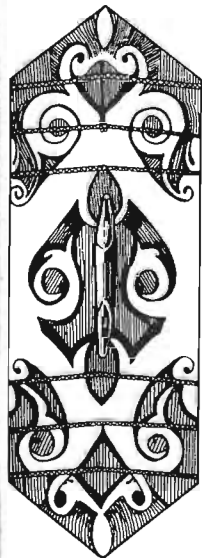


# BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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## NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

Dilemmas of development dominate this issue. The apparent pan-human and universal penchant to transform the "natural" into the "cultural" through planned change is the focus of articles by Antonio Guerreiro and Victor King. In the first, Guerreiro describes difficulties all-too-familiar when administrators undertake rural development programs without "intensive social-anthropological enquiry" (p. 3). "The Model Village Program" is an alternative combining "the traditional subsistence system and a market-dominated economy" (p. 10).

In the second, King analyzes Evelyne Hong's Natives of Sarawak. Sympathetic to forces which are degrading the environment and disrupting the indigenous societies of Sarawak, King describes efforts by government agencies to ameliorate problems of planned change. Contrary to Hong's support for traditional ways of life, King notes that these have been "subject to continuous processes of change for a considerable period of time" (p. 27), and are impossible to recover. "Ideally what the Dayaks have to do is to make these forces work for them so that they are better able to control their destinies and select new opportunities on their own terms" (p. 28).

Our gratitude to the following persons for their contributions to the work of the Council, which makes possible the continuing publication of the Bulletin and other activities: Gene Ammarell, Laura P. Appell-Warren, Stanley S. Bedlington, I. D. Black, Peter Brosius, Donald Brown, E. F. Brunig, Paul Bucher, Conrad P. Cotter, Jay B. Crain, Gale Dixon, Otto C. Doering, Michael R. Dove, Richard and Doris Drake, Fred Eggan, Richard Fidler, Bill Funk, Peter Grey, P. Bion Griffin, Sin-Fong Han, Timothy Jessup, Linda Kimball, Victor King, John L. Landgraf, Michael B. Leigh, Craig Lockard, Allen R. Maxwell, Peter Metcalf, David Miller, Stephanie Morgan, Kal Muller, John Musgrave, Rodney Needham, Fr. Ida Nicolaisen, Stanley J. O'Conner, J. R. and J. L. Palmer, M. R. Richards, Jérôme Rousseau, C. A. Sather, Ann Schiller, Rolf Schlomer, William Schneider, Orville A. Smith, Wilhelm Solhiem, Jack Stuster, John O. Sutter, Peter Thomas, Phillip L. Thomas, Anna L. Tsing, Donna M. Vargas, Andrew P. Vayda, Reed L. Wadley, C. and J. F. Warren, H. L. Whittier, Robert L. Winzeler, and Leigh R. Wright.

## RESEARCH NOTES

SWIDDEN AGRICULTURISTS AND PLANNED CHANGE:  
THE MODEL VILLAGE PROGRAM IN BELAGA DISTRICT  
(SARAWAK, 7th DIVISION)  
A PRELIMINARY REPORT

A. J. GUERREIRO  
ECASE, Paris

Introduction

As elsewhere in Southeast Asia local administration is getting more involved in remote areas, which are becoming important targets for rural development programs. Up to now Malaysian and Indonesian policy-makers thought of resettlement as a useful means to "improve" or rather to change drastically the economic conditions and way of life of the Dayak peoples (Punan, Kenyah, Murut, Bulusu', etc.) both in Kalimantan and East Malaysia. But unfortunately, because of improper planning and little knowledge of the social dynamics of these societies and of their specific relationships to the environments in which they live, there have been poor results. The PKMT/RESPEN programs in Kaltim(1) and Kalsel(2) are good examples of this policy, although in some cases the officials have been more cautious as in kabupaten Berau.(3) The main concern of RESPEN in 1972 was to circumscribe "shifting cultivation" considered a major threat to the forest reserves of East Kalimantan, intended to become future concessions.(4) This might explain the emphasis on sawah cultivation.

In other words, intensive social-anthropological enquiry should be a precondition to any decision-making in these matters. It has usually been forgotten. The intervention of the state, directed towards "traditional" or "tribal" societies, is often based on inaccurate information and/or a biased approach. The consequences are too well-known: social disruption, irrational economic activities, waste of public funds, ecological damage, etc.

### Swidden Agriculturists and Change: Some Reflections

Concerning the ability of swidden cultivators to readapt themselves to more rewarding agricultural activities, where this is ecologically feasible, there has been some kind of controversy. According to S. C. Chin, (1984) who describes the Kenyah of the lower Baram (Sarawak, 4th Division), they live in a state of equilibrium with the rainforest ecosystem and their swidden system and utilization patterns are stable. But, "it is suggested that with an increase in population, changing perceptions, new expectations and the entry into a cash and modern economy, this equilibrium can be upset" (Chin 1984:10).

However, it seems that the idea of an unchanging environment is misleading, for maintaining an equilibrium in order for a society to reproduce itself is something which is not happening; environment, population and technology evolve and this process asks for a constant adjustment.

Vayda and McCay have pointed out that "people who are successful in circumstances they know well during a period of environmental stability [and I would add socio-economic stability] are (by definition) well adapted for a time but to survive a period of unstability it is not enough to have been adapted in the old environment".(5)

Yet it is established that in traditional societies the people act according to their cultural background: an elaborate symbolic, social and economic system which should not be underestimated. In this perspective swidden cultivation is much more than an agricultural system; it determines the social and economic relations of the community. The extent to which this cultural system enables them to cope with new concepts and lifestyles is dependent on a set of factors (cultural values, collective representations) varying for each society. Furthermore, external influences can modify the social processes over a short period of time.

And if confronted with too drastic dilemmas, in some case the society will not stand it and disruption or political breakdown will take place. In the meantime the society usually readjusts itself by including new strategies and ideological constructs.(6)

Often swidden agriculturists are presented as unchanging and resistant to the introduction of new agricultural methods.(7) It is stated that they cannot adapt themselves to the opportunities of the market or to the cash economy.(8) But this view is refuted by ethnographic and historic evidence, as we have many examples of passage from one type of farming or economic system to another.(9) The development of cash economy (pepper, rubber) among Iban and Land Dayak communities since the 1920s also supports the argument that swidden cultivators are able to meet new environmental and economic conditions if these are introduced in a progressive way instead of being imposed. It is regrettable that agricultural or resettlement schemes are usually conceived and implemented without the involvement of the people concerned. Furthermore, the necessary survey of ecological (social suitability, hydrography, carrying capacity, agricultural capacity, etc.) and socio-economic conditions are rarely completed before the project is actually started. In this respect, small-manageable projects could be more profitable than the larger-scale ones which have the preference of administrators.

It is thus necessary to carry on an intensive study of the traditional farming and nutrition systems and of their socio-economic correlates. That particular combination forms the "dynamics" of the agricultural system;(10) it consists of a set of interactions between the local community social structure, the regional economy and the ecosystem which assure in fine the reproduction of the society. Moreover it might prove that the traditional knowledge of the peasants can be useful to develop new crops or to increase the production of the existing ones with an adapted technology; this can be achieved by introducing modifications in the system without disrupting it.

### The Model Village Program (MVP) in Belaga: An Alternative Strategy for Swidden Agriculturists

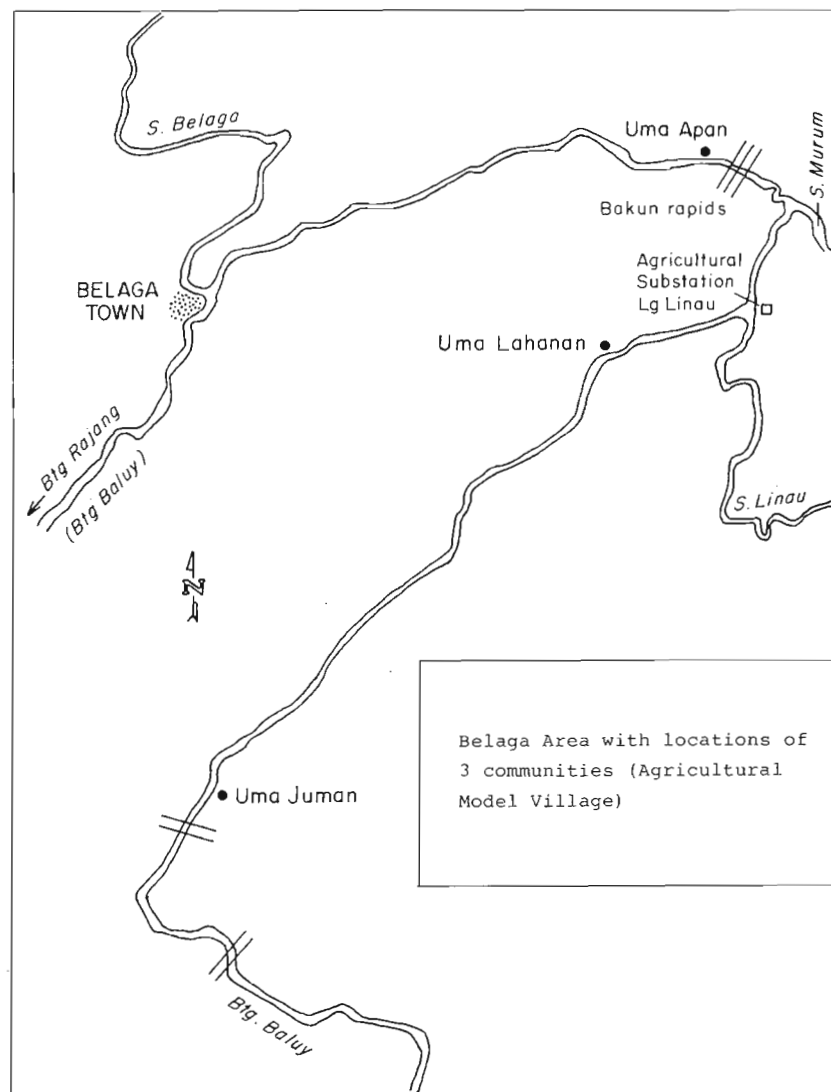
The Belaga District corresponds to the section of the upper Rejang (or Batang Baluy in Kayan) located above Kapit, the 7th Division headquarters. The total population of the District is 12,856 inhabitants according to the 1980 census.(11) It covers a large area (7,400 sq. mi. or 19,403 sq. km); most of it is still primary forest. In the literature

the Baluy area is well known for its ethnic complexity; there are no less than ten ethnic groups which are subdivided into smaller units. During the last decade some important changes(12) occurred in the socio-economic organization of the upper Baluy - the section of the river which I am examining here - i.e. from above the Bakun rapids (Long Murum) up to Bato' Keling. In this upriver part the Kayan are the dominant ethnic group (8 long-houses), as Kenyah, Kajang, Penan, Bukit represent only one community each. In addition, a numerous group is formed by the Kenyah and Badang upriver in the upper reaches of the Baluy(13) and on the Linau river.(14)

My field survey was conducted rather briefly in ulu Belaga during August 1985, with the assistance of the Agricultural Department. Nevertheless I had the opportunity to visit the three Model Villages as well as other longhouse communities from below the rapids up to Bato' Keling, the last Kayan house upriver. The National Extension Program (NEP) of the Agricultural Department(15) proved to be an interesting research subject, especially the MVP which has a direct relevance to the adaptation of swidden agriculturists to new forms of economy and agricultural practices. It seems that such an approach could constitute an alternative to resettlement or a transition phase preparing these societies for further transformations of their way of life. The MVP was initiated in 1983 in Uma Apan, a Kayan house below the Bakun rapids at Long Mejawah, and the following year in two houses above the rapids, Uma Lahanan at Long Panggai (a Kajang community rather "Kayanized") and Uma Juman at Long Dupah, the house of the Kayan Temenggung Tali' Lisut. Both are very dynamic and economically strong communities.

Their location is the following: Uma Apan is situated about 30 minutes upriver from Belaga town with a longboat powered by twin 40 HP engines; Uma Lahanan is approximately 48 km from Belaga, the journey taking 2 1/4 hours, and Uma Juman is farther upstream, about 3 1/2 hours from the town (see map). Actually the Village Development Council (Jawakankuasa Kemajuan Kampung, JKK) was formed in 1983 in Uma Apan and in 1984 in the two other houses.(16)

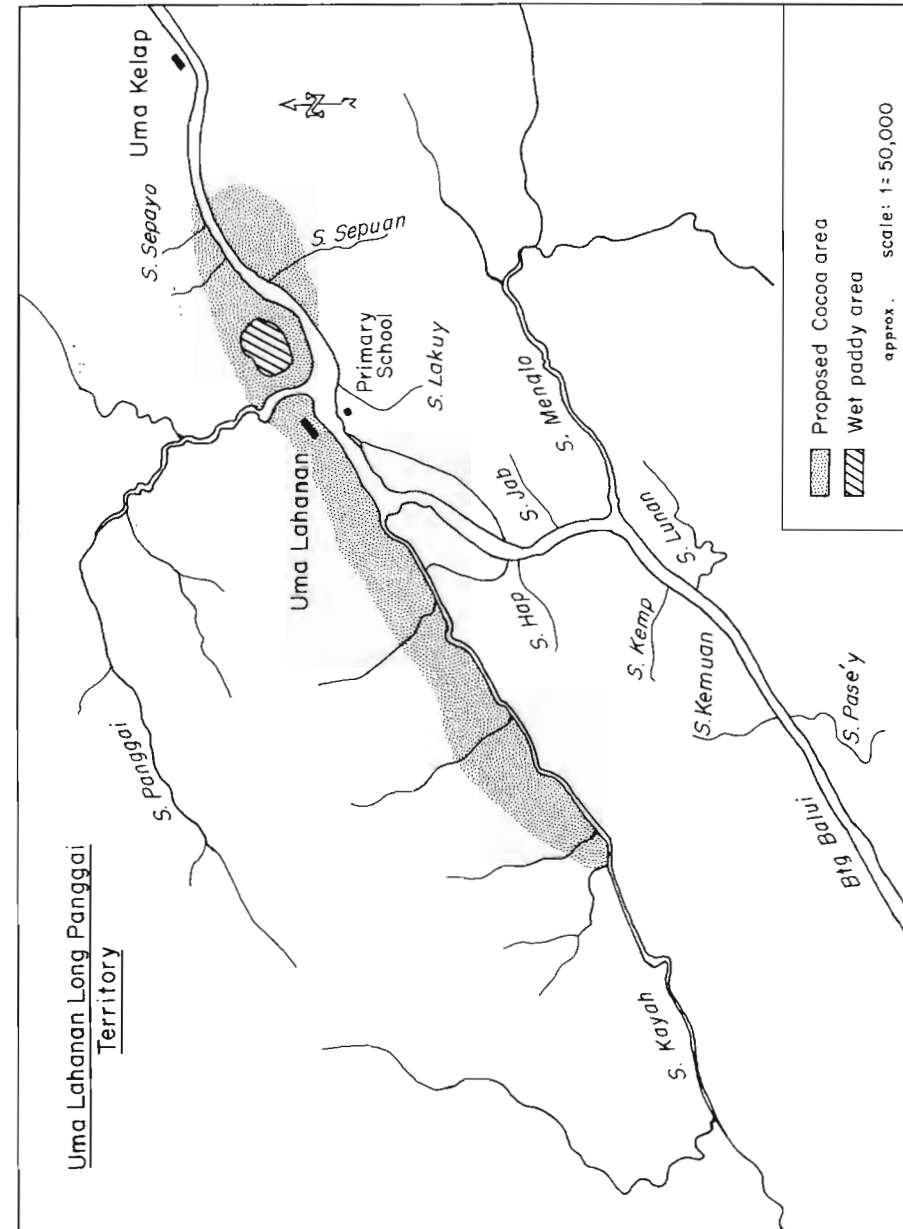
Map 1



As an example of the characteristics of the MVP I will give a sketch of the situation at Uma Lahanan Long Panggai. According to the oral history of the Lahanan they were originally from the Apo Kayan area but they have been settled for a long time in the Baluy Basin (Linau-Murum-Baluy rivers). Now they form two communities, one below the Bakun rapids, Uma Jok Long Semuang (pop. 118, 17 doors). It is in fact a split from the Long Panggai group, about four generations ago. Formerly they were mostly sago-eaters, now it has only a residual role in their diet.

The Lahanan longhouse has 45 households (36 doors) with a population of 295(17) of which approximately 127 are actively doing farming; the rest are either still in school, children below 6 years old, going on journeys (té panau in Kayan), or senior members of the families who are no longer active in agricultural activities. An average apartment has about six or seven members. All the families plant hill paddy and/or wet paddy. Other crops are pepper, cocoa, rubber, coffee and fruit trees. Livestock is also raised by all households.(18) The village territory is about 14,000 ha, out of which 40 percent are owned by separate families under Native Customary Rights. The rest is community reserved land. An important primary school is located opposite the village on the other bank of the Baluy. It caters also to Penan Blangan (punan talun in Kayan). Uma Lahanan will be accorded a high priority by the District Agricultural Officer. The development program for the village will be focused on the planting of cocoa (19). The proposed planting of cocoa will be within an area of about 300 ha. It is presently the major cash-crop in the District. The main objective is to increase the cash income for all families over the existing poverty line (M\$412 per month = US\$215) within a period of five years. An average family has an estimated monthly income of M\$320 (= US\$157), generated mainly from paddy and other agricultural products and economic activities, particularly fishing and hunting.(20) Fruit tree schemes are also to be implemented at a minor level. Coffee is already grown by a large number of households but for domestic consumption only. A small sawah has also been started in the frame of the MVP. Moreover a timber company will start working next year near the Lahanan longhouse. That might have consequences on land use and on the economic choices of the villagers.

Map 2



The MVP will provide a five-year plan, (1985-1990) with particular attention to be given to the agricultural development of the village into one community which could serve as a Model for others to emulate the development process in the upper Baluy.

#### Conclusion

In short the MVP seems to be the first elaborate attempt to deal with the economic situation of the orang ulu ("upriver people"). If the results are positive, at one stage there will be a form of mixed-economy, between the traditional subsistence system and a market-dominated economy. This transition period should prove crucial for the future of these populations, especially for some stratified societies which live in isolation and are characterized by a rigid social system in contrast to the more egalitarian and open Iban and Land Dayak. In this perspective special attention will be given to the changes occurring at the level of kinship and social relations in correlation with the development of the cash economy (redistribution patterns, use of surplus, ostentatious feasts, etc.). The economic strategies of the ruling families (maren) of the two houses (Uma Lahanan and Uma Juman) will be compared, as for the commoners (panyin). Political and ritual behavior has important influence on economic activities and decision-taking processes.

#### NOTES

1. See G. N. Appell, 1985, about a particularly negative case and Colfer (1980) on a Kenyah (Uma' Jalan) RESPEN village, Long Segar.
2. A fairly good account of a resettlement program (PKMT, Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Masyarakat Terasing) organized by the Departmen Sosial is given by G. Y. Adicondro (1979); the ethnic group concerned is the Bukit, living in the Meratus range, east of Banjarmasin.

3. Few PKMT lokasi (according to the Indonesian administrative terminology) have been implemented in the Kelai and Segah rivers area; some published reports describe the Long Gie (Punan Kelai), Inaran (Lebu) and Sungai Latty (Basap) projects.
4. For the general administrative structure see T.A.D., 1977:74-84 and Petunjuk RESPEN Kalimantan Timur, 1973.
5. Vayda, A. P. and J. McCay, 1977, 1978 in Jessup, 1981:19.
6. See for instance Colfer (1983b:73-83) about Kalimantan Kenyah and Hong (1977:17-19) on Baram Kenyah.
7. As stated in Belaga District annual report (1980:61).
8. "They (the Kenyah) are also unfamiliar with the treatment, processing and marketing of the products of these crops. The biggest doubt and uncertainty they have is whether someone will buy their produce and at a reasonable price" (Chin, 1984:464).
9. The process of change among nomadic hunters and gatherers (Punan, Penan, Buket, etc.) which has been going on for a long time is quite a good example of the capacity these peoples to evolve. In fact, most of them are now sedentized. One can point out the case of the Kajang whose economy was based on a kind of horticulture (sago, tubers, bananas) and collecting of jungle products and game before Kenyah-Kayan migration into the Baluy area. They later took up paddy cultivation from these new settlers.
10. Ministère de la Recherche et de l'Industrie, Action incitative: "Dynamique des systèmes agraires," 1983:2-3.
11. Jabatan Pertanian Belaga, Laporan Tahunan, 1984:2.
12. It seems that the most striking economic innovation was the introduction of large freezers by Chinese entrepreneurs from Belaga around 1972-73 (see Rousseau, 1977:152). One must also mention the semi-regular launches (express) and tongkang, Chinese

barges from Belaga to Kaki Menjawah (Uma Apan, Uma Nyaveng) and upriver up to Long Jawé; on this point see A. Cramb and J. Dian (1979:7). As concerns external influences on Kayan society from 1945 to 1972, Rousseau has summarized the important events (1974:115).

13. The two Kenyah villages (Uma Bakah: Long Bulan, Uma Kulit: Long Jawé) and Badang Long Busang had a total population of 2,323 in 1971 (Rousseau, 1974:27). After some migrations downstream that population was around 1,600 in 1985.
14. The Badang Long Gang population in 1971 was 801 (Rousseau, 1974:27). Most of these Badang have moved to Long Dungan (pop.  $\pm$  1,500) downriver from Belaga town on Sekapan territory.
15. Jabatan Pertanian Belaga, Laporan Tahunan, 1984:38-39.
16. In 1984, the reorganization of the extension program was implemented in the District and the longhouses were once again included in the VEP (Village Extension Program); the intensive extension program had been carried out in Uma Lahanan and Uma Juman since April 1984 and in Uma Apan a year before. I have selected these two communities for an intensive comparative research in accordance with the Sarawak Museum research program on the people affected by Bakun HEP. The two longhouses are within the proposed area for the reservoir. Questionnaires in the Kayan language will be used to obtain some quantitative data, as a complement to the ethnographic descriptions and interviews.
17. This is the Department of Agriculture figure for 1985. According to the 1980 census it was: 238 (30 doors).

18. Table 1

Economic Activities, Agriculture  
(Uma Lahanan)

Enterprise	Families Involved	Estimated Ave. Per Household	Hectarage No. Total
Hill paddy	93%	1.7 ha	70 ha/yr.
Wet paddy	38%	0.8 ha	14 ha
Pepper	40%	300 vines	5500 vines
Cocoa	100%	1.5 ha	70 ha
Rubber	93%	2 ha	90 ha
Fruit Trees	100%	8 pts.	380 pts.
Coffee	77%	0.4 ha	18 ha
Livestock	100%	11 heads	500 heads

Source: Jabatan Pertanian Belaga (1985)

From these figures, it is obvious that swidden cultivation forms the main activity of the peasants. However there is a tendency towards the farming of smaller plots, while cash crops (cocoa, pepper, coffee) are increasing fast.

19. Table 2

## Cocoa, Schedule of Planting

1985 :	13.8 ha
1986 :	34 ha
1987 :	43.3
1988 :	----
1989 :	54.7 ha

Total Requirement : 145.8 ha

Source: Jabatan Pertanian Belaga (1985)

## 20. Table 3

Estimated Contribution of Various  
Activities to Total Family Income

Sources	Contribution
1. Hill paddy/wet paddy	21%
2. Cash crops	26%
3. Fishing and hunting	31%
4. Jungle products	13%
5. Other (allotments, casual employment)	9%

Source: Jabatan Pertanian Belaga (1985)

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THE COSTS OF DEVELOPMENT IN SARAWAK  
(Review Article)

VICTOR T. KING

Evelyne Hong. Natives of Sarawak. Survival in Borneo's Vanishing Forests. 1987. Institut Masyarakat, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia; 259 pp., maps, tables, plates.

The most crucial current issue for the island of Borneo and its native ('Dayak') populations is forest clearance. At long last we have a book on Sarawak which documents in considerable detail the devastating effects of logging on the habitats and economies of Sarawak shifting cultivators in the context of their progressive integration into a wider economic and political system. Hong's work is a powerful indictment of those, both in the public and private sectors, who profit from the removal of an irreplaceable resource, and in the process have little regard for the rights and interests of the indigenous populations. The author uses a wide range of materials to support her case, including secondary sources such as newspaper articles and specially commissioned reports, as well as her own field data and eye-witness accounts. This closely argued volume, nicely illustrated with numerous photographs, is essential reading for those of us who are concerned about the fate of both the tropical rainforest dwellers and the rich, varied and delicately balanced environment which they inhabit. Hong also examines the consequences for local cultures, their economies and their rights to land of agricultural development schemes, and dam-building.



The really alarming data are contained in Chapter 8 of the book entitled 'Logging and Forest Depletion in Sarawak'. Hong states that, although rates of logging in Peninsular Malaysia have decreased during the last ten years because of fears of the rapid exhaustion of forest reserves there, this decline has been compensated for by the massive increase in logging activities in East Malaysia. Log output in Sarawak, for example, rose from 4.4 million cubic metres in 1976 to 12.2 million cubic metres in 1985, accounting for 39% of Malaysia's total output of logs in that year (pp. 125-7). Hong estimates, albeit roughly, on the basis of timber yields, that between 1963 and 1985 a total of 2.82 million hectares of forest have been logged in the state, with 270,000 hectares having been cleared in 1985 alone (p. 128). Thus, to date about one-third of Sarawak's total estimated forested area has been logged. In addition, in 1984 some 60% of Sarawak's forests had already been given out in concessions (p. 131). Hong calculates that, if present rates of logging are sustained, then a further 28% of forests will be logged within the next ten years. We have therefore reached critical levels, in relation to the deleterious effects of forest clearance on the local environment and on the habitats and livelihoods of the native populations. The situation is made worse by the generally poor logging practices of the timber companies operating in the state.

A central argument of Hong's book is that native swidden agriculture is an ecologically rational system of cultivation and that for some time it has been unfairly blamed for forest destruction, while little attention has been paid to large-scale logging which 'has far more capacity to destroy Sarawak's forest, and has used this capacity with increasing effect in recent years' (p. 138). In general then, government authorities support the timber industry and castigate swidden cultivation because of the enormous profits and revenues to be had from timber, because, from this profit-oriented point of view, swidden farmers do not use the forest 'productively'. Hong, in contrast, looks sympathetically at swidden agriculture and Dayak longhouse society, and she emphasizes the vital role which the forest plays in local economies, not only for farming but as a reservoir of foodstuffs and other resources. She also documents the progressive undermining of native rights in land from the period of the Brooke Raj onwards. She pays particular attention to the 1958 Sarawak Land Code and

certain subsequent amendments. Hong states that '[a]lthough there are various aspects of the Sarawak Land Code which give recognition to native customary rights over land, there are also different parts of the Code that empower land authorities to extinguish those rights' (p. 54), and that 'native customary land has no "market value" under the Land Code. As such, natives can be deprived of equitable compensation' (p. 56). Customary tenure is gradually giving way to private ownership and to the related processes of land concentration and increasing landlessness. As for forest policy, particularly the Forests Ordinance of 1953 (pp. 73-79), this too has served to restrict and undermine native customary practices and their access to this resource. The disregard for native rights and access to forests is a major issue in relation to logging activities in Sarawak. Hong gives us a range of examples of native resistance to the encroachment of the timber companies, involving such actions as peaceful protests, petitioning and blockades. But generally the indigenous populations have been on the losing end.

Hong emphasizes this progressive marginalization of swidden cultivators in dramatic terms. She says, 'Today these self contained communities are threatened by the larger society and powerful forces of the State which they cannot avoid or control. The despoilation [sic] of their physical environment and the negative attitudes borne of ignorance and arrogance (often reflected in official policy) towards these shifting cultivators have threatened their existence and very survival. In many regions of Southeast Asia, shifting cultivators have been displaced from their natural environments, deprived of their livelihood and suffer extreme deprivation and cultural alienation' (pp. 30-31).

Overall I was much impressed by the force of Evelyne Hong's arguments and the evidence which she marshals to support these, but I feel that there are some comments which need to be made about her work in order to restore a certain balance to it. Though I agree with much that she says, and I am in sympathy with the passion with which she states her case, I think that, in some instances, she overstates that case, and, in consequence, presents a slightly misleading picture. This is especially so in her discussion of dam construction and land development

schemes in Sarawak. She is on much stronger ground when she deals with logging activities and their consequences.

First we have to get dam construction for the generation of hydro-electric power in the State into reasonable perspective. Sarawak has, to date, only one large completed dam scheme, and that is the Batang Ai project upriver of Lubok Antu in the Second Division of the State. Figures vary, but somewhere in the region of 2,800 to 3,000 natives have been resettled, though there are several other communities which have also been affected to varying degrees by the scheme. Another dam project, very much larger than the Batang Ai, is planned at Bakun, upriver of Belaga in Sarawak's Seventh Division. The Bakun scheme has been the subject of much controversy and has generated significant local opposition. It will also be a very expensive project. Therefore, the government has shelved its plans for Bakun, at least for the immediate future. If Bakun does eventually go ahead then its consequences for the local populations and the environment in that area will be truly dramatic. But, given the fact that there is at present only one operational hydro-electric dam in the State, and that by international standards the Batang Ai dam is comparatively modest in size, Hong's statement about the effect of dams in Sarawak does give a rather different impression. She says, 'When the dams were built, they [the Dayaks] were ordered to pack their belongings and leave, never to return or ever glimpse their homes, their lands, their fruit trees, and the graves of their beloved ancestors which will all be flooded out of existence. They have been herded into resettlement schemes heartsick and broken in spirit, yearning for the old life that has come to an end and wondering why' (p. 32).

Although there are elements of this description which are close to the mark, there are others which are not. Clearly resettlement is a traumatic experience, however much it is sympathetically handled. But if one looks in detail at the background to and the process of resettlement of Iban communities in the Batang Ai, then I do not think that one can characterize it in such harsh and coercive terms. For example, there was considerable discussion and survey work undertaken among the longhouses of the Ulu Ai prior to the resettlement, involving, in particular, the Sarawak Museum, the Department of Agriculture and the

Sarawak Electricity Supply Corporation (SESCO). The Museum was also given a budget to remove the remains of Iban ancestors from upriver burial sites and to place them in new graveyards in the resettlement area. These operations were accompanied by appropriate ceremonies. The Museum's budget also covered the costs of performing rituals *in situ*, should some Iban families decide not to disturb their relatives' graves. Considerable attention was also given to easing the process of physical relocation itself. One of the tasks of the social research section of the Sarawak Electricity Supply Corporation was to coordinate and facilitate the movement of settlers to their new locations. After relocation, SESCO officials and other government officers spent a good deal of time visiting the new longhouses to explain what was happening, to listen to the complaints of the Iban there and to attempt to smooth over potential disputes or to solve any open conflicts which had broken out. Of course, one could say that more could have been done in the sphere of communication and consultation with the local Iban in order to impart straightforward, consistent messages and to convey honestly what the government could and could not do in the Batang Ai. But I think 'ordering' the Iban out of their homeland and 'herding' them into the resettlement scheme is a rather severe depiction of government actions and intentions.

Substantial resources have also been spent in constructing the new resettlement longhouses, in setting up community facilities and in establishing and researching the farm scheme. Furthermore, large sums of money have been distributed in compensation for loss of lands and other property, although there has been much dispute between government officials and the Iban about appropriate levels of compensation and the delays in payment. Of course, one can always argue that compensation is never high enough because one cannot adequately compensate individuals and families for the loss of their home and the disruption to their livelihoods. Nevertheless, in comparison with resettlement schemes elsewhere, relatively large sums of money have been devoted to the Batang Ai. Hong notes that each Iban family was given between M\$ 30,000 and M\$150,000 in compensation. It is notoriously difficult to determine levels of compensation, but I understand from information available to me that they varied between M\$ 8,000 to over M\$ 200,000 per family, though average levels would appear to

have been in the range of M\$ 50,000 to M\$ 100,000. Therefore, some families received rather meager sums while others were given quite substantial amounts of money.

One of the real problems with the system of compensation in the Batang Ai was not so much the amounts involved, though obviously for some Iban these were inadequate, but the methods of distributing the money. These were not controlled and directed to ensure that the compensation would be used for long-term purposes. As Hong says, the Iban, and especially those from the first phase of resettlement who generally received higher levels of compensation than later settlers, 'went on a spending spree buying expensive consumer goods like cars, television sets and electrical gadgets. Others were cheated of their money by smooth talking con men who promised them land and shares. Many squandered thousands of dollars on cockfights . . . . Money was frittered away . . . .' (p. 175). Hong recounts the story told of a recently resettled Iban man, who when asked how his situation was after resettlement said 'It is lovely, it is fantastic. I have a lot of money in the bank. I have a good house. I have a big car, brand new. And we now have roads to go to town . . . . I do not drink coffee here. I've only brandy, whisky, Bacardi and the expensive brands of liquor' (p. 176). One of the tragedies of the Batang Ai was that government did not do much to assist the Iban in saving and investing the compensation monies, especially as, under the terms of the resettlement scheme, each settler family has to repay to the government the costs of constructing its new longhouse apartment and the development cost involved in establishing the resettlement farm scheme. In addition, each Iban family is now expected to pay regular electricity and water bills. Originally, it was hoped that the Iban would be able to grow rice on dry terraces, along with the cash crops in the resettlement area. However, rice-growing turned out not to be technically feasible, and so the settler families have now to acquire their rice supplies from other sources, presumably from the market. Obviously compensation and monthly budgeting should have been very closely supervised and supported by a comprehensive educational programme. It is also clear that a number of settlers were unaware of or were unable to comprehend what their future budgetary commitments were likely to be.

In my view, the government has been not so much harsh in its treatment of the Iban in the Batang Ai, but rather it has demonstrated its incompetence in planning and implementing a resettlement scheme. It has chosen to throw money at the project. Substantial resources and personnel have been involved in constructing new longhouses, roads, and a range of community facilities, and in setting up the farm scheme. A number of government officials have shown genuine sympathy and concern for the Iban, and it would seem that the authorities envisaged the Batang Ai resettlement project as providing modern facilities and a better way of life for the settlers. Unfortunately, the project was not well planned and it was certainly not well implemented. In retrospect, the government made the wrong choice of site for the new settlements, though one can understand some of the reasons for making that choice. The site was already populated and used by Iban living downriver of the dam, and space had to be made for the resettled communities. This has meant that the site is cramped and it does not allow for future population growth and the expansion of farming and other activities as the settlers become more firmly established. Nor is much of the terrain and the soil there suitable for more concentrated farming activities. In my view different locations should have been chosen, these should have been more dispersed and emphasis should not have been placed on an integrated, concentrated resettlement scheme. Furthermore, government agencies involved in the programme have, in general, shown themselves deficient in implementing and coordinating such a scheme. Among other things, this has meant that schedules have not been met, which in turn has aggravated and upset the settlers.

One of Hong's important conclusions about the resettlement process is that it has resulted in 'a total loss of customary tenure', which, in turn, 'spells the death of shifting cultivation' (p. 178). As far as it goes this statement is correct. But it is clear from studies undertaken by both government personnel in Sarawak and by independent observers that significant numbers of Iban in the Batang Ai area were finding it increasingly difficult to achieve a satisfactory level of rice production on the basis of shifting cultivation. Now, this fact is not necessarily a reason for eliminating swidden agriculture altogether or for automatically resettling populations from upriver areas. But it seems to me that it is a factor which constrains govern-

ment development efforts, and it has to be accepted that, in some cases, the phasing out of shifting agriculture and promoting resettlement are options which government has to examine seriously. What worries me, and it clearly worries Hong, is the kind of official thinking which invariably evaluates swidden agriculture in negative terms and labels it 'traditional', and assumes, therefore, that it must of necessity be removed and replaced with 'modern' forms of cultivation undertaken by 'modern' communities. In my view this kind of simplistic thinking has to be removed and replaced with one which looks at the merits of different sorts of development strategy, and which assigns a place to both swidden cultivation, where it is feasible, and to other forms of agriculture involving cash crops.

As for land development and settlement, Hong rightly states that the Sarawak State government wishes to open up land under native customary tenure for agricultural development based on cash crops. A favored strategy is to incorporate local farmers into various forms of larger scale estate production. Three main State agencies are involved in this process - the Sarawak Land Development Board (SLDB), the Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority (SALCRA) and the Land Custody and Development Authority (LCDA). Very recently there has also been increasing involvement of federal development authorities, such as Felda, in Sarawak. Each State body has rather different policy aims and methods of implementation, although each has also had no hard-and-fast brief, and from time to time has adopted different strategies depending on circumstances.

Broadly the SLDB has promoted smallholder-cum-estate forms of production on the rubber schemes which it inherited from the now defunct Sarawak Development Finance Corporation (SDFC). These were very much modelled on the Peninsular Malaysian schemes of Felda. But the SLDB has also operated large publicly owned plantations using wage-labor, notably in its oil-palm estates in the Miri-Bintulu development area. SALCRA, on the other hand, has tended to establish in situ schemes, incorporating existing smallholders in more centralized systems of production, processing and marketing. This strategy can be seen, for example, in its oil-palm projects in the Second Division of the State. Although, unlike the SLDB, SALCRA

has not been involved in the resettlement of native farmers, it has been called upon to set up the farm scheme on the Batang Ai resettlement site. As of 1986, the LCDA had not yet managed to set in motion and operate any large agricultural development scheme, but its brief is to bring together native land and labor and the finance and expertise of private estate companies. In other words, it has been called upon to act as an intermediary for the promotion of much more commercially oriented enterprises. The SLDB and SALCRA have also resorted to the private sector for management expertise hired on contract, but, unlike the LCDA, they have not as yet been so concerned to attract financial commitments from private estate companies.

It appears that Hong has merged some of her discussion of these Sarawak statutory development boards without sufficiently distinguishing their separate activities (Chapter 5). She says that the schemes 'involve the alienation of their [Dayak] lands, which in turn will be "opened up" by outsiders whom they are not familiar with, be they private entrepreneurs or government agencies' (p. 68). She adds that 'It comes as no surprise that natives find it difficult to identify with "land development". This development has increasingly led to the loss of their customary lands, their impoverishment, deprivation and robbed them of their identity and dignity' (p. 70). As for the SLDB in particular, Hong remarks that 'Most of the Iban settlers in the SLDB schemes have had to surrender their traditional lands for development projects' (p. 64). If Hong is referring to general land loss as a result of involvement in land development, then this needs some qualification. Certainly customary rights in land are replaced, either by developing customary land in situ, surveying it and ultimately and ideally issuing a registered title to it, or by resettling natives in new areas and granting them a tract of land for cultivation, which will also be eventually registered. The principle is to transfer or transform customary right to private, registered titles. However, land development schemes have varied. SALCRA, for example, usually develops only a part of native land with cash crops; local participants in the scheme are entitled to keep remaining areas outside the project under traditional forms of tenure and can choose which kinds of cultivation, including shifting agriculture, they wish to pursue there. Of course, the government hopes that

eventually the farmers will be weaned off other agricultural activities and devote more time to the cash-crop enterprise. But at the present time there is still persistent conflicting demands on labor time, between that which is devoted to the project and that which is used to pursue other forms of cultivation off the scheme. SALCRA's tea scheme at Mayang is experiencing precisely this process of differential labor allocation between alternative activities. Therefore, other than the land incorporated in the scheme, to which a title eventually will be given, the villagers involved continue to enjoy their customary rights to remaining areas of land. What is more, in some SALCRA projects individual families have refused to surrender land to the Authority so that it has not had continuous tracts for planting up with cash-crops.

If we take SLDB operations, then many of these have been established not on customary land, but on State land, to avoid the problems associated with negotiating customary land rights. It is only in situations in which resettlement has taken place or where occasionally estates have had to use portions of customary land that traditional tenure systems have been directly replaced by private rights in land. But in these land development projects native rights in land are not lost. One kind of right is substituted for another. Of course, ultimately some individuals may lose their lands completely through the operation of external, mainly market mechanisms and the processes of economic concentration and polarization. But the main goal of government policy is not primarily one of land alienation but one of land registration.

The circumstances in which native farmers decidedly do stand to lose their rights in customary land is in the context of land development conducted by the LCDA. Generally customary rights are supposed to be transferred via the LCDA to equity in the plantation enterprise established through the intervention of private expertise and finance. In this instance land rights are not registered but are substituted for shares in a company. However, the LCDA has been singularly unsuccessful to date in persuading local farmers to participate in these kinds of schemes. Villagers are usually well aware of the difference between LCDA objectives and those of SALCRA. What is more, private estate companies have been wary of becoming

involved in schemes in which they are required to invest sums of money on land governed by customary tenure. They realize the complications of negotiating rights in land in these areas. To date, the government through its agency the LCDA, has also been reluctant to push forward its agricultural development plans, though theoretically it has the power to extinguish native land rights.

The problems of the LCDA, and the not insignificant levels of compensation granted to the resettled Iban of the Batang Ai in return for the loss of their customary lands, suggest that these land rights are often not easily and cheaply removed by government edict. Along with Hong I am anxious about the gradual erosion of native rights, but this has often not been the direct result of government land development schemes. Furthermore, though Hong argues that customary land rights are being progressively restricted, she also notes that at present 'the poor survey capacity of the administration has meant that the actual boundaries of "customary lands" are very vague and hence the natives are to a large extent still free to clear and cultivate new land' (p. 54).

What I find rather more worrying in relation to land development is not so much its consequences for native land rights as its inability to provide long-term solutions to the problem of rural poverty in Sarawak. Of course, the intention of the large agricultural schemes is to improve the income and therefore the general well-being of poor rural households. However, as a result of inefficient management and financial accounting and the lack of expertise in establishing estate forms of production, the State land development boards have been particularly unsuccessful in promoting viable schemes capable of generating sufficient income and of sustaining, let alone increasing, that income in the longer term. The sad story of the mismanagement and inefficiencies in the SLDB, which has achieved some prominence in recent newspaper articles in Sarawak, is a case in point. But SALCRA too has generally been unable to establish well-run and efficiently organized projects for the benefit of the local people.

Finally, let us turn to Hong's general recommendations in response to the processes of change which are at work in

Sarawak. Although I am in general sympathy with the main thrust of her book, I am not so convinced that some of her solutions to Sarawak's problems are very realistic. She bemoans the passing of traditional society; development policies 'have led to . . . the erosion of the basis for their [Dayak] traditional way of life' (p. 211). She points to the eventual 'demise of swidden agriculture and longhouse society' (p. 211). She says that Sarawak has produced 'a new generation of educated urbanized natives who have not integrated themselves into traditional society' (p. 211). She argues that 'the recognition and the preservation of native adat law and rights to land is a duty and responsibility of the State' (p. 221). This for the reason that at present 'the freedom and protection for natives to practice their culture and traditions on their customary lands are not guaranteed' (p. 221). Hong maintains that "[t]he first function of any economy is to produce food to feed its populace. For most of the rural natives, their ability to be self-sufficient in food depends on their access to land and their ability to continue their method of agricultural production which is shifting cultivation. Shifting cultivation is integral to their way of life and the only form of cultivation suited to their physical environment' (p. 211). Therefore, she feels that '[i]t would be more appropriate . . . to devise policies and assistance which work to make shifting cultivation more economically and ecologically viable instead of starting with a priori assumptions that this form of agriculture must be replaced by permanent and settled agriculture' (p. 212).

I am certainly in agreement with Hong's suggestion that shifting cultivation needs to be understood, treated sympathetically and assisted. But in some cases, and in some areas of the State, swidden agriculture has clearly passed the limits of viability. Surveys undertaken by the Sarawak Department of Agriculture and the Sarawak Museum, as well as by independent researchers, have demonstrated that, even with government inputs, some communities, for example in the First and Second Division, would find it very difficult to eke out a living on the basis of shifting agriculture. Nevertheless, where conditions of environmental deterioration, population growth and competing claims on land are not so acute then clearly swidden cultivation, with appropriate adjustments, can be maintained and integrated with other forms of subsistence and cash crop agriculture. What I would advocate would be a much

more flexible response to shifting cultivation and not one, which many local politicians and government officials in Sarawak seem at present to support, which judges this form of cultivation to be inherently bad.

There is a more general problem, to my mind, in Hong's support for traditional ways of life. There is the very great difficulty of determining what precisely we mean by 'traditional'. Native societies have been subject to continuous processes of change for a considerable period of time. Sometimes, there have been phases of rapid transformation, and this has been so in the later periods of European colonialism and more recently since Malaysian independence. Even systems of shifting cultivation and land tenure have been subject to change, along with the concepts and practices which accompanied them. It is a basic fact that Dayak societies have been progressively integrated into wider systems of relationships particularly since the nineteenth century. Many individuals and communities have eagerly seized upon the opportunities which have been provided to them in the context of modernization. They are unlikely to give up some of these easily, especially the younger generation. Therefore, how are we to resurrect the 'traditional', even if we can arrive at some view of what this 'traditional' society was like?

Hong's solution seems to be to argue for some kind of Dayak reservation policy, focused on customary land tenure, subsistence forms of production, specifically shifting cultivation, longhouse domicile, and the integration of young people into this village society. I believe that if one pursues Hong's solutions to their logical conclusions and adopts policies of protection and reservation then the Dayaks will be left even further behind other ethnic groups. The burning issue in Peninsular Malaysia of the economic disparity between Chinese and Malays, in particular, is also now an issue in Sarawak. Non-Muslim natives and their political leaders are becoming increasingly vociferous about their small share of the fruits of Sarawak's economic growth in comparison with the Chinese and some groups of favored Muslims. Preservation of 'traditional' ways, 'traditional' tenure with low market values for land, and the shifting cultivation of subsistence crops would, in my view, assign Dayaks to an economic and social wilderness. They have to be able to compete and advance and that is why I look with

sadness at the badly conceived and implemented land development schemes. It is inconceivable that the native populations could be effectively shielded from economic and political forces which have already transformed their ways of life. Ideally what the Dayaks have to do is to make these forces work for them so that they are better able to control their destinies and select new opportunities on their own terms. This in turn depends on them obtaining a much stronger political voice than they have hitherto enjoyed, the development of effective, cohesive and unifying political organizations, and the securing of committed and genuinely caring political leaders. This is really the only way to ensure that native land rights, livelihoods and cultural identities are protected. Hong, too, recognizes that the Dayaks have a right to development and that the government has a duty to provide them with a variety of essential modern public services. But overall she appears to support policies which, to my mind, would tend to lead to something approximating a dual society; the Dayaks would broadly occupy a rural sector, concentrating on the cultivation of subsistence crops and using swidden methods on land governed by legal communal or collective rights. Presumably, that part of the economy directed to the cash nexus and to urban activities would largely be the preserve of others. Given the changes which have already taken place in Sarawak, I do not think a policy of Dayak reservations is realizable, nor do I think it desirable. Certainly the Dayaks are demanding that their rights be recognized but they also want to share in the benefits which a developing, modernizing society can provide. Whether we like it or not I think we have to accept that the Dayaks cannot realistically live in a socially, economically and culturally cocooned world. They have to be given the means to cope with change and to play a full and successful part in Malaysia's modernization.

BIRDS OF TANJUNG PUTING NATIONAL PARK,  
KALIMANTAN TENGAH  
A PRELIMINARY LIST

by  
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INTRODUCTION

Tanjung Puting National Park is located on the south coast of Kalimantan (Borneo) in the province of Kalimantan Tengah, between 2° 35'S and 3° 20'S and 111° 50' and 112° 15'E. Tanjung Puting was first established as a game reserve in two parts during 1936 and 1937 by the Dutch colonial government and the Sultan of Kotawaringin. Consisting of 305,000 ha, the reserve was established primarily for the protection of orang utans Pongo pygmaeus, proboscis monkeys Nasalis larvatus and rhinoceros Diceros rhinus sumatrensis with the latter, however, becoming extinct in the 1940's due to severe hunting pressure for its horns. Orang utans and proboscis monkeys still remain plentiful. In 1982 the status of Tanjung Puting was upgraded to National Park.

The Park occupies most of the swampy, alluvial peninsula between Kumai Bay and the Seruyan River. The Park is very flat with the highest point no more than 30 m above mean sea level. The soils are generally very poor, heavily leached, poorly developed and very acidic. The Park is drained by a number of small black water rivers radiating from its northern and eastern parts. Ground water forms an important part of all habitats and large areas of the Park are flooded for much of the year.

VEGETATION

a) Lowland Dipterocarp Forest

While the vegetation of Tanjung Puting is quite varied, approximately 40% of the Park is covered by dryland forest

which approximates Lowland Dipterocarp Forest, although it differs in composition from the better known Dipterocarp Forests elsewhere in Borneo; it is forest with a "tropical heath" appearance. Rarely are dipterocarps dominant at Tanjung Puting, and nowhere do they exhibit the size and diversity found in regions of greater soil fertility. The canopy is not particularly high, being about 30-40 m. high with emergents sometimes up to 50-55 m. A wide selection of species is present including Durio, Shorea, Castanopsis, Lithocarpus, Xylopia, Sindora, Koompassia, Casuarina, etc. with ironwood Eusideroxylon zwageri abundant near the swamp edges.

#### b) Peat Swamp Forests

Much of the Park, perhaps 40-50%, is characterized by various types of peat swamp forests, differentiated by degree of inundation, thickness of the peat, acidity, and frequency of species of trees. Stilt roots, pneumatophores and epiphytes are very common. The ground surface is made very uneven by roots and pneumatophores, with puddles between trees 2 m. or more deep during the wet season. Black water with a pH of 4.8 - 5.0 flows out of these forests and all over the Park. However, during the dry season the swamps totally dry up. Characteristic of these swamp forests are Gonystylus bancanus, Dyera, Dactylocladus, Tetramerista, Ganua, Alstonia and Shorea balangeran, although each swamp does not necessarily contain the full component of the above trees.

#### c) Heath Forests

Approximately 5 - 10% of the forests of Tanjung Puting are tropical heath forests which consist of pole-sized trees on leached sandy soils. These forests are frequently associated with peat swamps and the floras of the two habitat types have some affinities. Dacrydium, Eugenia, Castanopsis, Hopea, Schima, Diospyros, Jackia, Licuala and Vatica are characteristic. There is a mossy layer underfoot with some herbaceous vegetation. Big trees are relatively scarce, and the canopy is low and broken.

#### d) Secondary Forests and Old Ladangs

Approximately 10% of the Park consists of areas severely disturbed by human activity. Secondary forests with much Macaranga are found as are extensive old ladangs which sometimes stretch 2-3 km. in from the rivers. These old ladangs are covered with grass (Imperata) and ferns, and dotted with shrubs (such as Melastoma) and lone trees, frequently Schima.

#### e) Coastal Forests

Nowhere are the mangrove forests well developed. Sea coasts have extensive Nipa formations which extend inland and mark the extent of brackish waters. On the sandy seashores of the south coast a typical flora of Casuarina, Pandanus, Podocarpus, Barringtonia, and Scaevola exists.

### BIRDS OF TANJUNG PUTING

Kalimantan (Borneo) has approximately 420 resident bird species and 130 migrants (Smythies, 1981). Although Borneo has the most specialized bird fauna in the Malaysian subregion with 29 endemic species, bird endemism is primarily a montane phenomenon and only few species of Tanjung Puting birds are endemic. Nevertheless the park is of considerable importance for its varied bird fauna representative of the poorer soils of the coastal plain. Shallow, marshy lakes hosting bird populations are a feature of Borneo's southern portion. Tanjung Puting contains the only reported active colony from Borneo for any species of white egret or heron. Located near Buluh Besar River, one "Danau Burung" or bird lake serves thousands of large birds of at least six different species, many of them now rare in Borneo (Galdikas, et al, 1985). Other colonies reportedly also include Lesser Adjutant Storks, and it is probable that Storm's Stork also breeds in the Park. Probably these colonies serve entire populations of the south-central region, but no ornithologist has yet studied in depth the bird life of any Bornean lake, one of the great gaps in our knowledge. The need to safeguard the Tanjung Puting colonies as one step in the overall conservation of Kalimantan's wetland bird population is obvious. The following preliminary list is incidental to 15 years of primate research of the Orang Utan and Conservation Project (O.R.C.P.) by several



observers. Our 35 sq. km. study area consists of Lowland Dipterocarp Forest (63%), Peat Swamp Forest (27%), Tropical Heath Forest (5%) and secondary and ex-ladang associations (5%). Most of the sightings were made within the study area itself while others were made at the "bird lake" (Danau Burung) in 1979 (Galdikas, *et al.*, 1985) as well as on several brief forays and patrols into the northern and eastern sides of the Park. More recently many of the species on the list have been reconfirmed by Ken Burton and Steve and Anne Nash.

Although Tropical Heath Forests and Peat Swamp Forests generally have lower species diversity than Lowland Dipterocarp Forest, the variety of habitats at Tanjung Puting provides opportunity for a wide range of species. The preliminary checklist indicates 165 bird species sighted in the Park; more intensive investigations will, undoubtedly, push this figure well over 200. Some of the birds encountered at Tanjung Puting such as the endemic Bald-headed Wood-Shrike *Pityriasis gymnocephala* are rare or under-recorded anywhere in Borneo. Some of the pheasants and wetland species could be endared. Although Tanjung Puting is best known for its primates, the variety of birds already recorded in the following preliminary list enhances the intrinsic value of this important national Park and gives urgency to its protection.

#### PRELIMINARY LIST

<i>Anhinga melanogaster</i>	<i>Surniculus lugubris</i>
<i>Ardea purpurea</i>	<i>Chrysococcyx xanthorhynchus</i>
<i>Butorides striatus</i>	<i>Phaenicophaeus chlorophaeus</i>
<i>Bubulcus ibis</i>	<i>Phaenicophaeus curvirostris</i>
<i>Egretta alba</i>	<i>Centropus sinensis</i>
<i>Egretta garzetta</i>	<i>Centropus bengalensis</i>
<i>Nycticorax nycticorax</i>	<i>Phodilus badius</i>
<i>Leptoptilos javanicus</i>	<i>Strix leptogrammica</i>
<i>Ciconia storni</i>	<i>Otus bakkamoena</i>
<i>Machaeramphus alcinus</i>	<i>Ninox scutulata</i>
<i>Haliastur indus</i>	<i>Bubo sumatrana</i>
<i>Accipiter trivirgatus</i>	<i>Batrachostomus javensis</i>
<i>Ictinaetus malayensis</i>	<i>Batrachostomus cornutus</i>
<i>Spilornis cheela</i>	<i>Eurostopodus temmincki</i>
<i>Ichthyophaga nana</i>	<i>Rhaphidura leucopygialis</i>
<i>Argusianus argus</i>	<i>Hirundapus giganteus</i>

#### PRELIMINARY LIST (Cont'd.)

<i>Lophura erythrophthalma</i>	<i>Apus affinis</i>
<i>Lophura ignita</i>	<i>Collocalia esculenta</i>
<i>Melanoperdix nigra</i>	<i>Collocalia maxima</i>
<i>Rollulus rouloul</i>	<i>Hemiprocne longipennis</i>
<i>Gallix cinerea</i>	<i>Hemiprocne comata</i>
<i>Tringa glareola</i>	<i>Harpactes kasumba</i>
<i>Glareola maldivarum</i>	<i>Harpactes duvaucelii</i>
<i>Treron fulvicollis</i>	<i>Halcyon chloris</i>
<i>Treron capellei</i>	<i>Halcyon pileata</i>
<i>Treron curvirostra</i>	<i>Alcedo meninting</i>
<i>Treron vernans</i>	<i>Pelargopsis capensis</i>
<i>Treron olax</i>	<i>Ceyx erithacus</i>
<i>Ducula aenea</i>	<i>Nyctiornis amicta</i>
<i>Chalcophaps indica</i>	<i>Merops viridis</i>
<i>Ptilinopus jambu</i>	<i>Anorrhinus galeritus</i>
<i>Streptopelia chinensis</i>	<i>Rhyticeros undulatus</i>
<i>Psittacula longicauda</i>	<i>Rhyticeros corrugatus</i>
<i>Psittinus cyanurus</i>	<i>Buceros rhinoceros</i>
<i>Loriculus galgulus</i>	<i>Anthracoceros coronatus</i>
<i>Cacomantis merulinus</i>	<i>Anthracoceros malayanus</i>
<i>Megalaima australis</i>	<i>Sitta frontalis</i>
<i>Megalaima rafflesii</i>	<i>Pellorneum capistratum</i>
<i>Megalaima mystacophanus</i>	<i>Trichostoma malaccense</i>
<i>Calorhamphus fuliginosus</i>	<i>Malacopteron cinereum</i>
<i>Sasia abnormis</i>	<i>Macronus gularis</i>
<i>Picus miniaceus</i>	<i>Macronus ptilosus</i>
<i>Mulleripicus pulverulentus</i>	<i>Stachyris maculata</i>
<i>Dryocopus javensis</i>	<i>Stachyris erythroptera</i>
<i>Dinopium rafflesii</i>	<i>Eupetes macrocerus</i>
<i>Blythipicus rubiginosus</i>	<i>Copsychus malabaricus</i>
<i>Meiglyptes tukki</i>	<i>Copsychus saularis</i>
<i>Hemicircus concretus</i>	<i>Orthotomus ruficeps</i>
<i>Chrysocolaptes validus</i>	<i>Orthotomus sericeus</i>
<i>Picus puniceus</i>	<i>Prinia flaviventris</i>
<i>Calyptomena viridis</i>	<i>Rhinomyias umbratilis</i>
<i>Cymbirhynchus macrorhynchus</i>	<i>Ficedula dumetoria</i>
<i>Eurylaimus ochromalus</i>	<i>Cyornis turcosa</i>
<i>Pitta granatina</i>	<i>Rhipidura javanica</i>
<i>Hirundo tahitica</i>	<i>Hypothymis azurea</i>
<i>Hirundo rustica</i>	<i>Terpsiphone paradisi</i>
<i>Coracina striata</i>	<i>Lanius cristatus</i>
<i>Coracina fimbriata</i>	<i>Cracula religiosa</i>
<i>Lalage nigra</i>	<i>Pityriasis gymnocephala</i>

## PRELIMINARY LIST (Cont'd.)

Pericrocotus igneus	Anthreptes malacensis
Aegithina viridissima	Antreptes singalensis
Chloropsis sonnerati	Hypogramma hypogrammicum
Chloropsis cyanopogon	Nectarinia sperata
Pycnonotus goiavier	Nectarinia jugularis
Pycnonotus eutilotus	Aethopyga siparaja
Pycnonotus plumosus	Arachnothera longirostra
Pycnonotus brunneus	Arachnothera flavigaster
Pycnonotus erythrophthalmos	Prionochilus percussus
Dicrurus paradiseus	Prionochilus thoracicus
Oriolus xanthonotus	Prionochilus maculatus
Irena puella	Dicaeum chrysorrheum
Platylophus galericulatus	Dicaeum trigonostigma
Platysmurus leucopterus	Lonchura fuscans
Corvus enca	Lonchura malacca

## Acknowledgements

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## R I N G K A S A N

Sebanyak 165 jenis burung yang ditemukan di Taman Nasional Tanjung Puting (Kalimantan Tengah) dicantumkan dalam suatu daftar. Taman Nasional yang luasnya lk. 35 km persegi dan lk. 30 m dpl., terdiri dari hutan dipterokarp dataran rendah (63%), daerah gambut berawa (27%), hutan Kerangas (5%), serta hutan sekunder dan bekas ladang (5%). Daftar ini merupakan daftar pemula untuk jenis burung yang ditemukan di Taman Nasional Tersebut.

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TEH GANTONG - A NONCE FORMATION IN BRUNEI MALAY

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A nonce formation is a fleeting moment of originality when one speaker of language uses the components of that language to compose a new word or phrase to describe or name a new object or an altered circumstance. To hear a nonce formation being introduced is to encounter language in a moment of creative change.

Bauer (1983, p. 42) defines nonce formation as ... "a new complex word coined on the spur of the moment." Crystal (1980, p. 242) defines the nonce formation as ... "A linguistic form which a speaker consciously invents or accidentally uses on a single occasion ..." A word or phrase so coined may vanish after one use; but "Nonce formations have occasionally come to be adopted by the community - in which case they cease by definition to be 'nonce' (forms used "for the [n]once)." (Crystal, 1980, p. 242).

A nonce formation and the beginning of its acceptance into one dialect of Brunei Malay in Temburong, Brunei, occurred in August of 1987.(1) At that time teabags made their entrance as a significant new item in the material culture of daily life. Until then tea had been sold only in the form of loose tea, teh daun, "leaf tea". Lipton, Boh and other companies introduced teabags into all the stores and during July through September mounted major simultaneous advertising campaigns on television and in magazines to

to promote the sale of teabags. The television advertisements had songs specific to each brand accompanied by pictures of people happily dunking teabags up and down in steaming cups. These advertisements showed high-status office workers, or prominent movie-people "on set," thus appealing to ideas of convenience, prosperity, and status. Magazine advertisements featured still-shots of the same people, as well as teabags on expensive cup and saucer sets used for exclusive social occasions.

In all their advertisements the tea companies used the term teh unchang, "purse/pouch tea", to describe their product. The term unchang in Standard Malay means, "purse, pouch" (Lu 1972, p. 1102). But unchang is not a term of everyday occurrence in Brunei Malay, which uses beg tangan, "hand bag", for a purse, and beg damit, "small bag" or jalan simpan duit pachah, (2) "container to store change", for change purses. (3) Thus, a new object, the teabag, was introduced under a name somewhat inconvenient for spoken Brunei Malay.

In mid-August, 1987, one respected senior woman in a Temburong village produced the nonce formation, teh gantung, "hanging tea", to describe a teabag in use, and soon extended the usage to all teabags as a generic name, then extended the usage further to describe the tea brewed from teabags rather than from loose tea. The nonce formation teh gantung thus rapidly acquired the meanings of "teabag", "teabag tea", (4) and "tea which has been brewed from tea in teabags". Family members, neighbors, and other villagers soon adopted the term teh gantung with its extended meanings. The term teh gantung fits comfortably into Brunei Malay because it uses words current in Brunei Malay, and has a form whose structure parallels that used in other terms describing tea.

Teh gantung, "teabags, teabag tea", parallels such terms as teh daun, "leaf tea", (5) teh susu, "milky tea", that is, tea with milk in it, (6) teh manis, "sweet tea", teh tawar "weak tea", (7) teh mahal, "expensive tea", teh china, "Chinese tea", teh lipnan, "Lipton tea", and teh boh, "Boh tea". (8) Teh gantung thus fits well into a large class of descriptive terms for tea which have the pattern of the noun "tea" followed by the descriptive adjective "hanging";

many other terms also belong to this class, such as teh kalat, "excessively-overstrong tea", "astringent tea".

The nonce formation teh gantung uses the word gantung, "hanging", in an adjectival construction parallel to the usage in the term hukum gantung, "legal execution by hanging". (9) The adjective "hanging" most frequently is expressed by the form begantung, as in tali begantung, "the rope which is hung up, the hung up rope", or prau begantung, "hung up boat", a boat which is stranded on snags in the river, has run aground on a coral reef, or has run aground. Three factors probably contributed to the nonce formation taking the shape of teh gantung rather than the possible and intelligible form teh begantung. First, teh begantung has the semantic implication of tea being hung on a gallows. Second, teh gantung is a crisp concise form paralleling the other adjectival constructions. It would be possible, and intelligible, to say, teh besusu, "milky tea, tea with milk in it", but the shorter form teh susu is used instead. Third, at the time the nonce formation occurred, Malaysian television (10) featured a barrage of anti-drug warnings which used the tactic of fear, stressing hukum gantung, "execution by hanging", for drug traffickers. Thus, gantung as an adjectival form modifying a noun, in this case hukum, had a high frequency of occurrence at the time teabags were introduced into Brunei Malay daily life. It is quite understandable, then, that the nonce formation produced was teh gantung.

There is an interesting semantic difference between the Brunei Malay nonce formation and the term coined by the tea companies. Teh unchang, "purse/pouch tea", emphasizes the wrapper in which the tea is situated during brewing and does not have any semantic parallels among the other descriptive terms used for tea. By contrast teh gantung, "hanging tea", parallels teh daun, "leaf tea", in being a description of the most visible aspect of the tea which has been placed in a container to be brewed.

So appropriate was the nonce formation teh gantung, "teabag, teabag tea", (11) that family members, neighbors, and other villagers soon adopted the term, which thus ceased to be a nonce formation and entered the local speech as a coined form. Local Chinese shopkeepers soon came to recognize the term, though they did not actively use it in

their own speech. As of September, 1987, the term teh gantong was being used by a gradually widening circle of speakers, including some who picked up the term while in Temburong and took it back to Bandar Seri Begawan. But television and magazines are powerful shapers of linguistic habit. It remains to be seen whether teh gantong, "hanging tea", meaning "teabags", or "teabag tea", will prove to have been a fleeting linguistic phenomenon, or whether it will become entrenched in Brunei Malay.

## NOTES

1. The issue of Malay languages and dialects is a tangled one. Here Brunei Malay is taken to be a distinctive linguistic entity worthy of study in its own right, regardless of what label one might choose to associate with that linguistic entity. The older style orthography is used in the text, except that all spellings are modified to reflect the spoken form of words.
2. Duit pachah literally means "broken coins/money". This term may have originated in the past as a reference to using fractions of coins. Alternatively, it may stem from the time when Chinese "cash" coins were imported still joined together by the metal rivulets that joined them together in the original casting mould.
3. Similarly, jalan simpan tambakau, "container for storing tobacco", would be a tobacco pouch.
4. In spoken American English, "teabag tea" refers to tea brewed with a teabag, but also has the connotation of the teabag being still in the tea.
5. American English generally uses the term "loose tea" rather than "leaf tea". Both "leaf tea" and more especially "loose tea" contrast semantically with "brick tea", the form in which tea was traded from China to Asia and parts of Europe for many centuries. Indeed, loose-leaf tea was not widely adopted in China itself until the Ming Dynasty (Blofeld, 1985, p. 23).

6. Brunei Malays generally prefer to use sweetened condensed milk in tea rather than any other form of milk. Many drink it only with much sugar. Drinking tea without sugar is considered to be unpleasant, since such tea is pait, "bitter".
7. Literally it means "tasteless tea", or "ineffective tea".
8. Boh and Lipton are the two major brands of tea, though there are also many others, some of which use boxes that closely resemble the Lipton box.
9. Literally this means "hanging legal-punishment". Other forms in the same pattern are hukum mati, "death penalty", and hukum pinjara, "imprisonment", (literally, "imprisoning punishment"). Hukum means, "law, judgment, decree, punishment", and (Lu, 1972, p. 361) is a term which contrasts with adat, "custom, or customary law, the traditional legal system of the populace", as contrasted with laws handed down from royalty or other political superiors. This distinction has certain parallels with the English statute law versus common law.
10. Temburong receives two Malaysian television channels, and they are often watched.
11. Tea companies would not like the term teh gantong for "teabags", because of its uncomfortable closeness to hukum gantong, "execution by hanging".

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## PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE OT DANUM OF THE MELAWI

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EHESS Paris

Here is a brief account of a trip to two Ot Danum-populated districts of West Kalimantan between August and October 1987. In planning for future field-work, I intended to make a preliminary survey of as many Ot Danum (or, more correctly, 'Utdanum) villages as possible in the upper Melawi and its tributaries: Serawai, Lekawai, Ambalau and Gilang.(1) In spite of a particularly long dry season, making river navigation a trying enterprise, I was able to visit at least briefly all of the Dohoi villages, with the exception of Perangis in the upper Tonduk, an affluent of the Lekawai. The Dohoi are one of the four traditional Ot Danum subgroups identified by Ave' (1972 p. 193), and the only one present at the moment in West Kalimantan. They form the most important and compact group of the upper Melawi, totalling 36 villages in Nanga Ambalau District and 19 in Nanga Serawai District. In the Serawai, they are frequently interspersed among and intermarry with the Melahui and the Sehiai. These latter groups, although distinct entities, can be considered parts of the Ot Danum family; it was not infrequent to hear Melahui and Sehiai informants referring to themselves as Ot Danum, and they always stressed their sharing of the same adat. The term Ot Danum is becoming more and more indicative of a cultural and regional identity, shared by all groups of both districts except the Melayu and the Mentebah. The Mentebah are located in the uppermost reaches of the Melawi, in an isolated area still bearing the vestiges of an ancient Ot Danum occupation, notably bone repositories. (The Mentebah do not practice exhumation but place bodies definitely in raised tombs named timpah).

The choice of the Ot Danum for field enquiry stems first from ethnographic needs: apart from some early efforts by Dutch and German authors dealing mainly with the Ot Danum of central Kalimantan, very little work has been undertaken on this important group, especially its western branch, and still less published. Only two professional ethnographers have been in the field: J. Ave' in

the early 60s (see Ave' 1972) and, more recently, B. Sellato, who surveyed a large part of the Melawi area (see Sellato 1986).

One peculiarity of the Ot Danum which contributes to their interest for Bornean ethnographers is their complex of funerary rites, which includes exhumation and optional cremation of buried remains. Another issue concerns their situation in regard to the now traditional distinction between stratified and non-stratified societies, which so far has been an unsettled matter (see Ave', King, DeWit 1983, p. 16). As far as I can ascertain after a three-months stay, the Ot Danum of the Melawi area are unaware of any idea of hereditary strata, either for the present or the past. In fact they were probably like many "egalitarian" or non-stratified societies in Borneo, possessing slaves (jihpon) and having village leaders (ohkon) who were apparently entitled to symbolic prerogatives in rituals. Other titles connected with political functions at a supralocal level like Raden, Manku, Pah'ti, Nah'ta, Pangeran, or praise-names like Singa or Macan were of Malay origin.

Social status, here as in any non-stratified society, is closely related to wealth, and especially to the ability to sponsor expensive secondary death feasts (dalo'),(2) for which buffaloes - now extinct in this region - used to be sacrificed. As a matter of fact, not all villages possess ossuaries related with dalo' feasts, due to the absence of tahto (rich) people, whom I have once heard referred to as bangsawan, a term probably borrowed from the Indonesian language.(3)

Succession to the office of village headman (kepala desa) might follow the same logic already noticed for Iban and Bidayuh societies, where the support that a candidate receives depends on the number of his kinship ties within the village. For instance, Nanga Rian, a village in the middle Serawai containing 32 households, appears to be divided into two broad, spatially apparent kinship networks, plus one isolated family, the kepala desa belonging to the more numerous.

The emergence of a regional identity was to find expression in the adat conference which began in Nanga Serawai on the 20th of August and ended on the 24th with

an address by the bupati (regent) of Sintang. It involved officially both kecamatan (districts) Nanga Serawai and Nanga Ambalau, but owing to their remoteness and the low tides, and probably to other reasons of a political nature, participants from kecamatan Nanga Ambalau were very few. One of them, the headman of the village Menanta' (in the Jengonoi), argued that he was there as a mere "penonton dan pendengar" (i.e. spectator and listener, proceedings were held in Indonesian), and accepted only reluctantly to be a member of the direction of the conference (pimpinan musyawarah), which consisted of one spokesman (ketua), four assistants (wakil ketua) and five secretaries. Sometime before, all the temanggung (adat chiefs) of the Serawai district had gathered in Nanga Serawai in order to prepare a written document. Each article of this preliminary adat-code was to be publicly discussed and put to oral vote during the conference, which numbered about 150 participants, including the temanggung, village leaders and their assistants, and other notables. Apart from one Melahui woman all participants were men, representative of every group of the Serawai district: Kubin, Limbai, Melahui, Sehai, Serawai, Dohoi, and even Melayu. The meeting was held under the general supervision of the camat of Serawai and other Ot Danum officers sent by the kabupaten Sintang, and they exerted a real influence on the debates. This musyawarah adat can be considered an attempt to codify and standardize adat-law for the upper Melawi area. A similar undertaking, to which frequent reference was made, had already taken place in Nanga Pinoh (lower Melawi) in 1968, and involved the following groups: Keninjal, Linoh, Sekubang, Sandai, Pangin, Batu, Keluas, Meligai and Melayu (Lontaan 1975 p. 378). In the Pinoh area, adat fines are expressed in real promas, 1 real being (at that time) equivalent to 1 gram of gold, while in the upper Melawi only the Melayu make use of it. The system adopted by the conference is the Ot Danum one, expressing adat fines in ulun ("man") or jihpon ("slave"). The equivalence of 1 ulun/jihpon, which traditionally corresponds to 100 gantang padi, was fixed after much discussion at 50,000 Rupiah and 2 1/2 grams of gold. Each breach of the adat-law was carefully detailed and a fine attached to it. I have in my possession the preliminary document of the conference, which will be published in book form following debate and correction by conference participants, and a recording of

about 15 hours of the proceedings, which I hope to make use of soon.

I plan to do extensive field-work in Dohoi country at the end of this year and study funerary rituals in connection with other life-crisis rituals. Insofar as the comparison with Ngaju is valid, this should be the most fertile field for examining social values and order. Avé (1972, p. 194) mentions the existence of the dalo' feast and its resemblance with the tiwah of the Ngaju, but, according to him, bones are not removed any more. Although I couldn't observe it myself, there is evidence that at least one genuine dalo' was performed in the upper Melawi region in 1987, viz. in Nanga Riyoi (middle Lekawai). But indeed secondary treatment is becoming a rare event; most of the time, especially for Christian converts, tombs are simply cemented or covered with a roof bearing ornaments typical of ossuaries, like the hornbill (tingang) and the watersnake (nahka). During my stay I attended one burial, followed by a nosang ceremony, and two nyolat. Nyolat is a feast which takes place 3, 7 or 14 days after the death and whose main function is to put an end to mourning restrictions (ngopali'). For those not intending to celebrate a dalo', it acts also as a terminal feast.

The upper Gilang and Lekawai may constitute suitable field-work areas as Christian proselytism has not yet been very active there, while the Jengonoi (a right tributary of the Ambalau) surely possesses the most abundant funerary edifices. These edifices fall into four categories, viz. toras (or teras), sepunduk (temadu' for Melahui), sekalai (or sengkalan), sandung or kediling. Toras are bare poles of variable height, which are raised for each pig sacrifice at every funerary ritual. Apparently they are distinguished as male or female. It is said that the toras is used by the dead soul as a ladder or vaulting pole to reach an isolated place in heaven. All other edifices are associated with dalo' only. Sepunduk are sacrificial poles to which cows to be slaughtered are tied. They are anthropomorphic in shape, but it is not clear whether they represent the dead for whom the feast is celebrated, unless one cow is sacrificed for each deceased whose remains are exhumed in the dalo'. It could be that patung effigies of the deceased have merged into the sepunduk, whose human figuration may be that of the slave originally killed instead of a cow. Indeed'

the so-called sepunduk are of two types: on one hand, complete anthropomorphic statues representing either a man, a woman or a child and, on the other hand, high poles resembling big toras, only the top of which represents a human head. Sekalan used to be raised only if a buffalo was sacrificed. According to Scharer (1963, p. 23, see also fig. 1, p. 24), speaking of the very similar sanggaran of the Ngaju, this type of pole represents the tree of life of the creation myth, which symbolizes the unity of the Underworld (figured by a jar transpierced by the pole and a watersnake whose head almost invariably turns upstream) and the Upperworld (figured by a hornbill and a fanshaped structure formed of several krisses, spears, and swords, in alternate order and pointing to the sky). Similar poles, named sangkai pulang, appear fastened under the roof of many houses, in relation with the nyangkai feast, and are also associated with certain rituals of the agricultural cycle. Sandung, or kediling, are ossuaries in the form of little houses raised on either one, two or four posts (kediling proper, or sandung balai). Most of the time they stand close to the houses, facing the river and parallel to it, surrounded by toras, sepunduk and sekalan. Single-post sandung occur very rarely and are probably individual sepulchres, while the two other types are collective, either at the village level or in relation with kinship groupings similar to the "tambak groups" of the Paju Epat Ma'anyan (Hudson 1966, p. 353). Once exhumed, the bones, or fragments of each sort of bone, are cleaned, rubbed with fragrant oil, wrapped in a cloth, and brought into the sandung, or burned, and the ashes brought into the sandung. This transfer (nyandung) happens on the last day of the dalo', which is performed from several months to several years after primary burial. If, however, the family is wealthy enough to face at once the considerable expenses it requires, nyandung may immediately follow the death. In this case, the corpse is cremated without primary burial. Finally, let's mention an alternative mode of secondary sepulchre, less expensive and less prestigious, named nohpeng: bones or ashes are placed in little cavities made in the toras or the sekalan.

## NOTES

1. See maps and statistics in Sellato (1986).
2. All l appearing in Ot Danum terms are transcriptions of what is identified as a voiced palatal lateral flap and noted  $\lambda$  by Hudson (1967, p. 68), and usually transcribed by r. l is used here because the phoneme /l/ seems very rare if not absent in West Kalimantan Dohoi.
3. I mention this only because, in the traditional stratification system of the Ma'anyan, bangsawan designates the noble class (Hudson 1966, p. 352).

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## BRIEF COMMUNICATION

Report to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for  
Anthropological Research

John L. Landgraf  
January, 1988

This report details the successful implementation of the plan presented in an application to the Wenner-Gren Foundation in November, 1986. The task planned was the deposit in Sabah, Malaysia (formerly British North Borneo) of materials collected there during an anthropological research period in 1954-55 and later brief residence in 1962 as Peace Corps Director. The materials, labelled and carefully preserved, included journals, field notes, original and microfilmed documents, kodachrome slides, black and white negatives/prints, tape recordings and a large collection of artifacts, all representative of the interior Murut tribe.

The plan proposed that the writer would pack and ship the materials to the new Sabah State Museum and Archive in Kota Kinabalu, would travel there for a period of residence in the Museum, assisting its staff in the transfer of data and artifacts, and would visit former research areas in the State. Support was to be provided by the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Sabah Museum as part of the Sabah Ministry of Culture, Youth, and Sports, and by personal funds. The writer's wife, Dr. Mary Elmendorf, offered to assist as a volunteer.

With the Wenner-Gren happily in hand the writer and his wife arrived in Kota Kinabalu on 4 July 1987 and departed on 2 August. As promised the Museum provided a comfortable apartment and all necessary land transportation, reimbursement for shipping expenses for the materials and ultimately the sum of US\$551.51 as per diem payment for the thirty-day period of residence in Sabah. The Wenner-Gren funds were used for travel from Washington to Kota Kinabalu and return, one air trip within Sabah to Sandakan on the East Coast, and for part of the living expenses not

covered by the Museum payment. A financial summary is provided in Annex A.

In the Museum an office and staff assistance were provided to enable the writer to assemble a draft summary key to the journals, field notes and photographs based on the calendrical field work days in 1954-55. Twice during the period of residency staff people accompanied the anthropologists on motor trips to the Murut country in the interior.

While in Sabah Dr. Elmendorf was asked by the WHO Regional Office in Delhi to work there and in Nepal for a short period, and in early August the writer accompanied her there from Singapore and returned as her volunteer assistant, without expense to the Wenner-Gren Grant, but delaying the return to the U.S. until near the end of August.

The success of the project can be asserted firstly on its timely completion as planned; the complete collection is now satisfactorily deposited in the Museum and Archive in Kota Kinabalu, numbered, labelled, photographed and stored. At this writing there is as yet no word on plans for displays or other uses but it would appear that these can be expected for the Museum administration, in spite of some staff weaknesses, appears to be quite responsive to local and visiting professional research needs and to other local public interests, including those of members of the Murut tribe.

In addition to much contact with the Museum staff the occasion of the visit by two American anthropologists was used by a number of other local research and development agencies to stimulate staff interest in the ideas provided by a series of formal and informal meetings in Kota Kinabalu and with the headquarters staff of the State Forest Department in Sandakan. In Kota Kinabalu the writer gave a formal presentation to the Sabah Society and met with the State Minister sponsoring his work. He and Dr. Elmendorf also met there with the staffs of the Sabah Institute for Development Studies (whose Director, Dr. Richard Gunting, a Murut tribesman, has his degree in Agricultural Economics from the University of Tennessee), the Murut language staff of the Institut Linguistik SIL Malaysia and a number of



senior officials in the Sabah Foundation (the primary State development organization). From these experiences the conclusion is inescapable that in contrast to some periods earlier many leaders in Sabah are now interested in the contributions that basic anthropological research can provide in their State and are particularly interested in how such research can be applied to some of their pressing social problems. The Sabah Museum appears to welcome opportunities to cooperate with visiting anthropologists. Annex B provides more information on meetings with staffs of local organizations and with the press.

Although they did not provide opportunities for intensive study the visits to the 1954-55 research areas in the interior of Sabah provided heart-warming reunions with Murut individuals and families much described in the earlier research. They and their now-grown children and grandchildren appeared impressed by the fact that the earlier photographs and other data were now near at hand, there in Sabah. One of these visits, to Malaing in the deep interior, was intensively recorded in photographs and videotape by Museum staff members, who had their first introduction to the recording of ethnographic genealogies. Photographs from this excursion are provided in Annex C.

While the project as a whole was designed to provide a measure of closure to a major aspect of the writer's career it is possible that such is not to be the case. During the period of residency in the Museum it became quite clear that staff members in the ethnographic section had no training in the subject, that such training was not available in Sabah and not easily obtainable elsewhere in Malaysia. After one short period of meeting staff on the topic, on the day before departure the Director suggested that if the writer could return to provide a course on ethnography and general anthropology for his staff he would offer the same support that had just been provided. The offer is tempting and the writer and his wife would volunteer again if it were to be adequately planned and supported.

A manuscript covering the formal presentation to the Sabah Society on 21 July entitled "60 Years of Change in Northwest Borneo" is now in draft form and will be submitted for publication in the Sabah Journal during this year. In April of 1988 the writer and Mary Elmendorf will

also present a paper entitled "An Anthropologist in a Borneo Museum" at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Tampa. Copies of these papers will be sent to the Foundation.

## B O R N E O N E W S

### Regional News

The I.U.C.N. has prepared a candidate list of sites for the proposed Plant Sites Red Data Book. There are still a few gaps left including perhaps one or two sites from Java. Space is here unfortunately too short to describe the projects fully, to give the criteria whereby the sites have been selected, and to enumerate the problem where the I.U.C.N. would like to receive help. In order to invite comments from as wide a constituency as possible the following too brief summary for the Malesian area and Thailand is here given. For more information, also on other SE. Asian area, please write to Mr. S. DAVIS, Senior Research Officer (Asian and Pacific), The Herbarium, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew TW9 3AE, United Kingdom.

### Borneo

Bako National Park (Sarawak): Unique assemblage of species, many endemics on sandstone derived soils: beach, peat swamp, lowland and hill dipterocarp, and health (kerangas) forests).

G. Mulu National Park (Sarawak): Except for volcanic soils examples of all major dry-land vegetation types of the country, extensive limestone and heath forest. Over 2500, incl. over 100 palms, have been identified. The Pan-Sarawak Highway is being constructed through the NW. of the Park inevitably causing increasing human influence.

Kinabalu Park (Sabah): This highest mountain of Malesia outside New Guinea is famous for its extra-ordinary wealth: ca. 4,500 vascular species are known, but the area is under heavy attack by shifting cultivation, logging, mining, and misguided tourist developments.

Kutai (Indonesia): A large portion of the Eastern part was destroyed by the fires of 1982. The remainder represents the best example of the E. Borneo mixed dipterocarp forest type. There is a rich assemblage of tree species, many economic or wild relatives of cultivated taxa. Seriously threatened by logging and shifting cultivation.

Lambir Hills National Park (Sarawak): 6952 ha, up to 465 m alt., various types of soils causing a mosaic of dipterocarp and kerangas forests with a rich assemblage of species.

Northeast Borneo ultramaphic flora (Eastern Sabah): A site around Mt. Milam may be a candidate. About 1000 m high with lowland, hill, and submontane forest, rich in endemics due to the soil.

Flora Malesiana - An International Symposium: Flora Malesiana is one of the major tropical flora projects of the world. It was instigated by the late Professor Van Steenis, who was not only instrumental in shaping the Flora Malesiana organization in 1948, but who also directed international cooperation, edited the Flora volumes, and actively contributed general chapters and family revisions until his death in 1986.

From August 20 through 25, 1989, an international symposium will be organized by the Rijksherbarium in Leiden reporting on progress in the Flora Malesiana project, and considering fundamental problems all workers on tropical flora projects are faced with in their day to day work. Special attention will be devoted to those diverse aspects which had Professor Van Steenis' special interest: taxonomic delimitation, biogeography of Malesia, mountain floras, dispersal, nature conservation, and contributions from morphology, anatomy and photochemistry to classification. Progress reports on individual families, some of them approached in a multidisciplinary way will form an essential

part of the scientific program. Following the symposium a one- or two-day Flora Malesiana workshop will be held in the Rijksherbarium for current or prospective contributors to the Flora.

Although the symposium is specifically centered on Flora Malesiana, all botanists with an interest in tropical floras are invited to attend. Confrontation with different approaches in the other major flora projects will be stimulating and valuable. At this stage your suggestions and preliminary plans whether or not to attend and contribute to the program are invited. Please address inquiries to: P. Baas, Rijksherbarium, P.O. Box 9514, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands.

#### Borneo News

Mangifera Project. This project to collect as many races and species of mangos is financed by I.B.P.G.R., Rome, and the W.W.F. of Switzerland and the Malay Peninsula. Mr. J.-M. BOMPARD (MPU) is exploring the field in East, and later West Kalimantan, and if sufficient funds can be obtained, also in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Dr. A.G.J.H. KOSTERMANS (BO), the leader of the project, next to moral support will provide the necessary knowhow of literature and herbarium research. For this he has visited various institutes in Europe and Asia during the past few years. Other collaborators in Sabah are Mr. A. LAMB (Tenom Agriculture Station), Mr. W. WONG (Ulu Dusun Horticultural Station), and Ms. L. ABAN-PIERCE (Agriculture University, Kuching). In this state there are at least 25 species, 10 more than so far known, and several undescribed. It is obvious that due to the extensive logging these species even though they have such delicious fruits are rapidly becoming extinct. A good collection is being built up at the Ulu Dusun Station.

Much remains to be done, e.g. a study of the Moluccan species already described by Rumphius in 1741, yet up to this day several have never been seen again and their identity is a mystery.

Orchids of Borneo Project. The orchid flora of Borneo is among the richest in the world - and one of the least known. It is estimated that about 2,000 species occur on this large island. Some of them are well known because of their beauty and, as a consequence, their potential value for breeding, but many are only very superficially known, and many are species which are completely new for science.

The Project aims to publish over a period of several decennia about 20 volumes together describing all the wild orchids of the island. Each will be illustrated with a full page drawing depicting a portion of the plant as well as the relevant details of the flower. Moreover, colour photographs when available will also be included to complete the information.

Thus a valuable document will be created which will be on the short run extremely useful to pinpoint areas which are of crucial importance for orchid conservation in Borneo. On the long run its value may well be historical, describing a botanical wealth which is now on the verge of disappearing forever due to forest destruction for all kinds of undoubtedly profitable purposes.

To prevent some of this loss an orchid garden has been established at the Agricultural Research Station, Tenom, Sabah. Here a large collection of wild orchids is grown, mainly from the lowlands which are the most threatened. The collection, meticulously taken care of by one of the Senior Research Officers, Mr. A. LAMB, produces flowering plants continuously, a selection of which is drawn by a number of able draughtsmen.

Identification of the voucher specimens of the drawings cannot be done in Sabah. Specialized libraries and large collections of herbarium specimens for comparison, only found in major botanical institutes, are needed for that part of the job. The specialists in K and L provide the necessary scientific backup.

The first volume is in the process of being completed now and is expected in 1988. It has become evident already that some very large genera will cause many problems which can only be solved by specialists on them.

One of these is the pantropical Bulbophyllum with an estimated 2,000 species, of which 10% is found in Borneo. Mr. J. J. VERMEULEN (L) who recently revised the African species was invited with grants of the Dutch Government and the 'Stiftung zum Schutze und zu Erhaltung wildwachsender Orchideen' (Switzerland) spent a year in the area (see Expeditions). He collected no less than 165 species, of which for 135 a complete plate could be drawn. Some 80 non-flowering specimens were sent to the Leiden Botanical Garden in the hope that they would flower there and then could be drawn.

### Brunei News

#### Notification of Research Project

#### Comparative Analysis of Face-to-Face Interaction and Politeness Behaviour Between Dusun, Kedayan, Brunei-Malay and English Speakers

This project examines the strategic level of language use operating within some examples of Dusun, Kedayan and Brunei-Malay spoken language. Each participant in the study will have his/her spoken language analyzed in relation to strategies used in both his/her mother tongue, be it Dusun, Kedayan or Brunei-Malay, and also in English.

The strategic level of language use lies within the domain of what can be referred to as social competence. This is the ability to handle discourse and people and is a matter of two things: dealing with the temporal, sequential dimension of the unfolding discourse and coping with the social, interpersonal aspects of an interaction.

This project will involve an investigation of three strategic systems: Conversational Management, Face-work and Interpersonal Rhetoric.

Conversational Management refers to such strategies as 'taking the floor' or initiating in discourse and managing to 'hold the floor'; linking to previous points; responding to the 'back channel'; and terminating discourse. This aspect includes repair work in case of 'trouble spots' when, for

example, people may become offended during an interaction, as well as the negotiation of meaning which is a typical feature of conversation as a contingent, ongoing accomplishment.

Face-work is basically about mitigating the strength of an imposition in symmetric or asymmetric situations. (An asymmetric situation is one in which there is a strongly asymmetrical power relationship between the participants). Like all strategies, those of face-work are operations in rules and socio-cultural conventions such as the various norms governing politeness within a linguistic community. In most human communication there is some potential threat to the speaker's face. Thus in an attempt to acknowledge the face-wants of themselves and their addressees, the speakers have to make use of a number of strategies to minimize this threat.

Interpersonal Rhetoric refers to those strategies and methods which are designed to increase the rhetorical effectiveness of communication. One of these is rhetorical underlining which is used to indicate a main point and make it more emphatic. In addition there are various devices which expand a point and develop an argument or counter-argument.

These three systems exploit the formal (verbal, paralinguistic, non-verbal) and illocutionary resources of a language, turning these to strategic use.

In mother-tongue speech, strategic devices such as these are often subtly orchestrated to achieve a particular effect. The production and interpretation of such effects presupposes a native-like (socially and culturally-determined) social competence.

The project will attempt to describe how such orchestration operates in the mother-tongue and to what extent it is effectively transferred to the second or foreign language which in this case is that of English. In particular, it will focus on the conversational interlanguage of advanced Dusun, Kedayan and Brunei-Malay speakers of English.

The project is led by DAVID MARSH (Department of Social Policy and Public Administration, University of Brunei, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei) and conducted by a team of researchers from the Bureau of Language and Literature in the country. ARJA PIIRAINEN MARSH (Department of English, University of Oulu, SF-90100, Oulu, Finland) is also involved as co-researcher on the development of the theoretical framework used and the analysis of certain aspects of the data collected.

The fieldwork and preliminary analysis will be done over the period: October 1987 - June 1988. The data collected will be rich and varied enough for others to join the project on an informal basis in 1988. Please contact one of the above if you would like to have more information on the project.

### Kalimantan News

A five year plan of research activities at the Tropical Rain Forest Research Centre (PUSREHUT), Samarinda, East Kalimantan, Indonesia.

The first joint committee meeting of the Tropical Rain Forest Research Project between the directorate general of Higher Education of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia and the Japan International Cooperation Agency was held in Jakarta in October, 1985. In this meeting 19 research topics to be carried out at the Research Centre between 1985 and 1989 have been agreed upon.

Mr. J. M. BOMPARD (MPU) in the framework of the Mangifera-project made a field trip to East Kalimantan in 1985. For a whole year he hopes to explore the area to get as many mangos as possible.

Dr. W. F. B. JULICH (L) between 1 July and 3 September 1986 collected mycorrhiza fungi of dipterocarps in East Kalimantan. About 60 species of Basidiomycetes were found and a further elaboration of the collections is on its way. Some species form a symbiosis with different species of dipterocarps, even with trees of different genera.

Dr. M. LEIGHTON (Dept. of Anthropology, Harvard) at the Gunung Palung Nature Reserve, c. 100 km South of Pontianak, is carrying out a long-term study on various aspects of the dispersal of seeds and fruits by animals. Dr. M. M. J. VAN BALGOOY (L) and Ms. A. K. VAN SETTEN in June 1986 helped to build up his herbarium by adding some 400 numbers to the 400 previously collected by the Harvard team. Several new records for West Kalimantan have already turned up among the specimens collected so far.

Project Barito Ulu. The University of Cambridge, the Ministry of Forestry and the former LBN of Indonesia, and the Smithsonian Institution propose a research project in the centre of Borneo on the watershed of the Barito and Kapuas. Administrative and field reconnaissances have been completed, and it is hoped that field research will start in 1988, continue until 1990, and, if funds are available, even until 1991. European, American, and Indonesian scientists will work in association with the Royal Society's South-East Asian Rain Forest Research program (working mainly in the Danum Valley, Sabah). The subject of the project will be the study of plant-animal relationships, e.g. of fruit-eating animals, such as primates, bats, birds, and some invertebrates, in pollination and seed dispersal, the key processes of the natural regeneration of primary forests. In this way it is hoped that a contribution can be made towards the conservation of forested areas and the regeneration of adjacent logged areas. Principal botanical investigator is Ms. Dr. C. M. PANNELL (FHO). Further information can be obtained from Dr. D. J. CHIVERS, Dept. of Anatomy, Cambridge University, Cambridge CB2 1QS, U.K. (or while the expedition is in progress: POB 1152, Jakarta 11001, Indonesia, or Mr. R. RIDGEWAY, 75 Orbain Road, London SW6, U.K.)

PASCAL COUDERC, of the University of Paris, who intends to work among the Ot Danum of the upper Melawi, is currently (summer '87) carrying out a preliminary survey in order to select a research location.

### Sabah News

A new 3 year project on rain forest regeneration processes started in October 1986 under a NERC research grant awarded to Dr. M.D. SWAINE (ABD) and Dr. T. C. WHITMORE (Oxford). Two students, Msrs. N. BROWN (Oxford) and D. KENNEDY (ABD), have started work. They will spend 1987 and 1988 at the Danum Valley Research Forest of Yayasan Sabah under joint supervision of Mr. T. H. TANG, silviculturist of Yayasan Sabah. The aim of the project is to create artificial canopy gaps of different size and study of the response of the seedlings of different species to them. This is similar to the experiment of Kramer on G. Pangerango / G. Gedeh in W. Java in 1926, and has apparently never been repeated.

Mr. D. CHIEW of Yayasan Sabah will have a third project, also jointly supervised, working on the behavior of seedlings in logged forests.

In February 1986 Ms. Dr. S. DRANSFIELD, Dr. J. DRANSFIELD (K), K. M. WONG (KEP) and others collected in the Danum Valley Research Area. The latter two later went to the Kinabalu National Park until March.

Through the support of the German Science Foundation the project BRYOTROP (Geography, Ecology, Sociology, and Systematics of tropical rain forest mosses), a transect from Sandakan to the summit of Mt. Kinabalu was made. Members of the party were Drs. J.-P. FRAHM (DUIS), W. FREY, H. KUERSCHNER (BSB), M. A. H. MOHAMED (KLU), and Mr. M. MENZEL (B). Between 20 August and 10 September 1986 23 sites situated between 550 m alt. (Poring Hot Springs) and 4100 m (Low's peak) were studied. A smaller transect with 4 sites between 1250 m to 1965 m was made on G. Alab in the Crocker Range (15, 16 September). Bryophytes of the lowlands have been collected in the Sepilok Nature reserve near Sandakan (12 September) and on Pulau Meningau, Tungku Abdul Rahman Park near Kota Kinabalu (21 September).

Ms. R. M. SMITH (E) collected some 50 numbers of Zingiberaceae at Tenom and the Mt. Kinabalu Park in June 1986.

Dr. J. J. VERMEULEN (L) with grants of the Dutch Government and the 'Stiftung zum Schutze und zu Erhaltung wildwachsender Orchideen' (Switzerland) spent a year in the area from June 1986 on. He collaborated in the Orchids of Borneo Project. His contribution will deal with Bulbophyllum. Many excursions were made to the Crocker Range, Mt. Kinabalu, Pulau Banggi, Pun Batu, Batu Punggol, East Sabah, and the Tawai plateau. A trip through Sarawak was only partly successful. Some collecting could be done around Kuching, the Bako National Park, and near Bau and Serian, but no permits could be obtained for the Mulu National Park and G. Murut. In all numerous herbarium specimens were collected and from Sabah many living specimens were introduced into the Tenom Orchid Centre, for which Vermeulen organized the administration of the living and dead collections.

Dr. E. F. DE VOGEL (L) visited Vermeulen in September and October 1986 and, among other things, collected a new species of Apostasia. Together with Mr. P. C. VAN WELZEN (L), who stayed there from 15 September to 13 December, they collected ca. 700 numbers, mainly orchids, in Mt. Kinabalu, near Keningau in the Crocker Range, G. Alab, Nabawan, the Kalang waterfall near Tenom, and Long Pa Sia.

Van Welzen's visit was especially made to study the ecology of Guioa. He collected 260 numbers, deposited in L, SAN, and the herbarium of the Kinabalu National Park.

The Role of Pioneers in the Regeneration of a Malaysian Rain Forest (Reprinted from Tropical Biology Newsletter, Institute of South-East Asian Biology, Number 53, December 1987). Several artificial gaps were created within an area of about 8 ha along a low ridge in the Danum Valley Conservation Area, Sabah. The gaps range in size from c. 5 x 5 m to c. 50 x 20 m, and have been cleared of all vegetation more than about 2 m tall.

At each of these experimental gaps, soil samples (50 x 50 x 50 cm) were taken around the time of gap creation, and were spread out in a shade house where conditions of light and water availability conducive to full seed germina-

tion were maintained. By monitoring subsequent germination, estimates could be made of initial soil seed bank density and species composition in each gap. Results obtained from these samples indicate considerable spatial variation in total soil seed bank density, with values ranging from slightly less than 1000 m<sup>-2</sup> to over 2000 seeds m<sup>-2</sup>. Species composition of the soil seed bank was also found to vary markedly, although certain species appear to be relatively ubiquitous. Among these, several members of the families Rubiaceae (e.g. Uncaria sp.) and Melastomataceae are generally present at high densities. It remains to be seen what proportion of these are woody climbers and straggling shrubs, life forms which usually predominate in the vegetation of natural gaps in the forest in this region.

While the total soil seed bank density is high, the number of seeds of pioneer trees seems to be very low at all study sites. The number of such species is also low, with only two or three species of Macaranga and one of Endospermum. However, there are several other trees frequently found in secondary forest, such as Cratogeomum sp., Terminalia sp., Euodia sp. and Glochidion sp., which are present in the soil seed bank - but generally at low densities.

Complementary to these soil seed bank studies, field germination experiments are being carried out in experimental plots established in some of the artificial gaps. These are partly intended to reveal the effect of gap size on pioneer regeneration from seed, but also incorporate different treatments: control (undisturbed litter and soil); leaf litter removed; leaf litter removed and surface soil disturbed. In these plots, recruitment, mortality and species composition of the new seedling populations are being monitored both in the gaps and in nearby closed forest controls. Early results indicate no clear trends associated with gap size, the number of seeds germinating and their subsequent fate presumably being determined by other factors. Exposure of the mineral soil does, however, appear to have a significant influence on germination. In both of the two de-littered treatments, germination over the first 7-8 months, although very variable, has clearly been much greater than in the control plots, ranging from 30-75 m<sup>-2</sup> compared to 5-15 m<sup>-2</sup>. The rate of mortality is also highly variable among plots (15-65%) and appears to be quite

independent of treatment. Variations in species composition of the seedling populations cannot be attributed either to gap size or to treatment, but show similarities with that of the seedlings raised from the collected soil samples.

Other aspects of regeneration from seed are being investigated in this project. The importance of seed arriving after gap creation (seed rain) is being studied using seed traps both in the experimental gaps and in adjacent closed canopy forest. Competition with the new seedlings from advance regeneration (existing seedlings/saplings and resprouts from cut stems) is also being considered as a potentially significant influence on seedling growth and development.

(Donald Kennedy & M. D. Swaine, Dept. of Plant Science, University of Aberdeen)

Ecology and Taxonomy of *Nepenthes* in Borneo (Reprinted from Tropical Biology Newsletter, Institute of South-East Asian Biology, Number 53, December 1987). A research project is underway on pitcher plants (*Nepenthes*) in Sabah and Sarawak. The genus has about 70 species, with greatest variety occurring in Borneo. Many species are known from only a few herbarium specimens and attempts are being made to increase the material so far available for study and to extend our knowledge of the ecology of individual species. Species diagnoses have been based primarily on pitcher morphology and this opportunity is being taken to evaluate some additional potentially useful taxonomic characters. Work on pollination biology, a comparison of pollinators and pitcher prey, the effect of pitchers on growth, sex ratios, and habitat preferences of some selected species in Sabah is being undertaken.

(Jumaat Adam and C. C. Wilcock, Dept. of Plant Science, University of Aberdeen)

#### Sarawak News

Deforestation in Sarawak. Malaysia is the largest exporter of tropical hardwood in the world. Sarawak claims at this moment almost 40% of the total Malaysian timber

export. According to estimates made by E. HONG (Natives of Sarawak, Survival in Borneo's Vanishing Forests, (1987), Penang) 28,217 km<sup>2</sup> were felled in the 1963-1985 period. This represents 30% of the rainforest in Sarawak. If the felling continues at its present rate, then it can be expected that in the ten years from 1985 yet another 28% of the rainforest will disappear. By the time that all the concessions have been logged hardly any rainforest will remain in Sarawak.

The situation is particularly bad in the Fourth Division where the logging proceeds up to the border of the famous Mulu National Park.

The intensive logging has disastrous results for the local environment. It causes periods of extreme drought in the dry season and then flooding during the wet one. Many species of plants and animals will disappear before they even have been discovered. Tribal communities whose livelihood depends completely or in part on the rain forest products are suffering heavily. This applies particularly to the Penan, the nomadic and semi-nomadic hunter/gatherers, who since time immemorial have lived in and from the rainforest without disturbing its ecological balance.

During recent months the Penan and the Dayak have held meetings at many places in the Baram River basin. They protested against the destruction of their forests and they demanded a reservation of their own. On the increase are incidents in which the native population tries to hinder the penetration of new as yet untouched areas by the logging companies.

Tourists and scientists are encouraged to visit the Wildlife Parks like the one around G. Mulu. However, elsewhere, outside these selected areas they are hardly welcome. In fact, some local newspapers would have one believe that the resistance against the deforestation has been instigated by foreigners. Sahabat Alam Malaysia (Friends of the Earth) Marudi, which for many inhabitants of the interior forms an important link with the outside world, calls for an immediate suspension of the deforestation in the Penan region. According to last reports, this organization is being subjected to heavy pressure by the Government to stop its activities on this subject - J. de Beer.

### National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries in Sarwak

A map showing the currently existing and proposed National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries in Sarwak is included in JULIAN CALDECOTT's Hunting and Wildlife Management in Sarwak, published by IUCN in April, 1988. There have been various changes in the last few months. For example, the Usun Apau National Park (number 17 on map) has been approved by Government but the formal gazettement procedure is not complete.

Persons interested in obtaining information about parks and sanctuaries should note that the National Parks and Wildlife Office has moved to the Sarwak Timber Industry Development Corporation Complex at Jalan Stadium, Petra Jaya, 93660, Kuching. The telephone number is 082-442180.

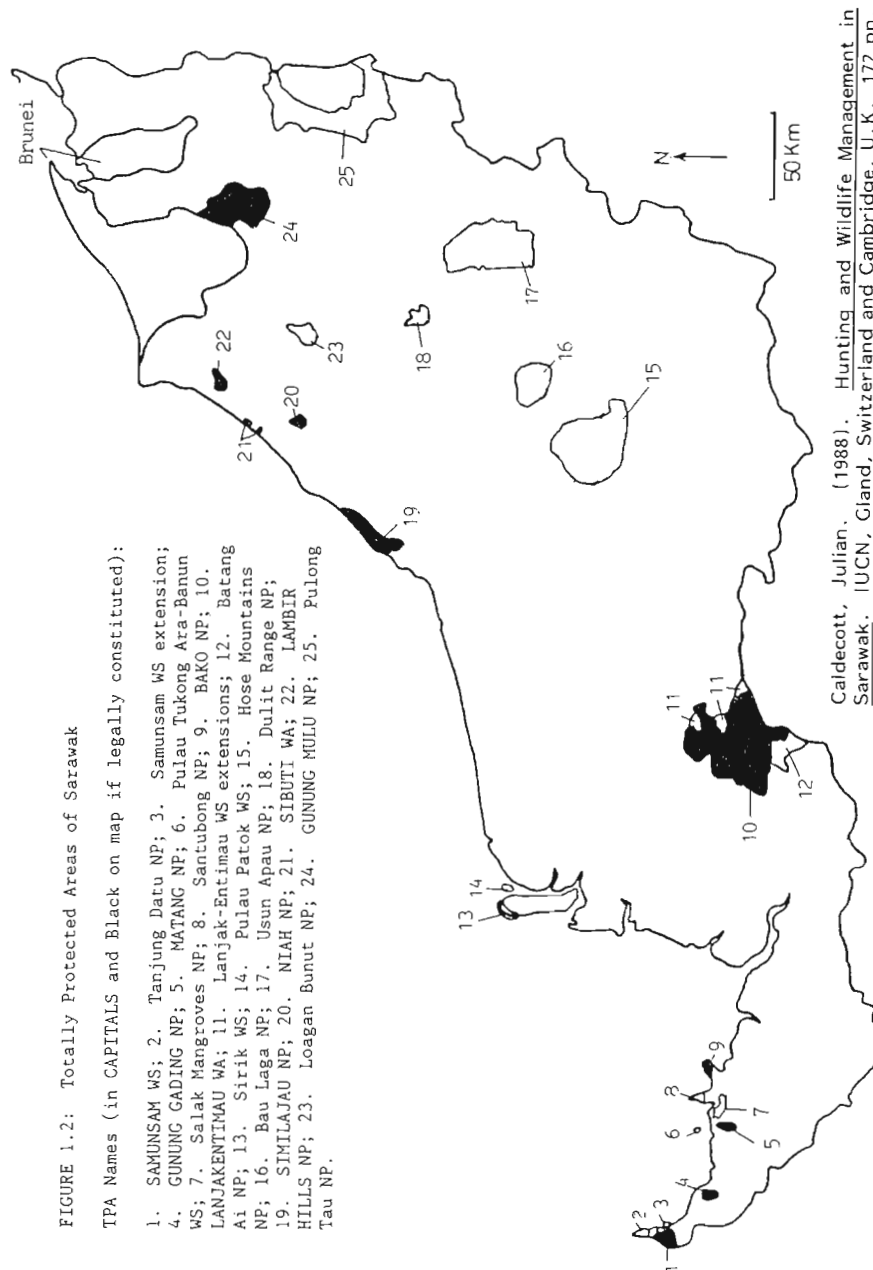
However, the Information and Booking Office for Park facilities at Bako, Niah, Mulu and other Parks is still at Jalan Gartak, 93000, Kuching, and the telephone number is 082-248088.

### "ASEASUK News"

The Newsletter of the Association of South-East Asian Studies in the United Kingdom has been relaunched in a new series, No. 1 being published in Spring 1987. It is edited by Terry King and Jan Christie of the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, Hull HU6 7RX.

### IPT Asian Wetland Bureau

This bureau "for conservation, research and management", has been set up jointly by the Institute of Advanced Studies (IPT) of the University of Malaya and INTERWADER. INTERWADER, the East Asia/Pacific Shorebird Study Programme, becomes a sub-programme of the Bureau. For further details write to the Bureau, c/o Institute of Advanced Studies, University of Malaya, 59100 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.





BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS,  
AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRANCE, G. T. (Ed.) Tropical Rain Forests and the World Atmosphere. 1986. Westview Press Inc., 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, Colorado, xxi, 105 pp., ill. ISBN 0-8133-7176-7. Price unknown. Based on a symposium that was held at the 1984 AAAS (American Association for the Advancement of Science) Annual Symposium, 1985.

Public awareness of the advancing destruction of tropical rain forest habitats has grown as has the scientific understanding of the complexity of these diverse and fragile ecosystems and the importance of their contribution to the global atmosphere. Current research demonstrates that the role of tropical forests in maintaining the equilibrium of the atmosphere may be far greater than previously believed and that the accelerating rate of forest destruction may have profound implications for the atmospheric budget of N O, CH, CO, and important trace gasses. Large-scale deforestation may also have serious and unforeseen effects on climate and hydrology. The book emphasizes the relationships of biosphere to troposphere, aiming to set tropical forest ecology in the context of the global ecosystem. Case studies illustrate our increasing knowledge of these important habitats and the urgency of finding ways to preserve them. Diagnoses are accompanied by prescriptions for future policies. The chapters are: Introduction to tropical rain forests (PRANCE). 2. Tropical forests: patterns of depletion (N. MEYERS). 3. Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon Basin measured by satellite imagery (G. M. WOODWELL et al.). 4. Tropical forests: interactions with the atmosphere (M. B. McELROY and S. C. WOFSEY). 5. Amazon rainfall, potential effects of deforestation and plans for future research (E. SALATI, P. B. VOSE and T. E. LOVEJOY). 6. Catastrophic drought and fire in Borneo tropical rain forest associated with the 1982-83 El Nino Southern oscillation event. (M. LEIGHTON and N. WIRAWAN). Epilogue (PRANCE). -- H. P. Nootboom.

BEARDOW, Ted -- Sources used in the compilation of the Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis. - Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs; Vol. 20, No. 2 (Summer 1986), pp. 118-155.

The Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis tells the story of five Bugis brothers, descended from a royal house in South Sulawesi, who voyage to the Malay Peninsula, West Kalimantan, and elsewhere in the beginning of the 18th century. The book was written in 1865/1866 by Raja Ali ibn Raja Ahmad, a Malay literatus and intellectual. This article identifies the major source texts used by this author and shows the way in which the source information was adapted to the theme of the Silsilah.

GRAHAM, Penelope. Iban Shamanism: An Analysis of the Ethnographic Literature. Occasional Paper. Canberra: Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National, 1987. 184 pp. \$n.p. (paper).

Shamanism has been an institution of major importance among the Iban of Borneo, and the subject of study by scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries. Yet there has been no attempt to synthesize the information of these studies until now. Penelope Graham's book is the first "general survey of the existing literature on Iban shamanism" (p. v), and one that will be of interest to students of Borneo, Southeast Asia, and the anthropology of medical and religious systems.

The book is the published form of her Masters of Arts thesis at The Australian National University. Although Graham had not been to Sarawak when she wrote her thesis, and did not speak Iban, she was advised and well guided by Iban and non-Iban scholars. Her overall grasp of issues and subtleties is remarkable.

An obvious problem with which she had to deal was the unevenness of materials, different times when they were written, and disparate theoretical approaches of the authors. Graham ably deals with this problem and treats the persons whose writings she analyzes quite even-handedly.

Graham's purpose is the analysis of "the cultural logic of Iban shamanism" (p. 1). To accomplish this, she provides an introduction in which she examines characteristics and concepts of shamanism cross-culturally. The Iban manang, "one who exercises power" (p. 2), approximates the shaman.

Her introduction includes also a brief overview of the Iban, their numbers, social organization, and distinctive cultural features.

The main body of the text is divided into five chapters and a conclusion. In the first chapter, Graham analyzes the literature on the Iban shaman. Her analysis begins with definitions of manang found in three published Iban-English dictionaries, with differing and conflicting information about their call, methods of treatment, and grades or ranks. This is followed by summaries and critiques of studies of the manang, and an attempt to categorize the theoretical approach of each scholar.

In the second chapter, she examines "the ritual language chants of shamanic healing rites" (p. 27). This is a rich section with texts of chants and English translations for the ill, for the pursuit of the soul, and for the protection of the expectant woman.

In the third chapter, Graham analyzes "the activities of the manang in Iban ritual" (p. 48), and the initiation rites of the shaman. She examines the tasks of the manang in response to various life conditions of his patients, as well as ritual contexts and the rich symbolism.

In the remaining chapters, she discusses the person and position of the manang bali' (lit., "the transformed manang"), a status of considerable interest as indicated by the amount of attention given it by numerous scholars. In the final chapter, Graham analyzes "Iban shamanism in social and cultural context" (p. 122).

This is a significant book whose greatest importance lies not in the questions it attempts to answer but in those it raises. Its greatest contribution undoubtedly will be the stimulation of considerably more discussion and research about Iban shamanism (Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr., College of William and Mary).

HARRISSON, Barbara. Pusaka, Heirloom Jars of Borneo. Singapore, New York, Oxford University Press, 1986, 55 pp.

This is an exceptionally valuable and well-written book. Barbara Harrison acquired extensive knowledge of the large heirloom jars of Borneo during two decades of research on that island. She currently is the Director of the Princessehof Museum in the Netherlands. In the book she masterfully combines a discussion of the history of the ceramic

jars, the manufacturing process, the role they have played in trade, and the lore which more valuable jars accrue as they are passed from one generation to the next. The book, one of the Oxford in Asia Studies in Ceramics series, is divided into two sections: One consists of about 55 pages of text; the other, 100 pages of excellent photographs and drawings of the jars themselves. This book will be of interest to students of art, ceramic technology, craft production, material culture, Asian history and symbolism. (Rita Wright and Vinson Sutlive)

The ELOQUENT Dead: Ancestral Sculpture of Indonesia and Southeast Asia. [Exhibition at the UCLA Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, 8 October to 24 November 1985]/ed. by Jerome Feldman.-Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California, Museum of Cultural History, 1985.-204 p.: bibl.

This collective volume contains the following articles concerning Indonesia: Ancestors in the art of Indonesia and Southeast Asia by Jerome FELDMAN; Ancestral manifestations in the art of Nias Island by Jerome FELDMAN; Ancestors and living men among the Batak by Elisabeth L. CAMERON; The significance of ancestors in the arts of the Dayak of Borneo by Eugenia SUMNIK-DEKOVICH; The soul that is seen; the Tau Tau as shadow of death reflection of life in Toraja tradition by Eric CRYSTAL; Korwar of the Biak by Wilhelm G. SOLHEIM II. A catalogue concludes the volume.

ZAHORKA, Herwig.-Upas: das Blasrohrpfeilgift der Wildbeuter und Kopfjäger in Borneo. - Der Palmengarten; 1 (1987).-p. 24-28: bibl., ill., fotogr.

The poison for the blow-pipe arrows of the Basap from the Bornean rainforest is provided by Antiaris toxicaria, or upas. The latex is tapped from the tree's trunk and heated during constant stirring. In order to check its quality, it has to be tasted. This is less risky than it seems, since the poison is only effective if administered via the bloodstream. The blow-pipes used to shoot the arrows are made of iron-wood (Eusideroxylon zwageri) and quite effective in killing animals hidden in the dense forest.

COLFER, Carol J. Pierce.-Female status and action in two Dayak communities.-In: Women in Asia and the Pacific: Towards an East-West Dialogue/ed. by Madeleine J. Goodman.-Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Women's Studies Program, 1985.-p. 183-211: tab.

This is an examination, based on fieldwork carried out in 1979-1980, of the status of women in two Kenyah Dayak villages, Long Ampung and Long Segar. The high status and effective action of women is demonstrated through an analysis of women's roles in the public domain (production, commerce, political participation, women's groups) and in the private domain (interaction between women and men, decision-making with regard to allocation of family resources). Recent phenomena suggest a potential decline in women's status in the area. As decision-making goes with those who provide the family's needs, one can anticipate that: 1) if money continues to gain in importance in overall subsistence, and 2) it remains more available to men than to women, then economic decision-making rights may gradually shift to the men.

WATSON, Greta A.-Women's role in the improvement of rice farming systems in coastal swamplands.-In: Women in Rice Farming: Proceedings of a Conference on Women in Rice Farming Systems. The International Rice Research Institute, Manila, Philippines, 26-30 Sept., 1983.-Aldershot: Gower, 1985,-p. 187-207: bibl., map, tab.

Rice farming systems in tidal and coastal swamp areas demand specific methods of labour intensive cultivation in which women's participation is still of paramount importance. Their tasks include seed bed preparation, transplanting, harvesting and processing rice, vegetable and other secondary crop cultivation, fishing, animal husbandry, and household management including child care. This paper examines indigenous rice farming systems in tidal swamp areas of Kalimantan and the role of women in their improvement. Present methods and future prospects for rice cultivation within multi-crop systems are analyzed. Possible effects of changes in labour and technology are discussed in relation to women's roles. Extension training in rice cultivation, secondary crop production, and marketing is essential. The establishment of women's credit and labour cooperatives are advised.

HOLLE lists: Vocabularies in Languages of Indonesia / Australian National University, Research School of Pacific Studies, Department of Linguistics.-Canberra: Linguistic Circle of Canberra. - Vol. 8: Kalimantan (Borneo) / ed. by W.A.L. Stokhof, in co-op. with Alma E. Almanar.-1986.-III, 207 p.: ill.- (Pacific linguistics, Series D; no. 69) (Materials in languages of Indonesia; no. 31).

This volume is intended for use in conjunction with volume 1 of the series (see E1024/044/118). It contains word lists with the following headings; Borneo (South Borneo): Ot Danum Dayak, Banjar, Martapura, Ngaju Dayak, Katingan Dayak, Maanyan; Borneo (other areas): Ulu Malay (Melawi area), Kenyah Dayak, Sekajang Dayak, Penihing Dayak (Upper Mahakam), language spoken in Matan, unidentified (Semitau?), dialect spoken in the West Kutei.

MATHESON, Virginia. - Studies in Borneo : an overview and bibliography.-Kabar seberang sulating maphilindo; no. 16 (Dec. 1985).-p. 100-139: bibl.

= annotated bibliography; history; Kalimantan; [1985]:

This bibliographical article surveys the literature and sources available to those wishing to work on Kalimantan. The material ranges from the historical to the linguistic and anthropological. The survey is presented in three sections: 1) historical outline; 2) survey of existing studies of Borneo (pre-World War II and post-World War II); 3) historiography.

BOCK, Carl. - The Head-hunters of Borneo: A Narrative of Travel up the Mahakkam and Down the Barito: Also, Journeying in Sumatra.-Repr./with and introd. by R. H. W. Reece.-Singapore [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1985.-XXI-11, 344 p.: ill.- (Oxford in Asia hardback reprints).-Orig. ed.: London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1881. [KITLVd-547-N+]

This narrative by the Norwegian naturalist and explorer Carl Alfred Bock (1849-1932) provides an account of the journeys Bock made to Kalimantan and Sumatra in 1878-1879. It was originally published in 1881, in London. In the spring of 1878, Bock went to the Dutch Indies for the purpose of making a collection of the fauna of the western portion of the interior of Sumatra. While in Sumatra, Bock

was entrusted with a mission to Kalimantan by the then Governor-General of the Dutch Indies. J. W. van Lansberge, Bock's task was to furnish the Government with a report on the native races of the interior and to make observations about and collections of the local fauna.

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