member. Corresponding Members and Life Members shall be exempted from paying annual subscriptions.

Iban members who are citizens of Malaysia have the right of electing the members of the Executive Committee or being elected members of such a committee.

The Society plans to publish a journal each year. Members shall be expected to contribute articles and research papers for the new publication envisioned by the Society.

The SIS plans to set up the following departments to conduct the affairs of the Society: (i) Anthropology and Sociology Department; (ii) Economic and Political Science Department; (iii) History and Adat Department; (iv) Language and Literature Department; (v) Library, Museum, and Archive Department; and (vi) Publications Department.

Further information including a copy of the Constitution, available for M\$5, can be obtained from: The Honorable Secretary, SIS, P. O. Box 2132, General Post Office, Kuching, Sarawak, MALAYSIA.

(Abstracted from: Rules, Constitution and Logo of Persatuan Pengajian Iban (Society for Iban Studies), Cerepong Pemansik Penemu Iban, To Be Known Also as 'SIS', Registration No. 26/84. Kuching, Malaysia. 11th July, 1984.)

News of the Sabah Society

The Sabah Society was founded in 1960 to record and preserve interesting and important aspects of the history, culture and natural history of Sabah which might be lost in the increasing surge forwards towards modernization.

The Society currently engages in four main activities. Meetings are held in which experts are invited to speak on topics relevant to Sabah, expeditions are organized to places of historical, cultural, or of natural history interest; a journal is published usually once a year, and monographs and books are published.

The present officers of the Society are Datuk Dr. Lai Kuen Fung, President; Datuk Tengku D. Z. Adlin, Vice President; Zahra Yaacob, Hon. Secretary; C. L. Chio, Treasurer. Committee Members are Robert Lum, Dr. Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan, Dr. Andrew Bacon, Dr. Clive Marsh, and Sqd. Ldr. Lester Daview. Patricia Regis is Editor of the Society's publication, The Sabah Society Journal.

The forthcoming issue of the Sabah Society Journal will include the following articles: "Ecological Study of Coral Reefs in Sabah (Part II)" by Dr. Elisabeth Wood, "Kelabuan House Building" by Jack Spitzack, "Report on Languages of Banggi and Belambangan" by M. V. A. Boutin, "The Birds and Mammals of Mt. Trus Madi" by F. H. Sheldon and C. M. Francis, and "Drought and Forest Fires in Sabah in 1985."

The current list of books published by the Sabah Society are: The Mammals of Sabah by John Harrison (1964, M\$5); Kinabalu Summit of Borneo (1976, M\$23); Birds of Borneo (3rd edition) by J. E. Smythies (1981, M\$55); Pocket Guide to the Birds of Borneo (1984, M\$10, US\$6); A Field

Guide to the Mammals of Borneo by Junaidi Payne, and Charles M. Francis (1986, hard cover US\$16.50, paperback US\$12.50); and The Orchids of Borneo (1986).

Recent talks of the Sabah Society have been by Dr. Jeffrey Wood, "Task of Naming Borneo Orchids"; Dr. John Dransfield, "The Palms of Sabah"; and Dr. George N. Appell, "Social Anthropological Research Among the Rungus Dusun."

The Sabah Society sponsored a Rhino Forum at the Sabah Foundation Mini-Theater on the 22nd of November, 1985, which was attended by some 200 people. The objectives of the forum were to hear all possible relevant information regarding the proposals for conservation and breeding of the Sumatran Rhino in Sabah and Peninsular Malaysia and to afford an opportunity for interested and concerned persons or organizations to present any positive and constructive suggestions which may be of interest and assistance to the Task Force Committee in the implementation of the conservation proposals.

This forum was in response to the controversy over the proposal to capture six pairs of Sumatran Rhinoceroses in Sabah, of which four are to be exported to zoos in the United States as part of a captive breeding program. The first two pairs are intended for captive breeding at Sepilok near Sandakan.

This program was proposed by the Sumatran Rhino Trust of the American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums (AAZPS). It also includes the capture of four pairs from Peninsular Malaysia for captive breeding at the Malacca Zoo. However, the progeny of the "exported rhinos" will remain the property of Sabah and the Malaysian Government in perpetuity.

Memberships in the Sabah Society are as follows: Entrance Fee M\$10; Local Membership M\$15; Outside Malaysia M\$20; Institutional Membership M\$50.

Inquiries should be addressed to The Secretary, The Sabah Society, P.O. Box 547, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia.

(Abstracted from Sabah Society Newsletters 17 (1985), 19/20 (1986), 21 (1986), and "Application for Sabah Society Membership.")

Tun Haji Mohd. Fuad Stephens Research Library
of the Sabah Foundation

Zahra Yaccob

Sabah Foundation (Yayasan Sabah)

The Sabah Foundation was established as a statutory body in 1966 under the Sabah State Enactment No. 8 of 1966 mainly to improve educational opportunities and facilities for the people of Sabah.

During the initial years, the Sabah Foundation confined its activities in the field of education, in the awards of scholarships and loans to needy students, and grants to schools and other educational institutions for the improvement of facilities such as libraries and science laboratories.

In 1970 the role of the Sabah Foundation was extended to enable it to carry out economic, industrial and commercial development projects. In 1976, the Foundation activities were streamlined to coincide with the overall government development strategy and to conform with the general policies of the government. The Foundation intensified its educational and social programmes and launched new wood-based ventures to bring greater socioeconomic benefits to the people of Sabah.

Tun Haji Mohd. Fuad Stephens Research Library

The Foundation established its Research Library in 1979, naming it after the late Chief Minister, Tun Hj. Mohd. Fuad Stephens.

The objectives stressed at the June, 1980, opening of the Library are:

- To serve as a reference, information and resource source primarily for the government policy makers

and planners, professional, managerial and executive personnel.

- To promote and participate in the development and advancement of Southeast Asian Studies.
- To serve as a source of research particularly on Sabah and Borneo (Sarawak, Brunei and Kalimantan) as well as Malaysia and establishing it as one of the premier research centers of the Asean region.
- To serve the various programmes, activities, project ventures or interests of the Yayasan Sabah and to maintain the institution's archives.

Library Collection and Arrangement

The first phase of the library development plan (1980-1984) focused on collection building principally to meet the needs of researchers, policy makers and administrators as well as academicians. Unlike the Sabah State Library which inherited the Woolley Collection to form the core of its reference materials, the Research Library had to start from practically nothing. It was only in its third operational year that emphasis was given towards developing a comprehensive research collection of quality.

Collection Development

The building up of the Bornean Collection is beginning to take shape (it comprises approximately about 14 percent of the total Library book and non-book collection). However, the development of this Bornean Collection is not done in isolation without reference to the rest of Malaysia (especially in the case of Sabah and Sarawak) as well as Southeast Asian Studies.

The desire is to build up a collection in this region (focusing on Borneo) to match to a certain degree the superb Southeast Asian Collections in the Western countries (like those of the John M. Echols Collection on Southeast Asia in Cornell; The Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London; or The Brynmor Jones Library at Hull University). Such a strategy will enable a researcher

to study some aspects of Bornean/Southeast Asian studies on a cross-national basis without traveling to a distant country.

To date the Library has about twenty current newspapers from Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei, Malaysia, and one main national daily paper of each individual Asean country. The Library has embarked by stages in purchasing microfilms of retrospective newspaper holdings from the region to supplement its newspaper collection. Of the greatest value would be microfilms of complete runs of newspapers some reaching back to the nineteenth century such as the Straits Times (January 1883) and the North Borneo Herald.
Information Service

The information service is designed mainly to serve government policy makers and planners, the various professional groups as well as management and executive personnel engaged in commercial, agricultural, fishing, forestry and other areas of activity. It is geared to meet the needs of users whose time is at a premium and who, therefore, are unable to visit the Library to obtain the desired information.

Reference Service

The reference service is designed primarily to meet the needs of the general public and other user groups as well as students at tertiary levels. This service is more conventional and is based on a wide range of reference materials, catalogues, bibliographies, indexes, and abstracting services.

Due to the shortage of professional staff, the Library can only carry out certain activities on an ad hoc basis, usually on demand, such as the compilation of bibliographies, the undertaking of literature searches especially for the top management personnel of Yayasan Sabah.

Conclusion

The Tun Haji Mohd. Fuad Stephens Research Library has a great task ahead to explore ways and means of making its services more effective. Given the time and support it can become a dynamic research center specializing in Bornean affairs, to serve users in their respective fields of interest.

(Abstracted from "Tun Haji Mohd. Fuad Stephens Research Library of the Sabah Foundation" by Zahra Yaccob.)

"PAPER PULP PROJECT"

The Editor has received the following information in a letter of September 18, 1986:

We would like to take the opportunity to provide you with the factual information on the Pulp and Paper project in Sipitang which we would request you to kindly publish:

1. The State Government of Sabah is implementing an Integrated Pulp and Paper project in Sabah at Sipitang on the West Coast of Sabah.
2. Initially, the Pulp Mill would use mixed tropical hardwood as raw material. For this, the State Government has allocated 291,834 hectares of forests in the Lumaku and Ulu Padas areas. The forestry operations will include clear-felling as well as selective logging. The clear-felling would be restricted to slopes below 20 degrees gradient. The clear-fell areas would be reforested with fast-growing species. Further, the clear-felling is being done initially for a period of ten years on forest land of about 50,000 hectares which is less than 17% of total land allocated to the project. Moreover, the area under clear-felling would be dispersed into smaller plots given the slope constraints.
3. Areas above 20 degrees and up to 25 degrees slopes would be selectively logged which is the practice in this part of the world. However, the cable yarders are being considered, which are recommended by forest engineers, given the terrains. The intention is to include controlled tracking by using a two-post logging extraction system utilizing multiple slings. The objective is to minimize the damage to the forest floor in the prevalent conventional logging operation. Furthermore, enrichment planting will be undertaken with minimum delay on all selectively logged areas.

4. Major water catchment areas will be placed under protective forest management. There are four major rivers which drain the Lumaku and Padas forests, namely the Mengalong, Lakutan, Bukan and Padas River. The Padas River spans over 800 sq. kilometers, Mengalong River about 550 sq. kilometers and Lakutan River about 320 sq. kilometers ranging from primary to secondary jungles, swamps and plantations. There is no data for Bukan River. However, it dewateres the western part of Lumaku forest. With the present logging operations in these areas, Padas River is transporting roughly 1,000 tonnes per day of oxygen-consuming materials whereas Mengalong River is contributing 10-70 tonnes per day and Lakutan River is approximately 5 - 30 tonnes per day. Therefore, the river system in the areas transports approximately 2500 - 3000 tonnes per days of suspended solids to be deposited at the river outlets and the sea. This can be traced to the conventional logging operation which totally disregards the ecological consideration. In the forest management envisaged by the pulp and paper project, a full consideration has been given to these aspects. Accordingly the methodology of logging and immediate replanting has been devised.
5. The whole forest working plan is being implemented with the approval of the State's Forest Department whose prime emphasis is on environmental protection and ecology preservation.
6. The project, as a corrective measure, have already undertaken the plantation of approximately 2,500 hectares of the forest land which was left denuded after the forest fires broke out during the drought season in 1982/83.
7. To enhance the employment opportunities for the local inhabitants, the pulp and paper project will also undertake agro-forestry on suitable lands in their clear-fell areas. This provides the positive mean to assimilate the local inhabitants into the project and would further bring socio-economic development to meet the growing aspiration of the State's rural communities, particularly inhabitants in these forest areas.

A study of the foregoing will reveal to your readers that the forest management in the Sabah pulp and paper project has been designed with a consideration to the soil and environment protection.

Thanking you for your kind cooperation and assistance.

Your faithfully
SABAH FOREST INDUSTRIES SDN BHD

CLARENCE BONGKOS MALAKUN
Managing Director

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Borneo Research Council Programs

The Borneo Research Council organized a session during the 1985 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C. The theme of the session was "Nation, States and Tribal Societies in Southeast Asia." The following persons presented papers, abstracts of which are reprinted here.

Introduction - Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr. (William and Mary).
Until recently, Southeast Asia has been divided into lowland states and hill tribes. Since the middle of this century, nation-building strategies and programs for development have erased that division, as the annexation of tribal lands, expropriation of resources, and insinuation of government and private schemes for production of cash crops and new energy sources have brought representatives of states and tribes into continuous and intensive contact. These papers examine the recent history and current circumstances in seven settings in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines.

George N. Appell (Brandeis). Integrating Ethnic Minorities into the Nation State: Modernization and its Consequences.

Theories on modernization and the integration of ethnic minorities are discussed in the context of Malaysian

and Indonesian development plans. The impact these are having in terms of threats to ethnic identity, loss of control over indigenous resources, and the consequent proletarianization of ethnic populations is illustrated by specific cases. The social dysfunctions and health impairments produced are discussed. An alternative theory of managing social change to minimize dysfunction is advanced.

Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (University of Colorado). *Government Headhunters and Cosmic Cuisine: Meratus Stories of the State and Local Politics.*

In 1981, in the hills of southeastern Kalimantan, Meratus told me that government-sponsored raiders were taking Meratus heads to bury beneath a malfunctioning oil rig. The spreading terror, however, only reaffirmed state authority and its portrayal as the source of beauty and order as well as ferocity. These seeming contradictions stimulate a discussion of how Meratus local politics--eclipsing our dichotomies between accommodation and intervention, tradition and modernity, tribes and peasants--are shaped within an understanding of the relationship between local communities and the state.

Richard C. Fidler (Rhode Island College). *Ethnic Identity in Multiethnic Nations.*

When ethnic demographics are politically salient (as in the stability of multiethnic nations), ethnic identity becomes political strategy. Governments and other power brokers manipulate the definition and enumeration of ethnic identity statuses and their concomitant rights and duties (e.g. census tinkering, "affirmative action," assimilationist pressures). Individuals respond by manipulating the perceptions of their ethnic identity statuses and role manifestations to best adapt to and exploit their multiethnic social environments. This thesis is illustrated and analyzed with data from Malaysia and other Southeast Asian nation-states.

Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr. (William and Mary). *Money, Megawatts, and Mercedes: Power and Change in Sarawak.*

Federal and state plans for development in East Malaysia are described, together with the privatization of forests and the logging of Sarawak. Plans for construction of a hydroelectric dam requiring the relocation of several tribes are discussed. Money and other new dominant symbols are analyzed as they influence rural-urban migra-

tion, blurring of social boundaries, and the subordination of formerly independent tribesmen.

Ida Nicolaisen (Copenhagen). *Political Change Among the Punan Bah.*

This paper will analyze the impact of modernization on the political structure of the Punan Bah. It will describe the rank system in which a local "ruler" symbolized the unusually (for Borneo) tightly structured hierarchy of relationships. Recent events have led to change in the political organization and evidences of dissolution of the Punan Bah. These events and their significance for the survival of the Punan will be analyzed.

Jay B. Crain (University of California at Sacramento). *A Borneo Revisited: Reflections on Culture Change in a Sabah Kampong: 1969-1980.*

A report on cultural changes observed during a brief visit to Sabah in 1980. Revisits offer the ethnographer an opportunity to 1) re-establish contact with the community, 2) explore questions arising out of an earlier visit, and 3) test hypotheses explicit or implicit in earlier analyses. This paper will explore some aspects of ethnography as process by examining certain changes observed in a Lun Dayeh village eleven years following my initial study. Specifically, the relationship between changes in the ethnographer's perspectives and changes in the villager's perspectives is related to the problematic issue of ethnographic argumentation.

James F. Eder (Arizona State). *Influence of Land Tenure Policies on Philippine Negrito Subsistence Adaptation and Ethnic Identity.*

Reservations, leases, and individual titles have been employed by Philippine government and private agencies to secure ancestral land for Negrito groups. In comparison to their landless but economically more traditional counterparts, many land-secure Negritos now follow agricultural lifeways but also exhibit greater language retention and a stronger sense of ethnic identity. This finding raises questions about the relationship between land security for indigenous peoples and "cultural survival".

The Council's session for the 1986 Annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association is organized on the theme, "Settlement Patterns in Borneo." The following papers will be presented at the 8:00 a.m., December 7th program:

Introduction - Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr. (William and Mary).

Patterns of settlement of the 200 societies on Borneo have been diverse and distinctive, reflecting different strategies of adaptation and expressing a variety of structures and cosmologies. Longhouse domicile has been almost universal among non-Muslim indigenes, a locus of productive and ritual activities. Numerous differences in style and strategy have existed between even longhouse dwellers. Urban migration is leading to nucleation of social units, with ramifying effects on Borneo's societies and cultures. The session will include analyses of societies from all principal political units.

Anne Schiller (Cornell). Inside the Hornbill's Village: Ngaju Settlements and Cosmological Constructs.

The spatial arrangement of houses, shrines, and mortuary edifices within villages of the Kahayan River Ngaju of Central Kalimantan reflects key cosmological beliefs. The paper will analyze the symbology of village design with reference to indigenous cosmology and cosmogony. Not only do villages reflect cosmological models, they are an integral part of them. Modification of the village's physical aspect during the performance of rituals denotes convergence, albeit transient, of the world of men and a cosmological upperworld. An examination of the nexus of village design and Kahayan cosmology offers insight into local attitudes toward intra- and extra-village relations. The paper will address the implications of this system of thought in reference to Kalimantan's multi-ethnic communities.

G. N. Appell (Brandeis). Social Determinants of Rungus and Bulusu' Settlement Patterns.

The Rungus village consists of one or more longhouses composed of apartments owned by the nuclear or stem family, the primary production and consumption unit. The Bulusu' village has one longhouse composed of apartments of the patrilocal extended family, the primary consumption unit. The production unit is the nuclear family. The Rungus have a marked dry season. The Bulusu' experience heavy rainfall

and little seasonality. The land tenure system of both is of the circulating usufruct type. The ecological and social determinants of these two types of settlement pattern will be discussed.

Allen R. Maxwell (Alabama). Kadayan Residence: Rule, Structure, and Ethnicity.

Patterns of residence for the Kadayan of Brunei represent a set of solutions to the question of how traditional customary practices can be maintained in the face of social change triggered by the spread of industrial technology and the expansion of bureaucratic practice. In this analysis, local vs. analytical rules of residence, community structure and residence patterns, and the influence of ethnicity on residence are examined. A general explanation for departures from traditional residence norms and how they are rationalized is proposed.

Herbert L. Whittier (Michigan State). Changing Kenyah Settlement Patterns: Village Location and Structure.

Traditional Kenyah village locations were based primarily on considerations of maximum use of resources and security. Village structure incorporated views of how the natural and supernatural worlds interrelated. More recently, as some groups have moved, often with government support and encouragement, to downriver locations, other forces have come into play. In both relocated and "traditional" villages, new crops and new economic activities, such as timbering, have changed land-use patterns and land tenure relationships, as well as socio-economic relations in Kenyah society. Kenyah villages in East Kalimantan and Sarawak provide an interesting contrast of modernization and socio-economic change.

Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr. (William and Mary). Long Memories, Short Houses: Settlement Patterns of Iban Urban Migrants.

Thousands of Iban have abandoned rural longhouse domicile for residence in Sibu, Sarawak. A majority are scattered among the predominant Chinese and Malay populations, but several thousand have located in squatters settlements. The largest, Usaha Jaya, permits proximity to jobs yet permits squatters to organize themselves according to structural principles of the longhouse. Living in single-family dwellings, and just downriver from Chinese and Malay, the Iban are maintaining their identity through the

preservation of many "traditional" structures, statuses, and values.

B O R N E O N E W S

Brunei News

DR. MOTOMITSU UCHIBORI is attached to the Embassy of Japan, P.O. Box 3001, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei, until the end of September, 1987. Last year he made a brief urban anthropological study in Bandjarmasin.

JODIE K. HRUBY BEGGS submitted her dissertation for M.Sc. in Agricultural Conservation, Heriot-Watt University, September 1985, on the basis of her research in Kampong Air. The title of her dissertation is "Kampong Air: The Conservation of a Living Community."

LIM JOCK SENG has been appointed Ambassador to New Zealand and is also Director, Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brunei.

PROFESSOR DATO SHAROM AHMAT, an historian, is the Permanent Academic Advisor, University Brunei Darussalam, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei.

The Exhibition Hall of Malay Technology at the Brunei Museum is near completion.

Kalimantan News

DR. MARTIN BAIER writes: Just now I have finished compiling a dictionary on the sacerdotal language of the Ngaju Dayak in Central Kalimantan (Bahasa Sangiang-Bahasa Dayak Ngaju-Bahasa Indonesia-German). The Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden Netherlands has accepted it for publication in its Verhandelingen series. It expects to make the manuscript ready for the press in the course of 1987.

Sabah News

RITA LASIMBANG, a research assistant of the Sabah Cultural Association, is currently attending university in Dallas, Texas. Her interests are in oral history, poetry, and music. Her address is: 7500 West Camp Wisdom Road, Dallas, Texas 75236.

DR. JACQUELINE PUGH-KITINGAN, Music Director, Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, presented a paper entitled "Instruments and Instrumental Music of the Tambunan Kadazan/Dusun" at the Seminar Puisi dan Muzik Rakyat Malaysia which was held on April 6-8, 1986.

ANWAR SULLIVAN, Director of the Sabah Museum, has initiated a program to record on videotape the traditional religious ceremonies of the various peoples of Sabah. This past July and August an extensive effort was made by the museum staff to make a complete recording of Rungus religious ceremonies.

An exhibit on bamboo and bamboo technology opened at the Sabah Museum on August 23, 1986.

CLIVE MARSH Ph.D. is Senior Conservation Officer with the Sabah Foundation in Kota Kinabalu. His address is: Sabah Foundation, P.O. Box 11623, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia.

PATRICIA REGIS and JUDETH JOHN-BAPTIST are making a study of the Lotud oral tradition and religion.

AMITY C. P. APPELL, Harvard University, made a study of latak among the Rungus of the Kudat Division in June, July, and August, 1986.

JOSEPH DAVID MANJAJI is editor of the Language Research Group, P.O. Box 10984, Kota Kinabalu 88810, Sabah, Malaysia. The Language Research Group is working on recording the Penampang Dusun language.

GEORGE N. APPELL (Brandeis University) and LAURA W. R. APPELL recently visited the village in the Kudat Division where they originally did field work in 1958-60 and 1961-63.

R. M. CALLAGHAN writes: I travel fairly frequently in the interior areas of Borneo (currently Sabah and Sarawak) and although I have no training in anthropology, I am very interested in the people, their languages and customs. If any of your readers or contributors have any queries which I might be able to help with, I would be only too happy to try. I noticed in one of your back issues that a Mr. Comber was suggesting that work needed to be done with the Lengilu of the Kerayan, stating that the language and customs were dying out. I have made enquiries through some Lun Dayeh (Lun Bawang) friends here and I understand that the language is still spoken even amongst the young people - some of the Lun Dayeh here in Keningau can speak the language. (Callaghan's address is: S. K. Timber Corporation Sdn. Bhd., P.O. Box 236, 89008 Keningau, Sabah.)

News of the Institut Linguistik SIL, Cawangan Malaysia

Dr. Eugene E. Fuller became director of the Malaysian branch of the SIL in February, 1985. Linguists of the Institute are engaged in the intensive study of thirteen languages of Sabah.

Further information on the activities of the Institute can be obtained in the 1985 Annual Report. This may be obtained from Dr. Eugene E. Fuller, Director, Institut Linguistik SIL Cawangan Malaysia, WDT 26, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia.

The office of the Institute is located at 304 Likas Bay Road, Likas, Kota Kinabalu; telephone 31661.

Sarawak News

MAKOTO TSUGMAI, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Tokyo, is planning to do a general ethnography of the Kayan.

MONICA HUGHES JANOWSKI, from the Department of Anthropology at the London School of Economics, will be conducting her research for her Ph.D. dissertation on agriculture among the Kelabit.

DR. JENNY ALEXANDER, wife of Paul Alexander of the Department of Anthropology at Sydney University, will be conducting research entitled The Marketing and Economic System of an Ethnic group in Belaga.

FIONA JACK-HINTON, Curator of Southeast Asian Ethnography at the Northern Territory Museum and Art Gallery, will be surveying the material culture of the Kajang ethnic groups in the Belaga District.

RITA ARMSTRONG, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, is conducting research on the political economy of the Kenyah Badang in the Belaga District. She is interested in socioeconomic stratification in a swidden society.

DR. ROBERT WINZLER, Department of Anthropology, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, has been conducting an ecological and epidemiological survey of latak behavior in the Malay Peninsula and Sarawak. He completed his research in June, 1986.

DR. YAO SOUCHOU has a six month research project to study the socioeconomic transformations in Belaga Town with emphasis on the economic and ethnic relations in the Belaga Bazaar.

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hunting and Wildlife Management in Sarawak Final Report of a Conservation Management Study For Hunted Wildlife in Sarawak

Julian Oliver Caldecott
World Wildlife Fund Malaysia
National Parks and Wildlife Office

SUMMARY

This is a first review of hunting in Sarawak. Though sometimes overlooked, hunting in Sarawak has great recrea-

tional, cultural, nutritional and economic significance. The last two roles in particular benefit rural people who are often poor in cash terms. This is because, if game is plentiful, a poor family can still enjoy a diet rich in meat. Hunting is a necessary supplement to shifting cultivation, without which this way of life would have to be subsidized by other means.

The methods of hunting used in an area are influenced by many factors including tradition, knowledge of techniques, access to ammunition and lights, and access to markets for meat and trophies. These in turn affect the choice of species taken and the scale of the harvest, causing great variation in hunting patterns from place to place.

Hunting is mostly carried out by: trapping (new techniques are now being introduced from abroad); spearing (with the help of trained dogs); blowpiping (a dying art); and shooting (by day or by night, with dogs, by stalking, from hides, road vehicles or boats). Nearly two-thirds of hunted animals die by gunfire, and more than half the cartridges fired kill an animal. On average in the interior, there are about two dogs and two spears per family, one shotgun per two families, and one blowpipe among four.

There are about 61,500 shotguns registered in Sarawak, which together fire an average of more than two million cartridges each year (or sixty tonnes of lead shot). Access to this ammunition is rationed, the most important limit being the number of rounds which may be bought at one time. Only a tenth of the maximum ration is actually bought because most people cannot visit their District capitals very often. To increase the maximum single purchase allowance as proposed would cause a sharp increase in hunting with firearms.

Almost any animal larger than mouthful-sized is liable to be captured and eaten in Sarawak. Ungulates are numerically dominant in the harvest, with 60-90% of kills being deer (rusa and kijang), mouse deer (pelandok) or wild pigs; the last is by far the most important single prey species. In remote areas where large, ground-living animals are common, they are hunted with dogs and spears or with guns. As these animals become rare, smaller species are

hunted instead; these tend to be active by night or up in the trees, so they have to be killed by gunfire.

The contribution of wild meat to human nutrition in the interior is illustrated by rations for pupils at boarding schools: 203 tonnes of meat and fish were consumed at 63 schools in 1984-1985; the largest single component was wild pig meat at 32%, with other wild meat contributing about 7%, fish about 18%, and domestic pork, beef and chicken 13-16% each. Because domestic meat is relatively expensive, where little wild meat was available schools did not make up the difference with domestic supplies so the pupils ate less meat in total. These patterns are thought to reflect conditions in rural communities at large.

There is a well established trade in wild meat in the Rajang basin. It involves the use of refrigerators in longhouses, boats and towns, and low-cost river transport to downstream markets, particularly Sibü. In 1984 the value of this traffic in wild pig and deer meat exceeded \$4 million; in sample periods during 1984 and 1986, one trader alone handled such meat at a rate of \$800-900 per day at Kapit prices. River fish are also important, and during high water in 1986 the same trader dispatched \$1,521 worth per day.

It is estimated that nearly 20,000 metric tons (10,000-30,000 tonnes) of wild meat is harvested every year in Sarawak as a whole. This is equivalent to an average consumption of about 12 kg. per person per year, though this varies greatly between areas. The cost of replacing 20,000 tonnes of meat per year is calculated from Agriculture Department experience in livestock and fishpond development; it would approach \$100 million in theory, but in practice numerous logistic difficulties would greatly inflate this price.

The rural population's dependence on wild meat will be an important factor in development for the foreseeable future. Therefore, a strategy is urgently needed to combine management of the wildlife harvest with investment in cost-effective means of protein production at the longhouse level.

Many species of wildlife are declining in Sarawak, for a variety of reasons connected with the opening up of the interior, in particular by the timber industry. As practiced,

logging causes immediate physical disturbance, long-term habitat changes (for example by damage to food trees, salt-licks), increased hunting by timber company workers, availability of logging roads as hunting routes, and greater access by local hunters to ammunition, lights, and markets for hunted game. Wild pigs are mainly affected by loss of inaccessible feeding, breeding and travelling grounds, and by damage to food trees, while the deer are vulnerable to extreme hunting pressure along logging roads and around salt licks.

The net effect for residents in logged-over areas is a sharp decline in wild meat harvests, which are estimated to fall from about 54 kg. per person per year before logging to about 2 kg. within 30 years; two-thirds of this decline occurs over the first decade. The impact is often made worse by serious injury to stocks of river fish at the same time; this is caused by mud and diesel-oil pollution, from soil erosion and log transport. Such changes are strongly resented by many rural communities.

Some species are easy to wipe out locally under hunting pressure. They include rhinoceros and wild cattle amongst large game, and of smaller animals bears, gibbons, pangolins, leaf-monkeys, proboscis monkeys, hornbills, clouded leopards and argus pheasants. A major consequence of the decline of deer and wild pig populations is that many other species are subsequently over-exploited in a relentless search for meat by rural people.

Wildlife populations decline if hunting is too harsh relative to breeding rates, or if reproduction is reduced because of habitat damage and loss of food. Since there are now few refuges from either kind of attack, it is necessary for wildlife populations to be shielded from indiscriminate hunting while they adjust to new conditions in the interior, and establish a new equilibrium with regenerating instead of virgin habitat.

It is the aim of wildlife management that animals are not hunted so heavily that they decline towards extinction; the object is thus a yield which is sustainable, ideally forever. This yield depends partly on the scale of the harvest relative to the number of animals, and partly on the rate and success of breeding amongst the survivors. This in

turn depends largely on food supply, which is why wildlife management depends as much on ecology and habitat protection as it does on the regulation of hunting itself.

Recognizing the large scale of the wildlife harvest each year, and the fact that the main beneficiaries are those people who are least able to pay for alternative foods, it will be more cost-effective to maintain wildlife productivity than to attempt to replace wild meat with other foods in much of the interior. Sarawak currently has very little capacity for wildlife management, and a strategy for improving this would require judicious investment in manpower, training, legal change and publicity, and would rest on increased habitat protection, and the regulation of hunting and trade in wild meat.

Habitat protection should include the total protection of crucial feeding and breeding grounds, and protection of important food trees (and salt licks) from deliberate damage during logging. The regulation of hunting should include licensing of hunters, tightening controls on the use of firearms, and protection of additional species. Trade between Districts should be limited to deer and wild pig meat, and should be licensed; the traded volume especially of deer meat should be reduced.

In practice, the main needs for a wildlife management program include: a senior officer responsible for planning and coordination; a Faunal and Habitat Survey of Sarawak; amendment of the Wild Life Protection Ordinance; additional training for existing staff, especially in prosecution procedures and wildlife matters; an aggressive publicity campaign; and additional intermediate and junior staff with which to implement the new program on the ground.

Copies of this report may be obtained at US\$15 per copy from World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, P. O. Box 10769, 50724 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

(Abstracted from Hunting and Wildlife Management in Sarawak: Final Report of a Conservation Management Study for Hunted Wildlife in Sarawak by Julian Oliver Caldecott, 1986, World Wild Life Fund Malaysia, Kuching.)

COMMEMORATIVE HISTORY OF SABAH; 1881-1981

Edited by Anwar Sullivan and Cecilia Leong

This book was published to mark the State Centenary by the State Government of Sabah. It consists of 595 pages with photographs and maps.

The book comprises four main sections covering administration, political, economic, and social development. Under these headings are chapters on "The General State Administration of Sabah 1881-1981" by V. Gabriel William; "The Development of Native Administration in Sabah 1877-1946" by D. S. Ranjit Singh; "Political Development in Sabah 1881-1981" by Clarence D. Bongkos Malakun; "Economic Development in Sabah 1881-1981" by Peter Spence Gudgeon; "Social Development Health 1881-1981" by Dr. Sheila Viridi and Dr. Mechiel K. C. Chan; "Housing in Sabah 1881-1981" by Verus Aman Sham; "100 Years of Social Welfare Development in Sabah" by David C. V. Wang and Lawrence Hee Qui Shing; "Historical Development of Education" by K. M. George; "Cultural Process and the Arts" by Johan M. Padasian; "Demography" by Anwar Sullivan and Patricia Regis; and "Some Thoughts About the Future" by Stanislaus Yee Fong Chun.

It is available from the State Archives for R\$35 hardcover and R\$20 softcover.

CHIN, S. C., Agriculture and Resource Utilization in a Lowland Rainforest xvi + 322 pp., (December 1985), Kenyah Community, Special Monograph No. 4, Kuching, The Sarawak Museum Journal, No. 56 (New Series), ISSN 0375-3050, M\$10.

Chin See Chung's study of the Lepo Ga' Kenyah community is an excellent, thorough, and valuable contribution to Borneo studies in particular and tropical ecology in general. A botanist with the Department of Botany, University of Malaya, Chin's field research is "very much (a)n anthropological approach," as Lucas Chin and Peter Kedit, editors, note. He spent long periods with his subjects, learned their language, and observed the Kenyah in

their activities. This volume is Chin's doctoral "thesis minus two chapters and otherwise condensed" (personal communication).

Chin introduces Lepo Ga' Kenyah of Long Selatong Ulu, the village which "is the focus of this study" (p. 1). He sets forth his hypothesis, viz. "that, in principle, the Kenyah swidden system and resources utilization patterns and strategies are stable, adaptive and compatible with the functioning of the rainforest ecosystem" (p. 7). He then describes his techniques for data collection.

After the Introduction (1) the monograph is divided into seven major sections, dealing with (2) physical environment, (3) social environment, (4) land tenure, (5) food and diet, (6) exploitation of environmental resources through hunting, fishing, gathering and collecting, (7) the swidden cycle, and (8) domesticated plants. Approximately two-fifths of the volume is a thorough description of the swidden cycle. Parallel in numerous respects with other studies of swiddening, Chin's overview is in places richer because of his attention to and inclusion of botanical information. He notes, for example, that "a special aspect of the Kenyah swidden system is the farm gardens" (p. 243).

Chin's work is an important addition to the considerable literature on shifting agriculture and resource utilization, and concludes with the caution that while the Kenyah have benefitted from the government's Agricultural Diversification Scheme, any future change "must be positive, gradual and give due consideration to their present system and way-of-life." (Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr.)

PEOPLE OF THE WEEPING FOREST:
TRADITION AND CHANGE IN BORNEO

Jan B. Avé and Victor T. King

This attractively produced book, amply illustrated throughout with black-and-white photographs, colour plates, maps and diagrams, provides a general introduction to the peoples, cultures and history of the island of Borneo.

It covers both the Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah and the four provinces of Indonesian Kalimantan, as

well as presenting some information on the sultanate of Brunei. The book describes the traditional cultures of the Dayak, the native people of the island, concentrating on their religions, world-views and material culture. But its main focus is the ways in which rainforest dwellers use and adapt to their environment through shifting cultivation, hunting, gathering and fishing, and the changes which are taking place in local economies. The indigenous people of Borneo are having to come to terms with modernization, and the authors assess the effects of commercial logging of the rainforests, land settlement and resettlement schemes, and, in Indonesian Kalimantan, transmigration.

A final chapter examines the position of the Dayak today and their response to educational opportunities, Christian conversion, modern politics and urbanization. It also considers the contribution which the local Borneo museums and scholars make and can make to the study, preservation and regeneration of Dayak culture.

This English edition is a revised and expanded version of the Dutch edition entitled Borneo: oerwoud in ondergang, cultúren op drift (Borneo; vanishing jungles, cultures adrift), originally written to accompany an exhibition of the same name being held at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, from 13 February to 6 October 1986 and officially opened by Sir David Attenborough.

People of the Weeping Forest is suitable for academics and students, as well as for non-specialists with an interest in Borneo and in the processes of change affecting tropical rainforest cultures and habitats.

The book can be obtained from the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, P.B. 212, 2300 AE LEIDEN, the Netherlands; price: Dfl. 17,50 (soft cover, 142 pp., 110 black-and-white photographs, 28 colour plates, 6 maps and 7 diagrams). (Excluding postage and bank charges)

FAMINE IN PEASANT SOCIETIES

Ronald E. Seavoy

The continuing occurrence of periodic peacetime famines, despite decades of aid programs, testifies that economic policies have failed to increase per capita food production in peasant nations. Food production remains at a subsistence level: peasants produce just enough additional food each year to feed an increased population. In this controversial study, Seavoy offers a new approach based on the actual behavior of peasants. He maintains that it is possible to increase per capita food production without massive and inappropriate technological inputs.

Seavoy shifts the focus from modern development economics to a cultural and historical analysis of subsistence agriculture in Western Europe (England and Ireland), Indonesia, and India. From his survey of peasant cultivation practices in these countries, he generalizes on the social values that guide food production in all peasant societies. He argues that these social values create what he terms the subsistence compromise. Peasants will only expend enough labor to produce sufficient food to last until the next harvest, on the assumption that every year will produce normal yields. The labor expenditure in normal crop years produces enough food to avoid hunger but the subsistence compromise prevents the production of an assured food surplus, such as is produced by commercial food producers (yeomen and farmers).

He reconstructs the social institutions, land use practices, and agricultural technologies that were used by English peasants from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries. Similar essays analyze the causes of the Great Famine of Ireland and the Indian Famine of 1876-1879. He also presents a detailed profile of the great diversity of peasant societies in Indonesian subsistence culture as a means of understanding why there are high rural population densities and endemic hunger in a wide variety of environments. Indonesia has escaped major famines only because oil revenues have been used to purchase food. In all of these ages and cultures, Seavoy finds a consistent social organization of agriculture that produces identical results:

seasonal hunger in poor crop years and famine conditions in consecutive poor crop years.

Seavoy argues that economic policies have failed to increase per capita food production because economists and government planners try to apply market-oriented policies to populations that are not commercially motivated. Once they understand the subsistence compromise, policy-makers can take appropriate action--and that action must be political.

This is an important work on a topic of great public concern. It is a book that is highly appropriate for university or general libraries, but especially for government policy-makers. It is cross-disciplinary and will be useful to political scientists, economists, cultural geographers, and sociologists, as well as historians. But its greatest value will be to policy-makers in peasant nations or in commercial nations that contemplate funding development projects.

This book can be obtained from Greenwood Press, Inc., 88 Post Road West, Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881 (203) 226-3571. Contact: Mary Rose Denaro. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, No. 66, ISSN 0084-9235).

THE PUNAN: HUNTERS AND GATHERERS OF BORNEO

Carl Hoffman

Addresses a central and enduringly popular subject within cultural anthropology - hunters and gatherers - and challenges some bedrock assumptions about these peoples. This lucid, fast-paced investigation is the result of ethnographic field work on the island of Borneo among little-known and scantily documented groups of nomadic hunters and gatherers called Punan.

Objects of intense curiosity and fascination for well over 100 years, the Punan have been the stuff of colorful legend among both Western visitors and coastal-dwelling natives of Borneo. The very existence of these nomadic groups was a matter of skepticism and scientific dispute in

anthropological literature as late as 1947. The Punan deals with the question of who they are and what they mean in terms of the ethnographic and historical picture of Borneo. Hoffman considers the meaning of the hunting-and-gathering adaptation, and its remarkable persistence down to the present day.

This book can be obtained from Cultural Anthropology, UMI Research Press Book News, No. 12, \$44.95, illustrations, 124 pp.

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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR (Cont'd.)

Borneo Research Council under the leadership of Vinson Sutlive has also raised an endowment of approximately \$17,000 from various sources including UNESCO and The Wenner-Gren Foundation. He has invested these funds, with the idea of letting the interest accumulate on them until there are sufficient funds to support a monograph series on Borneo.

Unfortunately, each year the Borneo Research Bulletin runs up a deficit of roughly \$2000 to \$2500. This is only partially because of the increase in number and size of scholarly articles being published. The problem is that the subscriptions and membership fees do not cover the publishing costs. Yet if the Borneo Research Bulletin is to be put on a sound financial footing and not provide a drain on the Borneo Research Council, we must either raise income or cut the amount of scholarly materials published.

What is discouraging to Vinson Sutlive, who has given tirelessly of his time and energies to the Borneo Research Council and who has personally covered much of this deficit, is that there are individuals who receive and enjoy the BRB who are not carrying their share by paying their annual subscription or membership fee. One distinguished anthropologist has complained bitterly on the failure of members to pay their fees or their subscription costs. He highly objects to his membership fee being used to carry freeloaders, those who do not pay for their subscriptions.

There are several solutions. First, the number of articles published could be cut. This would be against the Bulletin's current policy, that all scholarly articles submitted

should be published. This is an important point particularly in a field such as Borneo studies where those who are interested are scattered throughout the world, with no major center for Borneo research. As a result, scholars need to be in contact with new research and its results quickly through the articles and timely information on developments that are published in the BRB. Thus, at this particular juncture in the history of the BRC, with growing interest in Borneo and increased research, I feel that it would be folly now to cut the material published. We would all suffer from a break in flow of information.

We must then raise additional income. We could raise our subscription fees, but they are at the point where we would begin to lose readership if we did. However, we can significantly raise our income if those who do not pay for their BRB start paying. Please encourage your colleagues to join the BRC or pay their membership fees if they have not done so. We should make every effort to increase our membership as the number of Borneo researchers grows.

In addition, we should consider instituting a page charge for articles published.

At this point we must show our support for the fine job that Vinson Sutlive has done and thank him for all his time, effort, and devotion to Borneo studies. The best way that we can do this is to help him meet the current deficit.

G. N. Appell

We are grateful to the following persons who have contributed to the work of the Council. If we have omitted anyone's name we apologize. We suffered a computer memory loss of all records from November 1985 to September 1986. Contributors are: Charles Bryant, Miami University, Orville A. Smith, Stephanie Morgan, David S. Boyce, David Crawford, K. S. Lambert, Anthea Phillips, W. Tully, G. Chandler, and Rex Marshall.

THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

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

Support for the activities of the Council comes from subscriptions to the Borneo Research Bulletin, Fellowship fees, and contributions. Contributions have played a significant part in the support of the Council, and they are always welcome.

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Working Papers: Research reports or papers exceeding 10 double-spaced pages will be published as Working Papers. Authors who submit such papers will be consulted by the Editor who, upon obtaining an author's consent, will edit and process the paper for distribution by private order. A list of Working Papers, with the cost of each, will be included in each issue of the Bulletin.

All contributions should be sent to the Editor, Borneo Research Bulletin, c/o Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA 23185, U.S.A.

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Names mentioned in the News Section and other uncredited contributions will be capitalized and underlined.

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