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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

Commitments of reports on current and recent research already have been received for the next issue of the Bulletin. Inka Pekkanen has submitted a study of sound changes in Kadazan dialects of Sabah; Andrew P. Vayda will describe his research in Kalimantan; and George N. Appell will analyze the state and probable future of Bornean folklore. In addition, articles have been solicited from several scholars currently working in Borneo. Given the decline of field research during the past decade, it is encouraging indeed to receive both reports on and news concerning current projects.

It has been five years since the last "List of Fellows" was published. We have prepared a list which includes Fellows and individual subscribers for the next issue. If you anticipate a change of address and want to have an address listed different from our current one, please advise the Editor of any change prior to February 1, 1981.

We express our appreciation to the following persons for the continuing financial support of the Bulletin: J. P. Andriesse, J. B. Ave, Peter Beavitt, Ian Black, Gale Dixon, Jack Golson, Linda Amy Kimball, Christine Padoch, Raymond Rudes, C. H. Southwell, Peter Thomas, and William Wilder.

* THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

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

Support for the activities of the Council comes from subscriptions to the Borneo Research Bulletin, Fellowship fees, and contributions. Contributions have played a significant part in the support of the Council, and they are always welcome. (continued on page 71)

RESEARCH NOTES

THE UPPER MAHAKAM AREA

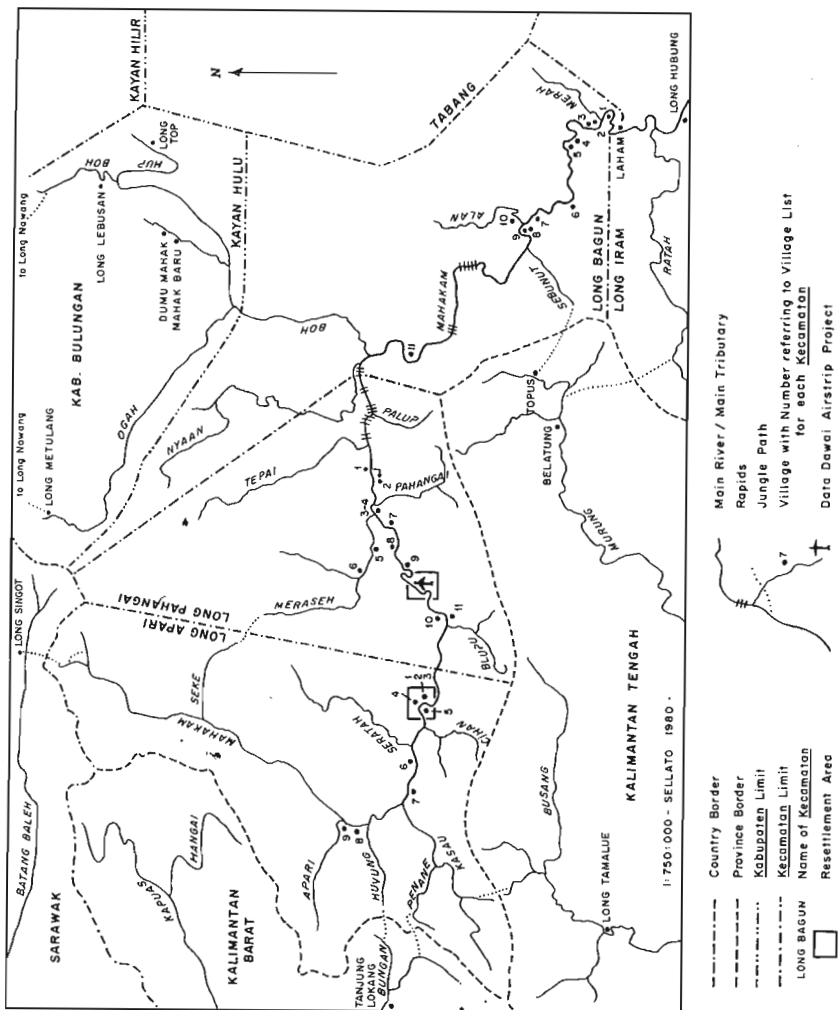
Bernard J. L. Sellato
Tiong Ohang, Kalimantan

The purpose of this paper is to give some geographical and ethnological information on a little known part of Indonesian East Kalimantan: the Upper Mahakam area. These data cover three *kecamatan*, Long Bagun, Long Pahangai, and Long Apari, in *kabupaten* Kutei. This area is about 15,000 square kilometers wide and its total population is about 8,300 persons. Access to the upper river is difficult because of a series of lengthy rapids and because there is no road or airstrip. On the other hand, there is very little traffic across the mountains to Central and West Kalimantan and to Sarawak. Hence, this area is economically undeveloped in comparison to the areas below the rapids.

A list of the villages and a list of the ethnic groups of the Upper Mahakam is given below. The Muller mountain range between East and West Kalimantan seems to have been the tribes still living in that vicinity, and also of tribes which long ago moved far away. Among the former are the Aoheng/Penihing, the Bukat, the Punan-Penyavung (Bungan, Belatung, Kereho), all of whom were still sago-eating nomads when the Kayan arrived. Among the latter are the Tunjung-Lingang (now in *kecamatan* Barong Tongkok), and probably also the Ot-Danum, or a part of them. The Uma'Suling, still farther downstream, and Uma'Wak, now in Long Bagun, while not native to the Muller range, spent much time there during the migration. Then came the Kayan from the Apokayan and the Busang along the Boh river, and the Bahau along the more eastern tributaries of the Mahakam. On the Upper Mahakam, the majority is called Bahau-Busang, while the Kayan are not considered Busang (and vice versa). The Busang language long ago became a lingua franca from Long Iram to Long Apari. About thirty years ago and continuing to the present, the Kenyah came from Apokayan, while newcomers from downriver are introducing Islam in the upper reaches of the Mahakam.

The Ethnic Groups

Bahau and Busang look upon themselves as two different groups. The self-acknowledged principal difference is in language. The Busang (or Bahau-jaan) say *jaan*, "no," while the Bahau (or Bahau-bate) say *bate*. A second difference relates to their locations. The Bahau area is *kecamatan* Long Iram (Laham, Tering, and Long Hubung). In the area considered in this paper (i.e., upriver) only Busang are to be found (*kecamatan* Long Bagun



and Long Pahangai). The Busang are divided into many small groups, each of which is independent and has its own *hipui* (raja). All of them consider themselves Busang and part of the Bahau group, and as sharing a common place of origin, the Apokayan. They differ in their histories and the routes and times of arrival in the Mahakam. Some came along the Boh River, most in fact, some came from Sarawak, and others possibly from West Kalimantan. Each small group had a specific dialect, but today most of these dialects are lost or incorporated into the lingua franca. The Uma' Suling dialect seems to be considered the original Busang language, while the Uma'Wak dialect sounds like Balui-Kayan. The Busang sub-groups are:

Uma'Asa, a small group in Long Hirai.

Uma'Tuan, their first place on the Mahakam being around Long Lunuk, where there are still 20 families. There are 15 families in Data Naha and seven families in Ujoh Bilang, which split off from Long Lunuk. Four families moved recently from Long Lunuk to Long Hubung Baru (*kecamatan* Long Iram), and some to Mamahak Hilir.

Uma'Wak, the original population of Long Bagun Hulu. They came from the Serantah River (*kecamatan* Long Apari) where they were living near or with the Uma'Suling.

Uma'Mahak, originally in Mamahak Hilir, where most of them still live. Seven families were transported from there to Data Naha by a former Long Gelat raja of Ujoh Bilang.

Uma'Suling, from the Batu Macan, on the upper Serantah, to Long Isun. Two groups from Long Isun found Long Pahangai and Long Lirei (or Naha Aru'). A group from Long Lirei moved to Lirung Ubing.

Uma'Pala (or Palo'), came from the Apokayan along the Boh and settled on the upper Danum Musan river, where they fought against and were defeated by the Long Gelat of Long Tuyu'. Five families followed the Long Gelat secession to Ujon Bilang.

Uma'Tepai, as the Uma'Pala, lost a war with the Long Gelat, no longer have a *hipui* of their own, and are under the authority of the Long Gelat raja of Long Tuyu'.

Uma'Lekue, an independent subgroup, formerly living in Liu Mulang, now all have moved to Long Tuyu'.

Uma'Urut, six families in Long Lunuk, three more families recently moved to Long Hubung Baru.

Uma'Sam, an important subgroup in the past, now only five families in Long Lunuk.

Bang Kelau, claim to have come from Sarawak, include five families in Long Lunuk and five which recently moved to Long Hubung Baru.

(Note: The Busang Uma'Luhut have been living on the Upper Mahakam (Palu' River), and long ago moved to Long Kelian (*kecamatan* Long Iram).

Long Gelat came from the Apokayan (Gelat River, Upper Bahau), and first settled at Long Gelat (Ogah River, Boh). They then moved to the Mahakam just above the rapids, where they defeated and dominated the Uma'Pala and the Uma'Tepai. The Long Gelat language is said to have been the same as that of the Long Wai and Modang, but has changed through Long Gelat contact with the Busang. Every Long Gelat can speak fluent Busang, but almost no Busang can speak Long Gelat. Their historic center is around Long Tuyu' and Long Tepai, but some groups went to Long Lunuk, where eight

families live today, and to Ujoh Bilang, with eleven families. In Data Naha, there are eight families from Ujoh Bilang, settled there by a former rajah of Ujoh Bilang. Two more families moved from Long Lunuk to Long Hubung Baru recently.

Kayan, came from the Apokayan and defeated a few small local tribes. Through assimilation of their many slaves, their language changed. Both Busang and Kayan consider themselves different groups. The Kayan always have been strongly united, forming only one large village, now Long Kuling (Long Paka'), until recently when some moved downriver to Long Melaham (population, 350), to Laham (ten families, *kecamatan* Long Iram), and a few families to Ujoh Bilang.

Aoheng are called Penihing by the Busang, and are comprised of five sub-groups of different origins:

Long Apari, the only apparent autochthonous tribe, living as sago-eating nomads on the uppermost tributaries of the Mahakam up to the middle of the last century. Twenty families moved from the large village of Long Apari to Ujoh Bilang.

Kerio, considered a group which seceded from Long Apari long ago.

Huvung, originated pro parte from the Apokayan and small nomadic tribes from the sources of the Kapuas, settling on the Huvung River. They now live in Lirung Aham.

Tiong Bu'u, seem to be a blend of small tribes from the sources of the Mahakam, of Uma'Suling and of Punan-Seratah (Punan-Merah). Their village today is Akeng Noha.

Cihan, part of whom seem to have come from the Apokayan and across Sarawak to the Upper Kapuas and to have intermarried with local nomadic tribes. They migrated to the Cihan River to which they gave the name of their former center in the Apokayan (the Cihan River on the middle Boh). Their main village now is Tiong Ohang, from which a group recently moved to Long Bagun Hilir, and ten families to Laham.

All these groups consider themselves as forming one tribe, although they have no common rajah. Their language is the same (Aoheng), with only slight differences in accent from one group to another. Aoheng is close to Punan-Penyaving, but Aoheng speakers cannot understand Bukat at all.

The Seputan are part of the Penihing linguistic group today, although they say their language previously was completely different. They also say that they always have lived on the Kasau-Penane basin, and that they originate from two former tribes, one of which was probably similar to Negrito groups. These nomads settled down and took up agriculture by the beginning of this century. Afterwards, their three clans gathered in Long Penane and moved to Long Mutai in 1970 where they established three villages. Some families from Long Mutai 1 moved to Batu Berang near Long Kelian.

Bukat are part of the Bukat group of the Upper Kapuas, and episodically followed the farming activities of the Huvung subgroup from the end of the last century. About 50 years ago they took up swidden agriculture with the help of the Long Apari subgroup. Their village is still in Noha Tivap.

Ot Danum came from up the Mahakam and settled at Long Boh and Long Nyaan, near the rapids. They then moved to Batu Kelau, and a few families are in Long Bagun Hulu. They seem to form a small part of the original Ot Danum population of the Upper Mahakam. Their language has almost disappeared through contacts with other groups; the area between Long Boh and Long Bagun, despite the rapids, is a sort of crossroads.

Bakumpai came from Central Kalimantan, settling long ago in the Ratah River area and on the Mahakam Hulu. There are some in almost every village below the rapids, and a few upriver. The Bakumpai have converted to Islam.

Malays settled years ago in Delang Krohong. Though not numerous, they are still Moslems but have been culturally and linguistically assimilated by their Kayan neighbors of Long Kuling.

Punan, i.e., the so-called Punan-Merah, have been moving to the Upper Mahakam. About 1900 they were found around the Upper Seratah, then on the Meraseh about 1925 to 1930, later on the Nyaan. Recently, they have been resettled from the Upper Merah to Long Merah.

Kenyah are newcomers to the Mahakam, although they often raided this area in the past.

Uma'Tukung came from Sungai Barang (Upper Kayan) to Long Mujut (Lower Boh), and then to Batu Majang.

Lepu Tau moved from Long Nawang and settled in Rukun Damai. This village, although larger, is still part of *desa* Long Merah, but will soon be given the statute of *desa* on its own.

Other Kenyah groups moved through the Upper Mahakam from the Boh downstream. The Uma'Jalan, from Long Ampung (Apokayan), first stayed at Data Bunyoh (Lower Boh), and then settled in the large village of Data Bilang (*kecamatan* Long Iram), together with a fraction of the Uma'Bakung of Metulang (Upper Ogah River). The Upper Boh and Ogah area, formerly part of *kecamatan* Long Bagun, is now part of *kecamatan* Kayan Hulu (*kabupaten* Bulungan); several Kenyah villages in this area, Metulang and Mahak Baru (Uma'Bakung), Dumu Mahak, Long Iebusan, and the Punang village of Long Top (Hu' River), are now officially depending on Long Nawang.

Miscellaneous groups live in the Upper Mahakam area in addition to those already discussed. These form no separate communities and include Siang, Murung, Punan-Murung, Tunjung, Bugis, Kutai, some Javanese, and a few Chinese.

The Villages

kecamatan Long Bagun included 11,750 square kilometers, within which is the Boh-Ogah area, but has been reduced to 6,500 square kilometers. The population is 4,069 persons, living in 11 villages which are, from downstream:¹

Long Hurai: Busang Uma'Asa, population 126 (77 Catholics, 36 Moslems, and ten Protestants).

Long Merah: Punan-Merah, some Aoheng and Busang; population 137 (74 Catholics, 14 Moslems, and 36 Protestants).²

Rukun Damai: Kenyah Lepu Tau; population, 620 (Protestants).
 Mamahak Hilir: Busang Uma'Mahak and Uma'Tuan; population, 663 (Catholics).
 Mamahak Hulu: Bakumpai; population, 236 (Moslems).
 Long Melaham: Kayan and some Bakumpai; population, 379 (318 Catholics, 61 Moslems).
 Ujoh Bilang: capital village; original population, Long Gelat (11 families), Busang Uma'Tuan (seven families), Busang Uma'Pala (five families). Others include Tunjung from Damai, other Busang groups, Bakumpai, Bugis, Kutai, and Kayan. Kampung Baru, a little downstream: Aoheng Long Apari (20 families). Total population, 884 (676 Catholics, 146 Moslems, 15 Protestants, 47 traditional religion).
 Long Bagun Hilir: Aoheng Cihan; population, 244 (224 Catholics, 20 Moslems).
 Long Bagun Hulu: original population, Busang Uma'Wak (15 families). Others include Ot Danum, Aoheng, Punang-Murung, Siang, Kayan, Bakumpai, Bugis and Javanese. Total population, 370 (254 Catholics, 51 Moslems, and 65 traditional religion).
 Batu Majang: Kenyah Uma'Tukung, population, 310 (271 Catholics, 36 Protestants).
 Batu Kelau: original population, Ot Danum. Others are Siang, Aoheng, Busang, Punan-Murung, Kayan, and Bakumpai; population, 100 (33 Catholics, 5 Moslems, and 62 traditional religion).

Kecamatan Long Pahangai has an area of 3700 square kilometers and a population of 4,016. The villages from downstream are:³
 Liu Mulang: Busang Uma'Lekue; abandoned.
 Long Tuyo': original population, Long Gelat, Busang Uma'Pala, and Uma'Tepai (397). Newcomers include Busang Uma'Lekue from Liu Mulang (119 persons), which still hold the statute of *desa*. An overwhelming majority is Catholic. Long Pahangai has been divided into two *desa*: Long Pahangai 1, population, 870 Busang Uma'Suling, and the capital of *kecamatan*, and Long Pahangai 2, population, 235 Busang Uma'Suling. Newcomers in both villages include other Busang, Kayan, and Bugis. The bulk of the population is Catholic, but there are about 200 Moslems, mostly in Long Pahangai 2, and a mosque is being built.
 Naha Aru': Uma'Suling, population, 176.⁴
 Long Isun: Uma'Suling, population, 360. Both Naha Aru' and Long Isun are on the Meraseh River.
 Data Naha: Busang Uma'Tuan (15 families), Busang Uma'Mahak (7 families), Long Gelat (8 families), comprising a population of 188 persons.
 Lirung Ubung: Busang Uma'Suling, and a few Busang Bang Kelau; population, 249.
 Long Lunuk: Busang Uma'Tuan (20 families), Long Gelat (eight families), Busang Uma'Urut (six families), Busang Uma'Sam (five families), Busang Bang Kelau (five families); population, 467.
 Long Kuling: Kayan; population, 873.
 Delang Krohong: Kayanized Malays; population, 84 Moslems with mosque.

Kecamatan Long Apari includes about 5,000 square kilometers. (The official figure of 63,000 square kilometers is highly questionable). The villages from downstream are:
 Long Mutai 3: Seputan from Long Penane; population, 98.
 Long Mutai 2: Seputan from Long Penane; population, 90.
 Long Mutai 1: Seputan from Long Penane; population, 189.

Long Kerio: Aoheng Kerio; population, 250.
 Tiong Ohang: Aoheng Cihan, a few Busang, Kayan, and Bugis; the capital village, population, 303. There are about a dozen Moslems, mostly civil servants.
 Akeng Noha (also known as Tiong Bu'u): Aoheng Tiong Bu'u; population, 267.
 Lirung Aham: Aoheng Huvung; population, 224.
 Noha Tivap: Bukat; population, 131.
 Long Apari: Aoheng Long Apari; population, 616.

New Horizons

While the *kecamatan* Long Bagun is connected to small downriver market-towns such as Long Iram by traders' river boats (the village of Long Bagun being their last stop), the two other *kecamatan* are above the rapids and can only be reached by longboats. Only small-scale trade has penetrated there, and essential items reach very high prices. (The price of a package of salt in Long Apari is ten to twenty times the price in Samarinda, and salt is not always available.) Because of these difficult living conditions, and the total lack of jobs, the two *kecamatan* above the rapids have lost about one-fourth of their population in the last ten years. The Indonesian government is now launching a resettlement program (RESPEN for *Resetelmen Penduduk*) in the area above the rapids. An airstrip will be cleared in Data Dawai, and the population from several villages, including those between Data Naha and Delang Krohong, will be resettled in a large village close to the airstrip. Upstream, all the villages from Akeng Noha to Long Apari will be moved close to Tiong Ohang. Then, because the government wants to protect primary jungle and forbids *ladang liar* (swidden cultivation), the population is expected to adopt wet-rice cultivation with the help of government experts. At the same time, secondary schools (SMP), health centers (PUSKESMAS) with a doctor, and other facilities will be built in the resettlement centers. Handicrafts and traditional arts will be stimulated. The RESPEN program will be officially launched for *kecamatan* Long Apari by the middle of 1980, and even if the area above the rapids cannot really develop economically and prices remain high because of transportation costs, at least the people's lives will be easier, especially when tourism begins to flow in.

Notes

1. The population and religion statistics are for the year 1979, issued in January 1980 by the *kecamatan* office in Ujoh Bilang.
2. The major religious groups are Roman Catholics, Protestants, Moslems and self-declared "animists" or persons practicing their traditional religion.
3. The population statistics are for the year 1979, issued in January 1980 from the *kecamatan* office in Long Pahangai.
4. When there is no indication of religion, it can be assumed that the population is 95 percent Catholic.
5. The population statistics are for the year 1979, issued in January 1980 from the *kecamatan* office in Tiong Ohang. Statistics for religion indicate that the population of the *kecamatan* is almost 100 percent Catholic.

LOOKING AT ORAL LITERATURE:

INTERPRETATION, THE TAKNA' LAWE', AND KAYAN INEQUALITY

Stephanie Morgan
University of Wisconsin

The essay immediately following was prepared as a preface to the second volume of Carol Rubenstein's collection of oral material from Sarawak, soon to be published by Ohio University Press. That volume, called The Flying Silver Message Stick and containing several long Iban, Bidayuh and Kelabit narrative songs, has since been combined with the first volume of shorter works into a single book (The Honey Tree Song: Poems, Chants, and Epics of Sarawak Dayaks). Prefaces to the second volume had to be omitted; this one is presented here for what interest there may be in its brief survey, for the general reader, of some of the possible emic and etic responses to traditional oral literature. Following it are introductory remarks on the oral text with which I myself have been privileged to work, the Kayan epic cycle *Takna' Lawe'*, with a few instances of the type of contribution it may make toward ethnographic interpretation.

Bornean poetry is song, as Carol Rubenstein saw: shared experiences, a time-honored collaboration between singer's abilities and hearers' needs. Song-themes with no echo in life are the soonest to be forgotten; this is happening now wherever perceived needs change, and it is a process that has produced between each oral literature and its culture congruences complex enough to awe readers aware of all they must miss. But the first hearers of the songs may themselves respond on multiple levels, taking them as prescriptive or cathartic, as models for perception, as dramatic art, wordplay, fun; at least a glance at these presumed effects could suggest ways for those of us not of a culture to approach its oral poetry, and some of the reactions that we and its hearers can share.

Easiest to trace are direct parallels between Bornean literature and its context, especially perhaps through the shorter songs in Rubenstein's collection, whose arrangement by topic brings out the family likenesses in theme and style that justify a certain amount of pan-Dayak generalization. Here human relationships with wild nature, tame animals and grain, with other humans in love and war and structured society, with spiritual powers in and above all, appear linked by metaphor in a pattern that lends even exact description some of the energy of charter myth, bonding hearers in the assurance that there is unity and value in all they do. We may feel something similar as themes recur, each time better known, gaining in impact as their relationships emerge; in this the songs show their artistic autonomy, serving as guides to their own conventions. That these are conventions, not simple reflections of perceived experience, is clear from material in the songs that goes beyond social or natural law, presenting an ideal or a warning; both can still be seen as stabilizing, a harmless release for tensions the laws' limits create. It would follow that oral literature affirms customary values by definition, however it deals with them; a familiar tenet, still useful but static in its focus on ultimate ends. Even a society slow to change finds expression in its literature on many levels between the literal

and the compensatory, with a range of meaning that the songs exploit to immediate dramatic and transcendent effect.

The longer narrative songs provide most scope for complex creative maneuvering, more perhaps than their content reveals. Their world, vividly Bornean, peopled by individuals we follow in action long enough to know, permeated with spiritual power in patterns marked by events startling for all their logic, has the range and force of subjective reality; but it might be predicted that their singers would confirm what details of the songs suggest, that this is something other than our world of ground-level humans. Song-tales in many Bornean cultures, like invocations and soul-journeys, draw upon a category of beings with their own particular name and nature, comprehensively described for Kayans by Pastor A. J. Ding Ngo with S. Lii' Long in supplement to the latter's long epic, the *Takna' Lawe'*: Borneans of the spirit world, not the human dead but cousins to humans by descent from the law-giving deities, intermediate between the two in spiritual power, intimate with spirits animal and monstrous, but in their way of life entirely human, able even to die. There can be considerable advantage in protagonists as capable of multi-levelled meaning as the tales themselves: they lend their own prestige and power to human custom both by following it and indirectly, by showing the exceptional vigor it takes to break it; and in their explicit interaction with spiritual powers and beings they act out the deeper dynamics that structure both the social and natural worlds, patterning human perceptions, helping to create the subjective world to which the songs in turn give the force of institution. Slight daily fears and mysteries are shown to have meaning, made part of a whole that takes in the most profound: even the dying may take some comfort in future neighbors already familiar, as well as in a way of life which proves that humans can be immortal. The souls' guide, the shaman, may himself find a personal model among the spirit-people: the common tale-theme of quest, the hero's search for some way to restore a damaged harmony, seems in outline and detail (reshaping on a blacksmith's forge, journeys to other levels of the cosmos, even the flying, speaking drum that some Kelabit epics show as silver) to be a refraction or artistic recreation of prototypical shamanic experience. As sung, then, whether the singer feels the quest as his own or simply makes use of it, it can become a self-perpetuating pattern for humans with a gift for transcendence; and like other songs of the spirits it affirms by the very fact of its formal existence that vision—dangerous enough to require of any who deal in its specific training and soul-protection—can be tamed, structured, its power put to use.

Between song-content and hearer stands the song as its singer performs it, language heightened into drama by its delivery, sometimes by chorus, costume or dance, commonly too by atmosphere, the surrounding night, tired hearers' tension, rice beer: a multi-levelled event in itself, essential for the full expression of the singer's power and skill. All that survives transcription is the language; at least in the investment of effort made to follow it, inescapable whatever the translation, we share one specific response with most of its first hearers. The language of Bornean poetry, suitable as speech to spirits or of them and borrowed even in secular songs, typically blends archaic words, dialect, loans; it may pile up synonyms, invert word order; it can change as sung, simply for euphony; and like oral style in every culture it is dense with capsule formula and multi-faceted repetition.

In all of this it parallels content, ranging like the spirit-people themselves between mundane and cryptically esoteric; and like its own metaphoric linkages and form, it can be seen as an assurance of an ultimate order, an affirmation that in what seems arbitrary there is attainable meaning, though it may be known fully to experts or even to spirits alone. Readers not of a similar culture, however familiar they become with the natural details, the symbols and stories upon which metaphor and formula build, may find it hard to feel more than the presence of that unifying vision. Not for some centuries has the ideal Western poet been an initiate, the trained custodian of traditional mystery, bard; the logic of written poetry is personal, permanent in form and transient in substance rather than the reverse; the singer as channel for social forces, shaper of a set of mind that serves social ends, seems at least as exotic as in the role of seer or seer's colleague, soul-endangered wrestler with the elements of shamanic inspiration. But perhaps just this loss of faith in a universal order may free us to accept it as an aesthetic choice, to enter the singer's world while the song lasts, as we do to the limit of our knowledge and ability for artists of any place or time. However close and subtle the bonds between a song and its tradition, speaking through it, giving it voice in specific acts of art, is a living individual; this is the universal fully shared, the human flesh on ethnography's bones; and here it is thanks to Carol Rubenstein if, when Borneans themselves have no choice but to respond as we must now, this voice will still be heard.

The reference above to the *Takna' Lawe'* was at the time of writing more private than practical; within the next few months, however, an introduction (emic art etc) to this remarkable Kayan song-cycle will be available from the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin (4113 Helen C. White Hall). In its present form, the *Takna'* consists of five separate tales, all centered on a single spirit-hero: *Lawe'* (515 verses), *Nyalo* (1874), *Juk Apui* (796), *To' Magung* (1902), and *Lirung Buaa'* (1965). All have been transcribed by their singer, Lii' Long of the Mendalam in West Kalimantan, with the encouragement of the area's Kayan Pastor A. J. Ding Ngo, who then typed them, standardizing spelling and punctuation, and translated them line by line into Indonesian. I made preliminary English translations of the two shortest texts (the first completed) in the Mendalam in 1973, with the help of the Pastor's versions and both men's advice; since then I have continued to work on the tales as I received them, first through the Indonesian, then from the original Kayan texts sent earlier to Dr. Jérôme Rousseau of McGill University. His help with comparative data on the culture and language of Balui Kayans (most similar in both to the Mendalam), along with older published research both English and Dutch, have been highly valuable supplements to the mass of information provided by Pastor Ding in his notes, correspondence and travel journals, primary source so far for my translations, glossaries and interpretations.

The tales share a uniform and highly formalized style: each verse contains from two to fifteen lines (averaging just under seven), all with a common final rhyme except for the last and longest, which ends with one of 27 names or nouns each of which leads to a specific six-syllable chorus. Other

fixed formulas are repeated throughout, the most frequent being the fifty or so praise-names for noblemen or (half) for Lawe' alone, stressing physical and spiritual power, with an equal number that qualify a woman by her radiance. Words identical but for their endings, groups of tied adjectives and of synonyms clustered around focal words (twenty for river, eight for cigarettes or *sirih*), all like the praise-names form sets of alternatives available to fill out a rhyme, and so also to fit single subjects into the different rhyme-schemes of distant or juxtaposed parallel verses. These basic elements combine to make up the formulaic descriptions, sequences and episodes that recur in many different contexts, with variation in length or detail (common among them are accounts of travel, dressing, dancing, feasting and battle, and the recital of a noble's past). This is the diction of epic poetry, source of the creative singer's paradigms, the natural body for idea in every scene (narrative, dramatic, descriptive) but in some brought into particular prominence. A reliable and readable translation needs to try to preserve this continuity of form, without letting style outweigh content where content matters most, or content outweigh style where the effects created are primarily poetic. This foregrounding of language is generally a function of repetition, which itself can help to maintain some of the rhythm of the original; it may even help to justify taking into account the aural value of possible equivalents as well as their precision, by providing contexts within which connotations may shift and shades of meaning emerge more naturally than through the notes and glossaries alone. The most satisfactory among equivalents, though, are those which happen to be literal, meaningful and poetic all in one, slightly jolting the reader, creating a confrontation with the strange or unexpectedly familiar (shining spirit-tiger, sleep-sending night, the joining of earth and sky); and this culture-based dislocation is one of the commonest sources of the tales' effect

The *Takna'*, like all other Mendalam Kayan spirit-stories and invocations, take place in the upper world (*tanaa' usun*), along the river Kalimaan that has its source in the mountains beyond Apolagaan, the great peak that rises nearly to the over-arching sky. Midway down its left bank as it flows live the huma dead, in the headwaters of the tributary Telaangjulaan; all along the right bank, by tributaries and in the hills behind them, live the beings who give the tales their name, the noble spirits or *takna' paran*. The life they lead is traditionally Kayan, in underlying order and in detail; or rather Kayan life is theirs, for these are the customs first taught to humans in the Apo Kayan by the highest *takna'* under the sky, descendant of Tipang Tanangaan who lives above the sun, the quick-tempered Ine Aya' (or Daya' Ipui) of Apolagaan. She still has her home there even in the time of Lawe', her own descendant through her great-grandson Hengaan, trapped in a banyan for daring to hunt her squirrel, and the son (Tuaang Linge) begot by Hingaan's shadow. Lawe' showed his noble's power from the start: born a year late, he vanished, and spent two years in the Kalimaan before being discovered by a poor commoner woman, Buring of Lung Burak, in the belly of a prawn. She named him Balawaan, and raised him as her own. As he grew he made an enemy of the old ruler's headstrong house-guest Ipui Mebaang, and a playmate and friend of her daughter Karigit, whose life he once restored by sending out his soul to bring hers home; at last, when he robbed his own tomb-grove, his descent was revealed. He went on to win wealth, fame and captive followers in formal wars, married a dozen noble wives up and down the Kalimaan, and built himself a new longhouse beside the old.

All this and much more we know from stories in prose, *lung*, and from passing references in the *Takna'* as it presently stands; for here the first of the tales begins, following Lawe' through a single pleasant day at Lung Burak, setting the scene for any one of the adventures to come. It starts with a call on its hero's forbearance (Lawe' is present in the singer, lending him the power to perform), and goes on to guide the hearer's gaze from the shore bright with ripe *rambutan* to the longhouse roofed with fine carvings and sometimes with fire, then to the happily crowded veranda where Lawe' sits, deadly, red-headed and serene, carving pierced patterns in bone. To this noble pastime he returns at the end of this and every other tale, here after taking a meal prepared by his foster sister, bathing in the clear *Kalimaan*, playing *kaldii'* and *sape'* for dancers in the evening (one comic collapse, one lyric solo) and staying till cockcrow in the old longhouse with Karigit, now his *hawa' isui* or night-visited wife, dazzling but (until tricked out of it) disconcertingly cold. Details can be found in the forthcoming paper, which contains a full translation; with it are extensive summaries of the four longer adventure-tales, in each of which the peace of Lawe''s home life undergoes violent disruption.

In the first of these tales, Karigit's jealous curse drives Lawe' off to the headwaters to hunt for the noble lady Nyalo, whose powers and sense of decorum far surpass his. Brought by his obsessed search to death and beyond, he at last has himself eight times reforged, made perfect, by ironworkers who also give him a flying sword and a coat of rain that cools him even in the fires of the sun in which Nyalo waits. Both sword and coat then serve him in his reluctant duel with the admirable but rash Juk Apui, torch of the headwaters, come from upriver to make a name for himself by beleaguering Lung Burak. The third tale is in two parts: summoned by Ipui Mebaang to win Karigit as a wife stopping the rain, robbed on the way by Lawe' of his drought-bringing charmstone, the unusually inhuman To' Magung devastates the upper *Kalimaan* with an army Lawe can halt only by calling down a storm of derris-poison. Subsequently, peace restored, Lawe' marries his sisters to three of his allies and tries their power and his wives' on the banyan that swallowed his grandfather; not even Nyalo can dent it, so at last he splits it himself and, after luring Ine Aya's daughter to his aid, dances around Hingaan's bones until they join and he comes alive. In the fourth tale, Karigit's obedience to her scolding mother rather than to Lawe' leads to her abduction by Lirung Buaa'; when her absence starts to trouble him Lawe' takes up the challenge, heading downstream past his sisters' new homes, dragons and a wall of fire, to Lirung's longhouse. Putting everyone in it to sleep, he carries off Lirung's sister Lalang, kills their mother for ordering the raid, then tests Karigit by posing as Lirung and his own ghost; proved still fond, she ransacks Lirung's fine things while Lawe' steals his flying boat. Lirung discovers his losses next day, and grieves that he has nothing left, not even finery to keep his captive sister from being shamed; he fights, and Lawe' kills him. Back at Lung Burak, Lalang takes Lawe's foster sister's former place as commensal, becoming his true wife (*hawa' laan*), much to Karigit's fiery distaste, until the elders settle the issue by promising her the rule of the old longhouse. Here these tales end; but some say that when long afterward both houses turn to stone and Lawe' vanishes, it is Karigit whom he saves.

Even these summaries of summaries suggest the material's complexity and its consistency, not only in style and theme but in characterization and narrative structure. Each tale is self-contained and internally coherent (even in "To' Magung" the second part is linked to the first by the presence of the same people and of piles of enemy bone), and each is also neatly cyclical: which lends particular interest to the minor evidence, most of it mentioned above, by which in every case but one the tales can be placed in linear order. They may of course be analyzed as parallel sources, to bring out the variation of elements within repeated sequences: To' Magung's invasion can be paired with Juk Apui, enemy alien with enemy brother, as can Lawe's quests for Nyalo and Karigit (in both disobedience sends Lawe' away, upstream or down; failure and grief are first his, then his enemy's; success in each case is partial, neither woman becoming a true wife, for if Karigit is what her odd relationship with Lawe' suggests, something of a surrogate sister, Nyalo as it happens turns out to be his mother's). But it is also possible to view the tales as a single text, shifts in structure as developing dynamics, reflecting for instance the increase in Lawe''s power, the gradual humbling of Ipui Mebaang into acceptance of his rank, the decline of the old longhouse's aging ruler from strength through ineffectual comedy into oblivion. Only field study could determine to what extent such processes may be meant and understood; the least one can say is that these relationships in all their gradations must be present, consciously or unconsciously, to experienced hearers as they listen, and that this must enrich many episodes with allusive resonances, creating an intertextual depth that could not appear from an analysis of style or performance alone. So compared, events often reveal themselves as linked, characters as individualized: behavior grows from the narrative context and from actors' background motivations and idiosyncracies, which emerge not only in what they do but in what they say. Despite the upward-levelling effect of poetic diction, it would be hard to deny the personal quality of speeches such as Lirung's to his sister (below) or Ipui Mebaang's to Karigit: "Now when I was a young girl, when the sun showed over the mountain's rim I'd already been to the river; you girls of nowadays, you sleep late, you're afraid to fetch water--up with you! That's what you do, hah, when Balawaan Buring comes to visit you!" (LB 55-8).

This and the occasional presentation of simultaneous action, as again in the early scenes of "Lirung Buaa'" (Lirung in ambush across the river, Karigit paddling over, Lawe' fuming at the sound), define a literature of considerable sophistication. As epic, and heroic epic, the tales may indeed better embody the expectations of people raised on Homer than do certain more courtly coastal genres; it may also be that Lii' Long is a tale-shaper of truly exceptional qualities. Once again, only field research could treat these questions directly: related accounts of the *Takna'*, Lii' Long's presentation of them, other singers handling of *Takna'* Lawe' episodes, all would provide valuable comparative material; and this could in fact still be obtained. In the Mendalam, Pastor Ding has long been at work on *dayung* (spiritual specialists' invocations), prose tales and other *Takna'*, one of which, involving Lawe''s son by Nyalo, Lii' Long has already transcribed; while in the Balui in Sarawak, homeland of Lii' Long's own teacher's teacher Nyulaang, there still exists a popular genre eponymously called *belawan*, among which are direct parallels to Lii' Long's works (Benedict

Sandin has recorded a version of Hingaa's entrapment: 1975:55, 61-2). Study of these tales could illumine questions of structural variation, of organization and of symbolic correspondence (Ingan in the Balui, for instance, is half-petrified instead of treed) as well as the process of oral transmission itself.

The tales about Lawe', though their singers may be specialists in ritual and their audience have gathered for one, themselves seem to serve no instrumental purpose: people listen to them for the pleasure they give. This could contribute toward making their presentation of Kayan culture rather more flexibly realistic than that of openly didactic stories, like the myth of origin analyzed by Rousseau (219); it might also make it more persuasive (cf. Peacock 243-5). The vivid particularity with which the tales portray human universals does seem also to be a feature of their treatment of specifically Kayan detail: earstuds of hornbill ivory, for instance, first glossed in the Mendalam as poetic hyperbole, proved to have indeed existed as symbols of exceptional success (Hose and McDougall I:45: interesting in view of the fact that Lawe' wears them, rather than leopard's teeth, only in the last tale). This and other literally verifiable depictions of details of level-spanning symbolism enhance the tales' value as sources, as they do their their effects. The culture the tales present is traditionally Kayan, stable and premodern (the most recently introduced item in it seems to be *sirih*, adopted within the last century into the long-established symbolic pattern of cigarettes): even to Kayans this is a world increasingly foreign. That it is may shift the focus of the tales' impact, without necessarily impairing it: for aesthetic response to the texts is necessarily dual, part comfortable pleasure in familiar things, part that intermittent disorientation Barthes called bliss (the Housmanic or hedgehog reaction: *hérissage*). What hearers and readers find familiar may be daily detail, as for traditional Kayans, or common human drama; the strange may be manifestations of spiritual power, or the entire fabric of traditional custom and belief. Through this aesthetic dialectic, qualified as it must be (for spirit-manifestations also may be perceived as daily or dramatic), the tales produce a more highly integrated image of reality, of the Kayan cosmos and of human potential: and so provide access, on levels subjective and analytical, to a highly complex cultural code (the Mendalam dialect of Kayan, itself a dialect of Bornean, Bornean of what might be called paleo-Asian) through which the deeper levels of human experience find specific expression.

The code's subtlety might be suggested by a look at raw material for its analysis, one brief outline of some of the immediate contexts of a single word. "You'll be struck by the drops of spattering rain, beloved sister," says Lirung to Lalang in Lawe's grasp: "People speak once, beloved, and you stand, they speak twice and you set out, for you are captive to the drawn sword, you wait for others' words" (LB 1423-4). Rain may refer to her loss of shelter, possibly also to Lirung's tears; but it also is the commonest symbol of war ("...these are the men that Lawe' trusts in times of heavy rain, when he stands in battle...": L68). The specific link is the *bahui uvan*, the *kudi* storm which Mendalam Kayans ascribe to four arcane causes, only one of which is mockery of animals. More usual, to go by Karigit's first fear when one wakes her in "Juk Apui", is imminent battle;

but the storm may also mean (as Lawe' tells her this does, falsely) only that migrating wild pigs are swimming the river upstream. Its most catastrophic consequence is petrification, the destruction of an entire longhouse, commonly expressed (as by Lirung a few verses later) in the image of wild pigs' rooting up the ground on which it stood. Proximate cause of the storm is the wrath of Balare', Thunder, who sometimes appears in the shape of a boar whose tongue is lightning, whose teeth are said to have torn the trees that lightning strikes, his urine to have killed them; Balare' (or Dale') is also a noble's name or praise-name, one given in fact to the old ruler at Lung Burak whom Lawe' now surpasses (also Puvan, storm-rouser). Lawe' himself was briefly fostered by spirits of red lightning, and enters battle like it against To' Magung; and when in "Lawe'" he grins to himself at his trick's success, his head on Karigit's thigh, the flash of his teeth reminds her of lightning from the mountainside, and her exclamation evokes a type of apparition startling and sometimes deadly (*malian*, a word with extensive Bornean echos: *pemali*, *pelian*, *balian*, *bali*, *Balan*, *Balawaan* ...).

Through correspondences such as these it might be possible to trace the entire system out from any single image: a system within which the material, plant/animal and spiritual orders of being help to clarify the social because they reflect it, proving it as natural as nature, the ideal embodiment of forces universally active. Such is Lawe'; and he and other noble *takna'*, as they act out the noble's role, can provide interesting perspectives on the relationship of rank to the possession and control of economic and spiritual power. Lawe' of course begins his life at Lung Burak with no other patrimony than raw descent (and a necklace that later proves it); the increase in his power naturally is a major theme. On the most familiar, material level, from background stories through the four adventures, it is possible to trace the ways in which success reinforces success. As a youngster, like many human nobles (Rousseau 226), Lawe' broadens his views by travel, and by living with (and in) a number of foster parents. By character and energy he gains friends almost as effective in war as he is; battle wins him booty and followers, captives but commoners, who secure his subsistence through fieldwork, help to pay for his far-ranging marital alliances (at least if he brought his other wives, as he does Nyalo, even temporarily home), and provide ready manpower for transport, construction and further productive wars (cf. Rousseau 225-7). In the course of the tales themselves he gains new ties (Nyalo, three brothers-in-law), local prestige (he becomes Lung Burak's prime defender, turned to when the old ruler fails: cf. Rousseau 233), all the gongs, jars, swords, finery, and surviving people of Lirung's longhouse, and far-reaching fame. In short, he becomes all that (by etymology) defines his rank, *hipui* (*hipun umaa'*, possessor of a longhouse, i.e., of followers), *maran* (one who has a name, *aran*: notable, distinguished, glorious; also brightly shining, below), and *jayaa'* (successful, prosperous, rich: Barth).

Fame and fortune, then, seem to be essential components of noble rank from the Kayan as well as the materialist point of view; but as Rousseau has noted, rank is the expression of an ideology that has its own autonomous importance as a determinant of behavior (1974:414-5). Lawe's achievement of power over goods and people, as far as it is specified in the tales (we meet him in the first already well-established), presents itself to Kayans

primarily as the dramatic parallel to and consequence of his inherent quality. For every reference in praise-names or formulas to the noble's social role (almost always as host of the harvest festival, occasionally as arbiter), there are many more to details of Lawe's ancestry and childhood: that is, to the sources and early evidence of his spiritual power (*ningaan*: the active form, characteristically most common). He has and demonstrates this not by virtue of being *takna'*, a spirit, but because as a spirit he can manifest openly the power that belongs to human nobles by right of descent. By far the most frequent praise-names and formulas refer to this, invoking noble animals real or spirit (leopard, omen-hawk, tigerdog, hornbill), chamstones and radiance, and above all plants that sting, burn or poison: effects that like withering light or animal fierceness represent the harm (*parit*) that contact with power can cause to those with less, an automatic sanction against presumption. Born with power, nobles can be dangerous; so they tend to be the focus of attention, space is made around them, and people listen when they talk. Prestige, and certainly confidence, then are theirs by effect of birth; both undoubtedly enhanced by the outside sources of power their own enables them to contact and control, some inherited (spirit-helpers and spirit-powered goods, charms, and symbolic ornaments) and some acquired. Lawe' himself shows certain specific powers from birth (to vanish, to send out his soul, to call upon his ancestor Tipang Tanangaan and by that aid to repair and heal); but as his material power increases so too does the amount of spiritual power available to him, in charms, equipment and the help given him by animal or elder spirit-beings, from the one who in his childhood gave him hair like curly flame up to those who carried out his spectacular eightfold refoing. Material and spiritual power are coupled in formula (*ningaan jayaa'*) and also in belief: good harvests, good luck in battle, prestige and political influences all are manifestations of personal power, ways in which it relates to the social and natural orders. The power to succeed may be sought directly, in material form or through dream-mediated relationships; but Kayans seem to place more emphasis upon the other aspect of the equation, logically primary (success depending as much as it does upon factors beyond human and individual control), the presumption that success itself reveals power possessed or gained. Non-nobles, for instance, who through their prosperity and persuasive wisdom achieve a political role, the elders of *kalunaan aya'*, show by this that they must have what spiritual specialists possess by vocation, nobles by birth, "strong souls' and spirit helpers" (Rousseau 221). Both together define power's action: in each case an intrinsic, generalized quality enables its possessor to make use of specific outside aid, as for instance a helper's entry into a shaman lends her the power to send out her own soul, or into a singer the power to create new spirit-embodiments in song.

The underlying principle seems to be that of boundaries transcended, communication established between categories otherwise alien: which in itself is a fair definition of the noble's role, in actuality as in the tales. The harvest festival given such emphasis in formula (*dange: ledoh* in the Balui, one of its eight poetic synonyms) brings together fam-scattered families, neighboring communities and spirit guests in a single joyful harmony: by birth and experience, the ruler responsible is more at ease with both external realms than any of his people. Among them as well he mediates, resolving conflicts, having the last word (as Balare' *unaang tangaraan*: Thunder, severer

of talk). The image the formula projects of his authority is however somewhat idealized: noble success over people, political effect, is less the result of rank than part of its definition. Too overbearing a ruler may find that in need his followers melt away (Rousseau 233); persuasive influence, uncertain as other forms of success, is equally clearly to be seen as a manifestation of the ruler's spiritual power (Lawe' for instance possesses a necklace supposed to make people pliant and agreeable to whatever he says, not to mention a headcloth with similar effect upon women: neither work too well: L 320 ff.). Noble failure too, loss of followers, of fame, donated food, even perhaps (in untimely consequence, in defeat or by happenstance) of life itself, all signal a loss of spiritual power, in the tales made explicit: "*Au pah nah ningaan jayaa' ta'*," says Lirung Buaa' as he sits down, like Richard II, to mourn: all our power is gone (LB 1404). Lawe' himself, revive by Argus pheasants after his fatal fall from the sun and subsequent long decay is bluntly told, "*Lawe' te ja'ak ula'*" (Ny 921), is bad and lacking--this being the normal expression for all-round worthlessness, and specifically for the ritually low, commoners and slaves (*kalunaan ja'ak*: Rousseau 218).

The suggestion this carries of an actual shift in rank ascription can be seen as a dramatic intensification of one theme of actual Kayan practice: Rousseau has noted the possibility of such success-based shifts, both upward and down. Slaves (*dipan*), by original definition the defeated, may now after a period of living as commoners come to be so considered; in the Mendalam somewhat more flexible, they always could buy their freedom (Rousseau 1974:387-8). Commoners of the better sort (*panyin jia*), so called according to their prosperity (Rousseau 1974:389) and past intermarriage with the upper classes, may activate these links (usually agnatic: the ideal basis for rank transmission, but always overruled by residence, most commonly uxorilocal) by including upper-class elements in their rituals: if they get away with this, suffering neither social ridicule nor disaster construable as *parit*, they become *hipuy* (Rousseau 231). This is a class (*hipui uk*, little *hipui*, in the Mendalam) that in Rousseau's definition serves expressly to insulate ideology from economic fact, the highest nobles' ritual status from its base in wealth and followers' service (Rousseau 230). Real nobles, *maren lan*, are defined as those who control corvées and prestations, which go most willingly to rulers; *maren* not in a position to hold the harvest feast, to perform their classic ritual and social role, have less claim on social reward, and so in time decay to *hipuy* status (or even to worse: eventually it seems that failure may outweigh descent entirely, and the *hipuy* "become a *panyin* if poor and unable to behave with the dignity expected of his rank" (Rousseau 1974:393-4, 390)). Some *hipuy*, apparently, may like the *panyin jia* try to move up by emphasizing higher ancestors (Rousseau 229), but their position is precarious *hipuy* rulers, extremely rare, may be followed only as long as nothing untoward occurs (Rousseau 1974:406). Ideal rulers are the *maren* or *hipuy aya'* (great, senior), in the Mendalam *hipui maran aya'* or *hipui maran jayaa'*: or rather it is among them that the ideal ruler is to be found, best in parts and preparation of those eligible by descent (sons, sons-in-law, nephews, adoptive children; women of forceful character may also rule, like Ine Aya'), and bearing the *de facto* title of "leader" (Rousseau 221, 224). The ruler then is the best representative of his kind, and must remain so: or he risks finding, as Puvan's wife does when she cries for his friends to save his head from Juk Apui's warriors, that those he trusted are off after fallen durians (JA 281 f

Puvan's decline dramatizes Pastor Ding's definition of his rank as "not a class but a condition, that can change," based upon wealth, followers and personal ability (Ding 1975:65): the social ratification of a way of life. This pervasive theme, rarely so conscious, has the effect of reconciling an ideology of natural, inherited differences with mutable actuality: the emphasis given to descent itself, with the time it may take to alter the consensus that marks any rank shift as valid (decades, even generations), serve to deflect attention from it, as the ideal of agnatic descent may from situation-based matrilineality. In both cases, ideal and practice best coincide among the stably wealthy, one reason for their high prestige.

If success is defined by its effects in and on society, so also it is constrained. In the tales the theme of active, individualistic self-aggrandizement is paralleled by another that stresses its potential for dangerous disruption, and the need for control by both self and society. Much sly fun indeed is made of the tales of nobles' notorious pride (*maren* also has come to mean arrogant: Rousseau 219), some through Puvan's baseless boasting (in word and gear: only one of his many stones has power, the rest are river-gravel), some through Ipui Mebaang, whose scorn of Lawe's low upbringing suits ill (as his foster father tells her, vigorously: Ny 258 ff.) with her own very shady past and present. Even in acceptance, she grumbles: "So it's true Lawe' is *hipui aya'*, still he can't get dry weather" (TM 18: in fact, a ruler's power and duty: Rousseau 1974:411): which he does, therefore, once he has control of To' Magung's charmstone, for so long that the Kalimaan's deepest pools go dry. Despite the more usual restraint of his maturity (Juk Apui and Lirung Buaa', both come like old-West gunfighters to test their growing fame against the best, find him most grimly moved by their misdoing in breaking his peace), Lawe' still represents both noble pride and its darker obverse, self-centered wilfulness and resentful overreaction: and sometimes he suffers for it. "Nyalo" in particular is notably didactic: only when he learns a better approach than boastful rape does Nyalo cease to vanish; only when he admits his helpfulness is he helped; and he spends most of the tale's last half carefully following the advice of those he should have asked for it sooner, who now have to reconcile the drastic alternatives of dogtail curse or incest, the village elders. Perhaps a little more strongly here than in reality (Rousseau 221), the elders embody the social order: they understand custom, and their counsel helps the ruler carry out his prime responsibility, the preservation and restoration of good relations among all orders, social, natural, and cosmic.

The theme of harmony re-established is basic to each of the four longer tales and seems best to be symbolized by Lawe's inherent power, suggestively shamanistic, to restore both broken things and wounded people (even, with female and musical help, the dead). This type of feat is not, however (as it is in some traditional epics: Bowra), given particular prominence: Lawe' uses his special powers in general only after it has become necessary, sometimes disastrously: perhaps as an expression of that philosophy stated in "Lirung Buaa'" to deter the hastiest of his friends from cutting down Lirung's padi, that the greatest power is known only through the greatest deeds; perhaps also in keeping with the interesting tendency evident in every duel to view the display of spiritual power (shape-changing) as an admission of desperation. (Here again there seems to be tension between overt and covert themes;

that *ningaan* is seen as ambivalent appears in its secondary meaning, probably *parit*-related, of profound disorder, misery, like Hingaan's in his tree: TM 1444-5). Emphasis in the tales is upon recognizably human action, individual and social: on the dramatic events (personal clashes, quests, deeds of the drawn sword) that precede Lawe's restorative interventions, then upon the massive celebrations that in most cases follow, which like the prototypical *dange* present personal success transmuted, through the right use of power, into universal harmony.

Harmony of course is not simply the absence of disruption, but a positive and fundamental quality of existence, giving an emotionally satisfying logical depth to the direct equation of material well-being, prestige and status. At once human, natural, spiritual and aesthetic, it might be defined as the sum total of all the symbolic correspondences in the Kayan cultural code, the descriptive and prescriptive representation of things as they are: a concept shared by many other Bornean and Indonesian groups, that of *adat* in its oldest and most inclusive form. It appears in the tales in the opposition of the good life (*urip sayuu'*, *urip jayaa'*, etc.) to that gone wrong (*urip halaa'*, *urip nasip ningaan*, etc.), a wrongness expressed in war, poverty or personal disaster: the times are out of joint, and the ruler, at the interface of his community with others human and spirit, has the pivotal power either to dislocate them entirely through arrogance or failure, or to set them right. (In this as in much else, Bornean belief embodies old and widespread themes, highly elaborated for instance in Java on the related Hindu pattern: Lawe' at his best could be the Astabrata's ideal ruler, complete with radiance, *kasekten/kesaktian*, good blood and sacred symbols, a primary role in ritual, wisdom, knowledge and physical strength, and a direct and intimate relationship with his kingdom's peace: Koentjaraningrat.) The concept of universal order structures and unifies all aspects of culture, political, ritual, and technological, and individual as well through the specific symbolic shapes it provides for pan-human preoccupations, structuring the unconscious sources of action and art. This very inclusiveness, though, keeps it from rigidity: for cultures as for individuals, the pragmatic definition of quality, in reconciling material and social change with ideology, provides change with a rationale.

Balui Kayans have named ethnic categories by their technological-ritual base and for the group felt best to represent it ("Kayan" for upriver farmers, "Punan" for nomads, "white" for engine-builders), ranking them by inherited predisposition to live in a certain way; but individuals may change ethnic ascription just as they most easily do rank, by having themselves born into the new context (Rousseau 1975:44-6), and the entire system may also undergo changes that call its components into separate question (Whittier). This itself is a fairly traditional challenge (cf. *masok* Melayu), and one that may be dealt with by reliance on familiar holistic sanctions, as when Balui Kayans waited approval of Christianity upon the fertility of converts' fields (Rousseau 1974:109), creatively assembling, from disparate elements, a new cosmic unity. The impulse toward change as well as judgment upon it may derive from spirit-related sources not only indirectly, through a model's success or one's own, but directly through dreams, which may be of considerable social importance: their recital and interpretation are part of each of the common healing ceremonies (*dayung*), and they can have far more

than personal effect (Rousseau 1974:170, 409, 104 et al.). The classic instance of this may be the Bungan cult, which from a private vision of the well-named Kenyah Juk Apui, torch of the Apo Kayan, became when validated by his and his converts' subsequent prosperity a flame of protestant fervor across much of inland Sarawak. It seems then that the concept of a universal order within which social structure, nature and the spirit world complexly interact, influencing each other through subtle shifts of power, could prove useful in the analysis both of what one might call ethnogenetic drift, the development and stabilization of local variation, and of the equally Bornean ingestive pull of a particularly successful way of life.

Dreams as well as outside models are also of course the ultimate source of song (one long Mendalam *Takna'* whose origin is still remembered grew in the course of its singer's three-day sleep), which lends the tales further authority as expressions of their culture's deepest symbolic dynamics. It has indeed been suggested, refining an older theory of social structure and symbolism based on Indonesian sources, that even among cognatic societies those with sharp distinctions of class might express this with particular directness in their symbol system, through equally sharp, consistent patterns of binary antithesis (King 84-5). In this model the egalitarian Ibans' loosely parallel, flexible and relational dualistic system stands against the rank-conscious Ngajus' precise, thorough-going and value-laden series of oppositions, with Kayans presumably somewhere along the scale, providing one of the test cases called for. As it happens, though unequal dualisms are indeed a feature of the *Takna'*'s symbol system, they seem to me of no more fundamental importance to structure than to characterization (whose freedom from moralistic dichotomies is also a traditional feature of other Southeast Asian genres).

Though the analysis of pairs can be highly productive in detail, each term's connotations shift in the context of different relationships to an extent that makes any presentation of precise vertical linkages fairly unconvincing. It is not easy, for instance, to place night firmly on the side of disorder, disease and danger, when Lawe' as he listens in the headwaters to the cries of the night-dwelling spirits (*to' tun malam*) is filled with such fascinated delight that even Nyalo slips his mind (Ny 462 ff.). It should be noted that the dualistic paradigm, Schärer's by his Leiden training, has been severely criticized (cf. Geertz); Freeman indeed contrasts it to the pervasive metamorphic mutability expressed in one Iban instance to that widespread sound- and concept-cluster mentioned earlier, *bali* (or *bali nyadi*, to change form, become something new, 286-7). This in Kayan (*bali/balui*) refers to a semblance put on through spiritual power, a shape into which the possessor of power enters, as into a room (*nilung*); and as among other inland groups, it also becomes a title for the class of beings with this power (Whittier 105, King 75, et al.).

Transmutation itself, it has been argued, presupposes a clear and categorical perception of each element involved (Needham); in more than one way, then, the word would indeed seem to provide a good summary image for the cognitive processes that among Kayans and other groups as well appear to underlie the social and symbolic codes, producing correspondences based less upon ideology than upon the tension between ideal and actual, the field of malleable space

that exists between ideological and situational determinants in class, descent and even in achievement: the boundary-crossing, rather than bounded or boundless, principle of power itself. From this point of view, which brings familiar socioeconomic concepts into relationship with emic belief to create what should be a "thicker", more accurate representation of the cultural reality, ideology can be seen as in varying degrees detached from behavior, to be analyzed as an independent, perhaps even a literary order of being: for it individuals manipulate the space between ideal and real, so do the mythmakers, the singers of tales.

The *Takna' Lawe'*, embodying as it does the complexities of a very rich culture, lends itself to multiple interpretations, in many contexts and disciplines; the themes brought out above suggest certain approaches to analysis in which its data may be valuable, and of course remain subject to review. Material for a fuller analysis could only be obtained through the comparison of text and context not only between Mendalam and Balui, but within each; most important for the proper grounding of theory would be Kayans' own interpretations of the tales, their response to performance, language and patterns of content, and their elucidation, as far as still may be possible, of symbolic correspondences. If funded, and permitted, I hope to carry out studies such as these; in the meantime, I would be very glad to hear from anyone able to refer me to other Bornean tales that deal with Lawe'-related themes (the Penihing of the Upper Mahakam, for instance, tell similar stories that they trace to the Baleh: Ding 1977:28-9 and B. Sellato, personal communication), and from anyone who may know singers and local scholars, not necessarily Kayan, whom the example of Lii' Long and Pastor Ding might encourage to similar work: for, as Appell has stated in print and in person, the work is urgent. Those especially interested in the *Takna'* should soon be able to obtain its first part in English, and I will also be glad to make the Kayan and Indonesian texts available to anyone who will cover copying fees and postage; detailed summaries already prepared of the four longer tales may be had for the asking.

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LINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN SABAH

BY THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

John D. Miller
Summer Institute of Linguistics

Anyone who is even remotely familiar with the linguistic situation in the East Malaysian State of Sabah is aware of the need for a thorough and comprehensive study of this language diversity. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is privileged to be able to undertake a research project in cooperation with the Chief Minister's Department of the State of Sabah designed to help meet this need.

Four basic procedures are being employed by the institute to investigate the distinctiveness of the languages and dialects found in Sabah: (1) the collection and comparison of lexical items, (2) the study of ethnographic data, (3) intelligibility testing, and (4) in-depth studies of certain local dialects.

Collection and Comparison of Lexical Items

Utilizing a list of 367 words, local equivalents were elicited for 331 language communities in 325 different locations through all 23 districts of the State. Every place where district officials, or the local people in the villages indicated there was a difference in speech was either visited by SIL technicians, or someone from that area was asked to give equivalents for the words on the list in his local dialect. (Casad, Blom, Hurlbut and Pekkanen). Cognate classes were determined for each of the 367 items on the list, and every entry was assigned to one of these classes so that the lists could be mechanically compared (see Smith 1974 and 1978). These lists were then compared with each other and with thirteen other lists from language communities geographically adjacent to Sabah. Tentative classifications of the languages and dialects were then established based on the percentage of shared lexical items. The results of these classifications are being prepared for publication (Smith 1980).

Study of Ethnographic Data

A certain amount of ethnographic material has been collected from each of the locations where a word list was elicited. This includes information about the history of each village, if it is known; the various types of people living in the village; its trade and marriage patterns; availability of schools, churches, mosques, shops; language employed for commerce, marriage ceremonies, political meetings, community affairs, etc. Linguistic and personal histories were also taken from each individual who assisted in the data gathering process, as well as in the intelligibility testing phase of the research. It is recognized that this type of information is not comprehensive at this point in the research project, but what has been collected has proven of value in interpreting the linguistic data. For example, one might wonder why a Murut village in the Upper Kinabatangan River area of Sabah understands Kolobuan, a Paitanic language, better than it does another Murutic dialect, unless it is known that this particular village is isolated from other Murutic groups by a mountain range, and that they send their children downriver to school in a Kolobuan speaking village, where they also go to do their marketing periodically.

Intelligibility Testing

Since the purpose of language is communication, it is essential to know how well normal speech of one dialect or language is understood by another. Testing has shown that if shared vocabulary of two language communities is less than 80 percent, communication between the two will be difficult, unless some language learning has taken place. Other factors can, of course, affect the reliability of this 80 percent figure, such as difference in phonological patterns or grammatical structures. Nevertheless, it still serves as a fairly good indicator of how intelligible two dialects or languages are with one another.

Intelligibility testing has been carried out in several districts by SIL members and is still in process in others (Blom, Hurlbut, and Pekkanen). From each village where a word list was taken, a speaker of the local dialect was asked to record on cassette tape a short two or three minute personal experience story. It was then determined on the basis of the lexicostatistic evaluation, which stories should be played in which villages for the purpose of intelligibility testing.

In testing intelligibility, villages which have been chosen to listen to a certain set of stories are visited in order to record on tape ten to twelve questions from each story, which are then dubbed into the story in the local dialect immediately after the relevant information given in the story. A maximum of seven stories is used for testing in any one village. Ten to twelve individuals are asked to listen to the stories and answer the questions. An attempt is made to test both male and female, young and old, educated and uneducated individuals. The first story a participant is asked to listen to is one from his own village. This serves as an introduction to the procedures and makes possible elimination of individuals who are unable to take the test. The last story listened to is in Bahasa Malaysia

to test comprehension in the national language. The testee listens to the stories through headphones along with the technician. The technician then records on paper the accuracy of the testee's responses. From this data, percentages of intelligibility are computed between the village being tested and the villages from which the stories have come. This phase of the research project will probably continue until the middle of 1981. Findings will be published as results become available. (For a full description of procedures used in testing intelligibility see Casad.)

In-Depth Studies of Certain Local Dialects

There is much that cannot be learned about a language and the people who speak it by using only the procedures described above. Every language has distinct phonological, grammatical, and semantic patterns which are unlike any other. Language reflects the way a particular group of people views the world about them, views authority, views other people, views change, views good and evil. Only by living with the people and learning to speak with them about their language in that language can one adequately learn these systems and values. In-depth of these local dialects is, therefore, an integral part of the SIL research project in Sabah. By the end of 1980 it is anticipated that at least four such studies will have begun. Given the large number of languages whose cultural and linguistic centers are found in Sabah, this is but a small beginning, but it is hoped that in the future such studies may be done for other languages within the State.

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NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Professor Johannes Nicolaisen
1922 - 1980

Professor Johannes Nicolaisen, Denmark's first and only professor of anthropology, died on February 2, 1980. Professor Nicolaisen studied pastoral societies, principally the Tuareg, in North Africa and the Sahara for years. From his extensive study of these societies, he took up a long-time interest in hunter-gatherers, studying first the Haddad in Tchad, then the Negritos of the Philippines, and finally the Penan with whom he had planned to work for a number of years. A selection of his writings appears in the "Bibliography" of this issue.

Once again, our condolences and deepest sympathy are extended to Mrs. Ida Nicolaisen.

BORNEO NEWS

Regional News

BOUWE GRIJPSSTRA is a senior lecturer with the Institute of Cultural and Social Studies of the University of Leiden, teaching courses in research methodology and applied sociology. He is preparing a study in several Asian countries of projects and organizations whose purpose is to organize poor farmers. His particular interest is with the promoters and group organizers, especially their backgrounds, motivation, selection, training, and performance of their roles.

CHRIS HEALEY is engaged in a documentary study of the interconnections between tribes, states, and piracy in Borneo. His main interest is in the pre-Brooke period which has received insufficient attention. Healey's address is

Department of Anthropology
The University of Adelaide
G.P.O., Box 498
Adelaide, South Australia 5001

CLIFFORD SATHER has received a grant from the National Science Foundation for the current academic year which will permit him to write up results of his research on the Bajau Laut.

While in Malaysia in 1979, WILHELM G. SOLHEIM II visited the Sabah Museum in Kota Kinabalu, the Brunei Museum, and the Sarawak Museum where he met many of the staff who were there during his fieldwork in 1958-59. He notes that the Sarawak Museum urgently needs storage space and may be able to expand in the near future.

Kalimantan News

CARL L. HOFFMAN, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, is conducting fieldwork among Punan groups of East and Central Kalimantan with study permits arranged by LIPI. He plans to survey as many Punan groups as possible before selecting a small number for more intensive ethnographic study. While a general ethnography is planned, his special concern is the topic of ethnicity and ethnic relations of Punan and non-Punan groups. His focus will be upon what he believes are the diverse origins of those groups in Borneo generically referred to as "Punan." Hoffman's research is supported by a two-and-one-half year predoctoral research grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. His address is
 c/o Sita Van Ness
 Jalan Cemorojajar 16
 Yogyakarta, Indonesia

BENJAMIN SELLATO is currently working in *kecamatan* Long Apari on the Aoheng language, and on linguistic and ethnohistorical correlations between the peoples of the Muller-Schwaneer ranges area in order to define a linguistic "Punan complex" which originated in that area.

VIRGINIA MATHESON has a two-year fellowship at the Australian National University to examine the socio-political situation in Banjarmasin during the Banjarmasin War (1850s - 1860s). She will be working from Malay manuscripts, archival records and contemporary Dutch reports. She is also interested in compiling a general history of Borneo. Her address is
 Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History
 Research School of Pacific Studies
 A.N.U., P.O. Box 4
 Canberra, Australia.

She would welcome advice and information on her projects.

Sarawak News

DANIEL CHEW is a postgraduate student at Murdoch University, working under the supervision of DR. JAMES WARREN on the economic and social relations of the Chinese of Sarawak from 1841 to 1941. The broad research project has an extra-Kuching focus. It will be a comparative work on the different kinds of Chinese pioneering economic, cultural and social adaptations in Sarawak--mining in the Bau area, agricultural settlement in the lower Rejang, and upriver trade in the riverine basins of the Batang Lupar, the Rejang and the Baram. Chew also intends his thesis to be a collation of the mosaic of local histories from the Chinese viewpoint covering the pioneering activities noted above. Two other themes he hopes will emerge are the relationships of the Chinese with the Brooke administration and with other ethnic groups. He expects to leave for Sarawak in October, 1980, and to be in that state for ten to eleven months.

PETER MULOK KEDIT is studying the social and economic changes of the Batang Ai Iban, specifically the effects of modern economy on their social-cultural system. He will return to Sarawak in December for six months field work after which he will return to the University of Sydney where he will write his dissertation under the supervision of DR. WILLIAM GEDES.

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS
 & BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cameron, Ian. To The Farthest Ends of the Earth: 150 Years of World Exploration by the Royal Geographical Society, Dutton, 1980.

Founded to advance the study of geography, Britain's Royal Geographical Society championed exploration in the 19th century, scientific investigation in the 20th, and today is looking toward conservation of the environment. Cameron, author of "Lodestone and Evening Star," reviews the glorious past of the Society and surveys its current activities. Its past includes nearly every major terrestrial exploration: Franklin and others in the Arctic; Burton, Speke and Livingstone in Africa; Burke and Wills in Australia; Scott in Antarctica; the Mt. Everest expeditions. In recent years the Society has sent scientific teams to Brazil, Northern Oman and Sarawak to study water supplies, fauna and flora. Cameron gives us tantalizing glimpses of intrepid explorers--those who filled in blank spaces on the map and those who are filling the gaps in scientific knowledge. For any reader with a taste for adventure. Illustrations. (from Publisher's Weekly, July 25, 1980)

Daroesman, Ruth. "An Economic Survey of East Kalimantan," Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, Vol. 15, No. 3, Nov. 1979, pp. 43-82.

East Kalimantan's vast natural resources make it a province of superlatives and of economic extremes. It earns for the central government a substantial income from its petroleum, liquid natural gas (LNG), and timber exports. With less than 1% of the nation's population, East Kalimantan in 1978 accounted for nearly one quarter of total Indonesian export earnings. The richest province in the nation in terms of per capita regional income, it resembles at one extreme Irian Jaya in its vast area and sparse population, and at the other extreme Jakarta in its high and accelerating urbanisation and high prices. The present survey pays much attention to what is described as "the two revolutions," i.e., the development of the huge timber and oil resources, and to their impact on the provincial economy, including its regional income, exports, provincial and regency budgets, and infrastructure. Other topics discussed are population and labour force, wages and prices, and the development of transmigrating areas. The author concludes that despite the efforts by an energetic local government, the province has suffered rather than benefited from its enormous and indigestible increases in revenue. Outside the booming sectors, which yield relatively high standards of living, farmers still till the land for little return, as they have done for generations.

Grijpstra, Bouwe G. Common Efforts in the Development of Rural Sarawak, Malaysia, Doctoral Dissertation Agricultural University, Wageningen, The Netherlands. Also published by Van Gorcum, Assen/Amsterdam.

The aim of the research was to describe and analyze the process of incorporation of small farmers into the larger society. Fieldwork was done in

1971 and 1972 among the Bidayuh, a sub-group of the Land Dayak in Sarawak. At that time the Bidayuh were in a transitional phase between shifting cultivation of hill paddy and cultivation of perennial cash crops such as rubber and pepper, and permanent use of small swamps for wet paddy.

Much attention was paid to the role of the Government which had made available a wide range of projects and programs aimed at villages and individual farmers. The leading question at the start of the research was: What are the social and situational characteristics of the villages which engage most in the different types of village development projects? In particular the influence of homogeneity, integration, leadership, size and accessibility would be assessed. The research methods used comprised in-depth studies of eight villages by participant observation, unstructured and structured interviews, and a survey of all 96 Bidayuh villages, in which headmen and other representatives answered the questions on the different aspects of their village. Besides this, information was collected on the organization and procedures of the departments and institutions charged with rural development.

The research findings indicated that differences in structural aspects of villages did not account for the ability to attract governmental assistance. The situational factors were only of minor importance. Village projects were more or less randomly distributed. Instead, the government programs aimed at individuals, as part of the externally stimulated incorporation process, did influence the social structure of the Bidayuh villages. The egalitarian tribal society of the Bidayuh, with its relative abundance of land, had always allowed every individual much personal freedom. Some levelling mechanisms existed, but with little effect. The individual Bidayuh eagerly accepted the externally provided opportunities to personal welfare such as education, employment, markets for cash crops, and planting subsidies. Consequently, the inequality in the villages increased, which conflicted with the traditional egalitarian ideology. The relations between the households weakened and responsibility felt for the well-being of the community decreased. Indicators are the replacement of exchange labor by family and wage labor, increase in the number of separate dwellings, some even outside the village center, instead of the traditional longhouse, little participation in village meetings, and headmen who increasingly are regarded as representatives of the government rather than as village leaders.

In this general process of disorganization, externally stimulated activities in which a group of people had to participate for a prolonged period, such as a cooperative society, an adult education class, or other voluntary organizations, met with only incidental success. They depended very much on the presence of a villager or an external agent with great moral authority. In the long run, nearly all collapsed. The members did not consider the benefits sufficient to compensate for the problems of organization and cooperation.

The Government of Malaysia did not seem to be aware of the processes which occurred at the village level. In spite of the rather efficient development administration, there was little "bottom-up" communication. Development efforts were made along standardized procedures. The aim of the government was mainly to secure continuous loyalty of the population by presenting gifts. The creation and support of effective local level organizations received little attention.

de Pater, Cathrien and Paul Visser. *Kalimantan in de Houtgreep: achtergronden en effecten van de vosexploitatie op Kalimantan (Indonesie)* (*Background and Effects of Forest Exploitation in Kalimantan*), Wageningen, 1979. (Dutch, with English summary).

Admission of large-scale foreign investment in Indonesia since 1967 has caused an explosive increase in forest exploitation in Kalimantan, thus evoking protests from experts in several fields. Description and analysis of the conflicts aroused by this situation are the object of this study. The following groups were assumed to be involved: The concessionaires, the Indonesian government, the forest service, and the indigenous population, all of them being centered around the wood resource, i.e., the tropical rain forest.

A literary study of these groups showed that:

1. Most timber is extracted from the Kalimantan tropical rain forest, which is one of the richest ecosystems on earth; it contains a high percentage of valuable hardwood species, mainly Dipterocarps. Technically, a permanent exploitation of this ecosystem with the use of natural regeneration methods is feasible, as is proved by analogous situations in Malaysia and the Philippines.
2. In practice, however, forest exploitation is generally done on the basis of a "hit-and-run" strategy without any care for recovery or regeneration. This is due to high exploitation costs, the temporal character of the concession agreement, the lack of stringent legal regulations or, if any, insufficient implementation. The forest service is by no means equal to its task.
3. Usually foreign companies enter Indonesia by creating a joint venture with a native counterpart. Before 1971 most were small-scale non-mechanical enterprises, in increasing numbers attracted by the favorable concession conditions, rising prices, and the decrease of wood supplies in surrounding countries. After 1971 large-scale enterprises gradually took over, using heavy mechanical equipment. They were favored by legal regulations forbidding the export of timber extracted by non-mechanical methods, increasing the minimum concession area, etc., and, secondly, by price fluctuations causing the withdrawal of smaller companies.
- 4.a. On the whole, the Indonesian government's interests run parallel with those of the concessionaires. By 1976, over a milliard dollars had been invested in the forestry sector. Annual exports increased up to 18.6 million m³ (\$751,000,000) in the same year. Kalimantan--especially East Kalimantan--provided 71.6 percent of Indonesia's timber

exports in 1975. Since 1972, the country has been the world's leading exporter of logs.

4.b. However, interests diverge on the matter of wood processing industries, which is one of the concession agreements. The government shows an increasing insistence on the execution of this point, as wood supplies are likely to diminish. On the other hand, an unfavorable market situation--regional as well as mondial--and high production costs, prevent the concessionaires (except the largest of them, such as Weyerhaeuser-ITCI, Soriano, etc.) from being willing executors of this condition. In practice, not much progress in industrialization has been made.

5. The "Dayak" way of life, which has been well-adapted to the rain forest ecosystem, is violated in several ways: by government programs of "Indonesianization," transmigration and resettlement, as well as by the exploitation activities causing the destruction of their environment and the disruption of their societies--the latter either by unofficial contacts or by the organized "community development" programs of the largest companies.

In summary, prognoses of the survival of the Kalimantan rain forest and its Dayak inhabitants cannot help being pessimistic. Even if effective solutions were presented--necessarily supported by a political framework changed in their favor--their implementation probably would be too late.

Ruzicka, I. "Rent Appropriation in Indonesian Logging: East Kalimantan 1972/3-1976/7," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2, July 1979, pp. 45-74, tables, graphs.

A widespread feeling exists that timber concessionaires, most of them foreign firms or firms with foreign participation, were allowed, through a lenient taxation regime, to appropriate too large a share of the resource rent (i.e., the market value of the resource services) and thus to inflate substantially the rate of return on the capital invested. The debate so far has been hampered by a paucity of empirical evidence and a lack of precision, quite apart from displaying a good deal of emotional involvement. The aim of this paper is to present, and to comment on, estimates of the resource rent generated in the course of timber exploitation in East Kalimantan during the quinquennium 1972/3 to 1976/7, and to consider the question of the rent's division between firms and the Government as owner. In addition, the paper discusses a closely related issue of forestry taxation.

Suparlan, Parsudi. "Ethnic Groups of Indonesia," *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. 7, no. 2, April 1979, pp. 53-75.

Due to the fact that the Indonesian government has been reluctant to promote research on Indonesian ethnic groups to be carried out by Indonesian scholars, most studies to-date have been done by foreign social scientists. This condition has hampered the flow of information on ethnic groups to Indonesian policy makers who have to deal with ethnic minorities. The present paper gives a short survey of the main

ethnic groups, the problems they face, and the relationships they have with other ethnic groups. According to the author, ethnic and cultural differences do not in themselves generate inter-ethnic conflict. It is rather the competition for social status and access to economic resources which invites ethnic groups to oppose each other. To overcome existing problems, the author argues, the government needs more anthropological evidence collected through empirical research. For this reason, it would be well advised not to discourage such research in the future.

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