

# BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

The last issue of the Bulletin included statements of two concerns: first, the need for a continuation of scientific research on Borneo, and second, financial difficulties encountered in publishing the Bulletin.

The current issue is clear evidence of responses to both concerns. Articles include the important analyses of research conducted in recent years as well as reports of current and anticipated fieldwork. Contributions already committed for publication in the September issue of the Bulletin indicate that it will be as substantial as the present one. (This is not to imply that the September Bulletin is completed; materials submitted will be most welcome and happily considered for publication.)

As evident below, many readers responded most generously to the financial report. Several persons urged that the format of the Bulletin not be changed, even if retention of the present format required raising subscription fees. The letters of encouragement received, together with suggestions for alternate sources of funding, were most gratifying. Contributions erased the deficit and made possible the publishing of this issue and a small balance. The Editor is seeking funds from several foundations for the establishment of an interest-generating fixed deposit to supplement fees and contributions. A report of this effort will be made in the future.

We are grateful for your past support and solicit your continuing help. Special thanks and acknowledgement is due the following persons for their contributions to the financial support of the Bulletin: Dr. and Mrs. George N. Appell, A. J. Bacon, Martin Baier, Peter Beavitt, Stanley S. Bedlington, E. J. H. Berwick, I. D. Black, D. E. Brown, Dr. and Mrs. P. A. Burrough, P. K. Cassels, J. B. Comber, Jay Bouton Crain, C. N. Crisswell, William Dessaint, Gale Dixon, Fred Eggan, Richard Fidler, Ruth Carol Barnes, Wayne T. Frank, Philip Goldman, P. Bion Griffin, Barbara Harrisson, A. J. Hepburn, Jonathan H. Kress, Michael Leigh, Lord Medway, Stanley J. O'Connor, J. R. Palmer, Ifor B. Powell, R.H. Reece, A.J.N. Richards, D. S. Richards, Jérôme Rousseau, Orville A. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Sack, Sin Fong Han, John O. Sutter, David L. Szanton, Robert O. Tilman, Peter D. Weldon, Kepala Kantor Wilayah, William D. Wilder, and Leigh Wright.

R E S E A R C H N O T E S

SOME LANGUAGE ASPECTS OF BRUNEI MALAY ENCULTURATION

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Linguistic enculturation is such a common, ordinary event that it is often taken for granted. It can be argued that full rich spoken language is the most distinguishing feature of mankind, upon which much else is predicated, and that to acquire language is in a sense to become human.<sup>1</sup> The process of linguistic enculturation is comparatively little-known for most language families of the world, yet any deep understanding of language acquisition must of necessity have its roots in a broad cross-lingual perspective. Consequently, an important recent trend in enculturation studies is the study of language acquisition among diverse languages.<sup>2</sup> One Asiatic language for which the study of linguistic enculturation has begun is Brunei Malay.<sup>3</sup>

The linguistic enculturation described here is that of the Brunei Malays in Brunei today.<sup>4</sup> The traditional Brunei Malay multi-family house was built on stilts set in the tidal mudflats of rivers, a construction well suited to the lowland humid tropical environment.<sup>5</sup> Access to such houses of necessity involved climbing a ladder. Indeed, the expression *balek ka rumah tengah*, "return to house and ladder," has all the connotations of snug coziness found in the English "settle down at the hearthside." For the past few decades some Brunei Malays have dwelt in houses built on the dry land, but until the past decade these almost invariably followed the traditional floor plan; here the floor is often six to ten feet above the ground, and a front stairs sometimes substitutes for the ladder. But whatever the house may be like, it is here that children first learn their language and begin their linguistic enculturation. The Brunei Malay language belongs to the Malayo branch

of the Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian) language family, is agglutinating, and has a wealth of vocabulary and idioms. The linguistic history of Brunei Malay is poorly known and need not be further considered here since it does not affect linguistic enculturation.<sup>6</sup> Children may, however, at times be told folk etymologies for certain words.

Children are considered an integral part of life. Public health measures have drastically reduced the formerly high child mortality, but the cultural attitude that children are apt to die remains the same. Children are much-loved, but it is adults about whom life centers. Although the effects of television and the space age are causing cultural changes in Brunei, children are still raised by the traditional methods.

New mothers may coo and talk affectionately to their firstborn while it is still in swaddling clothes, but do so less with their subsequent children. Women talk about toddlers and in their presence, but rarely to them. Youngsters are very shy in the presence of strangers and will literally hide behind their mothers' skirts. Even the most ebullient youngster becomes still when outsiders (=strangers) appear. Children are to be loved, tended, and brought up, but they are not conversational partners; their participation in adult conversation is limited to listening, but does not involve any active speaking. Children learning to talk may ask questions of adults, but often receive an unhelpful answer accompanied by non-verbal communication meaning, in essence, "stop being a pest." Many children are tended by an aunt, grandmother, or older sibling. The older sibling is usually a girl, for girls are expected to assume child-tending responsibility at about five years of age and are reproved if they show slackness or unwillingness at the task; boys are allowed to shirk the chore. These young child-tenders do talk to the child and engage it in conversation, though they may grow impatient with its slowness and lack of comprehension. A too-impatient young toddler-tender is apt to be admonished, "He is still little; he does not understand yet." (In Brunei Malay the pronoun *dia* means "he, she, it.")

Brunei Malay children seem to start talking at a later age than their American counterparts, but they soon catch up. No special effort is made to teach them to talk, for it is assumed they will begin to talk on

their own when they are ready; as indeed they do, though there is considerable variation among individuals as to the age and ease with which speech comes. Parents may note with pride that their firstborn has started to talk, but by the sixth or tenth child the matter has ceased to be of special interest. Children, then, are never urged into precocious speech, are expected to remain silent in the presence of adult conversation and to not bother adults with questions. The proper conversational mates for children are other children. For a Brunei Malay youngster, childhood, especially early childhood, is a time of fun and games, of coming to know the world. Like children everywhere they have their fun and games, their joys and sorrows, their difficulties and accomplishments. The initial acquisition of speech removes the youngster from the Brunei Malay age classification comprising "infant and toddler" and puts him into the classification of "child," for "Now he begins to understand." That is, with the incipient acquisition of language the individual becomes able to understand some of the cultural demands made of him. He is no longer a being to be tended all the time, but a child expected to take his place in the world of children and there progress to adulthood in language and cultural behavior. Since a child's linguistic enculturation takes place very largely within a play group of children, the fact of being an only child or a firstborn seems to have far less effect on linguistic enculturation than the child's individual nature.<sup>7</sup> Growing to adulthood, some will lose the shyness of childhood, others not.

As children grow older they are addressed more and more frequently by adults until, with the attainment of physical maturity, they cease to be children and become part of adult groupings, though only after marriage or after being adult for several years will they take full active part in adult conversation. But throughout childhood and on into adulthood until the onset of what is considered "old age," characterized by wrinkles on the face and being a grandparent, one of the prime means of enculturation was until recently folk literature.

For one of the exceptions to the rule that children ought not speak much to adults is the request, *tutor tutoran*, "tell a story." Folktales present the traditional view of the surrounding world, both the geographically "real" and the "supernatural." For to class

part of the world as "supernatural" is a western bias. To the traditional Brunei Malay the *hantu* (evil spirit) on the hill is as real as the neighbor next door. Tales also present the origins of the Brunei Malays and an accounting of the major events in Brunei Malay history. Many tales involve speech to and about royalty, as well as royal persons speaking. Thus individuals who may never in their life actually encounter any royalty will learn the proper speech forms from hearing the tales. Folktales also point out many cultural attitudes and behaviors, as well as show the horrible results ensuing from bad behavior.

Lullabies, too, have their place in linguistic enculturation. To the infant the song is a soothing sound, usually accompanied by the gentle up-and-down motion of the baby sling being rocked. But older children, hearing the words of the lullaby, learn from them the attitude that the infant is one to be gently protected from the frights and jarrings of the world and one who lacking understanding can be comforted by nonsense syllables, as well as sensible ones. One often-sung lullaby begins:

*tikus, tikus, jangan nangis...*

Little mousie, don't you cry...

Here much of the affection is carried in the tone of the singing and in the way it inflects the pitch of the words.

For older children the combination of pitch, rhythm, and meaning of words affects the linguistic environment. Little jingles are part of a child's sounds of happy home. Near mealtime the following jingle is apt to be heard.

*tak tak buratak, nasi suda masak*

*bismilla hizagi, kalu ada minta lagi.*

"Boil, roil, the pot's all aboil

If it's in store, let's have some more."

Such verbal activities teach a feeling for language and a comprehension of how the enunciation of utterances can affect their meaning. To a large extent, however, the learning in these instances is merely ancillary to the inherent pleasure in playing with words and sounds.

By contrast the didactic tale teaches directly. Didactic tales are a specific genre of tale in the folkloric sense, but Brunei Malay terminology does not mark them off in any special way. Whether or not a request to "Tell a story" results in a didactic or some other type

of tale depends upon the mood of the raconteur, the circumstances, and sometimes upon the identity of the requester, as well as upon the nature of the audience. The usual form of the didactic tale is that of a simple plotted story which, however, develops slowly because the bulk of the tale is concerned with detailed cultural information. Thus, in one tale which deals with some people attending a wedding the plot may be summarized simply.

So-and-so went to the house where a wedding was being held. So-and-so helped with the preparations and the work. The guests enjoyed the celebrations; then they went home. That is the tale of So-and-so going to the wedding.

The fact that the plot is not "excitement filled" in a western sense does not detract from the tale's interest to the listener. For in a sense any deviation from the routine daily round constitutes an adventure in life and thus is of interest. Full detailed description of the events that took place forms the richness of didactic tales. And the hearing of such description combined with attending weddings oneself provides an education in proper cultural behavior for children. The tales generally recount ideal cultural behavior which is admittedly often not precisely followed. In some cases it is recognized that the customs in the tale are no longer observed. By-and-large however, the information does not become outdated because over time the tales are modified to generally follow the usual practices or to compare the customs of times past with those of modern times.

Didactic tales describe many of life's activities, and their import demands that the hearer comprehend the meaning. To make the tales easier for children to understand, narrators in asides make comparisons with people and places the children know. Thus the festive house may be described as "bigger than Hassan's house." Or the bride may be described as "easily afraid of things, like Minah." Similarly, obscure and rare words are explained.

Tale recitation is a night-time activity. Even now in many houses this means that tales are recited by lamp-light or candlelight. No one expects that all the listeners will hear the tale to the end. All begin

listening with rapt attention, but younger children soon fall asleep, then the older children do, and finally only the oldest, often adult, listeners remain awake. Not uncommonly the narrator is a person of advanced years who falls asleep himself or herself. In that case the still-awake listeners may wait awhile and then waken the sleeper to find out what happened next.

Listeners often intersperse questions which the narrator answers as they arise; rather long digressions may result. The opening phrase for almost all tales, didactic and otherwise, is *ada sewatu kali...*, "Once upon a time..." A continuant form used to link one segment of the tale with the next is *sudahatu*, "and then." When a tale has been broken up by a long aside or answer to questions, the phrase, *nah, balek ka...*, "Now, returning to the..." resumes the thread of narrative.

The flexibility of the narrative style, allowing for numerous digressions and asides, makes it possible for the listener to "customize" the tale to some extent. That is, a listener can have the narrator elaborate on or explain selected points. But the syntax of such addenda is clearly the syntax of tale-telling and not that of everyday speech, and certain standard tale-phraseologies appear. Hence, even a tale which has more rambling side excursions than straight line plot remains a tale. Nor are the asides and digressions in response to questions limited to didactic tales. The same flexible pattern occurs in other tale genres. In a tale about monsters, for example, the listener may want more elaboration of the monster's character or the details of how monsters live.

Occasionally, especially at weddings, tales and legends will be read in a special "recitation style" from handwritten Arabic-scrip manuscripts. This written literature invariably begins with *bismillah*, "in the Name of Allah." Two such tale beginnings are as follows:

*bismillah mula di karang...*  
 "In the Name of Allah starts the composition.."  
*bismillah adanya pada sewatu kali...*  
 "In the Name of Allah once upon a time there was..."

Those recitations from writings are set, do not include didactic tales as a genre, and brook of no interruptions. But such recitations are comparatively rare.

Not uncommonly people will learn the plot of written matter and later recite it in the more flexible oral style. By the same token, in the past some oral material was reduced to writing. The enculturative importance of all this is that in the past children learned to consider writing something special. Writing containing knowledge should be shown respect, and all Koranic writing must be specially honored. Writing has power. Koranic verses, properly written and recited over on slips of paper which are then folded up, become amulets for protection. The written word is special and fixated, unlike the more flexible spoken word.

In oral tales the narrator at times adjusts the complexity of vocabulary and syntax to match the comprehension of the listeners; if the audience is primarily composed of young children, the tale will be in a form that they can understand. But if the listeners are older, or if several older children are present among the younger ones, the narrator will use the fully elaborated traditional speech forms. From hearing these tales over and over again some children come to learn them so well that upon reaching adulthood they can themselves narrate the tales competently and thus continue the cycle of tales as a method of enculturation.

However, with the increasing importance of television (often run by a gasoline powered generator) and of formal school education, this traditional picture of linguistic enculturation is changing. Children who once eagerly looked forward to their tales of *garasi* (giants) now watch Japanese monster movies or American cowboy tales on television. And children who once would have learned their culture from didactic and other tales acquire different ideas from school books and from magazines. Godzilla, shoot-em-ups, and magazines form a different type of language enculturation which, though obtruding, has not yet supplanted the traditional modes. Not uncommonly at a modern wedding the guests will be divided into two groups, one watching television, the other listening to traditional tale-telling and engaging in traditional verse-making.

Verse making, *pantun-pantunan*, the "matching of quatrains," is a literary form still highly valued. The first participant recites two lines which the second person then complements in both rhyme and meaning. Real skill at this demands not only a certain ability to versify, but also a knowledge of traditional

subtleties and double meanings. The best quatrains have a nice sound and meaning on the surface and carry a quite different second meaning. But more and more as children learn their stories from books they lack the knowledge of traditional literary subtleties and allusions to successfully give the quatrains both complementary and secondary meanings. Yet the height of traditional poetic ability lay in having a poem convey one meaning on the surface and another, often diametrically opposed, meaning underneath.

Schooling, radio, and television have had another effect on linguistic enculturation. In the past literary activities were conducted in Brunei Malay, the lingua franca of greater Borneo. But now under the demand of school examinations to write in Standard Malay, the lingua franca of the Malay Peninsula and the national language of Malaysia, children are beginning to use the Standard Malay forms in many cases rather than the Brunei Malay. The difference between these two languages is about like that between Spanish and Portuguese; there are syntactic and grammatical differences as well as lexical. Thus, the mass-media are coming to play an increasing role in linguistic enculturation.

In primary school most of the children begin learning English as a second language and learning some Arabic in religious training. Secondary school education takes place in Standard Malay at the Malay-language high school and at the vocational school, in English at the English-medium high school, and largely in Arabic at the religious school. Thus, secondary school students may attain English or Arabic fluency in addition to the Standard Malay learned in lower school. This is scholastic multi-linguality.

Yet a reverse linguistic enculturation sometimes occurs also. Women upon marrying often cease any paid employment they may have had and spend their full time as housewives and mothers. In this situation they are thrown into the company of older women and under their linguistic influence drop the school acquired languages and forms of speech, reverting to the traditional Brunei Malay forms. This is particularly true in the Water Village of Bandar Seri Begawan where houses are clustered tightly together. Similarly, men returning from their jobs will often shed the Standard Malay and English and revert to Brunei Malay, rather as one might

change clothes upon coming home.

Meanwhile children grow up learning their own Brunei Malay language. In the baby-sling they hear it as lullabies, as toddlers it is the voice of those who tend them, and as children it is the voice of their playmates. Only later in life will factors of linguistic change and adaptation confront them. But the deepest emotions and feelings of the language acquired in childhood will always carry the deepest emotion and strike the most responsive chord. No matter where a Brunei Malay goes in life, the phrase "return to house and ladder" conveys the warm, snug coziness of home. For many and many a tale has the happy ending, *balek ka rumah tanggah*, "return to house and ladder."

#### NOTES

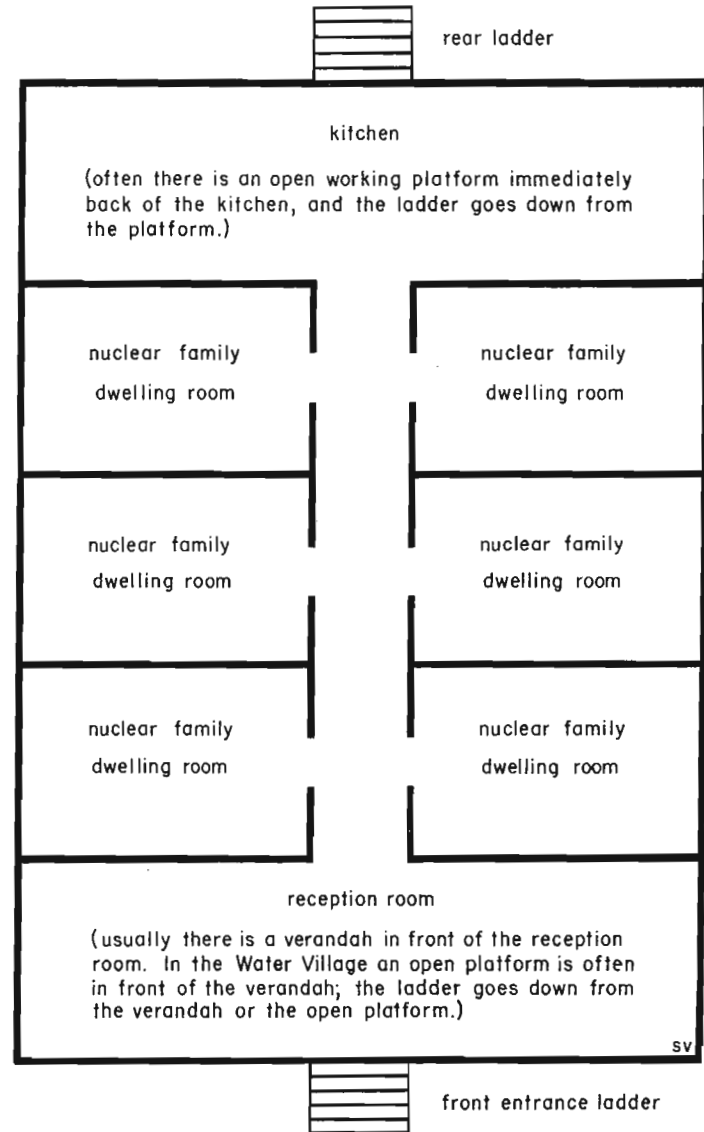
1. Deaf Sign is a gestural language used by many deaf people for communication. Its origins seem to lie in spoken language; thus, it can be considered a special case and will not be discussed further here.
2. See, for instance, Blount and Sanches (ed.), Socio-cultural Dimensions of Language Change, Academic Press, 1976, and Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan (eds.), Child Discourse, Academic Press, 1977.
3. The author has published several articles on this subject in the Brunei Museum Journal beginning 1970. Currently the author is working on a book analyzing the material she collected during a two-year longitudinal study of children acquiring Brunei Malay. The emphasis in this study is upon the acquisition of meaning.
4. Many thanks go to those in Brunei whose help and cooperation made this study possible, Pengiran Sharifuddin, Lim Jock Seng, the Government of Brunei, officers and staff of the Brunei Museum, the State Secretary, Fire Rock villagers, and my host family.

Partial funding for the fieldwork was provided by a

travel grant from Ohio State University and by a grant from the National Academy of Sciences Division of Behavioral Science, Committee on ADCA Support of Dissertation Research.

- 5. See Figure 1 for a "typical" house floor plan.
- 6. But the study of Brunei Malay linguistic history and the composition of the Brunei Malay lexicon should shed considerable light on the Malayo branch. Brunei Malay has, for example, borrowings from diverse languages including Murut; Old Javanese, the "classical Greek" of the Malay-Javanese language family; Tamil; Sanskrit, possibly transmitted via Tamil; Arabic; Chinese of more than one dialect; Dutch; Spanish; English; Persian, particularly found in certain esoterica; and Standard Malay, quite close to the Malay spoken in the district of Johore.
- 7. It may, however, considerably affect other aspects of enculturation. Also, the "spoiled youngest" is not unknown.

Figure 1. Schematic drawing of a typical Brunei Malay house floorplan.



A FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY AND WRITING  
OF SARAWAK AND SABAH HISTORY: II

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Introduction

This course will cover the history of Sarawak and Sabah from the end of the Japanese Occupation in 1945 until the present, with particular emphasis on the colonial period (1945-63). Because of the easy availability of source materials and readings considerable attention will be paid to political developments (particularly the rise of political parties and the merger with Malaysia); however, we will also devote some time to social, economic and cultural change in the two northern Borneo states. The reading list attempts to strike a good balance between socio-cultural history on the one hand and political history on the other. Throughout the course we will be especially concerned with the recent history of the northern Borneo peoples themselves - Ibans, Kadazans, Malays, Chinese, Kenyahs, etc. - rather than with outsiders such as Europeans and West Malaysians.

Basic Readings (Texts)

1. Michael Leigh, The Rising Moon: Political Change in Sarawak.
2. Margaret Roff, The Politics of Belonging: Political Change in Sabah and Sarawak.
3. James Ongkili, Modernization in East Malaysia, 1960-1970.
4. Bruce Ross-Larsen, The Politics of Federalism: Syed Kechik in East Malaysia.
5. M.H. Baker, Sabah: The First Ten Years as a Colony, 1946-1956.

6. Craig A. Lockard, From Kampong to City: A Social History of Kuching, Malaysia, 1820-1970 (chapters 7-8). manuscript copy .
7. James Jackson, Sarawak: A Geographical Survey (available in a Bahasa Malaysia edition).
8. Edwin Lee, The Towkays of Sabah.

Course Outline

The following is a tentative schedule for the weekly lectures during this academic year. It also constitutes an attempt to present in outline form a framework for the study and writing of Sabah and Sarawak history from 1941 to the present; to my mind 1941, rather than 1945, constitutes the most appropriate chronological dividing line for a 2-year course dealing with Sabah and Sarawak history. The major themes selected for analysis, as well as the amount of time allocated to different periods and developments, hopefully reflect a satisfactory trade-off between the availability of sources (especially strong on political development from 1960-1970; much weaker on the Japanese Occupation, the colonial period, and on social and cultural history generally; very limited on economic history) and the needs of a fair and comprehensive historical treatment that successfully integrates and analyzes political, social, cultural, and economic developments. The assigned and recommended reading assignments for each week are listed with the weekly topic; required readings are marked with an asterisk. The full citation for each book or article listed can be obtained by locating the reading in the attached selected bibliography by the number which accompanies the reading assignment.

(Editor's note: Because of its length, the selected bibliography is not included, but is available in mimeographed form upon request. All requests should be addressed to the Editor c/o the address on the cover.)



- | Week | Topic  |
|------|--|
| 1    | Introductory Remarks   |
| A.   | Background to Post-War History   |
| 2    | Geographical and Economic Background <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Climate</li> <li>b. Geographical features</li> <li>c. Major towns and districts</li> <li>d. Economic foundations and resources</li> </ul> Reading<br>*F6 M. Baker, <u>Sabah: First Ten Years as Colony</u> , 1-7<br>*E31 J. Jackson, <u>Sarawak: Geographical Survey</u> , 15-37<br>D4 N. Ginsburg, <u>North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak</u> , Ch. 3                               |
| 3    | Peoples and Cultures in Northern Borneo <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Dayaks</li> <li>b. Kadazans-Muruts</li> <li>c. Malayo-Muslims</li> <li>d. Chinese</li> <li>e. Others</li> </ul> Reading<br>*D25 M. Roff, <u>Politics of Belonging</u> , 17-31<br>*E45 M. Leigh, <u>Rising Moon</u> , 1-6<br>E69 Sarawak Museum, "Sarawak Ethnic Groups," all<br>*F6 Baker, 8-18<br>E21 T. Harrisson, <u>Peoples of Sarawak</u> , all<br>*E31 J. Jackson, 38-63 |
| 4    | The Brooke Heritage in Sarawak <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Pre-Brooke Sarawak</li> <li>b. Evolution of Brooke Raj</li> <li>c. Impact of Brooke rule</li> </ul> Reading<br>*D25 M. Roff, 36-42<br>*E60 J. Ongkili, "New Look at Sarawak History," 24-27<br>E64 S. Runciman, <u>White Rajahs</u> , 243-53<br>D10 J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Sarawak and Sabah: Origins," all<br>E75 J. Singh Sidhu, "Sarawak, 1900-1961," 129-32                       |
| 5    | The Chartered Company Heritage in Sabah <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Pre-Company Sabah</li> <li>b. Evolution of Company rule</li> <li>c. Impact of Company rule</li> </ul>  |

- |    | Reading   |
|----|---|
|    | *D25 M. Roff, 31-36<br>*F6 M. Baker, 19-28<br>F34 J. Singh Sidhu, 123-27#   |
| B. | War, Recovery, and Political Transition, 1941-1950  |
| 6  | Japanese Occupation, 1941-45 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Japanese Occupation</li> <li>b. Sarawak and Sabah resistance</li> <li>c. Impact of Occupation</li> </ul> Reading<br>*E64 S. Runciman, 253-58<br>*E36 K. Tregonning, <u>History of Modern Sabah</u> , Ch. 12<br>*E50 C. Lockard, <u>From Kampong to City</u> , 253-58<br>*F6 M. Baker, 28-34<br>E77 P. Stevens, "History of Kanowit District-IV," 75-77<br>E12 L. Edwards, "History of Lawas District-II," 84-88<br>F14 M. Hall, <u>Kinabalu Guerillas</u> , all<br>D7 T. Harrisson, "The Chinese in Borneo, 1942-5," all |
| 7  | Malay Politics and the Cession Controversy in Post-War Sarawak <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. The Cession to Britain</li> <li>b. Anti-Cession Movement</li> <li>c. Anti-Cession and Malay socio-political change</li> <li>d. Decline of anti-cession</li> </ul> Reading<br>*E50 C. Lockard, 258-67<br>*E27 Y. Heaton, "The Anti-Cession Movement," all<br>*E64 S. Runciman, 258-67<br>E65 Sanab Said and F. Malik, "Anti-Cession Movement," all<br>E49 K.B. Liang, <u>Sarawak, 1941-57</u> , 4-14  |
| 8  | Chinese Politics in Post-War Sarawak <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Chinese nationalism in late 1940s</li> <li>b. Impact of Chinese Communism</li> <li>c. Decline of Chinese Nationalism</li> </ul> Reading<br>*C. Lockard, 277-304  |

- C. Sabah and Sarawak Under Colonial Rule, 1946-1963
- 9 Impact of Colonialism in Sarawak: Political and Economic
- a. Colonial administration
  - b. Political life
  - c. Economic development
- Reading
- \*E47 M. Leigh, "Local Government: Origins and Development," 9-27
  - \*D12 Y. Lee, "Development of Resources in British Borneo," all
  - E77 P. Stevens, 77-79, 80-82
  - \*D9 L. Jones, Population of Borneo, 62-165
  - \*E49 K.B. Liang, 14-51
  - E12 L. Edwards, "History of Lawas District - III," 109-114
  - E71 J. Satem, "Changing Nature of Sarawak Exports," 138-39
  - D4 N. Ginsburg, 60-64, 69-87, 101-37, 148-159, 168-70
- 10 Impact of Colonialism in Sarawak: Social and Cultural
- a. Urban society and development
  - b. Rural society
  - c. Education
  - d. Religious changes
  - e. Cultural transformations
- Reading
- \*E31 J. Jackson, 63-72
  - \*E50 C. Lockard, 258-67, 292-303
  - \*E90 E. White, "Bungan: A New Kayan Belief," all
  - \*E43 Y. Lee, "The Chinese in Sarawak," all
  - \*E17 A. Galvin, "Passing of a Tribal Chief," all
  - E30 P. Howes, "Why Some of Best People Aren't Christian," all
  - E11 J. Deegan, "Community Fragmentation among Lun Bawang," all
  - E77 P. Stevens, 79-80
  - E62 I. Prattis, "Kayan-Kenyah Bungan Cult," all
  - D4 N. Ginsburg, 247-70
- 11 Impact of Colonialism in Sabah: Political and Economic
- a. Colonial administration
  - b. Political life
  - c. Economic development

- Reading
- \*F6 M. Baker, 35-69, 85-149
  - \*F36 K. Tregonning, 223-41
  - \*D21 J. Ongkili, Modernization in East Malaysia, 79-81
  - \*F19 E. Lee, Towkays of Sabah, 1-36
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B R I E F C O M M U N I C A T I O N S

Turtle Notes

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The Leathery Turtle or Luth (Dermodochelys coriacea) has not been recorded in Sabah waters. However, on 13th July, 1977 while proceeding to Silam with D.V. Jenkins, Assistant Director, National Parks, in the motor launch "Sri Taman Negara", at 2:30 p.m. near Pulau Boheydulang the writer's attention was drawn by Jenkins to two "massive" turtles swimming about 100 yards away from the boat. By the time the writer reached the deck and scanned the area with a pair of binoculars only a large black flipper protruded out of the water. Although the launch changed course immediately and cruised around the area for some time, the turtles were not observed again. Jenkins furnished a description of the turtles which fitted the Leathery Turtle in every detail. The turtles were also observed by the crew and their descriptions were identical to that furnished by Jenkins who, incidentally, had never seen a Leathery Turtle prior to this observation.

On 16th October, 1977 while Jenkins and the writer were at the Wakiki Aquarium, Hawaii the former noticed a mounted Leathery Turtle on the aquarium wall and immediately said that it was the same species observed near Boheydulang. There is no doubt that Jenkins and the crew observed 2 Leathery Turtles. In the past the writer had surveyed several turtle nesting beaches situated in Sabah waters in the Celebes Sea, but found no evidence of the Leathery Turtle. Fishermen and people living on some of the islands in the area have only referred to Green Turtles and Hawksbill Turtles. They have always disclaimed knowledge of any other species.

As the ways and means by which turtles cross the seas and the great oceans are complex, it is impossible for the writer to assume that a single factor was responsible for bringing the Leathery Turtles to Sabah waters. However, two important factors that can cause or contribute to their actual travel are the winds and currents. The swimming of turtles and wave action are

also contributing factors which cannot be overlooked. As far as swimming is concerned, the adult Leathery Turtle should be a more powerful swimmer than the other smaller species found near Pulau Boneydulang.

Till more information is available, the writer expresses no opinion but thinks that (1) the turtles may be strays and or were travelling with the currents or (2) they were in the process of migrating towards nesting beaches possibly in Philippine or Indonesian waters or (3) moving towards a hitherto unknown nesting beach in Sabah waters.

The area certainly needs more investigation and notes from other turtle researchers in the Philippines and Indonesia will be most appreciated as very little is known about turtles of all species found in the Celebes Sea now referred to as Laut Sulawesi in some local maps.

As far as the writer is aware, the Leathery Turtle is known to nest in certain areas in South East Asia such as (1) Trengganu in West Malaysia, (2) Pukhet island near the West Coast of Thailand and (3) on unstudied nesting grounds on the coast of New Guinea.

A Note on Borneo Place-names

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I have been playing the place-name game again; trying to find the ordinary meaning of words used. Without resurrecting such hoary problems as the derivation of Kuching, Santubong, or the English term 'Sea Dayak', the following very general 'rules' have emerged and it may be useful to have them on record. They are probably well understood already by anyone who has been engaged in field work but they may be news to others who have not yet set foot in Borneo or who are concerned only with published historical or geographical material.

1. Positions on rivers are always given as being on the left or right-hand bank going upstream. Malays and other seafarers coming from and settling near the sea would naturally think in this way: indeed, in the West when sailors talk of a port hand buoy they mean one on

the left going in to harbour not out. Iban and other peoples use the same terms: when migrating they would clear farms up a river more often than down.

2. Rivers being viewed from seaward are therefore seen in plan as if they were trees, with a trunk and branches. The estuary as far as the tide reaches is called the trunk (*batang*) and it usually has its own name, the upper reaches having different names. Sometimes the name can be said to change at the mouth of a major tributary. Examples are the Batang Lupar which becomes Batant Ai' above Engkelili (at the furthest), then Ulu Ai'; the Saribas, which is the Layar above tidal effects; the Kalaka becomes the Krian; the Rejang divides into the Baleh and Balui (tides affect the flow at Kapit when the river is very low on account of drought). The Sarawak river also divides into Sarawak Kiri and Kanan without change of name but again left and right on going upstream.

3. Before the middle of the last century, very little was known of the interior of Borneo as may be seen from old maps, where places are named along the coast but vagueness reigns inland. This can cause misinterpretation; e.g. a *tanjong* can be a bend in a river and not a cape or headland jutting into the sea. *Giam*, *riam* and *wong* are all words for rapids or falls; *trusan* is a direct way through by water (*terus*) as distinct from *gunong*, a mountain range or system. There has been confusion over the place where the pirates were defeated in 1849 off the Saribas: there is no *Batang* but it is *Beting Maru*, a shoal of sand lying off *Tanjong Maru* between the Kalaka and Saribas as described in the Indonesia Pilot (vol.II).

4. Some names change or disappear. Kuching used to be known as Sarawak; Sibiu, called Sibau (=Rambutan) by Iban, used to be called *Maling* as the name of the island before the causeway was built (probably nothing to do with the Javanese and Minangkabau work meaning 'thief'); the Baleh was called *Jengayan* by the precursors of the Iban; *Putusan* (or *Patusan*), marked on old maps of the Batang Lupar, is gone and the place is now called Gran or Bijat (only surveys show the old course of the river which had cut through (*putus*) the neck of land not long before the battle there in 1844: Kota Kinabalu used to be *Api-api* (after a kind of man-grove).

5. Where people have been long settled, place names

are used for villages and longhouses. In 'pioneer' areas where land is plentiful and hills are steep, the tendency is to name a house after its leader, usually the augur, because he is more permanent than the house, which may be moved every two or three years.

6. Many places are given the names of plants or a distinguishing natural feature. In the case of rivers the name is often given the prefix *se* or *si*: *Sebatu* (rock), *sewong* (waterfall), *segerugu* (boulder), *setapang* (bee-tree) etc. (*Si*)*manggnag* is a fruit tree; so is (Mata) *Kuching*. *Bunut* is a tree; *purun* is a rush or reed. Names with *Batu* are sometimes easier: *Batu Lintang* is where a band of harder rock lies across the stream bed; *Batu Kitang* is where the butter fish with poisonous dorsal spines is found; *Batu Kawa* has a round rock beside the landing stage like an upturned cooking pan.

7. But there are problems. Many names have no meaning that is discoverable (like *Sarikei*), or obvious meanings that are evidently false (*Mukah*, fornication or *Muka*, face) probably from being interpreted in the wrong language. Some derive from misunderstandings: there are too many small streams called *Tuan* to be true. They either had no name known to the informant or were unprintable so that when asked "What is that called?" the answer comes "a stream, Sir!" and is put down as *Sungai Tuan* without the comma. Similarly with *Sungai Danau* or *Lepong*: these may have been flooded areas at the time and correctly described as such but in fact not rivers at all.

8. There are names derived from people or their doings. There is a river *Embuas* joining the *Tekalit* on the way from the *Katibas* to the *Gat*. It is not named from the omen bird, the Banded Kingfisher, but from a man of that name who was surprised and killed there by *Ukits* (so it is said) from *Ulu Kapuas*.

A rapid in the *Baram* is (or was, I believe) called *Wong Hose* because the Resident of that name fell overboard there and was nearly drowned. *Bukit Bangku* near *Simanggang* was named from the *belian* garden seat that *D.J.S. Bailey* had built there for resting while walking the "Long Round". *Tembawai Keling* is a grove of fruit trees near *Bukit Sepali* (*Rejang*) far from any present habitation: his pack strap broke and the fruit spilt when he was returning to the *Kapuas*. *Tempalai Kumang*, *Kumang's* garden, is in the *Balah* between *Putai* and

*Mengiong*. *Langkau Bala*, "army huts", is a place in *Ulu Ai* where a large war party once camped. *Lubok Antu* may refer to the site of a battle and the dead upon the field rather than to 'ghosts'.

YAYASAN  
ILMU-ILMU SOSIAL

Peter Weldon  
Tenaga Ahli

We read with interest *H. Arlo Nimmo's* note on the *Bajoe* in *Watampone* (*BRB* September 1977). The "student" who accompanied him to *Watampone*, *Drs. Herman Soesangobeng*, is in fact a lecturer in law at *Brawijaya University*, *Malang*, East Java. Like 35 other lecturers and researchers each year, *Drs. Herman* was undergoing a year long training program in one of the three *Social Science Research Training Stations*, which are located at *Hasanuddin University* in *Ujung Pandang*, South Sulawesi; *Syiah Kuala University*, *Darussalam*, *Banda Aceh*, Aceh; and *University of Indonesia*, *Jakarta*. The *BRB* has carried a previous note on this training program and further information on the program can be obtained from *Dr. Alfian*, Secretary, *Yayasan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, P.O. Box 310, *Jakarta Pusat*, Indonesia.

With regard to publication of the reports from the three stations, two monographs have appeared thus far: *Jan Pieter Karafir*, *Pemupukan Modal Pedagang Kaki-lima* (*Jakarta:LP3ES*, 1977), and *Alfian* (ed.), *Segi-Segi Sosial Budaya Masyarakat Aceh* (*Jakarta:LP3ES*, 1977). *LP3ES* publications, which include *Prisma*, the leading Bahasa Indonesia social science monthly and also a companion quarterly in English, are distributed in the United States by *Ohio University Press*, *Athens*, *Ohio*. Two to three additional monographs based on research reports from the three training stations are being planned.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

East Kalimantan and the Man and Biosphere Program\*

By

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Officially launched by UNESCO in 1970, the Man and Biosphere (MAB) Program is an international research and training program intended to provide information and methods for better management of different types of ecosystems or human use systems. Since it is concerned with reciprocal influences between people and their environments, the program seeks to promote an integrated social and ecological approach to problems.

The Indonesian MAB Program is administered by the Indonesian MAB Committee, which was officially established in 1974 and is administratively under the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI, Indonesian Institute of Sciences). The committee's main functions are to promote research activities related to the MAB Program and to encourage institutional cooperation in research and training. As a coordinating body, the Indonesian MAB Committee does not execute research activities as such.

Internationally, 14 major MAB projects areas or themes have been identified. The Indonesian MAB program has been designed to conform with and support Indonesia's National Development Plan (Repelita). Therefore, it initially concentrates on four of the 14 MAB project areas, that is, on the most relevant to the second five-year development plan (Repelita II). These include: Project 1, concerned with the interplay between

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human activities and the structure and dynamics of tropical and subtropical forest ecosystems; Project 5, concerned with the interplay between human activities and the resources of lakes, marshes, rivers, deltas, estuaries and coastal zones; Project 7, concerned with the ecology and rational use of island ecosystems; and Project 8, concerned with the conservation of natural areas and of the genetic material they contain. In the present report, we consider some possibilities and needs for MAB Project 1 research in East Kalimantan.

The Importance of East Kalimantan for Man and Biosphere Project 1 Research

The opening sentence of a recent publication of "Ecological Guidelines for Development in Tropical Forest Areas of South East Asia" (Poore 1974) states: "Tropical rain forests apparently represent one of the last remaining reserves of unutilized land in the world and are now becoming, therefore, prime targets for development." Among the provinces of Indonesia, East Kalimantan stands out because of the extent of this reserve that it contains - a reserve which is indeed a prime target for development. Currently, because of activities in both the oil and forestry sectors, East Kalimantan has a higher rate of economic growth than does any other Indonesian province, and its population, which was only 733,536 in 1971, is being augmented considerably by migrants who come to share in the economic boom.

The province, located between 4°22' N and 2°22' S, and between 114°E and 119°E, covers a total land area of 21,144,000 ha or about 10 percent of the total land area of Indonesia. Out of this, 17,292,000 ha is natural forest, (Dinas Kehutanan Daerah Tingkat I Kalimantan Timur 1975). The potential timber volume of the production forest is about 270 million cubic meters of non-exportable timber (Lapin Universitas Mulawarman 1976).

Stimulated by such factors as greatly increased Japanese demand for tropical hardwoods and the passage of laws conducive to foreign investment in the forestry sector (Manning 1971, Sumitro 1975), logging in production forest developed quickly after 1967. This included both traditional manual (*banjir kap* or *kuda-kuda*) logging and mechanized logging, but the former practice, because of the damage and waste it causes, was banned in 1971; however, it did not cease completely until

1973 (Dinas Kehutanan Daerah Tingkat I Kalimantan Timur 1975). The total area of production forest allocated for mechanized logging amounts to 12,982,890 ha. The number of concessionaires operating in this area was 56 in 1969 and 139 in 1973, with timber production of 2.1 million cubic meters and 716 million meters, respectively. In 1973, the total timber export was about 50 per cent of the total timber export of the country (Lapan Universitas Mulawarman 1976, Dinas Kehutanan Daerah Tingkat I Kalimantan Timur 1975). The 1968-1973 period was marked by rapidly increasing production and export of logs. There was a decline in 1974-1975 because of a worldwide slump in demand for timber, but production and export are once more increasing now and, significantly, European markets for East Kalimantan timber are being added to the Japanese and other East Asian markets of the first boom period.

Because of the rapid rate of exploitation, the extent of disturbed natural forest has increased proportionately. According to some predictions, it may not be long before hardly any lowland forest remains. Moreover, logging may lead to the extinction of many species that might otherwise be of economic importance in the future. Investigations by Tinal and Palinewen (1975) at Beloro, East Kalimantan, indicate that mechanized logging in the lowland forest, where an average of 25 trees with diameter greater than 50 cm per hectare was extracted, left only 50 percent of the residual trees undamaged and 30 percent of the ground opened and damaged. Mechanized logging leads also to the compaction of soil, increase of soil erodibility and loss of fertility (Inansothy 1975). The recovery of such damaged forest is very slow; it may take more than 40 years (Meijer 1970; on damage from logging, see also Soedjarwo 1975).

Shifting cultivation has been practised in East Kalimantan for a very long time and has led in places to the formation of *alang-alang* grassland and *belukar* (secondary forest). It is estimated that *alang-alang* grassland covers a total area of 372,000 ha and *belukar* 2.4 million ha (Wirakusumah 1976). Now that an extensive network of logging roads (+5000 km) exists, shifting cultivation may follow these roads and spread more rapidly. The situation may be aggravated by the increase of population in East Kalimantan through the central government's transmigration program. In some cases, Javanese and other transmigrants, originally practising

permanent agriculture but finding it insufficiently productive in their new environments, turn to shifting cultivation.

In short, East Kalimantan is a large and busy arena for the interplay between human activities and the structure and dynamics of tropical forest ecosystems and is well suited for MAB Project 1 research. Because of the rapidity with which changes are occurring, the research is urgently needed and can have important implications for the future development of the province and the management of its forest resources.

#### Tentative Recommendations for Research

The one week duration of the reconnaissance trip which Kartawinata and Vayda made to East Kalimantan in July 1976 on behalf of the Indonesian MAB Committee allowed them to make only short visits to timber camps and farming and forest areas along the lower Mahakam River. A five-day visit in January 1977, again on behalf of the Indonesian MAB Committee, enabled them to join Wirakusumah on a two-day reconnaissance of lower Kayan resettlement areas and their vicinities. Both visits were too short to allow Kartawinata and Vayda to hold as many discussions as they would have liked with the faculty of Mulawarman University in Samarinda or to study all of the many excellent reports and other materials available at the university. The recommendations that follow must be regarded as tentative.

#### (1) Effects of timber camps on economic activities of villagers

Timber camps in East Kalimantan are situated along the Mahakam and other rivers. Their location is usually in close proximity to established villages. This, in principle, makes labor from the villages available to the logging camps and is regarded by the government as desirable for improving the economic condition of people in the vicinity of the camps.

The presence of the logging camps can change the economic activities of the villagers in various ways. In addition to the new kinds of work that may be done directly for the logging companies and a possible increase in the growing of vegetables for sale to them, some expansion or inten-



sification of previous occupations is made possible by the roads which the companies put through the forest. Examples of such occupations are cutting ironwood and collecting rattan and other minor products. Possibly the new roads provide access also to new sites for cultivation. On the other hand, the policies of some timber concessionaires may have the effect of curtailing such activities insofar as these concessionaires deny the people access to forest areas that they formerly used. The fact that some women from the villages become temporary wives to foreign members of the logging crews may also contribute to changing patterns of economic activity.

Does the presence of the timber camps indeed lead to improvement of the economic condition of the villagers? If so, in what ways and to what extent? And what effect, if any, do the changes have on the structure and dynamics of tropical forest ecosystems? Might, for example, increased intensity of ironwood cutting cause irreversible damage to the forest ecosystems?

In order to answer such questions, we recommend detailed studies of economic activities in a sample of villages chosen on the basis of their proximity to the camps of timber concessionaires, and the policies the concessionaires hold with regard to villagers' use of their roads and concession areas. It would probably be advantageous to select a sample of villages as far upriver as practical in order to minimize urban influences emanating from Samarinda. Villages along the Mahakam vary in their ethnic composition, but it is likely that a sample can be found in which a relatively low degree of ethnic diversity will make it possible to consider variations in economic activities without regard to the influence of ethnic differences on these. The villages in the sample should also be of similar population size and structure. It will, in other words, be desirable to control as much as possible any sources of variation in economic activities other than the factors related to the timber camps.

If funds and personnel can be found for extensive community studies involving continuous residence in the villages by the same investigators for at

least a year, these should be undertaken in order to provide basic knowledge of village organization and activities; such studies have, unfortunately, not yet been made and would be most useful for providing a foundation for more focussed inquiries concerning recent changes related to the advent of the timber camps.

The more focussed inquiries might usefully be pursued along the lines of recent studies of time allocation in economic activities by household members in Javanese villages. Reports and theses resulting from the studies (Edmundson 1972; Hart 1976; White 1973, 1976a, 1976b) set forth procedures for selecting samples of households and/or individuals and activities for investigation. We recognize that limitations on the availability of time, funding, and personnel may make it difficult to pursue the East Kalimantan village studies with the intensity of the Javanese studies. However, even careful, periodic interviewing of subjects in order to obtain their own reports of their activities or else the training of literate members of the village to keep records of activities can provide some basis for comparisons of time allocation in villages varying in their proximity to timber camps. Through such comparisons, we should be able to assess both the kind of impact which the timber companies have on adjacent communities and the degree to which the impact spreads to communities further away. Moreover, evidence of changes in the intensity or frequency of certain forest activities by the villagers should enable us to calculate likely effects on the physical and biological characteristics of the forest itself.

(2) Comparative studies of cultivators in upriver and downriver resettlement areas

Shifting cultivation has been widely regarded as having adverse effects on tropical forest ecosystems. It is still practiced by most people living in the interior of East Kalimantan. However, in 1972 the government began a resettlement program to improve the living conditions of these people and to reduce forest destruction. Under the program people broadly categorized as Dayak (including Kayan, Kenyah, Tunjung, and Pasir)

have already been established in 14 new downriver communities and have replaced their traditional shifting cultivation with more settled agriculture consisting of combinations of dry-rice and wet-rice cultivation. When recruited by the government for the resettlement areas, these people were already on the move from the upper Kayan and other remote areas where, according to our informants in the lower Kayana, land shortages are developing and salt, kerosene, and other goods are difficult to obtain from the coast. Near some of the resettlement areas but not part of them are other communities of people who have migrated from the upper Kayan. The migrations in general are by *prau* (canoe) and, because they involve negotiation of extensive rapids, can take several months. Only small planes land at the mission airstrips of the upriver areas. Groups of people have been migrating on their own initiative from these areas since the early 1950's (Rasyid 1976, Chapter 2).

The fact that many people remain in the remote homeland communities from which the migrants to the resettlement areas and their vicinities have come makes it possible to conduct studies for the purpose of comparing farming and its effects in the old and new areas. We recommend such studies so that the environmental and economic benefits and liabilities of the different agricultural systems and the desirability of further government-supported resettlement and migrations from the remote areas may be better assessed. These studies should involve, on the one hand, the kind of detailed observation and description of the actual farming practices (site selection, cutting, burning, planting, weeding, harvesting, etc.) which have been suggested in such field guides as Conklin's (1961) and, on the other hand, the necessary botanical, zoological, and edaphic studies to show the different environmental effects of the practices. Further, the studies should deal with the standard of living, health, and general well-being of communities practicing different forms of agriculture and should provide projections of possible changes through time in order to permit assessment of how long and how effectively a system may continue without such results as greatly increased environmental deterioration

or greatly increased need for capital inputs in the form of fertilizer and pesticides (see Clarke 1976, pp. 254-255, on indicators of environmental deterioration from shifting cultivation and of breakdown in previously sustainable systems of shifting cultivation).

(3) Environmental effects of different kinds of land use

A general research procedure that has been recommended by international meetings on MAB Project 1 is a comparison of processes in neighboring forest areas varying in the degree to which they have been subjected to human manipulation or disturbance (UNESCO 1972, 1974, 1975). Situations in which such comparisons can be made may be readily found in East Kalimantan and include various combinations of the following ecosystems: undisturbed primary forest, secondary forest derived from abandoned shifting cultivation, secondary forest derived from abandoned plantations (e.g., rubber and pepper), currently farmed shifting cultivation area, selectively logged-over forest, old irrigated rice-field, new irrigated rice field, orchard, homestead garden, and unirrigated permanent farm. In the vicinity of Samarinda, some examples of appropriate research locations of about 100 sq. km each are: Purwajaya, about 15 km west of Samarinda; Bukit Biru, about 30 km northwest of Samarinda; and Lempake, within Samarinda municipality. In each of these, both permanent and shifting cultivation are practiced, rubber and/or pepper plantations are present, and some primary forests remain. Moreover, some logging has occurred in all three places. We recommend that in one or more of these places studies be undertaken on the environmental effects of different kinds of land use. The research that the Lembaga Biologi Nasional (National Biological Institute) has already begun at Lempake - investigations of ecological successions in areas subjected to different kinds of disturbance by means of agriculture and forestry - illustrates the kinds of investigations needed. As in the case of the shifting cultivation studies recommended above, detailed observation and description of the actual farming (or other land use) practices should also be part of the

research.

(4) Divergence between principles and practice

The standard form of the Indonesian Forestry Agreement and the Concession Agreement (re-printed as Appendix C of Sumitro 1975) contains provisions concerning "good timbering and ecological practices." It is specified that all the operations and activities of a company under this Agreement "shall be conducted so as to avoid waste and loss of natural resources, to protect natural resources against damage, to prevent pollution and contamination of the environment, and to maintain and develop the total environment in accordance with sound, modern ecological principles." Other parts of the Agreement state more specifically the ways in which these objectives are to be achieved.

The reasons why there are deviations in practice from principles stated in the Agreement are varied and complex (cf. Manning 1971, pp. 41-42). Some of the reasons, moreover, are related to such sensitive issues as what Sumitro (1975, p. 180) has referred to as "the irregularity of payment system, payments outside the posted regulations." Such issues are not likely to lend themselves readily to research. But even if not all the reasons for divergence between principles and practice can be investigated, it should still be possible to identify and study some specific ways in which certain activities prior to actual logging operations can contribute to failure to achieve timbering in accordance with "sound, modern ecological principles." For example, according to the directives for selective cutting decreed by the Director General of Forestry (No. 35/Kpts/DD/I/72), the cutting cycle should be at least 35 years. Nevertheless, there are indications that some relogging occurs after much shorter intervals, sometimes as short as two years. By returning to an area with heavy logging equipment after so limited an interval, the timber companies can greatly exacerbate the ecological damage done. Short-interval relogging can be to a company's short-term economic advantage insofar as it allows cutting to be delayed until either weather or log prices become more favorable. Of special interest, however, is the

fact that further incentives to relogging may result from inaccuracies in the initial surveys of proposed concession areas and from the consequent setting of log-production targets impossible for the logging companies to achieve without resort to relogging or other practices departing from sound ecological principles. In light of these possibilities, we recommend as part of MAB Project 1 research a closer look at initial surveys, the setting of production targets, and other activities which, depending on how they are done, may lead to effects undesirable from the standpoint of modern ecological principles and long-term forest management.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We would like to express our deep appreciation to the directors and camp managers of the P.T. Kayu Mahakam Timber Co., P.T. Bhirawa Timber Co., P.T. Dana Mula Bhakti, P.T. Dolar Mas, and P.T. Inhutani for their kind cooperation and for providing facilities during the field trips. To Messrs. Deddy Ruhijat, Ch. Suyanto, and Simamora we are grateful for assistance in the field. Our thanks are also due to Mr. Urbanus Wang for his hospitality during our stay at the village of Long Lembu, Kabupaten Bulongan.

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#### APPENDIX I

##### Itinerary of Dr. Andrew P. Vayda and Dr. Kuswata Kartawinata

- 15 July 1976 - Arrival at Samarinda
- 16 July - Meeting with representatives of Mulawarman University, Provincial Forest Service and Agricultural Service.
- 17 July - Visits to Bukit Biru Transmigration area and timber camp of the Kayu Mahakam Timber Co.
- 18 July - Visits to logging area of the Kayu Mahakam Timber Co. and the base camp of Bhirawa Timber Co.

- 19 July - Visit to logging area of Bhirawa Timber Co. and return to Samarinda.
- 20 July - Meeting with Rector and faculty of Mulawarman University
- 21 July - Visit to Lempake forest and transmigration area.
- 22 July - Return to Jakarta.

APPENDIX II

Itinerary of Andrew P. Vayda, Kuswata Kartawinata and Sambas Wirakusumah.

- 18 January 1977 - Arrival of A. P. Vayda and K. Kartawinata at Samarinda.
- 19 January - Meeting with faculty of Mulawarman University.
- 20 January - Meeting with faculty of Mulawarman University.
- 21 January - Trip to Tarakan, and visit to the resettlement area at Mara I, on the lower Kayan River, Kabupaten Bulongan.
- 22 January - Visits to cultivations near resettlement area at Mara I and to Mangkubat trading hamlet and Long Lembu village; meeting with village chief and people.
- 23 January - Return to Tarakan.
- 24 January - Vayda and Kartawinata return to Jakarta and Wirakusumah to Samarinda.

Austronesian Languages:  
New Publications<sup>1</sup>

Publications just released or in preparation by the Department of Linguistics in the Australian University's Research School of Pacific Studies have very significantly expanded the world's knowledge of Austronesian languages, according to the Head of the Department, Professor Stephen Wurm.

Other research in the Department's Austronesian Languages Project, headed by a Fellow in the Department, Dr. Darrell Tryon, has also questioned old theories about the languages and in many cases put them in serious doubt.

(The Austronesian language group extends east from Madagascar across Indonesia, with the Philippines and Formosa in the north, and further eastwards across Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, as far as Easter Island and Hawaii. In geographical terms it is one of the largest language groups in the world and also one of the largest in terms of numbers of different languages.)

Recently published after several years work is a reference dictionary entitled Cumulative Finder List of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages. The dictionary, compiled by Professor Wurm and Mr. Basil Wilson, with assistance from other members of the Department, contains all accessible reconstructed proto-forms of Austronesian languages and language groups established since the 1920s. The proto-forms (reconstructed probable forms of words in past developmental stages of languages and language groups) are listed under English key-words which make use of the dictionary simpler.

It is planned to publish supplements to the dictionary or a second edition embodying a large number of further reconstructed proto-forms.

The establishment of further proto-forms constitutes another facet of the Austronesian Language Project. Post-doctoral Fellow in the Department, Dr. Robert Blust, expects to be able to provide more than 1,100 new proto-

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the ANU Reporter, 9 April 1976, page 5, by kind permission of the Editor.

Austronesian and 300 proto-Oceanic Austronesian reconstructions for inclusion in the supplements or a new edition of the dictionary.

Dr. Blust also has a new proto-Austronesian lexicon in an advanced stage of preparation for publication in the Department's series, "Pacific Linguistics."

Sixth Aberdeen/Hull Symposium  
on Malesian Ecology

The Sixth Aberdeen/Hull Symposium on Malesian Ecology will be held from 5-8 June, 1978 at the Burn, Edzell, Scotland. The theme of the Symposium will be, "The Abundance of Animals in Malesian Rain Forests."

The Provisional Program includes the following papers by the respective speakers: "The Abundance of Mammals in the Krau Game Reserve, West Malaysia" (D.J. Chivers and J.B. Payne); "The Diversity and Density of Mammals and Birds in the Alluvial Forest of Gunong Mulu National Park, Sarawak: A Current Research Program" (Lord Medway and D. Labang); "Avian Diversity and Density in Malaysian Lowland Rain Forest" (D.R. Wells); "The Distribution of Amphibians and Reptiles in Malaysian Forests" (R.F. Inger); "The Abundance of Acari and of flying insects in Malaysian Rain Forests" (J.A. Bullock and I. Leow); "The Termite Faunas of Malesian and of other Tropical Rain Forests" (T. Wood and M. Collins); and "Neotropical Mammals: Faunal Origins, Community Composition and Abundance" (T.H. Fleming).

B O R N E O N E W S

Regional News

PETER ASHTON was in Malaysia and Indonesia from January to March. The main reasons for his visit were to arrange for the conclusion of a five year collaborative project with the University of Malaya on the reproductive biology of some rain forest trees, and to supervise research student SOEDARSONO RISWAN at the beginning of his field experiments into nutrient cycling in secondary succession in East Kalimantan. He also visited several stations in Sarawak and participated for ten days in the Royal

Geographical Society's expedition to the new Mulu National Park, where he discussed with JOHN PROCTOR (Stirling University) the latter's progress in litter fall and nutrient cycling in a variety of lowland forests.

JOHN LENT (Temple University) organized a symposium on "Malaysia Studies: State of the Field," held during the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in Chicago, March 31 - April 2, 1978. In addition to Lent's paper on "Mass Communications," other disciplines and speakers were "Sociology" (CHARLES HIRSCHMAN, Duke University), "Anthropology" (VINSON SUTLIVE, William and Mary), "Government and Political Science" (FELIX GAGLIANO, Ohio University), "Education" (R. MURRAY THOMAS, University of California-Santa Barbara) and "Bibliography" (FRANK JOSEPH SHULMAN, Maryland). The papers are currently being edited for publication by the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois, U.S.A.

Brunei News

LINDA KIMBALL has completed a monograph of Brunei Malay indigenous medicine and is trying to find a publisher for this important work. Any reader with suggestions is encouraged to write to Dr. Kimball c/o the Department of Anthropology, Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington, 98225, U.S.A. She also plans a monograph on Brunei Malay child language acquisition.

Sabah News

ELIZABETH KÖPPING is writing her doctoral thesis at the University of Queensland on research conducted in the Labuk Valley. The thesis will include diagrammatic representations of such aspects as the migration of every individual and his antecedents, patterns of land tenure, demography, rice-work groups, and kinship and marriage. Köpping of the lower Labuk marriages: (What they seem) "to have is a beautiful juxtaposition of the Rungus no-cousin marriage with the Kinabatangan four-section system which necessitates cousin marriage; the latter wins hands down in fact, though the former in ideal statements" (Personal communication, 23 April, 1978).

Sarawak News

PETER KEDIT, Ethnologist, Sarawak Museum, is currently studying the Penan of the Gunung Mulu National Park.

CAROL RUBENSTEIN received a two-month Ford Foundation grant to present readings in the United States from her work, Poems of Indigenous Peoples of Sarawak: Some of the Songs and Chants, Parts 1 and 2. Between October 1976, on her return to the United States, and October, 1977, she has held seminars sponsored by a variety of departments: Columbia (Anthropology); Harvard (Oral Literature); Tufts (Poetry Workshop); Michigan (South-east Asian Studies); Chicago (Southeast Asian Studies); Wisconsin-Milwaukee (Twentieth-century Studies); Wisconsin-Madison (Geography); Berkeley (Folklore); Santa Barbara (Anthropology); San Diego State (Ethnopoetics, Music); Ohio (Southeast Asian Studies); Cornell (Southeast Asian Studies); William and Mary (Asian Studies/Anthropology); The Asia Society; The Poetry Society of America. Ms. Rubenstein is available for further varied readings of the poems along with tape recordings and art documentation, and can be reached at her mailing agency address, c/o Mail Service, 316 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., N.Y., 10001, USA.

B O O K R E V I E W S ,    A B S T R A C T S    A N D  
B I B L I O G R A P H Y

ABSTRACTS<sup>1</sup>

The Enculturation of Aggression in a Brunei Malay Village

Linda Amy Kimball, Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1975

The purpose of this dissertation is the presentation of a basic ethnography of Brunei Malay culture with focus on the process of enculturation, especially the enculturation of aggression. The data are presented as a basic ethnography

<sup>1</sup> Abstracts Kimball and Schwenk are from Vol. 36, No. 8, Peranio and Austin from Vol. 38, No. 2, of Dissertation Abstracts International, per kindness of Frank Joseph Shulman. Copies of dissertations may be ordered from University Microfilm, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, U.S.A.

because other Malay groups are very different. Brunei Malay culture is a large, complex whole; the present study deals with only one part of that culture, as found in Fire Rock Village, Temburong, Brunei.

The Brunei Malays of Fire Rock Village are rice farmers, although this is not a traditional subsistence activity. They are adherents of Islam who now live in nuclear family dwellings but in the recent past lived in multi-family houses. Agriculture, rubber-tapping, and government jobs are the main sources of cash income. Moslem villagers have a rich and varied ceremonial and ritual life comprised of traits derived from Islamic, Indian, and indigenous Bornean cultures. Rice spirits and *hantu*, a type of evil spirit, are outstanding features of the belief system. The language spoken is Brunei Malay.

The data of enculturation begins with a description of indigenous, Gesell-Ilg, and psycho-sexual schemata of child development in Fire Rock Village. In the course of this discussion it is pointed out that the Gesell-Ilg norms are not readily suitable to village children. However it is noted that a Gesell-Ilg type schema could be developed for village children. And one such possible schema is presented. The entire discussion of enculturation does point out the ways in which commonly used schemata are culture bound.

The data of the enculturation of aggression uses the definition of Whiting and Child (1966) and limits itself to three readily observable patterns of behavior, hitting, pinching, and shooting. The method of analysis used in presenting these data is that of pattern description and not that of charting the incidence of behavior. A distinctive feature of the pattern of village child aggression is the use of pinching in many circumstances where American behavior would be hitting. This type of pattern description limits the analysis used, but lends itself to replication by field workers whose concerns are not the enculturation of aggression and also permits utilization of already published studies for cross-cultural comparisons of enculturation and of aggression. This and other types of methodological refinements will become more important as anthropologists move away from general ethnography of unstudied, isolated groups to complex urban-industrial societies, because of the trend toward modernization and the direction of world political and economic events. (Order No. 76-3472, 224 pages.)

Village and Regional Determinants of Family Innovativeness among the Rural Iban of Sarawak, Malaysia

Richard Lloyd Schwenk, Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1975

The Problem: The diffusion of the technological innovation approach to development, which uses family socio-economic status (SES) variables to predict innovativeness, is called into question as being tautological. Structural variables of the higher incorporating system level of the village and region are tested as predictors instead.

Methods and Findings: All of the families of 19 randomly selected Iban villages in Sarawak, Malaysia were surveyed (N=340). The village-level data generated Guttman scales of differentiation, centrality, solidarity and traditional leadership along with an index of fluidity.

The family level data were grouped into eight Guttman scale and five other indices commonly used to measure general family SES and innovativeness. All of the 13 indices except the agricultural sales scale loaded significantly on one principal factor, thus confirming Hypothesis 1:

The various indicators of family innovativeness and socio-economic status are part of one integrated concept.

A varimax rotation of factor analysis was used to accentuate any differences in the variance. The strongest measures of SES were the health practices scale, the agricultural development scale, months self-sufficient in rice, and the nutrition and house construction scale. The factor revealed a second factor composed of family size and number of family members economically active. This second variable was used as a significant control variable in regression analysis.

Factor analysis and Guttman scaling were used to construct a 17-item farm family innovativeness scale composed of the strongest individual items from the SES scales. This was used as the dependent variable of the study.

The independent variables were derived from theory and clarified by factor analysis. Varimax rotated factor analysis produced six significant factors from among 22 villages and regional variables. The factor labels and variables selected to represent each one were: I Differentiation, village differentiation scale; II Centrality, hours

to and from the District Office town; III Traditionalism, traditional leadership scale; IV Family work force, number in family economically active; V Fluidity, number of non-traditional religious leaders; and VI Solidarity, solidarity scale.

Multiple regression analysis was employed to test the remaining hypotheses. Hypothesis 2 was essentially confirmed. Differentiation, centrality and solidarity were found to be significant predictors of innovativeness both separately and in combination. The measure of fluidity was non-significant, probably due to measurement error. The first three macro-structural variables account for 37 percent of the variance.

Hypothesis 3 was confirmed. The first three macrostructural variables were found to be significant predictors of innovativeness, even when variables of ecological advantage, economic determinants and cultural differences were held constant. The three strongest control variables accounted for 34 percent of the variance in predicting innovativeness. When the three macrostructural variables were entered into the multiple regression equation, an additional 16 percent of unique variance was explained or a total adjusted R<sup>2</sup> of 50 percent. Thus the general hypothesis was upheld:

Structural variables of the village or region will explain family innovativeness, over and above ecological, social and cultural factors.

Conclusions: More research should be devoted to testing the basic assumptions of the diffusion model versus a macrostructural approach which stresses the social organization context of innovativeness. The latter can no longer be ignored. A "propensity for innovativeness score card" was produced to summarize the significant predictors. With the measurement of seven structural and control variables it would have been possible for a change agent to improve by 54 percent his prediction of family innovativeness over only knowing the mean score for innovativeness in the whole sample. (Order No. 76-12, 891)

The Structure of Bisaya Society: A Ranked Cognatic Social System.

Roger D. Peranio, Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1977

The Bisaya of Northern Sarawak, Malaysia, are rice agri-



culturalists who inhabit that part of the Limbang District located in the middle reaches of the Limbang River. They are of special interest in that their use of Malay-derived titles within a system of cognatic descent shows a number of divergences from other peoples (e.g., the Bidayuh Land Dayak and the Melanau) previously studied by anthropologists.

Chapter I, the statement of the problem, begins with a discussion of the Bisayas' problematic status in Leach's Para-Malay category, followed by a consideration of key problem areas in the study of cognatic kinship. These include the question of individual choice, overlapping categories, filiation vs. descent, structural continuity, and orderliness. An attempt is made to indicate how the Bisaya ethnography may help to elucidate some of the issues involved when these concepts are considered.

The first part of Chapter II provides a brief ethnographic outline of the contours of Bisaya culture, so as to place it among the broad range of culture types found in Borneo. The second half of the chapter deals with the way in which the Bisaya have historically viewed their *adat* (customary law) and how their attitudes toward it have differed from the politically dominant Brunei Malays. This is followed by an examination of the changes that have occurred in the interrelationship between rank, title (introduced by the Brunei Malays), and leadership in the past century.

Chapter III deals with social relationships in the village, house, and apartment (*lobok*). The differential degree of corporateness of each is discussed. As the only fully corporate group in Bisaya society, the apartment family (*sanan lobok*) receives primary emphasis. Then there follows a consideration of the four ways in which individuals are recruited to the *lobok* family: birth, adoption, marriage, and amalgamation. The last section is considered first with the role of the *lobok* nameholder (the senior member by right of descent), who uses certain sacred ancestral ironwood posts to validate his (or her) status; and last, a comparison is made between the village, house, and domestic unit (*lobok family*) with respect to the degree of jural and ritual unity which each manifests.

Chapter IV discusses the effects of temporal changes in the apartment, house, and village. First to be considered are the interrelationships between residence, affiliation,

and sponsorship within the house. An attempt is made to refine concepts currently in use by distinguishing three kinds of sponsor. Next, the problem of continuity of family lines is considered, with a delineation of the factors that affect their status. Last, is the presentation of how Bisaya conceptions of growth relate to the various phases of the individual life cycle. Of particular importance are the notions of *genao* (spirit) and *perangai* (character).

Chapter V begins with a presentation of Bisaya kin terms, which are viewed as social categories. Six kin terminological principles are delineated. The ideal behavior associated with the most important kin terms is discussed by examining 11 dyadic kin pairs. An attempt is made to indicate sources of structural strain in kinship relations

Next to be considered is the nature of the kindred. It is shown that according to context any one of three indigenous terms may be glossed as "kindred." The last two sections deal with the importance of descent lines and cognatic descent categories in Bisaya kinship relationships. The notions of axial and accessory lines are discussed, with a demonstration of how choice is structured in making use of them.

In Chapter VI an explanation is sought of the differences in adaptation made by two groups, the Melanau and the Bisaya, classified as "Para-Malay." The Bisayas' favorable ecological situation and political status is shown to have enabled them to retain a good part of their traditional system of descent, title, and rank. In the concluding pages, five sets of theoretical constructs are considered in light of the Bisaya case, and some comparative implications drawn. (Order No. 77-17, 657, 419 pages.)

Iban Migration: Patterns of Mobility and Employment in the 20th Century

Robert Frederic Austin, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977

This paper is an examination of geographic mobility and employment patterns among the Iban people of Sarawak, East Malaysia. Two types of Iban migration are discussed: 1) permanent migrations (*pindah*), which are considered in the context of shifting cultivation, and 2) periodic migrations (*bejalai*), which are tentatively considered to

be related to the past Iban custom of head-hunting (ngayau).

The patterns of 20th century Iban migration within Sarawak are reconstructed through the use of national growth rate analysis of census materials (for three intercensal periods), analysis of 1960 Census of Sarawak place-of-birth statistics (through total net change calculations and pair-wise net exchange analysis using the "W-index"), and consideration of existing field studies. These reconstructions are presented both statistically and cartographically. The patterns of Iban employment in Sarawak which are related to these migrations are reconstructed using government and private industry records, and selected cases are examined in depth.

Iban international migrations to Brunei and Sabah are also discussed. A brief history of the Brunei Sultanate provides the context for the discussion of migration to Brunei. Brunei immigration and emigration data, census materials and employment records are analyzed, and the case study of the Brunei Shell Petroleum Company is presented. The discussion of Iban migration to Sabah focuses primarily on the police force and forest industries of that state.

A major finding of this study is the fact that although the nature of Iban migration has changed relatively little in terms of procedures, the extent of the migration fields, rate of movement, and distribution of population have changed significantly. (Order No. 77-17, 945, 255 pages.)

The Cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946.

R. H. W. Reece, Ph.D. Dissertation, Australian National University, March 1977.

The cession of Sarawak by the third Rajah to the British Crown finally resolved the ambiguous position of a European-ruled Malay state which remained within the British imperial system for 100 years without being a formal part of it. External pressures, principally the Japanese invasion, had made direct British control both necessary and irresistible. The problem of the succession also helped to ensure that the Rajah's agreement was not difficult to obtain. But it was already apparent in the 1930s that Brooke rule had come to the end of the road and

could only look backwards. The Brooke administration's failure to re-define native interests in the light of economic and social developments had removed the rationale upon which the Raj was avowedly based. The legitimization of cession was a grubby affair undertaken more for the benefit of British domestic opinion than the people of Sarawak. Nevertheless, it provided an issue which fostered the political development of Sarawak from a loose group of communities linked only by a common acceptance of the Rajah's authority to a multi-racial state with its own nationalist tradition. Sarawak nationalism took the form of a movement to restore Brooke rule but it envisaged the establishment of an independent state in which power would be shared between the Malays and the Ibans.

(Editor's note: A summary of Dr. Reece's dissertation will appear in the September issue of the Bulletin.)

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The Adat Law of Penance of the Ngaju Dayak by Dr. Martin Baier (see BRB 9:2, pp. 117-8) is available from the author at Marienburger Str. 7, 7460 Balingen 1, West Germany.

A Checklist of the Works of Tom Harrisson, prepared by David Alan Miller, is expected to be available from the Editor of the Bulletin in September. The cost is \$2.50 per copy.

#### THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 and its membership consists of Fellows, an international group of scholars who are professionally engaged in research in Borneo. The goals of the Council are (1) to promote scientific research in Borneo; (2) to permit the research community, interested Borneo government departments and others to keep abreast of ongoing research and its results; (3) to serve as a vehicle for drawing attention to urgent research problems; (4) to coordinate the flow of information 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 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 welcomed.

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The privileges of Fellows include (1) participation in

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The Fellows of the Council serve as a pool of knowledge and expertise on Borneo matters which may be drawn upon to deal with specific problems both in the field of research and in the practical application of scientific knowledge.

Fellowship in the Council is by invitation, and enquiries are welcomed in this regard.

#### INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Research Notes: These should be concerned with a summary of research on a particular subject or geographical area; the results of recent research; a review of the literature; analyses of state of research; and so forth. Research Notes differ from other contributions in that the material covered should be based on original research or the use of judgment, experience, and personal knowledge on the part of the author in the preparation of the material so that an original conclusion is reached.

Brief Communications: These differ from the foregoing in that no original conclusions are drawn nor any data included based on original research. They also differ in consisting primarily of a statement of research intentions or a summary of news, either derived from private sources or summarized from items appearing in other places that may not be readily accessible to the readers of the Bulletin but which have an interest and relevance for them. They will be included with the contributor's name in parentheses following the item to indicate the source. Summaries of news longer than one or two paragraphs will appear with the contributor's name under the title and prefaced by "From."

Bibliographic Section: A bibliography of recent publications will appear in each issue of the Bulletin, and, consequently, reprints or other notices of recent publications would be gratefully received by the Editor.

Other Items: Personal news, brief summaries of research activities, recent publications, and other brief items will appear without the source specifically indicated. The Editor urges those contributing such news items to send them in the form and style in which the contributor wishes them to appear rather than leaving this to the discretion of the Editor.

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

#### STYLE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Please submit all contributions double-spaced. Research Notes and Brief Communications should be limited to approximately eight double-spaced pages. Footnotes should be avoided wherever possible. Bibliographies should be listed alphabetically by author at the end of contributions; author should appear on a separate line, then date, title of article, journal, volume, number, and pages. For books include place of publication and finally publisher. References in the body of contributions should be cited by author's last name, date, and page numbers as follows: (Smith, 1958: 36-41). For punctuation and capitalization, refer to Bibliographic Section. Names mentioned in the News Section and other uncredited contributions will be capitalized underlined.