

BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

Commencing with this volume, the *Bulletin* will be published once a year as an annual, rather than semi-annually. By combining the two issues into a single volume, we shall realize considerable savings in money and time. This move has been made necessary by increases in production and postage costs.

It is with a great sense of sadness that we inform readers of the death of Professor Fred Eggan. Though he never conducted research in Borneo, he was one of the best friends the Council ever had, and we will miss his presence in Council meetings and his ever-ready word of compliment and encouragement.

With this issue, we inaugurate two new features: *Memoirs* of field researchers and *Urgent Anthropology*. *Memoirs* will include the recollections of scholars and students of their experiences which are extremely valuable. We encourage all readers who have conducted research in Borneo to share insights from their notes and memories which will be of use for understanding the past and planning for the future. Such contributions should be between five to ten pages in length.

Urgent Anthropology will identify specific groups, topics, and regions on which research should be undertaken as soon as possible. Submissions may be as brief as a title and subtitle, or a short article explaining the urgency of the situation.

The Officers currently are assembling materials for "The Development Plan" to increase the Council's Endowment Fund and to support projects sponsored by the Council. The Endowment Fund must be increased to insure continuing publication and distribution of the *Bulletin*, the Monograph Series, and supplements to the Biennial Meetings. The projects include collaborative research on the origins of Bornean peoples and ethnobotany and pharmacopoeias. Any reader who would like a copy of "The Development Plan" or who would like to offer suggestions for inclusion in the Plan is urged to write to G. N. Appell, Phillips, Maine, 04966, USA.

Several readers have raised questions about the editor's policy on inclusion of lengthy exchanges. The policy put most simply is: If material is submitted and is appropriate to the goals of the Council, it is included. Until there is a convincing reason to change that policy, all contributions which increase knowledge and understanding of Borneo and its peoples are welcome.

(Cont'd. on page 191)

RESEARCH NOTES

LOGGING, CONSERVATION AND NATIVE RIGHTS
IN SARAWAK FORESTS FROM DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS¹

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The problems of tropical deforestation and the associated threat to the global biodiversity have recently caught the world's attention. The mass media have sensed this interest, and a flood of television programs, movies, lecture series, books, and popular articles has been produced. Conservation organizations, trade groups, international funding agencies, research institutes and governments are entering the field on a large scale in an attempt to inform, advise, motivate and lobby the public and political leaders on tropical conservation. Initially, tropical deforestation has been synonymous in the Western media with the destruction of the Amazon rainforest. As the demand for fresh, new stories has increased, the media have searched farther afield to places such as Sarawak, on the northwest coast of Malaysian Borneo. Sarawak has always proved to be a great place for adventure and colorful material, with its White Rajahs, headhunters, and orangutans.

After languishing in economic doldrums for over 100 years, Sarawak has been experiencing a ten-year period of great economic prosperity propelled by the income it has received as one of the world's major suppliers of tropical hardwoods. Yet the resulting increase in logging activity has resulted in potentially serious threats to the social fabric and ecology of the country. This has been shown dramatically in popular articles and videos shot in the Sarawak jungle depicting blockades of logging roads. These presentations have aroused the attention of Western audiences and have led to calls for timber boycotts by American and European environmental groups. In particular, the problem of the Penans, whose hunting-and-gathering life in the primary forest is threatened by logging, and the Swiss activist Bruno Manser, who lived with them, have been captured in the widely circulated documentary *Blowpipes and Bulldozers*.

The Malaysian government has tried to address these reports of environmental damage and social dislocation caused by logging, but their

responses have often been either ignored or received skeptically by the Western press. To investigate the situation, the International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO), sent a team to Sarawak to meet the people involved and make firsthand observations. While the project report is primarily intended for use by ITTO leadership, it is being circulated and discussed by the environmental community. This document is important in providing the background and framework of the developing debate on the future of logging in Sarawak and other areas of Southeast Asia. Many of the ITTO findings are supported by reports prepared by other organizations that have evaluated the situation in Sarawak, such as the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF Malaysia) (Kavanagh et al. 1989).

The ITTO report was prepared by a special mission established by the International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO) and submitted on May 7, 1990 for discussion at the eighth council meeting in Denpasar, Bali. The title of the report is "The promotion of sustainable forest management: A case study in Sarawak, Malaysia". ITTO is an association of timber producing and consuming countries, formed for cooperation and consultation in matters relating to the tropical timber economy and to ensure sustained yield and conservation of tropical forests. Representation in ITTO is divided between producing and consuming countries, with votes generally determined by volumes of consumption and production. This has the interesting effect of giving the countries such as Malaysia, that are harvesting their forests very rapidly, and Japan, a country which is importing large amounts of tropical timber, a large share of the ITTO votes and leadership of the organization. Japan, being the largest importer of tropical hardwoods, is the headquarters of ITTO.

In May 1989 the Chief Minister of Sarawak, acting on behalf of the Malaysian government, invited ITTO to send a study mission to evaluate Sarawak's timber practices. The ITTO mission included nine members, six of whom were foresters from tropical and temperate countries, led by the Earl of Cranbrook, a British wildlife biologist. The group was accompanied by the ITTO Executive Director, Dr. B.C.Y. Freezaillah of Malaysia. The group made three trips to Malaysia for a total of 45 days. The group met with a wide variety of government officials, industry representatives, conservation groups and community leaders. Public meetings were held in most major towns and some remote areas, with the meetings well advertised in advance. The mission gathered relevant documents, received letters from people and took testimony, some of which was given anonymously apparently for fear of government action. The mission inspected the full range of the timber industry, including logging operations, forest industries, research sites and national parks.

The members of the mission began with a clear goal of determining whether the timber industry of Sarawak is being managed on a sustained yield

basis. As defined by the report, sustainability is "...the attainment and maintenance of a forest estate yielding a continuing and non-declining flow of benefits and products at levels of each considered best by the people of Sarawak and at levels which can be supported or even increased in the future." For the sake of analysis, five areas of sustainability were considered: 1) the ability of the forests to provide a continuous supply of timber both now and in the future for domestic use as well as for export; 2) the adequacy of the forest management to maintain the supply; 3) the effects of forestry activities on water quality and soil erosion; 4) the relationship between forestry and the conservation of biological diversity; and 5) the continuing ability of the timber industry to provide employment to the people and revenue to the government. An additional question dealt with at length is the extent to which the practice of shifting cultivation by native groups and their land claims affects the future of the timber industry.

Confusion about this objective of the sustainability of the timber industry resulted in environmental groups being disappointed with the ITTO mission. Particularly, since the leader of the mission was a member of the British aristocracy, many people's believed that the mission should have been concerned with human rights issues and conservation. However, the sole goal of the mission, based on their charge by ITTO and their own stated objective, was to determine if the current practices of the timber industry are sustainable. They were not concerned with issues of money politics, native land rights or conservation except as they related to the issue of sustainability. One of the major problems not covered in the report is the artificially low royalty rates, which result in huge profits going to the timber companies rather than being paid to the government. Criticism of this narrow focus of the ITTO report has been widespread by environmental organizations such as Sahabat Alam Malaysia ("ITTO Mission Fails Sarawak Natives", *Utusan Konsumer*, July 1990) and the World Rainforest Movement ("ITTO: Killer or Cure for the Rainforests?" by Mark Colchester, *The Ecologist* 20(5):166-173, 1990), even though they agree with the basic findings of the ITTO report.

The basic conclusion of the ITTO report is that the current rate of timber harvesting is not sustainable, particularly in the hill dipterocarp forest where most of the log extraction is now occurring. As defined by the ITTO report, the hill dipterocarp forest appears to include virtually all of the forests on dry land, which is certainly a very diverse assemblage in Sarawak, in terms of structure, soils and species composition. The export of logs from the hill forests has more than doubled in the last five years, as the surrounding countries of the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand have either banned the export of logs or exhausted their forests. The present rate of harvesting in Sarawak's hill forest is over thirteen million cubic meters per year (m^3/yr). At these rates of harvesting, the hill

forests will have been almost completely harvested for commercial timber by the year 2000. However, Sarawak will still be covered with forest, since the majority of trees are not harvested and the regrowth of pioneer trees is generally rapid. Once the forests are selectively logged, the ITTO report concludes there will be a precipitous decline in timber production, employment and timber royalties paid to the government. This could be very damaging to society, considering that 47% of the Sarawak government's revenue comes from the timber industry, which is also the main employer in rural areas.

The ITTO report estimates that the present Permanent Forest Estate of Sarawak could be managed for an estimated-sustainable timber production of 4.1 million m³/yr. If all of the other State Land forest is added to this production forest, then the yield could be raised to 6.3 million m³/yr. However, since this State Land Forest is designated for agricultural schemes and other development programs for rural people, there would be great political resistance to converting this land to timber production. Harvesting timber from very steep slopes of over 60%, currently excluded from harvesting, could possibly raise the yield by another 1.4 million m³/yr. However, this would be environmentally short-sighted as it would result in massive environmental damage to watersheds.

Another possibility considered for increasing yield would be to implement an extensive program of silvicultural treatment called Liberation Thinning on forests following harvesting, which the ITTO report argues could increase future timber production by 50%. This silvicultural method involves identifying the small trees of timber species which will form the future crop and then poison girdling the neighboring trees. This method is being applied experimentally to only about 5,000 ha per year at present. Preliminary analysis of the silvicultural trial plots has not given a clear indication that this method will result in any long-term increase in wood production, which partially explains why it has not been used more extensively. The figures given in the ITTO report of a 50% increase in yield following Liberation Thinning seem overly optimistic and are presumably based on highly selective use of data. Questions also remain about the widespread use of poisons during silvicultural treatment and its effects on wildlife and rural people.

Though the authors of the report are reluctant to state it, the clear conclusion of the main section of the ITTO report must be that timber production in the hill forests can only be maintained at a rate of 4 to 5 million m³/yr, or about one-third of the present rate of harvesting. All of the other suggestions for increasing timber production are unrealistic for the reasons stated previously, and it is unclear why they were even included. Based on the ITTO report, Sarawak has a clear choice, either to continue harvesting at the current rate and exhaust the forests by the year 2000, as has already occurred in other countries through-

out the region, or to cut back the rate of harvesting by two-thirds and have a sustainable yield of timber.

An independent analysis of these figures by Friends of the Earth has suggested that the sustainable annual harvest from the hill forests is much lower, on the range of 1.55 to 1.93 million m³ per year. This is based on harvesting of high-quality logs over 60 cm diameter from the Permanent Forest Estate on slopes of less than 60% and excluding any lands claimed by native groups. Silvicultural treatments are not considered realistic because of the inability of the Forest Department to carry out such a massive project. On this basis, the Friends of the Earth advocate an 85% to 88% reduction in the level of logging which they argue could be phased in over a three-year period. While there may be as much of a scientific basis for these figures as the ITTO figures, this reduction is so severe that it has little chance of being accepted.

The ITTO report then goes on to consider the other aspects of sustainability. The management of forests is considered exemplary in terms of the written policy of watershed management, establishing national parks and controlling the movement of logs. However, these initial strengths are jeopardized by the high rate of harvesting combined with inadequate numbers of Forest Department staff necessary for supervising logging operations. While the rate of logging has more than doubled in the last five years, the number of Forest Department staff has remained the same. The net result is that environmental regulations, such as those regarding the placement and design of roads, bridges and log yards, are not adequately enforced, causing excessive soil erosion and subsequent damage to water courses and water quality. The ITTO recommends that these problems be addressed by hiring additional field staff and reducing the level of harvesting. However, the report points out that the present situation is not sustainable, in terms of environmental damage, and is clearly going to get worse if present practices continue.

The ITTO report considers in some detail the future role of local timber-processing industries, such as plywood and sawmill factories, in adding economic value and greater employment to Sarawak's timber exports. At the present time only 10% of the timber exports are locally processed, with the great majority exported as logs. The government has a goal of locally processing 50% of the timber by the year 2000. The purpose of this goal is to provide a constant level of employment and revenue with a reduced harvest of timber. However, the report points out that this strategy will only be successful if the sale of wood products is as profitable as selling logs, the export markets can absorb all of the wood products, and the prices of wood products do not decline. Examination of the world timber industry indicates that there is uncertainty as to whether these three assumptions will hold true. For example, there is already evidence that the

world prices for industrial timber products are declining and will continue to decline as large tree plantations in other countries come to maturity. In addition, for a timber processing strategy to be successful there has to be a sufficiently large domestic market to keep the factories running regardless of the world economic climate and a large labor force to staff the factories. The ITTO report suggests that Sarawak meets neither of these conditions with its small, scattered population. As a result, the strategy of relying on local processing to maintain revenue and employment needs to be carefully examined before investing heavily in new factories; otherwise, the factories may be unable to operate with not enough workers, not enough wood and an unprofitable product.

The ITTO report, supported by the WWF report, also considers whether the present park system and logging activities are compatible with the preservation of biological diversity. Sarawak is considered to have about the greatest concentration of plant and animal species of any area in the Old World Tropics. At the present time, 8.4 million ha of Sarawak, 68% of the total, is covered by natural forest, with about 6 million ha being primary forest. However, most of the remaining primary forest not in mountainous areas has been given out for logging concessions and will be selectively logged within the next decade. At the same time, the area under shifting cultivation by rural people has been increasing, creating pressure on the forest. The use of chain saws and access into formerly remote areas by logging roads have allowed villagers to cultivate heavily forested hill areas that previously they would have been unable to penetrate. The primary forests of Sarawak are being rapidly reduced in area by this combination of logging and agriculture and are being replaced by secondary forests of lower stature and higher density of trees. The only areas that are reasonably secure from a conservation perspective are legally designated and enforced totally protected areas (TPA's), consisting of national parks and wildlife sanctuaries. However, even within these TPA's, some hunting and logging still occur. At the present time about 2% of Sarawak's land area is in TPA's, with 6% of additional lands in the process of being designated TPA's. The process of gazettement new TPA's is unfortunately taking many years due to the small size of the National Parks and Wildlife Office (NPWO) staff as well as the time-consuming nature of the legal process. An increase in the staffing of the NPWO as well as a simplified gazettement procedure are proposed in the report. The Sarawak Government acknowledges that the gazettement procedure for new national parks and totally protected areas is time consuming but argues that these delays are unavoidable because of the mandatory processes of distributing proclamations, receiving petitions and holding public hearings. The Forest Department is currently investigating procedures for facilitating the gazettement process.

Throughout Sarawak there has been a general decline in wildlife which some people have attributed to the effects of logging. However, the ITTO and

WWF reports point out that selective logging itself has unknown consequences for wildlife populations, and in some circumstances might actually increase wildlife populations. However, since logging roads increase accessibility into the forest, the level of hunting increases to supply the timber camps, villages, and nearby towns with meat, resulting in a substantial decline in wildlife populations in logged areas. Even without logging, hunting with guns to supply the growing population of Sarawak probably would cause much of this observed decline in game animals. Similarly, both water pollution caused by logging as well as over-fishing are probable explanations for the observed declines in freshwater fish populations. However, it is difficult to disentangle their effects and actually determine their relative impact on fish stocks.

The ITTO report attempts to deal with the complex issue of native land rights and why many native people are dissatisfied with the present logging activities. The 1958 Land Code of Sarawak gives Native Customary Rights (NCR) to land cleared before 1958. Land cleared for farms after 1958 becomes NCR only if cleared with permission of the local authorities, which has only rarely been given. The stated purpose of this law was to stabilize boundaries and prevent friction between neighboring villages and reduce tension between indigenous groups. Logging concessions are not granted on NCR land, but often on nearby forested land which is legally owned by the government but used by the villagers. Logging companies must legally compensate local villagers if they use their NCR land for roads, camps, log storage areas, or other activities. In practice, logging companies usually make unofficial payments to villagers even when the land is not legally held under NCR but is only claimed under NCR, in order to obtain the goodwill of the villagers and avoid later trouble. However, once logging begins, the surrounding villages are often negatively affected as a result of a decline in forest resources, such as game meat, timber for boats and houses, and the rattan used in handicrafts and trade, as well as the pollution of streams used for drinking, washing and fishing. Once these unexpected negative impacts of logging are experienced by the villagers, they may demand additional compensation from the logging company, even though such claims usually have no basis in Malaysian law. The villagers who are most angry and least likely to be satisfied are those who did not receive any initial payments, and they may approach the camp manager on an individual basis. In some areas, camp managers feel that many villagers who have no genuine claim simply act angry and make up false claims of property damage in the hope of obtaining money from the logging company. The camp manager then has a difficult task. He would like just to deal with the headman of the village rather than strike dozens of individual deals. Also, the camp manager might make an agreement with the headman, only to have the headman return days or weeks later making new requests. The problem results from the inexperience of the headman in dealing with this new situation of logging, the complexity of the issues, the unwillingness

of many government officers to assist in resolving the disputes, and the lack of consensus in the village. If the camp managers refuse to pay the claims, certain villagers may get so angry that they will try to blockade a road in order either to receive what they believe is their entitled compensation or to protest the further logging of the forest.

As the ITTO and WWF reports describe, the Penans represent the extreme of this difficulty in adjusting to logging companies. About 300 Penans are nomadic, while about 6,300 are semi-nomadic, and 2,400 are completely settled. These people are the least educated among the native groups and are not sophisticated in business dealings. They also have no Native Customary Rights to the land, since, prior to 1958, most of them did not farm. As a result, the Penans are most liable to reach unsatisfactory agreements with logging companies and will generally be unhappy over the changes caused by logging. In addition, the nomadic Penans are the most dependent of Sarawak's natives on forest products for their livelihoods and the least able to get jobs in the logging camps. Some nomadic Penans continue to live inside Mulu National Park (52,865 ha) and the proposed Pulong Tau National Park (164,500 ha). To address the concerns of the other nomadic Penans, the government is in the process of establishing the 52,650 ha Magoh Penan Community Forest, the 800 ha Sepayang Penan Community Forest, the 15,000 ha Adang Penan Community Forest, and the Melana Protected Forest. These reserves potentially would protect most of the areas occupied by the nomadic Penans once selective logging is completely ended and allow them to pursue their original way of life. The government is also considering providing the settled and semi-settled Penans with Communal Forests and land rights even though they have settled after 1958.

One of the most interesting features of the ITTO report is a 96-page appendix of minutes from the various meetings held by the ITTO mission. The ITTO group held 34 official meetings with a whole range of people involved in any possible way with the timber industry. The most interesting minutes are those held with the native leaders themselves, as well as with individual villagers. The overwhelming impression of the testimony of the native leaders and villagers is that they are in favor of the economic development and employment provided by the timber industry and the government. However, in general they have a number of objections to the current practices of the logging industry. First of all, the village leaders feel that the government and the camp managers do not adequately consult with them before commercial logging begins. Often the villagers only learn about the logging when the company personnel arrive in the area and begin building large timber camps. Second, the native leaders feel that they are not consulted as to the placement of roads and camps, with the result that fruit orchards and graves and other sacred places are sometimes disturbed. Third, many leaders describe the extreme damage to the water, game, fish and

forest products caused by logging. It is clear that the economic benefits provided by the timber industry have not benefitted all of the rural people. Many people are clearly worse off as a result of logging. However, many of the complaints expressed by the native leaders can be understood as laments for the good things from their old way of life which are no longer present, even though they would probably be unwilling to give up their modern possessions to get the old things back. Sarawak is being transformed from a rural society of scattered, more-or-less self-sufficient villages to a more urbanized society in which the villages are tied into the overall cash economy. For many people this transition is clearly difficult and painful. And fourth, many native leaders wonder why the villagers themselves cannot obtain government permission to begin commercial timber extraction from the forest areas surrounding their villages. Some leaders would like their villages to actually be granted official timber concessions, which the villagers could then operate. Unfortunately, the government will not consider this option, though on the surface it seems worth trying. While the villagers get some benefits from the logging companies, they can see that many of the owners of the timber concessions and the timber companies are getting rich off what they perceive as their own resource. Some villagers testifying anonymously to the ITTO Mission expressed outrage at the environmentally damaging methods of the logging companies. Most pathetic are the pleas of a group of Penans who ask for assistance in dealing with the logging companies, saying that they will soon be dead if no one will help them. Unfortunately, the Mission was unable to verify the truth or generality of these individual complaints about logging practices. In any case, this was not the central goal of the Mission, which was only to investigate the sustainability of the forest management. From their perspective, the issues of native rights were a secondary issue to be dealt with only as it affected the timber industry.

The State Government of Sarawak formally responded to the ITTO report at the 9th meeting of the ITTO Council in Yokohama, Japan, 16-23 November 1990. The government's response was a surprisingly brief, six-page report, that agrees in most regards with the ITTO report. In certain ways this should have been anticipated since so much of the information used in the ITTO report was supplied by the Forest Department, and Sarawak officials gave extensive testimony to the ITTO project members. The Sarawak response mainly serves to explain certain points that the government felt the ITTO report did not get quite right. For example, the ITTO report recommends temporarily halting logging operations in 500,000 ha of land in areas that are claimed by villages under Native Customary Rights. The government emphasizes that all of this logging is being conducted on legally granted timber licenses and that local villagers have the right to seek legal redress if they feel that the logging is being carried out illegally. The government also emphasizes that the existing land laws were developed to promote harmony between neighboring villages. However, while

the land laws were conceived and developed to protect the rights of stable villages that practiced traditional agriculture, they have been used successfully in court to protect this vast new industry that is having a tremendous impact on rural life. The appropriate legal method to resolve conflicts over land rights is for the rural people to organize politically and change the forestry laws by the democratic process. Unfortunately, such methods are slow and difficult, but a popular environmental movement is now beginning to emerge in the Baram River area. Evidence of this can be seen in the October 1990 election of environmentalist Harrison Ngau as representative to the Federal government.

In response to the ITTO report, the Sarawak government has agreed to phase down its level of logging to 10,000,000 m³. Along with the proposed reductions in level of harvest, the government is also planning to increase the Permanent Forest Estate from 4.5 million ha to 6 million ha through reclassification of Stateland Forest designated for conversion to agricultural use. The government report considers that much of this land is unsuited to permanent agriculture but would be suitable for forestry. Changing this land designation will be a slow and politically difficult process. Without precise figures on the current status of forest resources and future prospects for regrowth following logging, it is difficult to evaluate whether the levels of logging will be reduced to levels that could be considered sustainable.

In order to carry out the recommendations of the ITTO report the Sarawak Government has outlined a series of project proposals which will be carried out with joint funding. One of the key elements in the estimates of sustained yield is the rate at which logged forests regenerate and increase in commercial wood volume. The one project which has apparently received approval for funding is a five-year, two-part project entitled "Forest increment and yield studies for sustainable management". The project will develop more comprehensive analyses based on the preliminary calculations of the ITTO report on the volume of wood that can be extracted from the forests each year. The raw data come from growth measurements from individual trees in existing research plots scattered throughout Sarawak. While some of this data has been analyzed in the past, much more remains unanalyzed. However, many of the plots are flawed in some way in their design, so that expecting a definitive, unambiguous answer on management issues is probably unrealistic. Also, models of sustained forest management frequently do not incorporate many of the intangible factors that have great practical significance, such as the extent of shifting cultivation on recently logged areas and the amount of both legal and illegal re-entry of closed logging blocks by timber companies. Unless such analytical difficulties can be overcome, the timber harvest models may not give realistic answers.

In conclusion, the main point made in the ITTO report is that the harvesting of timber in Sarawak is not being practiced on a sustained yield basis. In 1990, harvest levels reached a record high of 20,000,000 m³. The ITTO report stated that under present practices the sustained yield capacity of Sarawak's forests is only about 6,000,000 m³. A sustainable industry can be developed only if the level of cutting is reduced

NOTE

1. Portions of this report appeared in *Conservation Biology*.

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TRANSFER BEHAVIOR OF HOKKIEN CHINESE SPEAKERS
IN APOLOGIZING

LUCILA ANG-ABEY

ABSTRACT

Studies in second language acquisition have shifted focus from the learners' linguistic competence to communicative competence in sociocultural interaction. A recent theory suggests that second language learners transfer linguistic rules from their first language (L1) to their second language (L2), depending on their perception of similarity and markedness between their L1 and L2. Results from Olshain's (1983) and Soong's (1985) studies seem to support this theory. The purpose of the present study is to find further evidence to validate the findings of these two studies. In order to investigate whether transfer behavior of native speakers are related to their native intuitions about language similarity and markedness, 41 native speakers of Hokkien Chinese are observed in their handling of eight situations requiring apology. The subjects are interviewed and asked to role-play the situations with the investigator, responding both in Hokkien and in English. Data collected are then compared with Olshain's (1983) data for native speakers of English. Analysis indicates that the learners' perception of similarity and markedness between their L1 and L2 is a factor related to their transfer behavior.

INTRODUCTION

The bulk of research in second language acquisition (SLA) in the past has been on the acquisitions of vocabulary, syntax, and morphology. In recent years, however, scholars in the field have increasingly recognized that language ability includes not only the mastery of grammar and vocabulary but also of the social and interactional aspects of communicating. As socio-linguistic studies have shown, speech communities vary substantially in their norms of interaction, for example, in what are considered appropriate formulas for a particular speech act, appropriate topics, rules for interpreting and responding to what others say, etc. Difficulties arise when a language learner transfers the rules of his/her own speech community to what appears to be a similar situation in the new speech community. As has been pointed out (Wolfson 1983), language learners face the problem of both misunderstanding and being misunderstood by the native speakers with whom they interact.

The phenomenon of transfer in SLA has been variously attributed to factors such as the grammatical proficiency of the learners, untrained teachers, misleading instructional materials, attitudes to the second language (L2), and the nature of the L2 environment. These, however, are not all. Why transfer (or non-transfer) occurs is a question addressing a complex process.

In his studies Kellerman (1977, 1979, 1983) made several observations and offered a number of suggestions as to why language transfer occurred. Transfer is viewed as a psychological/cognitive process where the learners, consciously or not, or where knowledge is absent, make use of their linguistic creativity to incorporate native language/first language (NL/L1) features into their target language/second language (TL/L2) production (Kellerman 1977, 1979, 1983). Several conditions are attributed to transfer. Accordingly, the learners make predictions about the TL, then make decisions for transfer. Kellerman's (1977, 1979, 1983) language distance/similarity theory proposes that if the learners believe that the NL and the TL are the same, then transfer is likely. And according to the language markedness/specificity theory, the learners tend to transfer a NL feature to a TL if they perceive the language item as unmarked or language-neutral (L-N). Conversely, if the learners perceive the NL to be very different from the TL, or if they perceive a language item as marked or language-specific (L-S), transfer is less likely. However, the transfer/non-transfer theories are not so clear-cut as they seem. Kellerman (1983) assigned one principal reason for the elusiveness of L1 effects on the L2 as that "not everything that looks transferable is transferable." As Kellerman (1979) pointed out in an earlier study, three principal interacting factors control the use of transfer by a learner: his/her psychotypological structure of the NL, his/her perception of NL-TL distance, and his/her actual knowledge of the TL. Although Kellerman (1979) offered a number of hypotheses about interference and transfer, he considered the concept of markedness as a crucial one for transfer. Marked/L-S forms are considered potentially less transferable than unmarked/L-N ones. Non-transfer of NL is viewed as an outcome of a complex decision-making process. Among the four phases included in this process is the markedness assignment to the NL item to be transferred. Accordingly, if the markedness level is too high, transfer will be blocked. If the markedness level is tolerable, it will be correlated with language distance. And the interaction of the two factors determine whether transfer takes place. Another observation of transfer and non-transfer Kellerman (1977, 1979, 1983) made is that as the learner's proficiency level of the TL increases, his/her perception of the NL-TL relationship changes. And as he/she learns what can be transferred, he/she also learns what cannot be transferred.

Recently two studies were done on how the notion of distance and markedness/L-S was related to transfer in the socio-cultural behavior of native speakers in the speech act of apology. Olshain (1983) did a study on 12 native

speakers of English and 12 native speakers of Russian whose TL was Hebrew. Soong (1985) did a similar study on 12 native speakers of Mandarin Chinese in Hawaii, USA whose L2 was English. Both studies used eight apology situations originally used in Cohen and Olshtain's (1981) study to elicit apologies from the subjects in their L1 and L2.

Both studies assessed the apologies elicited according to the intensity of the apologies as well as the frequencies with which each language group made use of a set of five semantic formulas taken to constitute an apology speech act:

1. an expression of apology/regret, or request for forgiveness;
2. an explanation or account/excuse;
3. an acknowledgement/denial of responsibility;
4. an offer of repair; and
5. a promise of forbearance.

Of these five formulas or strategies, the first category is direct and explicit apology while the other four are indirect and implied/intended apologies.

Olshtain's (1983) study shows that the speakers of English used Hebrew with the perception of L-S while the speakers of Russian used Hebrew with the perception of L-N. Thus, they performed the speech act of apology according to their perceptions. The English speakers, perceiving spoken Hebrew as calling for less apology, did actually apologize less in Hebrew than in English. They also showed a lower average frequency rate in Hebrew than in English in their use of all five semantic formulas. The Russian speakers, on the other hand, claimed that people apologize according to how responsible they felt in the specific situation, regardless of what language is used. Consequently, they not only maintained their level of apology in Hebrew (in apology and responsibility formulas), but actually showed a higher average frequency rate in Hebrew than in Russian in their use of the other three semantic formulas. The subjects in Soong's (1985) study used English with the perception of L-S as they claimed that native speakers of English apologize far more than the Chinese. As a result, they consistently showed a higher average frequency in their use of all five semantic formulas in English than in Chinese. These two studies, therefore, seemed to offer support for the theory of distance (L1-L2 similarity/dissimilarity) and markedness (L-S/L-N) in transfer behavior. As the study of language transfer looks at language specific, cross-linguistic, and situation-specific features, further research with subjects from a different Chinese linguistic group in a different linguistic environment would seem to be needed to validate Soong's (1985) findings and further support the theories of distance and markedness in transfer behavior discussed so far.

The present study investigates how 41 native speakers of Hokkien Chinese perform the speech act of apology in both Hokkien (their L1) and English (their L2). Data provided in Olshtain (1983) for English speakers are used for comparison.

As in Olshtain (1983) and Soong (1985), two research questions will be dealt with in this study:

1. How do speakers of Hokkien Chinese deviate from English norms in their performance of the apology speech act?
2. Are the deviations related to learners' perception of language specificity or universality/neutrality?

METHODS

Instrument

The eight apology situations designed by Cohen and Olshtain (1981) were used in the present study. The same instrument was used in Olshtain's (1983) and Soong's (1985) studies. The TLs in those three studies were English, Hebrew, and English, respectively. The TL in the present study is English. Each situation elicited an apologetic response without a reply from the apologizee (receiver of the apology). Although data obtained in this manner may be lacking in spontaneity or even authenticity, responses had to be controlled in some way to allow the comparison of native usage with non-native usage. All the eight situations were used in their entirety in the present study, as Olshtain (1983) did, to allow for comparison with the data collected in Olshtain's (1983) study for native usage of English. These situations were then translated orally into Hokkien to collect data for native usage in the Hokkien speech act.

Four of the situations were to test the learners' ability to use stylistically appropriate expressions according to the formality of the situations: unintentionally insulting someone at a meeting, forgetting a crucial meeting with the boss, forgetting a get-together with a friend, and forgetting to take one's son shopping. The other four situations were to test the intensity of regret: backing into someone's car, bumping into an elderly lady and hurting her, bumping into the lady just shaking her up a bit, and bumping into the lady because she was in the way. (See Appendix 1 for complete text of all eight situations.)

Subjects

Forty-one (18 female, 23 male) speakers of Hokkien Chinese from Sarawak, Malaysia, participated in this study. They ranged from 17 to 21 years in age. Thirty-nine were in the upper sixth form (grade 12) and had received at least four years of education through the English medium as some came from Mandarin medium schools after form three (grade 8), and the other two were in lower sixth form (grade 11) who had been educated in Malay medium since primary one (grade 1). The subjects were in a linguistic environment where Hokkien was their L1 and English their L2. They had limited personal contact with native speakers of English. They were more exposed to British English than American English, socially and academically. Their exposures to American English were mainly through the movies, television, some books (paperbacks), and magazines. From the personal information sheet they filled out before the interview, it was found that 18 use some English at home, 23 do not, 34 use English with friends, and seven do not. It was also found that besides English, Hokkien, and Malay, the subjects speak Tamil (1), Iban (a Sarawak indigenous language, 4), and several varieties of Chinese (Mandarin: 21, Hakka: 16, Teochew: 5, Cantonese: 5, Foochow: 3, Hainanese: 1, Henghua: 1).

The Hokkien respondents served as the informants for non-native English speakers apologies. Data for English speakers from Olshtain's (1983) study were taken to serve as the informants for native English speakers' apologies. The English speakers averaged 20 years in age. Data from these two groups were compared for frequency of use of semantic formulas in percentages.

Procedure

Each subject was given a card each at a time containing a description of an apology situation written in English. The Hokkien version was given orally by the investigator (a Hokkien native speaker herself) because Hokkien is basically a non-written language, and because many of the respondents cannot read Chinese characters. After the subject had read and claimed full understanding of each situation and the task involved, the investigator role-played the apologizee and the subject the apologizer. The role-play for all eight situations was carried out in English first then repeated in Hokkien. All responses were tape-recorded and later transcribed for analysis.

After the elicitation of apologies in both languages was completed, each subject was asked the two questions suggested in Olshtain's (1983) study:

1. Do you think that the Chinese apologize more or less than the native speakers of English?
2. Do you think that the native speakers of English apologize in different ways from the Chinese?

The respondents' answers to these questions were also tape-recorded. When they claimed that the Chinese and the English speakers apologize equally frequently, or in the same way, the response was interpreted in favor of L-N. Conversely, if the respondents believed that the Chinese and the English speakers apologize differently, or that one group apologize more frequently than the other, the response was interpreted in favor of L-S.

The two questions allowed for checking reliability of the respondents' answers and could indicate whether they had a L-S or L-N perception of the apology speech act in specific situation.

Data Analysis

Analysis of data was based on how the Hokkien speakers deviate from English norms in their apology speech act, and whether deviations are related to their perceptions of L-S or L-N. Initially, the respondents' responses were categorized following the five semantic formulas used in Olshtain's (1983) study. Where combinations of formulas were used in the responses, each actual utterance was tallied under the specific category/formula. The responses were then compared with the English speakers' responses (taken from Olshtain 1983) in terms of frequency of use of semantic formulas, situation by situation. For the purpose of determining differences between the native and the non-native use of the semantic formulas, a 10% difference in frequency is arbitrarily chosen.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Learner Perception

Twenty-three (56%) of the subjects claimed that the English speakers apologize more than the Chinese, and the remaining 18 (44%) claimed that the Chinese apologize more. Three (7%) claimed that the Chinese and the English speakers apologize in the same way while 38 (93%) claimed that Chinese and English speakers apologize differently. This means that the subjects, as a group, viewed the apology speech act as L-S and perceived distance between their L1 and L2. The respondents' opinion with regard to whether the Chinese or the English speakers apologize more was inconclusive ($\alpha = 0.10$, $\chi^2 = 2.706$). The

overwhelming majority, however, agreed that the Chinese and the English speakers apologize in different ways ($\alpha = 0.01$, $X^2 = 29.878$).

B. Apology Formulas

Situation 1 -- Unintentionally insulting someone at a meeting

Data presented in Table 1 seem to show that only three formulas are relevant in this situation in both languages, but the Hokkien speakers use a fourth formula (forbearance) in their L2 response. The English speakers show a much higher frequency in expressing apology (92% vs. 56%) and accepting responsibility (100% vs. 42%) than the Hokkien speakers, but they use explanation less than the Hokkien speakers (42% vs. 61%). This seems to show a difference in sociocultural rules operating between English and Hokkien speakers.

As a group, the respondents felt that what they said at a meeting would be objective and said in general terms, so it would be unlikely for them to insult anyone, or that no one should feel insulted over a remark at a meeting. They were, therefore, less inclined to apologize. Based on this reasoning, they actually apologized less than the English speakers.

Table 1 shows that the Hokkien speakers expressed apology more in English than in Hokkien (68% vs. 56%), and they code-switched in their Hokkien responses. (See Appendix 2 for frequency of code-switching just for information.) Of the 56% explicit apology recorded, only 10% was actually said in Hokkien (dui m ju). The remaining 46% accounted for phrases like "sorry lah/o/ha" or "(jin jin) sorry", equivalent to "(very very) sorry". All those who apologized in Hokkien or code-switched also apologized in English, but not the other way around. When asked to respond in Hokkien, some informants commented that it was awkward to express apology in Hokkien. Their code-switching could be motivated by this awkwardness. It could also be influenced by their perception of English-speaking rules. These, however, are mere speculations because code-switching is not investigated and is not part of this study.

TABLE 1
Frequency of Use of Semantic Formulas in Percentages

Situation 1 -- Unintentionally Insulting Someone at a Meeting

	NE (Olshtain 1983)	HC	HC in E
Apology	92	56	68
Explanation	42	61	68
Responsibility	100	42	30
Repair	0	0	0
Forbearance	0	0	5
NE	=	Native speakers of English. n = 12. All figures from Olshtain 1983	
HC	=	Hokkien Chinese speakers. n = 41.	
HC in E	=	Hokkien Chinese speakers interacting in English. n = 41.	

These data, nevertheless, seem to show in this particular situation that the respondents' L-S perception with regard to explicit apology does not allow them to transfer their sociocultural rules from the L1 to the L2.

Situations 2, 3, and 4 -- Forgetting a meeting with the boss, a get-together with a friend, and to take your son shopping.

The denominator in these situations is forgetting an appointment. The social distance between the apologizee and the apologizer is from the least intimate (with boss) to the most intimate (with son). Data in Table 2 are used for comparing native responses for the three situations before comparing native with non-native responses.

What we see in the data is a constant drop along the continuum of least intimate to most intimate in Hokkien speakers' use of apology formula in both Hokkien (83, 66, 27 percent) and English (90, 83, 73 percent) responses. The same trend is observed in the use of responsibility formula. In the offer of repair, however, the trend is reversed: lowest frequency for the least intimate to the highest frequency for the most intimate in both Hokkien (17, 24, 95 percent) and

English 12, 39, 78 percent) responses. In the case of promise of forbearance, the respondents were least inclined to use it with one's son in Hokkien, but least with one's friend in English. The level of frequency for explanation is maintained in Situations 2 and 3, having about the same frequency in both Hokkien (90% - 90%) and English (93% - 95%) responses, but drops considerably in Situation 4 (Hokkien: 78%, English 73%). They tended to apologize to the boss but dramatically less to the son. This seeming lack of regard for the son, however, was compensated by very high frequency -- in fact, the highest of the three situations -- in the offer of repair. As some subjects pointed out, it was not acceptable for the Chinese to apologize to one's son; and that forgetting to take one's son shopping was not a serious enough matter to deserve an apology. Many respondents used the single formula of repair in Situation 4, unlike in the other two situations where combinations of formulas were more often used. Of the 27% apology recorded in the L1 response, only one respondent used "dui m ju" while the rest code-switched to the "sorry" norms. While the respondents felt it inappropriate to express apology to one's son in Hokkien, they were more willing to do so in English. During the interview, some respondents commented that the English speakers are more polite in handling apologies, so that they say "sorry" disregarding whether they are at fault or not, and disregarding whether they have offended someone younger or older. Some others commented that for the English speakers to say "sorry" is very easy because the apologizer needs not really mean it. They also felt that "dui m ju", the Hokkien counterpart, is too formal and more suitable for a very serious offense. In other words, the Hokkien speakers feel that "dui m ju" triggers a sense of humility or a deep sense of regret on the part of the apologizer, but that one can be unemotional in saying "sorry". These impressions have, perhaps, shed some light as to why frequency for apology is generally higher in English than in Hokkien across the three situations.

Data from the English speakers show interesting contrasts with those from the Hokkien speakers. The former maintain a higher frequency for apology and explanation across all three situations. In referring to responsibility, however, they show a consistently lower frequency rate than the Hokkien speakers do in all three situations. While the Hokkien speakers apologized more to the boss (83%) than to a friend (66%), the English speakers apologized to both equally frequently (75%). In Situation 2, the English speakers were least inclined to use the forbearance formula while the Hokkien speakers were least inclined to offer repair. In Situation 3, no English speakers used the forbearance formula while five Hokkien speakers did. In Situation 4, the English speakers were least inclined to use the responsibility formula while the Hokkien speakers were least inclined to use the forbearance formula. While the English speakers show the highest inclination to explain in all three situations, the Hokkien speakers were most inclined to accept/deny responsibility in Situation 2, to explain in Situation 3, and to offer repair in Situation 4.

TABLE 2
Frequency of Use of Semantic Formulas in Percentages

Situation 2 -- Forgetting a Meeting with the Boss

	NE Olshtain 1983	HC	HC in E
Apology	75	83	90
Explanation	100	90	93
Responsibility	50	96	97
Repair	42	17	12
Forbearance	25	27	29

Situation 3 -- Forgetting a Get-together with a Friend

	NE Olshtain 1983	HC	HC in E
Apology	75	66	83
Explanation	100	90	95
Responsibility	75	88	88
Repair	33	24	39
Forbearance	0	12	12

Situation 4 -- Forgetting to Take Your Son Shopping

	NE Olshtain 1983	HC	HC in E
Apology	67	27	73
Explanation	92	78	73
Responsibility	33	66	63
Repair	92	95	78
Forbearance	42	5	17

NE = Native speakers of English. n = 12. All figures from Olshtain 1983
 HC = Hokkien Chinese speakers. n = 41
 HC in E = Hokkien Chinese speakers interacting in English. n = 41

In these particular situations, the data seem to show that the English speakers and the Hokkien speakers perceive the social distance very differently and view appropriateness in the use of semantic formulas very differently. Hence, their preference for the semantic formulas for a specific situation varies considerably.

Situation 5 -- Backing into Someone's Car Causing Damage

This situation was designed to test the subjects' use of the repair formula. Data collected show that the informants were more inclined in English than in Hokkien to offer repair (78% - 66%) and to express apology (68% - 49%), but were less inclined in English than in Hokkien to offer explanation (34% - 47%) and to accept/deny responsibility (68% = 76%). It was also noted that the subjects code-switched in their L1 responses for the apology formula. During the interview, three respondents offered interesting comments. Accordingly, the verbal cue from the apologizée sounded less polite in Hokkien than in English, therefore, they denied responsibility in Hokkien interaction but accepted responsibility in English interaction. Five commented that in such situations, the local Chinese style is to argue until they run out of argument before repair is offered. They also commented that the English speakers are generally more ready/generous to compensate for damages.

TABLE 3
Backing Into Someone's Car Causing Damage

Situation 5 -- Backing into Someone's Car Causing Damage			
	NE Olshtain 1963	HC	HC in E
Apology	67	49	68
Explanation	50	41	34
Responsibility	58	76	68
Repair	66	66	78
Forbearance	0	0	0

NE = Native speakers of English. n = 12. All figures from Olshtain 1983
 HC = Hokkien Chinese speakers. n = 41
 HC in E = Hokkien Chinese speakers interacting in English. n = 41

Table 3 shows that the English speakers apologized more frequently than the Hokkien speakers in Hokkien but equally frequently when the latter used English. The data also show that the English speakers were more inclined than the Hokkien speakers to explain, but were less inclined to refer to responsibility than the latter. Both the Hokkien and the English speakers rejected the forbearance formula.

Situations 6, 7, and 8 -- Bumping into a lady and hurting her, without hurting her, and because she is in your way.

These situations were designed to create a continuum for expressing apology based on one's perception of seriousness of the offense committed in each situation against the lady in question. Situation 6, being more serious than Situation 7, seems to deserve higher intensity of apology. On the other hand, Situation 8 seems to deserve the lowest intensity of apology since the lady is partly at fault.

Response from the Hokkien speakers in Hokkien shows a generally high frequency of apology (78% to 85%), but a rather low frequency for explanation (27% to 44%) and reference to responsibility (7% to 54%). While none of the respondents offered repair in Situation 8, one did in Situation 7, and 34 did in

Situation 6. None made any promise of forbearance in all three situations. They show the same tendency in their English interaction. The same trend is observed in the English speakers, except that one of them used the forbearance formula in Situation 6 and also one in Situation 7.

TABLE 4
Frequency of Use of Semantic Formulas in Percentages

	SITUATION 6 Bumping into a Lady and Hurting Her		
	NE Olshtain 1963	HC	HC in E
Apology	92	85	95
Explanation	16	27	12
Responsibility	33	22	24
Repair	100	83	20
Forbearance	8	0	0

SITUATION 7
Bumping into a Lady Without Hurting Her

	NE Olshtain 1963	HC	HC in E
Apology	83	83	98
Explanation	25	44	20
Responsibility	58	7	12
Repair	25	2	2
Forbearance	8	0	0

SITUATION 8
Bumping into a Lady Who Was in the Way

	NE Olshtain 1963	HC	HC in E
Apology	92	78	90
Explanation	42	34	17
Responsibility	8	54	46
Repair	8	0	0
Forbearance	0	0	0

NE = Native speakers of English. n = 12. All figures from Olshtain 1983
 HC = Hokkien Chinese speakers. n = 41
 HC in E = Hokkien Chinese speakers interacting in English. n = 41

In Situation 6, the Hokkien speakers show very high preference for apology and repair formulas in both Hokkien and English, but they offer more explanation in Hokkien than in English, and are about as frequent for responsibility formula in both languages. Most of them expressed apology, then promptly followed it up by carrying out some actions of repair or explanation. Data from the English speakers show the same trend with those of Hokkien speakers' L2 interaction.

Data from Table 4 for Situation 7 show that both the Hokkien and the English speakers have very high frequency in apology. However, while the Hokkien speakers are more inclined to offer explanation in Hokkien, the English speakers are more inclined to accept responsibility. Whereas the English speakers are inclined to offer explanation and repair equally frequently, the Hokkien speakers show a much higher preference for explanation than repair. The Hokkien speakers' L2 interaction seems to exhibit a trend closer to that of their L1 interaction than to that shown by the English speakers. A point noted during the interview is the respondents' reaction to the verbal cue, "Hey, look out!" It puzzled a few of them. Before responding they rechecked with the investigator whether they did bump into the lady. Some protested that the phrase should be used as a warning before something actually happened, not after. One produced an interesting response, "You look out yourself!" which was interpreted as denial of responsibility in the data.

Although the Hokkien speakers' use of apology is the most frequent in Situation 8, the frequency rate is the lowest of the three situations. The English speakers, on the other hand, maintain identical frequency rate for Situation 6 and 8. The data also show that the Hokkien respondents have a higher tendency in using responsibility than explanation formula in both L1 and L2 responses. The English speakers' tendency is the opposite. Some Hokkien respondents feel strongly about the lady's blocking their way. One respondent bluntly said, "Serves you right! You're blocking my way." A few point out the lady's fault to her by way of explanation, like "I'm sorry, but I didn't see that you're in the way." In Hokkien interaction, some pass the responsibility over to the lady by way of offering advice like "...but you should be careful not to stand there. You might get hurt when people bump into you."

Throughout all three situations, the informants' use of "(jin jin) dui m ju" is considerably higher than in the other five situations. However, code-switching frequency in their L1 response is still very high.

To conclude the data analysis, the average frequencies of use of the five semantic formulas across all eight situations are taken and presented in Table 5. These data are used to establish common trends exhibited by the Hokkien speakers in their L1 and L2 and to make general comparisons between the Hokkien speakers and the English speakers in performing their speech act of apology.

TABLE 5
Average Frequencies of Use of Semantic Formulas in
Eight Situations in Percentages

	NE Olshtain 1963	HC	HC in E
Apology	80	66	83
Explanation	63	58	52
Responsibility	52	56	54
Repair	46	36	38
Forbearance	10	6	7

NE = Native speakers in English. n = 12. All figures from Olshtain 1983

HC = Hokkien Chinese speakers. n = 41

HC in E = Hokkien Chinese speakers interacting in English. n = 41

Comparing the data from the Hokkien speakers and the English speakers, the former exhibit overall lower frequencies of use of all the semantic formulas, except for the responsibility. Very noticeable is the apology formula where English and Hokkien speakers' usage shows a 14 percent difference. In their L2, however, the Hokkien speakers use it as frequently as the English speakers. Offer of explanation is about as frequent in both Hokkien and English usage, but the former are much less inclined to use the formula in their L2 interaction, exhibiting an 22 percent difference. What is observable is that as the Hokkien speakers use the apology formula more, they use the explanation formula less, and vice-versa. Another trend is the Hokkien speakers' low preference for the repair formula in their L1, but about the same level of preference in their L2 as the English speakers'. These general trends, of course, do not paint an accurate picture of how the informants handle each particular situation. As Tables 1 through 4 have shown, the Hokkien speakers and the English speakers handle the eight situations using the five semantic formulas with a wide range of variations. Nevertheless, these observations have answered the first research question of how the Hokkien speakers deviate from English norms in their performance of the apology speech act.

The second research question is whether the deviations are related to learners' perception of L-S/L-N. A general feeling among the informants is that to express apology explicitly in Hokkien is face-threatening, but not so in English. As a result, the data show a consistently higher level of frequency in their L2 interaction for the apology formula. By contrast, the apology formula consistently ranks very low in their L1 interaction, Situations 6, 7, and 8 being exceptions. This seems to indicate non-transfer of L1 perception to L2 performance, or that their performance in the L2 is consistent with their perception of the L2. Another observation is that the Hokkien speakers do not have a fixed pattern with regard to ranking or preference of the semantic formulas, as each situation seems to be dealt with differently from the other. This means that the informants do modify their performance according to their perceptions of situation and language specificity. These are consistent with the learners' perception of distance between their L1 and L2, and their perception of language specificity for the L2 and the L2.

CONCLUSIONS

This study was done in Sarawak, Malaysia. For ease of comparison, the investigator made use of the data for native English responses from Olshtain's (1983) study. The instrument used is efficiently designed in that some control over the responses is done to enable comparison of native usage against non-native usage. However, some situations seem to be more culturally specific than

others. For example, the subjects felt strongly about being asked to apologize to one's son, while the English speakers may not mind it at all. Hence the subjects' interaction would not be so much as how they would respond but whether they should respond at all. Another example is a situation that would seem improbable in another culture such as insulting someone or being insulted by some one at a meeting. Another drawback is the seemingly "dictated" response in each situation where the subjects were specifically asked to apologize. Hence, some subjects initially reacted with: "Do I have to apologize?" Accordingly, they would rather just keep quiet or respond with some non-verbal cue like giving a smile in real situations.

Despite the drawbacks, the results of this study do tend to support that native speakers of Hokkien and native speakers of English apologize in different ways. And the results validate the theory that transfer behavior is related to the language learner's perception of the specificity and markedness of his/her L1 and L2.

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APPENDIX 1

Apology Instrument

Instructions

You will be asked to read eight brief situations calling for an apology. In each case, the person whom you owe the apology to will speak first. I will role-play this person. Respond as much as possible as you would in an actual situation. Your responses will be tape-recorded. Give back the card when you have finished reading.

Situation 1

You are at a meeting and you say something that one of the participants interprets as a personal insult to him.

He: I feel that your last remark was directed at me, and I take offense.

You:

Situation 2

You completely forget a crucial meeting at the office with your boss. An hour later you call him to apologize. The problem is that this is the second time you have forgotten such a meeting. Your boss gets on the line and asks:

Boss: What happened to you?

You:

Situation 3

You forget a get-together with a friend. You call him to apologize. This is the second time you have forgotten such a meeting. Your friend asks over the phone:

Friend:

You:

Situation 4

You call from work to find out how things are at home, and your son reminds you that you forgot to take him shopping, as you had promised. And this is the second time that this has happened. Your son says over the phone:

Son: Oh, you forgot again. And you promised!

You:

Situation 5

Backing out of a parking lot, you run into the side of another car. It was clearly your fault. You dent the side door slightly. The driver gets out and comes over to your angrily.

Driver: Can't you look where you're going? See what you've done!

You:

Situation 6

You accidentally bump into a well-dressed elderly lady at an elegant department store, causing her to spill her packages all over the floor. You hurt her leg, too. It's clearly your fault, and you want to apologize.

She: Ow! My goodness!

You:

Situation 7

You bump into a well-dressed elderly lady at a department store, shaking her up a bit. It's clearly your fault, and you want to apologize.

She: Hey, look out!

You:

Situation 8

You bump into an elderly lady at a department store. You hardly could have avoided doing so because she was blocking the way. Still, you feel that some kind of apology is in order.

She: Oh, my!

You:

APPENDIX 2

Percentages of Explicit Apology in Hokkien and in English in Hokkien Responses in all Situations

Situations	Hokkien (dui m ju formula)	English (sorry formula)
1	10	46
2	5	76
3	2	63
4	2	32
5	5	46
6	24	63
7	12	80
8	15	63

BAH. A MULTI-FUNCTIONAL BORNEAN PARTICLE

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The motivation to put down our thoughts on the use of the particle *bah* in and around Brunei has come about as a result of interest shown by a number of colleagues and observers of language use in Borneo. These notes have a two-

fold purpose. Firstly, we aim to outline the use of *bah* in Brunei; and secondly, to appeal to fellow students of Borneo language, society and culture for further details on the use of this particle in other parts of the island. We would therefore welcome any comments or feedback, either through personal communication or through the *Borneo Research Bulletin*.

Negara Brunei Darussalam (henceforth Brunei) is linguistically interesting. The Malays, which are the largest ethnic group, make up about 65% of the total population of 241,000 (Government of Brunei, 1989). (Most of the remainder is made up of Chinese, Iban and foreign workers.) These are *puak jati* of Brunei, each having its own dialect or language. Brunei Malay is the tongue spoken by the dominant *puak* Brunei, and this is also the code used for inter-ethnic communication in the country. The *puak* Kedayan, too, speak a variety of Malay. The other five *puak*, the Tutong, Belait, Dusun, Bisaya, and Murut have their own languages.

The official language in the country is *Bahasa Melayu*, but English also plays a role. Since 1985 Brunei has pursued a policy of bilingual education with all secondary subjects except Malay, religion, art and sport, taught in English.

Little has been documented on the use of *bah* in Brunei. Simanjuntak (1988) suggests that *bah*, one of eight clitics found in Brunei Malay, is a salient feature of the variety, and with this we concur. However, in our work on *bah* we have found that it is much more than a clitic and, in fact, has numerous functions. We have remarked on the versatility of the particle in Brunei English and the fact that any piece of discourse without it would seem unnatural (Ożóg & Martin, 1990). A study of the uses and functions of *bah* in Malay discourse is in progress (Martin, in prep.). Kimball (1971) has recorded instances of *bah* in her data on the language acquisition of a Brunei Malay child. She perceives the use of *bah* to be equivalent to *lah*, and classifies both as general purpose emphatics. Informants have also mentioned the similarity between the two particles. Our data shows that although the functions of the two particles do indeed overlap, *bah* is, in fact, by far the more versatile of the two.

The literature on the particle variously written as *la/lah* in Singapore and Malaysia is of relevance to any discussion of *bah*. A number of writers have looked at these particles in the varieties of English in the region. (See, for example, Tongue 1974; Richards and Tay, 1977.) According to Bell and Ser (1983) the particle is seen as having a traditional sociolinguistic function, that is "to act as a signal of the use of a particular code and, thereby, to act as an index of group membership." Richards and Tay (1977) suggest the use of *la* in Singapore English indicates that "the speech act is one involving dimensions of informality,

solidarity and rapport between the participants." The particle also expresses a large number of communicative functions, the most common being asserting, requesting, suggesting, pleading, refusing and disagreeing.

Our own study into the use of *bah* in Brunei is based on a corpus of utterances in the various Brunei dialects of Malay, Brunei English (see Ozóg, 1990, for a preliminary description of this emerging variety), as well as the mixed language of Bruneian bilinguals. The corpus is based on data from spontaneous speech, tape-recording, questionnaires and informant comment. In the analysis of data below, instances of utterances containing *bah* will be given in order to illustrate the multifarious functions of the particle. For the purpose of these brief notes, we are interested in the use of *bah* in English, Malay and code-switched discourse. However, we recognize that the particle is not limited to these languages, and we have recorded instances of its use in the Tutong, Belait, Dusun and Murut languages. Readers are referred to the studies on *bah* mentioned earlier for further examples on the uses of *bah* in Brunei English and Malay.

The use of *bah* can be examined both syntactically and functionally. Syntactically, the particle can be found following adjectives, nouns, and verbs and, to a lesser extent, after imperatives, adverbs and pronouns. It can also stand on its own or in fixed forms such as *au bah* and *anu' bah*. The significance of these two forms will be discussed later.

We believe, however, that sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors are more relevant than syntactic factors in determining the use of *bah* in Brunei, and therefore the remaining discussion is limited to a functional analysis of its use.

Data from our corpus indicates that *bah* is often used in constructions which convey negative meaning, or, at the very least, there is a negative connotation in the utterance.

- (1) He's lazy *bah*.
- (2) It's so difficult *bah*.
- (3) That car expensive *bah*.
- (4) *Payah bah*. ["It's difficult!"]
- (5) I don't know his name *bah*.
- (6) Keep quiet *bah*.
- (7) *Kadiaku indada usin bah*. ["I don't have money"]
- (8) *Belum siap bah*. ["Not ready yet"]

We suggest that here the function of *bah* is to "soften" the force of the utterance. This is particularly important in the Malay social and cultural environment where

politeness rules dictate a less than direct approach. The role of *bah* in "softening" an utterance and as an emphatic particle is similar to the role of *lah* in Malaysia.

However, as we intimated earlier, the functional territory of *bah* extends beyond the frontiers of *lah*. This is most keenly shown when *bah* stands alone in an unbound utterance or in combination with *au* (a particle commonly used to confirm or concur with a statement).

We have itemized a number of pragmatic functions in the use of *bah* (Ozóg & Martin, 1990). These include concurring, inviting, parting from company, closing a conversation, and as a signal between interlocutors. As will be apparent, there is considerable overlap between these functions.

1. Concurrence:

The particle *bah* (either by itself or in construction with *au*) is commonly used to affirm, agree, confirm or to signify acknowledgement to an accession or command:

- (9) A: Are you ready?
B: *Bah*.
- (10) A: *Tunggu sakajap*. ["Wait a moment."]
B: *Bah*.
- (11) A: Are you sure with the answer?
B: *Au bah*. Don't worry.

In these utterances *bah* acts as a marker of assent or agreement carrying such illocutionary forces as *Yes, All right, OK, Certainly, Absolutely, Right*.

2. Invitation:

In informal situations in Brunei an invitation to partake of food or drink may be rendered by the single utterance *bah*, possibly with an accompanying gesture indicating the refreshments. Here, *bah* is probably equivalent to the English "please" or "go ahead" in a similar situation. The same utterance may also be used to invite someone to enter a house, or to start some activity. In the case of an invitation to partake of refreshment, if the visitor fails to respond (as politeness rules may dictate), the host may resort to a "softened command", *Minum bah*.

3. Parting Comment:

A common use of *bah* is as a signal that one wishes to leave company or that one is ready to leave. The single utterance *bah* would be the natural way of announcing one's intention to leave, and it is thus an important part of the leave-taking ritual in Brunei. Most often the particle is used at an appropriate break in the discourse, but on occasion its use may seem rather abrupt to non-members of the Brunei speech community.

So important is the use of *bah* in the leave-taking ritual that announcing one's intention to leave without its use would be very marked. In (12) below, for example, the utterance without *bah* would, in most circumstances be considered less socially appropriate, even though it contains the Brunei Malay softener *tah*.

(12) *Bah. Maritah kitani mulih.* ["Let's go home."]

A slightly different use is shown in (13) below. This is, in fact, concurrence, but it is exemplified here to stress the importance of *bah* in the leave-taking process.

(13) A: Let's go.
B: *Bah.*

4. Closing Comment:

Perhaps the commonest use of *bah* in Brunei is as a closing remark in both face-to-face and telephone discourse. It appears to incorporate the function of closing greetings such as the informal "Bye" or the more formal "Goodbye". Three examples are given below.

(14) A: See you.

B: *Bah.*

(15) A: OK, Bye.

B: *Bah.*

(16) A: *Itu sahaja.* ["That's all."]

B: *Bah.*

All our data suggest that the use of *bah* as a closing comment (especially in telephone discourse) is almost obligatory, a point consistently confirmed by informants. We would add that this is one of the few instances where we have observed *bah* being used in more formal discourse.

Among the other functions of *bah* is its use as a phatic acknowledgement to "thank you"-type utterances, and greetings. We have observed *bah* being used, for example, by colleagues or acquaintances as a marker of polite acknowledgement when passing each other when conversation is not possible or desirable at that particular time. We would add that, while we have observed this, few of our informants concur with our analysis of this function of *bah*.

The particle *bah* is also very commonly found in construction with *anu'* as in (17) and (18) below

(17) *Boleh saya berhubong dengan .. anu' bah .. Si Aji?*

["Can I speak to .. what's his name.. Aji?"]

(18) Compared between two .. *anu' bah* .. system.

In these utterances, *anu' bah* appears to be similar in meaning to the English forms "what's his/her/its name", or "thingummyjig". This construction could also be described as having a function similar to the English hesitation particle "er", and the multifunctional particle "you know" (see, for example, Holmes, 1986).

A number of functions of *bah*, either unbound or in fixed forms, have been considered, and it has been suggested that the particle plays an important role as an emphatic marker or "softener" in longer constructions. However, central to the understanding of the functions of *bah* is the need to recognize that it is first and foremost a particle whose correct usage signifies that both the speaker and his interlocutor are members of the Brunei speech community. Bruneians are conscious of this. In this way, the use of *bah* is important in conveying solidarity and rapport between participants.

The *bah* particle plays a crucial and unique role in the speech of Bruneians. In these brief notes we have only been able to give an outline of the use of the particle in one small part of Borneo. We are aware that its use is not limited to Brunei only, and we would be grateful to have any comment from readers about its use in other parts of the island.

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INTRODUCTION TO TEN YEARS IN SARAWAK,
BY CHARLES BROOKE¹

R. H. W. REECE

INTRODUCTION

Ten Years in Sarawak was based on Charles Brooke's carefully kept journals for 1852-63 which have unfortunately disappeared. We can only guess at his motives for publication but it seems reasonable to suggest that, confident of his succession to the Raj, he was anxious to establish a profile for himself in his country of birth. Captains Henry Keppel and Rodney Mundy had done much to establish the reputation of his uncle James, the first Rajah, by publishing his early journals and Francis Grant's dashing portrait of him had supplied a suitably Byronic image. Charles had received no such exposure and he must have been aware of the need to project himself for the edification of government and public. The book also provided an opportunity for James to pay a glowing tribute to his younger nephew's sterling qualities and to designate him as his successor. Altogether, it tended to legitimize his elevation to the Rajahship and emphasize his commitment to its future.

Charles Anthoni Johnson was born at Berrow vicarage near Burnham, Somerset, in June 1829, the second son of the Revd Francis William Johnson and Emma, younger sister of James Brooke. After some years at grammar school, he joined the Royal Navy at the age of twelve and in 1844 was appointed as a midshipman to HMS *Dido* under the command of Henry Keppel. In that year he witnessed the devastating attack by *Dido's* boats on Sharif Sahap and the Dayak raiders of the Batang Lupar, and in the following year took an active part in

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Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane's expedition against Sharif Usman and the Illanun raiders of Marudu Bay. In 1848 he returned with Keppel to Borneo on the *Maeander*, which brought James Brooke to his new post as Governor of the Crown Colony of Labuan, and in 1852, no doubt on his uncle's urging, took two years' leave to serve under him in Sarawak. At the end of that time, he resigned from the navy with the rank of lieutenant and threw himself wholeheartedly into the great adventure that was Borneo. He was later to change his name by deed poll to Charles Anthoni Brooke and to assume the title of 'Tuan Muda', subordinate to his elder brother John Brooke Johnson, better known as Brooke Brooke, the Tuan Besar and Rajah Muda.

Of the three 'White Rajahs' of Sarawak, Charles Brooke was the real empire-builder. During the late 1850s and early 1860s when his uncle was making increasingly prolonged visits to England and his elder brother headed the government in Kuching, Charles and his Malay and Dayak followers were the front line of Brooke enforcement against those who continued to resist the authority of the fragile Raj. It was during those years that the Tuan Muda served his apprenticeship at Lundu and Lingga and then embarked on a seemingly endless series of forays from his new fort at Skrang against the conspiratorial *sharif* and defiant *penghulu* who might otherwise have succeeded in expelling Europeans from the whole of Borneo. By destroying Sharif Masahor's bases at Mukah and Sarikei on the coast and Rentap's mountain fastness at Sadok, this *Boy's Own Paper* hero earned a place for himself in Dayak mythology as well as in the history books of imperialism. Indeed, one way to understand the young Charles Brooke (he was only thirty-four when he wrote *Ten Years*) is to see him as a Dayak warrior chief. From July 1852 he had lived amongst them almost constantly, learning their language and customs, adopting their diet and form of dress, and appreciating the physical charms and the political acumen of their women. To all intents and purposes he 'went Dayak', and the occasional visit to Kuching gave him no desire for 're-naturalization or crinoline accomplishment among "the civilized"'. Indeed, he found some difficulty in speaking English again. At one point, it seemed that he would establish his own longhouse at Skrang and rule over the up-river people as *Rajah Ulu* in place of Rentap. However, while admiring the physical strength and courage of the Dayaks and their forthright and democratic style, he found it hard to conceal his contempt for omen-taking and other superstitious practices which were central to their social action. He banned 'promiscuous' head-hunting and thought that it would die out, but his various expeditions provided unprecedented opportunities for its pursuit.

He did not allow his mind to vegetate as it otherwise might have done in those languorous climes. There was plenty of time in between expeditions to read, write letters, and tend his flower garden. Miss Martineau's *Eastern Life* had

given him 'some useful hints on keeping the mind from flagging. I believe a good book, even a novel, and a profuse perspiration, are indispensables in that country for health and happiness.' A voracious reader for whom books were a substitute for European companionship, he consumed everything he could get his hands on: ancient history, theology, philosophy, anthropology, natural history, poetry, and popular fiction. Advised to keep in touch with European affairs, he also read the English newspapers which arrived twice a month from Singapore. During one of the assaults on Sadok, he carried with him a pocket edition of Byron's *Childe Harold*; books allowed him to become emotionally self-sufficient. Another consuming interest was opera, whose 'charm had not even been destroyed in the jungles'. One of the more bizarre but endearing images from the Kayan expedition is of the Tuan Muda sitting on a rock near a waterfall where he 'rattled off my last edition of *Trovatore*...', as the Dayaks hauled their warboats up the rapids.

Deliberately neutral on religious matters, he discussed the teachings of Islam with his Malay friends and kept abreast of contemporary Christian controversies such as those aroused by John Colenso, Bishop of Natal, through his views on the authorship of the Pentateuch and African polygamy. These had a particular relevance as Colenso was brother-in-law to the Revd Francis McDougall, first Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak, who had established the Borneo Mission at Kuching in 1848. Charles knew of Darwin's work and had probably been one of the first to hear an exposition of the theory of natural selection from Alfred Russel Wallace, who visited Sarawak in 1855 and wrote his first paper on the subject while staying at Santubong. Well versed in the ethnological writings of the day, Charles thought that the Dayaks might be a decadent form of a more advanced civilization whose existence could be deduced from 'the remnants of ancient idolatrous worship'. At the same time, he was attracted to the theory that the effects of climate had gradually transformed southwards-migrating Chinese into Dayaks. The jungle-dwelling 'Bakatans' (Bukitans) appeared to him to be the aborigines of Borneo.

He was an eminently practical man. Apart from seamanship skills and the use of artillery, the navy had given him some idea of carpentry and 'an eye for management and order'. He designed and supervised the construction of the new fort at Skrang and took over responsibility for the completion of a new government vessel built at Santubong. It is not clear whether he was involved in the casting of the twelve-pound howitzer which was laboriously hauled to the summit of Gunong Sadok in October 1861, an epic which might well have inspired Joseph Conrad, but he took personal charge of its transportation and deployment against Rentap's fortress. Preparing for an earlier expedition against Rentap, he had made 2,000 cartridges in one day. In more productive directions,

he showed an early interest in cattle breeding and the development of export crops such as coffee and gambier, which he thought might provide Sarawak with a badly needed staple. He was himself a keen gardener.

While James Brooke was a subtle and urbane politician who could call on the assistance of Keppel and other naval friends to enforce his position, Charles did his own enforcing and made it a matter of principle: 'Priests may preach, enthusiasts cant, and peacemakers palaver, yet evidence favours the fact, that the sword alone clears the path for the scythe and the sickle.' While he respected the Dayaks in many ways, he saw the truculent ones as so many children who would have to be taught a harsh lesson before they could be persuaded to settle down as peaceable agriculturists. Of the Kayans, he wrote: 'Friends or no friends, their mouths must be bitted sooner or later, and I am in hope these people ... will not require the same amount of scouring out as the Saribus and the Sakarangs have undergone.' While he would not have acknowledged his policies as constituting 'divide and rule', he was adept at exploiting ancient rivalries between down-river and up-river peoples: 'Dyaks can only act against Dyaks.' Harnessing Dayak warfare to his own purposes, Charles provided organization and arms for expeditions which needed no encouragement with their promise of enemy heads for the taking. There was no rôle for other Europeans and although he was always in the thick of the fighting, using his rifle to fearful effect during the expeditions against Masahor and Rentap, he did not see himself as playing the leading part: 'I simply went singly on these expeditions to act as an adviser, and be protected as a queen ant among thousands of workers'. He estimated that as many as 50,000 took part in the Kayan expedition.

More than anything else, *Ten Years* is the record of 'a sailor professionally but a soldier in action' who did not lack the ability to convey his experiences in memorable prose. His descriptions of the pursuit of the Chinese rebels in 1857 and the organization and progress of other *bala* or war parties are detailed and evocative; and his accounts of the attacks on Mukah and Gunong Sadok and the Kayan expedition have a wonderful immediacy. It is not difficult to hear the defiant 'Grandfather Rentap' cry: 'Bring all your fire guns from Europe, and we are not afraid of you.' The narrative owes much of its vividness to the fact that on his return from these expeditions, there was no one to whom he could tell the tale.

Charles Brooke was a man upon whom the gods smiled tenderly through the most perilous vicissitudes. During the attack by *Dido's* boats on Patusan (Pemutus Gran) in 1844, he was close to the only man killed by a cannon-shot, and at Marudu Bay his best friend was killed by grapeshot from Sharif Usup's *lela* as they worked to cut the boom. During the attack on Mukah in 1860 he was

often under fire, relishing the knowledge that Sharif Masahor had offered a handsome life pension of 300 *reals* a month to anyone who could bring in his head. The three attacks on Sadok also involved great personal risk, not the least being epidemic disease, and he was almost drowned during the Kayan expedition. Blessed with what he called 'my John Bull constitution', his physical strength and endurance were truly remarkable and it was only a combination of exhaustion and malaria that could lay him low. Immediately after the third Sadok expedition, he set off with his younger brother Stuart and 'Fitz' (James) Cruickshank on a gruelling exploration inland from Skrang to Kanowit, from which he returned emaciated and ill. What drove him so relentlessly on is not altogether clear, but it does seem that Sarawak provided him with his *raison d'être*, his life's mission. An abiding image from the heights of Sadok is of the Tuan Muda, with his trusty rifle and telescope, snatching some sleep while wrapped in the only covering available, the Sarawak flag.

One casualty of this heroic career was humanity and compassion. Utterly ruthless in his onslaught on the enemies of the Raj, he displayed a chilling *sang-froid* in the face of death and destruction on a grim scale. He had little real control over his Dayak forces in the field and the wholesale plundering and burning of longhouses which inevitably accompanied his expeditions, notably that against the Kayans, might have troubled a more delicate conscience. If it had been objected to him that many lives, particularly those of women and children, were needlessly lost, he would have replied that this was the only language that a bloodthirsty people understood. He had no patience for the 'leather and prunella' of diplomacy and was furious when the Governor of Labuan's intervention forced him to abandon a certain victory at Mukah. Vindictive in the extreme against those who killed Charles Fox and Henry Steele at Kanowit in 1859, he ordered the wholesale krissing of disloyal fortmen and seven years later mounted a huge expedition against the Kayans to catch the murderers.

Throughout the journals, there are no references to members of his family other than his younger brother, Stuart, and his elder brother, Brooke Brooke, who headed the government during James' absences until 1863 when the Rajah disinherited him after a long and festering argument over Sarawak's future erupted into open struggle. We know from his private letters from this period to his old friend and associate, Charles Grant, that Charles believed his brother to be taking a rash and potentially disastrous course in defying the Rajah, but the likelihood of his being the principal beneficiary may have caused him to keep his own counsel. In the agonizing clash of loyalties that was to ensue, Charles was bitterly admonished by his mother and had to fight hard to win the support of the European officers. Only one, Robert Hay, was to break with him openly but the conflict inevitably led to the departure from Sarawak of Charles Grant, whose

sister Annie had borne Brooke Brooke two sons, and thus a possible heir, before her death in 1858. Both Charles and his brother had expressed their sense of outrage to the Rajah in that year when he announced his intention of establishing his illegitimate son, Reuben George Walker, in Sarawak. However, there are no references to these traumatic events in the published journals.

Although Brooke Brooke effectively ruled Sarawak in his uncle's place for some years and played an active part in the military expeditions of the period, his early death after his disinheritance and his down-playing by the Brooke court historians combined to make him a shadowy and insignificant figure. It is only from his official correspondence with the British government and his private letters that we can gain some idea of his true worth and importance. How Charles felt about his brother remained locked in his heart, but his treatment of his one surviving son, Hope Brooke, was to be less than generous.

From his warmly appreciative descriptions of them in his journals and from his more personal letters to his elder brother, it is clear that Charles was no stranger to Sarawak women. While posted at Simanggang in 1866-7, he had a number of *gundik* or mistresses, one of whom bore him a son in August 1867. There is no reference in his journals or letters to Dayang Mastiah and their child, Isaka (better known as Esca), who was baptized by the Revd William Crossland at Fort Alice in January 1872, but we know that Raneé Margaret learnt of his existence and, believing 'that he might be a bore in the country' (i.e. that he might impede the succession), took him back to England with her own three children in August 1873. When Esca was adopted by the local vicar at Sheepstor in Devon and taken by him to Canada, Charles' only subsequent acknowledgement of his existence was a small annual allowance, paid irregularly.

Referring to an earlier attempt at matchmaking by his parents, Charles had written to his elder brother in 1861: 'I never heard such rot in my life. I have seen her once and then did not form much opinion of her, in fact never thought of her since--too foolish. I would as soon think of cutting my throat as marrying her or anyone else without £2000 per annum.' And it was with a wealthy heiress in mind that he went to England in February 1862 to recover his health:

My thoughts dwelt upon my future; whether I should become so changed as not to be able to endure native society and the monotony of such a life again, or whether I should be married, and so become unfit for rough jungle exposure. But I prayed for renewed health and vigour to return to what I considered was more to me than all else in the world, namely, a successful issue and establishment of the permanent welfare of the people and country, and to witness their affairs on a surer basis than at present.

However, within six months he was telling Brooke Brooke that there was 'no chance of marrying' and that, consequently, he was 'all ready to live and die among the people of Borneo'. It was not until after his uncle's death and his succession to the Raj in 1868 that he made a determined effort to find a European bride, initially in the form of his rich and widowed cousin, Mme de Windt, and then in her nineteen-year-old daughter, Margaret. In this extraordinary and unromantic courtship, *Ten Years* was to play an important part by convincing her, in spite of all appearances, that he was a passionate human being.

He had left for England in the comfortable knowledge that Sarawak was 'without an enemy in her dominions, and without an inter-tribal petty war of any description'. This sense of security allowed him to indulge in an uncharacteristically emotional reflection on the difficulties of the past decade:

We had been ... ever since the shake and shudder caused by the Chinese insurrection, followed up as it was by other difficulties, only able to keep our heads on our shoulders and drag ourselves through the mire by dint of the hardest labour and deepest anxieties; sometimes moving forward after an extra exertion, but to be again nearly overtaken before a few steps had been taken. It was the struggle between good and evil; free trade and monopoly; between the new rule and old misrule; between order and anarchy. The people were true, but our means were wasting away in this struggle with the ill-disposed....

Although he did not name her, he paid a heartfelt tribute to Baroness Angela Burdett Coutts, whose gift of the gunboat *Rainbow* was 'a godsend of no ordinary description'. She was 'our leading star, which permitted us to steer successfully after our battles had been fought ...'.

There was no keen anticipation of European pleasures, except perhaps the opera. Riding westward towards his parents' home in Somerset, he was struck by the 'poverty-stricken appearance and discomfort of a great portion of the English peasantry'. Many of their dwellings were in poor repair and with interiors that offered few comforts. Indeed, he 'could not help drawing comparisons between their discomfort, and the easy state of many of the Dyak tribes, furnished with sufficiency for their wants in life'. Remarkable on the disparity between 'the richness of the soil and the wealth of the squires on one hand, and the filthy and wretched conditions of the poorer classes on the other', he suggested that there was 'a screw loose somewhere, even in Old England with her thousands of benefits and blessings'.

At the end of his narrative, Charles set down in a more systematic way his thoughts on government and justice, missionaries and miscegenation. Coming as they did from the future Rajah, these are of more than passing interest because they illuminate the thinking that was to influence his long reign. Having seen the Dutch administration at first hand and possessing some knowledge of British India through the various books that had appeared since the Mutiny, he emphasized the importance of personal and informal government: 'The bare show of pomp and panoply, soldiers and steamers, is not enough, and will only last for the day thereof. It gives no permanent and useful power and knowledge of such peoples as inhabit the endless jungles.' This was only possible, however, if the European could cast aside his 'pride of race' and treat the indigenous peoples as possessing similar capacities. In Java, 'The idea that a coloured man approach a European is strongly repudiated, and as a result there is not an atom of sympathy between rulers and ruled.' Outlining Sarawak's 'semi-native' system of government, his emphasis was on the administration of justice which had evolved from a patriarchal tradition to one involving 'form, ceremony, and official regulations', although the 'mode of procedure' was still 'more clearly defined than the code of laws'. He was concerned to elucidate the reasons why slavery continued, being no doubt aware of the British public's interest in this question.

Unlike Spenser St John's *Life in the Forest of the Far East* (1862), he was not critical of the Borneo Mission which had been established by McDougall at the Rajah's encouragement. By comparison with other missionary fields, he believed that it 'has been, and is doing, its work'. Responding to the suggestion that the Sarawak government had not done enough to support the Mission, he emphasized that the separation of Church and State 'should be laid down as an invariable principle'. Reminding his readers of Sarawak's large Muslim community, he wrote:

It was the duty of the Government ... to be a supporter of no one religion in preference to another, and to protect all alike. If the Government had attempted to push Christianity, such a course would have inevitably led to the ruin of both itself and the Mission also, and barbarous massacres of the Europeans would have followed.

He believed that the Dayaks and other interior peoples should receive an education, but that it should be in outstation schools where the children would not be alienated from their own culture. He did not want to see the native tribes intermingled with Chinese and others 'as they would seriously and rapidly degenerate to the rascalities of the more civilized children, and would soon learn to despise their parents and relatives'. Natives should not be placed in a position where they would lose pride in themselves.

Keenly interested in the process of acclimatization and the adaptation of Europeans and their animals to the tropics, his own observations had convinced him that the future of Europe's Eastern possessions lay in the hands of a Eurasian governing class, a 'suitable population' who would combine the intellectual vigour of the European with the physical powers of the acclimatized native. 'Pride of race', he believed, was the cardinal sin of European colonizers. Nature indicated instead that Europeans abroad 'should take perhaps a worse half, instead of a better one': 'With the other half would descend a constitution better able to endure the climate, and lead to increase of population with an elasticity of mental and physical organization, that would be capable of modification and enlightenment in their original climate.' If this practice had been followed in India, he believed, there would have been no mutinies 'and other troubles resulting from holding ourselves too much aloof, being too exclusive, and too careless of native rights, sympathies, and interests'. Pride of race was the major obstacle to this desirable amalgamation: the prejudice towards darker-skinned peoples which was instilled in Europeans from the cradle and the widespread 'glory of dynasties and clanship' which was 'gloated over in narrowness of spirit as much by blacks as whites'. Admitting that the first generation of 'half-castes' by European fathers in Sarawak were not particularly healthy or strong, he pointed out that, in accordance with the rules of breeding, 'too sudden and great a contrast between the parents produces a somewhat imperfect offspring, and it has been found that the next generation of children considerably improved'.

Advocacy of miscegenation was radical enough in the era of Gobineau when authorities like W. J. Moore, taking as his example the Portuguese in India and Ceylon ('the degenerate race every one laments'), proclaimed that the 'remoter descendants of the European ancestor become rapidly feeble, astute, passionate, and indolent, as any of the dark races around them'. More outrageous was Charles' suggestion that Asian men should assist this process by taking European wives. There was nothing to suggest 'that a Chinaman would not make as amiable and kind a husband as a European', and that in time, Europeans would lose their 'fantastic notion' of race differences: 'Intermarriage, after the bitter prejudices are somewhat smoothed and broken, will effect this change, and Anglo-Chinese, Malays, and other coloured people ... will, at a future period, provide themselves with European helpmates.' While he was aware of the reaction this argument might bring in the drawing-rooms of polite English society, notably his own family, he made no apologies: 'I can never believe that such conventional modes of etiquette can remain stable in the East, where flesh and blood are so different.' No doubt it was these final passages which caused James Brooke in his preface to distance himself discreetly from his favorite nephew's opinions and theories.

While the reviewers of *Ten Years* preferred to ignore Charles' controversial views on such things as miscegenation, they were impressed by the epic qualities of his narrative. The *Illustrated London News* was not at all sure what the title of 'Tuan Muda' meant but thought that 'the stirring adventures he encountered in that capacity are recounted in a very striking manner': 'Exciting scenes by sea and land; swords, and snakes, and revolvers for bedfellows; human sacrifice, cannibalism and head-taking; queer birds, queer insects, and alligators; conflagrations, fights and executions; singular religions, singular customs, and singular appearances...' If it all seemed exotic and larger than life, there was no doubt about the author's veracity and the old maxim that truth was stranger than fiction: 'The writer of professed romance would scarcely have ventured to heap so thickly one upon the other stories of perilous adventure as the Tuan Muda has done.' Nevertheless, the book did not go through a second edition.

The manuscript journal for 1866-8, which forms part of the collection of Brooke papers at Rhodes House, Oxford, was never published but it provides a valuable continuation of the earlier narrative. Although it ends with yet another expedition to quell Dayak resistance, this time on the upper Batang Lupar, the journal for these years is more concerned with his various efforts to facilitate economic progress. In typical fashion, he personally supervised the clearing of slopes of Gunung Matang near Kuching for the planting of coffee and encouraged the cultivation of silkworms which the Italian botanist, Odoardo Beccari, had advised might lead to a profitable export industry. Charles also hoped to extend agriculture by encouraging the Dayaks to become wet *padi* cultivators and by bringing in more Chinese immigrants who would be attracted by the reduced price of opium:

We want population to turn our waste land into shape and create bustle and industry. I never saw the country as still as it is now, and this does not agree with me. I want to see ... the jungle falling right and left and people scattered over what are now lonely wastes and turning them into cultivated lands.

So anxious was he to replenish the government's empty coffers that when a report came of a British ship wrecked in the Natuna islands, he immediately set off in the government steamer *Heartsease* to see if she could be salvaged. Although the expedition was unsuccessful, almost ending in the shipwreck of the *Heartsease* herself, Charles was able to display his considerable seamanship to good effect. Methodical as always, he left a careful set of sailing instructions for the Natunas area.

It was only in this unedited journal that his emotions were allowed some expression. Hearing of the Rajah's second stroke of December 1867, he paid an affectionate tribute to his uncle 'who is and has been a friend to me such as I shall never meet again'. Assured by him of the succession, he was still by no means certain that this would not be obstructed in some way and he made an effort to be philosophical. Nevertheless, his abiding sentiment was 'to devote my energy and life to the good work which he has promised to leave me', words that have the ring of conviction about them. At the same time, he recognized that the transfer of power from James, who had left Sarawak for the last time in September 1863, 'will not perhaps be of any great moment to the people en masse'. He had, after all, been ruling the country since then.

It is odd that, unlike his uncle whose material achievements he soon eclipsed, Charles Brooke has not attracted his fair share of biographers. After all, it was he who was largely responsible for saving the Raj from Malay and Dayak opposition, extending its boundaries to their present limits, establishing a practical machinery of government and developing a secure and modestly prosperous economy in which native interests were not sacrificed to those of European capital. The State of Sarawak that was ceded to the British Crown in April 1946 by his son, Vyner, was Charles Brooke's creation and personal monument. Austere and forbidding he certainly was in later life, devoid of all human feeling it was thought by some, but his journals reveal a physical and intellectual vitality and a self-discipline which go a long way towards explaining the almost mythological aura which surrounds the true White Rajah.

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October 1989

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INTRODUCTION TO THE EXPEDITION OF BORNEO
OF HMS DIDO, BY HENRY KEPPEL¹

R. H. W. Reece

INTRODUCTION*

Queen Alexandra's 'beloved "little Admiral", the best and bravest of men', enjoyed a long and successful naval career. Commanding his first ship in 1833 at the age of twenty-five and promoted to post-captain at twenty-nine, he received his Rear-Admiral's flag in 1859 when he was fifty. 'The Father of the British Navy', as others liked to call him, was a legend in his own lifetime. Descended from Arnold Joost van Keppel, a favorite of William of Orange whom he accompanied to England and by whom he was created Earl of Albemarle in 1696, Henry Keppel was the grandnephew of the celebrated Admiral Augustus Keppel and heir to a long tradition of martial service. In his later years a close friend of Edward VII and a strong influence on his son, George V, Keppel had employed his impeccable social connections to advance his career. Married twice, he was also able to perpetuate the dynasty and help it prosper. Longevity enabled him to savour all these successes and to be portrayed as a national hero on his death in January 1904.

It is important, however, that his subsequent career should not be allowed to overshadow our appreciation of the man whose energy and enterprise were responsible for the appearance in London in January 1846 of *The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido*.... At that time he was an ambitious young naval officer

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lobbying hard for a new command, tending to a sick and depressed wife, making improvements to his house and property, and fending off numerous creditors. On half pay and with no private income, he was frequently (to use his own words) 'hard up for tin'. In addition, a back injury sustained in China in 1842 gave him a good deal of trouble and there were problems arising from his sister Georgina's unsuccessful marriage.

Keppel was a methodical and disciplined man in his approach to every task, although this did not prevent him from being a *bon viveur* and much sought-after hunting and dinner companion. During the 1840s he kept a brief daily account of events and it is this source that provides useful insights into the period from his return from Borneo in *Dido* in January 1845 until his departure with James Brooke and party in HMS *Maeander* for the newly proclaimed colony of Labuan in January 1848. Recorded in neatly legible writing in Letts's No. 12 pocket diaries, the account formed the basis of his 1899 autobiography, *A Sailor's Life under Four Sovereigns*. The more personal observations carefully excised from this epic record reveal his preoccupations before and after the book's publication.

It was by no means an easy time. Kate ('Kittums'), daughter of General Sir John Crosbie, whom he had married in 1839, was still suffering after losing a baby late that year. This necessitated an expensive visit to Leamington Spa in early 1846 where she took the waters and Keppel fretted at the inactivity, the weather, and the lack of good company. Improvements to their house at Droxford, north of Portsmouth, also occupied much of his time and energy, adding to their debts and making it impossible for them to afford to live there. Anxious to upgrade his professional qualifications as a way of gaining promotion, Keppel undertook a three-month course on steam navigation at Woolwich dockyard in April 1846, only to find the instructors mostly inadequate and the accommodation expensive and unsatisfactory. Most importantly, the problems of living like a gentleman on half pay and with a heavy burden of debts meant that a great deal of effort had to be expended on securing a new command as quickly as possible. Fortunately, Keppel was blessed with a sanguine temperament, and in his reflections on the passing of 1846 he chose to emphasize the positive side of things:

This year has not been without its events to me, good and bad. The good predominate as usual and it has been one of my happiest. My Kate has been quite cured by Dr Middleton of a dangerous complaint and illness and has now been in enjoyment of real health for a longer time than ever she was since our marriage; this is most good. We have eased our mind of some heavy debts but at the expense of a considerable reduction in our

income which we can ill afford. I ensured [sic] my life for £1500 and raised money on the same, this is good and bad. I went through a course of Steam Study at Woolwich which is something to my credit. We made some agreeable friends at Greenwich. A great Naval retirement has given me a considerable lift up the list and ought make some 10 or 15 years difference in the time of getting my flag. Necessity and inclination both point out my Profession as the thing of all others I ought to stick to. I have a dear wife it is painful to be separated from; this is good and bad.

The significant omission from this list of achievements was his book, the reason for which will become clear.

Less than five feet tall and crowned with a thatch of copper-red hair, Henry Keppel's energy and charm made him a man who could never be ignored. As his great-nephew put it:

If he had not been so vital and striking a personality, his shape and certainly his height would have put one in mind of a stone bollard, seen on a quayside. You could, with ease, have jumped over him but, such was the strength of his personality, for he was by no means portly, you had to take several paces in order to get round him.

It was these qualities, together with a quick intellect and remarkable physical courage, which marked him out for early promotion in the career of his choice and endeared him to a wide circle of colleagues and friends. And it was one of these friends, James Brooke, who was responsible for his long association with Borneo. Meeting the Rajah in February 1843 at Penang, where he had been posted by Admiral William Parker after an eventful year in China, they immediately became close companions. At one level, their social backgrounds and common interests drew them together. At another, they were adventurous spirits when Borneo was still a little-known tropical frontier of palm-fringed shores and jungle-covered interior where petty Malay rulers allied themselves with part-Arab *sharif* and Dayak and Sulu raiders to prey on local and foreign ships. Keppel's original commission was to put down the Illanun and Balanini raiders from the Sulu Sea who made annual expeditions as far as Sumatra and were adept in the use of firearms. However, Governor Bonham of Singapore, together with Brooke, urged on him the importance of dealing with the Dayak raiders and recounted the ill-treatment at Brunei of the survivors of two wrecked merchant ships, *Sultana* and *Lord Melbourne*. No doubt at Brooke's instigation, the former Brunei

governor of Sarawak, Pengiran Muda Hassim, wrote to Keppel four days after the captain's arrival in Kuching requesting his assistance in dealing with the Dayak raiders of the Saribas and Batang Lupar rivers which were still under the nominal suzerainty of the sultanate. For his part, Keppel was already convinced that 'the only way to strike at the root of the evil would be to destroy the piratical strongholds in the interior'. The consequent safety of shipping would then open the way for British manufactured goods and for the exploitation of Borneo's fabled mineral and other resources. Brooke and Keppel were, after all, patriotic sons of an entrepreneurial and expansionist nation.

Brooke had a more particular interest, of course. He had only recently gained a foothold in Sarawak by putting down a rebellion of local Malays and Dayaks whose production of antimony ore had first brought the province to outside notice. This had earned him Hassim's post, but in order to consolidate his precarious position against the Dayaks of the Saribas and Batang Lupar and the *sharif* who led them and provided them with munitions, Brooke needed immediate and decisive armed support. When this seemed unlikely to come from official and distant British quarters, it was only natural that he should seek it from the local naval commander in the name of 'the suppression of piracy'. Convinced by Brooke of the need to destroy the raiders in their Borneo bases, Keppel was also happy to assist this novel and enterprising experiment in European rule which could only further British interests in the Archipelago.

In the event, Keppel's whole-hearted intervention was the decisive factor in securing Brooke's political survival and his overlordship of the Malays and Dayaks of what was then known as 'Sarawak Proper', the hinterland of the Sarawak and Samarahan rivers. The attacks by *Dido's* boats on the longhouses of the Saribas in 1843 and the Batang Lupar in 1844 devastated the Dayaks and scattered the *sharif*. Keppel himself played an active part in these up-river sorties, displaying the physical courage for which he was noted during his earlier exploits in China. However, the success of the overwhelmingly better-armed British force was never in doubt and Keppel's party suffered only two casualties during all the engagements. For their part, the death and destruction beginning with the attack on Padeh in June 1843 was never forgotten by the Dayaks. Ruthless exponents of physical force in their own conquest of Borneo's interior over many centuries, they acknowledged the superior power of the man they called '*Rajah Laut*'.

The expeditions were a source of some satisfaction for Keppel, who was either being disingenuous or was unaware of the loss of innocent lives due to his guns and to the Rajah's Dayak auxiliaries who accompanied his party. He wrote complacently:

The punishment we had inflicted was severe, but no more than the crime of their horrid piracies deserved. A few heads were brought away by our Dyak followers as trophies; but there was no unnecessary sacrifice to [sic] life, and I do not believe that there was a woman or child hurt....

Brooke wrote appreciatively of Keppel in January 1845 when his friend was nearing home:

The departure of the *Dido* left me sad and lonely, for Captain Keppel had been really my companion and friend; and he so thoroughly entered into my views for the suppression of piracy and made them his own, that I may not expect any successor to act with the same vigour and decision.

Gallant *Didos*! I would ask no further aid or protection than I have received from you....

For him, the British naval presence meant far more than armed assistance. Towering over the low-set huddle of kampongs that was the infant Kuching, *Dido* and her guns symbolized the might of the European nations whose technology had already given them possession of much of the glory. While seeking to harmonize his rule with existing customs and political structures, much of Brooke's prestige and charisma was derived from his membership of the new master-class.

For Keppel, the Borneo expeditions were grand adventures which conveniently answered the calls of duty and friendship. Entirely committed to Brooke's cause, he took it upon himself to act as Brooke's publicist on his return to England where decisions would soon have to be made about Borneo's future. Entrusted by his friend with the journals he had kept since his first visit there in 1839, Keppel had *carte blanche* to use them as he wished. Brooke no doubt hoped that their publication in some form would highlight his achievements and help obtain official recognition and perhaps even support from the British government. They could only have additional influence if they appeared under the name of a well-connected naval officer. At the same time, Keppel's involvement was not entirely altruistic. With no private income and saddled with heavy debts, he clearly expected to make some 'tin' out of it all. Nevertheless, as he was to acknowledge later, it was 'a more responsible charge than I was then aware of'.

Something needs to be said at this point about the heroine of the piece, HMS *Dido*. Launched at Pembroke in 1836, she was a three-masted sloop or

corvette of 734 tons carrying eighteen 32-pounder guns and a crew of 145 men. Built to the advanced design produced by Sir William Symonds during the Royal Navy's last years of sail, her elegantly clean lines explained Keppel's description of her as 'my beautiful *Dido*'. When he was given the task of putting her into commission at Sheerness in September 1841, however, she was 'in an uncovered dock with her masts out, no copper on, her rudder in a shed, repairing, and nine feet of water in her hold'. This was an unpromising beginning, but Keppel set to work with a will and things were getting into order by 8 October when the ship's company was inspected by Captain Sir Thomas Trowbridge, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. By December she was ready to sail and during the next four years Keppel had not a word of complaint about her. *Dido*, on the other hand, might well have complained about his recklessness in keeping on too much sail when rounding the Cape of Good Hope on the way home from Borneo in December 1844 and his highly improper abandonment of her to the master when reaching Spithead so that he could meet his wife at nearby Droxford before appearing at Sheerness three days later to report *Dido's* arrival. Nevertheless, there was still a good deal of affection remaining between them. When the crew had been paid off and all his belongings taken ashore on 12 February, he wrote: 'My reign in *Dido* finished this day; paid off, men receiving about £4,000. Glad as I am to get back to my little wife, [I] do not leave any ship without some feelings of regret.'

Unlike some of his successors, Keppel does not appear to have claimed prize money for the Dayak pirates killed during *Dido's* up-river expeditions, although £795 was awarded to his crew by the Admiralty Court in Singapore for dealing with two Illanun boats when *en route* for Kuching in May 1843. Under an Act of Parliament of 1825 designed to suppress piracy in the West Indies, it was possible to claim £20 for each pirate captured or killed and £5 for each 'piratical person' not captured or killed but known to have been present at the beginning of a battle. It was this provision that was invoked by Sir Edward Belcher of HMS *Samarang* when he successfully claimed £10,000 for himself and his crew for their alleged destruction of 350 'pirates' out of a force they encountered on a supposedly surveying voyage in the Moluccas in June 1844. Captain William Farquhar subsequently claimed £20,700 for Dayaks killed during his crushing attack on 88 Dayak warboats at Beting Marau near the mouth of the Saribas and Krian rivers on 31 July 1849. If Keppel had resorted to this in 1845, he could certainly have solved his financial problems.

Reporting to the Admiralty on the events in Borneo, Keppel received an appreciative reply on 25 February from the Secretary, Captain W. A. B. Hamilton:

I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that they have received with much satisfaction

your letter, detailing the measures you have taken for the suppression of piracy on the coast of Borneo and up the Sakarran River.

Their Lordships desire also to express their approbation of the gallantry and perseverance displayed by the officers, seamen and marines under your orders, in overcoming the force and numbers opposed to them, and the many obstacles they had to contend with; and my Lords desire that you will, as far as may be in your power, convey to those under you in this enterprise the expression of their Lordships' satisfaction....

For his part, Keppel would have liked some more tangible acknowledgement of his own achievements. When he visited the Admiralty, on 18 February, Lord Haddington had been 'most gracious and civil', but there was no suggestion of the decoration he expected or of any new posting or possible promotion. 'Think the Admiralty are not using me well,' he wrote on 28 February. A strong letter from his father, the Earl of Albemarle, to Lord Haddington about a decoration produced no result and he had to reconcile himself to the prospect of a long period on half pay.

On 4 April 1845 Keppel noted that he had 'commenced work on my book in earnest' and had received a visit from William Jerdan, proprietor of the *Literary Gazette* and editor of a series of memoirs by contemporary celebrities known as *Fisher's National Portrait Gallery*... Finding himself unequal to the demanding task of editing Brooke's journals, Keppel was happy to leave this to a veteran and well respected journalist with 'the right sort of hands to get it in'. His own task now was to write a narrative of *Dido's* voyage from the termination of Brooke's journals to her return to England and to make arrangements for the plates and maps. However, he soon found his share of the writing irksome. On 11 April he noted that he was 'making little progress with my book, am a bad man of business', and a week later he was 'getting very tired of my undertaking'. Consequently, he arranged through his solicitor to employ an 'amanuensis' to whom he dictated the rest of his account. By 26 April he had completed the narrative and the plates and maps were in progress.

The main trouble came with the reappearance in London of Brooke's commercial agent, Henry Wise, who had accompanied Captain Drinkwater Bethune to Sarawak and Brunei in *HMS Driver* before Keppel's own return in January 1845. Keppel and Jerdan met Wise on 1 July and 'had a long chat about friend Brooke'. Although Wise's relationship with the Rajah was seriously strained by this stage, the entrepreneur was determined to launch his projected

Eastern Archipelago Company and was anxious that nothing should prejudice its success. Accordingly, he extracted an undertaking from Keppel that the proofs of the book would be submitted to him, and after reading these, he inscribed on the cover sheet on 18 September the terse verdict: 'Suppressed.' When Keppel and Jerdan met Wise at his office on 25 September for his reactions, the agent 'condemned and damned' the book and insisted that all of Brooke's critical remarks about the Dutch be excised, together with his description of the execution of two *pengiran* and an Illanun *penglima* for attacking a Chinese boat. Wise was to claim later that if this had not been removed, Brooke would have appeared 'in the light of a murderer'.

Although Brooke had gained some measure of official British recognition in his grand but nugatory title of 'Her Majesty's Confidential Agent in Borneo', Wise no doubt feared that his remarks about the Dutch might embarrass the government and prevent any more substantial acknowledgement of his political position. This might in turn undermine the security of Wise's commercial operation which inevitably depended on some measure of British protection. Wise was also nervous about Keppel's graphic and detailed descriptions in Chapter V of the second volume of the death and destruction wrought by *Dido's* boats on the two up-river sorties. While it must have caused him great annoyance and inconvenience, Keppel felt obliged to respect the views of the man who was still Brooke's official agent and he undertook to make the necessary revisions. The whole of 26 September was spent with Jerdan working on the book, which Keppel hoped 'will still make its appearance none the worse for the Wise mutilations'. Further tedious meetings with Wise, Jerdan, and the publishers were needed before the final version could be sent back to the printers for re-setting.

The other person to be involved was John Templer, Brooke's old shipmate whom Keppel had met at Greenwich in February 1845 and come to know well. Although his legal training should have led him to know better, Templer passed on to Jerdan a number of private letters written to him by the Rajah and Jerdan in turn passed them on, together with the original journals, to Wise. The agent was thus able to read for himself Brooke's private doubts about him and to stock up useful ammunition against the day when they would publicly disagree. Hearing of the problems, Brooke wrote to Templer on 10 December 1845:

There is some kind of hitch made by Mr. Wise about Keppel's book. I believe he considers the publication might prejudice the public against me, or injure me in some way. That the book will be a bad one, I think certain; 1st, Because the journal is unlicked and unlickable, except by myself; 2nd, Because Keppel's material

is slight; 3rd, Because a literary hack must do it badly, more especially with such heterogeneous materials. . . .

The first twenty-five copies of the book appeared on 27 January 1846 and Keppel spent some pleasant days signing and packing presentation copies and distributing others to the newspapers. When the first reviews appeared in late February, he was gratified by the warmly enthusiastic response. Most significant was *The Times*, which devoted a column and a half of its 19 February issue to the 'Borneo Pirates'. The 'Thunderer' used the book as an opportunity to editorialize about the need for the government to make a decision on Borneo:

This is an important book upon an important subject. The establishment of a British settlement on the north-west coast of Borneo and the occupation of the island of Labuan have, for a long time, been under the consideration of Government, and information supplied in these volumes, not only by Captain Keppel but by the heroic and indefatigable Mr Brooke, cannot but be highly useful in enabling Government to decide wisely and well. There can be no doubt, we think, of availing ourselves of a colony in the Eastern Archipelago which private wealth and private industry have already purchased for us.

Rehearsing the commercial and strategic arguments for a Borneo base, *The Times* believed that Keppel's action against the 'pirates' had removed the only threat to its establishment:

... if the crimes referred to still exist, they have already received a sufficient check to render them of no account in the formation of our future plans. Nay, since the terror of British arms and the gallantry of British seamen have been made apparent to these savage hordes, it is clear that our presence and influence can lead only to the extirpation of the evil and to the happiness of the well-disposed and peaceful amongst the natives of these distant islands. Captain Keppel has graphically described the honourable share he had in the suppression of some of the strongholds which had too long proved impregnable to native arms, and his characteristic sketches will amply repay perusal.

Citing at length Keppel's description of one particularly bloody foray as 'interesting to a painful degree', the reviewer observed that it had been 'narrated by a hand as much at home with the pencil as on board Her Majesty's man-of-war'. Nevertheless, the real praise was reserved for the Rajah:

Much as we owe ... to guns and grapeshot, we are indebted still more to the peaceful and meritorious exertions of one man, for the advances which have happily been made towards civilization and peace amongst the Malay people of whom we speak. England owes a debt of obligation to Mr Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, which she will not easily repay. One volume of Captain Keppel's book contains the diary of this gentleman and we know not when we have read a history of true greatness so modestly narrated; a series of events so full of interest and striking novelty. The career of Mr Brooke, whilst in the highest degree romantic, has been throughout one of practical benevolence.... At the moment he is the governor of the people of his adoption, whose condition he has marvellously improved, and whose blessings attend his course.

In Mr Brooke the English Government will find their best ally and counsellor, be their projects what they may. His moderation has already procured for the English name a confidence and an esteem which conquest would never have commanded, and his authority is paramount, because it is felt to be unselfish and impartial. Our Colonial Ministers are not famous for their skill in availing themselves of the advantages which fortune places within their reach. They will be without excuse, and undeserving of forgiveness, if they now suffer to pass through their hands the fortunate opportunities for the diffusion of knowledge and Christianity, for the mental and physical improvement of a whole people, and for the advancement of the interests of this country, and of civilization at large, which the heroic Governor of Sarawak has by his own unaided energy created and established for them.

We recommend the work of Captain Keppel with real pleasure, to the notice of our readers.

If *The Times* was warmly enthusiastic, the normally circumspect *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review* seemed intent on outdoing each other's hyperbolic praise of 'Mr Brooke of Borneo'. Of him the former wrote:

Chivalrous almost to Quixotism, he sets out as the very Knight-Errant of justice and humanity, among Tribes abandoned to the extremest evils of barbarous oppression. He makes his way among them, as if really possessed of those magical powers

which his simple observers attribute to him; beats down opposition; wins over suspicion; draws to him the hands of races of men so outwardly different from ourselves as to seem like inhabitants of another planet, by appeal to those feelings and principles which form the basis of our nature every where; and lights up, like a new Prometheus, in the hearts of Savages, the common fire of humanity. He founds a little state, enacts laws, conquers neighbouring chiefs, establishes an asylum for the oppressed; becomes famed, courted, and feared, over a considerable district of this great Island, all by force of a resolute will and clear head, and an armed power consisting of a yacht's crew and 'six six-pounders'!

At the same time, some credit was extended to Keppel himself:

Our readers will perceive that much of the value of Captain Keppel's work consists in its extracts from Mr Brooke's journals, and the insight which it gives into his remarkable history. But the Captain's own deeds and proceedings are well and modestly recorded; and his truly generous zeal to make known the achievements of exploits of the Dido will, after all, form the most generally amusing part of the book.

Although he preferred to remain anonymous, the author of the *Quarterly Review's* rival paean of praise was Francis Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, a Tory peer who strongly supported the establishment of a naval base at Labuan. Citing substantial extracts from Brooke's 'unvarnished journal', Egerton portrayed him as 'one who has grafted upon the education of a soldier the accomplishments of a Dampier, with the administrative talent of a Raffies ...'. Of Keppel's narrative, it was sufficient to say:

It were a tale
Would rouse adventurous courage in a boy,
Making him long to be a mariner,
That he might rove the main....

And as for his description of the Rajah's 'bower' in Kuching and the jolly society there, it lacked 'no ingredient but that of female society to create in us a yearning for a cottage orné in Borneo'. Egerton's principal concern, however, was to ensure that Brooke was not abandoned now that he had singlehandedly carved out a new field for British enterprise:

It will be a loss to this country and to the human race if his schemes should be paralyzed, it will be a disgrace to the British name if his personal safety should be compromised for want of countenance and reasonable assistance from the British Government....

Blackwood's Magazine and *Dublin University Magazine* also published lengthy and favourable reviews, the latter paying tribute to Keppel as a navigator who had sailed his ship where existing charts had him in the mountains eighty miles from the coast: 'the surveys and observations made in these seas by Captain Keppel, although thrown into deep shade by the many brilliant topics of his book, are amongst the solid and important services which he has rendered to the public.'

The Royal Geographical Society, which was later to present a gold medal to the Rajah, was told by its President, Lord Colchester, at its 1846 meeting that while his achievements had been of enormous benefit,

... they have been rendered available chiefly by the destruction of those hordes of pirates who for so many years have with impunity infested the islands of the Archipelago and obstructed commerce. In the important service of their destruction, Captain Keppel and his brave officers have taken the chief part; and in the narrative from which we glean our notice, we hardly know which most to admire, the eminent services of the gallant Captain, or that retiring modesty which has led him in his narrative to speak so little about himself....

The Society's *Journal* was later to point out that the enormous interest in Borneo created by Keppel's book prompted the publication of a number of other works in subsequent years, notably those by James St. John, Hugh Low, Rodney Mundy, Edward Belcher, and Frank Marryat.

Within a week of the book's publication it was clear that another edition was justified, and on 7 March Keppel was hard at work making the necessary changes. Possibly on the publishers' advice, plates, maps, and some parts of the text were transposed. Keppel also added a postscript to his own concluding remarks. By early 1847 Chapman and Hall had decided to bring out a third edition, this time with an additional narrative by Walter T. Kelly taking the story up to April 1847 and an extract from the journal of Thomas Williamson, Brooke's Malacca-born interpreter, whose diplomatic skills had prompted Keppel to call him 'an excellent Prime Minister'. Williamson, who was drowned tragically in

January 1846, played a vital part in establishing Brooke's relations with the Malay chieftains of Sarawak and its neighbouring Brunei dependencies.

Receiving an unbound copy of the first edition in Sarawak in May 1846, Brooke wrote to his friend:

I congratulate you on the success of your work, a success, I must own, which I did not anticipate to be so complete. I offer no opinion of my own, being largely mixed up in the performance, but I thank you for your kind expressions of friendship and good will. The fault of the book is its want of connection, and the frightful hash they have made of all proper names. The former is a fault the public seem not to care for, and the latter one which may be amended, if the book runs into a second edition....

En passant, I think you are *ra-ther a shabby fellow* for not sending me a bound copy; for be it known to you, I do not allow any unbound work in my library....

To Templer, he commented less flatteringly:

My journal is certainly put to a fiery ordeal, having been printed as written, and that not all that was written, but broken into fragments, extracts with a vengeance!! Then the proper names. Heavens what a hash! Then the mistakes arising from my bad penmanship!! Did you ever hear of picking up 'boots' in a Borneo jungle virgin to the tread; the word was intended to be 'boats'. Mais vogue la galéra, if the world be satisfied, why should I care?

Although the book was a political *coup* for Keppel on Brooke's behalf, its commercial success did not benefit him in the way that he had dearly hoped. 'Appearance of having been taken in by Old Jerdan', he noted suspiciously the day after publication. Two weeks later, he was fearful that Jerdan and the publishers had conspired to deny him his proper share of the proceeds. 'Am sorry and reluctant to believe that I am imposed on by Old Jerdan', he wrote on 11 February. By 2 March there was no doubt about it: 'Done, I am afraid, by Old Jerdan.' A visit to the publishers with his brother-in-law, Henry Stephenson, established how much he had been 'done' for.

When the second edition appeared on 8 June, there had still not been a penny in it for him: 'No remittance from Old Jerdan, old rogue!' When a cheque

for £50 ('Oh! So welcome!') came on 30 June he was greatly relieved, but it may well have been the only payment for the book that he ever received. He tried to obtain another instalment from Chapman and Hall on 24 August, 'but no go'. A year later, on 5 June 1847, he finally exploded: 'the Devil take all Printers and Publishers, further robbery of me by Old Jerdan of £70.' And on 9 June: 'Law business, nothing to be done with Jerdan, £70 to pay!!' In all probability he had found himself legally liable for the cost of the first aborted printing, which Jerdan and the publishers used to deny him any further share in the profit from all three editions. It was a high price to pay for the 'capital' champagne and chicken dinners Jerdan had given him and Templer at the Garrick Club while they were working on the book.

During the time from his return until Brooke's arrival in London in October 1847, Keppel was active in lobbying the Admiralty on his behalf. In late February 1845 he was gratified to hear from Brooke that the Sultan of Brunei had offered Labuan to the British government and he shared his hopes of a Crown Colony being established there. He was a regular visitor to Templer's house at Greenwich where they had long discussions about what could be done to assist their mutual friend. When the business of the book was out of the way, Keppel undertook some further lobbying. On 13 July 1846 he had an interview with Lord Auckland and three days later 'concocted' a letter to him, urging the annexation of Labuan. Confirmation had been received from Brooke in June of the murder of Pengiran Muda Hassim, Pengiran Bedruddin, and other members of the pro-Brooke faction whom the Rajah had installed in Brunei in the hope of managing the sultanate in his interests. This dramatic reverse meant a Brunei hostile to Brooke, who was now in more need than ever of an official British presence in the area. When Keppel saw Lord Auckland again with Templer on 24 July, he found him 'very mysterious, rather cool, Govt. evidently doing something, and a few days later the Admiralty Board told him at Woolwich that 'my services would be required in Borneo'. When nothing further seemed to happen, he wrote a long letter to Brooke in January 1847 urging him to take possession of Labuan himself. By this time, however, Labuan was already British.

The conclusion of the first China war in August 1842 and the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, opening up Shanghai and other ports to trade and annexing Hong Kong to Britain, gave the north-west coast of Borneo a new strategic significance. The anticipated growth of trade with the treaty ports meant that there was a need for bases where disabled ships could be taken, coal and provisions supplied, and naval operations mounted in time of war. Labuan's coal deposits took on a new significance, as did an amicable relationship with Brunei. This no doubt explains Brooke's appointment as 'Confidential Agent' by Lord Aberdeen in late 1844 and the growing interest of the Admiralty in Labuan. Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane's capture of Brunei in July 1846 and the subse-

quent treaty in which the Sultan confirmed his cession of Labuan allowed Captain Rodney Mundy to take official possession of the island for Britain on 24 December. Cochrane's destruction of the Illanun stronghold at Marudu Bay in August had also removed one of the main threats to Borneo shipping.

Another activity Keppel became involved in through his friendship with Brooke was the Borneo Church Mission Society which was established in London in May 1846 under the chairmanship of the Revd C. D. Brereton. Keppel was elected to the Committee and took his responsibilities seriously, attending most of the meetings and helping to raise funds to send out the first missionary, the Revd Francis McDougall, whom he thought 'a good man'. He also met Brooke's two sisters, Mrs Johnson (Emma) and Mrs Savage (Margaret), and visited the Johnsons at White Lackington in Somerset. Their younger son, Charles, had served with distinction in *Dido's* boats on the second Borneo expedition and was Keppel's 'most promising mid[shipman]'.

In the meantime, in spite of the additional qualifications he had obtained at Woolwich and the intercessions of his friends and relatives, Keppel had no success in finding himself a new command. An official inquiry into his detention of the slave ship *Gabriel* off the coast of Africa in 1838 may have tarnished his new honours but the principal problem was the large number of commanders competing for a reduced number of ships in a peacetime navy. In May 1846 he was asked by Sir William Symonds if he would accept nomination for HMS *Spartan* but it all came to nothing. In August he tried for *Amphion* and in October for *Cambrian*, but again to no avail. The first positive news came in May 1847 when he noted that 'Sir Charles (Old Charlie) Napier is going to apply for me as his Flag Captain!' And then there was a letter in late September from Admiral Lord Dundas 'requiring me to decide between Flag-Captain to Sir Charles Napier and a sixth-rate to India. Difficult point to decide between inclination and economy....' The next day he breakfasted with Lord Dundas, who was connected with his brother-in-law, and 'after much discussion and doubt decided on India on getting the promise of *Maeander* Frigate instead of *Cleopatra*'. His commission was officially confirmed on 1 October.

In early October 1847 James Brooke arrived in London to find that the publication of his journals by Keppel, together with reports in newspapers such as the *Illustrated London News*, had made him a celebrity. As one historian has put it, 'from being an obscure settler in the East of whom few outside the Royal Navy had heard, James became quite quickly a national hero'. Keppel met his friend at Mivart's Hotel in London on 11 October and accompanied him on the busy round of meetings, receptions, and dinners that made the dashing Rajah 'lion of the hour'. Keppel was with Brooke when he sat for his portrait by Francis Grant,

R.A., and at his interviews with Lord Auckland and Lord John Russell on Borneo matters. He was also at Hanover Square Rooms when the Rajah spoke in support of the Borneo Church Mission: '... more than 1,000 present; chiefly ladies - nervous work.' It soon emerged that the government had decided to appoint Brooke as Governor of the Crown Colony of Labuan and on 19 October Lord Auckland told Keppel that he could commission a ship to take the Rajah and his party there as soon as the appointment was officially gazetted. 'Might have told me so before,' Keppel grumbled, although he must have been delighted to get a clear indication at last of a new command which would take him back to Borneo.

There is no need here to expound on the content of James Brooke's journals which make up three-quarters of the text of *The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido* Providing a compelling, if somewhat partial, account of his early years in Borneo, together with the first detailed observations on its peoples, its fauna, and its flora, they also served the important purpose of publicizing his exploits and justifying his uniquely successful venture in freelance imperialism. All this depended, however, on the crucial assistance of his good friend Henry Keppel, who served him first as protector and then as political agent and literary midwife. The great advantage of the latter rôle was that it spared Brooke the indignity of having to act as his own publicist, enabling him to appear instead as a modest and unassuming man whose indifference towards revealing his exploits had only been overcome by his friend's appeal to the national interest. As the *Singapore Free Press* saw it: '...Mr Brooke goes home heralded by no trumpet of his own; his noble character, his upright and useful life, would have been unknown to fame, but for the spontaneous eulogy bestowed on them by Keppel.'

Keppel was to return briefly to Borneo in HMS *Maeander* in September 1848 when he delivered Brooke to Labuan and subsequently helped him and his party to recover from the ravages of 'Labuan fever'. To his and Brooke's great disappointment, he was soon called to the China Station and was thus unavailable for any further forays against the Borneo 'pirates'. However, in his journal of the voyage (which took him as far as Australia), Keppel described the establishment of Labuan and included a portion of Brooke's journal for 1850. Not surprisingly, he found a new publisher, Richard Bentley, who also produced Templer's edition of Brooke's letters in 1853.

As Brooke had predicted, not all of Keppel's successors formed the same appreciation of the situation and came to his aid. However, Farquhar's attack on the Dayak raiders at Beting Marau in 1848 and his subsequent award of £20,700 in pirate head money precipitated a controversy which permanently damaged Brooke's public image and denied him further official support. As the mood changed, Brooke's journals were condemned by critics like John Bright in 1849 for

having aroused 'the sentimental mania which gave Brooke all his powers of evil'. When the official commission into Brooke's actions against the 'pirates' got under way in Singapore in 1853, Keppel mounted a strong defence of his friend and devoted a considerable part of *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H.M. Ship Maeander ...* to rebutting John Hume's claims. In the meantime, as it happened, Brooke's other naval friend, Captain Rodney Mundy, had provided his enemies with further ammunition by publishing the Rajah's journals in full as *A Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes....* By giving the public 'all such matter as had previously been omitted' by Keppel, he fulfilled Wise's original fears that their publication would be counter-productive.

* * *

Keppel had painted such an attractive picture of Sarawak that Kate herself became increasingly eager to spend some time there. When the Rajah's elder nephew and heir apparent, Captain John Brooke Johnson (better known as Brooke Brooke), wrote encouragingly on his return to England in 1856, Keppel replied:

My wife has long been most anxious to settle herself in your country. The dear Rajah, who knows her well, would have taken her out when he last went if it had been considered a proper step to take. My going myself now removes that difficulty and your letter, which she has just read, has filled her with fresh hopes that the greatest wish of her life might ere long be fulfilled and that she should find herself in the Far East. She is restored to health and strength that she has not enjoyed for years. Now will you kindly inform me if she can go out at the same time you do and now you propose going, the expense etc. etc. My wife is a good sailor and could put up with indifferent accommodation. I shall sail before the end of this month so that I could have an abode prepared for her reception....

Whether it was due to her renewed ill-health or to news of the Chinese rebellion in Sarawak in February 1857 is not clear, but Kate was never able to fulfil her 'greatest wish'. Instead, it was Keppel who persuaded the illness-stricken Rajah to return to England to recuperate later that year. Although he helped secure the release from the army of Brooke's illegitimate son, Reuben George Walker, he played no part in the subsequent row between the Rajah and his elder nephew and remained on good terms with Charles, advising him on the acquisition of a gunboat for further forays against 'pirates'.

It was not until 1867 that Keppel again visited Kuching, by which time James had retired in ill-health to England and his younger nephew, Charles Johnson, who had by this time taken the name of Brooke, was installed as heir apparent. There was a warm reunion between the Rear-Admiral and the Rajah-to-be and Keppel remained in correspondence with him in subsequent years as he extended Sarawak to its present boundaries by means of the same methods practised by Keppel and Farquhar. Harry Keppel was the name he gave to his youngest son. In early 1900 Keppel wrote to Charles that he 'should like to see my most promising mid again' and the subsequent visit was to be his last. For the two White Rajahs, he was truly 'the benefactor of Sarawak'.

Oxshott, Surrey
August 1990

R. H. W. Reece

Works by Sir Henry Keppel

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Keppel's log-books, journals, and diaries kept during his time in Borneo, together with official and private correspondence and other relevant papers, are held by the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, as part of the Hamilton collection (HTN/1-68). The Museum also holds the original log, journal, and illustrations on which *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago...* was based. Rhodes House Library, Oxford, holds a number of letters from Keppel to members of the Brooke and Johnson families (Mss. Pac. s. 83, 90).

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE SARAWAK LITERARY SOCIETY AND
THE BORNEO LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPT PROJECT

PHILLIP L. THOMAS

This report, which is based on a visit to Kuching from March to April 1990, lists the current and forthcoming publications of the Sarawak Literary Society (Persatuan Kesusasteraan Sarawak) and the Borneo Literary and Historical Manuscript Project. Publications of the SLS are difficult to acquire outside of Kuching as the three shops which carry the series do not routinely handle mail orders. Other sources for northern Borneo publications are the Brunei Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka and the Sarawak and Sabah branches of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. Although the latter are historical successors to the former Borneo Literature Bureau, they have not generally continued the BLB's publications or wholesaling services.

The Sarawak Literary Society is a private association originally founded with Sarawak Government support and now aided by The Tun Jugah Foundation (Yayasan Tun Jugah). Its executive secretary is Wan Mohammad Wan Ibrahim whose office is:

3rd Floor, Lot 11, Block G
Taman Sri Sarawak, Jalan Borneo
93100 Kuching, Sarawak
MALAYSIA

Publications 1-7 are available through Sinar Suci bookshop:

Sinar Suci Sdn. Bhd.
Lot 221
Jln. Haji Taha
93400 Kuching, Sarawak
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and the remaining publications may be ordered from the Holiday Inn Bookshop:

Holiday Inn Bookshop
Holiday Inn
Kuching, Sarawak
MALAYSIA

1. James Wong Kim Min. *A Special Breed*. 1981. xi + 60 pp. Price M\$4.60. Poetry by a Sarawak politician. (See no. 3 below.)
2. Rosenah Hj. Ahmad, ed. *Our Sarawak*. 1983. 163 pp. M\$12.00. Essays on Sarawak.
3. James Wong Kim Min. *Shimmering Moonbeams*. 1983. ix + 61 pp. Price M\$9.60. Poetry.
4. Phillip L. Thomas, R. H. W. Reece, Rosenah Hj. Ahmad, eds. *Hikayat Panglima Nikosa - The Story of Panglima Nikosa*. Introduction by R. H. W. Reece and P. L. Thomas. 2nd edition. 1983 [1876]. v + 45 + 29 pp. M\$5.00. Early Sarawak fiction recommending education, town planning and rationalized agriculture.
5. Clifford Sather. *Apai Aloi Goes Hunting and Other Stories*. 1984. ix + 46 pp. M\$10.00. Illustrated folktales in Iban with English translation.
6. Phillip Lee Thomas. *Fajar Sarawak: Akhbar Bahasa Melayu yang Pertama di Sarawak 1930*. (Fajar Sarawak, The First Malay Language Newspaper in Sarawak, 1930). Romanized by Phillip L. Thomas with an introduction by R. H. W. Reece. Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti and the Sarawak Literary Society, 1984 [1930], xxvii + 130 pp. M\$16.25 (hard). The first Malay language newspaper in Borneo.
7. Rev. G. Bruggeman. *English-Iban Vocabulary*. 1985. ix + 130 pp. M\$18.00 (hard). A complement to available Iban-English and Iban-Malay dictionaries.
8. Chong Chin Seng. *Traditional Melanau Woodcarving (Bilum) in Dalat, Sarawak*. 1987. xvii + 140 pp. M\$12.00.
9. William Nais. *Bidayuh-English Dictionary*. 1988. xv + 660 pp. M\$80.00 (hard). A comprehensive dictionary with much cultural information.
10. C. Hudson Southwell. *Kayan-English Dictionary*. Revised edition. 1990. M\$45.00. Extensively revised from the first, privately published edition.
11. Vinson Sutlive, Jr. *Tun Jugah of Sarawak: Colonialism and Iban Response*. (Penerbit Fajar Bakti, P.O. Box 1050, Jln. Semangat, 46860 Petaling Jaya, Selangor Darul Ehsan, Malaysia; M\$70.00 [hard], M\$30.00 [paper]). To be published December 1991. Biography of Iban politician.

The Borneo Literary and Historical Manuscript Project is an association of friends interested in Borneo texts. The principals are located in Australia, Malaysia, and the United States. Currently our project is editing, transliterating, and translating the *jawi*-script manuscripts held by the Sarawak Museum. Help is always desired, particularly by those with a knowledge of Sarawak and Brunei Malay dialects. Correspondence may be directed to:

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In addition to publications 2, 4 and 6 through the SLS is an earlier work, a republication of the first known Borneo novel in Malay by Mohammad Rakawi Yusuf. This novel depicts the changing social roles of Kuching Malays in the early 1930's and the need for improved education. The vehicle for this theme is the institution of *Gendang Perempuan* (Women's Drum), a form of sung pantun poetry now called *Gendang Melayu Sarawak* (Sarawak Malay Drumming):

Muhammad Rakawi bin Yusuf. *Melati Sarawak* (Sarawak Jasmine). 2nd edition. Edited and Romanized by Rosenah Ahmad and Phillip L. Thomas, with an introduction by Phillip L. Thomas. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1980 [1932]. xvi + 74 pp. Reprinted, 1987.

A forthcoming publication is a collection of writings by "Melati Sarawak" (Mohammad Bujang), a writer resident in Seri Aman. His works surround World War II and include political tracts, a description of the *tepung tawar* ceremony, *syair* poetry, and humorous and didactic short stories:

Mohammad Bujang. *Kenangan Budi: Tulisan Melati Sarawak* (Memories of Good Deeds: the Writings of Melati Sarawak). Edited by Phillip L. Thomas and Habibah Chesi. Kuala Lumpur and Kuching: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, forthcoming.

LET'S HOLD A SEMINAR:¹
A NEW ELEMENT IN INDONESIAN POLITICAL CULTURE
AND A NEW SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON KALIMANTAN

BERNARD SELLATO

1. A new element in Indonesian political culture

A few years ago, a new political habit appeared in Indonesia, that of holding symposiums, here called *seminar*, on current or foreseeable social and cultural questions presumed to be of relevance to the country's economic development within the framework of its ideological premises. Such symposiums are held at all administrative levels: national, provincial, regency, and even district. At the national level, they take the form of much-publicized meetings of experts, academics, and government officials and create opportunities for the central government to secure, through a relatively open debate where a few dissonant voices can be heard, the condoning of current or forthcoming policies by leading authorities and intellectuals. At the local level these seminars, generally not open to journalists, often appear rather like a means for relevant government instances to produce an official discourse on current themes and thus provide a mass training for the local elites (the MUSDAT of Sambas in 1986 convened 275 notables; that of Nanga Serawai in 1987, 173; the Seminar Adat of Kutai in 1980, some 150), while at the same time bringing these elites to endorse the policies concerned.

In Kalimantan, it seems that the first initiatives in holding such meetings, although on a limited scale, are to be credited to confessional organizations, among which are those connected with the Catholic archbishopric (Pontianak) and bishoprics (Samarinda and Banjarmasin). Government bodies, including state universities, have followed suit. In more recent years, initiatives from private organizations or institutions have been thoroughly taken over by government instances which, becoming de facto co-sponsors of the meetings, find a full opportunity, especially in the regions, to provide guidance as to the appropriate themes to be discussed, counsel as to the contents of the papers presented, and leadership in the debates. In any case, themes are always made compatible with the Five Principles of the State and emphasize the various applications of the concept of national development (Pembangunan Nasional) to the problems, including local ones, that are under scrutiny.

As examples of the diverse types of seminars recently held, we could mention, at the national level, the Workshop on Culture (Kebudayaan Nasional, Jakarta, 1990; a rehearsal for the big National Symposium on Culture to be held in October 1991?); or the Seminar on Isolated Peoples (Masyarakat Terasing, Jakarta, 1990); at the provincial level, the seminar on the cultures of Kalimantan Tengah (Temu Budaya Kalteng, Palangkaraya, 1988) or the Seminar on Provincial Development (Pembangunan Daerah, Samarinda, 1991); at the regency level, the Seminar on Adat Dayak Kutai (Tenggarong, 1990); finally, at the district level, the Musyawarah Adat of the Ot Danum and Melayu groups (at Nanga Serawai, 1987).

2. A new source of information

It is not my purpose to dwell at length upon the background aspects of this new element in the political culture of the Indonesian state. My concern here is more for the contents than the context. Both the papers of such seminars and their official wrapping (forewords, conclusions, various speeches) offer an extremely interesting insight to the observer of the Indonesian national political life. In my opinion these materials provide, better than the national or regional press, a reasonably clear image of the currents of thought at work in governmental circles, of their internal contradictions and the lack of consistency between one ministry and another, and of their evolution through time. For example, attitudes towards traditional shifting cultivation have changed in the course of only a few years (and thanks, probably, to Michael Dove and others), and some officials now recognize its harmless effect on the forest. Different ministries, however, still display clearly diverging views (for instance, Forestry vs. Environment).

The major current issue in Kalimantan, as in many other regions of Indonesia, concerns the survival of the traditional cultures of minority groups confronted with the uniformizing impact of the heavily promoted national culture. This general problem often expresses itself through more specific and practical issues, for instance the endemic conflict between traditional forms of land rights (*hak adat, hak ulayat*) and the national law in the context of the priorities of the national development, as land is needed for forest exploitation, plantation estates, and transmigration programs. It seems that here, too, an evolution in the official attitudes towards traditional land rights can be felt. The latest theme of seminars concerns the development of tourism, in relation to the *Visit Indonesia Year 1991* program. A new trend is appearing whereby government instances display a consistent reluctance to see in traditional cultures (and their religious festivals) anything but an asset for developing tourism, and ii) in the preservation of these cultures (*kebudayaan daerah*), that are conceived of as

restricted to their arts and crafts (*kerajinan tangan daerah*) and their performing arts (*kesenian daerah*; including the religious festivals), anything but the preservation of this asset in the framework of a long-term tourism policy.

The anthropologist, too, finds in these seminars his provender. He can recognize the statements of identity issued by various ethnic groups and, more generally, regional minorities and their claims for recognition of their cultural existence. The way diverse ethnic groupings get together to jointly defend their cultures, conceived of as more or less closely related, is of some significance. Besides, a random check of the papers can yield invaluable data on traditional cultures, such as lengthy descriptions of particular rituals or adat legal systems (see, for the Ot Danum, the 1987 MUSDAT of Nanga Serawai; for the Kendayan, the 1989 Gawe Adat Naik Dango; for the Modang, Bentian, etc., the 1990 Seminar Adat Kutai).

3. A reference list of some seminars

Here below is a list of a few seminars and other meetings, of which I am aware, that have been held in the last five or six years in Kalimantan. For some of them, a list of the papers handed out is provided. Note that complete information on who organized a seminar, where and when it was staged, how many papers it included, whether or not these papers were handed out, and whether or not some kind of final document was published or at least circulated is not always available.

Seminar Agama dan Masyarakat di Kalimantan Selatan, possibly organized by the Institut Agama Islam Nasional (IAIN, National Institute for the Islamic Religion) of Banjarmasin; held in Banjarmasin, 12-14 Nov. 1985; [on Islam and society].

Musyawarah Adat (MUSDAT) Pertama Daya Kabupaten Sambas, possibly organized by Catholic institutions; held in Bengkayang (Kalimantan Barat), 14-16 June 1986; a report entitled *Laporan Hasil Musyawarah Adat (MUSDAT) Pertama Kaya Kabupaten Sambas*, 93 p.; [on adat and adat legal systems in the region].

Musyawarah Adat Masyarakat Dayak Ot Danum dan Melayu Kecamatan Serawai-Ambalau, organized by the local (district) government instances; held at Nanga Serawai (Kalimantan Barat), 20-23 Aug. 1987; a booklet

entitled *Hukum Adat Masyarakat Dayak Ot Danum dan Masyarakat Melayu Kecamatan Serawai Ambalau*, 106 p.; [updated codification of Ot Danum and Melayu adat legal systems for standard local use].

Temu Wicara Cendekiawan Dayak Katolik, organized by the Keuskupan Agung (Archbishopric) of Pontianak and the Keuskupan (Bishopric) of Samarinda; held in Pontianak, 29-31 Oct. 1987; a report entitled *Hasil Temu Wicara Cendekiawan Katolik*, 7 p.; [on the economic, socio-political, and socio-cultural problems faced by the Dayak].

Temu Wicara Tokoh Dayak Se-Kalimantan, probably organized by a Catholic institution; held in Pontianak, early 1988; various handouts bear the subtitle *Materi Diskusi Panel dalam Rangka Temu Wicara Tokoh Dayak Se-Kalimantan*; [on the critical socio-cultural situation of the Dayak].

Seminar Menyambut, Gawe dat Naik Dango III Kabupaten Pontianak, organized by the Kelompok Studi Penggalan, Pelestarian dan Pengembangan Budaya Tradisional Daya' Kenayath (a Kendayan study group); held in Pontianak in 1989; [on the harvest festival of the Kendayan, now a tourist event].

Seminar Busana Resmi Daerah Kalteng 1990, organized by the Universitas Palangkaraya (?); held in Palangkaraya, 1990; a mimeographed report entitled *Busana Kalteng*; [an attempt to create a new style of official clothes based on traditional costume forms].

Seminar Pembangunan Daerah Kalimantan Timur, organized by the provincial government (PEMDA T. I) of Kalimantan Timur and the Universitas Gajah Mada (in Yogyakarta); held in Samarinda, 17-18 Jan. 1991; [emphasis on problems of shifting cultivation, development of tourism].

Temu Budaya Kalimantan Tengah, organized by the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Universitas Palangkaraya, and Kantor Wilayah Depdikbud (provincial office for Education and Culture) of Kalimantan Tengah; held in Palangkaraya, 6-7 April 1988; a report entitled *Laporan Temu Budaya Kalimantan Tengah* listed 22 papers; only the most relevant are given below; [on

the role of traditional local cultures in the formation of the national culture and in the national development].

- "Kedudukan dan peranan kebudayaan daerah dalam pengembangan kebudayaan nasional", by S. Budhisantoso, 10 p.
- "Program-program prioritas dalam rangka pembinaan dan pengembangan kebudayaan nasional", by Victor Phaing, 12 p.
- "Rekayasa budaya Dayak Kalimantan Tengah dalam 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika'", by KMA Usop, 13 p.
- "Kebudayaan nasional serta pembinaan dan pengembangan kebudayaan daerah", by Munashir Jufri, 19 p.
- "Integrasi sosial dan konsensus kebudayaan dalam rekayasa kebudayaan nasional", by Fredrik Ngindra.
- "Kebudayaan, sistem ekonomi dan beberapa hasil pembangunan ekonomi di Kalimantan Tengah", by Ahim Rusan.
- "Pembinaan dan pengembangan kebudayaan nasional Indonesia: Pandangan seorang pemangku kebudayaan daerah", by Teras Mihing, 25 p.
- "Bentuk visual dan fungsi sarana-sarana tiwah", by Onen Usop, 18 p.
- "Dandang Tingang sama dengan memanusiakan manusia Dayak agar menjadi betang garing yang utuh", by Nathan Ilun, vi + 41 p.
- "Budaya bisnis dan ekonomi suku Dayak tradisional", by Napa Awat.
- "Peranan dan status wanita dalam masyarakat Kalimantan Tengah", by Adjin Widen.

Peranan Hukum Adat Dalam Menunjang Pembangunan Menghadapi Era Tinggal Landas, organized by the Law Faculty of the Universitas Tanjungpura of Pontianak; held in Pontianak, 12-14 Dec. 1988; [on traditional land rights, faced with the priorities of the national development; the jural view].

- "Beberapa masalah kepentingan masyarakat adat yang berhubungan dengan tanah-tanah adat", by Bahaudin Kay, 19 p.
- "Prioritas pembangunan daerah dalam hubungannya dengan tanah-tanah adat", by Moehardi Atmosentono, 22 p.
- "Proses pembebasan tanah adat untuk kepentingan pembangunan daerah", by Donar Abel, 19 p.
- "Beberapa permasalahan dalam penggunaan tanah-tanah adat untuk kepentingan usaha swasta", by Zulkifli Ramli, 12 p.
- "Pembebasan tanah adat menurut versi U.U.P.A. dalam pembangunan daerah dan nasional", by A. P. Parlindungan, 49 p.

- "Persoalan tanah adat dalam pembangunan daerah di Kalimantan Barat", by Thambun Anyang, 28 p.
- "Beberapa masalah adat yang berhubungan dengan pembabasan hak atas tanah", by Moh. Koesnoe, 28 p.
- "Kesimpulan" (Conclusions), 5 p.

Seminar Adat Masyarakat Dayak Se Kabupaten Kutai (Mengetahui Potensi Adat Masyarakat Dayak di Kabupaten Kutai Dalam Rangka Pengembangan Program Kepariwisata dan Pembangunan Daerah), organized by the regency government (PEMDA T. II) of Kutai (Kalimantan Timur) and the Lembaga Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Swadaya Masyarakat "Daya Sejahtera" (a Catholic institution) of Samarinda; held in Tenggarong (Kalimantan Timur), 9-11 Nov. 1990; [on the preservation of traditional adat and its utility to the development of cultural tourism].

- "Kebijaksanaan perluasan pembangunan dan pengembangan kepariwisataan ke wilayah pedalaman dalam pembangunan jangka panjang tahap kedua", by H. S. Syafran (Regent of Kutai), 9 p.
- "Hak milik menurut hukum adat ditinjau dari UUPA no 5/1960", by Titus Pantir, 36 p.
- "Kemungkinan pemanfaatan adat dalam rangka menunjang program kepariwisataan dan pembangunan daerah", by Laurentius Dyson, 6 p.
- "Kontekstualisasi adat dan prinsip manfaat-biaya sosial dalam pengembangan pariwisata dan pembangunan: Sebuah catatan", by T. H. G. Mering Ngo, 11 p.
- "Inventarisasi adat Modang secara diskriptif dalam lingkaran kehidupan dan penghidupan serta peristiwa insidental", by Liah Hong Djeng & Eng Bit Hsu, 12 p.
- "Mengetahui masyarakat Bentian", by Titus Pantir, 15 p.
- "Adat suku Dayak Kenyah", by Jiuhardi & Trivena, 24 p.
- "Potensi adat masyarakat Dayak Bahau untuk pengembangan program kepariwisataan dan pembangunan daerah", by Simon Devung & Michael SE, 37 p.
- "Adat masyarakat Dayak Tunjung Benuaq berkaitan dengan daur hidup sebagai potensi pengembangan program kepariwisataan dan pembangunan daerah di Kabupaten Kutai", by Yacob Tullur & Nyimpun Hendrik 43 p.
- "Dedudukan hukum adat dalam kerangka hukum nasional", by Abdurrahman, S.H, M.S. (not handed out).

- Laporan Hasil Seminar, 7 p.

4. A wealth of information to be tapped

A number of other such meetings have certainly escaped my attention, among both the important official *seminar* at the province level and the more discrete *musyawarah* involving only districts or ethnic groupings. For example, I know that various meetings on *adat* have been held recently by the Kenyah, the Tunjung, and the Benua' in Kalimantan Timur, presumably at the initiative of their traditional leaders and top *adat* specialists.

Although the papers of all these seminars are rather difficult to get hold of, I believe they constitute a wealth of information that is, to the researcher on Kalimantan, well worth some research effort.

5. Some additional references

Here below are a few complementary references believed to be of relevance to either the topic of this note or the current and forthcoming situation of Kalimantan traditional cultures.

5.1 Symposiums

Kongres Kehutanan Indonesia Kedua (Second Congress of Indonesian Forestry), organized by the Masyarakat Perhutanan Indonesia (Indonesian Forestry Community), the Persatuan Sarjana Kehutanan (Association of Forestry Engineers), and other professional organizations; held in Jakarta, 23-25 (?) Oct. 1990; [questions of forest and shifting cultivation, traditional land rights; first Kongres dates back to 1956; see *Kompas*, 26 Oct. 1990].

Kebudayaan Nasional sebagai Modal Dasar untuk Menunjang Keberhasilan Penyelenggaraan Kepariwisata Indonesia, Temu Karya Kebudayaan (Workshop on Culture), organized by the Ministry of Post, Telecommunications and Tourism and the Ministry of Education and Culture; held in Jakarta, 8 Dec. 1990; [on "cultural pollution" by the West, preservation of local cultures and their promotion to develop tourism; see *Kompas*, 10 Dec. 1990].

Pemahaman Masyarakat Tentang Permasalahan Masyarakat Terasing (Seminar), organized by the Ministry of Social Affairs (DEPSOS), the daily newspaper *Kompas*, the Association of Indonesian Anthropologists, and other parties; held in Jakarta, 13 Dec. 1990; [on the question of Indonesia's 1.5 million "isolated people" and their integration in to the national economy; see *Kompas*, 14 Dec. 1990 and 3-4 Jan. 1991].

Law seminar (entitled ?), organized by the Universitas Pajajaran (Bandung), the Persahi (Law Graduates Association), and the daily newspaper *Suara Pembaruan*; held in Bandung, 14 (?) Jan. 1991; [on the Minister of Home Affairs' proposed policy to abolish the provincial administrative level, the position of governor, and the provincial house of representatives; see *Jakarta Post*, 15 Jan. 1991].

5.2 Press articles and other documents

Buku Ajaran Agama Kaharingan, Panaturan Tampan Taloh Handiai, the Bible of the Kaharingan religion of Kalimantan Tengah, issued in 1973 after the *musyawarah* of the ritual specialists of Kaharingan held in Palangkaraya in 1972; probably one of the earliest meetings of this kind.

Jakarta Post 15 Jan. 1991 "Scraping of Dati I should be made by MPR: Expert".

Kompas 26 Oct. 1990 "Hak Ulayat Dianggap Hambat Pembangunan Kehutanan".

Kompas 14 Nov. 1990 "Ada Anggapan, Tinggalkan Animisme Berarti Tinggalkan Adat", by Ibra (himsyah Rahman); [on the Seminar Adat Kutai, 1990].

Komas 10 Dec. 1990 "Kebudayaan Mengubah dan Diubah Proses Kehidupan Masyarakat".

Kompas 14 Dec. 1990 "Hindari Pemaksaan Nilai Budaya Baru untuk Masyarakat Terasing".

Kompas 22 Dec. 1990 "'Pencemaran' Kebudayaan dalam Pariwisata", by H. Kodhyat.

Kompas 3 & 4 Jan. 1991 "Satu dari tiap 118 Orang Indonesia Hidup Terasing", Laporan diskusi panel Masyarakat Terasing, no. 1 (3 Jan.) and no. 2 (4 Jan.).

Sellato, B. forthcoming "Provincial culture, image and identity: current trends in Kalimantan", in: *Centres and Peripheries in Insular Southeast Asia* (provisional title), Muriel Charras (Ed.), Paris: CNRS-DEVI.

Suara Pembaruan 21 Jan. 1991 "Peladang Berpindah Di Kaltim Memberikan Peranan Positif".

NOTE

A recent newspaper article (*Kompas* 27 April 1991) suggests that more than 1,000 seminars are held every year in Indonesia -- about half of them on economic matters -- and that seminar papers would thus amount to a yearly volume of some 100,000 pages. A clearly relevant factor in the multiplication of seminars is that, for each paper given, Indonesian academics receive points which count towards their promotion within the university system. (Reference: "Seminar-seminar kita", by Parakitri, *Kompas*, 27 April 1991.)

ERRORS IN BORNEO ETHNOGRAPHY: PART I

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Introduction

No discipline that expects its claims for knowledge to be taken seriously can permit the errors of fact and analysis that occur in its literature to be left uncorrected and unchallenged. The number of errors in Borneo ethnography is not large; but they are significant. And when the original errors are accepted uncritically by later writers, the errors eventually become established as "certified knowledge", corrupting the record and biasing future inquiry.

I plan to develop a series of articles to correct the record and would welcome corrections to errors in the literature from anyone who would like to see these published.

The Autonym Bulusu'

The Bulusu' are a swidden agricultural people of East Kalimantan (see Appell 1983, 1985a, 1985b, 1987). They are known by the exonym Berusu in Indonesian and Dutch literature.¹

During our field work among the Bulusu' they corrected the use of this exonym. They wished to be identified by the name Bulusu'. Consequently, also the label "Burusu" that appears in Wurm and Hattori (1983) for the Bulusu' is in error.

When I was Co-ordinating Editor for the *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area* (Wurm and Hattori, General Editors 1983), I submitted linguistic information on the Bulusu' that we had collected during our field work in East Kalimantan (see Amity C. P. Appell 1986), including their proper autonym. However, when the map "Northern Part of Borneo," compiled by S. A. Wurm, was published, the autonym "Bulusu'" had been transformed into "Burusu". My inquiries of Professor Wurm as to the reason for this, if there is a rational explanation, remain unanswered.

The Bulusu' perceive that their closest linguistic relatives are the Tidung (Appell-Warren 1986). Wurm has classified the Tidung language in the Murutic Subgroup of the North-East Borneo Language Group. The Bulusu', on the other hand, in his classification are put into an entirely different language group, the Rejang-Baram Group. And they are closely linked with the Punan Bah of Sarawak in the Rejang-Sajau Subgroup of this language group.

I discussed this classification with Ida Nicolaisen, who has worked with the Punan Bah for years. On inspection of the Bulusu' wordlist she concludes that the Bulusu' language is not closely related to the Punan Bah language.

Thus, the linguistic relation of the Bulusu' language to other languages remains unclear at this point, although it appears that they may be part of the North-East Borneo Language Group along with the Murutic and Dusunic languages and the Tidung language.

Voice of the Frogmouths

Smythies (1960:178) writes that the Frogmouths "seem to be incapable of making any sound." This conclusion is repeated by Rubenstein (1973:84) without any reference as to the source. However, Smythies, whose contributions to the ornithology of Southeast Asia are monumental, wrote at a time when the ornithological record for Borneo was still in its infancy. And the identification of night sounds is notoriously difficult. Since then the voices of three of the six species of Bornean Frogmouths have been recorded and are in the archives of Cornell University's Library of Natural Sounds (Paul K. Donahue, personal communication). These are the Large Frogmouth, Gould's Frogmouth, and Javan Frogmouth.

Frogmouths do indeed have voices.

Who Are the Kadazan?

Glyn-Jones (1953) reported that the term Kadazan was an autonym used by the Dusunic-speaking people of Papar and Penampang. However, it began to develop a wider cultural and political identification with the formation of the Society of Kadazans, which was officially registered in 1953 (Pugh-Kitingan 1989:367). This organization, largely based on individuals from Papar and Penampang, was formed to promote recognition of the Kadazan culture and language, so that these would not be forgotten, and to uplift the welfare and standard of education of natives throughout Sabah (Malakun 1981:140). Donald Stephens, one of the founders, was active in the formation of Kadazan clubs in various locations (Pugh-Kitingan 1989:367). Also in 1953 Donald Stephens founded his newspaper *The North Borneo News and Sabah Times* in which he ran a section in the Kadazan language. However, the Rungus as well as other groups maintained during the period of our original research in 1959-60 and 1961-63 that they did not understand the Kadazan language.

When at the onset of planning for Malaysia the organization of political parties was permitted, Donald Stephens and other political leaders from Papar and Penampang formed the United National Kadazan Organization in 1961. And under that banner they attempted to attract all Dusunic speakers and eventually all the native non-Muslim peoples of Sabah. But the term Kadazan, which to many was primarily a label indicating ethnic identity of a local group of people, was resisted by others, some of whom formed competing political interest groups (Malakun 1981:141). The use of the autonym of one ethnic group, Kadazan,

under which to bring all other ethnic groups into one political interest group, was seen by others as giving a privileged position to the Kadazan.

Kadazan also had other meanings to some ethnic groups. For example, at that time thirty years ago, the term Kadazan among the Rungus meant "enemy", so that they felt uneasy in joining such an interest group. The fact that the term Kadazan is still considered to have primary connotations of ethnic identity is illustrated by the recent formation of a specifically Dusun society in the interior.

While the term Dusun was considered by many forming these interest groups to be a pejorative label, there is a large area in the hills behind Tuaran and stretching up to Kota Belud where the various Dusunic speakers maintain that their autonym is Dusun. As I have identified over fifteen named, self-conscious ethnic groups in the Kudat Division alone, I was always skeptical of this claim and thought that the use of the term Dusun by these people was the result of contact with coastal Muslim groups over a long history so that their autonoms were lost. My skepticism was reinforced by the fact that evidence seems to indicate that the term Dusun is an exonym (see Appell 1968). However, in recent investigations in 1986 and 1990 among certain of these Dusun peoples I have been unable to discover any more specific autonym.

Prentice (ms. [1970]) reaches similar conclusions on the problems of ethnic terminology.² He writes (ms:1), "The major difficulty facing the research worker in Sabah, and indeed in the rest of Borneo, is the unreliability of the nomenclature traditionally applied to the people of the area. From the time of the earliest European contact to the present, administrators, missionaries and research workers have failed to perceive the ethnic and linguistic divisions recognized by the native peoples themselves, or at the best have gained but a hazy impression of their nature...." He lists the various factors that have contributed to the confusion and states (ms:2): "A genuine local name for a particular ethnic grouping is misused and applied outside its original referent. This is exemplified by 'Kadazan', originally the term for the people of the Penampang-Papar area and their language.... Because this dialect was the first to be used by missionaries as a medium of education, it has gained a prestige value, and the term is now applied indiscriminately to speakers of all the *Dusun-group* languages."

Thus, the failure to understand indigenous distinctions can complicate our understanding of the social processes at work.

Unfortunately, the members of SIL-MB (Summer Institute of Linguistics - Malaysian Branch) have not fully responded to this issue, which makes some of

their impressive studies difficult to understand. Thus, some of the languages they list for Sabah are named: Kadazan/Dusun, with dialects of Central Dusun, Coastal Kadazan, and Sugut Kadazan; Kadazan-Tambanua; Eastern Kadazan; Klias River Kadazan. In addition they list Kadazan-Murut (Spitzack 1984:193) and Kadazan-Tagaro (Smith 1984:32) as "ethnonyms" they elicited.³

An interesting example of the resulting confusion is found in the problem of the Kadazan-Tambanua. Previously the SIL-MB identified a language which they termed Kadazan-Tambanua in the Labut-Sugut area and, using lexicostatistics, found that it was a member of the Dusunic language family (Smith 1984). But the neighboring Tambanua language was classed as a member of the Paitanic language family (Smith 1984; King 1984a; Moody 1984c). So the Kadazan-Tambanua presented an anomaly, which should have at least raised questions as to the ethnonyms being collected and used for linguistic classification.

Later on the SIL-MB found that the kampong in which the original wordlist of Kadazan-Tambanua had been collected had "dispersed". "Speakers of the language were scattered throughout the area and no longer functioning as a language community" (Moody 1984c:330). Miller (1984:52) in the same volume states that the members of this speech community were adapting to the dominant Paitanic language in its area. In these comments and the "discovery" and then "disappearance" of this speech community one hears echoes of the failure to appreciate the ethnography of speaking, in particular the various levels of ethnic identities that are being used and the critical contrasts that are being made. This supposition was later confirmed when, after having written this assessment, I read in Kroeger (1986b) that the Kadazan-Tambanua also referred to themselves as Sandayo, an ethnic grouping that was "discovered" in the Pitas and Labuk-Sugut areas some years after the original inquiry (see Kroeger 1986a and 1986b). So the lost Kadazan-Tambanua community in actuality turns out to be Sandayo speakers, and this resolves the anomalies of the former classification as the Sandayo language is a Dusunic language.

Prentice (1970) gives an example of how confusion can arise from failure to determine levels of contrast and the context of the statements. When he asked an informant of the name of his ethnic group, the initial reply was "Keningau Dusun". Further questioning elicited the reply, "Kadazan". Then the informant rejected this in favor of "Kwijau". However, Prentice knew that this could not be his ethnic identity, as the phoneme /j/ was not part of his informant's linguistic inventory but only occurred in foreign words. Finally, Prentice asked what his group was called in the old days, and he answered "Minansut".⁴

Although Regis (1989) in her fine summary of the demography of Sabah states that the term Kadazan has become the official term in all official documents and oral references, this is not how many of the peoples themselves wish to label their cultural identities. Regis herself writes (1989:415) that "speakers of related dialects [of "Kadazan"] still insist on calling themselves by various autonyms ... to maintain their separate identities. A large segment of them still identify themselves as 'Dusun'." Thus, it is important for understanding the social history of Sabah and for developing a sound classification of the languages to distinguish various types and levels of cultural identities from political identities, and to determine in what contexts they are used or not used.

Avé and King (1986:12-13) in their important and very useful summary of the ethnography of Borneo also state that Dusunic speakers are now officially and popularly called Kadazan. This I believe to be misleading in the context of a monograph discussing the anthropology of Borneo, and is probably the result of their unfamiliarity with the complexities of ethnic terminology in Sabah.

Thus, in discussions of the cultural characteristics of a region it is important to keep cultural identities and the historical perspectives that they indicate separated from emerging political identities. Otherwise local cultural contours are submerged, yet it is one of the goals of anthropology to explain cultural variation. This does not mean that when discussing cultural characteristics emerging political identities should be ignored, for they form part of the process by which either new cultural identities or multiple identities that are context-specific may be forged in the future. However, by anticipating prematurely what the arc of the processes will be and how political and other identities will develop, the anthropologist loses his position of objective observer and becomes a participant in those processes himself, affecting their end-state.

Had the research of the SIL-MB been more sensitive to these issues the results of their research would not only have been more interesting and productive, but it would have also mirrored the social realities. How much more useful would their linguistic classification have been if they had listed as submembers of the various language groups and families the linguistic communities as the members themselves perceived them and labeled them. It would have raised all sorts of interesting questions on social processes and the cultural history of Sabah that need to be inquired about. And it would have made their work that much easier.

This problem is further discussed below.

The Naming of Linguistic Groups

The problems raised in the preceding section lead us to consider the most productive procedures for naming linguistic groups. Previously I wrote (Appell 1968:4) "A linguistic classification is concerned with recondite concepts and distinctions, and more usually than not it overrides the locally relevant cultural and political distinctions. As such, it is particularly appropriate for the use of exonyms."

But this does not mean that local distinctions should be ignored. They form the very base line from which the larger classifications are constructed. I then went on to suggest that we use a binomial terminology for the classification of the peoples of Sabah with the first part being the autonym of the group in question and the last term being the name of the language family to which the group belongs. This would produce terms such as Rungus Dusun, Kadazan Dusun, Lotod Dusun, etc.

My concerns over the confusions that might arise when using an autonym from one ethnic group for the name of a linguistic classification and how this gives a privileged position to that particular group, as I have discussed above, have unfortunately not been fully appreciated by the SIL-MB. Thus, on the Kudat Peninsula there are three isoglots: Nulu Dusun, Gonsomon Dusun, and Rungus Dusun.⁵ The SIL-MB have ignored these dialectical differences even though I have drawn this to their attention. And as Dyen has warned (1960:36) ignoring such dialectical differences in attempting to determine a classification of the various isoglots will skew the resultant family tree.

I have suggested that for purposes of naming a language family an exonym or geographical term would make better sense (1968:7). Thus, the three isoglots mentioned above form a group of languages related to others in the Kudat area, and I labeled this group as Marudu Dusun (Appell 1968), although the SIL-MB still refer to this as Rungus (see King 1984b).

Unfortunately, I unwittingly failed to follow my own good advice when I suggested that the family of indigenous languages of Sabah that include the Dusunic languages and the Murutic languages (i.e. the Northern Murut group; see Appell 1968) might be named the Ida'an language family. The term Ida'an was originally an exonym, but there has been found an indigenous ethnic group in Sabah whose autonym apparently is Ida'an. I stand corrected! However, the use of Ida'an as an autonym may be the result of the local population accepting this original exonym for themselves in specific contexts or, on the other hand, a failure in the inquiry to distinguish levels of contrast, as the non-Islamic section of this group calls themselves Begahak (see Smith 1984; John E. Banker 1984).

This problem of terminology also arises with the use of the term Malay on the map in Avé and King (1986:6). They use it to refer to any coastal Muslim group, even those whose derivation may be from the Philippine Islands and who speak one of the various Bajau languages that are non-Malayic languages, or those Islamic groups who speak a non-Malayic, indigenous language of Borneo such as the Tidung. I had originally made this error in the manuscript of Appell (1968), but C. A. Sather (personal communication) corrected me on this and suggested that the term Coastal Muslim might be more appropriate.

The Egregious Errors of Linguistic Classification in Appell (1968)

Appell (1968) attempted a classification of the various ethnic groups in the then Kudat District of Sabah. (It is now the Kudat Division.) I classified as Dusunic speakers peoples in the district on the basis of information obtained from native Chiefs and Rungus informants. The classification was not based on linguistic evidence, except to the extent that informants would state the degree of difficulty that existed for a Rungus speaker to communicate with a member of any of the other groups.

Recently, the SIL-MB have classified the languages in the Kudat Division by using tests of intelligibility in which informants listen to tape recorded stories from other isoglots and are questioned on the degree to which they understood these stories. As a result of this exercise, they made an important and major discovery. They found that the isoglots of the Kudat Division should be divided into two families: the Dusunic and the Paitanic.

Consequently, my list of Dusunic speakers is in error as it turns out to include Paitanic speakers. Appell's Lingkabau and Tombonuva--rendered by the SIL-MB as Tambanua (see Moody 1984c; Smith 1984)--became in this more careful classification members of the Paitanic family, and the isoglot of Paitan becomes a subdialect of the Tambanua language (Smith 1984:48). Also the language of the Banggi Islanders is found to be more closely related to the Molbog language spoken on the islands in the southern Palawan area of the Philippine Islands than to Sabah languages (Moody 1984c:333-34).

I also listed the Kimaragang (see King and King 1984; John and Elizabeth Banker 1984) as Maragang. This was in error. Since /ki-/ is a morpheme in Rungus indicating that something exists, I, without other scholarly reasons, removed the "ki-" on the supposition that this was a Rungus expression stating that "there are Maragang".⁶

There are other inconsistencies in Appell (1968) which remain unexplained. Why does Appell state that he isolated fifteen or more named ethnic groups in the Kudat District when on the map he only has fourteen? This was somewhat of a mystery to him until he remembered that the Sindapak ethnic group was omitted by accident from this map as far as he can remember. They were traditionally located at the foot of Marudu Bay on the Kudat Peninsula in the Langkon area. There were also two other groups listed in Appell (1963) which were not included in Appell (1968) because he was not sure of their existence or location. These were the Talantong and Kavananan. The existence of the Talantang, as rendered by Kroeger, was confirmed, however, by Kroeger's recent research (see Kroeger 1986b). In other publications Appell's list varies in size from twelve or more. This variance is related to various contexts as, for example, whether the Banggi Islanders should be included as well as other people whose linguistic status is indefinite since it was not established by Appell other than by the inquiries as described above.

Who are the Rungus of Banggi?

Omar (1983) in her important and ground breaking survey of the languages of Malaysia lists as one of the languages "the Rungus of Banggi" (1983:xii; 191). This is confusing for several reasons. In her introduction she identifies the location of the Rungus accurately (see Appell 1968). But what does "Banggi" mean? It usually refers to Banggi Island, which is inhabited by peoples who are only distantly related linguistically to the other indigenous peoples of Sabah. Certainly, there have been no Rungus traditionally living on Banggi Island, and even today they may only be represented by schoolteachers and other government personnel.

The language that Omar identifies as Rungus has close similarities to the Rungus language. But there are major differences. In many lexemes of Omar's Rungus the standard Rungus /l/ is replaced by a /d/, as in /valai/ (Appell 1968), which Omar renders as /vadai/. There are also lexemes that we do not recognize as they are not in our Rungus dictionary that is in the process of preparation. And one wonders whether Omar may not have had a Gonsomon or Nulu informant. We are in the process of checking this out and will continue this discussion in a continuation of this article in the next issue of the *Borneo Research Bulletin*.

NOTES

1. In Appell 1968 I coined the term exonym to indicate that the ethnic terminology involved was derived from the folk classification of a people foreign to those being identified and did not represent the term used by the people themselves to indicate their cultural identity.
2. I have only been able to consult a prepublication manuscript of Prentice (1970). Page references are to that manuscript.
3. The lack of familiarity with sociolinguistic theories and methods sometimes displayed by members of the SIL-MB is unsettling, as they are in the position to make such major contributions to knowledge in the ethnography and linguistics of Sabah. This is puzzling as they have been informed by both Appell in 1986 and Prentice (1970) on the complexity of ethnic and cultural identities and how they shift according to social context and the degree of sophistication the respondent perceives the interviewer to have in local cultural distinctions. I have several times voiced my concerns on these issues. One researcher writes: "Obviously the speakers perceive their language to be an *aberrant* form of either Dusun to the north or Murut to the south" (Spitzack 1984:193, italics added). He thus compounds a linguistic error with a sociolinguistic error.
4. I will discuss this issue in the next section.
5. By the term isoglot I indicate a self-conscious speech community. That is, this term refers to the speech of an ethnic group, the members of which consider their language or dialect to be significantly different from that of neighboring communities to have an indigenous name by which to identify it. I coined this term to avoid the problems involved in the terms language or dialect, which imply a certain status in linguistic analysis. The term isoglot is neutral in this regard. But as it reflects the indigenous organization of their linguistic and ethnic environment, it has greater ethnographic validity (see Appell 1968).
6. It should be noted that my rendition of the various autonyms is based primarily on inquiries made in the Rungus language and in many cases does not represent the phonemic rendering of the members of the groups themselves.

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AGRARIAN CHANGE AND GENDER RELATIONS
THE CASE OF BATANG AI RESETTLEMENT SCHEME, SARAWAK:
A BRIEF SUMMARY

HEW CHENG SIM

The aim of the study was to examine how gender relations amongst the Iban had been affected by agrarian changes in Batang Ai. The agrarian changes in Batang Ai have largely been the result of the siting of a hydroelectric dam project in the area. This meant a transfer of subsistence hill paddy farmers to a resettlement scheme where cash crops were cultivated on a plantation basis. Cash compensations were paid to the settlers for the loss of their land, crops and other immovable properties which were inundated. The commercialization of agriculture and the introduction of capital have therefore catapulted the subsistence farmers to a highly monetized economy. The effects of these were discussed and gender relations¹ examined in the context of stratification and the process of which has been set into motion by these changes.

In Batang Ai, the commercialization of agriculture has meant considerable changes in production and labor organization. It has seen an increasing dependence on international pricing mechanisms and the emergence of waged agriculture labor as opposed to the traditional practice of mutual exchange prevalent in subsistence agriculture. In Batang Ai, where women engaged in waged employment in SALCRA (Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority), they were to be found at the bottom of the work hierarchy where their intervention of the labor process was at its most ineffective. This is in contrast to their previous subsistence economy where women wielded considerable authority as food producers and custodians of agricultural religious rites. With their transfer into Batang Ai, many lost their land for paddy cultivation. In these households, there was a redefinition of women's position as women's control over food production was lost. In households where land was available for paddy cultivation, a more rigid division of labor has emerged where men dominated in cash-cropping and women in food production. This is a change from their previous subsistence economy where both men and women played complementary roles in food production. Hence women at Batang Ai often had to shoulder the triple burden of waged labor at SALCRA, subsistence farming (whenever and wherever land was available) and reproductive tasks² at home, the latter being the only gender specific task which has remained unchanged in spite of the agrarian transformation.

The introduction of individual ownership as opposed to the concept of *bilik* land tenure rights has led to a dispossession of women's rights to land, as land titles were made to male heads of households. Hence in the majority of the households, men held both the title to the *dusun*³ lots and cash compensation. Investments made with compensation payments were also in the main, held by men. Thus, there is now a shift of control of resources to men.

In Batang Ai, the complex process of stratification⁴ has also been set into motion by the transformation of production. This had contradictory consequences for women, as women from different strata stand in different positions from each other. For example, women in the stratum of farmers with large investments⁵ were in a position to purchase the labor of women in the strata of poor farmers⁶ and peasant laborers.⁷ Hence a new division amongst women has emerged. It is therefore clear that women's position has material basis in their access to productive resources.

Iban perception of "femaleness" and "maleness" is important to our understanding of gender relations. In Iban society, women have high legal status which is reflected in their customary law. However, this is juxtaposed with the dominant cultural perception of male superiority. In Iban folklore, men were portrayed in a better light than women. Similarly, their prestige and belief system manifested a higher regard for men than women. In addition, socialization into gender specific roles occurred from birth. Thus, it was not surprising that in spite of their changed lifestyle, these cultural conceptions of gender still retained a powerful hold over the people of Batang Ai. Findings revealed that to a large extent, cultural stereotypes of gender have been internalized and these have shaped their perceptions of women and men.

When these cultural conceptions were translated into actual practices, gender asymmetry was observed. For instance, men dominated in decision-making in the area of agricultural production and household expenditure, while women still retained control over the sphere of decision-making concerning children.

Another manifestation of gender hierarchy in Batang Ai was the low involvement of women in the leadership and participation in the public domain. As leadership in the public sphere was seen as avenue for male prestige, none of the women in the study area held leadership positions within their respective longhouses. With the exception of one woman who was a member of a political party, none of the women were members of any formal organization. When women did participate in the public domain, it was short-lived and mainly

centered on traditional female activities like the organization of visitors and the preparation of food during *gawai* celebrations.

In education, too, the low cultural evaluation of women was shown by the priority boys have over girls for a formal education. Thus the enrollment of the local primary school in June, 1988 showed a greater number of boys than girls. School authorities cite the withdrawal of female pupils for labor at home as the main reason for the disparity.

However, this is not to say that the subordination of Iban women is total and complete. In comparison to many others, Iban women enjoy a fair measure of parity with their men in inheritance, division of labor in paddy production, monogamous marriage and utrolocal residence system after marriage. In the choice of marriage partners, too, women have equal say with their men. This is the result of women's vital contribution to food production in the subsistence economy. However, as the rural economy becomes increasingly highly monetized through the commercialization of agriculture, women's authority and status is slowly being eroded as shown in the findings of Batang Ai. From the study, it is evident that women's position in Iban society cannot be examined without consideration to the wider social economic processes which affect them.

Similarly, within Iban society, women's position cannot be viewed within the household alone. In contrast, the findings suggest that women's position in the wider community is reproduced in the household. Insofar as it is society rather than the household which shapes gender relations; it is cultural conceptions which shapes a society's perception of gender. Thus, women's position does not only have a material basis but is also a product of cultural conception of gender.

NOTES

1. Gender relations here means socially constituted relations between men and women and not those derived from biological differences (Whitehead, 1979).
2. Reproductive tasks include child-bearing, child-rearing, food processing, cooking and washing; in other words, all tasks that ensure the continuation of the household.

3. Each household (*bilik*) was given one acre of vegetable garden (*dusun*).
4. The key determinants of differentiation used in this study were the settlers' utilization of cash compensation for investments and the types of waged employment engaged in.
5. Farmers with large investments were defined as those whose compensation has been well-invested in productive resources such as land outside the resettlement scheme, trucks for hire, vans for taxi service, small village shops and canteens. All the productive resources of the farmers with large investments may not necessarily be generating income simultaneously but the bulk of their income was derived from one of these sources.
6. Poor farmers were defined as those who work in SALCRA, on their own *dusun* and hire themselves out as labor to others.
7. Peasant laborers were landless and were solely dependent on selling their labor and on support from relatives.

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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

CORRECTIONS OF MISSTATEMENTS MADE BY COMMENTATORS,
REMARKS ON METHODS AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES¹

CAROL RUBENSTEIN

I shall correct some misstatements made by recent commentators and remark on the methods and on the historical perspectives concerning my oral literature research.

Corrections of Misstatements Made by Commentators

In his review of *The Nightbird Sings*, Peter Brosius chooses one text to examine in detail, stating that "Her treatment of this particular text may, I believe, serve as an exemplar of her work as a whole," and he proceeds "on the assumption that it is representative of the larger body of her work" (Brosius 1990).

During my 1971-74 research I worked with a variety of languages, informants and interpreters and depended on information I received and queried. The circumstances required continual improvisation concerning resources and available assistants and informants, and I apologize for nothing and no one. The abundance, accuracy and clarity of information varied, both as transmitted and as comprehended. The two main areas of concern were the background material and the words used only in songs, requiring further checking and additional informants and interpreters.

When staying longer with a group or working longer on the material, I was generally better able to locate errors because of increased familiarity with the formulaic language within a construct and with the themes and variations. This occurred with the long song cycles and epics of the Bideyuh, Iban and Kelabit, although the larger and more densely variegated mass of material in these long songs assures a correspondingly larger proportion of possible errors: I am referring to mistaking the cat for the hat etc., not to variability in expression.

¹Editor's note: This is the last in these exchanges which have provided important and interesting perspectives about the collection and interpretation of oral traditions.

These variations and imbalances in time, place, circumstances, information and comprehension are documented and obvious. "All things being equal" does not describe my research. All things were never equal. There is no basis for assuming that study of one text provides proof of anything but whatever may be gleaned from that particular circumstance and resultant text.

I can appreciate the concern of some researchers who may read my work and who are unsure whether every item can be accounted accurate. Aside from the vagaries of human error, oral literature is intensely variable in nature and I followed local interpretations. There is a valid basis for my choices, to the best of my knowledge. I embroidered as little as possible while getting across the intended meaning.

Concerning my 1985-86 research, Brosius states "I have met all of her Penan informants, as well as Hawing Yah, the Kayan headmaster of the school at Long Urun: it was he who helped Rubenstein translate her texts from Penan into English in 1985-86." He states that the translation problem "is exacerbated by the use of translators who are not native speakers." The informants who provided the songs I translated were all Penan school children, older than the standard for their grade. The interpreters were both the students and Penan adults from various nearby villages, where I also recorded several of the adult singers.

I provided Brosius with a rough map I copied from the school map of the feeder area, the names of Headmen, my adult interpreters, the main adult singers, the possible parent and sibling of one of his main informants, the main route, costs and whatever else might be useful to him, should he wish to visit there, as he had indicated might be his intention. I also showed him my photographs. I gave him a small dictionary for my main interpreter and a small flashlight for Hawing Yah, which he had requested.

On his visit to the area Brosius apparently spoke with many of the persons I had listed. Brosius may have misunderstood Hawing Yah, who in turn may have permitted or encouraged the misunderstanding, possibly unwittingly. Occasionally I lunched with the Headmaster and his wife, at which time we sometimes spoke Malay, and he now and then corrected some phrases. I made an especial point to avoid discussion of the Penan material with him and with the other teachers there, out of respect for their heavy work schedule.

Any informants and interpreters I work with are credited in my publications. My working procedures and my assistants were described to Brosius in both verbal and written form. He also read my description of this in

the *Sarawak Gazette* (Rubenstein 1989c). At no time did Hawing Yah provide Penan translations. The statement by Brosius is both untrue and inadmissible.

Brosius describes the interpreter for my earlier Penan research as a Kenyah. To the best of my knowledge, he was half Penan, living at the Kenyah longhouse of Long San, although I do not know to what degree he was culturally Penan. As a trader he spent time with Penan groups.

Concerning the five Penan songs I translated in 1985, I showed Brosius my first drafts of these, describing the background and circumstances and asked for his comments. (Later I sent a second draft, never acknowledged.) He states: "I explained to her the difficulties involved in translating *sinui*, primarily the inclusion of words from other languages. I was disturbed to see her report this as her own discovery in her 1989 *Sarawak Gazette* article." He states that "Rubenstein does not adequately acknowledge the source of her information, claiming to have been told about this by Penan rather than by myself."

I do not claim discovery. Anyone working with Penan verbal material cannot fail to notice this outstanding feature. As I noted in my 1989 *BRB* article, "The Penan songs employ more or less daily diction, but they are varied latterly with borrowings from other languages to enhance rhyme, rhythms, emphasis, status."

Throughout my work I have noted and worked with the variety of ways in which unlikely words appear, seemingly out of context: Sound words, nonsense words, stylistic devices, etc. Some of these are summarized in my updates on long songs (Rubenstein 1989b, 1991) especially in my 1985 research, when I was myself transcribing and working directly with the changes in the languages used, and these had to be accounted for. Otherwise my work could not go forward.

In his saying that the work was difficult, Brosius was not explaining anything not known to me. I had been struggling for some time to decipher the code-like songs. I described some of these difficulties to Brosius, not least of which was the warbling warped production of tones, distorting the words. Concerning the use of other languages, which I described having encountered, I suggested to him that the Penan predilection for this was not only to upgrade status, as he believed and with which I concurred, but also to increase the range of sounds, to vary and emphasize the sounds produced within a phrase and to counter the sounds of another phrase, and that it also might relate to words that were taboo in the circumstances described or in the singer's life. He insisted then that status was the main reason. That is not surprising -- he is looking at the text

from the viewpoint of a social scientist and academic, not that of a poet and translator.

Along with my verbal description of my encounters with this problem, Brosius read my description in the 1989 *Gazette* of my having worked with my Penan interpreters on that specific difficulty. His claim that I received this information from him and applied it to my description of my work after the fact is both untrue and inadmissible.

Brosius states that my translation of the oral text "Greeting by Hunter Returning with Nothing" is "grossly inaccurate." He describes in detail my failures, substituting his accuracies. Let us compare these entities.

I come back from hunting
 I come back from hunting
 not even one thing do I hold
 not even one thing to hold
 absolutely nothing.
 No animal fell down, I killed nothing.
 No animal lay dead --
 All / every single / to cause to fall down /
 to cause to fall over dead
 or (from another Penan text):
 I did not hold / clasp all / every (face of
 animal?), did not cause to fall over / fall dead.

I am a widower!
 Widower
 There was no nose of the wild boar,
 not even one unlucky wild boar,
 there was no snout of the wild boar,
 no single sign of the wild boar,
 (Hammer) Flat nose of bearded pig
 Transformed-Malay pig
 Blunt nose of (bearded) pig
 Bugis-pig
 empty handed of wild boar,
 absolutely nothing of wild boar.
 (with introductory notation that
 these words constitute a curse)
 Crocodile, domestic pig, rhinoceros hornbill
 (a curse, meaning that "no game whatever was killed")

Of everything there is there was none.
 Every animal had scattered.
 All / the majority of / each and every
 (face of animal?)
 Scattered.
 I am a widower!
 Widower

As regards the text, would it be true to say that the writer "misses the point entirely," as Brosius states?

Brosius sees the disjointed words of the original as a series of expletives serving as a curse. This is useful but not sufficient. Much else in Penan poetry and in Dayak poetry as a whole which is by no means a series of expletives also appears in disjointed form lacking a grammatical structure. I consider the Penan often the best of the Dayak poets for their economy of words and richness of sound and of meanings.

Poetry in any language is often heightened such that the familiar connectives are not given, felt then to be unnecessary, the "code" understood by the members of the group. So well understood are these code-like forms that the original Penan in 1972 did not require the words *dain kain* (face of game animal) and *ateng* (an emphatic negative) which Brosius posits, having heard them elsewhere during his 1985-88 Penan research. The tacit meaning was unmistakable.

In order that a translator may transmit the meaning of the disjointed words to an outsider without relying entirely on footnotes, a grammatical context may be necessary. It is these I have offered, along with my choice of a style that might pass on some sense of the original, in this instance the frustrated and obsessive expression of failure.

The context Brosius describes for the Penan "widower" is different from my original understanding. The oath-taking element, such that "If I lie, call me widower, or, may I be a widower," is similar to a Kayan oath titled "Curse to One Who Claims Yours as His" in the Kayan section of *SMJ Monograph* No. 2 (Rubenstein 1973). Concerning the widower's hunting, I am glad to learn that he does not feel he is in disgrace, although he cannot be feeling too good about it, however much he curses.

Since my interpreter lived at Long San and followed the large Catholic mission there, it may be that his explanation intruded a sense of disgrace and

guilt not inherent in the material. One of the Penan cradle songs from Lg. Beku, near Lg. San, contains the line "You are named Maria, the name I wished to name you -- / Maria, so that you are already joined with the Christians."

In *SMJ Monograph* No. 2 I state: "This is the formal announcement of his failure," relating the song to two others included in the Penan section -- "The Widow Aren" and "Hunting Advice Song No. 1" from Lg. Beuk, a group closely related to those at Lg. Silat -- as regards "the repeated traditional cursing of the wild boar, at the hunter's bad luck at catching none." Does this background information truly constitute what Brosius terms "a betrayal of the text"?

In many Dayak poems, the "real" meaning of the original code-like production may differ from what they may first appear to be, disguised for a variety of reasons. This held for many of the Penan poems I translated.

For example, Suti, a fine singer, on leaving the area (gone to Lg. Jek, where Peter Brosius later stayed) left a tape of her songs, which I heard, and also, according to some, a tape of their real meanings. She also taught the songs to others, especially to Jungan Bit. One of her songs had been among those sung by the schoolchildren and was included in the small group I translated. The "real" meanings were known to the group as a whole, and especially to Jungan Bit and my main adult interpreter, Usung Uvat, also a singer, and were explained to me. The use of such double code and its unravelling is described in detail in my *SMJ* article on my recent Penan work (Rubenstein 1990d).

Brosius states that the groups I visited for one month were Penan Gang: "That Rubenstein did not even know the name of the group with which she worked should raise questions among those who read her work. This is only the most glaring error." In the *Sarawak Gazette* article I note that those at Lg. Apu are unrelated to the group at Lg. Kupang-Lida; some of the songs I heard nevertheless were current in both villages, with small changes. Also that the prayers I heard chanted by the Headman at Lg. Kupang in 1985 in the Belaga region appeared to be similar to those I had heard by the Penan from Lg. Silat in 1972 in the Baram region: "But research in that regard was beyond the scope of my study."

Those Penan I asked described themselves as Penan Urun. Possibly this was because they lived near the new schoolhouse at the mouth of the Urun river and they wished to associate themselves with it or because I was staying there and they wished to increase my ease with them. The overall composition of the area itself may be forming in a new way. The fluidity of some aspects of Penan culture struck me during my brief recent visit, in regard to which I noted in the

Sarawak Gazette article: "The mingling of languages in the songs, in either original or distorted form, objectifies the Penan sense of their consistently relative place as they interweave within the terrain with its various cultures." If they chose at the time I was there to describe themselves as Penan Urun, it was not for me to contradict them.

Whatever I presented of ethnographic data was limited to standard information ("Borneo is the third largest island in the world..."), updated for census and division changes, or was specific to my experiences of an area ("The fireplaces are four-sided and constructed in the center of the largest room" etc.). Anecdotal and impressionistic views are never presented as fact. I learned the basic anthropological structure of each group, and of each longhouse in particular, in order to proceed properly while collecting and in order to place the background, the singers and their songs within the picture they were forming. Mine was a pragmatic venture. Anything else was incidental to my work. Whatever I presented of either data or impression was meant to provide a sense of the living context of the songs and to show the great cultural variety of the different Dayak groups. A brief discussion of the changing circumstances of, and perceptions concerning, the Dayak groups is given in the section on historical perspectives.

My project was limited to collecting and translating the material still available. For each song I provided simple documentation, detailing as much background as possible. Particularly I concentrated on ritual and on disappearing data, such as the Iban ritual to remove the incest taboo, as outlined in a cradle song and later witnessed, and background to some of the events, expressions and formulaic phrases used in the Iban and Bidayuh song cycles and longer warrior songs and the Kelabit epics.

"Song language" is clearly my reference to the words, phrases, formulaic utterances and attitudes permeating certain kinds of verbal sung material to be found there and not in the vernacular speech of each group: The forms of speech that coordinate within certain songs. As in a code, substitute words are introduced both to provide information and to regulate atmosphere. Most groups I worked with utilized such stylized "languages." Locating their meanings among those few persons, generally elders, who still knew them was a critical factor at all times. I have written on this most recently in my update on long songs (Rubenstein 1991). For Brosius to state that I refer to a distinct "dialect" or lexicon is a misinterpretation of my description of an obvious phenomenon and is unwarranted.

The "Thrice Told Tale" represented by *The Nightbird Sings* (Rubenstein 1990a, to which Brosius objects resulted from there being almost no place in Malaysian culture and literature accorded to Dayak culture and literature. My earlier hard-cover book (Rubenstein 1985) was priced out of competitive range and I wanted to offer even simple acquaintance with the subject by means of a small inexpensive publication. Only a few brief songs from seven Dayak groups are presented in a life-cycle format to help link outsiders to Dayak concerns. The book was also occasioned by my distress at the destruction of the forests and Dayak habitat and the disregard for Dayak culture which I saw accelerated during my 1985-89 visits. It is more difficult to dismiss a people as expendable when their poetry is present to speak for them. To that end, I included one recent translation of a Penan song related to the "execution" of the trees: "*li li the Voice Cries Out.*" These matters are discussed in the Author's Comments of the book. Fuller descriptions are in recent publications (Rubenstein 1990b, 1991).

My initial request (Rubenstein 1989a) for clarification from Jérôme Rousseau concerned his assertion (Rousseau 1988) regarding Part 2 of *SMJ Special Monograph* No. 2 that "the central Borneo texts are truncated, inaccurately transcribed and translated, and unreliable." In his reply (Rousseau 1989) he does not address the issue. In his further reply (Rousseau 1989) he refers the reader to his 1989 article and says nothing further on the subject concerning on what basis he so characterizes the oral literature collected and translated in the Kelabit, Kayan, Kenyah and Penan sections. His knowledge of the texts is restricted to some of the Kayan material. Whatever is not described as being incomplete is complete. His assertion has no basis in fact.

Concerning my original request of Rousseau for prepublication review, asking if he had seen anything wrong in the material, and his reply that, yes, there was something wrong with it but he would not tell me what that was, there is no doubt whatever. Such a remark is not easily forgotten. As I stated, I queried again, repeating his remark back to him, to make sure I had heard right. I had.

In his 1989 *BRB* article Rousseau states that he did tell me what was "wrong" but that I did not like to hear it and so forgot it. His remark is unfounded. Perhaps he is referring to his communicating his dislike of my project. He has every right to his preference. Perhaps, then, that was his enigmatic contribution. Not something I could be alerted to, no word or phrase or aspect of the cultural background which he could spot quickly, owing to his expertise, and I not see at all, but only his general and unmistakable view that the project was objectionable to him.

Anxious that I had missed some translation cues, I redid the section, subjecting it to intensive review with a different interpreter. Only a few small changes resulted. This re-translation project caused delay for me and for others at the Museum and elsewhere. Perhaps that is part of the ill will toward me on the part of my assistants which Rousseau hints at.

But there were many other difficulties with my assistants and with the Museum throughout my association. I am sure I was regrettably difficult to work with at times, and that my lack of comprehension contributed to error and to mistrust, occasioning grudges. The work itself was exhausting. Many times my assistants disappeared out the back door of the Museum, unable to bear further questions, validation of data, spelling checks, etc. Add to this the nonsense of some fieldwork personnel who alleged that money was owed to them by me (I had nothing to do with payments); they had also regularly taken precious supplies. The conflicts continued for three years, as did the understandings, resolutions, unexpected kindnesses, intelligence and shared commitment to and feeling for the oral literature, permitting the project, with all its limitations, to be completed.

In his surveys of Dayak oral literature (Maxwell 1987, 1988), especially of the long songs, and in his recent *BRB* article (Maxwell 1989, 1990), Allen Maxwell omits reference to the main body of my work, comprising the long song cycles and epics I translated during 1971-74. In the 1989 *BRB* article he states that "[CR] questions 'these omissions'" in my 1989 *BRB* article, and then he documents his views, without returning either to the question or to the omissions. In his subsequent 1990 *BRB* article he again ignores my request for clarification (Rubenstein 1990c).

Maxwell states in his 1989 article that [CR] "requested that I comment on her work"; in the 1990 *BRB* that "[CR] requested -- indeed insisted -- that I evaluate her work" and, later, with "If, as she demands, an evaluation is to be made of her work" he repeats that assertion. His assertion is untrue. All of his remarks follow from the closure to my 1989 article: "I request clarification by Allen Maxwell and Jérôme Rousseau concerning their published activities as regards my work."

At no time did I request his views, already known to me for their negativity in every respect. I have no objections, of course, to his expressing his views. But he is expressing these views at the expense of my request instead of clarifying an issue that is basic to all scholarship and to my work in particular.

My request concerned his surveys, which otherwise list any bits of related translation or reference to the long songs of the Dayak oral literature and which list those same works which I had translated and published as being unrecorded, untranscribed, untranslated.

These comprise the following, including original and translation, within *SMJ Special Monograph No. 2: Iban, Renong Song Cycle for Amusement (Renong Main)* (108-280), Part I; Bidayuh, The Brayun Songs (*Brayun*) (542-642) and The Hero Songs (*Ayun Ngayu*) (642-694), Part I; Kelabit, Song of Belang Lipang (*Sedadai Balang Lipang*) (857-966); Adi, Song of Agan (*Adi*) (857-966); Song of Tukad Rini (*Sadadir Tukad Rini*) (967-1125), Part II. They are not unrecorded, untranscribed, untranslated, as stated in Allen Maxwell's surveys. They comprise 645 pages of printed text undeniable known to the compiler of the surveys and suppressed by him.

Such surveys are meant to serve in a bibliographic capacity, to inform the public, not to engineer viewpoint to accord with the compiler's own, nor to secure advantage in an unstated agenda.

Instead Maxwell faults me "for failing to utilize and cite the published literature." My referencing of data and his relate to different purposes and contexts. I am not presenting an exhaustive scholarly survey, which is his purported activity. Instead he deflects attention from his distorted bibliographic data and declares that it is I who am remiss: A well-established maneuver.

I have no argument with Maxwell's, or anyone's, point of view. This attitude is apparently not reciprocal. I am aware of my limits and appreciate whatever can extend them. I do emphatically have argument with an intellectual armory that denies the reason for its own barrage.

In his original two surveys on long songs which I queried, he cites none of my book titles because he cites none of the songs, long or otherwise, included in them. In his 1989 *BRB* article he cannot but refer to some of the book titles but continues to pretend that the long songs within them, which is the crux of the matter, do not exist. In his 1990 *BRB* article Maxwell points to his 1989 *BRB* article, stating that it contains eight references to my publications, along with 163 other references. With this he attempts to prove how many books I have not read or cited. As regards the matter at hand, these figures are irrelevant. It is the materials concerning the long songs within *SMJ Monograph No. 2* which he omits, both there and everywhere else.

In his response to David Szanton's article (Szanton 1990), Allen Maxwell states that Szanton questions his knowledge of Malay, using that assertion to begin discrediting Szanton's remarks, while emphasizing his own Malay expertise. But nowhere in Szanton's article does he even refer to Maxwell's facility in Malay.

Maxwell's recent communications uphold the pretense that certain data are nonexistent and that he can dismiss both my work and my request at will, as well as the fabrication of data, as in the exchange with Szanton, for the purpose of proving it wrong.

The phalanx of numbers, data and descriptions he marshalls, however interesting, change nothing of this. They cannot factor out the cause: His manipulation of data and his dismissal of my request for clarification. Maxwell's surveys are false, knowingly false, producing inadmissible data. This poor scholarship is unworthy of an otherwise fine scholar. His refusal to address and redress the issue of his damage is arrogant and unacceptable. Concerning my other colleagues, I believe that on this issue silence is indeed complicity.

Concerning my purported "privileged access to poetry," I do not know where Rousseau got his information. He says "She considers that it is inappropriate to say that a translation of poetry could be 'correct' or 'wrong.'" When I met her in Kuching in the early 70s, she expressed this view even more forcefully, saying that, because she is a poet, she has privileged access to poetry in any language, including languages which she does not know herself." Maxwell then repeats the misinformation, concluding that it is "unworthy of comment." I said or implied no such statement concerning privilege. My views have been distorted, and I shall briefly discuss the possible causes of this distortion.

My research colleagues urge me to learn one indigenous language and then translate, this being "well meaning advice," according to Brosius. I have addressed this issue several times, mostly as related to the immediacy of the oral literature loss and to the prevalence of one or more "song language" within each group. During my later research I considered the possibility but decided against it. I bring up this matter because it is relevant to misconceptions concerning my work.

A researcher may study primarily land tenure, or kinship terms, or political constructs, or linguistic affiliations, or migration patterns etc. My work was in collecting disappearing poetry and in translating the poetry of the various groups. Therefore I am alert to poetics and to poetic cues. Most social scientists and linguists do not engage in poetics; if they do at all it is theoretical and not

based on actual engagement with the poems. Such is not their committed discipline, as it is mine.

It has astonished me that anyone could spend years with a group and not collect and translate some of its sung or chanted literature, but few researchers have either the time or inclination for that pursuit. My documentation of a group's land tenure, kinship terms, linguistic affiliations, political constructs etc. covers only essential data. I believed it to be my obligation to document whatever possible which might be relevant to the poem and the circumstances out of which it had come, especially as regards any background data currently dysfunctional and the original languages. In that respect my work is for a scholarly audience.

Because my colleagues seemed not to understand that I was not collecting phonemes or anything but the poems, given the limits of my activities, I have from time to time explained my agenda, and likely it is these explanations of my work which have been misinterpreted. My work is fundamentally different from theirs. Similarly poetry is fundamentally different from prose or data, differing concerning its creation, basis, circumstances, performance and much else. My colleagues disallow my agenda and my explanations. They say they do not know much about "poetry," and they like to put that in quotes, along with the activities of a "poet." I do not fault them for not being poets, I do not disallow their primary endeavors. But they object to my not doing their work, or not doing translations the way they would, were they to do it, which generally they do not, except briefly and incidentally, illustrated most recently in their attempts to prove a previously decided upon theoretical point.

Certainly as a poet I can translate from languages I do not know. It is a time-honored procedure. One may enter imaginatively into the poetics and the world represented, but much depends on the opportunity to be immersed in the background and to have good data concerning meanings. I did not rely on a general gloss but on the meanings of each word. I followed a relatively strict mode, keeping as close to the original as possible to avoid an overly free interpretive translation, my obligation especially in the circumstances of the disappearing data.

Concerning my assistants and the Museum, as noted elsewhere and also here, many issues were often in conflict. That one about the poetry, where Rousseau reports that "they did not like being told that their translation was wrong, and Rubenstein, as a poet, was better able to interpret the meaning of the text" sounds like typical bad-mouthing to whoever appears open to it and at a time of stress. I had almost nothing to say about poetry or my work in poetry to them or to anyone, unless pressed. Concerning myself and my assistants, my

work with them had to do with constructing a form of verbal equivalent to the poem, while validating data, points of view, etc.

Where information is found to be altogether incorrect, or where my expression of it is mistakenly skewed in some way, aside from the regional and individual differences in source material etc., there will of course be a degree of error in the whole. Accuracy generally depends on recognition of, and variations on, familiar patterns. I have described the circumstances, information, comprehension and results as being variable. Good intentions and difficulties surmounted are not the issue. But my translation work is -- all of it -- based on specific data, and the accuracy of the result is well within ballpark range. The attempts to invalidate it often inadvertently prove otherwise.

There are generally not more than one specialist per area in Sarawak. That is understandable to provide researcher protection and status. If there were two or more specialists working within the same general area, especially if they follow different schools of thought and not only have no reason to protect and uphold the other, but are seeking ways to destroy the credibility of the other, the normal state of affairs in academic and political mayhem, then I think one could look forward to translations, or technical assemblages of translated data, or other forms of data, from each specialist such that the same or similar materials would be barely recognizable as being related. And the ripe scorn would heap high. Others can and will collect and translate more of the oral literature, and I do not expect it to look and sound like my own. But the work that I and my assistants have completed is to be recognized and not denied, as Allen Maxwell has done in his published acts.

The roundup of some of my colleagues to prove that they did not really provide prepublication review, and the scrupulous swapping and checking of each other's articles to attempt concertedly to discredit my work, in the name of scholarly activity, prove better than I ever could the circumstances surrounding my work.

I was well aware of the ambivalence of some of my colleagues concerning my work. Few took the time to give it more than a cursory glance. There was much I was quite sure they did not know concerning the songs and the background to the songs, but they liked to look wise and say as little as possible, evidencing little curiosity. My work depended on my exposing the limits of my knowledge and on my finding the remedies. They would not risk their reputations in most instances to provide even a few useful queries and remarks concerning the cultural background. I doubt that the orthography causes insurmountable difficulties. Of course no one is required to provide prepublication review. Concerning one's colleagues, it is a courtesy.

My responsibility was also to learn what I could of the background and to relate this to the songs. All matters pertaining to my materials are for the intellectual community to make use of in whatever manner may suit them best. If it suits them best at present to dispute and attempt to down-ground its value, that is their choice. Presenting objections that are both untrue and inadmissible does not advance their cause.

The poetic content and context appear to be of little interest. Some researchers are aggrieved that I have done what I set out to do concerning this poetic material. Having decided that my approach, purposes, procedures and choices are unlike theirs, and therefore unacceptable to them, they cannot fault me enough.

It is 'unfortunate that these fine scholars doing Borneo research should resort to untruths concerning another's work in order to build their stature. Surely the excellence of their own work can speak for itself. Perhaps they feel that they must monitor all other work. That too is admirable, so long as it admits of choice. Perhaps doing research in a country that permits little of this rarity -- choice -- has adversely affected their sense of reality concerning what is said as opposed to what is done, encouraging the notion that they may impose their views at will. More likely it is a commonplace of academic publication life. If, however, the Borneo Research Council is to successfully expand its efforts to include the contributions of local nonprofessionals, the Council should certainly set a standard of ethics worthy of emulation. Another fine-sounding position paper will not secure anyone against misuse of intellectual properties in circumstances where the power to perpetrate abuse exists.

Remarks on Methods

It is hypocritical for commentators at this point to outline what they consider the one correct *modus operandi* and to study in detail a few lines of text, that part generally known to them, in an attempt to demonstrate superiority. They are unlikely to sustain that level of translation study, unless it were their sole research for years.

In Vinson Sutlive's address at the Extraordinary Session (Sutlive 1990), he suggests "a 'buddy' system, a one-to-one continuing relationship between the professional and layman, in which each informs and instructs the other." In any projected research of long songs there are large masses of material. Anyone using the "buddy" system, or any other system depending on an assistant, is working with material and information received and confirmed from the field. The

outside researchers will be confronted with arcane vocabulary ("song language") and formulaic phrases of the oral tradition with references to a cultural background and rituals neither extent nor held within living memory. More than likely they would find themselves working much as I did.

They might structure the work somewhat differently, be better able to rely on assistants who in turn rely directly on them for pay and perquisites. The assistants must provide information which they either know or, as is increasingly the case, they must seek out among those few elders who might know the meanings, if they can still remember them. These assistants might be trained in phonetics or phonemics but probably not to the degree of the outsider, or insider, professional. Knowing the local language and culture might help the outsider or visiting researcher chant more comfortably and better understand many aspects of the culture. But they will not know about the sung world, particularly if they deny the variability of poetic image and meaning. Doubtless much of what they prove, whether of a living or of a lost tradition, will be educated conjecture, sustained by assistants attuned to their requirements. The oral text will then be formed to suit their own theories, which will be illustrated by the text, all dovetailing to prove the researcher's definitive points. This appears to be their preferred and legitimized activity, a not unknown syndrome.

What is the purpose of translating the oral literature? Some researchers want data only -- the phonetic material, the words chosen to represent the original and the syntactical relationships, if available, and the footnotes explaining the background. For my purposes this is two stages prior to the final translation. I put the raw data into a literal statement in order to get the meaning clear, and then I put the literal statement into a line in which inheres some sense of the poetry, depending on the song's character as it emerges. Some researchers may wish to avoid the problem of translations that might appear to change or variably express the meanings of the raw data. They can eliminate the poetry option, presenting the components, possibly accompanied by a literal translation or overall summary, including footnotes to provide and generate more data.

This transmittal of a raw-data base of information assures no revealed truth. One cannot dismiss the training, preferences and choices of the singer, assistant and researchers. Much also depends on the historical and political contexts and priorities considered important or proper or possible to discuss.

Concerning the original indigenous material, I intended this to represent the sounds produced on the specific site, for use by the Dayak communities in Sarawak and for anyone studying Dayak culture. From these transcriptions scholars may extract a more exact record of the original sounds produced.

Historical Perspectives

It is a common observation in literary study that the classics should be retranslated every generation. The set observations of even the recent past begin to fall away, eventually to permit new insights. The core of the literature remains, enhanced by the historical multiplicity of views. As to the translation itself, the type of language used, along with the emphases and interpretations preferred, often tell more about the time when the translation was made than they do about the historical time meant to be described. Any form of writing rapidly becomes dated. As for my own work, I see passages of both translation and accompanying description which I might well write differently today, twenty years later, or even ten and five years later. Both observer and observed change.

Certainly for the Dayak the world has changed extremely rapidly. This can be seen in the photos by Lin Poh Chiang for *The Nightbird Sings*. They date from the 1950s, when the world was seen differently within and through the eyes of the Dayaks. Although some activities and attitudes may be similar to those in parts of present-day Sarawak, many realities and intangibles both separate and link the Dayaks then and now.

My work in Sarawak began in 1971, a Sarawak much changed since then. My last departure was in 1989. In 1991, at present, I am completing the archive of my data and related papers for the Cornell University library and am writing closures on matters related to my Sarawak research. I wish to place the 20-year span of my Sarawak involvement within some historical and political perspective in order to address some of the issues raised by my colleagues concerning my translations.

Brosius notes that in 1985 I was just beginning to learn Malay. June 1, 1985 was the day after I returned to Sarawak, following a nine-year absence. On that day Bahasa Malaysia became the official language of Sarawak.

My original research (1971-74, with follow-up visits in 1975 and 1976) had been possible because English was widely spoken. I could communicate readily with Museum officers and others in English. Although fluency and accuracy varied, the querying, responding and ascertaining of meanings was possible while speaking English. The singers generally spoke little or no English, speaking their own colloquial language, and spoke only simple Malay. I had learned some Malay while traveling prior to my arrival in Sarawak and had a working knowledge of its structure, but during my project had little opportunity or occasion to develop it. My assistants attended to details in traveling, when some Malay language was needed, and I stayed in the background and avoided being

unduly conspicuous until my work required my active participation at the kampongs.

The extreme specificity of my data, often derived from words found only in the songs of each group, required that I work directly with and into English. No point would have been served by attempting to work in Malay at that time. I did little else but work on expeditions and with my own material for the three years of my project.

During my 1985-86 research, however, I attended to all travel and arrangements and conducted my research primarily in Malay. Whereas in 1971-74 the young people in kampongs often spoke serviceable English, by 1985, and more markedly by 1989, the level of English had gone down to the degree that young people in kampongs could say "good morning," whatever the time of day, but not much else. Meanwhile the intricacies of formal Bahasa Malaysia had increased.

The world the Dayaks inhabited by 1985-1989 was by then increasingly degraded, environmentally, socially, economically, politically. (See Avé and King 1986 and Hong 1987). This was unmistakable to any observer. The excessive unrestrained logging had polluted the rivers, scraped away topsoil, denied villagers a margin for firewood in their own customary forests, destroyed their sources for fishing and game animals and much else, and all in the name of development.

This produced no development at all for the inhabitants but did develop the finances of those few owners of the politically derived and maintained forest concessions. The essential cause was and is the governmentally protected greed of the forest concession owners, encouraging political corruption and arrogance of many varieties. These pressures and displacements have weakened the self-esteem and the communities of the Dayaks. A concomitant to the dysfunction of the societies is that the former venues for maintaining the oral tradition have collapsed, speeding the disappearance of the Dayak poetic literature.

In 1971 there was no concerted activity in the field to collect and translate the oral literature. That is why I began by research. By 1974 and by the time of my departure from the region in 1976, there was still no activity. In 1985, on my return, sponsored by the U.S. National Endowment for the Arts in Translation, the urgency had increased, as had the governmental prejudice against backing such efforts, despite occasional lip service to the contrary. As before, there was only occasional collecting of such material by anthropologists, etc. incidental to their work, with little attempt to transcribe and translate, leaving the poetry, the contexts and the archaic meanings to disappear.

At the time of my own 1985-86 research I encountered many Dayaks who expressed their unhappiness at the disintegration of their cultural properties. As a result, I attempted to help set in motion a project whereby the Dayaks could themselves collect and translate their own oral literature, with initial outside assistance. I outlined some of the many regional storehouses of this material and ways to stimulate latent local interest. Many of these sources were already in place, requiring only permission and minimal funding to activate them. This proposal was met with much interest by Dayak groups with whom I met. As a result of a favorable letter from the Sarawak government Ministry of Social Development indicating their interest and encouragement, I applied to the Social Science Research Council for a small grant to sustain my efforts and to the Ford Foundation, which had sponsored my earlier research in connection with the Sarawak Museum, for a large grant to a Dayak group, which would need to be a non-governmental agency, to administer the proceedings. The Sarawak Dayak National Union, an umbrella organization for all the Dayak cultural associations, expressed an interest. The Ford Foundation visited and expressed an interest. But the proposed project was rendered a casualty of the political upheavals within Sarawak which began in 1987 and in Malaysia as a whole around that time (CARPA 1988, Leigh 1990).

The project may well have foundered in any event, but the political climate gave the best excuse for radical neglect of Dayak cultural matters while maintaining a position entirely opposite on paper. I shall not here detail the circumstances as I experienced them; the files are in my archive. In 1988 I offered to withdraw from my proposed temporary part in the project, suggesting instead others, both within and without Sarawak, who might prove acceptable to all concerned.

At the Sarawak Cultural Heritage Symposium in 1988 some representations were made to indicate the agreeable value of the oral literature. During my last visit in 1989, to complete and check aspects of my 1985-86 research and to prepare my article for the Sarawak Gazette and the Sarawak Museum Journal (Rubenstein 1989b, 1990d, 1991), and by the time of my departure, there was still no actual collecting and translating of the Dayak oral literature.

The First Extraordinary Session of the Borneo Research Council, 4-9 August 1990 apparently elicited several expressions of concern and support regarding the oral literature. I understand that some recording may occur as a result. The forthcoming Borneo Research Council's "New Perspectives on Indigenous Oral Traditions: Borneo Discourses" for the 1991 American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting offers fine possibilities, and one may hope that some oral texts all eventuate.

In my earlier discussions with Dayak groups I had emphasized the necessity to begin, proceed and complete the work of collecting and translating. Many people are reluctant to do anything at all, for fear of risking the ridicule of the experts, whoever they may be. I emphasized that by applying common sense, conjoined with energetic commitment and love of their culture, they have much to offer: And that with practice they gain confidence and soon become expert within the limits they set for themselves and make clear to others. My main attempt was to demystify the procedures and let them become available to nonprofessionals, largely on a part-time or seasonal or semester basis. I outlined the methods I had found useful and suggested that they follow whatever they consider sensible, disregard the rest and, within a generally accepted framework for validating their own data, as well as checking that of others, and for establishing some sound principles concerning accurate meanings, then work out their own systems, depending on the resources and circumstances of their own collecting within their own communities. Certainly I do not claim mine to be the only way to proceed. It would be possible, within this general framework, to salvage most of the existing oral literature within a few years.

Perhaps it is this approach which has alarmed some of my colleagues in various quarters. If so, then by all means change it for the better.

A large body of committed, nonprofessional, but paid, collectors working in connection with a group of professionals who can help to maintain high standards, while respecting individual choices and delegating responsibility, can produce valuable results. Perhaps a team approach can be incorporated, including ethnographer, musicologist, linguist, etc., while the main work was being done -- that of collecting and translating the actual oral literature. Finances are unlikely to be forthcoming for large-scale professional engagements. But even small regular sums can help to release nonprofessional assistants to do fieldwork. In general any sustained effort on any level is individual. The question of which languages can or should be used for the work and for presenting the results, perhaps two or more languages, offers challenges concerning national property and international scholarship.

Surely such matters can be resolved with good will, which surely can be located; and I offer all concerned my best wishes for their ongoing success.

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- 1989b Some Notes on Long Songs of the Dayak Oral Literature. *Sarawak Gazette* CXVI (1508), (pp. 21-28).
- 1989c 'For Marrying Lian During Durian Season': A Song of the Penan Urun. *Sarawak Gazette* CXVI (1509), (pp. 22-30).
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- 1990b 'So Unable to Speak Am I...': Sarawak Dayaks and Forms of Social Address in Song. *Asian Music* XXI(2), (pp. 1-37).
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AWANG MOHD SALLEH ABDUL LATIF WINS THE
"SOUTH-EAST ASIA WRITE" AWARD (1990)

From A. V. M. HORTON

Awang Mohd Salleh Abdul Latif PJK MPhil (b 1947) a Brunei journalist has won the "South-East Asia Write Award", it is reported (*Pelita Brunei*, 26 September 1990/7 Rabiulawal 1411:14).

It appears that the annual award is made to one writer from each of the six ASEAN countries (in other words, there are six recipients yearly). Awang Mohd Salleh is the fifth Brunei citizen to be thus honoured, last year's winner from the Abode of Peach being "Adi Kelana", pen-name of Awang Haji Ibrahim bin Haji Muhammad Said, born in 1934 (*Pelita Brunei*, 25 October 1989:20).

Since 1964, when still at school, Awang Mohd Salleh has written seven novels, a number of plays, and more than 80 short stories. His work has been included in at least four anthologies. He currently serves as a senior journalist for *Pelita Brunei* itself.

Born on 22 September 1947 at Kampong Lurong Sikuna, part of Kampong Ayer (DE Brown 1970: 46, 48, 59-61), Awang Mohd Salleh was educated at the Sakolah Melayu Laila Menchanai and then at the Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin College in the capital. In the 1980s he studied at the North East London Polytechnic, the Berlin Institute for Journalism, and the University of Stirling, the latter awarding him the degree of Master of Philosophy in 1989 (*Pelita Brunei*, 12 Julai 1989:12).

As a reporter, he has covered major events in Brunei's history, including the Sultanate's admission to the United Nations in 1984 and the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Bangkok in July 1988.

As an author, he has won several prizes, of which the South-East Asia Write Award is merely the latest. His output is prolific, as the following summary (itself incomplete) amply demonstrates.

A Checklist of Some Publications by
Awang Mohd Salleh Abdul Latif
(* denotes short story)

- 1964a Sangsi. *In* Bahtera (Magazine of Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin College).*
- 1964b Daerah Miskin Harta. *In* Tunas Pelajar (No. 1).*
- 1967 Tergadinya Tanah Pustaka (play staged at the Borneo Theatre, 6 August 1967).
- 1968 Garis Cera Di Upuk Senja (novel; Borneo Literature Bureau, Kuching).
- 1971a Gimang Yang Malan. *In* Mingguan Malaysia (25 April).*
- 1971b Rohnya Mengamuk, *loc. cit.* (8 August).*
- 1971c Menjadi Mangsa Jua. *In* Barita Minggu (Singapore, 8 August).*
- 1971d Borek Dalam Gelanggang. *In* Mastika (August).*
- 1971e Jesus Pasti Murka. *In* Utusan Zaman (7 November; Jawi script).*
- 1971f Mertabat Keluarga. *In* Mingguan Malaysia (14 November).*

- 1972a Bakti Pada Negara, loc. cit. (18 June; Jawi).*
- 1972b Kematian Yang Tidak Ditangisi. In Utusan Zaman (16 Apri; Jawi).*
- 1972c Hadiah Dari Regatta. loc. cit. (18 June; Jawi).*
- 1973a Tamu Tak Diundang. In Mingguan Malaysia (7 January).*
- 1973b Hilangnya Mak Joyah. In Dian XII(58).*
- 1973c Tombak. In Dewan Masyarakat, XI(3), March (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur).*
- 1974 Langup. In Mingguan Malaysia (2 November).*
- 1975a Keluarga Rumah Panjang. In Berita Minggu (Singapore, 19 January).*
- 1975b Rumah Tunjung Di Duhun, loc. cit. (22 June).*
- 1975c Contribution/s to Bahana Rasa (anthology; DBP, Brunei).
- 1976 Contribution/s to Tali Kikik Tali Teraju (anthology; DBP, Brunei).
- 1980 Contribution/s to Meniti Gugusan Rasa (anthology; DBP, Brunei).
- 1981 Gegaran Semusim (novel; DBP, Brunei).
- 1982a Meniti Hasrat (novel; DBP, Brunei).
- 1982b Tiga Orang Budak Berani (novel for children; DBP, Brunei).
- 1984 Gara-gara Sepanyol (play, published in antholog, Waris-warisan Sebuah Wasiat: Drama Kemerdekaan; Independence Drama Staging Committee, Brunei).
- 1986 Titian Semusim (novel; DBP, Brunei).
- 1988 Kapal Yang Tersoro Di Pantai (novel for children; DBP, Brunei).
- 1989a Dia Sebetulnya Sudah Mati. In Bahana, 24(105), August.*
- 1989b MPhil thesis about Pelita Brunei (University of Stirling, exact title n/a; the text is apparently missing).

nd Gerimis Petang Di Darussalam (prize-winning novel; DBP, Brunei).

SOURCE:

Anonymous, "Mohd. Salleh Abdul Latif; Penerima Anugerah Penulis Asia Tenggara 90", In Pelita Brunei, 26 September 1990/7 Rabiulawal 1411:14; illustrated.

NOTE:

The list reproduced above is clearly not comprehensive, given that Awang Mohd Salleh has written more than eighty short stories. The present writer does not pretend to have seen any of these works.

25 October 1990 and 15 March 1991.

LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF SELECTIVE LOGGING OPERATIONS
ON THE MALAYSIAN AVIFAUNA¹

From Frank Lambert
Department of Zoology
University of Aberdeen

Frugivorous birds are vital to the seed dispersal of many forest trees whilst insectivorous birds may be important in controlling defoliating invertebrate populations. Hence their ability to survive in logged forest is of interest to foresters as well as conservationists. This project aims to investigate the effects of selective logging on bird populations in Sabah.

Results show that the majority of primary forest birds are able to survive in logged forests. Nevertheless, logging reduces species diversity (even though some species colonize logged areas) and some taxa become rare or locally extinct. Major bird groups particularly affected are the trogons, flycatchers, wrenbabblers and woodpeckers.

In general, nectarivorous species appear to be more tolerant of logging than insectivores, and species in nectarivorous feeding guilds were significantly more abundant in forest eight years after logging. Most frugivores appear to do well in logged forest, but specialized frugivores, such as Large Green Pigeon *Treron capellei* and Green Broadbill *Calyptomena viridis*, decline in numbers.

Capture rates of birds were nearly three times higher in the logged forest plot: data suggest that this was due to either an increase in population density or a change in activity and/or ranging behaviour. It is hoped that radiotelemetry will show which of these phenomena is occurring.

Radiotelemetry studies were carried out in the primary forest plot. Successful follows were made for five species: Yellow-bellied Bulbul *Criniger phaeocephalus*, Black-and-Crimson Pitta *Pitta venusta*, Black-capped Babbler *Pellorneum capistratum*, Black-throated Wren Babbler *Napothera atrigularis*, and Bornean Wren Babbler *Ptilocichla leucogrammica*. The first three of these species represent species which should be caught relatively easily in the logged forest plot. Comparative ranging data can then be used to show whether or not birds in logged forests do indeed have different ranging behaviour.

NOTE

1. Reprinted from *University of Aberdeen Tropical Biological Newsletter* No. 59:1 (December 1990).

REVISIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BLB BOOKS

From Otto Steinmayer

At the end of October 1990, I visited Sarawak on holiday, and had the chance to go to the offices of the DBP and the Museum and give my bibliography another check. The DBP had just moved from their old offices opposite Saberkas to splendid new quarters on the other side of the river. Inside the new library the BLB books though not yet catalogued were arranged on spacious shelves, easy to examine. At the Museum, a musty box was discovered.

I would like to report that in this second search I have located copies of all books; those previously marked with an asterisk are now found. Again, I was able to find no complete series of *Nendak*, but the musty box at the Museum revealed that the periodical extended to at least 125 issues, the latest dated 8/77. Copies of pamphlets were also located.

COMMENTS OF A READER

August 4, 1991

Daniel S. Kraus
2760 Monte Mar Terrace
Lost Angeles, CA 90064

I would like to say that when I first received your kind sample issues I found them so informative and exciting, the words came quickly to my mind. I wanted to express so much that I felt, that new thoughts kept coming so fast that the former were forgotten and I had hoped I had taped my thoughts. To inform, I belong to the Sabah Society, Sarawak Museum, Malay Nature Society, and (I think) I still belong to The Royal Asiatic Society.

What I'd initially hoped to say was something to the effect that the Borneo Research Bulletin, to me, seems to sing with and radiate the energy that I have been seeking within the ranks of older more staid, mechanical, docent run, institutions. Although I am retired and 56 I refuse to treat. The affliction is the love of this land: A warm and wonderful feeling rippled across my skin when I read (Vol. 22, No. 2) beginning on page 190 "The Current Status and Future of The Borneo Research Council". Many a paragraph echoes my deepest feelings of the logical organization most complimentary to a unit as a whole. All contribute, all in their own way to the whole. The supercilious brow within many another organization I believe is grossly self-defeating and it's own reward (gradual erosion).

I will close in saying that I would find it exciting should a "pool," if you will, be formed of human resources, of kindred interest and pursuits, where all could participate in an effort toward the whole, gloating enjoyment from the shared experience of **Borneo**.

Should this letter be of any other interest, with editing or such, or for reprinting from "a voice from beyond," it is yours with my permission. Any communications directed at sharing Borneo ideas, expeditions, research, etc. are welcome.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE WORLD WIDE FUND FOR NATURE MALAYSIA

For the past 10 years, Ken Scriven has been the Executive Director of the World Wide Fund for Nature Malaysia, and was intimately associated in initiating and directing the Fund's work in Sabah and Sarawak. He relinquished his position as Executive Director in March, 1991, and is currently engaged in establishing a "Conservation and Environmental Resource Centre" (covering books, color slides, photographs, films, artworks, etc.) for the Fund in Kuala Lumpur. He has provided the following list of the Fund's project reports from 1973-91 which bear reference to Sabah and Sarawak:

1973

Lulofs, R. B.

A Reef Survey of Pulau Gaya and Associated Islands, Sabah, Part 1. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 16. (P) M\$8.00.

1974

Kemp, A. C. and M. I. Kemp

Report on a Study of Hornbills in Sarawak, with Comments on Their Conservation. Project MYS 2/74. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 47. (P) M\$8.00.

Lulofs, R. B., N. P. E. Langham and J. A. Mathias

A Reef Survey of Pulau Gaya and Associated Islands, Sabah, Part 2. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 7. (P) M\$3.00.

1975

Wells, D. R., A. G. Marshall and J. B. Lowry

A Survey of the Proposed Klias National Park, Southwest Sabah. Project MYS 5/75. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 50. (P) M\$12.00.

1976

Kiew, B. H. (Comp.)

A Survey of the Proposed Sungai Danum National Park, Sabah. Project 1347. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 39 + xxxvi. (P) M\$8.00.

1977

Wells, D. R. (Comp.)

A Survey of the Proposed Pulau Balambangan National Park, Sabah. Project 1423. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 68. (P) MR12.00.

1978

Wood, W.

Ecological Study of Coral Reefs in Sabah. Project MYS 15/77. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 163. (P) M\$20.00.

1981

Wood E. (Comp.)

Semporna Marine Park Survey. Project MYS 34/80. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 90. (P) MS12.00.

1982

Davies, A. G. and J. Payne

A Faunal Survey of Sabah. Report to the Game Branch, Sabah Forest Department. Project 1692. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 279 + vii. (P) M\$25.00.

Kavanagh, M. (Comp.)

Lanjak-Entimau Orang-utan Sanctuary - A Management Plan. Report to the National Parks and Wildlife Office, Sarawak Forest Department. Project 1995. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 135 + xxii. (P) M\$18.00.

1984

Soepadmo, E., F. W. Fong, B. H. Kiew Mohd Zakaria Ismail and K. I. Sudderuddin

An Ecological Survey of Lambir Hill National Park. Project 44/81. Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 83. (P) M12.00.

Whitaker, R.

Preliminary Survey of Crocodiles in Sabah, East Malaysia. Report to the Game Branch, Sabah Forest Department. Project 3127. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 69. (P) M\$12.00.

1985

Axell, H.

Kota Belud Bird Sanctuary, Sabah, Malaysia: A Development Plan for Wildlife and Tourism. Project MYS 73/85. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 25 + appendices. (P) M\$8.00.

Jones, D. T.

Survey and Collection of Wild and Cultivated Citrus of Sabah. Project MYS 69/84. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 38 and appendices. (P) M\$8.00.

Parish, D. and J. Payne

Kota Belud Bird Sanctuary. Preliminary Report on Potential for Tourist Development. Project MYS 73/85. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 30 + appendices. (P) M\$8.00.

Payne, J. (Comp.)

Kulamba Wildlife Reserve Survey Report and Management Recommendations. Report to the Wildlife Section, Sabah Forest Department. Project MYS 62/84. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 30. (O) M\$15.00; (P) M\$8.00.

1986

Bennett, E. L.

Proboscis Monkeys in Sarawak: Their Ecology, Status, Conservation and Management. Project MYS 63/84. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 184. (P) M\$20.00

Caldecott, J.

Hunting and Wildlife Management in Sarawak. Project MYS 58/83. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 159. (O) M\$25.00; (P) M\$20.00.

Cox, J. and F. Gombek

A Preliminary Survey of the Crocodile Resource in Sarawak, East Malaysia. Report to the National Parks and Wildlife Office, Sarawak Forest Department. Project 3630/MYS 74/85. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 64. (P) M\$12.00

Edwards, P. D. Parish and NPWO

Survey of the Western Coastline Sarawak to Evaluate the Status of Wetlands and to Identify Key Sites for Migratory Waders - Preliminary Report. Interwader report no. 3. Project MYS 81/85. Interwader, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 20. (Funded by WWFM.). (P) M\$8.00.

Howes, J. R. and NPWO

Evaluation of Waterbirds and Mangrove Vegetation at Pulau Bruit, Sarawak. Interwader/NPWO Report No. 1. Project MYS 81/85. Interwader, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 54. (Survey funded by WWFM.). (P) M\$12.00

Evaluation of Sarawak Wetlands and their Importance to Waterbirds. Report NO. 3 - Pulau Bruit. Project MYS 81/85. Interwader Publication No. 10, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 59. (Survey funded by WWFM.). (P) M\$8.00.

Evaluation of Sarawak Wetlands and Their Importance to Waterbirds. Report No. 4 - Limbang/Lawas Districts of Brunei Bay. Project MYS 81/85. Interwader Publications, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 43. (Survey funded by WWFM.). (P) M\$8.00.

Kostermans, A. H. G. H.

Report on Investigation of Wild Mango Trees in Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak. Project MYS 78/85. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 6. (P) M\$3.00.

Lansdown, R. V.

Observations of the Wintering Herons in the Kota Belud Bird Sanctuary, Sabah. Project MYS 89/86. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 14. (P) M\$8.00.

Payne, J. (Comp.)

Surveying Orang-utan Populations by Counting Nests from a Helicopter. A Pilot Survey in Sabah. Project MYS 61/83, World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 26. (O) M\$25.00; (P) M\$8.00.

Payne, J. (Comp.)

Tabin Wildlife Reserve, Sabah: A Preliminary Management Plan. Project MYS 61/83. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 112. (P) M\$18.00.

Development of Conservation Areas for Sabah: Final Report. Project MYS 61/83. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 23. (P) M\$8.00.

1987

Lansdown, R. V.

The Feeding Ecology of the Larger Herons in the Kota Belud Bird Sanctuary, Sabah. Project MYS 94/86. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 18. (P) M\$8.00.

Sebastian, A. C.

An Ecological Study on Proboscis Monkeys in Sarawak. Project MYS 63/84. World Wildlife Fund Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 36. (P) M\$8.00.

1988

*Bennett, E. L.

A Re-survey of the Primates and the Effects of Logging and Silvicultural Treatment in the Peat Swamp Forests of Maludam. Project MYS 3518/MYS 92/86. National Parks and Wildlife Office, Sarawak Forest Department, Kuching. Pp. 27. (P) M\$8.00.

*Bennett, E. L. and M. Walsh

A Wildlife Survey of the Proposed Matang National Park, Sarawak. National Parks and Wildlife Office, Sarawak Forest Department, Kuching. Project supported by WWFM and New York Zoological Society. Pp. 30. (P) M\$8.00.

Bompard, J. M.

Wild Mangifera Species in Kalimantan (Indonesia) and in Malaysia. Project MAL 3305. IBPGR-IUCN-WWF. Pp. 50. (P) M\$12.00.

Payne, J.

Orang-utan Conservation in Sabah. Project 3759/MYS 96/86. WWF Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 137. (O) M\$25.00.

Payne, J.

Sepilok Forest Reserve: Its History, Resources and Functions. Project MYS 111/87. WWF Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 40. (P) M\$8.00.

Report on an Aerial Survey to Assess Fire Damage in Kulamba Wildlife Reserve, Sabah. Project MYS 115/87. WWF Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 10. (P) M\$8.00.

WWFM

An Action Plan for Sepilok Forest Reserve. Prepared by WWF Malaysia for Sabah Forestry Department, Sabah Wildlife Department and Ministry of Tourism and Environmental Development. Project MYS 111/87. WWF Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 24. (Copies not available).

1989

Bennett, E. L.

Wetland Forest Conservation in Sarawak. Project 3518/MYS 92/86. WWF Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur and New York Zoological Society, New York. Pp. 18. (P) M\$8.00.

*Bennett, E. L.

Conservation and Management of Wetland Areas in Sarawak. Final Project Report. Project 3518/MYS 92/86. WWF Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur and New York Zoological Society, New York. Pp. 69. (P) M\$12.00.

Kavanagh, M., Abdullah Abdul Rahim and C. J. Hails

Rainforest Conservation in Sarawak: An International Policy for WWF. Project 3262. WWF Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 90. (P) M\$10.00.

Marsh, C. W. (Comp.)

Expedition to Maliau Basin, Sabah (April - May 1988). Project MYS 126/88. WWF Malaysia and Yayasan Sabah, Kota Kinabalu. Pp. 172. (P) M\$20.00.

Payne, J.

Additions to Sabah's Conservation Area Network. Project MYS 130/88. WWF Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 8. (P) M\$3.00.

*Payne, J.

A Tourism Feasibility Study for the Proposed Kinabatangan Wildlife Sanctuary. Project MYS 158/89. WWF Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Pp. 51.

1990

*Bennett, E. L. and P. Wong

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URGENT ANTHROPOLOGY

Compiled by
VINSON H. SUTLIVE, JR.

In response to a survey form distributed at the Council's Session in Kuching, requesting identification of topics for urgent research, the following suggestions were offered by participants:

1. Having checked the different bookstores in Kuching, I could not find any publication concerning economic, political, and social development since 1970. It seems there has not been any follow-up to studies as those of Jackson, Lee Yong Leng, Leigh, Ongkili, and Bugo. The interest Sarawak attracted as a young state has waned. I think it is time that one or more people (from Sarawak itself?) take up these subjects once again and start where the authors mentioned above did stop.
2.
 - a. Government-sponsored Land Development Schemes in Sarawak: their effects on Iban norms and values.
 - b. Government-sponsored Land Development Schemes Among the Dayaks: success, shortcomings, and recommendations.
 - c. Malaysia's New Economic Policy: the Dayaks' share versus the Others.
 - d. Sarawak's Wealth: the Dayaks' cry for equity.
 - e. The Distribution of Wealth and Power in Sarawak: a disproportionate ethnic distribution.
 - f. Obstacles to Social Mobility Among the Sarawak Dayaks.
 - g. Government-sponsored Tertiary Education for Malaysians: the Dayaks' miserable share.
 - h. Documentation and Popularization of Oral Literature: its importance to Sarawak.
 - i. The Components of Iban Oral Tradition.
 - j. The Compilation of Dayak Oral Tradition: A Race against time.
 - k. Sarawak's Urgent Need for a Fully Government-sponsored Oral Tradition Research and Documentation Center.
 - l. Sarawak's Wealth and Power: the Dayaks' marginal participation.
3. The focus of the B.R.C. has been and should be on "man/woman and biosphere" (if you see this as in UNESCO-MAB). Purely natural scientific or experimental research seems somewhat peripheral, and I think the

interface between nature and the humans is central. I would suggest focal subjects such as:

"The social values of natural and man-made forests for the different social and ethnic groups," and the even more provocative title, "Are the native forest dwellers really natural conservationists," which question to answer would encompass the whole gamut of forest utilization, habits, beliefs, taboos and always the question, "why and what for?" There is reason to suspect that even the Penan are not conservationists, on the contrary, and where they are, it is unintentional. The subject is linked to the former, and looking at the complex subject of sustainable rainforest use from another angle.

4. Research is urgently needed on longhouse architecture and building techniques (construction methods, materials, etc.) wherever in Borneo old houses still exist and where pre-industrial techniques are still practiced or at least remembered. ("Pre-industrial" refers to the use of hand tools rather than modern saws and locally available materials rather than nails, metal roofing, etc.) Houses and building activities should be documented with photographs and motion pictures. Knowledge related to building and the ways it is transmitted should be recorded and studied.

Less urgent but still useful in connection with field research is a search for old photographs, drawings, and descriptions of longhouses and house-building.

Anyone interested in such research or who knows of relevant material, published or unpublished, is asked to contact Timothy Jessup through the BRB.

5. Hunting and Gathering Societies of Borneo: A View from Within
6. Oral Traditions
7. The Bidayuh
8. Historical relationships between the languages and cultures of Borneo
9. Sabah - West Coast Bajau, all areas

10. a. The differential impact of development on women and men in areas undergoing rapid change
- b. How traditional gender relations have changed - the processes effecting these changes and the nature of the changes
11. Demographic variations and their correlations with cultural variables of the various ethnic communities in Borneo

URGENT ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH PROBLEMS IN SABAH

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INTRODUCTION

THE ERA OF SALVAGE ETHNOGRAPHY

A tragedy of the greatest proportions is occurring before our eyes in Sabah. The cultural heritages of almost all of Sabah's ethnic groups are disappearing without any record. Since World War II there have been only four adequate ethnographic studies done in Sabah by professionally trained anthropologists to record its cultures. In Sarawak there have been over 50 ethnographic studies.¹ And the amateur ethnography being done in Sabah is of limited use as it has not been guided by professionally trained ethnographers familiar with Bornean studies, nor has it been done with sufficient familiarity of the ethnographic literature and the questions being asked.

As a result our knowledge of the ethnography of Sabah and the cultural heritages of its peoples is minimal, almost nonexistent in comparison to that of Sarawak.

This tragedy of which I write is one not only of the loss of knowledge about a people and their way of life, but also of the loss of knowledge that these people have themselves accumulated over thousands of years of living in their environment. It is, furthermore, the loss of irreplaceable works of art. Each culture is like a painted mural, depicting the experiences of a people, their beliefs,

their personhood, their significance. Each culture is like a saga, the oral history of a way of life. Each culture is the child of a people, a child of their imagination and thought, born of necessity and an irresistible creative urge, a poem, both acted and uttered, cast forth on the world presenting its own vision of beauty. It is the accumulated hopes and dreams of myriad ancestors. And we are letting these children of ancient and dying cultures expire without recording their importance, their beauty, the worth of their lives.

I feel powerless to stop this loss and know not how to move people to spend the funds, take the time, and search out competent ethnographers to record these disappearing cultures. In one sense I am glad that I now am no longer young--some would say I am old--as I would not like to face those members of subsequent generations when they realize what their country has lost and ask why was it not recorded, why was it not preserved.

As a result of the failure to encourage ethnography, Sabah does not even have a full inventory of the various indigenous ethnic groups. The situation is desperate. For example, in the Kudat Division, there may be well over twenty ethnic groups. But only one of these, the Rungus, has had its culture recorded. And while the Rungus are still considered to be the most traditional, we have found during research in the mid 1980s among the Rungus that informants under 50 years of age do not know their traditional culture. Social change is rapidly moving through Sabah eroding traditional heritages without these being recorded and preserved.

But it is not the wish of the people themselves to have their cultural lives go unrecorded into oblivion. I have had young men from isolated villages come up to me and ask why their cultures were not being recorded as the Rungus culture has been, asking for a project to do for them what we have been doing for the Rungus.

We have thus slipped unheralded into the era of urgent salvage ethnography. While it has been argued that the ethnography can be done by local institutions and people, there is not enough local interest nor are there enough trained local personnel. In fact there are no trained local personnel! And even if there were trained local personnel, it would require 20 or 30 ethnographers working in Sabah in the next five years to preserve from being lost what now can be saved of Sabah's unique cultural heritage and cultural history. Unfortunately, much already has been lost.

The appreciation of this loss has not yet been comprehended by those who could do something about preserving the record of traditional heritages. How does one reach them?

Yet, as is well known, Sabah is very rich in cultural traditions. It has been estimated that there may be one hundred to two hundred named, self-conscious ethnic groups in Sabah. Each of these groups has its own language, its own adat, its own cultural ecology, its own oral literature, and its own socio-cultural system differing to a greater or lesser degree from its neighbors. As a result of this lack of research, with the exception of linguistic research, it is essentially unknown how close these various traditions are to each other, how much they share and what is unique about them, or what their historical relationships are to each other.

In sum, research on any Sabah ethnic group has now reached the critical stage. Any project undertaken is urgent.

The following list of urgent projects may not in fact represent the most critical ones, for there are major areas in which the status of the ethnic groups is not known.

SOME URGENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROJECTS²

1. Northern Murut

The Northern Murut consist of a number of related peoples, each of whom have their own dialect, or isoglot, and distinct customs and adat.³ These peoples are to be distinguished from the Southern Murut, or Sarawak Murut, who are found primarily in Sarawak and East Kalimantan but who have a number of villages along the southern Sabah border.

There has been no in-depth ethnographic study of any of these Northern Murut peoples, except for the present work of a Japanese graduate student in anthropology. Landgraf (1955, 1956) made a survey of some of these peoples. And Prentice, a linguist, worked among the Poros isoglot, one of the four Timugon speech communities (1965, 1969a, 1969b, 1971). Thus, the ethnographic literature on this group of peoples is almost nonexistent, with the exception of the few articles by Prentice (1972, 1981, 1982).

As a result, the number of different ethnic divisions of these peoples, their territories, and the degree of their relationship to each other has not been addressed in the anthropological literature.

Prentice in his fine linguistic study investigated the relationship of the various Murutic isoglots to each other. He found 17 different dialects or

subdialects (Prentice 1970a). Spitzack (1984a) in his very detailed analysis of the results of the dialect intelligibility testing project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics lists 12 different Murut languages with a total of 21 dialects of Murut (1984a:189). But this total of dialects could be increased to 23 with the addition of two subdialects of Paluan, which were not included (1984a:216-217).

The important thing to realize is that where there is linguistic variation, there is also cultural variation. So we may be dealing with as many as 23 different cultures.

There are many aspects of the cultural traditions of the Northern Murut that are unique, and it is important to begin a study of these peoples before their traditions pass from memory. At the moment it is a major tragedy that this important group of peoples in Borneo has not been subject to greater study.

Over twenty years ago Prentice (1970b) submitted to the inventory of urgent anthropological projects I was then developing information about the Baukan, a Lowland Murut group. I was attempting to interest competent ethnographers in undertaking the most important salvage projects. Prentice wrote that these people were relatively isolated until the completion of a road into the area about 1966. There was little change as yet at that time. They were the only remaining Lowland Murut group not missionized and were still maintaining most of their traditions. Women still wore short black skirts, basketwork was still made, etc. The Baukan live on the inland mountain plain and have both wet rice and hill rice cultivation. At that time about half the dwellings were longhouses and the other half individual, elementary family houses. But that was twenty years ago!

2. The Lun Dayeh and Related Peoples--The Southern Murut

The Southern Murut, also known as Kelabitic Murut, are composed of an extended group of peoples that include the Lun Dayeh, Lun Bawang, Kelabit, Potok, etc. According to Smith (1984) and Moody (1984), these peoples, who are found in Sabah, East Kalimantan, and Sarawak, speak languages which are the most disparate of all languages in the Northwestern Austronesian superstock. This includes at the same level the Banggi language, the Suluk language, the Bugis language, the Iban language, and the Bornean stock, with its four members: the Tidong, the Paitanic family of languages, the Murutic family of languages, and the Dusunic family of languages. This raises a number of critical questions about their origins and history.

In Sabah the Southern Murut are represented at least by the Lun Dayeh people, but there may be other groups. There has been but one study of a Lun Dayeh community in Sabah (see Crain 1970, 1982).

Thus we know all too little about the Lun Dayeh and related groups. We do not know their center of origin, how they differ culturally from their neighbors, when and from whom they learned to cultivate wet rice, and what is their cultural relationship to other peoples of Sabah. Some of these peoples have a system of inherited social classes much more elaborate than that found among other peoples of Sabah. But we do not know the social processes producing this or why some of the other Southern Murut apparently do not have such a formal social class system.

3. The Dusunic Peoples

The Dusunic peoples stretch along the west coast of Sabah, up into the Central High Plains in the interior, and along the rivers of the Labuk-Sugut, Sandakan, and Kinabatangan districts. How many different Dusunic societies are recognized by the Dusunic speakers themselves is not known. Certainly there may be close to a hundred self-named, culturally distinct societies in the Dusunic language family.

Again, all research is urgent. One of the questions that might be probed is the history of the Dusunic peoples. How did the Dusunic speakers found in the Kinabatangan and the Labuk River areas get there? These Dusunic speakers have been grouped together into the Eastern Kadazan language group (see Spitzack 1984b). Where did they come from? How are their cultures different from those along the west coast (see below No. 7)?

When and from whom did the Dusunic speakers learn wet rice agriculture? What are the social and cultural concomitants of wet rice agriculture in contrast to those who practice swidden agriculture (see below No. 6)? Why have some groups elaborated on headhunting while other groups have exhibited little involvement in headhunting? Why is the head-house known among some groups and not used among others? Glyn-Jones (1953:89) writes that "Bongkawan" referred to a group of people who kept the heads they took in a common head-house: "Membership of the group was based partly on locality and partly on descent, and intermarriage within the group was forbidden. This has now been almost entirely forgotten in the plains, though it is still remembered in the hills and members of the same Bongkawan who wish to marry one another must pay a small fine."

Evans (1953) reports that the head-house is referred to as "bangkawan" among certain Dusunic speakers of the Tempasuk District. He found two such head-houses in one village, one for the lower village and one for the upper village. Evans also says that the Tuaran Dusun did not use a head-house but housed the skulls in the longhouse itself. Therefore, the distribution of the head-house is of considerable interest in terms of what it might tell us about the different cultures of the Dusunic peoples and their origins (see Appell 1968b). Has this custom of head-houses and prohibitions against intermarriage of head-house members become elaborated into the marriage class system reported for the Kinabatangan area (see below No. 7)?

4. The Paitanic Peoples

King (1984:151) in analyzing the Paitanic languages on the basis of intelligibility testing finds four mutually unintelligible languages: the Upper Kinabatangan language, the Tambanua language, the Abai Sungai language, and the Lingkabau language. The Lobu of the Ranau District may also be a separate language. However, this does not necessarily tell us how many self-named, culturally separate societies may exist in the Paitanic language family, as there may be many more isoglots in each of these externally constructed language classes.

The members of the Paitanic language group are widely and discontinuously dispersed, occurring in isolation among other peoples in the upper Kinabatangan River, the lower Kinabatangan, the Labuk-Sugut District, the Sandakan District, the Ranau District, and the Kota Marudu and Pitas Districts of the Kudat Division. There has been no ethnographic research on these people.⁴ But this unusual distribution suggests that they may have been one of the earliest groups to inhabit Sabah. As a result of this and the fact that they are markedly different from Dusunic and Murutic speakers, they are potentially very interesting in terms not only of culture history but also in terms of what they can tell us about how cultures separate and become diverse.

5. Oral Literature

There is a highly developed, exceptionally beautiful oral literature in Sabah that is found among all of the indigenous peoples. While its existence is recognized by many, its importance is frequently overlooked, and it is not well documented. Much of this literature is based on the prayers and chants that are used in the agricultural cycle, in courting and marriage, in curing illness, and in protecting or renewing the fertility of the village territory. It is fully as beautiful

and sophisticated in its poetic imagery as the Old Norse Sagas, the Homeric epics, or the literature from India. Thus, in terms of its aesthetic values it is equivalent to any of the world's great literatures. In this literature there also occurs detailed descriptions of past events and social history, and so it has an important historical value in addition to its literary value.

The contents of this literature vary from village to village, area to area. But it is rapidly disappearing. Much is no longer used. And the practitioners who learned these extensive poems and chants are dying off with few in the younger generations now bothering to learn them. Doris Blood (personal communication) states that recently the last remaining individual in a Murut community who knew a long saga that went on, if I remember correctly, for five nights had died without this critically important work of art being recorded.

It is an interesting but sad commentary on the state of ethnographic inquiry in Sabah that Geddes's (1957) recording and translation of a different tale but of similar proportions among the Land Dayak of Sarawak has achieved such popularity that it can be purchased in airport bookstores, while nothing equivalent has yet been recorded and translated from the literature of any of the peoples of Sabah.

It is incredibly important that this literature be recorded and translated before it is too late. Within ten or fifteen years it will be all gone, and it will be an incalculable loss not only to Sabah but to all mankind. It is irreplaceable. Thus, it is critical to mount a major effort to record this literature and get an exegesis of it from those who are knowledgeable in it before all understanding of its symbolism and cultural and historical referents are lost.

My wife and I have established for the Kudat Division the Sabah Oral Literature Project. In this we are testing out the most efficient way to preserve this oral literature by training local individuals to make collections of their oral heritage. Only if local individuals take an interest in this will their oral heritage be saved, for there are not enough scholars available to do this work before it is lost. We are training two individuals to make tape recordings and then transcribe the tapes. My wife and I will be working with them to translate the materials and explain the symbolism and ritual meanings. In other words, we provide an exegesis of the oral literature based on our knowledge of the traditional Rungus culture and inquiries made to those Rungus who still have some knowledge of the symbolism and meanings. However, we can only do this well for the Rungus. The oral literature of other groups in the Kudat Division where we have not been able to devote the time for a long-term study of their culture will be translated and explained with less certainty, less understanding. In other words, it is not just sufficient to collect and transcribe the materials. They require

exegesis, and that in turn requires the work of someone who is willing to devote several years to understanding the history, religion, and social organization of the people. Is it possible to develop more teams of local individuals working with competent ethnographers? We would be more than glad to share our experience in developing similar projects in other areas of Borneo.

6. Wet Rice Agricultural Societies

There are a number of villages in Sabah from various dialect and language groups that practice wet rice agriculture. The majority of these are members of the Dusunic language group.

Wet rice agriculture is based both on rain water as well as water supplied from dams. There has not yet been an anthropological study of the social economy of wet rice agriculture in Sabah, or for that matter in any part of Borneo. While there have been studies of hill rice agriculture (swidden agriculture), the nature of irrigation agriculture is unknown. Yet such a study is critical not only for the advancement of anthropological knowledge but also as a foundation for development work. We thus know very little about the technology of wet rice agriculture, the nature of the yearly agricultural cycle, the ownership of fields and how they are inherited, the ownership of water rights, the methods of construction of head dams and canals, how these are owned, how they are maintained, what social elaborations are required by the technology of irrigation in the region, how disputes are settled over irrigation rights, etc.

It is of particular interest to anthropological inquiry to compare the social organization of hill rice villages to wet rice villages to understand the social concomitance of engaging in a wet rice economy. It is generally argued that wet rice agriculture results in social elaboration, but there is no evidence as yet for this among the wet rice villages of Sabah, or the rest of Borneo. While on the other hand, somewhat surprisingly, among some of the swidden agriculturalists there exist a fully developed formal social class system including aristocrats in which one's position is inherited. As a result, this subject is theoretically important for our understanding of social process in addition to the technology and social organization of wet rice agriculture.

7. Peoples of the Kinabatangan Region

Anthropologists have long believed that all the societies of Borneo are cognatic. That is they have no unilineal descent groupings. About twenty years ago a physical anthropologist briefly visited the Kinabatangan region. I prepared

him to make a preliminary ethnographic survey of the region. And he reported that he found villages in which there were sections that regulated marriage. A man could only marry a woman who was a member of a section different than his own. And furthermore, membership in a section was inherited through one's father, which would make such societies unilineal, specifically patrilineal. He also reported that this system appeared in two variants. Some villages were composed of two sections, while others were composed of multiple sections.

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

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

Then, during our 1986 field session in Sabah (June to August, 1986) I discussed this with a Rungus informant who had traveled to the upper reaches of the Kinabatangan River. His understanding of the Kinabatangan marriage systems was different, but he did not visit the same region in which the original ethnographic survey was made. My informant stated that an individual had to marry into a different village from his natal one. This is also different from all the studies made to date of villages in Borneo. Intravillage marriage is permitted, as far as I know, without exception. Only kin relationship or apartment residence determines eligibility of marriage partners, not village residence.

Are these people Dusunic speakers? And if they are, how did their form of social organization and marriage system evolve, when there is nothing like it among the Dusunic speakers in other areas of Sabah?

It is thus very important not only to the development of anthropological theory that this situation be studied in considerable detail throughout the various groups in the Kinabatangan River region before it disappears completely, but it is also crucial to the understanding of the social history of the Dusunic speakers. If the information proves to be correct, it will change much of anthropological theory with regard to the societies of Borneo and their social processes. It is also of major importance for the social history of Sabah, and it needs to be described in full detail.

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

* * *

In subsequent articles I will continue to list and discuss other salvage ethnographic research that is urgently needed to be done in the next few years.

NOTES

1. There were three or four other studies done in Sabah which have produced little useful information because of being too short in duration, or cut short because of various contingencies, or seriously flawed so that the results are not reliable.
2. Some parts of this article are based on Appell (1986), but with revisions as the result of new knowledge. However, my attempt to elicit interest among graduate students and others to do ethnographic studies in Sabah has produced not one response. Where have all the professional ethnographers gone? Or has Sabah's past reluctance to permit ethnographic research discouraged those who would have studied the cultures of Sabah?
3. By the term isoglot I indicate a self-conscious speech community. That is, this term refers to the speech of an ethnic group, the members of which consider their language or dialect to be significantly different from that of neighboring communities to have an indigenous name by which to identify it. I coined this term to avoid the problems involved in the terms "language" or "dialect", which imply a certain status in linguistic analysis. The term isoglot is neutral in this regard. But as it reflects the indigenous organization of their linguistic and ethnic environment, it has greater ethnographic validity (see Appell 1968a).
4. Lyman (1990) as part of his work as a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics has done some elementary reporting on one of the isoglots of the Paitanic group in the Upper Kinabatangan.

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MEMOIRS

THE LANDSCAPE OF DEVELOPMENT IN EAST MALAYSIA:
A MEMOIRGALE DIXON
Monash University

In July, 1964, when Malaysia was still in its infancy, I left Sabah after two years of land surveying for the government. I had seen a lot of the state and lived for periods of at least two months in places like Kudat, Ranau, Keningau, Sandakan, and "Jesselton", as it was then known. I knew Sabah at a time of great hope and promise.

In July, 1971, when most of today's residents were not yet born, I left Sarawak after a year of researching the geography of the First Division for my doctoral dissertation. Using the geographical concept of the "cultural landscape", I attempted to develop a sensitive eye to the observable aspects of the ways people lived. I was concerned with the physical evidence on the surface of the earth of the attitudes and values and technologies of the peoples and of the choices they made as they occupied, used, and modified their territories.

In July, 1990, I returned to Sabah and Sarawak for a too brief few weeks. But in that quick visit I was able to observe many changed aspects of the cultural landscapes, and the people in those landscapes. And naturally I attempted to assess whether those changes represented a positive shift for the better, whether "development" is evident on the ground.

I am acutely aware that I myself have changed during my 26 and 19 year absences from East Malaysia. The changes I perceived in 1990 may have been illusory and my assessment of the quality of change may be flawed. Like anyone looking back, I must recognize the possibility that what I feel toward the past may be mere nostalgia, that any change I perceive is tainted because it threatens a very happy, but warped, image. My ideas of what I see as development may be too subjective. I attempt here, therefore, to document some of the specific changes I observed in the cultural landscape of East Malaysia in the hope that my subjective ideas about those changes can, at least, illuminate some extra dimensions of that slippery concept: "development".

The 1970 landscape of Kuching and the rest of the First Division included a marked emphasis on security. Graphically explicit signs hung on fences around restricted areas; notices of curfews were common on the roads. And to get to the top of the Secretariat Building to photograph the panorama of Kuching from its center required special security clearance. In 1990, no such permission was necessary. The building was open, the lift to the top floor was operating, but even a loud yell failed to bring anyone of whom permission might be asked.

Once on the top floor, it was clear that the city's skyline had changed, though not so much as I might have expected. The Holiday Inn and Hilton hotels on Padungan Road were obvious additions. But, given my vantage point eight stories up on what had been the tallest building in town, the important changes to the skyline were the new government buildings. North across the river was the huge 23 story new Secretariat and on the hill to the south was the new, imposing municipal office tower just across the road from the venerable Sarawak Club. In a brief moment it was clear that the locus of power in Kuching, the important government functions, had shifted away from the now unsecured old Secretariat and the buildings around the *padang*.

One can muse about the symbolism of the sites of the new locations of power. "Across the river" in Kuching is Malay country where, in 1970, non-Malays were known to have been politely told they should not live. "Across the road from the Club", actually on the Club's old golf course, is where, in 1970, non-Europeans were still remembering the time when they could not be members.

And one can muse about the symbolism of the architecture of these new seats of power. At various times, in various places, societies have used the architectural idioms of opulence, size, and height to focus attention on what those influential enough to express themselves in structures consider to be important. Skyscrapers in the American heartland in the 1920s, medieval European cathedrals, and financial institutions in America in the 1950s are examples.

One of the changes in Kuching which is not obvious from the top of the old Secretariat is the growth on the periphery. With a population growth of about three times in the past generation, the city has burst its old boundaries. I visited by taxi the area in the river meander east and north of Padungan and Pending. In 1970 most of it was swamp with just an isolated government housing project for Henghua fishing folk. In 1990 the site was packed with industry: three huge plywood mills, a steel mill, fish processing, plastics, a broomstick manufacturer, furniture, kit homes, and so on. My driver said that jobs were very easy to get.

On the other hand, in 1970 there were two beggars in Kuching: a blind Haji and a youngish, retarded Chinese man who would "beg" for cigarettes, but who would offer you one if you had none. In 1990 there were at least two dozen beggars in the area around the Open Market, India Street, and the Post Office.

On a day's tour south of Kuching, I missed the sign to the Semongkoh wildlife reserve and drove on to the Rajah Brooke Hospital for lepers which, I recalled, had an excellent gift shop stacked with items made by the patients. The patients still make handicrafts, but the gift shop no longer operates. I thought, in 1970, that the shop might represent a step toward reversing the idea that lepers should be isolated in a separate hospital, down a back road, and forgotten. In 1990 I was told that the hospital still relies on the occasional overseas volunteer surgeon to do the simple tendon grafts which so many lepers need to make their hands useful again.

There is a new hospital in Serian and another one in Bau. I was told that they are part of a program begun some years ago to bring better health care to the rural population. In 1970, rural people were still telling me that for them Malaysia meant trading one colonial master in Sarawak for another and that they preferred the former. The abandonment of the medical officers' periodic tours to rural areas was the common specific complaint about the Malaysian government. The new hospitals are physical evidence of a more decentralized health care system. And it seems to be working because a private doctor in Kuching said he almost never sees Dayak patients any longer.

I stopped at the Siburan Bazaar, 17th Mile, which in 1970 had been one of the three "strategic" villages established to house the Chinese removed from the surrounding rural areas following an armed attack on a local police station. Siburan was, in the most literal sense, a concentration camp and the features of its cultural landscape which included straight rows of identical houses, double barbed wire fences, watchtowers on the perimeter, and armed guards on the gates all testified eloquently to that fact.

Happily, in 1990, one must look closely to find the remains of the concentration camp. The towers have fallen down and large trees have grown up. The fences are covered in vines or have been torn down. And new structures have been built to accommodate shops and small factories. But the surrounding countryside does not appear to have recovered from the shock of the internment of the farmers. Much land appears abandoned or under-utilized. Certainly other areas of Chinese agriculture outside the "controlled area", such as around Serian and Batu Kawa, did not look so depressed.

The road between 10th Mile and Bau has been realigned and much improved, but I took a short detour on the old road to Siniawan which I always thought was a very photogenic and typical small Sarawak bazaar. I did not even take the camera out of its case: the 1970 photos in my collection are still current.

Between Bau and Batu Kawa the rural landscape looks reasonably prosperous with a number of new farm houses, and certainly the road access has improved tremendously in the past two decades. The relative prosperity of this area is surprising since other places of rural Chinese settlement seem in much worse shape than in 1970. I recall that around Batu Kawa the agriculture was characterized by pepper, pigs, fish, and fruit with relatively little rubber. Perhaps it is the areas which depended more on rubber which are now suffering. Some statistics on real prices for rubber and detailed figures on production in various districts would be revealing.

On another day I saw the most dramatic landscape change in the First Division in the area north of Kuching to Santubong. Twenty years ago a trip to Santubong was an all day expedition in the slow boat I hired. Now one drives to Santubong in minutes. Then the land was mangrove swamp and charcoal burning was a major industry. Now the land is still mostly swampy, but large areas are being drained and cleared and the bits of higher ground are occupied by things like a telecommunications training center, a new stadium, a golf course, and a couple of new but still almost totally vacant housing estates.

Santubong and nearby Buntal have flourished with the new road, which also serves the resort hotel at the end of the peninsula. On the beach at Santubong there are new shops and one can even hire horses at the "equestrian center" to ride along the beach where Alfred Russel Wallace strolled in 1855. There are seven or eight seafood restaurants on the waterfront in Buntal.

Virtually all of the land north of Kuching is in the "native area" category and the road development has clearly increased the value of that land. One informant said that land in Santubong was selling at M\$40,000 per acre; another said that his coconut plantation at Sibuan near Santubong was worth M\$1500 an acre in 1985 and about M\$14,000 an acre now. At a stroke, the road from Kuching to Santubong transferred a lot of wealth into the Malay community's hands and transformed the landscape.

As judged by its landscape, there seem to be both pluses and minuses in the development of Kuching and the First Division in the past twenty years. Opulent government buildings can be interpreted either way, but there can be no doubt the government is its own top priority. Some apparently viable new commercial structures have been built (but there are many in decline) and the

industrial area near Pending looks very productive. The new hospitals and some local health clinics look good. There is very little visual evidence to suggest that education has been given high priority and, in the form of run-down schools and numbers of school-age children out of school, some evidence to the contrary. Much rural industry and agriculture looks to be in decline; trees and wetlands have been treated as if they were evil.

Forest clearing in Sarawak was made even more obvious to me on a visit to the Shell facilities in Brunei. There I saw a recent satellite image of the whole of Brunei plus the adjacent areas of Sarawak. Basically, Brunei is forested; Sarawak has been logged. Only the Gunung Mulu National Park appeared as natural forest in Sarawak.

After an absence of 26 years I returned to Sabah. As I expected Kota Kinabalu had changed. I had read about and seen photos of major construction and new suburbs. But, once the basic street pattern is laid down cities tend to maintain their structure, so it felt familiar and comfortable to walk from the old Post Office and the Jesselton Hotel along Gaya Street toward the cinema. The old, pre-war building which, in 1962, housed the Lands and Surveys Department (and was my first "head office") still stands.

Kudat, too, has grown and changed but I still knew my way around. And sitting in a familiar coffee shop I finally put my finger on another change I had noticed in other places -- there were lots of kids on bikes. True, 26 years ago some high school students rode bicycles, and even smaller children too short to reach the pedals would sometimes awkwardly put one foot through the frame and ride with their bodies beside the crossbar. But the bicycles then were all large, black, skinny-tired adult bicycles which the children would borrow from their fathers. Now the kids of East Malaysia have their own proper BMX bikes especially built for youngsters, and father probably drives a Japanese car.

The coffee shops themselves have changed, along with other aspects of retail trade. Both in Kota Kinabalu and in Kudat there seem to be shops which open for breakfast and lunch and those which specialize in the evening meal. The latter often expand their space onto a street or parking area after dark. But both seem to be open fewer hours than in the past. Perhaps people in the food industry do not need to work quite so hard now.

Another difference is that people serving in coffee shops are frequently young, cheeky, and bad as waiters. In one shop in Kudat there were four boys serving. They would not explain why they were not in school, but seemed embarrassed at the question. In another shop, later in the afternoon, three girls in school uniform were serving. What used to be adult jobs in shops, or jobs done

by the (painfully shy) children of the owner to help out, now seem to be jobs for teenagers.

Night markets on closed-off streets or parking lots have taken over a large share of the retail trade in items like clothing and other small consumer goods which formerly were sold in shops. And shopping for fresh foods does not seem to be so strictly confined to the early morning market, especially in places as large as Kudat.

As I walked past the police station in Kudat, I recalled that it was on the site of the old jail. Normally there would have been a half dozen inmates who would be let out under guard, issued with large *parangs*, and set to work cutting grass around the government offices. One day as they were walking back to the jail the guard was having difficulty lighting his cigarette, so he gave his shotgun to one of the prisoners to carry. Now, looking inside the police compound, my recollection of peaceful Kudat was jolted by the sight of three armored, anti-riot vehicles. The population of Kudat has trebled, and there are a lot of recent migrants from the Philippines which might suggest a potential for communal violence, but the growth in police numbers and expensive equipment seems out of proportion.

I was told that an economic boom had been expected in Kudat in the early 1980s, but that it failed to eventuate. Speculative construction for anticipated growth is a common feature of the East Malaysian landscape, but nowhere was it so evident as in Kudat. There are at least 50 vacant or uncompleted shophouses within three miles of the center of town. And more are being built. A number of the unoccupied shops are in a large estate at Mile 3, just behind the airfield. Dozens of houses and the bazaar area are incomplete, abandoned and vandalized.

Back in Kota Kinabalu after my visit to Kudat, I arranged to drive up to Ranau. The trip took just two hours. In 1962 and 1963 I never made the trip in less than four hours, seven or eight was not unusual, and frequently the road was closed (for up to a month!) by landslides. The scenery on the Ranau road, much of which is above 4000 feet as it crosses the Crocker Range, impressed me as absolutely breathtaking. And I was surprised how much more awe-inspiring it was than I had remembered. Perhaps the ten months that I lived and worked in the area meant that I was too close to it for too long. On the other hand, there is much more clearing now and very, very little primary forest is left. Perhaps the views are more impressive now simply because there are few trees to block the view.

When I lived in Ranau in 1963 it was remote, difficult and yet not too bad and basically beautiful: no electricity, poor communications, and most Dusuns, especially in the hills, lived at a bare subsistence level. Now, in addition to a ten-fold increase in population, Ranau is a mining center and a transport node with relatively easy access east, south, and west. Electricity is in most houses; young people, especially, are well dressed; and there are lots of local people riding in vehicles and eating in shops.

I had been keen to get back to Ranau, but now, having seen it I do not care to return and would not suggest that anyone stop there. It is, for me, merely an uninteresting place -- more squalid than anything else. The new, reinforced concrete shophouses are adequate, but the market areas are rough shelters of scrap roofing and timber on land which is dusty today and muddy most of the time. Piles of garbage are everywhere around town and more of the ground is covered with plastic rubbish than with grass. The smell of the drains is pervasive. "Modern" houses are built on the surrounding deforested hills on bulldozed sites of raw, eroding earth.

A Dusun family of five walking single file in front of the shops brought back sharply focussed memories of a quarter century ago. Father was wearing brown shorts and no shirt and carried his *parang* in a wooden sheath. Mother had a big wad of tobacco hanging out of her lip, and she carried a traditional Dusun basket on her back. But they were all skinny and small and the children looked stunted and unhealthy; the little girl had a runny nose.

Seeing how short the parents of this family are reminded me of an indicator of Singapore's development I have observed. After two years of living in places like Ranau, I first visited Singapore in 1964. As in Sabah, in Singapore I was a head taller than the general population. In 1970 I visited Singapore again but this time I was only of average height, especially around young adults. By 1980, on another visit, I was my usual short (5' 7") self. My height had not changed in those sixteen years, but a generation of Singaporeans certainly had grown taller. Good nutrition, especially between the ages of one and six, affects the height of adults, and richer, better educated, more developed populations have significantly taller people. Kota Kinabalu is following Singapore's pattern, but what has happened to the Dusuns of Ranau in the last 26 years?

In 1962 I took a *National Geographic* photographer on a walk of only a half hour to visit a Dusun village where there were no tin roofs and no sawn board walls. At that time, such villages were worth photographing, but they were not hard to find. In 1990, on a drive from Ranau to Keningau, I estimate I saw 4-5000 houses: all but two had tin roofs. Thatched, *atap*, roofs are still common on field

shelters and outbuildings, but not on residences. And in towns (like Tambunan and Sunsuran) many houses are now built of brick or concrete. Older wooden houses, originally built on tall stilts, sometimes have the ground floor bricked in.

In Keningau I reflected that almost everyone I had seen in East Malaysia had been wearing shoes or at least thongs. A few old people in some of the more remote kampongs I had passed were barefoot, but almost everyone else had footwear. This change has fostered a new mini-industry of urchin shoeshine boys in both Ranau and Keningau.

On my return to Kota Kinabalu, I walked through one of the expensive hotels and saw a poster advertising a boat tour to a "traditional village of the sea gypsies." Curious, I asked an attendant where this village was located. He pointed to the large settlement across the bay on Gaya Island. I remarked that 26 years ago Gaya was virtually uninhabited and was due to be gazetted as a national park. I also said that I understood the new settlement was occupied by Filipino refugee and migrant squatters. The attendant laughed and said it didn't matter.

Tanjung Aru beach is as idyllic as it ever was -- perhaps better in some respects. Good bus access, a tidy foreshore area, and the big old casuarina (*aru*) trees, which still look and sound wonderful are backed up by a new food center and a couple of good looking restaurants. And sitting in this lovely site, sipping an ice cold beer with a soft breeze in my face, I was reminded of something else which has not changed. I decided not to stay for the grilled tiger prawns on the luncheon menu, because the waiter was picking at a one inch diameter open sore on his leg. Lots of people live in idyllic places like Tanjung Aru, but, the statistics tell us, they live there for ten fewer years in an average lifetime than those of us who live in richer countries. It is not hard to see why. I wondered what else had been washed in the water with my beer glass. I remembered my friend in Kudat who, in 1962, had been a very frustrated, almost powerless public health inspector. I walked along the beach for a while, then went back and had the delicious tiger prawns anyway.

Few if any changes in public health standards are apparent in any of the places I saw in 1990. And public safety seems also to have stagnated. Take, for example, the problem of pedestrian safety in urban areas. Sidewalks are usually two to three inch thick slabs of unreinforced concrete covering a deep monsoon drain. No one has discovered a way to make these slabs strong enough to carry a car or truck; no one has discovered a way to keep cars and trucks off the sidewalk. The result is gaping holes in the sidewalk and drains blocked with chunks of concrete. Walking is dangerous, road edges are traps for vehicles, and raw sewage is frequently exposed and brought to the surface. There would seem

to be some simple solutions, but the evidence on the landscape is that no one is trying to find them.

One conclusion to be drawn from the example of pedestrian safety is that no one in power has walked anywhere in a long, long time. It is not difficult to see in the landscape where the money for development is spent. It is obvious who is looking after whom. There are, I believe, two marked, lighted pedestrian crossings in the whole of Kuching, both in front of the Holiday Inn, not in front of one of the schools with ten times the pedestrian traffic.

Over the years I have tried to become sensitive to signs or measures of "development." Basic, conventional statistics like per capita income, life expectancy, literacy or education levels, infant mortality and so forth can show convincingly, if imperfectly, positive changes in aggregate terms. And according to these measures, East Malaysia clearly has a good record of development compared with many other places in the world. But there are other signs which in some cases can provide additional indicators of which places and which people are benefitting from change. The physical evidence of change written in the cultural landscape can be a clear measure of the choices being made in a society and of whether development's implied or actual promise of improved life is being realized.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

RESTORATION OF LOGGED FORESTS IN SABAH, EAST MALAYSIA

Commercial logging of lowland rain forests is occurring more rapidly in East Malaysia than anywhere else on earth. Most forests are harvested selectively, but current forestry practices lead to substantial forest damage and are not sustainable. The dominance in disturbed habitats by vines and climbers that grow rapidly and continuously, dominate the light environment, and may arrest the natural ecological succession for hundreds of years by inhibiting natural

regeneration of both light-dependent pioneer trees and shade-tolerant or shade-requiring later successional trees.

Research and experiments will address the following questions:

- (1) How do different selective logging practices correlate with differences in forest succession and structure after disturbance?
- (2) Do pioneer trees create an environment that facilitates colonization by later successional trees?
- (3) What factors prevent the establishment of pioneers in extensive areas where they fail to colonize after disturbance?
- (4) What traits of pioneer tree species are most effective in preventing overgrowth by vines and climbers?
- (5) Once saplings of later successional trees have established within stands of pioneer, is their growth limited by pioneers?
- (6) If selective culling is desirable, can a viable pulp production industry be based on trees thinned from stands of pioneers?

Results of these investigations will be integrated to produce a three-part management plan. Part I will recommend more sustainable selective harvesting practices. Part II will recommend a plan for assisted natural regeneration of selectively logged forests. Part III will generalize and extend the results in this project to succession after disturbance elsewhere in the humid tropics. Forest management practices developed through this project are expected to promote the diversity and abundance of primary forest species whose welfare is most threatened by habitat destruction from commercial logging.

Diane W. Davidson - Principal Investigator
 Department of Biology
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DR. MARTIN BAIER PRESENTS THREE COLLECTIONS OF
MANUSCRIPTS TO KONINKLIJK INSTITUT VOOR TAAL-,
LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

Three collections of manuscripts chiefly comprising stories and treatises written for the greater part in Ngaju Dayak (and some in Ot Danum, Malay and German) have recently been presented to Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology by Dr. Martin Baier of Albstadt, Germany, and are now available for inspection by interested scholars at this institute.

The manuscripts were originally collected or written by the Swiss and German missionaries Dr. H. Schärer (1904-1947), K. D. Epple (1877-1944) and H. Haffner (1903-1982). Lists giving the original titles may be had on application to:

Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV)
(Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology)
Reuvenplaats 2, P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden, NETHERLANDS

UNIVERSITY BRUNEI DARUSSALAM INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
9-12 December 1991

English Department
Universiti Brunei Darussalam
Brunei Darussalam

BILINGUALISM AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
CURRENT PERSPECTIVES AND FUTURE TRENDS
(BAND91)

AIM

To examine the interrelationship of language, culture and education in bilingual contexts.

RATIONALE

Following independence in 1984, Negara Brunei Darussalam embarked on a new policy of bilingual Malay/English education whereby subjects closely associated with Malay culture are taught in Malay and other subjects are taught in English.

The field of bilingual education is rapidly changing, and it is expected, in the course of this conference, that theorists and practitioners, both from South East Asia and the rest of the world, will exchange and share their varied experiences. It is hoped that the exploration of a number of major themes of bilingualism and bilingual education will contribute significantly to the optimization of education in the region during the 1990s and beyond.

FOCUS

The conference will focus on the theoretical and experiential aspects of *Language and Education* and *Language and Society*:

1. Language and Education
 - Suggested Topics:
 - National language and education policies
 - Language use in schools
 - School diglossia
 - Vernacular/Standard
 - Motivating stimuli and influences
 - Official initiatives
 - Family attitudes and support
 - Employment opportunities and employers' expectations
 - Resource limitations and opportunities
 - Teacher language behavior, teacher competence
 - Teaching materials (availability, suitability, cultural sensitivity)
2. Language and Society
 - Suggested Topics:
 - Bilingualism vs. biculturalism
 - Cultural planning in language planning
 - Culture loss, survival and gain

Language loss, survival and gain
 Societal language norms and practices
 Code choice and code switching
 Status of bilingual speech
 Language solidarity and deviance
 Social psychology of bilingual

ROYAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY
 BRUNEI RAIN FOREST PROJECT 1991-2

The RGS, in association with the University of Brunei Darussalam (UBD), invites applications from rainforest geographers, biologists and others seeking to take part in a 14-month expedition, to be led by Lord Cranbrook, to pristine lowland tropical forests in the Temburong District, Brunei, commencing January 1991. The project will be based at the new UBD Field Studies Centre at Kuala Belalong.

The research programme will be agreed upon by a joint UBD/RGS committee. A core team of graduate students will be working on fundamental studies of the rainforest environment. Integrated with these studies, shorter projects (6 weeks minimum) will be undertaken to cover other topics important in establishing base-line environmental data. The opportunity to participate is offered to geographers and other scientists, especially those who have had previous field experience in the tropics and have facilities for writing up their research. The funding will be £20-27 per day (depending on local support staff needed) plus flight and freight costs.

Applicants should write now to: Nigel Winsor, Assistant Director, Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7 2AF, with CV, a synopsis of the research they wish to undertake (approx. 500 words) and details of the likely permanent contribution to base-line information that their work would yield.

SOUTHEAST ASIANISTS

Ohio University announces the 1991-1992 round of its Luce-Supported Scholar-in-Residence Program, which offers a minimum of \$1,500 per month to support research and writing intended for publication. The grant normally is awarded for two to three months to enable the recipient to use the research materials in the Southeast Asia Collection of OU's Alden Library. Residency could begin as early as June 1991. The grant may not be used to fund research necessary to fulfill degree requirements. For more information apply to Professor Drew McDaniel, Director, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701.

REGIONAL NEWS

OTTO STEINMAYER has been doing classics all his life. He took a B.A. at Amherst College (1978) and a Ph.D. at Yale in 1986 with a dissertation on ancient Greek music. Following that he began the study of Sanskrit. He came to Southeast Asian studies through playing with the Wesleyan University Javanese Gamelan and with Gamelan Sekar Kembar (Balinese, Director, Michael Tenzer). He has often been in Sarawak. He is married to Nusi anak Baki of Stunggang. He has been teaching in the English Department of Universiti Malaya since 1988. He has published on the Palang and Kamasutra (*Purba, Sarawak Gazette*), and on the Penan issue (*Aliran*, pseudonymously). He is interested in Bornean literature and in aspects of material culture.

UNIVERSITI KEBANGSAAN MALAYSIA,
HISTORY DEPARTMENT HONOR PAPERS

Mohd. Kamaruzman A. Rahman, Lecturer in Archaeology, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, has edited the following list of titles produced by honor year students in the History Department:

Dayu Sansalu

- 1981 *Sejarah Bandar Kota Kinabalu (1946-1957)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Johran Kassim

- 1981 *Sejarah Penghijrahan Dan Penempatan Suku Brunei Di Sabah (1900-1914)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Kasim Mohamad

- 1981 *Maktab Perquruan Gaya Kota Kinabalu, Sabah (1963-1975)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Zainon Tukiman

- 1981 *Sejarah Perkembangan Sistem Pengangkutan Jalanraya Di Residensi Pantai Barat Dan Negeri Sabah Umumnya Antara Tahun 1946-1960an*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Muhidin Yusin @ Mohd. Anas

- 1981 *Sejarah Penubuhan (USIA) Dan Keqiataannya Dalam Dakwah Islam Di Sabah Hingga Tahun 1976*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Hamzah @ Amza Sundang

- 1983 *Maktab Perguruan Kent, Tauran, Sabah (1952-1982)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Rashide Marujin

- 1983 *Tun Fuad Stephens Dan Politik Sabah Tahun 1960an*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Darman Shah Hj. Asakil

- 1986 *Sejarah Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan Fahaman Perkauman Di Sabah: Satu Analisa Dari Sudut Peranan Parti-Parti Politik (1961-1985)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Jemira Ekong @ Lusinah

- 1986 *Peranan Yayasan Sabah Dalam Bidang Pelajaran*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Mohamad Osup

- 1986 *Tun Mustapha: Peranannya Dalam Perkembangan Islam Di Sabah (1963-1975)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Juhirin Kantis

- 1987 *Pembangunan Ekonomi Dan Penglibatan Bumiputra Negeri Sabah: Era Kerajaan Perikatan Dan Berjaya (1963-1981)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

Mohd. Kassim Hj. Mohd. Ibrahim

- 1988 *Masyarakat Islam Dan Politik Sabah (1961-1981)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

- Kwan Lee Kun
1988 *Gerakan Missionari Protestant Di Sabah: Satu Tinjauan Mengenai Sumbangan Missionari Protestant Dalam Pendidikan (1880an-1962)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Lujinah @ Zunaidah Timbun
1988 *Sejarah Perkembangan Perusahaan Pembalakan Di Negeri Sabah (B.U.) Sebelum Perang Dunia II*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Dalius Cahun
1989 *Sejarah Pembangunan Ekonomi Negeri Sabah 1963-1980*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Raisin Saidin
1989 *Pendidikan Dan Kesedaran Sosial Orang-Orang Dusun/Kadazan Di Sabah 1963-1980*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Jaime Kangoi
1989 *Peranan Golongan Inteligensia Dalam Politik Sabah Sebelum Penubuhan Malaysia 1970an*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Dalius Lucius Lobinjang
1989 *Sabah Semasa Pendudukan Jepun 1942-1945*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Eillen Perta Francis
1990 *Sejarah Perkembangan Keretapi Sabah 1881-1941*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Noihin Garam @ Noraihan Abdullah
1990 *Sejarah Perkembangan Pertanian Perladangan Zaman Syarikat Berpiagam Borneo Utara Di Sabah (1881-1941)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Ahmad Jam M. Jam Jaafar
1975 *Kontroversi Penyerahaan Sarawak Kepada Kerajaan British (Gerakan Anti Cassion 1946-50 Di Sarawak)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.

- Sarudu Hoklai
1979 *Perjuangan Politik Pribumi Sarawak (1959-1963)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Hashim Fauzy Yaacob
1983 *Kedudukan Melayu Sarawak Zaman Crown Colony (1946-1963)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Modh. Setar Mohd. Rani
1983 *Kegiatan Golongan Intelgensia Melayu Dalam Bidang Penulisan dan Politik Sarawak (1930-1950)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Shaharuddin Mohamed Yusof
1983 *Tun Abdul Rahman Yaakub: Sumbangan Dan Peranannya Dalam Pentadbiran dan Politik Dalam Kerajaan Pusat dan Negeri Sarawak Antara Tahun (1969-1981)*. Academic Exercise, History Department, National University of Malaysia.
- Mohd. Supaih Hamad
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BRUNEI NEWS

DATUK PROF. HAJI SHAROM AHMAT, Permanent Academic Adviser, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Bandar Seri Begawan, Negara Brunei Darussalam, writes that the university's library is in the process of building up a comprehensive Brunei collection. He would be most grateful for suggestions of available sources and materials for this collection.

KALIMANTAN NEWS

Director of Council's Office for Kalimantan

The Officers are pleased to announce the appointment of DR. BERNARD J.-L. SELLATO as Director of the Borneo Research Council's Office for Kalimantan. Dr. Sellato's research and contributions are well known to readers of the *Bulletin*, and his book *Hornbill and Dragon* is reviewed in this issue. The BRC's office address is:

c/o Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient
Jalan Mampang Prapatan VIII no R 5
12790 Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia
Facsimile: 62-21-7991784

We also are delighted to announce the appointment of Correspondents for each of the Kalimantan Provinces, who will provide reports on research in the four provinces. The Correspondents are:

Drs. Musni Umberan, M.S.Ed.
Balai Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional
Jabu Letjen Sutoyo
Pontianak, Kalimantan Barat
Indonesia

Dr. KMA Usop
Dayak Study Centre
Universitas Palangkaraya
Jl. Yos Sudarso C-1-1
Palangkaraya 93112

Central Kalimantan
Indonesia

Dr. Darmansyah Gudai
Jalan Batu Tiban 2 Rt. 12
Banjarmasin 70117
Kalimantan Selatan
Indonesia

Drs. G. Simon Devung, M.Pd.
Jalan Kenyah 18, Sempaja
Samarinda, 75119
Kalimantan Timor
Indonesia

REED L. WADLEY (Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University) will begin Ph.D. research in January 1992 on demographic variation and social organization among the Iban of the Leboyan River system, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. His research has been approved by the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia and is supported in part by a grant from the National Science Foundation.

SARAWAK NEWS

The Social Development Council of Sarawak launched an Oral Traditions Project in October 1990 for a period of two years following the Cultural Heritage Symposium in 1988. The first phase of the project will cover the Malay, Melanau and Bidayuh communities as they have been completely neglected in the past. Preliminary technical training will be provided by professional archivists from the National Archives of Malaysia and PROF. TAIB OSMAN of the University of Malaya.

The History Society of Malaysia, Sarawak Branch, in the last few years, has embarked on a Biography Project on Sarawak's prominent leaders. The first work, entitled *Ong Tiang Swee of Sarawak* and written by his great grandson, Ong Boon Lim, was launched in December 1990. Sanib Said will be writing on the present Governor, tentatively titled, *Orang Yang Paling Dikehendaki: Biografi Tun*

Datuk Patinggi Ahmad Zaidi Aduce Md. Noor (The Most Wanted Man: A Biography of Tun Datuk Patinggi Ahmad Zaidi Aduce Md. Noor), which is planned to be published in April 1991. Another work is on Abang Ikhwan Zaini by Dr. Sabihah Osman. Professor Stephen Morris is completing his work on the Melanau of Oya, which should be out also in 1991.

The society's journal is to be named *SAWAKU* from the 1991 issue onwards. *SAWAKU* is an ancient name of Sarawak as recorded in *Negarakariagama*, the famous Javanese poem of 1365. The new journal will be headed by SANIB SAID.

A Workshop of Sarawak Malay Traditional Costumes was held from 22nd to 23rd November 1990, in Kuching, sponsored by the Ministry of Social Development of Sarawak. Three working papers were presented; one was titled, "Malay Traditional Costumes in 1840s: Hugh Low's Description".

The Heroes' Monument of Sarawak was launched 28th November 1990 by the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman. The monument will be built at the Sarawak Museum's garden and construction will begin in early 1991.

ORANGUTANS AND ORIGINAL SIN: How do human attitudes to other animals reflect the inner perception of our own "animal nature"? Do these attitudes affect our interaction with the environment and our impact on the ecosystem? These are the sorts of questions that environmental philosophers are posing when examining Western culture's apparent "split with nature". Studying cultures where humans live in habitats shared with a great ape such as the orangutan may shed some light on this topic.

In the Batang Ai district of Sarawak, many of the Iban people maintain *pantang* or taboo against hunting orangutan. For many of these people, orangutan (*maias*) are not like other animals, but truly a "man of the forest". These animals may be manifestations of ancestor spirits and are said to have been the source of much ethnobotanical knowledge. Although they are not commonly regarded as omen or augury animals, their role in the Iban cosmology is significant.

Jane Bennett is a Ph.D. student studying orangutans in the Batang Ai district who is interested in pursuing their cultural significance amongst the peoples of Borneo and also how different attitudes, particularly to hunting, may have affected their distribution. There are substantial areas of Borneo where orangutans do not occur, such as northern Sarawak. While stories about orangutans would be most informative, people from these areas may have stories about giants, or other primates or mythical beasts which could be relevant to the study.

Jane is interested in hearing from anthropologists who have any information on:

1. stories about orangutans or primates in general, particularly those of a historical and mythological nature;
2. taboos (*pantang*) against hunting orangutans and their origin;
3. composition and efficacy of substances used for poison-darting; how large an animal can be hunted and how long does the poison need to take effect (could this have limited the ability to hunt orangutans in the past?).

Jane is also interested in hearing from anthropologists currently working in the field who might be able to carry out a questionnaire or whom she might be able to accompany to pursue this research. For replies or further information, please contact Jane Bennett, Centre for Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania, GPO Box 252C, Hobart, Tasmania, 7001, AUSTRALIA. (Fax: (002) 201989).

THOMAS LEE KOK CHO, Project Manager, Agricultural Resource Centre, has provided an Executive Summary of the Centre's new report, "Major Pests and Diseases of Fruits and Vegetables Recorded in Miri Division, Sarawak." The report is available upon request from: Agricultural Resource Centre, Lot 287, 1st Floor, Jalan Bendahara, Taman Jade Manis, 9800 Miri, Sarawak, Malaysia.

1. A pest and disease survey of 18 vegetable and fruit farms in the division of Miri was conducted from the 15th to 21st December, 1990. The primary objective of the survey was to identify the major pest and disease problems on fruits and vegetables in the division, and to recommend

measures for their control. The ultimate aim was to assist farmers increase the quality and quantity of their farm produce through more efficient crop protection techniques.

2. The rainfall pattern of Miri was compared with that in Peninsular Malaysia. The generally higher rainfall of Miri was noted, and their possible effects on pests and diseases were discussed.
3. The major fruit types planted in Miri are mandarin orange (*limau langkat*) calamondin (*limau kasturi*), durian, mango, guava and starfruit. Fruits of lesser importance are banana, pomelo, rambutan, water-melon and rock melon. The major vegetable types are choy sum, chilli, bayam, cangkok manis, cucumber, lady's finger, long bean and kangkong, while the less important vegetables are kai lan, kai choy, pak choy, luffa, French bean, tomato, sweet potato and coco-yam. In the discussion on the crop protection problems of crop types or groups of crops, three main areas were categorized, viz.
 - a. list of observed pests and diseases
 - b. an overview of the situation and
 - c. short notes on the individual problems and suggested control measures.
4. The results of the survey show that there is a need to educate the farmers on the recognition of diseases and also the minute pests (e.g. thrips, mites, psyllids), and to increase their understanding on how the damage is caused.
5. The greening disease, a serious disease of citrus, was recorded for the first time in Miri. The vector of the disease, *Diaphorina citri*, was also a new record for the area. Some areas are still free from the disease and do not have the vector. It is important that these farmers are educated on the disease, and how to prevent it from infecting their healthy plants.
6. Several diseases of unknown causes and which require further research were observed during the survey, viz.:
 - a. branch die-back of ratooned cangkok manis
 - b. yellow spotting of durian leaves
 - c. fine speckling of caramobola fruits

7. Many interesting problems not known to the farmers were recognized during the survey. Some of these are:
 - a. root knot nematodes on guava
 - b. bacterial canker on honey mandarin orange
 - c. die-back and death of papaya due to scale insects
 - d. poor fruit set of durians due to insecticide sprays on the flowers
 - e. Fusarium wilt on 'snake' long bean
 - f. sensitivity of oranges and calamondin to copper sprays
 - g. sensitivity of star fruit to certain chemical sprays
 - h. phytophthora attacking coco-yam leaves
 - i. fungal leaf spot on choy sum
8. There is ample scope for further improving the quality and quantity of fruit and vegetable production in Miri, through education and extension in crop protection techniques. This could be initiated by the Agricultural Resource Centre through the production of additional learning materials and the organization of group training activities. It is hoped that this report would provide the impetus for such a move.

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOK REVIEWS

HORNBILL AND DRAGON/NAGA DAN BURUNG ENGGANG KALIMANTAN SARAWAK SABAH BRUNEI by Bernard Sellato, with text translated from English to Indonesian/Malay by Winarsih Arifin, photographs by Gilles Perret, Dicky WP, Gerard Houlbreque, and Bernard Sellato. Jakarta: Elf Aquitaine Indonesie. and Elf Aquitaine Malaysia. 1989 Pp. 272, >550 color plates, >110 line drawings, English and Indonesian/Malay text. US \$47.00 plus mailing cost. Order from

Bernard J. L. Sellato, c/o Elf Aquitaine Indonesia, Bumi Daya Plaza, 20th Floor, 61 Jalan Imam Bonjol, 10310 Jakarta, Indonesia.

This is the first book with which I am acquainted that covers the cultures of the whole island of Borneo. The author is certainly correct in pointing out the increased attention in recent years to the art of Borneo as evidenced by major museum exhibitions and articles in art journals and the lack of any one source that covers the whole of Borneo. "This book, entirely dedicated to Borneo and covering all art forms, aims at providing amateurs and the general public with a thorough and comprehensive, yet accessible, overview of the cultures and their arts" (p. 11).

Publication of this coffee table book was supported by the two French oil companies Elf Aquitaine Indonesia and Elf Aquitaine Malaysia. I am not sure whether the original idea came from the oil companies or from the author, Bernard Sellato, but in the author's acknowledgements he gives major credit to the oil companies for the conception of the book and support for putting it together. The author first came to Borneo in 1973 with an M. Sc. in Geology. After moving over much of the island by foot he returned to Paris in 1986 to complete his Ph.D. and a book on the Punan.

I would not totally agree with the author that this is "a thorough and comprehensive . . . overview of the cultures . . ." of Borneo, but with this book a good general view of the art of Borneo is made accessible. No one book could be both thorough and comprehensive on the cultures of Borneo but this does present a general view in its text, coming before the plates, of the range of cultures found in Borneo, excluding the Chinese. The text is both in English (pp. 11-49) and Indonesian/Malay (pp. 51-86). Line drawings in the wide margins of the text present art motifs and their captions make reference to specific plates in which these motifs are represented. The captions of the plates give the ethnic group which produced the pictured object and/or general location of the piece and by turning to the "Description of Plates" (pp. 257-269) further information on the location or source of the object or subject pictured is presented. A short (pp. 270-271) "Selected Reading" list allows one to move in to the literature, which would be helpful to the amateur to whom the book is directed. Only one of the journals included in this list is from the United States, that being the *BRB*, but then not many US journals, besides my own *Asian Perspectives*, have had many articles that would be relevant. One good exhibit catalogue that is not included in the references is *The Eloquent Dead Ancestral Sculpture of Indonesia and Southeast Asia* (ed. Jerome Feldman, 1985, Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles), in which the article by Eugenia Sumnik-Dekovich, "The significance of ancestors in the arts of the Dayak of Borneo" (pp.

101-128) presents plates of many excellent artifacts from different Borneo ethnic groups.

Sellato begins his text with a brief prehistory and history of Borneo (pp. 11-17). Considering that this was done in seven pages, for an amateur audience, I will not take up several points presented with which I disagree. It is a reasonable summary. I guess that it is wanting too much to ask for giving to the sources of his statements. It is obvious that his source for prehistory is Peter Bellwood's *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*, with which I disagree on a moderate number of points of interpretation. This is hardly the place to argue with Bellwood on these points that are not of major importance to Borneo. I must remember that this is a coffee table art book, and a very good one, and not ask it to be all things to all people. He starts dealing with the people on page 17 and covers "The Major Ethnic Groups" on pages 20 to 22. I do not think that anyone would consider this as 'comprehensive' coverage of the cultures of Borneo, but for the space used it is a reasonable summary. He starts dealing with "Art in Traditional Life" on page 23 and continues with "Bornean Art: Themes and Representations" (pp. 43-48) to the end of the English text. This is the meat of the text and whether you like it rare or well done, it is good. The context of art in the life of the peoples is the aim of the first portion while the following section relates the art motifs to Borneo mythology and cosmology.

The Indonesian/Malay portion of the text includes the marginal line drawings as with the English text. Most of these are the same in both sections but there are a few that use different examples for the same motif (see pp. 11/51, 12/52, 20/60, 28/68, 34/74, 35/75, 42/82, 45/85). It is curious that the illustrations presented as 71 and 73 are the same as 69 and 71 except that the latter are presented upside down. The full page figures at the end of the two sections (pp. 49/87) are different.

The color plates start on page 90 and they are beautiful. A partial list of what they cover includes: carvings on wood, bone, and stone, painting on wood, masks, basketry, mats, textiles, beadwork, and tattooing. A variety of house types, including Malay, are presented on pages 92-101. There is so much richness in this, the main portion of the book, that I felt that it was as close to comprehensive as would be desirable. Considering the usual cost of coffee table art books, this one is well worth the cost. (Wilhelm G. Solheim, III)

THE PLANT DIVERSITY OF MALESIA. Proceedings of the Flora Malesiana Symposium. Commemorating Prof. Dr. C. G. G. J. van Steenis, edited by P. Baas, K. Kalkman, R. Gessink, Rijksherbarium/Hortus Botanicus, Leiden University, The Netherlands. 1990, 420 pp. Hardbound, Dfl. 125.00/GB£44.00. ISBN 0-7923-0883-2.

This book contains a selection of the papers presented at the Flora Malesiana Symposium held in August 1989 and covers a much greater variety of themes than merely an inventory of botanical diversity.

The botanical information made available on regional and local floras is of vital importance for applications such as the exploitation of natural forests on a sustainable yield basis, for establishing gene banks for the benefit of agriculture, forestry and horticulture, and not least for nature conservation. Several chapters are devoted to these themes. Floristic studies also form the basis of the biogeographical essays and vegetation studies included in the book.

Flora writers, although primarily concerned with taking stock of botanical diversity, also have to grapple with conceptual problems of plant taxonomy. Therefore the inclusion of several chapters on recently changed concepts of taxa and the underlying theoretical considerations also belong to the themes of the book.

Much work remains to be done before the first inventory of the plant diversity of Malesia will be complete. This volume will be a stimulus for the study, protection and wise utilization of the Malesian flora.

KATALOG KOLEKSI MELAYU. Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, ISBN 967-942-195-3 M\$100.00 (Hard cover); ISBN 967-942-187-2 M\$75.00 (Soft cover).

This is a catalogue of more than 20,000 materials written in Malay and other languages. It also gives information about the Malay community, according to various subjects. These subjects cover general matters, Islam, history and politics, culture, fine arts, anthropology and sociology, education, economics, law, language, and literature. The 'Malay' community as defined covers the Malays in the Malay Archipelago, that is Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Philippines. In some ways, the meaning of 'culture and Malay' is extended to include the Malay minorities in Thailand, Burma, Campa, Sri Lanka and Madagascar.

The materials registered in this catalogue are the amalgamation of the various libraries of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, that is Perpustakaan Tun Seri

Lanang as well as branch libraries of IBKMM, Sabah campus in Kota Kinabalu and Medical Faculty in Kuala Lumpur.

CATALOGUING

The arrangement of this catalogue follows the practice used by the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia library, which is the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules (AACR 2), second edition.

However, former rules are still retained. This is to ensure uniformity with the catalogue in the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia library.

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BLUST, ROBERT¹

Language and culture history; two case studies / Robert Blust - *Asian Perspectives*, vol. XXVII, no. 2 (1990) - p. 205-227; bibl.; fig.

Comparative historical linguists have long recognized the potential contribution of their discipline as a source for the general study of prehistory. Reconstructed vocabulary has formed the basis for a variety of inferences about the natural environment and cultures of prehistoric peoples. But this so called *Wörter und Sachen* technique must be used with circumspection; it is concerned with vocabulary that refers to distinctive characteristics of the natural environment or to non-universal features of culture only, and is therefore of limited culture-historical value. This article shows, with examples from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and Proto-Malaita-Micronesian, that through the study of semantic change and opacity, reconstructed vocabulary of a seemingly neutral type can sometimes yield culture-historical insights of genuine value to the prehistorian. (JJ)

1. Reprinted from *Excerpta Indonesica* No. 42 Januari 1991.

EVERS, HAND-DIETER¹

Population dynamics, ethnic relations and trade among Javanese transmigrants in East Kalimantan / Hans-Dieter Evers, Wolfgang Clauss and Solvay Gerke -

Yogyakarta: Population Studies Centre, Gadjah Mada University, 1988 - 36 p., bibl., ill., krt., tab. - (Research report series / Gadjah Mada University, Population Studies Centre, No. 48).

Javanese transmigrants in Rimbayu (district of Kutai, East Kalimantan) change their economic and social situation rapidly. They do not confine themselves to the cultivation of their allotted land as was planned by the government. In accordance with previous life-styles they also engage in off-farm jobs and start shops and trading enterprises. Kinship networks are used to entice relatives to come to Rimbayu as labour and, less often, as marriage partners. New kinship networks are also created with neighbouring transmigrants. Striking are the relatively numerous inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese women and Dayak men. (SvB)

1. Reprinted from *Excerpta Indonesica* No. 42 Januari 1991.

FASBENDER, KARL¹

Transmigration in Ost-Kalimantan; das indonesische Umsiedlungsprogramm und seine Konsequenzen für die AufnahmeProvinzen / Karl Fasbender, Susanne Erbe - Bielefeld [etc.]: Forschungsschwerpunkt Entwicklungssoziologie, Fakultät für Soziologie, Universität Bielefeld (UB) [etc.], 1988 - 230 p., bibl., krt., tab. (Wirkungen der Transmigration; no. 4).

This study, containing statistical data, offers an analysis of the goals, development and organization of the Indonesian transmigration programme in East Kalimantan. Various economic aspects are discussed and their influence on demographic and ecological factors is considered. The author is critical of the lack of administrative co-ordination and insufficient adaptation of the implementation of cultivation schemes to the natural environment in the receiving region. He concludes, however, that the overall economic advantages outweigh other possible shortcomings. (MN)

1. Reprinted from *Excerpta Indonesica* No. 42 Januari 1991.

HEALTH¹

Health ecology in Indonesia / ed. by Shosuke Suzuki - Tokyo : Gyosei Corporation, 1988 - 243 p.; bibl.; ill.; graf.; krt.; plgr.; tab.

Taking as their central assumption an ecological understanding of health, a team of Japanese and Indonesian researchers have scrutinized the means and mechanisms of subsistence in rural communities in Sunda and Kalimantan, and described the extent to which technologies of production and consumption are applied to the natural environment. Findings also illustrate the mutual influence of human activities and the environment. Information is provided on topics as: lead pollution and the physical conditions of *becak* drivers. (MH)

1. Reprinted from *Excerpta Indonesica* No. 42 Januari 1991.

PAKAIAN¹

Pakaian adat tradisional daerah Kalimantan Selatan / peneliti/penulis Syukrani Maswan, A. Rasyidi Umar, Zulkifli Musaba; penyempurna/ed. : Zulyani Hidayah, H. Ahmad Yunus - Jakarta : Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1987. - VIII, 213 p., bibl., ill., krt., port.

This illustrated publication provides information about traditional dress in South Kalimantan and, in particular, of the ethnic groups *Banjar* and *Bukit Hulu Banyu*. The publication is part of a research series concerning the preservation of local cultural traditions, conducted under the auspices of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. (MH)

1. Reprinted from *Excerpta Indonesica* No. 42 Januari 1991.

PETERSEN, LEIF

Conditions for agricultural development in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia / Leif Petersen. - *Geografisk tidsskrift* - vol. 87 (1987) - p. 49-56: bibl., fig., tab.

Central Kalimantan, which at present has a population density of about seven persons per square km, is planned to receive a substantial number of settlers from Java. The settlers will be occupied in agriculture. In some areas the suitability of the land for agriculture is limited due to steep slopes, shallow soils, sandy soil texture or poor soil drainage. In the central parts of the province these

limitations are less serious, but the soils are acid and low in most plant nutrients. In order to utilize this land for agricultural production and hence provide a basis for settlers, application to the soil of rather large amounts of lime and fertilizers are required (author's abstract).

ABSTRACTS

JAN WILLEM ALEXANDER BAKKER, *Enough Profundities Already! A Reconstruction of Geertz's Interpretive Anthropology*. Utrecht, ISOR. Dissertation. 1988. ISBN 90-5187-003-5.

This study contains a reconstruction and an evaluation of Geertz's interpretive anthropology. Bakker discusses the main elements of Geertz's anthropology and explicates their interrelationships. He discusses the tensions and inconsistencies in Geertz's interpretive anthropology, and evaluates it in terms of five important methodological criteria. Lastly, Bakker discusses three current types of critique of Geertz's *corpus*.

Copies can be ordered from: Department of Anthropology, University of Utrecht, P. O. Box 80140, 3508 TC Utrecht, The Netherlands.

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NOTES FROM EDITOR (Continued)

We are pleased to announce the appointment of Dr. Bernard J.-L. Sellato as the Director for the Borneo Research Council's Office for Kalimantan. Dr. Sellato will work with Correspondents for Kalimantan's four provinces (see "Correspondents" in *Kalimantan News*) to report on research and opportunities for field work.

Details about the 1992 Extraordinary Session in Sabah, and Calls for Papers, will appear in the September issue of the *Bulletin*. Please consider attending and participating.

We are grateful to the following persons for their financial contributions for support of the work of the Council: Laura P. Appell-Warren, Robert F. Austin, Michael R. Dove, Sin-Fong Han, A. V. M. Horton, Allen R. Maxwell, Wilhelm Solheim, and Phillip L. Thomas. (If we have omitted your name, please forgive our oversight and send us a note so we can make proper acknowledgment in the next issue of the *Bulletin*. And, in the meantime, please accept our sincere thanks.)

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