

# BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

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## NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

The First Extraordinary Session of the Council was a great success, due primarily to the Local Organizing Committee whose members spent hundreds of hours in preparation for the conference. It is impossible to count the contributions of the Sarawak Government, its Chief Minister, Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud, the State Ministers, and the Director Mr. William Song and the staff of MAMPU, and the staff of the Sarawak Museum. The approval and support of the state government were complemented by The Tun Jugah Foundation, its Chairman, Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Jugah, and its staff. We cannot name all of the persons who gave unstintingly of their time and professional skills, and I ask them to accept this expression of gratitude on behalf of the Fellows and Members of the Council.

We are looking forward to a similar Session in Sabah in 1992 and in Pontianak in 1994. If these meetings are as productive as the Kuching conference, we may anticipate the establishment of a bi-ennial schedule of meetings to be held in the several states of Borneo.

In the April 1991 issue of the Bulletin we plan to publish a list of topics proposed for urgent research. These topics were submitted by participants in the Kuching meeting and will provide directions for sessions for the 1992 Sabah conference.

One of the topics for urgent research which definitely will be part of our meeting in Sabah will be the recording, interpretation, and publication of Borneo's rich oral traditions. Participants in Kuching gave this issue highest priority. We intend to conduct a workshop on preservation of oral literature as part of the 1992 meeting.

Several contributors to this issue of the Bulletin emphasize the importance of language and oral literature: G. N. Appell, Otto Steinmayer, Peter Martin, Carol Rubenstein, David Szanton, Jérôme Rousseau, Allen Maxwell, and Peter Brosius. The commitment of the Sarawak Government to the preservation of oral literature, of the Tun Jugah Foundation to assembling lemambang (bards) in Kapit in December for a recording session, the announcement of plans for a Sabah Oral Literature Project (p. 176), and the Ford Foundation's interest in an oral traditions documentation project in East Kalimantan, are welcome and encouraging initiatives, and we hope that other scholars and agencies will follow these examples. (Cont'd. on page 272)

## RESEARCH NOTES

GLIMPSES OF "WHISPERING SHORES":  
BORNEO IN A PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES

ANNE SCHILLER  
Ohio University

It has been customary... for Borneo to be thought of as a historic vacuum...but here we must revise our knowledge... (Douwes Dekker 1951:69)

In view of the difficulties of obtaining access to pre-World War II photographs of Netherlands Indies' peoples, researchers will be interested to learn of one particular surviving collection, now curated by Cornell University Library. The N. A. Douwes Dekker Papers (Coll. #3480), maintained by the Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, is a photographic/textual resource depicting peoples and events in the Netherlands East Indies during the final decades of colonial rule. The collectanea comprises approximately eight thousand photographic positives, many with negatives, together with unpublished manuscripts, copies of Government Information Service (RVD) bulletins and news releases, and other related materials including police reports, troop commands, and miscellaneous correspondence. The photographs and documents assembled in the collection pose the tumultuous political events of the era against a backdrop of indigenous folkways and ritual traditions. They afford a rare look at diverse aspects of life throughout the archipelago, as well as at political events specific to a critical period in modern Indonesian history. Of particular relevance to Borneanists are two specialized subcollections. The first contains nearly three hundred photographs taken throughout what are now the provinces of Kalimantan and which emphasize a variety of themes. The second is a collection of images depicting treatment of the dead among Ngaju Dayaks. Judging from occasional notations, the photographs of Borneo appear to have been taken from about 1947 to 1949.

Cornell University Library acquired this collection from Niels Alexander Douwes Dekker in 1973. Niels Douwes Dekker, great-grandnephew of Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker - author of the classic novel of life in the colonial Netherlands East Indies, Max Havelaar), was born in Batavia on May 26, 1911. He received his early education in Bandung and later went on to study architecture in Delft and in 's-Gravenhage. A professional photographer, artist,

filmmaker, essayist, and specialist in public relations, Douwes Dekker at one time served as head of the Netherlands East Indies Visual Information Service. A portion of the photographs taken by Douwes Dekker and the members of his staff appear in his book Tanah Air Kita (1951. The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, Ltd.).

That volume, with modifications in the illustrations and commentary, was published in Dutch, Indonesian, and English. Through a wide array of photographs, Tanah Air Kita depicts the lives of the people of the new nation of Indonesia, and conveys Douwes Dekker's vision of that country's cultural heterogeneity. The chapter on Borneo entitled "Whispering Shores," for example, emphasizes the diversity of cultures and livelihoods on a single island. Included are scenes of Dayak ritual life, Chinese cottage industries, Muslim shopkeepers, European coal miners, and indigenous royalty.

The eclecticism of Tanah Air Kita belies the fact that the volume features only a fraction of the photographs in Douwes Dekker's total collection. Absent, for example, are photographs of Indonesia's revolution, which had ended shortly before the book's publication. Also missing are many other scenes of daily life which make the papers especially attractive to scholars whose research focuses on Indonesia's lesser known islands. A case in point is the subcollection of Borneo (Kalimantan) photographs, only a few of which appear in the book.

The bulk of the subcollection's images were shot in the regions of Pontianak, Samarinda, and Banjarmasin. Some are of particular note. One series, focusing on life in Samarinda during the 1949 floods, documents the conditions of streets, markets, and private homes. Also from Samarinda come photos of school buildings and classrooms, including the erection of public and private religious schools. Burgeoning industries are heavily represented in the collection. There are scenes of a copra factory (Pontianak, 1947), damar processing, coal mining, rubber processing, the timber industry (Mahakam River, 1949), diamond cutting (Martapura, 1947), a pottery factory (Pontianak, 1948), even a factory which manufactured snakeskin clothing. A series on the royal family of Kutai includes weddings, conferences, the Sultan's Festival, and assorted portraits. There are several photographs of Hamid II - the Sultan of Pontianak, his wife, and of boat races celebrating the designation of West Borneo as an autonomous region.

Also in the holdings are photographs of various tribal peoples. One series, taken in 1949, recounts the mock trial in a native court of a man who, attempting to shoot a pig, instead shoots another hunter. Culminating with a settlement paid in jars and dishes, the scene is attributed to the "Melanja" Dayaks. Another series documents a 1948 wedding celebration among "Mualam" Dayaks. It includes what appears to be a dance involving a skull suspended by a rope.

A 1947 series on "Ngabang" Dayaks features a men's dance with swords and men and women's dances in ethnic dress. The final shots in the series reveal that the dances were, in fact, performed on a basketball court ringed by European onlookers.

Douwes Dekker had an especial interest in documenting the religious life of Netherlands East Indies peoples. Nearly three hundred photographs concern mortuary practices of the peoples of Borneo, Sulawesi, Bali, and other islands. While some of these photographs were taken by Douwes Dekker himself, many were produced by the staff of the Visual Information Service and others. These images constitute an invaluable record of indigenous religious celebrations as they were performed in the 1940s, and provide a rich source of data for the investigation of changes in ritual forms.

One such set of images concerns tiwah, a sumptuous celebration which is the climax of the ritual processing of the dead among Ngaju Dayaks, a tribal people of southern Borneo (now the Province of Central Kalimantan). The elaborate and complex mortuary observances of the peoples known as Ngaju were of great interest to ethnologists, colonial administrators, and missionaries. F. Grabowsky's 1899 article on "Der Tod das Begrabnis, das Tiwah oder Totenfest bei den Djaken," (in Internationales Archiv fur Ethnographie 2:177-204), for example, which featured detailed pencil sketches of death edifices, comprised the major ethnographic source utilized by R. Hertz in his classic essay on secondary treatment of the dead entitled "Contribution a une Etude sur la Representation Collective de la Mort" (R. Hertz. 1960 [orig. 1907] Death and The Right Hand. Translated by C. and R. Needham. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press). The rituals received even more extensive discussion in Hans Scharer's renowned study Die Gottesidee der Ngaju-Dajak In Sud-Borneo. (H. Scharer. 1963. [orig. 1946] Ngaju Religion Translated by Rodney Needham. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff). Die Gottesidee der Ngaju-Dajak was based upon data gathered during lengthy service as a missionary prior to independence. Despite the centrality of death ritual to the analysis of Ngaju conceptions of God and the inclusion of closely related images, the illustrations in Scharer's volume do not depict actual performances of tiwah. Yet by fortunate coincidence the photographs contained in Douwes Dekker's collection provide nearly complete documentation of the climatic moments of tiwah as enacted during a period roughly contemporaneous with Scharer's research. The Borneo materials contained in the Douwes Dekker Papers thereby complement readings of works by Scharer and more recent authors.

The photographs of Ngaju death ritual were taken by W. van Boggelen, a member of Douwes Dekker's staff, in collaboration with C. Pompe, a film reporter employed by Multifilm Batavia. The celebration documented was a tiwah enacted in a Kapuas River village in 1947. Not only does the examination

of these images enhance readings of older ethnographic sources, it also invites comparisons of past ritual practices with contemporary ones. Such comparisons raise provocative questions concerning the dynamics of change that occasion the evolution of ritual forms. In the Ngaju case, for example, the broad outlines of modern death rituals and those depicted in van Boggelin's work appear similar. Nevertheless, closer inspection of the photographs reveals what may be significant departures from current practice. In many parts of Central Kalimantan today, for instance, ritual specialists involved in processing the dead are nearly exclusively male. Yet the photographs contained in the Douwes Dekker collection feature both male and female ritual specialists serving at *tiwah*. Furthermore, whereas the photographs from the 1940s depict only men engaged in mortuary dances and ritual sacrifices, present-day male and female mourners participate side by side in most aspects of these celebrations. Apparent modifications in ritual suggest avenues of inquiry that may lead to a better understanding of the social contexts in which mortuary celebrations were and are enacted. It is certain that the photographs of other ethnic groups' rituals that are found in the collection will likewise be useful to scholars whose research interests focus on other Indonesian cultures.

In a personal letter concerning the collection's history (June 12, 1988), Douwes Dekker described the atmosphere that characterized the Visual Information Service Office at the end of the war and the fate which awaited the bulk of the photographs: "I took thousands of pictures and made the arrangements for the taking of tens of thousands more. The Pacific war blew away ninety percent and the chaos of the revolution blew away the remnants of official and private collections. The end of 1949 was characterized by a nervousness rising to panic due to a fear that the nationalists would persecute fellow Indonesians who had been cooperative with the Dutch. This led to a general action to wipe out all possible traces that could be considered as compromising. My Indonesian and Indo-Chinese personnel informed me that they wanted to get rid of the pictorial material by burning. I was compelled to accept boxes of unsorted and mostly uncaptioned materials as personal belongings." Thanks to Douwes Dekker's attempt to salvage as many of these images as possible, we are afforded yet a few more glimpses of Indonesia's past.

#### Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. N. A. Douwes Dekker for his willingness to correspond with me concerning the history of this collection. I would also like to thank the professional staff of Cornell University Library, particularly Thomas Hickerson and Elaine Engst, for their interest in the

preservation of these materials. Excerpts from this report previously appeared in Documentation Newsletter, Volume XIV, Number 2, Fall 1988, pp. 1-8.

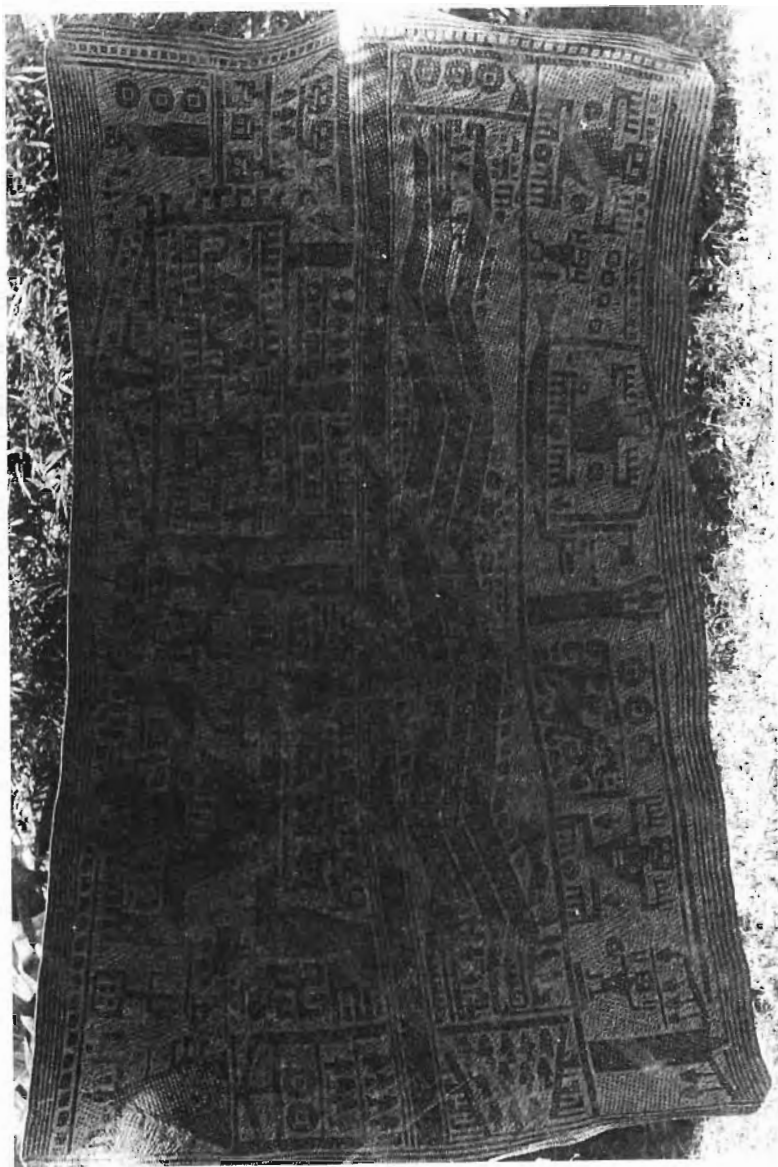
#### AMAK DARE, AN ORNAMENTAL SLEEPING-MAT OF THE NGAJU DAYAK, CENTRAL KALIMANTAN

Harry Wiriadinata  
Herbarium Bogoriense,  
Puslitbang Biologi, Bogor

Among the sleeping-mats made by the Dayaks in Kalimantan, the one made by the Ngaju Dayak from Barunang Dua village, Sungai Hanyu district, Kabupaten (county) Kapuas is the most attractive. The religion of the Ngaju Dayaks is called *Kaharingan*. The term *Kaharingan* appears most likely to have arisen from *bahasa Sangiang*, the ritual language of the Ngaju Dayaks of the Kapuas River. The root *haring* means "self existent" or "source". Thus *Kaharingan* means source of life, vitality, water of life. This ornamental sleeping-mat is an expression of the daily life of the Ngaju Dayak, both in the present time and in the future after they die.

At the present time they live in the wilderness. Their houses lie along the river bank, in front of the virgin forest. In the forest live some animals — deer, mouse deer, pig, birds, bears and clouded leopard, kinds of fruit trees used for their food, as well as and poisonous plants which are dangerous and harmful. There are also spirits which are invisible, but which influence the lives of the people. All of these aspects of daily life are expressed in the sleeping-mat.

The mat is called *Amak dare* (*amak* is a mat, *dare* is decorative). It is made of woven strips cut from the stems the *sigi rattan* (*Calamus caesarius*), some of which have been dyed black by lamp-black mixed with oil, and with others dyed red with "dragon's blood" obtained from the fruits of another rattan, *jerenang*, (*Daenonorops draco*). Before making this sleeping-mat, the weavers must take part in a ceremony to make an offering to the gods. They must offer the blood of a chicken if they are making a simple mat, or the blood of a pig and an offering of incense if they want to decorate the mat with figures of the gods. The mat will take one month or more to make.



Amak Dare, An Ornamental Sleeping-Mat  
of the Ngaju Dayak, Central Kalimantan

In the upper left decorative panel we can see two figures: the bigger is a god (sengumang) called **Sengumang Uko**. He is sitting on a **gerantung** or a gong. At each side of his body there are **gerantungs** and **saramin** (mirrors). He is rich, and he always helps people. The smaller figure is his pet, a monkey. The next panel to the right shows a house-boat with another god called **Sengumang Tingang** who is sitting inside. The boat is provided with flags, which means that the owner, **Sengumang Tingang** is a rich god and very powerful. He always helps the Dayak people when they travel along the river. He has gongs and **belanga** or **martavan** (Chinese porcelain water pots). The next panel shows a tree and an animal, called **Cakah lakam**, which looks something like a chicken, but this animal is very quite different from the chicken we know because it has horns on its head. This animal can fly in the sky like a bird, walk on earth like a human being, swim in the water like a fish, and live underground like a mole. It eats humans, so it is very dangerous. Beside it there is another figure of a god called **Sengumang Amay Kemandang**, who is seated on a gong with water pots at his sides. The last panel at the top depicts a tree on which water pots are hanging rather than leaves. Under the tree there is a **kelawit**, a black monkey. The tree and the **kelawit** belong to **Sengumang Amay Kemandang**.

In the middle of the sleeping-mat is a horizontal black band. It represents a river, called **batang danun** in Ngaju Dayak. In this river lives many fish; there is a fishtrap with many fish inside at the far right end. Also in the river there live three **ihing** or dragons, apparently two parents and their young. These dragons attack and eat humans. Whenever they are hungry and want to eat a human, they will appear at the surface of the water. At that time the water roils, the surface is broken with many waves and much foam, and a storm breaks with heavy rains, thunder and lightning. At such times it is very dangerous for the Dayak to go fishing.

On the lower left side of the sleeping-mat there is a large figure of a god called **Sengumang Sambung Maut**. He wears earrings and a necklace and sits upon many treasure chests, water pots and gongs, which means that he is very rich. Inside the treasure chests he has stored valuables such as jewels, gold, money and clothing. He has a **klawit**, a black monkey that serves and obeys him.

In the next panel there is a big house with two gods named **Sengumang Sapahatu** and **Sengumang Sapahanak**. They are also very rich because they have many treasure chests, water pots and gongs. They wear gold necklaces and earrings. Under their house they keep domestic animals such as water buffaloes, chicken and dogs, just as the Ngaju Dayak people do. They use their dogs for hunting and as watchdogs. On their house there are many flags, a symbol of wealth.

The last panel shows a long carved pole called *pantar*, which is supposed to be the way for the soul to ascend to heaven. Below it there are six skulls and five water pots. The humans who have provided the skulls are slaves of the *sengumang*.

In the village one can find the longhouses of the people, and in front of the longhouse is often a storehouse-like building called *sandung*. The *sandung* was constructed for storing bones of the dead. The Dayak believe that the soul of the dead, called *liou*, stay in the *sandung* until ascending to heaven via the *pantar*.

The story depicted on the sleeping-mat expresses the concerns of daily life among the Ngaju Dayak. It tells that in the wilderness both in the forest and in river, there are many dangerous things which can be happen to human. But the gods or *Sengumang* who are rich, always help protect the people by keeping an eye on those dangerous things.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank Professor C. H. Lamoureux of the University of Hawaii for editing this manuscript.

#### GUIDE TO THE VARIETIES OF ORAL LITERATURE IN BORNEO<sup>1</sup>

G. N. APPELL

#### INTRODUCTION

The societies of Borneo are changing so rapidly that we have now reached the stage of doing salvage ethnography. We can no longer observe cultural behavior uninfluenced by modernization. Thus, to understand how Bornean societies functioned prior to the loss of their traditional cultural ecology and prior to the loss of their religion that punctuated, symbolized, and sanctioned their

traditional ways, the ethnographer has to rely only on accounts of individuals who are well into or past middle age and on their repertoire of various forms of oral heritage.

But this oral heritage is also rapidly eroding. With regard to many religious texts it is now difficult to find individuals who can provide a satisfactory exegesis of them and their ritual symbolism. In five to ten years most of this critical oral heritage will be lost. Yet much of the oral literature that accompanies religious performances is incredibly beautiful in terms of imagery, metaphor, and poetic construction so that they rank with some of the great literatures of the world.

As a result of this rapid loss of tradition, there has been an upsurge in interest in the collection of oral histories, oral accounts, and oral literature. To assist in the process of preserving this oral heritage, I thought it would be useful to provide a list of the types of oral heritage that one might encounter in attempting to make a collection. This is to serve as a guide to those individuals who have not had the time to become familiar with a particular cultural tradition to be aware of the forms of oral heritage that are to be found in that society. This guide is also to suggest what types of accounts would be profitable to collect.

Much of the oral literature of Borneo was an integral part of religious performances in which various symbolic and ritual items and paraphernalia were included. These were presented to the gods and spirits in coordination with the performance and manipulated to punctuate it in order to secure help from the gods and spirits, or achieve success in sorcery and witchcraft. Therefore, I have included ritual behaviors in connection with this list of oral heritage as they are integral to the collection and full understanding of the oral literature.

This is a preliminary guide and I would welcome criticisms, suggestions, and additions to it as we attempt to preserve the oral heritage of Borneo before it is too late.

#### Historical Accounts

- Migration accounts
- Warfare accounts, including information on what ethnic groups constituted the enemy and what ethnic groups were allies
- Accounts about the arrival of colonial governments

- Accounts of rebellions against the colonial governments
- Accounts of the Japanese occupation
- Accounts of natural disasters such as fires, floods, earthquakes, volcanos
- Accounts of natural events, such as eclipses of sun and moon.
- Accounts of descent lines of nobles, leading families, etc.
- Accounts of local history
- Accounts of family history
- Personal recollections

#### Myths, Legends, and Folktales

- Stories explaining how the world became as it is, including the myriad etiological tales that explain the causes, origins, and reasons for behaviors of animals, people, crops, the natural world, illness, death, marriage, etc.
- Tales of success in warfare, journeys, and the accumulation of wealth
- Stories of culture heroes and how they contributed to the construction of the cultural and social world
- Morality tales
- Folktales dealing with economic and social change, as the introduction of a new crop and its consequences
- Stories about various animals
- Jokester stories

#### Epic Narratives and Poetry

#### Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Stories of the Work of the Gods

- Creation
- Members of the spirit world
- The structure of the otherworld
- The pantheon of gods
- Man's relationship to gods and spirits

#### Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals for Warfare and Headhunting<sup>2</sup>

- To enlist the help of the gods of warfare
- For obtaining invincibility in battle or a body that is impervious to wounding
- For weakening the opponent
- To seek omens and deal with unfavorable omens
- To send off the warriors and/or headhunters
- Songs and chants used during battles
- To welcome back the warriors and/or headhunters
- To honor the heads on arrival and periodically thereafter
- To honor dead heroes
- For building headhouses
- Tales of battles and village sacking

Prayers and Chants Accompanying Changes in Life Cycle

- For fertility
- For pregnancy
- Birth
- Naming a child
- Disposal or treatment of the umbilical cord and placenta
- For cutting head hair and fingernails
- Circumcision, male and female
- Other genital procedures
- Adolescence
- Menarche
- To extend life span

(For marriage, children, and death see below)

Prayers, Chants, and Songs for Marriage

- For courtship
- For engagement
- For presentation of the bride-price
- To deal with unfavorable omens
- For wedding
- To deal with and nullify the effects of an incestuous union
- To nullify the effects of adultery

Prayers, Chants, and Songs for Children

- For naming
- To change name for protection from predatory spirits
- To induce sleep
- To protect from frightening dreams
- To calm upset child
- To amuse
- To quiet children so as not to anger spirits

Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals for Death

- Construction of coffins
- For construction of graves
- For interment
- For construction of mausoleums, funerary houses, and funerary columns
- For primary and secondary treatment of corpse and bones
- Dirges
- Memorial ceremonies for honoring the dead
- For the sacrifice of slaves for the dead or the erection of funerary column
- For termination of mourning



Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for Body Ornamentation

- For Tattooing
- For ear lobe extension
- For teeth filing
- For penis pin insertion
- For scarification
- For cutting head hair

Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for the Soul

- Explanations of origin of souls
- Explanations of the cause of soul loss and its consequences
- Abodes of the soul before death and after death
- For souls that become ghosts or otherwise malignant

Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals for Sickness and Healing"<sup>3</sup>

- For bad dreams
- For sudden fainting
- To cast out ghosts
- For fevers
- For sharp stabbing pain
- For leprosy
- For tuberculosis
- For malaria

- For dysenteries
- For swellings
- For divine intercession for health and good fortune
- Illness accounts

Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for Minor Illnesses, Aches, and Pains

- Headaches
- Bruises
- Swollen and painful joints

Prayers, Chants and Rituals for AccidentsPrayers, Chants, and Songs for Divine Intercession

- To nullify effects of bad dreams and omens
- To nullify any transgressions against the gods or evil spirits
- To request good fortune
- To give thanks for divine intercession and good fortune
- For protection against spirits who are predisposed to harm humans

Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for Divination

- Divination by inspecting entrails of animal
- Divination by inspecting and feeling body of ill person
- For seeking omens
- For nullifying bad omens

Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for Fishing

- For fishing equipment
- For fishing boat
- To receive the fish
- For poisoning river pools for fish

Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for Hunting and Trapping

- For blowpipes and spears
- To make hunting dogs chase game
- For traps
- To honor the animals killed

Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals for Gathering Forest Products

- For honey collecting
- For collecting gaharu and damar
- For collecting wild roots and tubers
- For collecting rattan

Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for Fruit Trees

- For increasing the harvest of fruit
- To prevent stealing of fruit

Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals for Agriculture

- For the stars that indicate planting time
- For phases of the moon and aspect of lunar year for planting
- For elevation of the sun for planting
- To request dry weather
- To request rain
- For choosing a swidden site
- To cleanse the land
- To deal with unfavorable omens
- For establishing rights over the land
- To move local spirits away or to appease them
- For cutting the swidden
- For burning the swidden
- For the rice seeds
- For the whetstone
- For planting
- To call the rice spirits and/or ancestral spirits to swidden
- To honor the rice spirits and/or ancestral spirits by a sacrifice
- For increasing yields, renewing fertility, and keeping pests at bay, etc.
- For the first days of cutting the rice
- For eating the first rice of the new harvest

- To prepare for receiving the cut rice heads
- To make the harvest rice bin
- To cut the rice
- To thresh the rice
- To make rice wine
- To wash sacred or magical stones to make purifying, cooling, or fertilizing water
- Rituals and oral formulae for other crops such as maize, Job's tears, millet, sorghum, etc.
- For new cash crops

#### Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals for Travel

- By sail boat
- By longboat
- By foot
- For engaging in a dangerous enterprise
- To ensure safe return
- For entering new country
- For approaching a settlement
- To welcome on return from a successful trip
- Tales of journeys

#### Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for Obtaining Wealth

- To call the souls of jars, gongs, and other scarce goods
- To feed and honor the souls of property in the household
- For divine help in the accumulation of wealth

#### Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for Manufactures

- Making a baby carrier
- Weaving
- Basket Making
- Making a rice mortar
- Boat manufacture
- Carving doors
- Carving figures
- Making coffins
- Carving wooden figures
- Carving and erecting memorial poles
- In erecting megaliths or making landscape sculptures

#### Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for House Building

- For selecting a site for longhouse or house
- For dealing with unfavorable omens
- For erecting the central house or houses
- To bless entry ladder

- To rectify the ritual delict of failing to complete a house or longhouse apartment
- For moving from old house to a new house
- For human sacrifice to bless the house

Prayers, Chants, and Rituals to Protect the Community

- From intrusion of foreigners or members from neighboring communities
- From spirit aggression

Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals to Renew Community Fertility

- Human sacrifice
- For community prosperity
- To mark boundaries of community land
- Festivals for the dead
- Other types of festivals and sacrifices

Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals for the Domestic Family

- Renewal ceremonies
- For fertility
- To ward off ill fortune
- For success in agriculture
- For success in purchasing gongs, jars, brassware, etc.
- For protection from illness
- To obtain divine blessings

Trance Performances

- To obtain spirit familiars
- Conversations with the spirit familiars and other members of the spirit world
- To diagnose illness
- To obtain the return of the soul of an ill person
- To resolve disputes
- To appease one's spirit familiars

Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals Associated with the Calendrical Cycle

- Change of season or seasonal activities
- For eclipses
- Phases of the moon
- The ascension of constellations

Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals to Obtain Sacred Powers

- To be invincible in battle
- To protect one from adversity
- To obtain a protective spirit

Prayers, Chants, and Rituals for Sorcery, Witchcraft, and Magic

- To cast love magic
- To cure love magic
- To poison, kill, or debilitate an adversary

- To prevent stealing
- To locate stolen property
- To influence a trial
- To cause an accident
- To make ill
- To cause ill fortune
- To protect from witchcraft and sorcery
- To make charms
- To locate cause of ill fortune
- To make purifying or curing water

#### Legal Precedents

- Accounts of legal precedents

#### Stories for Entertainment

#### Hymns of Praise for Honoring Distinguished Persons

#### Additional Poetry<sup>4</sup>

- Historical poetry
- Poetry in praise of deeds and famous men
- Love poetry
- Lyrical poetry
- Laments

#### Word Play

#### Proverbs and Riddles

#### Songs

#### NOTES

1. I am indebted to Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr., Donald E. Brown, and Ida Nicolaisen for comments and suggestions on an original version of this guide.
2. In each of the following categories of prayers, chants, songs, and rituals the researcher has to be alert to the use of special lexicons or languages in any particular activity. Usually there are tabooed utterances associated with each of the activities, and it is useful to attempt to collect these for each of the types of oral heritage in this guide. Prayers and chants may have a poetic structure and exhibit parallelism in which the first line is in the ordinary lexicon while the second line is in a ritual lexicon consisting of substitute words, archaic vocabulary, etc. By "Prayers, Chants, Songs, and Rituals" I also include verbal formulae associated with the various activities.
3. Illness may be associated with soul loss and therefore accounts of how an illness occurred is of importance.
4. All the various chants and prayers referred to previously may also be in poetic form.

THE BORNEO LITERATURE BUREAU:  
PUBLICATIONS IN IBAN AND OTHER BORNEAN LANGUAGES:  
A BIBLIOGRAPHY

OTTO STEINMAYER

The Borneo Literature Bureau, during its existence (1960 to 1976), put out a remarkable series of books in the native languages of Sarawak and Sabah. These were widely enjoyed by Sarawakians and Sabahans in the days when they were readily available, and nowadays can serve the scholar as an excellent source for the study of the languages and the new as well as traditional literature of those areas.

The following is a list of all Bornean language books printed by the BLB which I have been able to find, either as actual books, or in a few cases, titles alone. I have compiled it from catalogues and annual reports of the Borneo Literature Bureau, and from the inspection of books remaining at the libraries of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuching branch, the Sarawak Museum, and Universiti Malaya, the Kuching public library, and in private collections. Many sources were required in order to ensure that the list was complete, because there is no single collection in Malaysia, and probably not elsewhere in the world, which contains everything. Even the BLB's annual reports omit certain important titles, for example, Sandin's Gawai Pangkong Tiang.

I offer this bibliography in the hope that it may assist librarians in arranging their collections and in acquiring titles that may be lacking. It may also be of use to scholars in lexicographical research, and in determining the range and variety of Bornean literature. And when this bibliography comes into the hands of Sarawakian and Sabahan readers and writers, I especially hope that it will help them to recover and preserve a precious part of their written heritage.

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(orig. publ. by Luminary Press along with the  
three following titles)
- anon. Nemuai Ngagai Punchak Dunya n.d. (1965)  
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- anon. Pulau Panggau Jipun n.d. (1965)  
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- Awel, Jonathan Jarau  
18 p. Empat Bengkah Cherita 1971  
il. Jamali bin Jamadi
- Awel, Jonathan Jarau  
39 p. Garai Kalia 1971  
il. Francis Lee
- Baughman, Rev. Burr  
48 p. Iban Kalia 1962  
il. Husaini bin Sulaiman
- Beti, Moses  
132 p. Telajan 1964  
il. Harry Anding
- Bidin ak Sanggu  
76 p. Empurong Mas 1972  
il. Benjamin Hasbie
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55 p. Renong Samain 1966

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150 p. Tawai Manang  
II. Husaini Sulaiman 1971
- Birai, Richard Jua  
68 p. Lumpong Manding  
il. Harry Anding 1967
- BLB (NB: in Iban)  
51 p. Ensera Kadazan  
il. Peter Libau 1973
- BLB  
67 p. Jako Inglis-Iban 1965
- \*BLB  
Pajar Baru 1960
- \*Buma, Michael  
Lalau Pelajar Surat Tangga 1964
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ill. 1970
- \*Buma, Michael  
Surat Tangga 1964
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(see also Morrison)
- Bunggan, Alfred Luma  
105 p. Ali Basah  
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51 p. Jerita Pasa Daniel  
il. Kenneth Inns  
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- Duncan, William  
202 p. Anak Bujang Sugi 1965

- Duncan, William  
317 p. Bujang Sugi 1965
- Duncan, William  
92 p. Menteri Adi  
il. Harry Anding 1965
- Duncan, William  
182 p. Rukun Sabong 1975
- Ejau, Andria  
18 p. Aji Bulan  
il. Justin Kirim 1968
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41 p. Batu Besundang  
il. Raphael Scott Ahbeng 1968
- Ejau, Andria  
135 p. Dilah Tanah  
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- Ejau, Andria  
83 p. Madu Midang  
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16 p. Paloi Nginti  
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35 p. Pelangka Gantong  
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- Ejau, Andria  
73 p. Sebeginda Bujang  
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- Enggu, Edward  
135 p. Limau Senaman  
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- Entingi, Dunstan  
64 p. Adi Pau  
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56 p. Bujang Penerang  
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- Gerijih, Henry  
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- Inin, Boanerges Entika  
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- Jalie, Joshua  
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46 p. Keling Nyumpit  
il. Harry Anding 1967
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38 p. Cherita Dulu Kalia  
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81 p. Ensera Dayang Ridu  
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- Jupong Sajai  
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il. Harry Anding 1967
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35 p. Cheremin Peningat  
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- Kadir Uambat  
47 p. Pong Kapong  
il. Krisno Jitab 1974
- Kechendai, Edward  
84 p. Sekeda Cherita Pandak  
il. Krisno Jitab 1970
- Liaw, Clement Menyanggai  
40 p. Uging  
il. Stephen Tan 1971

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(ed. Enggu) 1964
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47 p. Kumpang Bedarah  
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- Majang, Athelstane Alli  
58 p. Melah Pinang  
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- Mancha, Alfred Kelunchai  
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- Pitok, Norman Rundu  
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- Rajit, F. and Senaun Ngumbang  
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- Rajit, Frederick  
95 p. Sabak Kenang 1969
- Richards, Anthony ed.  
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146 p. Raja Durong 1964
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- Skipper, Merwyn  
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- Unggat Kedu  
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88 p. Eng-Bau/Jagoi Phrase Book 1969
- Diamond, Lucy<sup>2</sup>  
Serita Pasar Daniel  
(trans. Father Francis and Michael Diway) 1961

- Dundon, Stephen Jussem ak.  
29 p. Koda Koda Gaya Pingajar  
il. Justin Kirim 1968
- \*Nicolaus, T. Gunjew and Sadin, Michael  
Denan Mung Oma 1968
2. BIATAH
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Dundan Pasar Daniel  
(trans. Rev. Ewiin Jaboh) 1961
- \*Howes, P. H. H.  
Surat Basa 1961
- Ritikos  
80 p. Biatah-English Phrase Book 1968
- Simigaat, Helbourne and T. K. Mijad Simanjar  
30 p. Dundan Pimanug Daya  
Bidayuh Siburan  
il. Justin Kirim 1968
3. BUKAR/SADONG
- Diamond, Lucy  
Tanun Pasal Daniel  
(trans. Arthur Mading Jangko with the help  
of Gabriel Jo'ong, James Anung, and  
Arthur Atos) 1961
- Langgi, Arthur Atos and T. K. Mijaad  
40 p. Ra Turun Ku Pa't Ra Ru-an  
Ku Sayang  
il. Husaini bin Sulaiman 1972
- Langgi, Arthur Atos  
38 p. Tanun Bidayuh  
il. Francis Sindon 1976

- Sium, Norbert Nyulin and Kiliw, Martin Ephraem  
73 p. Pimangan Raja Naya  
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4. KADAZAN
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Takapon Tauasi 1966
- \*Deltarpporte, Scholastica  
Buk Magansak Om 1971  
Kotoinaan Do Tanak
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Susuzan di Daniel 1962  
(trans. Michael Mojolou and Samuel Majalang)
- Lidadun, Peter  
23 p. Nipizan Do Poulolou 1968  
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- Majalang, Samuel  
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- \*Malinggang, Donald S. J.  
Singonoum Do Pogohu, 1970  
Izada Do Touri
- \*Ongkili, James  
Susuzan Totopot Do Sabah 1966

5. KAYAN
- Diamond, Lucy  
Lung Marung Daniel 1961  
(trans. L. Cubit [Ubong Anyi'] and Hinan Ilisaber Anyi')
- Ding, James Luhut Wan  
25 p. Lung Kereh Tam Kayan 1976  
il.
- La'ing, Joseph Anyie  
49 p. Na'an Balei Lung Kayan 1968  
il. Justin Kirim
6. KENYAH
- Anye' Apui  
50 p. Tekena Kenyah 1969  
il. Husaini bin Sulaiman
- Diamond, Lucy  
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(trans. Ray Cunningham [Tagang])
- Killah, Parick  
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Uyau Abing  
il. Husaini bin Sulaiman
7. MELANAU
- Abeng bin Mega  
14 p. Bato Ikan 1969  
il. Raphael Scott Ahbeng
8. MURUT
- Diamond, Lucy  
Ago Ratnau Daniel 1961  
(trans. Mrs. A. Belcher)

Padan, James Noah		
Eng/Bazaar Malay/Lun Dayeh	1971	
Phrase Book		
Pur, Samuel Labo		
Kamus Lun Dayeh	1965	
9.    TABAL		
Davis, Jean (coll.)		
Tagal Stories/Ulit-Ulit	1976	
Nu Tahol (Eng-Tagal)		
PAMPHLETS AND MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS (by date)		
NOTE: These publications are listed in the Annual Reports of the BLB: but, as natural with such fugitive material, finding copies of them is extremely difficult. One or two items are in the library of the Sarawak Museum.		
BLB/Agriculture Dept.		
Jalai Ngintu Pegong Ikan	1960	
Baka Ni Jalai Ngintu Pukat Ikan	1960	
Coconut planting leaflets (Iban)	1960	
BLB/Medical Dept.		
Malaria leaflets (Iban)	1960	
BLB/Information Office		
A Guide to Education in Sarawak	1961	
(Iban)		
Medical Dept.		
Iodized Salt poster (Iban)	1961	
Sarawak Broadcasting Service		
English Ka Kita Surat I-IV	1962	
BLB		
Sakang Baru	1963	
BLB		
Intu Anak Mit Kita Beresi	1963	
BLB		
Pengerai Anak Mit	1964	

Sarawak Association for the Blind		
The Blind of Sarawak Need Your	1964	
Help (Iban)		
BLB		
Betuboh Bisi	1965	
BLB		
Takanon Tavasi (Kadazan)	1966	
BLB		
Sida Mary Sabilik Makai	1967	
Pemakai Beresi		
BLB		
Mandok Lauk	1967	
BLB		
Lalat	1967	
BLB		
Takar Nya Bitie Anak Nya	1967	
(Bau/Jagoi)		
BLB		
Anak Ira De Sihat Gonan Eh	1967	
(Bau/Jagoi)		
BLB		
Tura (Bau/Jagoi)	1967	
Medical Dept.		
Iodized salt (Biatah)	1967	
Goitre poster (Iban, Kayan)	1968	
Goitre posters (Kenyah, Biatah)	1969	

## NOTES

1. Authors who have adopted western personal names, and western authors, are listed with their fathers' names ("surname") first, as usual. In all other cases the authors' personal names come first. The date given is the date of first publication. An asterisk (\*) marks the books of which I was unable to find an actual copy.
2. Here and below, refer to the entry under her name in Iban section above.

THE ORANG BELAIT OF BRUNEI:  
LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES WITH LEMETING (METING)

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Part of an on-going study of verbal communication in Brunei Darussalam<sup>1</sup> considers the changing patterns of language use among the indigenous communities. Such a study is potentially very revealing, particularly in the areas of language maintenance, shift and obsolescence. The domains of many of the languages of these communities appear to be shrinking under pressure from the local vernacular, Brunei Malay, as well as from the official language, *Bahasa Melayu*. Malay, in one form or another, is an essential tool for communication in Brunei. The local variety, Brunei Malay, is not only the dominant code in the country but it is also an extremely important marker of social relationship, especially where there is a need to establish or demonstrate rapport and solidarity (Martin 1990).

A shift in language allegiance appears to be taking place among a number of the minor linguistic groups in the country, most especially among the Belait. Quantitative evidence to support the view that language shift is occurring, and, in fact, that the Belait language is in danger of becoming obsolete, is to be provided in a separate study.

The following notes give a brief introduction to the linguistic entity Belait, a language almost totally ignored by students of Borneo linguistics up to the present time. Data are referred to which give an indication of the close association between Belait and Lemeting (or Meting). The present paper also demonstrates the importance of the language for Austronesian studies and emphasizes the urgent need for further research.

The *puak Belait* are one of the seven indigenous groups or *puak jati* labelled Malay in Negara Brunei Darussalam (Government of Brunei, 1961:118-120). Apart from the Malay-speaking Brunei and *Kedayan*, the other groups, the *Belait*, *Tutong*, *Dusun*, *Bisaya'* and *Murut*, have languages which are less than 40 percent cognate with Peninsular Standard Malay (Nothofer, 1987).

A number of sociohistorical factors of which intermarriage, increased mobility and conversion to Islam are the most significant, have caused the distinctions between the *puak jati* to become rather blurred, and, in recent times, there has been a consequent shift towards classifying them as Malay. There are thus no official figures for the individual *puak jati* populations today. However, based on informant comment and my own observation, I estimate that there are about 800 to 1000 speakers of Belait in Brunei. The three main areas where Belait is spoken are in the environs of Kuala Belait, Labi and Kampung Kiudang in the Tutong district.

The label "Belait" was primarily a geographical referent, but it subsequently came to be used to refer to the indigenous population of the area as well as to their language. One of the earliest references to the inhabitants of the region is made by St. John, who mentions the presence of Murut (1862, 1:90). Other authors such as McArthur (1987:110) refer to the natives of the Belait River as *orang bukit* or *Bisaya'*. Ray (1913:18) mentions the *Lemeting* on the "upper Belait River" and, according to Harrisson (1958:308), the *Tabun* occupied the Belait above Sukang around the end of the last century. At the present time, the Belait River is inhabited by Iban, Dusun and a small group of settled Penan.

From 1939, traditional Brunei sources refer to the indigenous population of the area as "Belait" (Pengilly, 1939:2). Up to that time three main linguistic groups were known to have inhabited the Belait River basin, the *orang bukit* or *Bisaya'*, the Murut and Tabun, and the Lemeting. It is quite apparent that movement between Brunei and neighbouring territories was common (Black, 1937:3-4). One obvious reason for the movement into Brunei was the discovery of oil in the Belait region in 1929. Prior to this, marauding Kayan war parties along the Baram River (including the Tutoh and Tinjar rivers) were also responsible for decimating communities and causing remnants of these groups to flee, seeking safer territories away from the Baram and nearer to the coast. As a consequence, a number of groups settled in areas controlled by Brunei, and many eventually converted to Islam and adopted the Malay way of life.

Among the groups which have their origins in the lower Baram (and, more particularly, the Tinjar) are what have become known as the Miri, Bakong, Narom, Tutong and Belait. Very little is known about these groups although Sather (1979) and Tunku Zainah (1978) have written on the Miri. Asmah (1983:632-650) has made a brief description of the Narom language, and Rahim (1972) has recorded some notes on the Tutong language. Other authors have written on related groups, notably Metcalf (1975, 1976) on Berawan, and Galvin (1974) and Blust (1977) on Long Kiput. Other groups mentioned in the early literature are the Dali', Lelak and Lemeting. A small number of speakers of Dali'

are to be found in the Tutong district of Brunei, but the fate of the other two groups has remained unknown.

Of particular interest to this study is the Lemeting or Meting. According to Metcalf (1975:54), this group has become extinct or has been assimilated into another group. The association of this group with the Belait River, however, is well documented. Hudden (1949), for example, related that there was much intermarriage between the Lemeting and Lelak (the early inhabitants of Long Teru), and that they are to be found in the Belait River region. Ray collected a wordlist from the Lemeting on the Belait River in 1899 (Ray, 1913:6). Pollard and Banks (1937:397) state that the Lemeting are "now known as the Belaits, from the river in the State of Brunei where they now live". Harrison (1958:295) suggests that the people known nowadays as Belait are actually "a blend of two main peoples - Meting immigrants onto earlier Belait residents". Hughes-Hallett (1938:102) also refers to this fusion of the Meting with the original inhabitants of the river.

These and other sources suggest that the Meting came in substantial numbers over a period of time eventually forming the major percentage of those people now termed Belait. Harrison even suggests that without the new Meting element, "there would be no 'Belaits' at all" (Harrison, 1958:314). It is known, for example, that the Murut (Tabun) population migrated to new territories, and that the Bisaya' community in the Belait was greatly depleted by a smallpox epidemic. The fact that the Meting became known by the name of their new location has tended to obscure the origins of this group.

There is little ethnographic or linguistic material on the early population of the Belait River and what there is appears to post-date the Lemeting immigration into the region. Thus, as regards head-hunting, for example, Harrison (1958:316) suggests this was an activity of the Meting, not the earlier inhabitants of the Belait. Little has been recorded about pre-Islamic death rituals, although Metcalf (1975:54-59) includes the Belait in the "people of the *nulang* arc", those people who practice secondary treatment of the dead. However, it is clear that when Metcalf refers to the Belait he is actually referring to the post-Lemeting fusion of peoples in the area.

The linguistic result of the contact, and later fusion, of the Lemeting with the original inhabitants of the area, is also of interest to this study. Little work has been done on this group of languages and Kedit (1975:33), for example, has stated the urgent need for research on minority groups. However, any study in the field of Borneo linguistics immediately faces a number of problems. Firstly there is often a scarcity of material. Even when material is available, much of it

is unreliable. There is thus a need to supplement or replace second-hand data of some languages (where they still exist) with first-hand data (Blust, 1972:13). Problems with classification also persist. This has, in the past, spawned such so-called "rag-bag" categories (Leach, 1950:49) as the much debated and contested Klemantan group (Hose and McDougall, 1912,1:34-5).

However, fieldwork by Blust and Hudson in the Baram region of Sarawak in the seventies has given us a clearer picture of the linguistic situation there. Blust (1972) has concluded that the coastal languages from Bintulu in the south up to Tutong in the north, as well as the non-Kayan languages of the Baram, belong to a sub-group of languages which he terms "North Sarawak". Within this subgroup is the "Lower Baram" subgroup which consists of the Berawan dialects, Kiput, Narom, Lelak, Lemeting, Dali', Miri, Belait and Tutong. Hudson's classification is similar (1978:25-6) but he uses the term "Baram-Tinjar" in place of "Lower Baram".

An important linguistic resource, although criticized on account of inaccuracies of transcription, is Ray's The Languages of Borneo (Ray, 1913). In it Ray provides wordlists for 107 languages, some of which are no longer in use. However, in his treatment of the Belait, Ray creates some confusion by using the term "Balait" to refer to two totally different linguistic groups. Firstly he refers to Belait as a member of the Melanau group, though significantly he does not provide a wordlist for this group. Secondly, he refers to Belait Treng, using the term "Balait" in place of Pa Liit, one of the three branches of the once-powerful Treng mentioned by Moulton (1912a:94-5). Moulton (1912a, 1912b) makes no reference to the ethnonym *Belait* (*Balait*).

Nowadays, the Belait language is usually referred to in the literature as "Belait Jati" (Hudson, 1978:25-6; Wurm and Hattori, 1983), and a small number of wordlists are available. I have collected lexical material from the Belait speech community in Kampung Mungkom in Kiudang based on a 400 word list for use in Borneo (Martin, 1989). It has been possible to compare 155 items from this Kiudang Belait word list with Ray's (1913) Lemeting vocabulary, and it is clear that the Kiudang isolect of Belait is almost identical to Lemeting. Although there is some slight variation, most of the differences can be explained by the use of different elicitation techniques and transcription practices and the use of synonyms.

The linguistic evidence, then, quite clearly supports the claim by Hughes-Hallett that the Belait language "is that of the *orang Meting*" (1938:102). The former *Penghulu* and other residents of Labi reiterate the claim that Meting is their language, and that it was brought by pioneer immigrants to Brunei (Harrison, 1958:294).

Older informants in Labi and Kiudang still use the term *Meting* to describe their language, though the younger generation is not always aware of the term. The late Orang Kaya Ratna Haji Mohammad Noor, former *Penghulu* of Kuala Balai, recognized that the Belait language spoken today is different from the language spoken by his ancestors. When I met him in 1988 he could recall only a very few words of what he called "Belait Tunu" (the "true" or "real" Belait). Unfortunately insufficient data were collected to enable the preparation of a wordlist for this "Belait Tunu", but a number of items were recognizable as Bisaya' forms.

Data, then, suggest that Lemeting is not extinct, but is still spoken by the *puak Belait* of Brunei. This is of particular significance in the field of comparative Austronesian studies. Blust (1969:100) has suggested that Lemeting and Long Kiput are "the only languages outside Formosa known to have sibilant reflexes for PAN \*S", and has expressed the urgent need for descriptive studies of these languages in order "to support or disconfirm changes that have been proposed in the reconstruction of some proto-Austronesian morphemes" (Blust, 1970:4-5). First-hand data already have been collected for Long Kiput (Blust, 1977:9-10), but data for Lemeting have been based solely on an early wordlist (Ray, 1913). It should now be a matter of urgency to provide the sort of adequate description of Belait which will be of use, not only in comparative studies, but also in shedding light on various aspects of the historical development of the Austronesian languages. To this effect, the author is involved in a preliminary description of Belait, as well as the aforementioned survey of shift in language allegiance among Belait speakers.

## NOTE

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## THE GUNONG API CONNECTION EXPEDITION

RIC HALLIWELL

### Discovering Caves in the Gunong Mulu National Park

#### 1. Introduction

Gunong Api is the largest of the limestone peaks in the internationally renowned Gunong Mulu National Park. It contains the world's largest known cavern and the longest cave in South East Asia. The GUNONG API CONNECTION EXPEDITION plans to firmly establish Clearwater River Cave as one of the ten longest caves in the world by extending and connecting known cave systems. We intend to discover and explore new caves and capture on film the wonders of the Gunong Mulu National Park and its underground world.

#### 2. The Objectives

##### 2.1 The Caves

Our caving objectives include the further exploration and connection of known systems as well as the location, exploration and surveying of as yet undiscovered caves. In detail our speleological objectives are:

### Clearwater River Cave

The Mulu 89 expedition returned in late 1989 having added a further fifteen kilometres to the Clearwater River Cave system. It is now the eleventh longest cave in the world requiring only a further seven kilometres of passage to become the tenth longest. There are still many leads to be followed up that will help to gain this position:

- i) The connection of Leopard Cave which runs underneath the northern end of Clearwater will add a further 3.3km.
- ii) In 1979 the original explorers of Clearwater discovered the huge passage Another Storey. This ended high above the main river canyon where the explorers could see "a continuation tantalizingly visible across the gulf". This passage has never been revisited and to enter it requires a short ascent to gain a ledge that leads across the canyon into it.
- iii) Four hundred meters into the main resurgence entrance there is a passage discovered in 1980 but left unpushed. This passage is wide open for exploration.
- iv) There are several unexplored leads to the south of the main river in Cave of the Winds which should yield passage in exactly the same manner as the passages to the north.
- v) There are numerous leads to be followed up in the recently discovered Clearwater 5 area. Currently this is an extremely remote area of the cave but with our expectations of discovering an entrance from the Melinau Paku Valley we should have much easier access to this area. We expect Drunken Forest Cave or Snail Cave to provide the easy entrance and these caves are described later.

### Drunken Forest Cave

Clearwater River Cave (Gua Air Jernih) is currently the longest cave in South East Asia having been connected to Cave of the Winds (Lubang Angin) in 1988. The end of the active river cave is presently a resurgence sump pool which has been dived for a short distance. We intend to bypass this sump by exploring a tight passage in Drunken Forest Cave which ends a mere 200 meters from the Clearwater sump. The Mulu 1984 expedition report stated that Drunken Forest Cave "could prove to be the key to the river system running the whole length of Api". The Mulu 89 team have justified our belief in this cave by discovering and pushing Clearwater 5 towards the Melinau Paku Valley to an area of great

stalagmite and crystal formations. They believe that this area is very close to Drunken Forest Cave.

### Snail Cave

All the caves of Gunong Api that have received any concerted attention are found to have been developed on three or four levels. Lagan's Cave however has only been explored on one (low) level. We believe high level passages exist in this cave and we hope to discover them, perhaps even connecting them with Wind Cave and hence to the Clearwater system.

Our belief in the high level passages in Lagan's Cave has been strengthened by the news that the 1989 team entered a high level cave between Cave of the Winds and Lagan's Cave. We now feel a connection between Lagan's and Cave of the Winds in only a matter of time and effort.

### Cobra Cave

This is probably our most serious undertaking due to its flood prone nature. During the initial exploration in 1984 two cavers were trapped by floodwater for 24 hours. We hope to find a bypass to the notoriously flood liable Tunnel of Love enabling us to safely explore the cave beyond. The original exploration of this cave halted because time ran out and the end is wide open for further discoveries.

### Canopy Cave

This cave is high in the flanks of Gunong Api in the Melinau Gorge. It has been seen from a helicopter but has not yet been reached as it requires a very severe climb to gain the entrance. With the help of sophisticated climbing equipment we hope to reach this previously inaccessible cave. If it fulfills the predictions in the MULU 1984 expedition report it will continue right through Api to reach the Hidden Valley from the north.

### Melinau Gorge

Whilst Gunong Benerat has received much attention over the last ten years the flanks of Gunong Api within the Melinau Gorge have remained somewhat untouched. We shall systematically search the northern flank of

Gunong Api starting at the eastern end of the gorge searching for new cave entrances. Any discoveries will be thoroughly explored and surveyed.

### 2.2 The Video Film

A significant objective is to produce a documentary video film about the park and the expedition in which we hope to film the initial exploration of some of the new passages we will discover.

The equipment we shall be using will be of professional standard and format (HVHS format video) and the results we have achieved so far have been well received. Our intention is to produce a high quality coherent film with the minimum of compromise to our speleological aims. Towards this end the film will contain preplanned "core" footage that will be complemented by "opportunistic" shots of events as they happen. The core footage will include items such as the expedition planning, the flight and journey out, the setting up of base camp, the Api Pinnacles and Deer Cave and the nightly bat flight etc.

### 3. The Connections

The GUNONG API CONNECTION EXPEDITION takes its name not simply from its intention of connecting some of the major caves of Gunong Api but from a more general concept. Our patrons are Professor V. T. King of the Centre for South East Asian Studies at Hull University and Mr. Lucas Chin the Director of The Sarawak Museum Kuching. Four of the team are graduates of Hull University which has, for many years, welcomed large numbers of students from Malaysia. Such is the popularity of Hull that the Malaysian graduates have formed the Hull University Alumni Malaysia which maintains a close relationship between themselves and their Alma Mater. The connections then are speleological, academic and personal in nature.

### 4. The Expedition Members

#### Dr. Tony Bennett

Tony has been caving for some eleven years with expedition experience in France and Greece as well as leading an expedition to the remote Canadian Rocky Mountains. Tony, a graduate of Hull University, is also a recognized authority on the application of computers to the surveying and graphical representation of caves.

Steve Gough

Steve has been on the British caving scene now for around twelve years and has many caving expeditions to his credit. Among his more notable achievements was the role he played in THE UNTAMED RIVER EXPEDITION to the Nare River Cave in New Britain, Papua New Guinea. His expedition experiences of tropical rainforest will be invaluable. Steve is currently living in Brunei Darussalam where he is employed by the Government of His Majesty the Sultan.

Dr. Ric Halliwell

Ric has undoubtedly the most experience of the whole team having been caving for more than twenty years. He has caved in many countries of the world including the United States of America, Hungary, France and Yugoslavia. Ric is a graduate of Hull University, a founder member of Hull University Speleological Society and currently works at the University.

Paul Norman

Paul, over the fourteen years he has been caving, has gained himself an excellent reputation as a cave explorer having been responsible for the opening up of much previously unknown cave passage. He has caved widely throughout Europe and has twice been to the bottom of the formidable Gouffre Berger in France. Paul will be responsible for producing the expedition video film.

Dr. Rebecca Weight

Rebecca (Becky) has been caving since 1973 and has many overseas expeditions to her credit. She has caved throughout Europe, Morocco and Canada. In 1987 Becky was joint leader of the caving project of the Operation Raleigh Expedition 10D Malaysia which produced a report for the Sarawak Government on The Development of Fairy Cave (Bau) as a Tourist Attraction. She is a graduate of Hull University and a past President of Hull University Speleological Society.

Alan Weight

Alan, a graduate of Hull University, has been caving for some fifteen years and has extensive expedition experience. He has explored major cave systems of Europe, Morocco and Canada. With Becky he was joint leader of the caving project of Operation Raleigh Expedition 10D Malaysia. They introduced some twenty six venturers (seven Malaysian) and the Sarawak Adventurers Club of Kuching to caving in the mountains near Bau and also in the Gunong Mulu National Park.

## 5. Logistics

### 5.1 Transport

United Kingdom	-->	Miri Sarawak	by air
Miri	-->	Marudi	by express river boat
Marudi	-->	Long Terawan	by express river boat
Long Terawan	-->	Gunong Mulu National Park	by longboat

Transport within the park will be by a combination of longboat and foot. We envisage one change of base camp site whilst in the park. Once base camps have been established all movement will be on foot.

### 5.2 Exploration Schedule

Because of the extremely unpredictable nature of cave exploration we must ensure sufficient work and a flexible approach. To this end our caving objectives fall into two quite distinct geographical areas. One area is based on the Melinau Gorge at the northern end of Gunong Api whilst the other is centered on the Melinau Paku valley to the south.

Our first objectives will be those centered on the Melinau Paku Valley to the south of Gunong Api. It is here that we believe an easy entrance to the recent discoveries in Clearwater 5 exists. Our base camp will be a rock shelter quite close to Drunken Forest Cave and from here we will have relatively easy access to all our objectives in Snail Cave, Drunken Forest Cave, Lagan's Cave and Cobra Cave.

Our highest priorities will be Snail Cave and Drunken Forest Cave which should give easy access to the numerous unexplored passages in the recent Clearwater River Cave extensions. Lagan's Cave and its connection to Cave of the Winds will be our next priority with Cobra Cave taking the lowest priority.

Should we complete all the objectives in the Melinau Paku valley we will move to the north of Gunong Api to concentrate on those centered around the Melinau Gorge. Base camp will be set up in Lubang Mudeng, a cave first explored by G. E. Wilford. From here we will explore Canopy Cave and search for new entrances within the gorge. As previously mentioned this area holds great promise for world-class cave discoveries.

## 5.3 Additional Personnel

Whilst in the park we shall have with us National Park employees as guides and possibly a cook as well as further assistance when moving camp. We will be responsible for feeding them whenever they are away from park headquarters.

## 6. Permission

We have already been in contact with Mike Meredith the Officer in Charge at the National Park and he can see no real problems with our objectives and is quite enthusiastic that we should pursue them. We have now to write to the State Secretary of Sarawak and the Director of Forests in Kuching requesting permission.

## 7. Surveying

To date all the exploration in Mulu has been at the end of a survey tape recording the discoveries as they were made. Likewise we will continue the high quality surveying of any new discoveries.

In addition to the classical paper surveys we will produce we shall also develop a complete three dimensional computer model of the cave systems of Gunong Api. Initially the surface contours of the mountain will be digitized to produce a model of Gunong Api. When this is complete the caves will be superimposed within the mountain such that the relationship of all the cave passages to each other and to surface features can be easily and clearly observed.

Whilst in the field all the newly discovered passages will be included into the computer model so that we will be continuously monitoring the relationships of the caves. Similarly we will also keep a paper survey up to date for the same reason.

## 8. Reports

In the established tradition of Mulu expeditions we will, on our return, produce a complete report of our discoveries. Copies of this report will be donated to the Sarawak Ministry of the Environment and Tourism, The Sarawak Museum Kuching, The Gunong Mulu National Park Headquarters, the Sarawak Forestry Department and all of our sponsors. The report will also be made generally available to anyone with an interest in the area.

## 9. Summary

In brief the GUNONG API CONNECTION EXPEDITION plans to enter and connect known cave systems with a view to establishing Clearwater Riv Cave as one of the ten longest caves in the world, discover new caves and capture on film the marvels of Gunong Mulu National park and its underground world.

NOTES ON SOME IBAN AND EMBALOH COMMUNITIES  
IN KALIMANTAN BARAT

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Between 15 August and 5 September 1990, I visited several Iban and Embaloh communities in Kabupaten Kapuas Hulu, Kalimantan Barat during preliminary field survey for my dissertation research.<sup>1</sup> What follows is a brief sketch of some of those communities.

Because of dry weather, travel to the Embaloh River area was difficult and I waited in Putus Sibau a number of days before a boat left for the Embaloh. In order to make my time more productive while I waited, I visited the Iban community of Hulu Sibau which lies at the end of a gravel road about 20 minutes by motorcycle from Putus Sibau. It is at the end of the line for the local minibuss (oplet) system which can take an hour or more to reach Putus Sibau due to frequent stops. The fare of 1000 rupiah precludes many of the people in the area from using it frequently.

Hulu Sibau is a community of 16 Iban and two Malay houses. The villages on either side are composed of Taman. The downriver village is called Benua Sibau and has the local elementary school. Given the small Iban population interethnic marriage may be fairly frequent though I was unable to obtain any reliable data.

The Iban originally came from the Embaloh River, and by way of the Lauh River they settled near the present site about 40 years ago. They abandoned their longhouse 21 years ago in favor of individual family dwellings; the population split at the same time, some families staying in Hulu Sibau and others moving to the Suai River near Landau Ipoh. At about the same time they became Catholic and, according to the people there, totally abandoned annual gawai. They said they exchanged Iban adat for Catholic adat.

By mid-August they were still waiting to fire their swiddens, and some households were still engaged in clearing theirs. (This is in contrast to the swiddens of neighboring Kantu' and Taman which were close to the rivers and had been fired earlier to get a crop in before annual flooding.) A lot of the Iban fields were close to the road, and some families had begun to build permanent dwellings away from the main community and next to such fields. However, several families fields were located three hours walk from Hulu Sibau.

Upon reaching the Catholic mission of Benua Martinus on the Embaloh River, I immediately left on foot for Lanjak, the seat of Kecamatan Batang Lupar near the Kapuas Lakes. Lanjak has about 70 houses, a few stores, a small hospital, and a middle and high school which is attended by children from as far away as the villages on the Leboyan. The population is a mix of mainly Malay and Iban with a few Embaloh. In the vicinity of Lanjak are several Iban communities such as Tematu and Sapan. (I was told by a Javanese man that the Iban near the Lakes were becoming quite wealthy from harvesting the abundant fish there although I was unable to verify this claim.)

Tematu is located an hour's walk west of Lanjak and is composed of two longhouses about 90 meters apart with 16 and 12 doors each. The 12-door longhouse is the original dwelling; the other was built in 1978 because of overcrowding. The older men with whom I spoke claimed not to know where their ancestors had come from before settling at Tematu and said they had been there too long for anyone to remember such information. Although they are all at least nominal Protestants, gawai are held regularly. They expressed amazement when I told them that the Sibau Iban no longer held gawai. One man wondered how they could still be Iban.

Most households were still waiting to fire their fields which varied in location from the flat land near the community to the slopes of the surrounding hills. Some had pepper gardens on the flat land close to the trail to Lanjak. The one rice-milling machine was being serviced when I visited, but I was unable to find out if it was joint or individual property. Both longhouses have piped water with several faucets outside to get water.

On the Leboyan River about a 4-hour walk from Lanjak passing the Empasuk Iban communities of Sedi' and Sawa and an hour walk upriver from Ukit-Ukit lies a cluster of three longhouses collectively called Bakul. On the east bank of the river are Bakul Satu and Dua, both composed of Embaloh with 27 and 15 doors respectively and five separate houses on the trail between the two. Near Bakul Satu there is a small general store and an elementary school. Bakul Tiga is a 10-door Iban longhouse and lies on the west bank of the Leboyan. The people on either side can hear the roosters of the other community each morning. I would estimate the entire population of Bakul to be about 350 people.

The Embaloh of Bakul Satu and Dua claimed that the Bakul Tiga Iban are all descended from Embaloh, suggesting close intermarriage in the past. I was unable to confirm this information with the Iban. Overall the picture they painted of the relationship between the Iban and Embaloh was one of close cooperation with little or no strife. As evidence of this they cited the reciprocal attendance of Embaloh and Iban at annual gawai, and the attendance at Bakul festivals by Iban in the nearby communities of Kelawi, Engkadan, and Ngaung Keruh. (However, I was in the company of both Embaloh and Iban at the time, so one should not conclude that such claims are entirely accurate.)

One feature of life that stood out in the communities I visited was the apparently frequent journeys to Sarawak made by men to find seasonal work or to buy goods. For example, at Hulu Sibau, which is very far from the border crossing between Nanga Badau and Lubok Antu, men claimed to make regular treks to Sarawak via Nanga Badau. The settlements around Lanjak are at an advantage since they are not only closer to Nanga Badau but also to the trade carried out on the Lakes. A group of about 20 Embaloh men, collected from the Bakul and Ukit-Ukit areas, had recently left for Sarawak when I visited there, and I met up with five Embaloh men returning from Sarawak on the trail to Benua Martinus in early September. This is admittedly a very rough indication but it does suggest fairly frequent travel to Sarawak.

In connection with this issue, I was told that the Indonesian government is planning to build a road starting in 1991 or 1992 which will connect Putus Sibau, Benua Martinus, Ukit-Ukit, and Lanjak to Nanga Badau and Lubok Antu. The people in the affected areas are eager to have the road built because it will replace the existing trails. It will give them greater access to the markets in Putus Sibau and Lanjak as well as Lubok Antu. However whether they will become even more involved in trade to Sarawak or increasingly tied into the provincial economy remains to be seen. Jobs could become available from building the road itself and, once completed, from potential logging operations. While the road will drastically change their lives, the people there feel it will end their isolation from the rest of the province and from national development.

## NOTE

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## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

## PENANS IN ULU BELAIT

This is a comment on the note by Bernard Sellato following correspondence between Jeremy Groome (Rural Training Consultants, Miri) and Peter Waggitt (at that time Senior Soil Scientist working for ULG Consultants) both of whom worked in Brunei Darussalam and have had contact with the Penans at Sukang in the Ulu Belait.

We would like to flesh out the information provided by Sellato from a series of stays and contacts with the Penans during the 1980-82 period.

- \* In 1980 the community stood at about 40-42 people and were living in very poor conditions.
- \* The previous longhouse was built in 1963-64 as a result of Government requests following the December 1962 attempted rebellion.
- \* The younger males, i.e., those in the 20-35 age range were living at home; the older ones were employed by the District Office on a daily paid basis as roadside grass cutters. Family members would leave the longhouse to go hunting and gathering on a regular basis.
- \* During 1981/2 a number of men worked as labour in the field teams undertaking the Brunei Agricultural and Forestry Development Study. Their cash wages must have contributed significantly towards the costs of materials for the new longhouse.
- \* A number of young men have since decided to go down river on an intermittent basis and work for contractors in the oil industry.
- \* Blowpipes were being made on a cottage industry basis. We were led to believe that a high proportion of blowpipes fail their "test firing". These were sold to the Chinese towkay on the other side of the river and ended up in the curio shops of Kuala Belait.

- \* We believe that one of the reasons to move the longhouse was the death, in 1979/80 of two or three babies.
- \* It is very likely that the organization of the building of the new longhouse came from the local towkay.
- \* There were five longhouses above Sukang in 1982 (one near Kg Dungun, RP Ambawang, RP Tempmak, RP Melilas and RP Banggarang Dua). Only the last two were inhabited on a full-time basis.

It is our impression that all these longhouses were established in the 1940s during the Japanese occupation. The current family groups migrated from the Baram to escape harassment by the occupying forces. Representatives had worked in the oil exploration teams in the Ulu Belait in the 1930s and had identified vacant land suitable for cultivation.

This raises an important point. The central catchment between the Belait and the Tutong Rivers was totally uninhabited prior to this settlement. The Penans live on the left bank and hunt in the catchment towards the Sarawak border. All the Iban/Dusun longhouses are on the right bank and cultivate land up to the watershed towards the Tutong river. However, the forest is by and large secondary - but old secondary and there are signs of old settlement throughout the watershed i.e., charcoal and pottery. Where did these inhabitants go and why?

POINTS OF VIEW AND OF ERROR:  
TOWARD GETTING  
ORAL LITERATURE TRANSLATION WORK DONE

CAROL RUBENSTEIN

I appreciate that Borneo residents and researchers of Borneo materials need to ensure that oral literature translations be accurate and that methods be acceptable. This is of particular importance with material such as the song languages used in much of the oral literature, since it is often little known, both to local native speakers and to visiting anthropologists and specialists.

My use of the term "word-by-word" in translation means the collecting of all the raw data prior to working with them. This is self-evident; it follows from listening to the singer, transcribing each word, and then assigning to each word a possible value, a meaning, generally several meanings. The meaning that is most useful depends on the appropriate societal and poetic context, which must be discovered.

There are of course others ways of ordering one's thought, such as in relation to morphemes, lexemes, etc. and of describing the processes and results. I am not describing or providing a linguistic model; I am describing here the ways in which I found it useful to work.

The use of syntax is equally a self-evident procedure. Syntax -- locating the verbs, nouns, qualifiers, dependent and independent factors and their relationships -- is vital to an understanding of any data, the primary stage of inquiry into meaning and sequence.

The syntactical order of the original stands in relation to the original language, the structure and character of that language. The translation, later, presents the material in the different construction of its own language. The sequential and dynamical ordering of both original and translation depends on many things, such as syntax, subtle variations that inhere in the relation among the words, and poetic invention.

I suggest that a large part of methodology (as it is practiced, rather than as it is discussed) has to do with a refined and rigorous appreciation and application of common sense.

The perils of garbled syntax are briefly discussed in the Introduction to Special Monograph No. 2 (Rubenstein 1973) in the section titled Word-by-Word Procedures for Deriving Precise Meanings (p. 21). As one small example, I quote from the Kelabit epic of "Adi, Song of Agan," describing how the address to the pig prior to its ritual slaughter can be confusing, especially when the pig is addressed as "dear grandchild."

My emphasis on "word-by-word, phrase-by-phrase" procedures in translation refers to my mistrust of received information in a line-by-line or stanza-by-stanza gloss. I had constantly to insist on the precise meaning of a word, along with its clear or concrete image, rather than an abstract or general meaning.

For example, the meaning of a line may be given as follows: "The man walks down from the top of the mountain." This gloss may bypass many images. For example, the original words may be: Walk, continue to walk -- he, the man - - he, the topmost twig (meaning the descendant of high-born ancestors) -- mountain, hill -- virgin, spring, narrow end, beginning, dead, unborn, source of spring -- direction, indicator of direction -- mouth of river, end, wide end, width - - embrace, greatness, great.

For the literal translation one seeks to include the images while presenting the overall meaning. One might arrive at the following: The man, topmost twig, born into a great family, walks down from the source of the spring that starts at the mountain top and he goes down (and it goes down) to the mouth of the mighty river. The line gives the necessary information (one hopes), but remains open to many interpretations. Therefore one need suspend resolution until more is known. Several drafts of the material may be necessary.

The line might conclude as follows: He, topmost twig, he of the great ancestors, walks from the mountain top, the spring at its source, down to the mouth of the river's might. To accept the gloss would be to deny the texture and character of the poem, the poem itself.

It is also true that the man is simply walking down from the mountain top, but that is not all he is doing. He is carrying with him the cultural properties of his people, by way of the images and resonances to the poetry of the language as ritually or uniquely sung. Similarly, to leave the information in its literal stage is to deny the validity -- the existence -- of the poem as a cultural artifact. The original indigenous poetry is not a function of commentary on its own form, presenting content in halting phrases and lines as alternatives to footnotes. It has density, rhythm, variation, and poetic character of great richness and span. To my mind, the translation should convey a sense of the original high-level production which the Dayaks have consciously crafted through the ages of their transmission.

If the translator is not trained, or is unwilling to try, to perceive and bring across this dimension and therefore prefers to leave the poetic character out of it, perhaps a prose rendition would be best. One would need, however, to include (perhaps separately) indications of the poetic ingredients in each section, such as the images, repetitions and variations, since these are an integral part of what was meant to be transmitted.

Finding and considering the various images makes for slow and careful work. This is sometimes difficult to sustain. These data, however, significant in any translating endeavor, are crucial in poetics. Key concepts in poetry,



especially in oral literature, are often expressed through vivid image and images as juxtaposed, with the original text often a form of shorthand offering few connective links.

To the anthropologist, the songs register aspects of the social structure. To the agroforestry specialist, they are addressing issues of interaction with the environment and the proper or unsustainable exploitation of natural resources. To the linguist the songs are made of phonemes and lexicons of morphological phenomena, to the poet they are made of images, rhythms and sounds. A musicologist would probably find inadequate the little data I was able to provide, since that specialist would surely have done otherwise.

To preserve and describe the ritual and the societal contexts of the songs was part of my obligation to document as much of the background as could be located concerning the songs and the singers. This related to their traditions and to the rapid changes in their societies. But my terminology was only minimally that used by anthropologists and ethnologists. Also, I ascertained word meanings by referring to examples and descriptions in terms other than those commonly used in the field of linguistics. I prefer to leave application of the technical formulas, useful in the various disciplines which may be related to my work, to specialists in those fields. In my own field of poetics and translation, I avoid the specialist's formal placement of thought within that discipline's well-developed structures. I prefer to cast my remarks in the language of informed observation and discovery, using simple standard English. That was and remains my choice.

I should much prefer to have worked with a team of specialists, with each one documenting another vital aspect of the project to collect and translate some of the indigenous poetry. But this was not possible according to the terms of my projects.

During my 1971-74 project the transcriptions were done by my assistants and guides. I did, however, work with them on ascertaining line breaks, on consistency as much as possible within the orthography they had set up, and, later, on maintaining as much correspondence as possible between the line in the indigenous and in the English versions. During my 1985-86 project I provided the transcriptions.

The transcriptions were written out to provide basic reproducibility according to Malay pronunciation. The linguistic specialist might wish to work with native speakers and councils of elders to reconstruct the phonology. I think my assistants did well (considering the difficulties of hearing, making sense of and transcribing the often aged singers during fieldwork sessions at longhouses,

especially during heavy rainfall). When the transcribers needed to check words, the singers could understand the words as spoken back to them.

Concerning dictionary usage, I found that it tended to introduce another dimension of confusion into the fieldwork. I have made it a point to refer as directly as possible only to the limited area in which I collected. As noted in my writings, I rarely comment upon or compare word usage, its similarities or variations, which may be in use elsewhere in time, place or source. That was not my work. This procedure may not be the best for everyone; but, like all my choices, it relates to my awareness of my limits and the limits of my project, to the pragmatic situations in which I worked, and to the poetry-related and culture-producing meaning of the projects to me.

The areas of my authority in my Sarawak projects to collect and translate Dayak oral poetic literature are limited. I can speak with authority about the way the songs were collected and, to the best of my knowledge, within which contexts in the regions where I happened to work. I can verify the need for precision in delineating the syntax, the possibilities for word choice within varying contexts, the key premises, the images, and the construction and character of the poem. Given the original data, I can probably validate most of the choices made in relation to word meanings. I can consider issues both generally and specifically on the theory and practice of locating word meanings and of developing them. I can outline the ways in which some groups, and in particular some singers and songs, tend to turn around phrases, to vary their tonal coloration and to build phrases – these are areas of special interest to me. I was at times able to communicate with the singers concerning our mutual appreciation of these small perfections. I am also relatively "well versed" in the varieties of Dayak oral literature style and poetic discourse.

I can also speak with authority on the need to collect material, as much of what I raced to collect on my first project I found, both during and soon after that time and during my second project, to be already gone from living memory. And I can verify the accelerated loss of cultural properties and cultural self-esteem as a result of logging company depredations: These are experienced by Dayak communities as their environment devolves into wasteland. They find themselves in circumstances unprotected by their government, itself openly involved in condoning and furthering such "development" practices, which have nothing whatever to do with the communities, except as bringers of grief, by those who "own" the forests.

In my publications I have addressed these issues as they relate to the songs and the singers. My limited knowledge is derived from experience, no more, no less. The sources of my information are documented, to the degree that

hastily written notes can encompass the fuller translation experience during fieldwork.

On occasion there are lapses in my translation practices. They are not failures as a result of not applying linguistic theory but are basic errors, whether simple or complex, of attention, judgment or understanding. Sometimes the most obvious errors remain unseen within a temporary blind spot. Whatever the information and its lack or its value, the translation responsibility is my own; the queries were mine and were for me to resolve. These errors or divergences I do not excuse, although the background to them might not be readily understood. I paid most attention to the song languages, since these are difficult of access, conscious of my responsibility to residents and scholars. As noted earlier, in the example of translating one line, differences of opinion are not errors. They are also much less error than they are preference, especially as regards final form.

But error – genuine miscomprehension which typically escalates – can enter in at any stage in the inquiry into meaning. In my working practices I valued the seeking out of one's errors, of seeing them as learning experiences rather than as proofs of failure, and encouraged my assistants to consider alternatives at all times. I continue in that persuasion.

All of the source data – the field notes and working papers – for my two projects in Sarawak are available for study in an archive I have recently completed at Cornell University. This archive completes and concludes my Sarawak projects. Any reasonably authorized researcher who wishes access to the detailed study behind the choice of words is welcome to make use of it.

In the archive I have provided a section titled Comments and Criticisms - an Open-Ended Review. I seek as many divergent opinions as possible, whether offered by Sarawak residents or by outside researchers and specialists. I welcome their own versions of the same material. All such remarks have a bearing on the long-range value of the songs and their ongoing vitality, provide further documentation, and awaken an interest in like cultural inquiry, literary work and oral literature. Remarks may be errors or points of view concerning word meanings or sources or any aspect of the material. Please address these to me, c/o Archives and Documents, Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853, USA. All contributed remarks, whether as Personal Communications or as cited in material already published, as critical reviews or comments, will be included in the archive.

During the range of my visits and work in Sarawak, from 1971 until 1989, I have often encouraged persons and groups, local and visitors, to collect the Dayak oral literature. My special concern is the poetry. Most of the old singers

I had earlier worked with, if still living, could no longer remember their songs. Very little has been done to collect and translate, although much public talk and many resolutions have been officially performed. Much seems to me like lip service, since it may be politically inconvenient to actually do anything, in an atmosphere that does not encourage free interchange of ideas, along with the fear of risking exposure concerning knowledge or its lack of, in work with many variables, some not readily known and requiring gradual definition.

I should like to emphasize the critical relationship between a group's sensing and valuing of its own culture and its ability to withstand the forces of dissolution attempting to make its members feel unnecessary. It is as if a person were being denied both a face and a voice and were expected not to mind that aberration. Recovering the Dayak oral literature is part of maintaining the diversity and richness of cultural identity. It carries with it the ability to live and contribute to society with dignity, assured of a respected place within it. Accepted for oneself, one better accepts and appreciates all others. The Dayak population, which is half the population of Sarawak, has a major literature which happens to be at present still in oral form. Once written down, it effectively constitutes a basic written literature and, published, can be disseminated with pride. The Dayak population need not then fear dissolution or diminution in favor of cultures better documented as regards their ability to create cultural artifacts within their languages. The poetry itself is worth the trouble. It is essential that something be done soon. If it is not, may one not inquire why it is not? And simply proceed in a more human and creative direction to encompass the great inner need of a people to know, claim and respect its own sense of place and of personhood, its own being. This would benefit more than a unique people and a unique literature. It would benefit and better define the qualities of uniqueness experienced as a sense of identity and shared throughout the world.

To this end, and especially since my own fieldwork is concluded, along with my own attempts to help develop a Dayak oral literature research facility in Sarawak, I return to my opening paragraph. How can literature best be served?

I appreciate Allen Maxwell's will to discern and formulate accurate meanings, as expressed in his recent article (Maxwell 1989). As teacher and preceptor of efforts, he might much assist the process of collecting and translating (unless the poetic content is squelched). Monitoring the oral literature collecting and translating of others so that it attains to acceptably high and regular standards is a much-needed activity, especially in areas where such matters may be as yet not always completely understood or practiced. Resident Sarawak

Dayaks might learn and pass on not only useful methods but also the results in oral literature form. Or he can collect his own epics.

It is not surprising that his and my methods differ, since our emphases differ. Further, researchers develop more or less their own methods, maintaining an identifiable profile of consistency, especially in the press of fieldwork.

A combined effort of outside researchers and resident Dayak researchers would be useful, bringing in many excellent persons available. It has by no means impossible for a concerted effort to take place and to yield greatly: Unless there is a bar to this activity and if it is possible to keep corruption to a minimum.

Concerning Allen Maxwell's remarks with regard to my work, I suggest that he has misread, misinterpreted and misrepresented the descriptions of "word-by-word" translation, syntax, transcriptions, terminology, poetics, definition of limits and the uses of error. For whatever reasons, in relation to these matters and, obviously, as regards my views on poetry in translation, he has distorted altogether and out of context. His scholarship techniques, like his rhetorical devices, are excellent; but I do not recognize the publications -- certainly they are not mine, which readily enough delineate the parameters of their concerns.

His scholarship should be put to better use. Describing what project or book he would have produced had he been another is hardly productive. Perhaps he would like to footnote all my work. His critical notes, together with the indigenous versions, my working data and my translations, would provide a rich improved reconstruction and documentation of the text. It would also offer scholars choices and further insights concerning matters of alternative resolutions and points of view (despite Maxwell's demonstrably negative approach of terming everything error which is other than his own view or interest).

But to accomplish this he would need first to document the existence of the Iban Renong Song Cycle, the Bidayuh Brayun Song Cycle (and Hero Songs), and the three Kelabit epics (Song of Balang Lipang; Adi, Song of Agan; and Song of Tukid Rini) -- these long songs and my work and the work of my project in collecting, translating and documenting them.

All of this he has omitted from his otherwise exhaustive surveys of the long songs (or any scrap of reference to the long songs) of the Dayak oral literature (Maxwell 1987, 1988). Further, Maxwell omits the existence of these long songs in his article in response to mine (Rubenstein 1989), in which I requested clarification for these untoward and un scholarly acts of omission. He also ignored my request.

(Despite his best efforts, however, these did show up as sequential numbers, although untitled, in his sleuthing attempt to prove that the poems from Special Monograph No. 2 (Rubenstein 1973) were used for The Honey Tree Song (Rubenstein 1985.) Clearly a selection of the shorter poems from Special Monograph No. 2 were taken and the typescript used for The Honey Tree Song, rearranged in life-cycle form and containing rewritten descriptions and background. I do not know why he went to such lengths to prove this transparent issue. Perhaps this best characterizes Maxwell's article.)

Such acts of omission as Maxwell has done appear to me to be outside of acceptable adat. To my mind, Allen Maxwell owes me two chickens, one pig, a length of cloth and a subscription to the Borneo Research Bulletin.

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THE NAUGHTY THUMB OF SCIENCE:  
A REPLY TO ROUSSEAU AND MAXWELL

DAVID L. SZANTON  
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O sweet spontaneous  
earth how often have  
the  
doting

fingers of  
prurient philosophers pinched  
and  
poked  
thee,  
has the naughty thumb  
of science prodded  
thy

beauty. how  
often have religious taken  
thee upon their scraggy knees  
squeezing and  
buffeting thee that thou mightest conceive  
gods

(but

true

to the incomparable  
couch of death, thy  
rhythmic  
lover

thou answereth

them only with

spring)

e. e. cummings

I read the recent exchange between Carol Rubenstein and Jérôme Rousseau and Allen R. Maxwell in the September 1989 BRB with considerable dismay.

Carol Rubenstein writes frankly as a poet attempting to convey to culturally-distant English speakers some sense of the extraordinarily rich imagery, feeling, and emotional expressiveness of the oral literatures of Sarawak. As she notes in *The Honey Tree Song* (HTS) (p. 3-4) she was originally drawn to Southeast Asia in consternation over the horrors of the Vietnam war and American callousness towards the people of the region. What she discovered was that it was populated with thoughtful, subtle, gutsy, and very human beings. Her work (in 1,389 pages of two issues of the *Sarawak Museum Journal* (SMJ), and then made more accessible in a selected 380 pages in HTS, an Ohio University Press volume) is an effort to bridge this enormous gap, to shake Americans into realizing that (even) such deeply distant – do I have to say "primitive" to convey the American stereotype? – people, living in a tropical rain forest, have a humanity, a sensitivity to their surroundings, an emotional life and imaginative capacity that can only be, indeed must be, admired and valued.

As a poet, to do this, she has little choice but to "English" the materials (Becker 1982), i.e., turn the oral literatures she collected into English poetry. And indeed, that means adding the connectives, explanatory phrases, repetitions, etc., which so disturb Messrs Rousseau and Maxwell, who view them as technically "inaccurate" in that they are not stated in so many words in the original text. But in addressing an English-language audience, and attempting to convey ideas and possibilities that will keep their attention – who knows, perhaps even stimulate them to want to know more – such "wrong" or "inaccurate" additions are essential.

Rousseau accuses her of translating by "intuition" (pg. 95). Quite the opposite, Maxwell accuses her of only going "word-by-word," and calls in the big guns of linguistic theory to inform her that it can't be done. But here is a small part of Carol Rubenstein's own account of how she proceeded: "I derive a word-for-word translation, questioning each word, its alternatives, its context, the mood, the customs, the real objects, legends associated with it, and then the larger phrase and sentence and cluster of associated thoughts..." (SMJ Vol XXI, No 42, p. 18). Her account of her procedures is further elaborated in pages 23-27 of HTS.

Clearly, Rubenstein's concern was to arrive at an accurate sense of the texts' particularities and their overall meanings in order to be able to produce an English language text that conveyed both its contents and poetic qualities. Still more important, her procedures also suggest where the so-called "inaccurate" added items came from: indigenous exegesis. That is, her assistants and

companions explained what, to their understanding, the obscure references and ambiguous expressions referred to, and she incorporated some of that material into her final English versions.

One hardly has to be a devotee of poststructuralism to recognize that whether her local interpreters got their interpretations "right" or "wrong" is both impossible to say, and hardly the most discerning question. Is a particular understanding or usage of a term "wrong" simply because its etymology suggests it meant something else in some spatially or temporally distant ur-text? Indeed, multiple interpretations (no less, translations) of almost any expression are possible – and often necessary. Almost all statements in all languages are multivalent and multileveled, can change meaning over time and context, and carry too much undeclared baggage to translate precisely into another language. Certainly there are limits, not everything can mean anything, but Carol Rubenstein hardly needs Jérôme Rousseau to tell her that. Her 1,000+ pages of translations give endless evidence of her quest for accuracy, even if there can be disagreements over particular terms.

Translating meaning across languages, cultures, and literary forms cannot be a matter of finding simple equivalents. Too many things are going on in any extended verbal expression for them all to be translated at once. Indeed, there are numerous ways of trying to do it – all partial. Different translators may focus on sound patterns, tone, verbal equivalences, internal relations, specific interpretations, general associations, and particular levels of meaning. Given Carol Rubenstein's purposes, she felt free – if not compelled – to add items from local interpretations in order to construct translations in an English poetic form that might convey to her readers something close to what she believed the original texts conveyed to the members of communities that produced them, based on their own interpretations to her.

Paradoxically, although Maxwell charges Rubenstein with merely doing word-by-word translations, he also indicates his full awareness that she is not of course not doing that because he also complains about all the words she adds. Ironically, his own translations in his Appendix do come close to word-by-word, and the resultant contrast with Rubenstein's is telling. Maxwell's so-called "accurate" translations convey next to nothing to an ordinary English speaker; they are almost totally opaque. And if one already spoke Malay and had the deep knowledge of Malay culture to invest meaning in his translations, one would of course not need them. I certainly cannot imagine anyone sitting down and reading a book of Maxwell's "translations." Indeed, as nearly meaningless strings of words, they are not "translations" at all.

In contrast, Rubenstein's "incorrect" poems are often touching, moving,

and draw one in, and on. They give a sense of the emotional domains and concerns of the singers, perhaps even make one want to learn something more systematic about Malay culture. And that, of course, is precisely what she is trying to achieve.

Rousseau and Maxwell attempt to belittle Rubenstein for inadequate bibliography (much of which was unavailable to her while doing this work), ignorance of linguistic theory, lack of fluency in the local languages, innuendos from named and unnamed third parties, a continuous tone of pedantic condescension, and the discovery, oh horrors, of proof-reading errors. (By the way, there are at least three typos in Maxwell's short article.)

No, Rubenstein probably had not made intensive studies of Jakobson, Chomsky, and Steiner, but if that were a disqualification for making effective, useful, and beautiful translations, we'd have many fewer of them, and the world would be much the poorer for it. And no, she did not personally control the languages in which she worked. But working as part of a close team with a set of native speakers may even be preferable to the go-it-alone anthropologist who thinks he knows the language. Certainly the evidence is on her side. But still more important, Rubenstein makes no claim to be a professional linguist, or a card-carrying anthropologist, or a scientific translator. In both the SMJ volumes and HTS, she gives the reader full and fair accounts of how much and how little she knew of the languages, and precisely how she worked with local assistants. She repeatedly notes that she is a poet, that she approaches the material through that frame, and presents it in that medium. The poor "students, and scholars, all around the globe" whom Maxwell so worries about need only read her introductions to understand the nature, extraordinary quality (and yes, the limits) of her translations.

But what is so sad about Rousseau's and Maxwell's statements is their evident failure as anthropologists to do what anthropology is supposed to train one to do. Anthropologists are supposed to at least try to understand what the other, in this case, an American poet named Carol Rubenstein, is trying to convey, the meanings that underlie her expression. In the midst of his patronizing critique, Rousseau does note that he has a "basic epistemological disagreement" with Rubenstein. No doubt. And he probably has some basic epistemological disagreements with his Kayan friends as well. But I am sure he finds those differences quite fascinating, worthy of exploring, even writing articles and books about. In contrast, Rubenstein's poetic epistemology is only worth the back of his hand. Rubenstein's understanding of the world, and what she is about are only to be dismissed, even though they produce a poetry, and an interest in the people of Sarawak, which is hardly matched by and can only complement his own work.

Ultimately, both Maxwell and Rousseau fail to recognize that Rubenstein's agenda is perfectly legitimate, commendable, and even to their own benefit; it simply happens not to be their own agenda. By ignoring the poetic sensibility, social scientists impoverish themselves and diminish their own efforts as well.

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## RESPONSE TO RUBENSTEIN'S REJOINER

Jérôme Rousseau

In my bibliography, I noted that "Rubenstein's Poems of indigenous peoples of Sarawak [...] contains oral literature from a large selection of Sarawak groups, but the central Borneo texts are truncated, inaccurately transcribed and translated, and unreliable" (Rousseau: 1988:34). In her 1989 contribution in the BRB (Rubenstein 1989), she took me to task for this characterization, and demanded that I explain myself, which I did (Rousseau 1989). I send readers back to my comments; they may also wish to read Needham (1990). In this issue, the matter is pursued further by Rubenstein and Szanton.

Szanton's strident response appears to deny the legitimacy of evaluating the adequacy of the translation. He argues that, if I had epistemological disagreements with my Kayan friends, I would find these "fascinating, worthy of exploring, and even writing articles and books about" (this issue). I have indeed done so (Rousseau 1987). But it does not follow from this that anything is true or correct because someone believes in it – an extreme form of cultural relativism. Szanton admonishes us to "try to understand what the other, in this case, an American poet named Carol Rubenstein, is trying to convey, the meanings that

underlie her expression... Rubenstein's understandings of the world ... produce a poetry...". These arguments are commonly found in literary criticism, i.e. a aesthetic evaluation of an original creation. While translation combines art and craft, it is germane that a translation must accurately convey the meanings of the original.

If Rubenstein's English texts are to be judged simply as poetry, the indeed Maxwell's and my criticisms are irrelevant, because they are based on the criteria of social science. Similarly, it would be silly to take Debussy to task because his compositions inspired by Balinese gamelang are not close to the original. Rubenstein's poetry will have been effective as poetry if it moves the reader. But this was not her only goal: in her introduction (Rubenstein 1973:22) she states that "the present work is essentially for scholars". Hence, is it not legitimate that the readers for whom it was intended would comment on the accuracy of the result?

As Rubenstein does not know the source languages, she is not in position to evaluate the quality of her field assistants' translations. If she had checked existing dictionaries, this would have helped to make a preliminary evaluation, but Rubenstein thinks that dictionaries tend "to introduce another dimension of confusion into the fieldwork" (this issue). I have no problem with Rubenstein's program of "questioning each word, its alternatives, its context, the mood, the customs, the real objects, legends associated with it, and then the large phrase and sentence and cluster of associated thoughts" (Rubenstein 1973:18). But if she doesn't speak the language, I don't know how she can do it. Rubenstein's methodology of working through untrained field assistants can neither produce an adequate translation nor accurately extract contextual information. The result is not meaningless, and it is certainly not worthless, but it cannot be an accurate translation. Let's take an example: a pig about to be sacrificed is being instructed by the religious specialist (*ibid.*, 1162).

Ika sang tei geri kelahudan/ Geri batong geri lu'ong ika/ Lebo te Lor Malo Bulan/ Pagat kanan pagat jakan/ pagat ujung beran nah ika/ Lebo te Lor Malo Bulan.

Rubenstein's translation is as follows:

We want you to bring your great size,/ bring your body, bring your whole form,/ and arrive at Long Malo Bulan,/ Ask that food be ever-present, ever-present the fermented sugarcane juice,<sup>1</sup>/ever-present the staff of life,/ Arrive at Long Malo Bulan,... (*ibid.*, 1159-60).

I translate this passage as follows (I do not recognize kelahudan, and will leave a blank in its place):<sup>2</sup>

You will bring —; you will bring your body, you will bring yourself<sup>3</sup>/ up to Long Malo Bulan/ together with the cooked rice, together with the rice beer,<sup>4</sup>/ along with the altar<sup>5</sup> you/ go up to Long Malo Bulan.

This Kayan text is in a formalized style of ordinary language, which every Kayan understands well. Texts in the Kayan poetic language, such as the parap (ibid., 1163-72), are much more difficult to translate. Incidentally, her introduction to this text contains a typical mistake: "We three," in this song, ... is a polite reference in songs for any number including and above three" (ibid., 1163-4). The word in question, telo', in fact means "we (inclusive)", and refers to more than two people (where one would use ite'), and less than a multitude (where one would use itam). It is a word of ordinary language, not "a polite reference in songs". Rubenstein could have ascertained this by checking Clayre & Cubit (1974), which was available in manuscript form at the time of her fieldwork, and of which she was made aware.

To return briefly to Szanton, he dismisses Maxwell's translations as not being translations at all. He is perfectly entitled not to enjoy them; but he appears to be unaware of generally accepted criteria of scholarly translation. Clearly, Maxwell's texts are not aimed at a general audience, but are invaluable for the specialist reader. Similar word-for-word translations of the Bible have been published; at first reading, they are indeed obscure, but they allow the reader who does not understand Hebrew to get a deeper understanding of the text. It is incorrect to say that Maxwell's translations are of use only to those who speak Malay and hence don't need them.

Rubenstein's efforts in recording and transcribing Borneo texts are commendable. She is only too right when she states that much of the oral literature is disappearing from memory, and that it is urgent to record it; she must be congratulated for recording so many texts. The fact that some of these are truncated and loosely transcribed does not reduce the merit of that effort, and they will remain as a valuable corpus for the future. At the same time, given that Rubenstein expressly aimed her book at a scholarly audience, she is subject to scholarly standards.

## NOTES

1. This is written as two verses in Rubenstein's translation: "Ask that foo be ever-present,/ ever-present the fermented sugarcane juice,"; I write here as a single verse, to facilitate comparison with Kayan text.
2. There are very few four-syllable Kayan words, except for those which start with prefixes, especially two-syllable prefixes, such as peke-, pete-. None the less, kelahudan may very well exist. It brings to mind uda 'load'. I have observed this ritual many times, and at this point, the religious specialist admonishes the pig to carry the offerings.
3. Batong and le'ong are synonyms in this and other contexts. It is characteristic of Kayan prayers to pile up synonyms, and it is often hard for the translator to follow the rhythm of the original.
4. This refers to the bundles of cooked rice and rice beer which are part of the offerings; jakan can refer to fermented sugarcane juice, but also to rice beer, and this term is preferred to the vernacular burak in prayers. See also Nieuwenhuis (1907:547).
5. Without going through a complete exegesis here, bran refers to a kind of altar called jok, in front of which the priest talks to the sacrificial pig.

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MORE ON RECORDING ORAL TRADITIONS AND LANGUAGE:  
REPLY TO THE REPLIES TO MY COMMENTS

Allen R. Maxwell  
The University of Alabama

By way of putting some perspective on this matter, let me sketch out some of the background of my earlier comments (Maxwell 1989). Carol Rubenstein requested—indeed insisted—that I evaluate her work (Rubenstein 1989:93). Had it not been expressedly demanded that I do so, I would not have chosen to comment on her work because I do not believe it meets the minimal standards of linguistic or anthropological scholarship.<sup>1</sup>

Rubenstein (1990) and Szanton (1990) both argue that because poetry is at issue, ordinary intellectual and scholarly criteria of anthropological and linguistic evaluation should not be utilized. But I am not a poet. Therefore, to expect that I should acquiesce to evaluate Rubenstein's work on "poetic" grounds—which are not my own—is both illogical and unreasonable. In my review of Rubenstein's work (Maxwell 1989) I avoided comments on "poetry" and "poetics" and concentrated on issues of concern to me, particularly linguistic and

textual accuracy. Some of the texts in question are extremely valuable ethnographic historical documents, containing as yet untapped rich sources of data about values, social relationships, and the social structures of the respective societies which they belong. If these texts are to fulfill their potential as rich sources of information about human beings and their lives, they must be collected in an accurate and definitive a manner as possible. While Rubenstein is neither a linguist, nor ethnographer, these are the issues which concern me and on which I commented—at her insistence. I have no interest in efforts to "popularize" Bornean poetry, but accurate, factual, and replicable studies of traditional texts do attract me. While introspective musings about cultures may fascinate some, I will not review anyone's work on such grounds. My evaluations are based on critical ethnographic, linguistic, and scholarly perspectives, as well as linguistic validity, none of which, in my judgment, is reflected in Rubenstein's writings.

Any translation into another language is a theory of the original passage being translated. This view is summarized succinctly by Sir Karl Popper:

Everybody who has done some translating, and who has thought about it, knows that there is no such thing as a grammatically correct and also almost literal translation of any interesting text. Every good translation is an interpretation of the original text; and I would even go so far as to say that every good translation of a nontrivial text must be a theoretical reconstruction. Thus it will even incorporate bits of a commentary. Every good translation must be, at the same time, close and free (Popper 1976:23, emphases in original).

Szanton's dislike of my translations would seem to derive from another view of translation, one which would appear to lack the requirement of being "close and free," the realization that any translation is both an interpretation and a reconstruction, and the realization that a translation will contain "bits of commentary". To meet these requirements, a translator must know the original language very well, in order to be able to apprehend what the text says, and also be conversant with the cultural, historical, and social background of the speaker of the language, in order to be able to interpret the significance of what the text says. The latter requirement is especially important when the translator herself comes out of a linguistic and historical tradition which is quite different from those of the languages she is translating. Any meanings and interpretative information included in a translation, whether literal, interpretive, or reconstructive, must be anchored in the information contained in the original text. If these requirements are not met then the translator will have no grounds for his or her interpretation of a text nor for its theoretical reconstruction; at such a point, translation becomes a flight of fancy and pure imagination, untutored and unrestrained by the speci-



linguistic realities in a text. A satisfactory translation is only achievable if the translator knows the language thoroughly.

To be a bit more specific, Malay is one of those languages, like Spanish and Italian, but unlike French and English, that routinely omits subjects of verbs. Subjects are understood, or implied. Chomsky has called this phenomenon the "pro-drop parameter" (Chomsky 1986). Malay is a language characterized by "pro-drop." In running conversation this situation causes few problems; one soon becomes like the Burgeois Gentleman before he realized he was speaking prose. However, translating texts from a "pro-drop" language which lack subjects of verbs into English can cause considerable difficulty because English requires that verbs have subjects. I give one example of a verse from the Brunei Malay epic, the Sya'ir Awang Simaun to illustrate this point.

Habis dimarampas (sic) isi rumah, Contents of houses are completely plundered,

AUX + PASS + V + N + N

dibakar rumah sampai ka tanah; houses are burnt to the ground;

PASS + V + N + Prep + Prep + N

lain barjalan tiada taranah, others travel away not utterly destroyed,

N + V + Neg + V + V

saparti anjing mamungut rimah. like dogs waiting for crumbs to drop.

Prep + N + ACT + V + N

Each of the first two lines of the verse has all the characteristics of a separate sentence in Malay, that is each consists of a sentence predicate. Only the third line contains a grammatical subject (lain 'others') of the verb (barjalan 'travel, walk'), but this subject is semantically opaque. The other lines containing verbs (line 1: dimarampas 'be plundered', line 2: dibakar 'be burned') lack grammatical subjects. The final line has the character of a prepositional phrase and further describes the opaque subject of the third line.<sup>2</sup> It is not possible to accurately insert subjects of the verbs (in lines 1 and 2) which lack them in the Malay text based on the contents of the text itself. The subjects of lines 1 and 2 are understood or implied.

It was just such procedures which I adopted in my translations of Malay verses contained in Rubenstein's Sarawak Museum monographs (1973a, 1973b). While Szanton found the results not to his liking, my approach is warranted by both reasoning as well as empirical reality. I resisted any attempt to add information in my translations which did not occur in the originals. If one insists on supplying missing subjects in "pro-drop" passages, then one is forever inserting information into a translation without warrant. If one has great facility in a language then one may, if one chooses, make the "leap of faith" required to supply the "missing" information, but if one does not have such facility (as Rubenstein clearly does not), then unfaithful and inaccurate translations are virtually certain to result (cf. Brosius 1990).

I would not claim that my translations are "accurate," but simply that they are better informed than those of Rubenstein. Szanton's claim that my translations are "meaningless strings of words," of course, could not possibly be true. Had I produced translations in the form of jargon, then perhaps his comment could be appropriate (see Rousseau 1990). When translating, I take the reproduction of some sense of the information contained in the lines of traditional texts to be the most important goal. To be done properly the original text should also be reproduced (as Rubenstein did in her Sarawak Museum Publication [1973a, 1973b], but did not do in her book, The Honey Tree Song [1985]), because it is rarely ever possible to reproduce both surface meaning as well as metaphorical meaning in translating from one language to another. (In making this point Roman Jakobson used to relate a problem in translating love poetry from Russian to Czech. The Russian word for 'moon', luna, which has feminine gender whereas the Czech word for 'moon', mesic, has masculine gender. In an example such as this, any symbolic and connotative allusion would, of course, be destroyed in the translation.) If the original language text (accurately transcribed), as well as the translation is presented, then readers knowledgeable in both languages have the opportunity to assess for themselves both the accuracy and credibility of the translation. In addition, a reader would be able to discern any losses of meaning in the translation due to the structural inability of the target language to reproduce features of meaning, obligatory grammatical distinctions, and connotations present in the original text. (It is, of course, always possible to add these nontransferable characteristics in the form of annotation and notes.)

I have the greatest admiration and respect for the "singers of tales" (Loré 1960), that is, for those individuals who are the custodians of the wisdom of the ages in traditional cultures (Havelock 1963). The texts which these singers produce are the cultural artifacts with which we as ethnographers, anthropologists, and linguists deal. My own bias is to respect the authenticity of a text. But in order to be able to do this, one must be conversant in and knowledgeable o

the language in which the text exists. All translations are interpretations, but not all translations are equally well-informed. Rubenstein, unfortunately, is neither conversant in nor knowledgeable of any of the languages in which the texts which she "translated" exist (cf. Rousseau 1989, Metcalf 1989:23, Needham 1990, Brosius 1990). This fact—pace Szanton—is no fault of mine.

The point of my lengthy appendix (Maxwell 1989:110-116) was to demonstrate, by way of citing specific instances, that Rubenstein's translations and interpretations of Malay text contain numerous insertions of information which do not exist in the Malay texts, as well as cases where information which does occur in the Malay texts is omitted in her translations. Moreover, her widespread use of repetition in the translations is not found in the original texts. If, as she demands, an evaluation is to be made of her work, then these are precisely the sort of problems about which a reader should be made aware. In addition, one should be conversant with the customs, traditions, and rhythms of daily life of the cultures and societies in which these texts live.

It is unclear how I might respond to Szanton's questions about my knowledge of Malay. While I would never claim to have native speaker competence, he challenges my facility in the Malay language without any examples of errors in publications or even reporting negative opinions of knowledgeable others. He has chosen to ignore the specific information given on my experience with Malay/Indonesian (Maxwell 1989:119, note 17). Since he seems also not to have queried professional colleagues and others—including Malaysians and Bruneians—knowledgeable about my language skills, there is hardly anything I could say.

Szanton has also ignored my comment, "I have specifically avoided citing examples of transcriptions, such as that of Blust (1977) for Kayan, which would not have been available to Rubenstein at the time she did her work" (Maxwell 1989:117, n. 3). I took her to task for failing to utilize and cite the published literature on the languages and peoples whose texts she worked with, a normal scholarly expectation. Excluding the eight references to Rubenstein's own publications, my bibliography (Maxwell 1989:126-142) contains 163 references, of which 135, or 78 percent, were available to her, at the time she did her work.<sup>3</sup> Of these 135, 119, or 88 percent, related directly to the peoples, cultures, and languages of the groups she was working with in Sarawak. Of these 119, 98 are English language imprints (15 19th century imprints, 83 20th century imprints), 15 indigenous language imprints, 5 Dutch, and one German. The great bulk of the English imprints, and many of the indigenous language imprints, are held in the research library of the Sarawak Museum, which was Rubenstein's official location during her time in Sarawak. As anyone who has done research in Sarawak and been sponsored by the Sarawak Museum knows, any claim that

"much of this bibliography was unavailable to her while doing her work" is canard.

Rubenstein is right about one thing. A translator of texts of the type question should produce a translation which is comprehensible to speakers and readers of the language into which the texts are transformed. But, necessarily this is only the second step in translating traditional texts. If one stumbles on it first, then the second cannot be taken successfully. The first step is to determine what semantic and grammatical information has been "packaged" into the lines and verses of the original text. Ideally nothing should be added; nothing should be omitted. Without taking this elementary precaution, a translator can easily muddle the message and meaning of the text (cf. Brosius 1990).

Regarding any overall evaluation of Rubenstein's work, another experienced researcher has offered the following independent assessment that only discovered after having written my own (Maxwell 1989).

Rubenstein is not an ethnographer or a linguist. She came to Sarawak interested in recording the poetry of Bornean peoples in general, and succeeded in obtaining funding and enlisting the aid of the staff of the Sarawak Museum. With her guides, she made trips to different areas, collecting whatever oral productions were offered in the short time available, without any attempt at coverage. Since dozens of different languages were involved, she was obliged to work through chains of interpreters. The project was from the point of view of an ethnographer a hopelessly ambitious one, and published results show the consequent technical faults. There is no attempt to sort out the different genres and traditions characteristic of one area or the whole region; instead everything from lullabies to liturgies is mixed together and described as "song." There are no criteria for the segmentation of lines, the first step in metrical analysis. Transcriptions and translations are inconsistent and not articulated so it is impossible to recover the word-for-word glosses that she obtained from her informants (Metcalf 1989:23).

Metcalf continues,

Yet these faults are offset by the sheer volume of the results. In two volumes there are over a thousand pages of text, over two hundred items of oral literature from the length and breadth of Sarawak. With all its faults, it is the most important source in existence on the oral literatures of the northern half of the island.

To leaf through the pages of Rubenstein's collection is to become aware of the research efforts that would be needed to fully document the riches that are now being lost (emphasis added—Metcalf 1989:23).

I concur with Metcalf's overall assessment, and particularly with his last sentence, and I only hope that other scholars, as well as local governments, will properly record the rich oral traditions of Borneo in the few decades that remain before they are lost forever. This is not to say that Rubenstein's work has any particular merit, simply that her work is the only publication of its type currently available. It is seriously flawed in numerous ways. One can only hope that it will be superseded by works which do not suffer from its elementary deficiencies.

## NOTES

1. I would like to thank Michael D. Murphy and Richard A. Krause for a number of helpful comments.
2. The earlier referent of lain 'others', is not completely clear. Two verses earlier the Murut (Brunei Malay murut, which is a general term, usually, but not always designating the Lun Bawang) are described as busily engaged in preparing baskets in which to carry off the heads they have taken in the attack on the people of Igan. On the other hand, the reference may be to the people of Igan fleeing from the onslaught of troops under the leadership of the Brunei heroes, Damang Sari and Simaun.
3. It should be noted that Rubenstein began her work in Sarawak in Aug. 1971 (Rubenstein 1973a:ix, 1985:xix). The signed preface to her first monograph (Rubenstein 1973a) is dated Aug. 11, 1974 (Rubenstein 1973a:xii). The first two monographs (Rubenstein 1973a, 1973b) were actually issued in June 1975 after eight months of proofreading, which presumably began in Nov. 1974 (Rubenstein 1985:xx). Therefore, it is reasonable to presume that Rubenstein should have been able to avail herself of those publications with imprint dates of 1972 or earlier.

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## CORRECTION

BRB 22(1):47 - Small error in copying: for "such" read "present". Not of great importance except that as it stands the sentence is a bit puzzling.

BRB 22(1):48-53 - We apologize to The Society for Christian Service for failing to cite the source of "Native Customary Land" excerpted The Society's bi-monthly newsletter PANCHAR PENEMU, NO. 3, January 1990.

## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

First Extraordinary Session of  
The Borneo Research Council

The First Extraordinary Session of the Borneo Research Council met in Kuching, Sarawak, August 4-9, 1990. Previously, the Council had met only in the United States, usually during the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association or of the Association of Asian Studies.

The Session was opened by the Chief Minister of the East Malaysian state of Sarawak, and was generously supported by the state government and The Tun Jugah Foundation, a private research institution. Four hundred and fifty people attended the opening, and attendance at each of the 12 paper sessions varied from 100 to 150. Sixty-four papers were presented over the week-long program, and will be published in two volumes, Linguistics and Oral Traditions of Borneo and Change and Development in Borneo.

As a result of the Session, the state of Sarawak has committed itself to support appropriate research activities carried out by members of the Council. The Board of Directors of the Council have been invited to organize a similar program for Sabah in 1992 and Pontianak (Indonesian Borneo) in 1994, and anticipate meeting in Brunei in 1996.

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETINGS

The Board of Directors met twice during the Kuching session, and took the following actions:

1. Agreed to express the Board's appreciation, on behalf of all Fellows and Members, for the superb job of the Local Organizing Committee, in particular, Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah, Chairman, Messrs. Alexander Nanta Linggi and Wan Mohammad Wan Ibrahim, and Madam Janet Rata Noel.
2. Agreed to accept the invitation of Datuk Dr. Jeffrey Kitingan to meet in Sabah in 1992.

3. Agreed to begin developing a list of topics to be addressed at the 1992 meetings. The Directors agreed that there should be a training program in conjunction with the Sabah meeting on the collection of oral traditions, and that there should be at least one session on native perceptions of land tenure. Other topics for the program are to be solicited from Fellow and Members of the Council.
4. Agreed to develop a list of urgent research topics that need to be addressed in the next few years before social change makes the collection of critical data impossible. These topics include research on disappearing cultures, issues of theoretical importance to anthropological inquiry or planning for social change, natural areas that need exploration and assessment before they are destroyed, areas that are still unexplored in terms of the social and biological sciences.
5. Agreed to develop a list of types of oral literature to be found in Borneo to serve as a guide to local investigators and those not familiar with the depth and richness of the oral traditions of Borneo.
6. Welcomed an announcement from Dr. Appell of his plans for a Sabah Oral Literature Project in which there would be the conjunction of local personnel to collect, transcribe, and help interpret in close coordination with anthropologists who have a deep understanding of the local sociocultural traditions and who can provide guidance, exegesis, and translation of the oral materials.

THE TRADITION OF SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRY IN  
SARAWAK AND THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

G. N. Appell, Ph.D.\*

President, Borneo Research Council

- The Right Honorable the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud
- The Honorable, Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah, Chairman of the Tun Jugah Foundation, and Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Datin Amar Margaret Linggi
- Datuk Dr. Jeffrey Kitingan, Director of the Sabah Foundation, long-time friend from Boston days and a member of the governing board of the Borneo Research Council
- Distinguished Members of Government, Honored Guests, Fellows and Members of the Borneo Research Council, Ladies and Gentlemen

It is indeed a great honor for the Borneo Research Council to be invited by its fellows and members in Sarawak to hold here its first meetings ever in Borneo. It represents the unique vision and responsibility that the citizens of Sarawak have always had to increase and preserve knowledge. And it has brought here scholars not just from the various states and divisions of Borneo but from all over the world, Europe, North America, Australia, Asia, Southeast Asia. Thus, this meeting brings to fruition the hopes and vision of the founders of the Council, many of whom were from Sarawak or who had spent much of their research life in Sarawak.

The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 to help forward the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo. And participating in the formation of the Council were Benedict Sandin, Stephen Morris, Tom Harrisson, Clifford Sather, and others who had been involved in research in Sarawak.

\*Response delivered on August 4, 1990, to the Welcoming Address to the Borneo Research Council of the Honorable Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah, Chairman, Organizing Committee for the First Extraordinary Session of the Borneo Research Council in Kuching, Sarawak.

The State of Sarawak is truly a unique place. Since its very beginnings the members of government have been in a very real sense visionary. They have realized the importance that scientific research has not only for its contribution to knowledge but for its uses to a growing state. They have been uniquely concerned with preserving the cultural heritage of its people, again realizing both the contributions that this has to knowledge and its importance in planning change.

I am sure most of you know this, but it is important to emphasize this Sarawak vision. Sarawak was the first region in Borneo to found a Museum, which now has world-wide prominence. The Sarawak Museum Journal was the first scientific journal to be founded in Borneo, and is of international renown and scholarly importance.

Sarawak was the first region to encourage ethnological and ethnographic research, and Sarawak was the first and only state in Borneo to recognize the need for social anthropological research and the contribution that this could make to the state. In sponsoring this social anthropological research, I do not suspect the people of Sarawak realized what an impact this would make on the international scene. But this research produced findings that demonstrated the beauty and richness of the cultural heritage of Sarawak, treasures to be shared with all the world. It also produced findings that have made unique contributions to understanding the cultural history of Borneo. And it revolutionized social anthropological theory.

Previously, social anthropology had been concerned with the nature of unilineal descent groups. But the research in Sarawak pointed out a completely new form of social organization, what has been called cognatic social organization. In this choice is a critical factor in establishing one's social roles, rather than rigid rules of descent. And this is what lies behind the immense adaptability found in the societies of Borneo. These new findings set social anthropological research off on a whole new set of questions. The results of this research today are being taught and discussed in university classes around the world, and the films of Sarawak people that have been produced are of world-wide interest and importance.

The first research in Borneo on issues of transcultural psychiatry took place in Sarawak. And archaeological research achieved a solid foundation in Sarawak before its importance was recognized in other areas.

Sarawak has also been the first state to recognize the importance of oral traditions. The oral traditions are not only extraordinary chronicles for the information they contain on the history of Borneo and how life was lived, but

they are aesthetically highly evolved literature which should be preserved to be appreciated by everyone. Thus, Sarawak through the work of various people and institutions has been on the forefront in the preservation of this oral literature, for which we all can be thankful.

There have been original and unique contributions in fields of knowledge and research in Sarawak other than those of the social sciences, but being only a consumer of these rather than an active participant as I am in the social sciences, I shall leave the assessment of the contributions in the fields of biological and medical sciences to those who know them well.

Thus, I want to say your openness to research, your fostering and welcoming of research is truly unique, something to be duly proud of. As a result Sarawak has produced knowledge that has benefitted all humankind, not only the state and its people. Sarawak now occupies a place of pre-eminence in the international world of knowledge, research, and teaching. It has built a base that future generations of scholars will turn to with respect and appreciation. It has produced a body of knowledge and established a tradition of respect for knowledge that the descendants of present citizens of Sarawak will cherish, and thank you for.

It is indeed a high honor for all of the Borneo Research Council to convene here and participate in this unique tradition. I want to thank you, Datuk Amar Linggi for your efforts in bringing this about. And I want to express our appreciation for all the work of the local committee. On behalf of the members of the Borneo Research Council and those who have preceded us, I want to thank the people of Sarawak and Malaysia who have always responded to research and scholarship with kindness, warmth and hospitality.

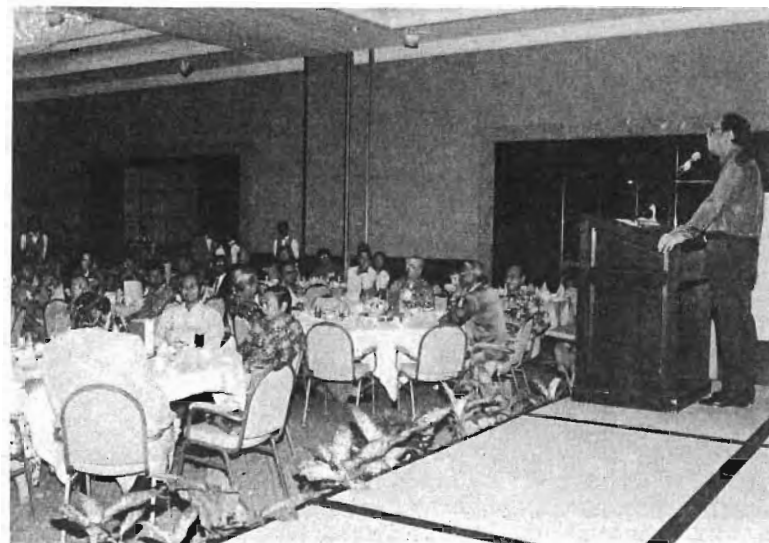
Finally, I want to say, we are particularly honored by the presence of the Right Honorable the Chief Minister Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud to formally open this historic first meeting of the Borneo Research Council on the Island of Borneo.



Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah, Chairman of the Local Organizing Committee, welcoming The Right Honorable The Chief Minister, State Ministers and other participants during the Opening Ceremony of The Council's Session in Kuching.



The Right Honorable The Chief Minister, Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud in conversation with Stephen Morris and G. N. Appell, following the Opening Ceremony. Others, from left: Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah, Datuk Dr. Jeffrey Kitingan, The State Secretary Datuk Amar Haji Bujang Mohammad Nor, Vinson Sutlive, Datuk Celestine Ujang anak Jilan, Joanne Sutlive, Datuk Alfred Jabu anak Numpang.



Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah speaking at first dinner hosted by Encik Adenan Satem on behalf of The Right Honorable The Chief Minister.



Participants in "Hunting and Gathering Societies," from left: Monica Janowski, Ding Seling, Bernard Sellato, Jayl Langub, and Ose Murang.



Host, Datuk Dr. George Chan, Minister for Social Development, with guests from Datuk Dr. Chan's left: Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah, Datin Amar Margaret Guning, Joanne Sutlive, Stephen Morris, Vinson Sutlive, Richard Premack, Bernard Sellato, Laura Appell, G. N. Appell.



G. N. Appell and C. H. Southwell



Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah  
recipient of the first  
Borneo Research Council Medal



Entertainment by The Bamboo Band from Lawas



## A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

GEORGE N. APPELL, PH.D.\*  
President, Borneo Research Council

Introduction

As I mentioned this morning, it is very appropriate that the First Extraordinary Session of the Borneo Research Council in Borneo convenes here in Kuching. For many of the original founders were themselves either from Sarawak or had resided for a long period of time in Sarawak.

In 1968 several of us in the United States who had either resided in or had done research in Borneo began discussing what we could do to help forward Bornean research and also be of service to the government departments in the various regions that had an interest in the resultant scientific knowledge.

There were a number of individuals visiting America at that time who had been involved in research in Borneo. So we met in September, 1968, to form an organization that eventually became the Borneo Research Council. That meeting was held in the vacation house of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Hudson in New Hampshire. At that meeting were Benedict Sandin, Tom Harrisson, Stephen Morris, Clifford Sather, Herbert and Patricia Whittier, Alfred and Judith Hudson, Stanley S. Bedlington (originally Divisional Commander of Police in Tawau), and George N. Appell.

At the end of that weekend Dr. Hudson had volunteered to edit a newsletter for what we then called the Borneo Research Committee, and this eventually became Volume 1, No. 1, of the Borneo Research Bulletin.

The Hudsons then left for linguistic field work in Sarawak and other parts of Borneo, and I took over at that point the editorship of the Borneo Research Bulletin.

\*Presidential Address, August 4, 1990, to the First Extraordinary Session of the Borneo Research Council held in Kuching, Sarawak.

The Second Meeting of the Borneo Research Committee

A number of issues still had to be decided on the organization of the Borneo Research Committee and so a second organizational meeting was held in July, 1969, at our home along the Maine coast. At this time we still were only a loosely organized committee. And we needed to get together to define more specifically what our goals would be. At this second working session of Borneo scholars many of the same original participants were there: Tom Harrisson, Clifford Sather, Herbert and Patricia Whittier, Stanley S. Bedlington, and George N. Appell. We were also joined at this meeting by Donald E. Brown who was preparing for field work in Brunei.

At this meeting we agreed on a general statement of aims and goals:

1. To promote scientific research in the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo;
2. To permit the research community, interested government departments, and others to keep abreast of ongoing research and its results;
3. To serve as a vehicle for drawing attention to urgent research problems;
4. To coordinate the flow of information of Borneo research arising from many diverse sources;
5. To disseminate rapidly the initial results of research activity;
6. To facilitate research by reporting on current conditions.

The functions of the Committee also were to include providing counsel and assistance to research endeavors, conservation activities, and the practical application of research results.

One of our major concerns was the speed of social change in Borneo and the lack of research interest and funding to record both the cultural and natural features of Borneo for future generations. So our hope was also to stimulate interest in this in order to increase the level of funding.

It was also the explicit aim that this Committee would be international in scope and to include not only all scholars interested in research in Borneo but also all individuals, whatever their background or occupation, who are interested in forwarding research, contributing to this, or simply interested in the results of research.

It was decided that one of the most important functions the Council could provide at that point was to serve as a communication link between the various

people and institutions interested in research in Borneo and its results. It was believed that this could provide the most stimulus to research. And so our initial efforts were focused on developing the Borneo Research Bulletin.

Thus, the Bulletin was designed to appeal to several different audiences: (1) the research community; (2) government communities in the various parts of Borneo; (3) the community of interested laymen and amateurs who also make substantial contributions to knowledge and whom we wish to encourage to become even more involved; and (4) the commercial community who might find some of the research results of interest.

The policy has been that the Bulletin should not compete with already existing journals on Borneo. Instead the goal of the Bulletin was to both complement existing journals and aid in their growth. In other words, the Bulletin was designed to fill the unoccupied niche of integrating research results both from various regions of Borneo and also from research originating in a variety of countries around the world. This included the presentation of the preliminary results of research quickly so that they could be incorporated into on-going research and influence the direction of new research; keeping the readership up to date on the news of people involved in Borneo research; helping scholars keep in touch with their colleagues by serving as a medium of exchange of questions, information, and news; and also providing interested organizations with information on the development of research in Borneo and its possible application.

We would be interested in hearing from anyone on how the Borneo Research Bulletin could be improved to fulfill their specific needs for information.

Following this organizational meeting I immediately wrote to a number of government departments in Sarawak, Brunei, Sabah, and Kalimantan to ask if they would be interested in receiving the Bulletin.

At that time because of the problem of currency exchange and the general economic climate in the various sections of Borneo, the decision was made not to charge a fixed subscription fee for receiving the Bulletin.

However, funding of the Borneo Research Council activities was and has always been a major problem of the Council. In the early days of the Borneo Research Bulletin I attempted to raise funds from various foundations to cover the cost of publishing it. We did receive a small grant from the Evans Fund. But this just covered the cost of one issue.

However, from its very inception, the committee began to receive both small and substantial donations from interested individuals to help fund the cost of the Bulletin.

In the hopes of raising additional funds we redefined the Committee in 1971 into the Borneo Research Council, which is governed by a Board of Directors, and composed of Fellows professionally engaged in research in Borneo and members who share an interest in forwarding knowledge in the biological, social, and medical sciences of Borneo. We also instituted Fellowship and membership fees, and a subscription fee for the Bulletin. These fees were kept as low as possible to ensure wide distribution of the Bulletin and the dissemination of knowledge on Borneo research to those who are interested. But it was hoped that these would help carry the cost of publishing it.

Prior to my turning over the editorship to Donald Brown in 1974, we had over 132 Fellows from various disciplines, including agricultural economics, animal ecology, social anthropology, cultural anthropology, archaeology, biology, botany, conservation, ecology, economic development, ethnomusicology, geography, geology, history, history of art, human ecology, linguistics, medicine, medical anthropology, political science, primatology, psychiatry, sociology, and wildlife management.

In the early 1970s we began to hold yearly meetings in conjunction with the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association to share our research results and raise issues concerning research problems to be attacked. We chose to hold our meetings then because this was the one time when the largest number of members of the Council gathered in one place. And overseas members could at times make these meetings.

In 1974 Professor Donald E. Brown became editor of the Borneo Research Bulletin and edited Volume 6 and issue 7.1. The previous art work for the front page of the Bulletin had been done by Georgeann Sather. Donald Brown during his editorship of the Bulletin asked Allen Dougherty, an artist, to draw the shield design which has been used since then as the emblem of the Borneo Research Bulletin. The model for these shields came, according to Donald Brown, from Hose and McDougall.

In 1975, Professor Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr. became the editor of the Bulletin starting with Volume 7, No. 2, and has been editor to the present.

With Vinson Sutlive's energetic management, the Borneo Research Council entered a new era. When he took over we were publishing 69 pages per volume, and now we are publishing 170 pages.

In 1978 Dr. Sutlive established an Endowment Fund and raised considerable money for it to provide a source of income to cover the cost of publishing the Borneo Research Bulletin, as we found Fellowship and membership fees and subscriptions did not cover our costs.

Dr. Sutlive was able to obtain contributions to the Endowment Fund from Brunei Shell Petroleum Ltd., from UNESCO, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Since then with Vinson's active involvement and contributions from private individuals, the Endowment fund has grown to \$50,000.

In 1985 Dr. Sutlive took the initiative to incorporate the Borneo Research Council as a tax-exempt educational foundation forwarding the same goals as we had initially defined.

The initial directors were: G. N. Appell, Donald E. Brown, Lucas Chin, Victor T. King, Jeffrey G. Kitingan, Donald G. Lambert, Lim Jock Seng, Clifford Sather, B. J. L. Sellato, and Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr.

In October, 1986, we began to raise money for a monograph series. The first volume will appear in 1990 and is entitled Female and Male in Borneo. It contains an important collection of papers that provide a rich ethnographic sample of the variety of social responses to male and female roles in the various societies of Borneo.

In 1988, Peter Kedit came to the Council's meetings in Chicago and suggested that we hold extraordinary sessions periodically in Borneo, and begin with Sarawak. And this led to our presence here today.

In 1989 Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah, of the Tun Jugah Foundation was invited to join the Board of Directors. The Board now consists of G. N. Appell, Donald E. Brown, Lucas Chin, Victor T. King, Jeffrey G. Kitingan, Lim Jock Seng, Clifford Sather, B. J. L. Sellato, and Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr.

Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah has been largely responsible for the organization of this meeting, and we owe him a great debt of gratitude and appreciation. We would also like to express our appreciation to the committee on local arrangements who have made our meetings here so pleasant and productive.

### Assessment of Our Mission

I would like to briefly assess here the degree to which we have fulfilled our original goals. Certainly, we have become an influential force in the research community, stimulating research, helping young researchers, keeping researchers in contact with each other, stimulating new research, and helping eliminate any potential conflicts over research interests.

I wish we had been able to raise a larger endowment so that we could actually support ongoing research. We have only been able to help in several minor instances of research.

I wish we also had a greater involvement of the biological and medical community. One of the unique aspects of Borneo research is how the various biological, medical, and social sciences are so interdependent on each other. A division of research activities along the usual academic lines just does not produce the payoff in knowledge that an integrated approach does. In fact it often produces only a distorted picture. Social scientists frequently cannot do an adequate job of research without advice and help from their colleagues in the medical and biological sciences. And alternatively, I believe that these sciences could benefit more from the input of the social sciences. This is particularly true with regard to the field of medical anthropology which has to date had only a small impact in Borneo research.

Finally, I personally wish we could have been of better service to the government departments in the various regions of Borneo. We would like to be better able to respond to their needs and interests.

In this regard I should like to point out that the government of Sarawak is rather unique in their interest in scientific knowledge. We in turn are particularly grateful to the many members of government and the local community for their interest and hospitality.

At present the cultural heritage of Borneo is rapidly eroding and is largely unrecorded, and 70-80 percent of this cultural heritage will be gone within five to ten years. Therefore we are in the process of discussions with several governments on the avenues by which this cultural heritage can be recorded as quickly as possible.

The Future of the Borneo Research Council  
and Its Publications

The Bulletin currently goes to approximately 40 countries. We have Fellows and Subscribers. I will now leave it to Dr. Vinson Sutlive to discuss the future of the Borneo Research Council and its publications. Let me just say at this moment, we are still concerned with the problem of raising funds so that we will be in a position eventually to provide financial support to those who want to do research in Borneo, particularly those who are actually living and working in Borneo. Our hopes in this regard still remain unfulfilled. But Dr. Sutlive will bring you up to date on the current status of the endowment fund and the monograph publications fund.

THE CURRENT STATUS AND FUTURE OF  
THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr.  
Executive Director

Datuk Amar Alfred Jabu, Deputy Chief Minister of the State of Sarawak, Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah, Chairman of the Tun Jugah Foundation and of the Local Organizing Committee, Datuk Dr. Jeffrey G. Kitingan, Director, Sabah Foundation, distinguished guests and participants, I want to add my welcome to those of other speakers to all of you. The response to announcements of this meeting has exceeded every expectation. If your presence is an indication of interest in Borneo research, then we may conclude at the beginning of this session that the future is bright.

I would be most remiss if I did not acknowledge the support of the State Government of Sarawak which approved our conference and provided technical support in the reproduction of the papers to be delivered during the conference. In particular, I want to thank Mr. William Song, Director, MAMPU, and his staff, for service above and beyond the call of duty. Mr. Song, his staff, members of the Tun Jugah Foundation and Sarawak Museum staffs worked until after midnight reproducing papers which you have. I cannot adequately express our gratitude to them and to all others who have worked to make this conference possible.

In particular, I want to thank the Tun Jugah Foundation and its Chairman, Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Jugah, for sponsoring the session. The Datuk Amar obtained permission from the Sarawak Government for us to meet, and has underwritten a major portion of the costs of the conference, including the luncheons, coffee and tea breaks.

I want to thank in advance the State Ministers who will host dinners for participants: The Right Honourable Chief Minister tonight, YB Datuk Amar James Wong tomorrow night, YB Dr. George Chan, Minister for Culture, Youth and Sports, on Tuesday night, and YB Datuk Amar Alfred Jabu, Deputy Chief Minister and Minister for Agriculture, on Thursday night.

I also want to identify a few persons whose work has made this conference possible. The first is Dr. Peter Mulok Kedit who two years ago in Chicago suggested that the Council consider a meeting in one of the Borneo states. Dr. James T. Collins, Director, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawaii, has successfully recruited more than one dozen presenters as well as inviting an equally large number of participants. Finally, there usually are one or two persons who sees to the myriad details in such a meeting, but all-too-often do not receive the recognition they deserve. We would not be here, were it not for Mr. Alexander Nanta Linggi, Mdm. Janet Rata Noel, and Wan Mohammad Wan Ibrahim, in addition to those persons already identified. Together with other members of the Local Organizing Committee, Alex, Janet, and Wan have spent hours beyond number in making the arrangements for this conference.

I now should like to describe what the Council does and who we are. By describing what we do, and plan to do, I think what the Council is will be clearer.

A. Activities

1. We meet at least once early year, usually in association with the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. At these meetings we share information about research activities and advise persons who are planning research in Borneo. We review our financial statement--currently we are solvent--and plan for programs to be presented as part of the A.A.A. program. During the past few years, we have organized programs on "Nation States and Tribal Societies in Southeast Asia", "Female and Male in Borneo", "Rites of Passage", and this past year, "Spirit Mediums of Borneo".

2. We publish the Borneo Research Bulletin, a semi-annual publication, in which we attempt to provide information about current and recent research. We welcome, encourage, and urge you to consider submitting

information about your activities which undoubtedly would be of interest to other persons.

3. We are building the Borneo Research Council Endowment Fund for the purpose of continuing the publication of the Bulletin and for supporting costs of programs such as this one in the future. In all candor, if it were not for the generous support of the Tun Jugah Foundation, all parts of this conference would be much more modest. Currently, the Endowment Fund is managed by the Endowment Association of The College of William and Mary, and stands at US\$50,000. Our goal to ensure that the Bulletin and Monograph Series are published, and that we continue such meetings as this, is US\$100,000.

4. In September, we shall launch the Borneo Research Council Monograph Series with volume one, Female and Male in Borneo: Contributions and Challenges to Gender Studies. We anticipate publication of other volumes on land tenure systems of Borneo, and spirit mediums.

In connection with the Monograph Series and other publications, we carry out targeted mailings to 12,000 to 50,000 persons annually. Let me offer to help promote appropriate publications, such as the forthcoming volume from the Society Atelier Sarawak, Sarawak Legacy. If you have materials you want us to help promote, please let us know and we will cooperate in every way possible.

#### B. Purposes

Having described the activities of the Council, let me move on to an anthropological, even philosophical, analysis of what the Borneo Research Council is.

1. The Council is an informal network of persons interested in Borneo. This is the most formal program we have ever had, and I assure you that if you attend one of our meetings in the U.S., you will find it much less formal. We are a voluntary association of persons who want to understand more and increase knowledge about Borneo. We are open to anyone who shares these interests, and welcome you to any meeting of the Council. If you know us, you will agree that we strive for openness. If you do not know us but decide to join us, you will find us eager to share what we know and equally eager to learn from you. You do not need a special invitation to the Council's meetings; please accept these remarks as a standing invitation. We welcome participation in the network of professionals and non-professionals, government officers and academics, female and male, young and—I certainly hope—old, any and all who share an interest in research. Our membership includes Fellows, persons who have done research on the island in any academic discipline, and Members, many

of whom are professionals but more, laymen. Though admittedly the Council has involved a larger number of social scientists, natural scientists and scholars with specializations in the humanities also have contributed significantly.

2. The Council is an affiliation of students of Borneo. We are no a group of "know-it-alls" or experts. (An expert is someone who has been in Borneo for less than two weeks.) We are students, and the more we learn, the more we learn there is to learn. The more we know, the more we know we don't know. For example, I want to acknowledge publicly the observation of Don Brown that we know very little about human sexuality in Bornean societies. I want to acknowledge this publicly because I stated my disagreement with Don's statement in Chicago two years ago, commenting that we know quite a lot. As we have worked on production of Female and Male in Borneo, about which more later, it has become apparent that Don is right: We don't know much about human sexuality in Borneo!

In this connection, let me comment that I am aware of the anxiety some of you feel about participating in our program. You are local people, not professional educators or academics. Just the same, you have much to contribute. Who knows his or her people better than one of them?

This point is well illustrated in Halinah Todd's profile of Kalang anak Toit (Borneo Post, Friday, July 13, 1990, p. 10). Kalang was a Jah Het from the Krau Valley of Central Pahang, who contributed to the graduate education of a dozen or more scientists in the fields of anthropology, botany, ornithology, and primatology. Tragically, Kalang died in 1987 at the age of 49, "too far from any hospital to be saved from a simple appendicitis."

Malaysian anthropologist, Hood Salleh, from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, has decided that Kalang deserves more memorial than a mention in the foreword (of a book). (Dr. Hood) is collecting tributes to Kalang from the many academics who worked with him, and (is) trying to set up a Kalang Foundation to fund advanced research in biology and social science.

"Through Kalang, the traditional wisdom of the Jah Het meets with modern primatology and biology. Western science has benefited greatly from these meetings," Dr Hood said.

"A field assistant is not just someone who takes orders. He imparts his knowledge to the researcher who then uses it for his

own interest. The researcher benefits greatly; the assistant is discarded." Dr. Hood feels that it is time that the Jah Het side of this exchange is properly acknowledged.

...

"The researcher is the student of his assistant," comments Dr. Hood.

We invite and urge you to join us in the fascinating and important work of doing research into the environment, events, and relationships which make up our world.

3. The Council is an international network involving persons from three dozen countries. Our Bulletin is read in Washington and reviewed in Moscow. As an international network, we are both similar to yet different from local, state-supported institutions, such as the museums and universities of Brunei, Kalimantan, Sabah and Sarawak. Our interests are similar in our dedication to scientific research and in the advance of scholarship. Our support and foci are dissimilar, in that museums and other state institutions enjoy appropriations from their administrations, while we are entirely dependent upon the payment of fees and contributions. State-supported research institutions are understandably obliged to work within the interests of their administration, while we are aware of state policies but do not have the same obligations.

The Council is not a political body. Our concern is not with power. We are not out to control (and, I hope, not out of control). The only control about which we are concerned is "quality control", a determination to "get it right" and to set the record straight if we are aware that misinformation has been published. We encourage research that is thorough and careful on all the people and cultures, the environment and ecosystem, and the complex inseparable interrelationships.

The Council seeks to work cooperatively with the museums and other institutes concerned about research. In such a spirit of cooperation, the Council's members are not rivals of the excellent museums and other institutes dedicated to research. On the contrary, we hope that we shall be recognized as colleagues in a task which is beyond the resources, state or private, of any single organization. To ensure that our relationship is one of cooperation, the Director of each Museum or a representative of each Province/institution in Kalimantan, is invited to join our Board of Directors.

4. The Council seeks to facilitate communication between scholars in the Borneo states and throughout the world. Faced with constraints of tin and resources, all of us concentrate our research in bounded areas, and simply are unable to see everything and do it all. The Council, through the Borneo Research Bulletin, strives to inform its readers of research in all parts of the island. What we find astounding is how many people have conducted research on Borneo, yet remain relatively unknown. For example, Alexander Adelaar has worked in Kalimantan for several years, yet I suspect few if any of us have heard of him or read his work. For his part, he did not know the Council existed until he met Clifford Sather, one of our Directors, in Australia. There are many of you who have done research for graduate degrees. We encourage you to write us telling us about your work, providing material for publication in the Bulletin, and join our network.

To illustrate our effort, let me use an example of modern technology. One of the most exciting and important projects in international communication is the construction of a fiber-optic network which will provide linkage for all parts of the world. Fujitsu is the main contractor for the project, with AT&T supplying the cable which is manufactured by the Simplex Corporation. Borneo will be tied into this worldwide network through a fiber optical cable linking Jakarta to Singapore to Brunei to Manila to Hong Kong to Taipei to Tokyo to Honolulu—well, you get the picture. The network will exist. To participate in it you must pick up the phone. You may have the most advanced technology, but you must tie in to be included.

Walking down Carpenter Street in Kuching, I saw a young woman wearing a t-shirt on which were printed the words, "The Best Kept Secret in Borneo." I didn't know whether she was the best kept secret, or whether the words referred to something else. Whatever their meaning, let me suggest that the words might be rephrased to read, "The best kept secret IS Borneo." For reasons that escape and perplex me, the work of Borneanists is overlooked and undervalued. There are significant contributions which students of Borneo societies have made, yet all-too-often, these have not influenced significantly the development of hypotheses or generation of theories by other scholars.

For example, until the 1950s there existed in anthropology the theory of the middle-level societies, which includes most indigenous Bornean societies, traced descent through men exclusively or women exclusively. Research among the Iban proved to the contrary that there exists much greater latitude and flexibility, and led to the recognition of cognatic societies and the rethinking of anthropology.

In her oft-quoted article analyzing human sexuality and violence, Peggy Reeves Sanday has classified the societies in her sample into "rape prone" and "rape free". The former are societies in which interpersonal violence occurs, the latter, those in which it does not occur. On the basis of her analysis, one would expect to find sexual violence, for example, in the form of rape, in traditional Bornean societies. Insofar as I can determine from a survey of literature on the people of Borneo, outside urban settings, however, rape does not occur. If you know of its occurrence, please let me know during this conference.

Research on the Penan, reports on some of which we shall hear during this conference, have led to a re-examination of the nature of hunter-gatherer societies.

We are determined to "get it right" and, if we get it wrong the first time, to correct our errors. Printed texts have a self-authenticating character to them. If it is in print, we all-too-often assume erroneously, then it must be correct. Unfortunately, the history of education and scholarship is replete with examples of undetected, unchallenged, and reproduced errors.

On our way here we watched "Mountains of the Moon", the story of Sir Richard Burton's search for the origins of the Nile. As much as the film is about the exploration of eastern Africa, it also is about two widely different attitudes, the one Burton's, the other, John Hanning Speake's. Speake, finding a large lake, was convinced it was the source of the Nile. In his claims, he enjoyed popular acclaim by the Royal Geographic Society. Seeing no evidence to support Speake's claims, Burton remained unconvinced. "Saying it is so doesn't make it so" was Burton's comment about Speake's position.

5. Though in character an informal network, the Council is a legal educational corporation. We are incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia, and have been granted tax-exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service of the United States Government. Incorporation protects the rights and privileges of Fellows and members, and of the Directors and Officers. Tax exempt status permits the Council to accept contributions from patrons and members who may deduct legally—and the modifier is important—their gifts as charitable contributions to a legally organized organization.

6. The Council exists to encourage research and to disseminate the results of research as promptly and widely as possible. Let me define what I understand by research. The word literally means "seek further" or "look again", with the implicit emphasis that we are never done with our work. The world is dynamic and so are human societies in their adaptations.

We may distinguish two major categories of researchers: professional and lay. Each may contribute to the other. The former is one who has received graduate education and is aware of the significant issues and theoretical developments which inform his discipline. The latter is an observer and may in fact be as perceptive (or more perceptive) than the professional. So there is a place for each and for both.

Especially at this time is there a need for both professional and lay researchers. Most professionals are limited in the time they can actually do research, for they earn their support from academic or research institutes which expect their staff to serve their clients, i.e., to teach students. Laymen, on the other hand, may be present but other obligations, e.g. earning a living, may distract from or preclude their doing research.

We need a sort of "buddy" system, a one-to-one continuing relationship between the professional and layman, in which each informs and instructs the other. Franz Boas established such a relationship with George Hunt, to the enduring benefit of the Kwakiutl of British Columbia.

At still another level, I propose the establishment of a research foundation—or society—for each discrete group or, in the case of very small groups, several groups. The establishment of such foundations should be undertaken in consultation with the Director and Staff of the museums, or the appropriate departments or institutions. Would all had the resource of our hosts. But even lacking such resources, it is possible to engage in productive research.

7. A good friend, and Chairman of the Board of the Continental Corporation, a large insurance company which owns Hallmark Greeting Cards, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Bank, and employs over 15,000 people, commented recently that 80 percent of his time is spent in communicating the purpose of the Corporation. His observation is that his employees tend to feel isolated, working without purpose, and the greatest challenge he faces as a C.E.O. is to keep the goals of the company before them, and to reassure them that what they are doing is worthwhile and meaningful.

The problem we face is one of "information overload" and "information underload". In the case of the former, there is more information being produced than we can possibly handle, let alone assimilate. In the case of the latter, we are losing vast amounts of tradition, and all forms of folklore. Once lost, it is gone forever.

("Information Age" has been five years in planning and has cost more than \$10 million). The exhibit in the Museum of Natural History ranks among the largest, most expensive and most ambitious projects ever produced by the Smithsonian Institution.

The exhibition is very much an example of the phenomenon it tries to explain—or some might say, part of the problem. Asked if it would deal with the question of information overload, chief curator David K. Allison replied with a straight face: "Only by letting people experience it." He wasn't kidding.

...

(One of the most fascinating sections of "Information Age" is the code-breaking section, but it is also the section in which) the limitations of the exhibit begin to become apparent. What better spot to underline the differences between data (enciphered radio traffic itself), information (what it meant when decoded) and useful knowledge (what that told us about the enemy's intentions), not to mention wisdom (what strategy to follow as a result)?

It is precisely those distinctions that the information age has blurred, if not erased. The increasing ability to store information for instant retrieval has led almost inevitably to a decline in selectivity . . . with a consequent de-emphasis—social, educational, political, and economic—on the value judgments on which selectivity is based.

. . . By turning a topic as promising as "Information Age" over to the technicians and corporations that fund them . . . the Smithsonian, for all the exhibit's riches, has abdicated a particular kind of responsibility that lies close to a museum's basic function. (The Washington Post National Weekly Edition, June 4-10, 1990, p. 34).

Participants in the ill-fated Franklin Expedition of 1845 set out to discover the true north pole and a northwest passage. The officers and crew were equipped the best of everything—each seaman had a place setting of sterling silver cast with his family seal on it. The ships were finished with the finest woods, and even the backgammon boards were made of tropical hardwoods. Though careful attention was given to every detail, there was one major omission. The ships were woefully undersupplied with coal for the three-year trip. Each carried

only 1200 pounds, so that the crew exhausted the fuel long before they reached their destination and the expedition ended in the tragic death of the explorers.

As we work through the last decade of the 20th century, the greatest challenge we shall face is to ensure that we equip our youth and future generations for life. Not only with data or information, but with the wisdom to recognize what is valuable, and to be willing to commit themselves to sustain the forms and qualities of life which are creative and fulfilling, which are Bornean. Working cooperatively, we shall succeed.

An observer of our Council meetings commented, "You really enjoy each other." And we do. With a tight schedule, we hope that as much as anything else during this week, you will enjoy each other—and enjoy learning from each other as well.

THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AWARDED TO  
THE HONORABLE DATUK AMAR LEONARD LINGGI TUN JUGAH

(The following statement was made by Dr. George N. Appell, President of the Borneo Research Council, on awarding to the Honorable Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah the first distinguished service medal of the Borneo Research Council for the advancement of knowledge. This award was made on August, 9, 1990, at the closing ceremonies of the Extraordinary Meetings of the Borneo Research Council that were held in Kuching, Sarawak, from August 4 through August 9.)

We of the Borneo Research Council have had a dream. For many years we seeded the clouds and up until now the rain has fallen only in scattered patches. But here in Kuching, the barat banal, what the Rungus call the southwest wind, has arrived carrying with it the monsoon rains. And we are carried along on the resultant flood of interests, concerns, and enthusiasms of the people of Sarawak.

A central figure in all of this has been a modest man, a man of incredible vision, whom we wanted to honor here tonight.

Over the past few years the Borneo Research Council has been developing a design for a medal to be presented periodically to those distinguished individuals who have done the most to forward research in Borneo and the advancement of knowledge in the social, biological, and medical sciences.



The design has been chosen. I wish I had it here to show you. And the first medal will be struck later this year.

It gives me great pleasure to announce here tonight on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Borneo Research Council that the first recipient of the BRC Medal for Distinguished Service in the Advancement of the Scientific Knowledge of Borneo is: The Honorable Datuk Amar Leonard Linggi Tun Jugah, Chairman of the Tun Jugah Foundation.

VINSON SUTLIVE HONORED BY HIS FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES  
FOR HIS FIFTEEN YEARS AS EDITOR OF THE BRB  
AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE BRC

At the closing ceremonies of The First Extraordinary Session of the Borneo Research Council in Kuching, Sarawak, a tribute was paid to Professor Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr., Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary. Various friends and colleagues had been discussing during the previous year the best way to express our appreciation to Vinson for all the time and effort he has put into the Borneo Research Council over the past fifteen years. He has worked tirelessly as editor of the Borneo Research Bulletin, in organizing various symposia, in initiating and editing the new monograph series of the Council, in starting the Borneo Research Council endowment and raising funds for it, in incorporating the Borneo Research Council as a tax-exempt foundation, and in putting together an exciting program for the First Extraordinary meeting of the Borneo Research Council in Kuching, Sarawak.

It was decided that an appropriate token of our appreciation to present to Vinson at these meetings would be a fine Iban pua' (blanket). And a number of Vinson's friends and colleagues from around the world voluntarily contributed to a fund for the purchase this pua'.

A local committee of Dr. Richard Fidler, Dr. Robert Winzeler, and Ms. Traude Gavin selected a suitable pua'. The name of the woven design on this pua' is: "Fireflies Glittering and Gleaming in the Dark".

This is certainly an appropriate design as Vinson over the years has provided a guiding light to our work.

We have also prepared a leather bound notebook to present to Vinson that contains the list of contributors and all the letters of appreciation from his friends.

BORNEO STUDIES AT THE CENTRE FOR SOUTH-EAST  
ASIAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF HULL

VICTOR T. KING

For the past 20 years there has been a substantial scholarly interest in Borneo at the University of Hull. This has been particularly the case in the disciplines of geography, sociology, social anthropology and history. One of the most prominent Hull-based researchers in the 1970s was the late Professor James C. Jackson whose Sarawak. A Geographical Survey of a Developing State (London, 1968) and Chinese in the West Borneo Goldfields. A Study in Cultural Geography (Hull, 1970) are particularly well known.

However, in the late 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s other staff at Hull were teaching and supervising research students on various aspects of Borneo societies, cultures, economy and history, among them George R. Ellison (The Marine Fishing Industry of Sarawak, Hull, 1967), David K. Bassett (British Attitudes to Indigenous States in South-East Asia in the Nineteenth Century, Hull, 1980 and 'The British Colonial Legacy in South-East Asia c. 1941' in D. K. Bassett and V. T. King, Britain and South-East Asia, Hull, 1986) and the late Professor Mervyn Jaspán, who had undertaken research at the Sarawak Museum. It was under Mervyn Jaspán's supervision that I first undertook field research in Kalimantan in 1972-3.

I thought it might be useful for BRB readers to provide a brief report on the work that has been done on Borneo in our Hull Centre during the past five years, and on research which is currently being undertaken here in relation to Borneo studies.

Postgraduate Students (1985-90)

**Completed Degrees**

Horton, A. V. M.  
The development of Brunei during the British residential era, 1906- 1959: a sultanate regenerated (PhD)

Saunders, GE  
Bishops and Brookes: the Anglican Mission and the Brooke Raj in Sarawak 1848-1941 (PhD)

**Degrees in Process**

Abd. Rashid b. Abdullah  
Promoting and securing local participation for rural development: the in situ projects in Sarawak, Malaysia (PhD)

Eussof Agaki Hj. Ismail  
Aspects of political and economic development in Brunei, 1959-1979 (MPhil)

Naimah Talib  
The administrative service of Sarawak, c.1840-1985 (PhD)

Bantong Antaran  
An ethnographic study of the Dusun of Brunei (MPhil)

Jayum Jawan  
The Dayak Iban in Sarawak: participation in development (PhD)

Henry Gana Ngadi  
The Iban Worldview (PhD)

Jean Morrison  
The Bajau: gender relations and socio-economic change in a fishing community of Sabah, Malaysia (PhD)

**Staff Research and Publications (1985-90)**

**V.T. King** (Professor of South-East Asian Studies) has been undertaking research on symbolism and material culture in Borneo, the Tillema archive in Leiden, and development processes in Sarawak.

**Publications**

The Maloh of West Kalimantan: an ethnographic study of social inequality and social change among an Indonesian Borneo people, *Verhandelingen van het KITLV*, 108, Foris Publications, 286; Holland, 1985.

'Symbols of social differentiation: a comparative investigation of signs, the signified and symbolic meanings in Borneo', *Anthropos*, 80, 1985, pp. 125-152.

'Symbolism and material culture: some footnotes for Penny van Esterik', *BKI*, 141, 1985, pp. 142-147.

'Symbols of social differentiation in Borneo', *Museum Ethnographers Group Newsletter*, no. 18, 1985, pp. 8-20.

'Kedudukan sosial dan perubahan sosial di kalangan suku Maloh, Kalimantan Barat' in Michael R. Dove (ed.), *Peranan tradisional Indonesia dalam modernisasi*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta, 1985, pp. 241-286; in English as 'Social rank and social change among the Maloh of West Kalimantan', in Michael R. Dove (ed.), *The real and imagined role of culture in development. Case studies from Indonesia*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1988, pp. 219-253.

'Land settlement schemes and the alleviation of rural poverty in Sarawak, East Malaysia: a critical commentary' in W.D. Wilder (ed.), *Wealth and poverty in contemporary Southeast Asia* (*Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, special issue, 14), 1986, pp. 71-99.

Planning for agrarian change: hydro-electric power, resettlement and Iban swidden cultivators in Sarawak, East Malaysia, Occasional Papers No. 11, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, Hull, 1986.

(with J.B. Avé) Borneo: oerwoud in ondergang, culturen op drift, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 1986; revised and expanded English edition as Borneo: the people of the weeping forest. Tradition and change in Borneo, 1986.

'The Tillema Collection in Leiden', *Indonesia Circle*, No. 43, 1987, pp. 3-13.

'Anthropology and rural development in Sarawak', Sarawak Museum Journal, 36, 1986, pp. 13-42.

'Land Development in Sarawak, Malaysia: a case study', Land Reform, Land Settlement and Cooperatives, FAO; Rome, 1/2, 1986, pp. 53-60.

'Hendrik Tillema and Borneo', Borneo Research Bulletin, 19, 1987, pp. 3-15.

(with Bantong Antaran) 'Some items of decorative silverware in the Brunei Museum Ethnographic Collection', Brunei Museum Journal, 6, 1987, pp. 52-103.

'Models and realities: Malaysian national planning and East Malaysian development problems', Modern Asian Studies, 22, 1988, pp. 263-298.

'Das Sultanat Brunei' and 'Jagd und fischfang' in Heinrich Harrer (ed.), Borneo. Mensch und kultur seit ihrer steinzeit, Pinguin-Verlag, Innsbruck, 1988, pp. 73-81, 101-108.

'Maloh, Malay and Chinese: silversmithing and cultural exchange in Borneo and elsewhere', in J.W. Christie and V.T. King, Metal-working in Borneo. Essays on iron- and silver-working in Sarawak, Occasional Papers 15, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, Hull, 1988, pp. 29-56.

'The costs of development in Sarawak', Borneo Research Bulletin, 20, 1988, pp. 15-28.

ed. with an Introduction, H.F. Tillema, A journey among the peoples of Central Borneo in word and picture, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1989.

L. G. Hill (Lecturer in South-East Asian Social Anthropology) has been undertaking research on metalware, especially keris, in the Brunei Museum collections, and brassware in the Sabah Museum, and on English language fiction relating to Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei.

#### Publications

A checklist of English-language fiction relating to Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, Bibliography and Literature Series, 2, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, Hull, 1986.

'English language fiction relating to Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei: a supplementary checklist and comments', Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 60, 1987, pp. 45-74.

J. W. Christie (Honorary Fellow in South-East Asian Studies) has been undertaking research on early states and maritime trade in South-East Asia.

#### Publications

'On Po-ni: the Santubong sites of Sarawak', Sarawak Museum Journal, 34, 1985, pp. 77-89.

'Iron-working in Sarawak', in J.W. Christie and V.T. King, Metalworking in Borneo. Essays on iron- and silver-working in Sarawak, Occasional Papers 15, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, Hull, 1988, pp. 1-28.

A. V. M. Horton (Associate Member and Graduate of the Centre for South-East Asian Studies) has been continuing his research on Brunei and Sarawak history.

#### Publications

'A note on the Kawaguchi Detachment, 1941-2', Borneo Research Bulletin, 17, 1985, pp. 47-50.

'Review Article. Haji Zaini Haji Ahmad's Brunei Kearah Kemerdekaan', Borneo Research Bulletin, 17, 1985, pp. 67-77.

'Brunei, Sarawak and the Kota Batu Lands (1903-1917)', Brunei Museum Journal, 6, 1985, pp. 62-74.

'A Centenary. W.H. Treacher and the Limbang revolt 1884-5', Sarawak Museum Journal, 34, 1985, pp. 91-99.

'British administration in Brunei 1906-1959', Modern Asian Studies, 20, 1986, pp. 353-374.

'Raja Brooke's coal mining concessions in Brunei', Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 59, 1986, pp. 49-72.

'A Note on the British retreat from Kuching, 1941-1942', Sarawak Museum Journal, 36, 1986, pp. 241-249.

'Sir Charles Brooke's visit to Brunei, April-May 1906', Brunei Museum Journal, 6, 1986, pp. 116-124.

'The signing of the 1905-1906 UK-Brunei Treaty', Brunei Museum Journal, 6, 1986, pp. 125-127.

Report on Brunei in 1904 by M.S.H. McArthur, Ohio University Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series 74, Athens, Ohio, 1987.

'The disturbances in the Tutong and Belait districts of Brunei (1899- 1901)', Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 18, 1987, pp. 93-107.

'Sultan Hashim's coinage (1887)', Brunei Museum Journal, 6, 1987, pp. 42-47.

'Brunei Seventy-five years ago (1914)', Sarawak Gazette, 115, 1988, pp. 14-20.

'Some impressions of Pelita Brunei (Akhbar Rasmi Kerajaan Negara Brunei Darussalam), ASEASUK News, 7, 1990, pp. 30-32.

Essays in Brunei History Vol. I, typed and bound ms., unpublished, 1990, xiv, 308 pp.

J. R. Walton (Lecturer in South-East Asian Economics), has recently been undertaking work on regional economic development issues in Malaysia, with reference to Sarawak and Sabah.

#### Publications

See papers in Margins and Minorities listed below.

T. J. Huxley (Lecturer in South-East Asian Contemporary Political History) has been engaged in work on regional defence and security issues in South-East Asia, with some attention to Singapore and Brunei.

#### Publications

Brunei's defence policy and military expenditure, Working Paper 166, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Canberra, 1988.

'Brunei: defending a mini-state', in Chin Kin Wah (ed.), Defence spending in Southeast Asia, ISEAS, Singapore, 1987.

After its successful symposium in March 1988 on the 'Peripheral Areas and Peoples of Malaysia and Thailand', the Centre has brought together the papers on Malaysia in a volume entitled Margins and Minorities: the Peripheral Areas and Peoples of Malaysia, ed. Victor T. King and Michael J.G. Parnwell, Hull University Press, 1990.

1. 'Introduction: The Peripheral Areas of Malaysia: Development Problems, Planning and Prospects', Victor T. King and Michael J.G. Parnwell.
2. 'Agricultural Development and Poverty Eradication in Peripheral Areas of Malaysia, with Special Reference to Kelantan', Richard W.A. Vokes.
3. 'Agricultural Dichotomy: A Case for Peripheral Agricultural Development in Malaysia', Nasaruddin Arshad, Zulkifly Hj. Mustapha & Mustapha Juman.
4. 'The Javanese of Kuala Langat: Participation in Development Programmes', Nazaruddin M. Jali.
5. 'Health Among the Orang Asli in Peninsular Malaysia: An Overview', Abdul Halin Hamid.
6. 'The Orang Asli Regrouping Scheme: Converting Swiddeners to Commercial Farmers', Zahid Emby.
7. 'Why is Sarawak Peripheral?', Victor T. King.
8. 'Recent Economic Developments in Sarawak', John Walton.

9. 'The Dayak in Sarawak: Politics and Participation in National Development', Jayum A. Jawan.
10. 'Land Settlement Programmes in Sarawak, Malaysia: A Mistaken Strategy?', Victor T. King.
11. 'The Response of Farmers in Two Bidayuh Communities to an In Situ Land Development Programme', Abdul Rashid Abdullah.
12. 'Recent Economic Developments in Sabah', John Walton.
13. 'Agricultural Transformation and Rural Development in East Malaysia: Aspects of Structural Change and Poverty Among Rural Communities in Sabah', Zulkifly Hj. Mustapha.

Some Centre students have also published work on Borneo. Henry Gana Ngadi completed his M.A. dissertation at Hull on Iban rites of passage and some related ritual acts (1988) and is commencing PhD work with us. He has translated Augustine Anggat Ganjing's Basic Iban Design, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1989 and has compiled with Hussain b. Jamil, Kamus Bahasa Iban-Bahasa Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1989.

Justin J. Corfield, one of our graduates, has produced A bibliography of literature relating to the Malayan Campaign and the Japanese period in Malaya, Singapore and Northern Borneo, Bibliography and Literature Series, 5, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, Hull, 1988.

#### Other Programmes and News

1. The Centre for South-East Asian Studies has British Council-funded links with the Universiti Pertanian Malaysia (UPM), both with main campus at Serdang and at the Sarawak branch campus in Bintulu.

The academic exchange with Serdang is for the production of teaching texts (with both English and Malay editions) for use in social science courses at UPM. Two texts are in process:

Issues in Rural Development in Malaysia, ed. Victor T. King and Nazaruddin M. Jali (containing 25 chapters, some of which relate to East Malaysia).

Methods in the Social Sciences, with Special Reference to Malaysia, ed. Abd. Halin Hamid and Ray Francis (containing at least ten separate sections with some information on East Malaysia).

The academic exchange with Bintulu is for the purpose of establishing a Bachelor of Social Science degree at the Sarawak campus. Within the degree some attention will be given to ethnic studies and materials which relate to East Malaysian peoples, culture, economy and geography.

2. The Centre for South-East Asian Studies on behalf of the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Hull, has recently signed an academic exchange agreement with Universiti Brunei Darussalam. This comprises split-site postgraduate training, and collaborative research on Brunei studies (including work on Brunei bibliographies, museum collections and ethnography, and the economy and geography of Brunei).
3. The South-East Asian Studies library at Hull has recently been acquiring a large amount of materials on Borneo. A very welcome donation to our archives has been made by Mr. Robert Nicholl, the former Honorary Curator of History at the Brunei Museum. He has given us the complete typescript of his Sources for the History of Brunei from the Earliest Time to 1690. It comprises two volumes 'History of Brunei to AD 1515' and 'History of Brunei 1515 to 1690 AD' in nineteen ring-bound parts.

#### The Future

The Centre at Hull is hoping to continue its academic links and collaborative research in Sarawak and Brunei. It is also now extending its interest to Sabah, and one member of our staff, Mr. Hill, is soon to spend one month attached to the Sabah Museum, assisting with the cataloguing of collections.

We would be interested in hearing from anyone who would like to participate in or contribute to our programmes of study, or who would like further information about our work at Hull.

**International Conference on  
Forest Biology and Conservation in Borneo**

An International Conference on Forest Biology and Conservation in Borneo was held from July 30 - August 3, 1990 in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.<sup>1</sup> The five-day program included a wide range of topics. Following are the names of the sessions, paper presenters and the titles of their papers:

**Ecological Aspects of Rural Development** (Chair, Dr. George N. Appell)

- George N. Appell - "Ecological Approaches to Rural Development"  
 Cynthia Mackie - "Putting People First: Lessons from the Kenyah Dayak for Forest Conservation"  
 Jules Caldecott - "Hunting Patterns and Their Significance in Sarawak"  
 Clive Marsh and Barnabas Gait - "Effects of Logging on Rural Sabah Communities: A Comparative Study of Two Villages in Ulu Kinabatangan"  
 Leslie Potter - "Possibilities for Sustainable Rural Development in South Kalimantan"  
 Ahmad Ismet - "Towards Sustainable Rural Development: The Case of South Kalimantan, Indonesia"

**Dynamics of Dipterocarp Forest** (Chair, Dr. Willie Smits)

- Nick Brown - "Dipterocarp Regeneration in Tropical Rainforest Gaps of Different Sizes"  
 Donald Kennedy - "The Role of the Soil Seed Bank in Regeneration in a Sabah Forest"  
 Theo Burghouts - "Leaf Litter Decomposition and Litter Arthropods in Primary and Secondary Dipterocarp Forest in Sabah, Malaysia"  
 S. Abdulkadir and K. Kartawinata - "Litterfall and Leaf Decomposition in Primary and Secondary Forest in Wanariset, East Kalimantan"  
 Paul Woods - "Effects of Fire in Logged and Primary Forests of Sabah: Tree Mortality and Post-fire Succession"  
 Kuswata Kartawinata - "Effects of Disturbances on Lowland Dipterocarp Forest in East Kalimantan"

**Man and Forest in Borneo** (Chair, Datuk Miller Munang)

- Didin Sastrapradja and Mien A. Rifai - "The Biology and Conservation of Bornean Plants as Seen by Decision Makers"  
 Willie Smits - "Ecological Approaches to Commercial Dipterocarp Forestry"

**Non-Timber Forest Products** (Chair, Prof. Didin Sastrapradja)

- John Dransfield - "Rattans in Borneo: Botany and Utilization"  
 Shim Phyu Soon - "Conservation in SAFODA's Kinabatangan Rattan Plantation"  
 Soejatmi Dransfield - "Borneo Bamboos and Their Uses"  
 Halijah Ibrahim - "Gingers of Sabah: Conservation, Research and Exploitation of Species With Economic Potential"  
 William Wong and Tony Lamb - "Species Diversity of Wild Fruit Trees of Sabah as Illustrated by the General *Artocarpus*, *Durio* and *Mangifera*"  
 Jean-Marie Bompard and A. J. G. H. Kostermans - "The genus *Mangifera* in Borneo: Results of an IUCN/WWF/IBPGR Project"  
 Lim W. H. and H. A. Saharan - "A Preliminary Survey of Orchids in Taman Bukit Tawau, Sabah"

**Vertebrate Distribution and Abundance** (Chair, Mr. Francis Gombek)

- Robert F. Inger and Harold Voris - "Variation in Communities of Amphibians in Bornean Forests"  
 Tan Fui Lian - "Ecology and Distribution of Amphibians and Reptiles in Lowlands of the Crocker Ranger National Park"  
 Rob Stuebing, Ghazally Ismail and Ling Hau Ching - "Distribution and Abundance of the Indo-Pacific Crocodile (*Crocodylus porosus* Schneider) in the Klias River, Sabah"  
 Junaidi Payne - "Why Are Rhinoceroses Rare in Borneo Forest?"  
 Andrew D. Johns and Adrian G. Marshall - "Wildlife Population Parameters as Indicators of the Sustainability of Timber Logging Operations"  
 Colin Groves - "Endemism in Bornean Mammals"  
 Fred Sheldon, Shaibal Mitra and Jodie Kennard - "The Birds of Sabah Softwood Exotic Tree Plantation"

**Plant Biodiversity** (Chair, Dr. Soedarsono Kiswan)

- John H. Beaman - "Ecology, Systematics and Conservation of the Flora of Mt Kinabalu"  
 Kamarudin Mat Salleh, J. H. Beaman and J. H. Beach - "Specimen Data Bases and Their Utilization for the Flora of Borneo"  
 Tukirin Partomihardjo, S. Riswan and J. S. Burley - "Altitudinal Variation in Dipterocarp Vegetation at Bukit Karang, Central Kalimantan"  
 A. Latiff and K. Mat Salleh - "Some Floristic and Systematic Studies of Bornean Plants"  
 Herujuno Hadisuparto and Syafruddin Said - "Species Diversity of Two Adjacent Minor Habitats in Mandor Nature Reserve, West Kalimantan"

**Seed Dispersal and Vertebrate Frugivory** (Chair, Dr. Marina Wong)

- Mark Leighton - "Dynamics of Plant Fruiting and Seedling Recruitment Coupled with Vertebrate Diets and Habitat Switching"
- Mark Leighton and D. Peart - "Research on Enrichment Planting for Forest and Conservation Management"
- Lisa Curran - "Mast Fruiting, Dipterocarps and Nomadic Vertebrate Seed Predators: Implications for Conservation and Management"
- Adi Susilo - "Seed Dispersal Agents at Mentoko Burned-over Forest, Kutai National Park, East Kalimantan"
- Akira Suzuki - "The Population Responses of Orang Utans and Other Non-human Primates to the Forest Conditions After the 1982-83 Fires and Drought in Kutai National Park, East Kalimantan"
- Michael Zens and Claudia Knab - "A Comparative Study of Seed Dispersal in Three Bornean Primates"

**Primate Ecology and Conservation** (Chair, Dr. Tom Struhsaker)

- David Chivers - "Socio-ecology and Conservation of Gibbons in Southeast Asia, with Special Reference to Borneo"
- Robert J. Mather - "Density and Abundance of Primates in Northern Kalimantan Tengah: Comparisons With Other Parts of Borneo and Peninsular Malaysia"
- Carey P. Yeager and Trevor K. Blondal - "Conservation Status of the Proboscis Monkey (*Nasalis larvatus*) at Tanjung Puting National Park, Kalimantan Tengah, Indonesia"
- R. Rajaratnam and Elizabeth Bennett - "The Ecology and Conservation of Proboscis Monkeys in Samunsam Wildlife Sanctuary, Sarawak"
- Dianne Janczewski et al. - "Estimate of Genetic Distance Between Orang Utan Sub-species, Results of Captive Animal Studies and Future Prospects for Evaluating Wild Populations"
- Birute Galdikas - "Rehabilitation of Orang Utans for Conservation and Education"
- John MacKinnon - "Species Survival Plan for Orang Utan in Borneo"

**Ethnobotany and Phytochemistry** (Chair, Dr. A. Latiff)

- Ikram M. Said, A. Latiff, Siraj Omar and Wan Yaacob Ahmad - "Phytochemical Studies of Bornean Flora"
- S. Riswan, U. W. Mahyor and H. S. Roemantyo - "Ethnobotany of Several Medical Plants in Harowu Village, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia"
- Danna J. Leaman, R. Yusuf and J. T. Arnason - "Traditional Medicines of the Apo Kayan Kenyah: Beyond the Inventory"

- Ahmad Fasihuddin and H. Raji - "Medicinal Plants Used by the Murut Community in Sabah"
- Karim Yaacob, Rusland Abdul and A. N. Salleh - "Forest Products as Source of Raw Materials for the Flavour, Fragrance and Pharmaceutical Industries"
- Laily b. Din et al. - "Furanopyrones Isolated from Some *Gnoniothalamus* species"
- Syamsuni Arman - "Sustainable Rural Development: An Example from West Kalimantan"

**Conservation Planning** (Chair, Dr. John MacKinnon)

- Nengah Wirawan - "Conservation Priorities in Kalimantan"
- Kumpiadi Widen - "Forest Status in Central Kalimantan"
- Effendy Sumardja - "Conservation Management in Kalimantan"
- Abang Hj Kassim and Francis Gombek - "Species Conservation in Sarawak"
- Elizabeth Bennett and Francis Gombek - "Conservation of Coastal Wetland Forests and Their Wildlife in Sarawak"
- Peter Eaton - "Protected Areas in Borneo: The Institutional Framework"
- Mohd Nor Dalimin - "Renewable Energy for Rural Development: Case for Conservation in Borneo"

**Forest Ecology** (Chair, Dr. Mike Swaine)

- Ariffien Bratawinata - "Stratification and Floristic Composition of the Sg. Penda Montane Rainforest in East Kalimantan"
- Hamzah Awang, Jamaluddin Abd Hamid, Sharuddin Mohamed and Sabeir Othman - "Vegetation Analysis of Matong Mangrove Forest, Kuching Sarawak"
- Abdulhadi Rochardi, S. Z. Fanani and S. Riswan - "Recovery of an Abandoned Log Pond Site at the Upper Matton River, West Kalimantan"
- Kamarazaman Jusoff - "Conversion of Tropical Lowland Dipterocarp Forest to Plantation of *Acacia mangium* Stands: Impact on Soil Physical Properties"
- James V. LaFrankie - "Long-term and Large-scale Studies: Application to Forest Management in Tropical Asia"
- Asri b. Hj Ahmad et al. - "Stratification in a Lowland Tropical Forest in the Danum Valley, Sabah"
- Mohamedsaid M. S., Ismail Salleh and Mohd Nor Hassan - "The Leaf Beetles of Borneo"
- Mohd Zaidi and Modamed Said, M. S. - "Leaf beetle (Coleoptera: Chysomelidae) community in Danum Valley, Sabah"

**Forests and Water** (Chair, Dr. Gary Hartshorn)

Ian Douglas et al. - "Responses of River Sediment Loads and Chemistry to Logging and Post-logging Recovery in Ulu Segama, Sabah"

Murtedza Mohd - "Water Quality Scenario of Rivers in Sabah in Relation to Forest Operations"

Peter Becker - "Is the Climate of Brunei Darussalam Changing?"

**Biology and Conservation of Rafflesia** - (Chair, Prof. John Beaman)

Willi Meijer - "Problems and Prospects of Rafflesia Research in Borneo:

Jamili Nais - "Distribution, Dispersal and Some Notes of Rafflesia Around Mt. Kinabalu, Malaysia"

Reed S. Beaman, K. Mat Salleh, W. Meijer and J. H. Beaman - "Rafflesiaceae: Evolution, Exploitation and Extinction"

**Borneo Project Plans of Selected Conservation Organizations** (Chair, Dr. Mikaaail Kavanagh)

Speakers to be Announced

**Biodiversity Conservation Needs** (Chair, Dr. Herman Rijksen)

Kathy MacKinnon - "Conserving Biodiversity and Endangered Species in Borneo"

**Forest Conservation and Human Needs** (Chair, Dr. Kuswata Kartawinata)

H. M. Dahlan - "People and Forests in Borneo"

**Regional Perspectives** (Chair, Tengku D. Z. Adlin)

Hj Mohd Yassin Ampuan Salleh - Brunei Darussalam

Mr. Effendy Sumardja - Indonesia

Abang Hj Kassim bin Abang Morshidi - Sarawak

Datuk Miller Munang - Sabah

## NOTE

1. The Conference was hosted and sponsored by Yayasan Sabah, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (Sabah Campus), Sabah Ministry of Tourism and Environmental Development, Sabah Forest Department, Sabah Parks, Sabah Wildlife Department, and the Sabah Museum. It was co-sponsored by the World Wide Fund for Nature, Tropenbos, Wildlife Conservation International, US Agency for International Development, and Conservation International.

## PREAMBLE

We, the participants of this Conference, express our great appreciation for the excellent organization, great hospitality and local government support which has allowed us the opportunity to discuss the pressing environmental and developmental problems of Borneo, endowed as it still is with many unique natural and human resources.

In the course of the Conference, a number of conclusions were reached on the need for action, and these are summarized below. These Resolutions are addressed to the national, state and provincial (here referred to as territorial) governments of Borneo, and to their partners in development, including multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental organizations with an interest in sustainable patterns of land use on the island.

## EXECUTIVE PRIORITIES

## 1. IMPROVED FOREST MANAGEMENT

The Conference is deeply concerned by the level of damage which is being sustained during the logging of Bornean forests. There are no technical reasons why such forests should not be logged in much less damaging ways for little if any increase in production costs. This would involve better planning of skid trails, improved road engineering, reduced felling intensities, longer intervals between harvesting, and the routine premarking of trees for directional felling. The Conference therefore urges that governments introduce appropriate incentive structures through royalty systems and the use of very long-term (100 year plus) harvesting licenses, provided adequate supervision can be provided and concessions canceled in the event of environmental default.



## 2. INSTITUTE OF BORNEO STUDIES

The Conference strongly recommends that an Institute of Borneo Studies be established within the island of Borneo, to co-ordinate a large-scale and long-term programme of environmental, ecological and socioeconomic research throughout Borneo. This Institute should serve as a data bank for the whole of Borneo, to provide information to policy-makers for better management of natural resources.

## 3. TRANSFRONTIER RESERVES

The Conference is pleased to note that with the establishment of Lanjak-Entimau Wildlife Sanctuary in Sarawak and Cagar Alam Bentuang dan Karimun in Kalimantan, Borneo now possesses its first transfrontier reserve. As the various Bornean territories continue with their conservation programmes, there will be further opportunities for collaboration on protecting habitats and creating additional transfrontier reserves. The Governments of Sarawak and Sabah are urged to consider extending their existing protected area networks to establish reserves adjacent to the Kayan-Mentarang reserve on the Kalimantan border.

## 4. EXTENSION OF PROTECTED AREA SYSTEMS

The Conference urges the creation and protection of new reserves designed to secure ecosystems of limited distribution in Borneo, including especially coastal, freshwater swamp, peat swamp, kerangas, and forests over limestone and ultrabasic rock formations.

## 5. MANGROVE PROTECTION

The Conference considers that mangrove forests are of such overwhelming economic importance to fisheries and coastal protection that no form of conversion should ordinarily be attempted in these habitats, and that their disturbance should be limited to traditional harvesting which is proven to involve negligible damage. Where mangrove areas are legally unprotected or have been de-gazetted recently (as in the case of the Klias Peninsula), this situation should be corrected as a matter of urgency.

## 6. VALUATION OF RENEWABLE NATURAL RESOURCES

Renewable natural resources are seldom valued realistically in national accounts. The Conference recognizes a need to accelerate research into how this can be done so that national accounts can properly value the ecological and environmental services that natural forests provide, and so that the capital value of forests can be properly assessed as part of national wealth.

## 7. RESETTLEMENT

The Conference urges great caution in the use of resettlement projects as a method of rural development in Borneo, as these have, in various places, been shown to create a class of landless peasantry, to result in an unnecessary loss of native land rights, and to be associated during their implementation with significant violation of fundamental human rights.

In addition to the Conference's Resolutions, G. N. Appell submitted the following Recommendations:

## ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

1. We encourage the use of anthropological assessment in planning development projects throughout Borneo as has been done in Sarawak.
2. We recommend that the use of resettlement projects as a method of rural development be re-evaluated as in some areas of Borneo these have created a class of landless peasantry; in other areas these have resulted in an unnecessary loss of native land rights; and in some areas implementation has produced a violation of human rights.
3. We encourage the uses of human ecological and social anthropological studies to ascertain how Borneo societies provision themselves, and use their natural resources so that these findings may be incorporated into integrated development planning.
4. In South America research is beginning to show that the perpetual yield of primary forests products, such as meat, fruits, nuts, and rattans, etc. produce greater income over the years than does logging. It is recommended that similar studies be undertaken in Borneo.
5. We encourage the incorporation of village level knowledge of the environment and local cultural heritage into development projects.

6. The cultural heritage of Borneo is rapidly disappearing so that salvage efforts to record it will be useless in 5 to 10 years. We urge all governments in Borneo to encourage and support social anthropological research by professionally trained anthropologists to record and inventory this rich cultural heritage and indigenous knowledge as is being done in Sarawak.
7. As unnecessary ecological destruction unwittingly occurs in development implementation and as local village rights and interests are frequently and unknowingly over-ridden without recourse, it is recommended that a system of ecological and cultural ombudsmen be instituted in each district of Borneo.
8. Legitimate rights of rural people should be respected and, where necessary, protected in all conservation and development programs. These rights include those of resource tenure, intellectual property rights to ethnobiological knowledge, and rights to participate in national development with full dignity.
9. Scientists and conservationists are urged to make full use of the wealth of biological knowledge held by rural people and to involve those people as participants in research.
10. Further research is recommended on the long term biological effects of human activities in Borneo forests. Such activities include traditional hunting, farming, and forest product collected as well as modern timber exploitation and forest conversion.

FOOD AND NUTRITION IN THE TROPICAL FOREST:  
 BIOCULTURAL INTERACTIONS  
 AND APPLICATIONS TO DEVELOPMENT

International Symposium - Paris (Unesco)  
 10-13 September 1991  
 First Information Note

AIMS:

An international scientific symposium is being organized by Unesco and the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France), on the topic of food and nutrition in the tropical forest. In addressing a range of "biocultural"

themes, the symposium will provide for a pan-tropical review of current understanding and recent advances in respect to food and nutrition in tropical forest environments, and will aim at identifying possible applications of such knowledge to development projects and processes in the humid forested zones of Africa, South and Central America, Asia and Australia. The symposium will bring together existing information within a comparative perspective, with a view to producing, besides a main book, a range of syntheses for different audiences (planners of development projects, technical personnel, research workers).

BACKGROUND:

This symposium is inspired in part by the publication of the report "Se nourrir en forêt équatoriale: Anthropologie alimentaire des populations des régions forestières humides d'Afrique" (Unesco, Paris 1989)—an English version of which is due to be published during the second semester of 1990. Published within the framework of the Man and the Biosphere (MAB) Programme, this booklet has highlighted the interest of research on the interface between tropical forest ecosystems and the resource management systems of various groups of forest dwellers. The symposium also relates to the concern of the World Decade (1988-1997) of Cultural Development and several component activities sponsored by the Cultural Sector of Unesco. Several other activities of Unesco are also relevant to the concerns of the symposium, including those on agricultural and nutrition education. Other international organizations will be invited to take part in the symposium including the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and several non-governmental organizations.

REGISTRATION:

Please complete the Registration Form and send it back to C.M. Hladik, Laboratoire d'Ecologie du Muséum, 4 Avenue du Petit Château, 91800 BRUNOY, France. A modest fee (100 FF—about \$18) will be payable in cash by each participant upon registration in Paris.

THEMES

The following themes are envisaged, each one spanning the dual concerns of biology and culture:

1. Food resources of tropical forests:  
 Foodstuffs potentially available for gathering, hunting and fishing;  
 phenology and production cycles; palaeoclimatology and  
 prehistory; recent changes

2. Food, nutrition and society:
- Hunting, fishing and gathering techniques; agriculture and phytopractices; food processing, storage and conservation.
  - Diet and food choices of the adult (including non-subsistence aspects); seasonal variations; taste perception; social and symbolic values of food items.
  - Food consumption in different age groups; biochemical composition of food items; energy balance; biomedical and demographic consequences.
3. Management of the forest environment, in terms of the resource use systems of forest people (including migrants); new techniques for food processing, preservation and transportation; introduction of new or improved species; perspectives for development programmes.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE SYMPOSIUM:

The symposium will be held at Unesco House in Paris from Tuesday 10 September to Friday 13 September 1991. (It will thus take place during the week preceding the 10th World Forestry Congress, being organized in Paris by the French Government in cooperation with FAO). It will be structured around plenary sessions, comprising invited keynote papers and selected offered contributions. Poster contributions will be permanently on view during the whole symposium, with selected groups of posters being presented by authors (after a brief oral description in plenary session) during special poster sessions; the projection of video films may also be arranged. Facilities will be made available for informal group discussion, particularly for drawing up recommendations and conclusions.

Symposium participants will include 100-150 specialists involved in research and management related to food and nutrition in tropical forest environments. Disciplinary backgrounds will include botany, ecology, physical and social anthropology, nutrition and epidemiology, agronomy, agroforestry, and resource economics. An international scientific advisory group is being formed to cooperate with Unesco and the CNRS in the organization of the symposium. Professor François Bourlière has kindly agreed to be the Honorary President of this advisory group. A local organizing committee has been set up, headed by Drs. C. M. Hladik and H. Pagezy (of the research team "Anthropologie Alimentaire" of the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique-CNRS).

#### REGISTRATION FORM

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
 INSTITUTE \_\_\_\_\_  
 ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_  
 TELEX \_\_\_\_\_  
 FAX \_\_\_\_\_

- Yes, I am interested in attending the symposium  
 I am interested in contributing an  
      oral presentation  
      poster  
      video

Please indicate provisional title:

Brief description (3-5 lines of key words or phrases):

- I do not wish to contribute a formal presentation

I understand that a very limited amount of funds is available for travel and living expenses. I would need:

- Complete support  
 Partial support (please describe)  
 No support to attend the symposium

The following researchers should be notified of this symposium: (Please include name, mailing address, and area of expertise)

Return this form to:

C. M. Hladik  
 Laboratoire d'Ecologie du MNHN  
 4, Avenue du Petit Château  
 91800 Brunoy  
 FRANCE

The working languages of the symposium will be English and French. Simultaneous interpretation between the two working languages will be available for plenary sessions.

#### OUTPUTS:

Three types of written outputs are envisaged: a book grouping selected invited papers and offered contributions (edited by an international scientific committee); a consolidated synthesis report for distribution to planners concerned with resource management and cultural development issues in the humid tropics; articles discussing the principal findings of the symposium, for publication in scientific and semi-popular magazines.

#### BORNEO REVIEW: NEW JOURNAL

##### **Borneo Review: An Invitation for Articles:**

The editorial committee is inviting articles for publication in the Borneo Review. The Borneo Review is a new Journal to be published by the Institute for Development Studies (Sabah).

The Journal aims to promote greater understanding and exchange of views and ideas on development issues in Borneo and its peripheries such as the Southern Philippines and Indonesia. Specifically, an article for the Borneo review should contain information which can:

- promote economic and social progress, stability and justice in the Borneo region.
- promote territorial understanding of common issues and problems.
- assist the governments in the Borneo region and other agents of development in effective policy formulation and execution.

However, articles on development issues in other countries which are of relevance to the region are also invited for publication.

Given the purpose of the Borneo Review, the Contents therefore should be informative, detailed in analysis and technically simple enough for a reader

who is not a specialist in the subject to follow. However, technically oriented papers could also be published depending on their relevance.

The first issue of the Borneo Review is targeted to be out in December, 1990. Thereafter, it will be on a semi-annual basis in the months of June and December.

We hope that you could also let your colleagues know of this new publication.

Submissions should be addressed to The Editor, Borneo Review at the following address:

Institute for Development Studies (Sabah)  
Suite 7CF01, 7th Floor, Block C  
Kompleks Karamuning  
Locked Bag 127  
88999 Kota Kinabalu, Sabah  
MALAYSIA

#### BORNEO NEWS

##### REGIONAL NEWS

MISSION ORSTOM and the Ministry of Transmigration, c/o French Embassy (Jakarta, Indonesia) announce publication of the following:

- Wall Map: PEUPLEMENT ET OCCUPATION DE L'ESPACE / STAGES OF MIGRATION AND LAND USE  
Propinsi Lampung 1905-1985  
Commentary, Methodology and Appendix:  
PEUPLEMENT ET DEVELOPMENT REGIONAL EN INDONESIE / SETTLEMENT AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA  
Propinsi Lampung, Sumatra
- Thematic atlas and regional study:  
TRANSMIGRATION ET MIGRATIONS SONTANEES / TRANSMIGRATION AND SPONTANEOUS MIGRATIONS  
Propinsi Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia

These works were completed as part of a cooperative agreement between ORSTOM and the Ministry of Transmigration in Indonesia and a convention between ORSTOM and the University of Paris - X - Nanterre.

The research programme, having stretched over a period of four years (1985-1989), now ends with the publication of a regional atlas with the twenty plates and a bilingual collection of texts (in English and French), compiling the contributions of the various researchers who participated in the project.

One thousand copies have been published in a first edition. They are reserved in priority for the Indonesian administrative departments, the research institutes and specialized libraries, academies, etc.

Distribution is free for Indonesian Institutions. For other organizations and research teams not connected with the Indonesian Government, a modest contribution is requested.

The work is now available at the publishing department of ORSTOM (BONDY - France) and at the Ministry of Transmigration (JAKARTA - Indonesia).

CALL FOR ABSTRACTS  
6th International Conference on  
Austronesian Linguistics

Outrigger Prince Kuhio Hotel  
Honolulu, Hawaii  
May 20-24, 1991

Abstracts

Abstracts should be limited to 500 words and typed on one page. They should presume a maximum of 20 minutes for presentation of the paper, although convenors may recommend, as conditions of acceptance, shortening or other adjustments so as to fit into special symposium formats. One copy of the abstract should be sent to the convenor of the most appropriate symposium. To facilitate overall coordination by the Program Committee, a second copy should be sent to:

Byron W. Bender, Chair  
Department of Linguistics  
University of Hawaii at Manoa  
Honolulu, HI 96822  
FAX: (808)942-9008 or (808)956-2191  
Email: bender@uhccux.uhcc.hawaii.edu  
Email: t041320@uhccmvns.bitnet

Papers will be judged for inclusion in a given symposium on both quality of scholarship and compatibility with the theme of the symposium as reflected in their abstracts. Those not accepted for the symposium to which originally submitted will be referred to the Program Committee (c/o the above address) for possible inclusion in another session of the Conference.

The deadline for submission of abstracts is October 31, 1990. Convenors are expected to submit their symposium program in draft to the Program Committee by December 31, 1990. A preliminary conference program will be sent to all Conference registrants early in 1991. The final program will be available at the beginning of the Conference. To have one's paper included in the final program, it will be necessary to have paid the conference fee.

SYMPOSIA AND CONVENORS  
Topics in Syntax and Phonology

Symposium on Diachronic Typology of Austronesian Languages  
Send abstracts to the Convenor (EXPRESS MAIL recommended):

A. K. Ogloblin  
Oriental Faculty  
Leningrad State University  
Leningrad 199034  
USSR  
Phone 218-06-38

Symposium on Grammatical Relations in Austronesian (Send abstracts to the Convenor):

W. A. Foley  
Chair of Linguistics  
University of Sydney  
Sydney NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA  
Email: folw@extro.ucc.su.oz.au

Symposium on Verb Serialization of South Pacific Languages (Send abstracts to the Convenor):

Robert A. Young  
 Summer Institute of Linguistics  
 P.O. Box 418  
 Ukarumpa via Lae  
 PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Symposium on Tonality in Austronesian Languages (Send abstracts to the Convenor):

Jerry Edmondson  
 Foreign Languages and Linguistics  
 University of Texas, Box 19418  
 Arlington, TX 76019 USA  
 FAX: (817)723-3392  
 EMAIL: b901eja@utarlg.bitnet  
 EMAIL: jerry@utafl.lonestar.org

Symposium on The Austronesian Phonological System (Co-Convenors: John Wolff and David Zorc; send abstracts to):

John Wolff  
 Southeast Asian Program  
 Cornell University  
 Ithaca, NY 14853 USA

Symposium on Austronesian Classifier Languages (Send abstracts to the Convenor):

Gunter Senft  
 Human Ethology  
 Max-Planck-Gesellschaft  
 Vor-der-Tann-Strasse 3-5  
 D-8138 Andechs  
 WEST GERMANY  
 FAX: 08152/373-70

## AREAL PAPERS

Symposium on External and Internal Relationships of Micronesian Languages (Co-Convenors: Ken Rehg and Ward Goodenough; send abstracts to):

Ken Rehg  
 Department of Linguistics  
 University of Hawaii at Manoa  
 Honolulu, HI 96822 USA  
 Email: rehg@uhccux.uhcc.hawaii.edu

Symposium on Morphology of Western Austronesian Languages (Send abstracts to the Convenor):

P. Jen-kuei Li  
 Institute of Linguistics  
 National Tsing Hua University  
 Hsin-chu, Taiwan 30043  
 REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
 Email: hspaulli%twnas886.bitnet

Symposium on Papuan Tip Cluster, Comparative Studies (Send abstracts to the Convenor):

David Snyder  
 Summer Institute of Linguistics  
 P.O. Box 15  
 Ukarumpa via Lae  
 PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Symposium on the Languages of Maluku (Co-Convenors Margaret J. Florey and James T. Collins; send abstracts to):

James T. Collins  
 Center for Southeast Asian Studies  
 University of Hawaii at Manoa  
 1890 East-West Road  
 Honolulu, HI 96822 USA  
 FAX: 956-6345  
 Email: collins@uhccux.uhcc.hawaii.edu

## Symposium on Malay Dialects (Send abstracts to the Convenor):

James T. Collins  
 Center for Southeast Asian Studies  
 University of Hawaii at Manoa  
 1890 East-West Road  
 Honolulu, HI 96822 USA  
 FAX: 956-6345  
 Email: collins@uhccux.uhcc.hawaii.edu

## Symposium on Pacific Pidgins and Creoles (Send abstracts to the Convenor):

Suzanne Romaine  
 Merton College  
 Oxford OX1 4JD  
 UNITED KINGDOM  
 Email: Romaine@VAX.OXFORD.ACUK

## CLASSIFICATION

## Symposium on Lexicostatistical Languages Classification (Send abstracts to Convenor):

J. B. M. Guy  
 Telecom Research Labs  
 770 Blackburn Road  
 Clayton 3168  
 Australia

## Symposium on External Relationships of Austronesian Languages (Send abstracts to the Convenor):

W. W. Schuhmacher  
 Kirkebakken 13  
 4621 Gadstrup  
 DENMARK

## OTHER TOPICS

## Symposium on Austronesian Language Survival Issues (Co-Convenors: Emily Hawkins and Donald M. Topping; send abstracts to):

Donald M. Topping, Director  
 Social Science Research Institute  
 2424 Maile Way  
 University of Hawaii at Manoa  
 Honolulu, HI 96822 USA  
 FAX: 956-2884  
 Email: topping@uhccux.uhcc.hawaii.edu

## Symposium on Oral Traditions (Send abstracts to the Convenor):

Peter Crowe  
 avenue de la Poste  
 31150 Fenouillet  
 Boîte Postale 1  
 FRANCE  
 Phone: 61-70-76-00

## CONFERENCE FEE

All Conference financial transactions will be conducted in US currency. Checks should be made out to "University of Hawaii Foundation" and include the notation "61CAL." They should be sent to:

Byron W. Bender, Chair  
 Department of Linguistics  
 University of Hawaii at Manoa  
 Honolulu, HI 96822

## RATES:

Early Registration (by October 31, 1990)	\$75
Regular Registration (by December 31, 1990)	\$100
Late Registration	\$125
Student Registration	\$25
Accompanying Person	\$50

## XVII PACIFIC SCIENCE CONGRESS

The XVII Pacific Science Congress will be held in Honolulu the week following the International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, May 27-June 2, 1991. Themes of the Congress are:

Towards the Pacific Century: The Challenge of Change

- Global Environmental Change – Pacific Aspects
- Population, Health and Social Change
- Science and Culture
- Biological Diversity
- Technologies for Development: Prospects for the 21 Century

Information can be obtained from: XVII Pacific Science Congress Secretariat; 2424 Maile Way, Fourth Floor; Honolulu, HI 96822 USA; Phone 808/948-7551; FAX 808/942-9008; TELEX 6504047720; Email: psc@uhccux.uhcc.hawaii.edu

## ASEASUK News Special Supplement

The Association of South-East Asian Studies in the United Kingdom is publishing a 48-page "Special Supplement on Contribution to Borneo Studies in the German Language," written by Jan Avé in the Autumn issue, No. 8 of ASEASUK News. This is essentially an extended review article of Heinrich Harrer's edited book Borneo, Pinguin-Verlag, Innsbruck, 1988.

## BRUNEI NEWS

## BRUNEI RAINFOREST RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

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

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

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

## SABAH NEWS

## Museum and Archives Publications

The Sabah Museum and State Archives lists the following publications:

1. SIL Malaysia, 1979, Sabah Museum Annals No. 1, M\$3.00.
2. SIL Malaysia, 1980, Sabah Museum Annals No. 2, M\$3.00.
3. Anwar Sullivan and Cecila Leong, 1981, Commemorative History of Sabah: Hard Cover M\$35.00; Soft Cover M\$20.00.
4. Johan M. Padasian, 1981, Sabah History in Pictures 1881-1981, MS20.00.
5. Michael and Alana Boutin, 1984, Sabah Museum Monograph No. 1, M\$7.00.
6. Mohd. Razales Goroh, 1986, Sepintas Lalu Mengenai Adat Istiadat Dusun/Kadazan Kota Belud, M\$3.00.
7. Richard Brewis, 1986, Cerita Dongeng Sabah Siri 2, Murut Timugon (Timugon-Bahasa Malaysia-English), M\$3.00.
8. Anwar Sullivan, 1986, Sabah Museum and Archives Journal Vol. 1 No. 1, M\$12.00.
9. Michael E. Boutin, 1986, Sabah Museum Monograph No. 1, Part II, M\$12.00.
10. John and Julie King, 1988, A Trilingual Phrase Book (Sungai [Labuk Sugut]-Bahasa Malaysia-English) Series A No. I, M\$8.50



11. Kielo A. Brewis, 1988, *Learn to Speak Timugon (Timugon Murut-English) Series C No. I.*, M\$11.00.
12. Michael Boutin, 1988, *Learn to Speak Banggi (Banggi-English) Series C No. II*, M\$5.00.
13. Kielo and Richard Brewis, 1988, *A Trilingual Phrase Book (Murut Timugon-Bahasa Malaysia-English) Series A No. II*, M\$10.50.
14. Anwar Sullivan, 1988, *Sabah Museum and Archives Journal Vol. I No. 2*, M\$16.50.
15. Peter Bellwood, 1988, *Sabah Museum Monograph 1988 Vol. 2 (Archaeological Research in S. E. Sabah)*, M\$21.50.
16. Phyllis A. Dunn Chan and Inka Pekkanen, 1989, *Learn to Speak Tatana' (Tatana'-English) Series C No. III*, M\$8.50.
17. David C. and Marsha Ann Moody, 1989, *A trilingual Phrase Book (Ida'an-Bahasa Malaysia-English) Series A No. III*, M\$7.00.
18. John and Carolyn Miller, 1989, *Belajar Bercakap Bahasa Kadazan (Kadazan-Bahasa Malaysia) Series C No. IV*, M\$11.50.
19. Hope M. Huribut, 1989, *Labuk-Kinabatangan Kadazan-Malay-English Vocabulary Series B No. I*, M\$14.50.
20. Ghazally Ismail, 1989, *Sabah Museum Monograph Vol. 3*.
21. Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, 1990, *Social Organization of Sabah Societies. Hard Cover, M\$28.00, Soft Cover MS14.00.*

MRS PRYER IN SABAH  
Diaries and Papers from the Late Nineteenth Century  
Edited and Introduced by Nicholas Tarling

Mrs. Pryer's diaries, published here for the first time, give a picture of life in Sandakan in the 1890s. The volume also includes material prepared by her and her husband William, the first Resident, for a second edition, never published, of her book *A Decade in Borneo*, and a letter she wrote on the Mat Salleh crisis, never sent because deemed too sensitive. It is a tribute to a remarkable woman and a contribution to Sabah's history.

132 pp.

Auckland, 1989

ISBN 0 908 689 22 5

Obtainable from Centre for Asian Studies, History Department, University of Auckland, Telephone [09]737.999 Fax: 64(09)302.1796

Price: NZD25 (inc. GST), plus postage, NZD 1 in N.Z., NZD 2 overseas.

The volume forms No. 1 in a new series of resource papers published by the Centre for Asian Studies at the University of Auckland. The aim of the series is to publish original contributions in any field dealing with Asia which will serve as useful resource material for students, teachers, and the community at large. Inquiries and suggestions should be sent to the Director of the Centre, Leonard Y. Andaya, at the above address.

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copy/copies of Mrs. Pryer in Sabah.

I enclose NZD25 (or equivalent) plus NZD (or equivalent) per copy for postage. Make cheques/drafts payable to "The University of Auckland (Centre for Asian Studies)"

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

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BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS,  
AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOK REVIEW

James Bartholomew, *The Richest Man in the World: The Sultan of Brunei* (Viking, London, 1989), xii + 199 pp. £12.95. ISBN 0-670-82152-7. Plates Maps Index.

This book is an informative and eloquent, albeit unauthorized, biography of the present Sultan of Brunei. Mr. James Bartholomew, an Oxford history graduate currently working as a freelance reporter for many magazines worldwide, would not number himself alongside Lord Chalfont as an admirer of His Majesty. As a result, *The Richest Man in the World* is not likely to be readily available in the bookshops of Bandar Seri Begawan.

Mr. Bartholomew is certainly a most industrious researcher; and there seems to be very little of any importance which has escaped his net. His achievement is all the more remarkable in view of the formidable obstacles in his path. These included not just the Sultan's displeasure but also the difficulty of persuading anyone to talk 'on the record' about the Abode of Peace. There is nevertheless plenty of material here which is not readily available elsewhere, if at all. Under the circumstances, therefore, this volume must be regarded as a triumph of investigative reporting. It derives further authority from the fact that the author has visited personally the principal places about which he is writing.<sup>1</sup>

The biography is divided into nineteen chapters of an average length of ten pages each. The first chapter introduces the Sultan as a man of supreme wealth; the second describes the background of Brunei and the early life of His Majesty whilst the third outlines the history of the oil industry (pp. 13-15) and essays an estimate of the Sultan's wealth (pp. 16-21). His Majesty himself is extremely irritated by the label of "the world's richest man", pointing out that, for the description to be true, the entire national assets of Brunei would have to be included.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bartholomew's reply is that "Brunei is a private country run like a private possession. One is entitled to ask if the Sultan does not control the country's reserves, who on earth does?" (p 16).

Much of the remainder of the book deals with the use made by the Sultan of his vast fortune. The luxury enjoyed by the Brunei Royal Family is catalogued in not inconsiderable detail. Information is furnished about the houses and hotels owned by the Sultan all over the world, the sports and games he plays, as well as the aeroplanes, jacuzzis, gymnasias, swimming pools, polo ponies, golf courses

and tennis courts that he owns. Mr. Bartholomew's thesis is that "supreme wealth" tests the Sultan's personality in a unique way:

He can buy from anywhere in the world and price is not a consideration. ... He is forced to express his personality and taste in a way that most people never have to face. He comes right against what he wants and thus what he is (p 2).

His Majesty's exceptional fortune is also a magnet attracting a host of undesirable adventurers and salesmen from all over the world, who seek to ingratiate themselves with His Majesty. As a result

There is practically no one he can trust absolutely - too much money is at stake... His money makes him a prisoner in the mental fortress in which he must place himself for his own protection. He cannot let down the drawbridge without risk. But unless he lets others in, he remains isolated (p 3).

Chapter 7 (pp. 43-52) offers a balanced analysis of "the biggest palace in the world", built to coincide with Brunei's recovery of full independence from the United Kingdom at the beginning of 1984. The House of Fraser affair is dealt with exhaustively (Chapters 14-16), as are certain other matters (Chapters 17-18).

In Chapter 13 (pp. 117-132) some of the imperfections of modern Brunei (as detected by Mr. Bartholomew) are addressed. These include lingering poverty (for instance, at Kampong Kianggeh);<sup>3</sup> alleged racial discrimination against the local Chinese; chronic Governmental inefficiency; and claims of serious judicial corruption. Mr. Bartholomew also points to the absence of democracy and freedom of speech in the Sultanate despite the fact that, in the past, the people have shown themselves to favour such reforms. Mr. Bartholomew submits, therefore, that "the Sultan, by clear implication, falls well short of a model ruler" (p 132) - an opinion which would be instantly ruled out of court by a supporter of His Majesty, such as Lord Chalfont.<sup>4</sup>

The most inspiring chapters of this book are undoubtedly those dealing with how His Majesty fought (and defeated) the traditionalists for the right (in October 1981) to wed a second Queen who was not of royal birth. (The original Consort was and is still married to the Sultan; but polygamy is acceptable under Islamic law, provided certain safeguards are met). This matter also brought Sir Hassanal Bolkiah into conflict with his esteemed father, the *Seri Begawan* Sultan, 'Architect of Modern Brunei', who had abdicated in 1967 but remained the real power in the land thereafter. During the period 1984-1986 there was a titanic struggle between the two monarchs for supreme power in the Abode of Peace,

the younger man again emerging victorious. Mr. Bartholomew himself admires the way Sir Hassanal Bolkiah stood up for himself, fought for his throne (which apparently was in real danger), and avoided becoming a South-East Asian Edward VIII.

The biographer is certainly not entirely critical. His Majesty is credited with positive characteristics. Sir Hassanal pays his bills promptly and is very fit physically (p 81). His Majesty is a commendable soldier; and military training has left him with a sense of personal discipline. His talents as a general have been praised by no less an authority than Field Marshal Lord Bramall, Knight of the Garter. The Sultan appreciates fine art (p 34). He is very charitable, a good pilot, and has achieved high standards as an amateur of polo. Conversely, Mr. Bartholomew is not a blind admirer of His Majesty's opponents, such as the (now disbanded) Brunei National Democratic Party, which is criticized for being even more anti-Chinese than the Brunei Government allegedly is already (p 130).

On balance, however, this volume tends to place an undue emphasis upon negative aspects of His Majesty's life and work, with a corresponding neglect of the more positive side of the balance sheet. It is perhaps a little harsh, too, to dub Brunei (after Dr Anthony Burgess) a 'devil of a state' (pp. 120-130), given the subsequent admission that "the living for most people is easy" (p 132). The latter point, in fairness to His Majesty, might have been expanded. Overall, it would be accurate to remark that Brunei has been considerably modernized during the past twenty years.

Furthermore, bearing in mind that the Sultanate lacked even a secondary school until 1951, Mr. Bartholomew might have been more generous about the recent foundation of the Universiti Brunei Darussalam (p 125). As the Minister of Education commented on the occasion of the first Convocation in September 1989, the period since Merdeka had witnessed a noteworthy expansion in Higher Education in the Abode of Peace. The last few years have seen the launching, not just of the university, but also of an Institute of Technology, a College of Nursing and an Institute of Islamic Studies.<sup>5</sup>

The Sultan himself is reckoned to be the twenty-ninth Ruler of a Muslim dynasty stretching back half a millennium. He represents continuity, social stability, order, the nurturing of traditional Islamic values, and the safeguarding of Brunei's national identity. His Majesty's preferred image nowadays is that of a good family man, a responsible leader, and an emerging international statesman. From a parochial British point of view, he has been a good friend of this country (and also of the United States). Furthermore, he does not sponsor Muslim fundamentalism or international terrorism; he does not take Western

hostages; and even his own bitterest political enemies (who did, after all, attempt to overthrow his dynasty in 1962) live unmolested in exile.

To summarize, The Richest Man in the World certainly "goes behind the public relations handouts" (dustjacket) with a vengeance. Despite certain reservations just cited, Mr. Bartholomew deserves to be congratulated upon his achievement. It is appropriate that this book should have been re-issued recently, this time in paperback form.<sup>7</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Mr. Bartholomew received further professional commendation, both specific and general, from British Government inspectors appointed to investigate the 1985 Harrods' takeover affair. Vide Henry Brooke QC and Hugh Aldous FCA, House of Fraser Holdings plc: Investigation Under Section 432(2) of the Companies Act 1985, (HMSO, London, 1988, actually withheld Until 1990), pp. 737-739 and 751.  
Mr. Bartholomew is described by this authoritative source as "a serious financial journalist" (p 737) and is clearly intended to be included within that group whose work is adjudged to be "credible" and conform to "high standards of investigative journalism" (p 751).  
On the House of Fraser affair itself, see also any of the main British newspapers of Thursday 8 March 1990; The Economist (London), 10 March 1990, 36; Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine (International Editor), 19 March 1990, 30; and the British Sunday newspapers, 11 March 1990.
2. It appears that certain sources cited by Mr. Bartholomew have since ceased to regard His Majesty as the world's richest man. Mr. Alan Hamilton reported in The Times (London) on 2 November 1989 (p 14) that The Guinness Book of Records has found a new champion in the Japanese tycoon, Mr. Yoshiaki Tsutsumi. Likewise, on 10 July 1990 The Daily Telegraph (London) printed an item on its front page, thus: "The wealthiest man on earth is still Yoshiaki Tsutsumi, 56, the Japanese head of a railway and property empire. He headed the Forbes list of billionaires yesterday for the fourth year running with an estimated worth of \$16 billion".

3. Lord Chalfont, By God's Will: A Portrait of the Sultan of Brunei (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1989), 148.  
For a review of this biography, vide Heidi Munan, in Sarawak Gazette (September 1989), 40-41.
4. Chalfont, e.g. 10-II, 193-194.
5. Pelita Brunei, 27 September 1989 (column 5).  
In fairness to Mr. Bartholomew, it should be noted that the Institute of Islamic Studies (at least) was not founded until after the hardback version of his book had been published.
6. For an analysis of this issue, vide Robert Nicholl, "Some Problems of Brunei Chronology", in JSEAS, September 1989, 175-195.  
Mr. Nicholl casts doubt on the received idea that the present incumbent of the throne is the twenty-ninth Muslim of his line.
7. The Sunday Times (London), 18 March 1990, page H.13. The paperback, which has not been seen by the present reviewer, is published by Penguin Books (price £4.99 in the United Kingdom).

AWM Horton  
Tuesday 4 September 1990.

#### Personal File

##### HM Sultan Sir Hassanal Bolkiah II of Negara Brunei Darussalam

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1946      | (15 July) date of birth.  |
| 1950      | (4 June) becomes heir to the throne upon the accession of his father, HH Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III (1914-1986).                       |
| 1959      | End of British control over Brunei's internal administration.   |
| 1962      | Abortive Brunei Revolt.   |
| 1965      | Marriage to his cousin, <u>Pengiran Anak</u> Saleha (b 1946), known from 1967 as the <u>Raja Isteri</u> . Six children born of the union. |
| 1966-1967 | Training at Sandhurst (after earlier education in Brunei itself and at Kuala Lumpur).   |

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1967 | (4 October) accession to the throne after the shock abdication of his father. A period of dual monarchy ensued, with the <u>Seri Begawan</u> (as Sir Omar became known) remaining the real power in the land.   |
| 1974 | Birth of Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah's eldest son, <u>Yang Teramat Mulia Seri Duli Pengiran Muda</u> Al-Muhtadee Billah.  |
| 1979 | Death of His Majesty's mother (1924-1979).  |
| 1981 | Marriage to a second, concomitant Consort, who took the title <u>Pengiran Isteri</u> Mariam. Three more children follow.  |
| 1984 | Brunei achieves full independence. Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, as his own Prime Minister, Finance Minister and Home Secretary, begins to rule as well as to reign. Assumes the title His Majesty (in place of His Highness).   |
| 1986 | Death of <u>Seri Begawan</u> Sultan (Minister of Defence). Sir Hassanal Bolkiah takes over as Minister of Defence, but ceases to hold the Home and Finance portfolios.  |
| 1990 | (7 March) delayed publication of DTI report on the 1985 Harrods takeover. The inspectors conclude (p 290): "We are both of the clear opinion that the funds with which the Fayeds acquired HoF [House of Fraser] accrued to them through Mohamed's association with the Sultan of Brunei. .. There is no evidence before us which would enable us to find that the Sultan knew what was happening. He has issued categorical denials that he knew anything about it, and we have no reason to disbelieve him".<br><br>For publication data on the DTI (Department of Trade and Industry) Report, <u>infra</u> , footnote 1. |
- Robert Nicholl, "Some Problems of Brunei Chronology", in JSEAS, September 1989, pp. 175-195. (Offprint courtesy of Mr. Nicholl).
- In this important paper, Mr. Nicholl (1) aims to demolish the official chronology of the Brunei Royal House; and (2) raises the intriguing possibility that an illegitimate dynasty managed to maintain itself in power for several decades from 1690 until the original line was restored (not later than 1762, if

Alexander Dalrymple, cited here on page 192, is accurate). The interregnum, indeed, would help to explain the errors in the standard 'Family Tree', which makes no mention of the usurpers and seeks to fill the void by elongating previous reigns (*ibid.*).

There are many other points of great interest. First, evidence is adduced suggesting that the first ruler of Brunei to embrace Islam did so in 1515 (rather than in the 1360s, which is the prevailing orthodoxy in Brunei itself; pp. 178-180). Beyond that, Mr. Nicholl concludes that it is still not possible to determine the regnal years of the first six Sultans (p. 185). A further key idea is that Islam spread outwards from the mercantile class of Brunei society, rather than filtering downwards from the monarchy (pp. 179-180).

Secondly, a tombstone dated 1432, hitherto attributed to the third Sultan of Brunei (Sharif Li), turns out to be "the burial place of one Asueri, neither a Sharif not a Sultan" (p. 182).

Thirdly, the contention of some writers, that Sultan Bolkiah (the fifth Sultan) was on the throne at the time of the visit by Ser Antonio Pigafetta (1491-1534) in 1521, must also now be jettisoned (p. 181).

In short, this impressive article is essential reading. It is pointed out, moreover, that a major research opportunity awaits any scholar (perhaps a doctoral candidate) interested in investigating further the history of eighteenth century Brunei (p. 192).

AVM Horton

Thrice Told Tales: A Review of The Nightbird Sings: Chants and Songs of Sarawak Dayaks. By Carol Rubenstein. Dumfriesshire, Scotland: Tynron Press, 1990. 142 pp.

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#### Prefatory Comments

In The Nightbird Sings, Carol Rubenstein presents translations of some 54 texts, most of which she collected in Sarawak in the early 1970s. These texts, representing a range of genres, are from a number of ethnic groups: Iban, Kayan, Kenyah, Kelabit, Melanau, Bidayuh and Penan. They concern topics such as childbirth, marriage, hunting, farming, headhunting, sickness and death. Accompanying these texts are approximately 50 pages of commentary.

This is an ambitious undertaking, but the results are very disappointing. In the following pages I discuss my reasons for this assessment. In doing so, I would hope to avoid going over the same ground covered by Rousseau (1989) and Maxwell (1989) in a recent issue of the Borneo Research Bulletin. I have tried as much as possible to limit my statements here to the present work. This has been difficult because so much of The Nightbird Sings is a repetition of previously published material. These earlier works provide important clues to the reliability of the material contained in this more recent volume.

In the present discussion I address two aspects of Rubenstein's work. First I discuss the commentaries written by Rubenstein on the peoples of Borneo and on the texts she provides. I believe attention to these commentaries is important because they reveal a great deal about Rubenstein's approach to the texts she has translated and to those who performed them. In discussing these commentaries I cite from them extensively: I feel this is the most effective way to illustrate the points I am making. In the second part of this review I consider Rubenstein's translations of the texts themselves. In doing so, I concentrate exclusively on her Penan material. In fact I examine one text in particular detail. This is the best way to assess the value of the translations which Rubenstein provides, as well as her interpretations of the larger meaning of these texts. Her treatment of this particular text may, I believe, serve as an exemplar of her work as a whole.

### Rubenstein's Commentary on the Texts

Before considering either the commentaries or the texts in this volume, I must voice one objection with the present work, independent of the quality of the contents. With only one exception, a Penan text collected at Lg. Urun in 1985 ("Ii Ii the Voice Cries Out"), every text in this publication, and nearly all of the commentaries, have been previously published, not once, but twice: first in 1973 in the Sarawak Museum Journal, and again in 1985 in The Honey Tree Song.<sup>1</sup> A case could perhaps be made for publishing this material a second time, so as to make it available to a particular audience, but three times is, to say the least, excessive.

Now to consider Rubenstein's commentaries on the texts. These brief essays are concerned with specific ethnic groups and with the topics around which the texts are arranged. They are intended to serve as an introduction to the texts, to provide the necessary context by which these texts can be better understood.

The first thing that any careful reader will realize about these commentaries is that they are not at all clearly written, both with respect to the prose itself and to the organization of topics within and between paragraphs. These problems are not isolated but are ubiquitous throughout this volume. Having already published this material twice, one would have hoped that Rubenstein might have taken the time the third time around to edit these more carefully.

In many instances it appears that Rubenstein's writing difficulties are the result of an attempt to inject a lyrical or free-spirited quality to her prose. At other times it is difficult to tell what might be the source of the problem. Consider for instance the following sentence: "The chief crops are rice, which is hill padi, and in slash-and-burn (swidden) farming, sago, oil palm and pepper" (Pg. 2). Some sentences are a semantic jumble, making little sense at all. On Pg. 16 she states that "Birth and marriage cause close lineal descendant scrutiny and possession of hereditary wealth and characteristics of class are evident." In other instances her writing is merely opaque, as in the sentence on Pg. 112: "The trance is often likely to be multi-levelled, with some form of monitoring, as the forms

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<sup>1</sup>In each successive publication, Rubenstein pares down the amount of information she provides. In the 1973 Sarawak Museum Journal she provides the names of those performing a text, their location, the title of the text and a vernacular transcription. In The Honey Tree Song she omits the latter. In this volume Rubenstein drops nearly everything except for the title and text in English.

of expression are fairly standard." One is given no cues how to interpret such a sentence. In a large number of cases the problem is simply one of sloppiness in the presentation of detail. On Pg. 4, failing to mention Kalimantan altogether, Rubenstein states that "The Dayaks are people indigenous to Borneo, living in Sabah and Sarawak."

The problem of organization within and between paragraphs is in some respects more serious than the ambiguity arising from semi-grammatical sentences and inaccuracy of detail. Rubenstein continually inserts trivial and disruptive asides. These asides not only disrupt the flow of Rubenstein's presentation, but they also are frequently incoherent in themselves, further confounding the reader. Consider the following paragraph (Pg. 3):

(W)hatever the group's religious beliefs - Christian, animist, or both - the Dayak customary law (adat) is followed, along with a large degree of self-government. Such separation of function is not possible under Islam, in which religious courts preside over most aspects of daily life, extending in some instances to the use and possible distribution of land. The Dayaks are sensitive to such issues.<sup>2</sup>

There are numerous non sequiturs in Rubenstein's writing as well. Toward the end of the book, having already commented extensively on the peoples of Borneo, Rubenstein begins the section on "Festivals, Greetings and Farewells" (Pg. 125) with the following paragraph:

Each group has its own style of celebrating, but rice wine (tapai, tuak, borak, burak) and the stronger distilled rice spirits (arak) are always offered. The main groups are Upriver (Ulu) people, the Kelabit, Kayan, Kenyah and Penan, and Downriver (Ili), the Iban, Bidayuh and Melanau.

Simply stated, this book is very carelessly written, to the extent that it is impossible to understand what Rubenstein is saying at many points. It is unfortunate that one who prides herself on being a poet should have such difficulty with the most simple mechanics of English composition.

In addition to being carelessly written, Rubenstein's commentaries also reveal serious deficiencies in her knowledge of Bornean ethnography. This has

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<sup>2</sup>Among other things, such comments belie a very broad lack of knowledge of Islam.

obvious repercussions for the way in which she approaches the translation of the texts provided here. Most of her commentaries on various ethnographic subjects are merely unorganized, anecdotal and trivial. But in many cases Rubenstein seems not to have consulted the ethnographic literature at all, and her unfamiliarity with the most basic ethnographic facts is clearly revealed. For example, in her essay on the Penan, Rubenstein states (Pg. 20) that "Penan should not be confused with Punan Bah, Punan Busang or Punan Gang, which are groups with land tenure and many possessions." Not only is this description inapplicable to Punan Busang (who are hunter-gatherers) but, more importantly, Rubenstein apparently does not realize that it was Penan Gəng ("Punan Gang") with whom she herself worked in 1985-86, and whose language is virtually identical with that of Western Penan among whom she worked in the 1970s.<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable that Rubenstein could have worked with Penan Gəng apparently without ever realizing it. Among Western Penan it is not the least bit difficult to discover the name by which a group refers to itself. There exist unambiguous descriptions of this group by Urquhart(1951), Langub (1972a, 1972b, 1974, 1975), Nicolaisen (1976) and myself (Brosius 1986).<sup>4</sup> That Rubenstein did not even know the name of the group with which she worked should raise questions among those who read her work. This is only the most glaring mistake. Elsewhere (Pg. 3) she states that the coconut is a forest product: it is, of course, a cultigen which, in interior areas of Borneo, is found only in the vicinity of past or present longhouse sites. Rubenstein also notes the large number of Kenyah in West Kalimantan (Pg. 18).

More troublesome than such mistakes is what seems to be Rubenstein's invention of ethnographic facts. She states (Pg. 20) that "The Penan are the group possibly the most indigenous to Sarawak...." It is difficult to know what she means here or where she might have picked up this idea.<sup>5</sup> Speaking of the

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<sup>3</sup>Rubenstein carried out work in 1985-86 at the government elementary school at the mouth of the Urun River. This school is attended both by Penan from Lg. Kupang and from Lg. Urun. The former are Penan Gəng.

<sup>4</sup>Arising from her lack of knowledge of languages, Rubenstein also has difficulty with place names. She refers to "Lg. Apu" as the location where the present Penan Urun are living. In fact the location is known as Tiləng Apu: tiləng refers to an eddy at the bend of a river where the current flows backward, and apu is a kind of large tree which often grows along the banks of rivers. Tiləng Apu is a place name along the Belaga River. There is no Apu river there, and thus no confluence (ləng, Lg.) after which such a place might be named.

<sup>5</sup>In any case, the condition of being indigenous or not is binary: a group is either indigenous or it is not.

Bidayuh, Rubenstein remarks (Pg. 11) that "Their ancestral land remains sacred to them (perhaps another indication of their Chinese background.)"<sup>6</sup> The hobgoblin of Chinese origins of indigenous Borneo groups is an amateurish 19th century notion, accepted by virtually no professionals today. As Levi-Strauss pointed out many years ago in his essay *Race and History* (1958), the perpetuation of such theories, which deny indigenous peoples any agency in their own ethnogenesis, could betray an unconscious (and indeed unintended) form of racism. Elsewhere she refers to a mountain called Bukit Gunong Lidang as "the mountain sacred to Sarawak shamans." While I am quite sure that there is such a place,<sup>7</sup> and while it may have significance to shamans in a particular area, her wording implies that it is sacred to all shamans in Sarawak, which is absurd.

One of Rubenstein's most persistent misconceptions is her belief in the existence of a "song language", a notion she has embraced since 1973. It is difficult to know what she is referring to when she speaks of a song language, as it has no relation to any ethnographically observable phenomenon in Borneo. Nowhere does Rubenstein define this, other than to say (Pg. 4) that "Archaic or arcane song-language dialects appear to be unlike Malay." What she means here is unclear, and she provides no examples. If such dialects of indigenous Bornean languages were to exist, we would not expect them to be like Malay, which is a different language. I suspect that Rubenstein means to say that these do not seem to be Austronesian or, more generally, that they seem to be distinct from the languages of the groups which employ them. The point is that Rubenstein's notion of a song language is a result of her own misunderstanding of the linguistic situation. It is true that in many texts performers employ (1) possibly archaic words used only in such contexts, (2) nonsense words or words from other languages, primarily for purposes of style, rhyme, rhythm or cadence, or (3) words thought to be part of the vocabulary of spirits. But in no case of which I am aware do these constitute a distinct lexicon or "dialect". Readers seeking a more accurate description of the nature of the language employed in such texts should consult Metcalf's recent (1989) work on Berawan prayer.

It seems to me that the root cause of the shortcomings evident in Rubenstein's work is that her writing is informed by a kind of New Age obscurantism, in the tradition of Kilton Stewart and Carlos Castaneda. Rubenstein creates an ideal Other, portraying the people of Borneo as living in

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<sup>6</sup>Other indications of purported Chinese ancestry are never provided.

<sup>7</sup>Though it would be unusual for it to have such a redundant name as "Bukit Gunong...".

a state of primal harmony, cloaked in a mysterious timelessness. Evidence of this is abundant. On Pg. 1 she states that:

The Western cultures treat song as an expression that is rarely functional to either individual or group. The Dayaks, however, believe that by way of song the necessary interaction between the spirits of man and the spirits of the natural world can be properly maintained. Otherwise, no inner harmony can exist for the individual or the community. With their songs and chants, the Dayaks touch every aspect of the life cycle and accomplish the appropriate links with nature. The magic of the song-breath governs their entire lives.

Elsewhere Rubenstein states (Pg. 85) that "So primal is the Dayak relationship with the earth that they cannot neglect their duties to it and continue to live. The earth, fed in ritual sacrifice, in turn feeds them." Speaking of indigenous art she states (Pg. 102) that:

Petals, leaves, eyes, ears, bird crests, tails and gestures arabesque to interlock within a single entity. This is how the Dayak perceive reality. This is how the longhouse and the life within it co-exist with the surrounding jungle.

It is difficult to understand where Rubenstein got these ideas: certainly not from her informants.

At times Rubenstein's descriptions seem to approach parody, particularly when she tries to relate Bornean concepts to various Hindu ideas. Speaking of the Penan, Rubenstein notes (Pg. 21) that "Their prayers name Bale Cherawa, spirit of open air, changing space, illusion and shifting phenomena - a concept similar to the Hindu maya." Here she is presumably referring to Bale Sarawah, spirits found in open areas. This is merely a locational designation of spirits, having nothing whatever to do with "illusion", "shifting phenomena" or any other Hindu concept. Even more far-fetched is Rubenstein's claim (Pg. 111) that "The Dayak system of souls may relate to the Hindu concept of the body's chakras."

As might be expected, Rubenstein saves her most inspired musings for those innocent children of nature, the Penan. Speaking of Penan facial characteristics, Rubenstein remarks (Pg. 21) that:

They tend to have delicate features with almond-shaped eyes that look "cut-out" or outlined. The expression of the eyes is clear and somewhat distant, a paradox of the "direct non-look". These people seem always to be listening in an alert dream state.

In the very next paragraph she continues:

In their fairness, grace and attentiveness to nature, they bring to mind the Balinese. A perhaps romantic notion is that the Penan were a Hindu type of wandering holy group, bound to self-sufficiency within nature, for whom possession and war were anathema. They do not eat but keep as pets the animals they raise, such as pigs, chickens, all of which they consider beautiful.

The first part of this statement is ludicrous, the latter part of it inaccurate. I cannot imagine anything more unlikely than Penan considering pigs, chickens and dogs to be beautiful. In the case of chickens and dogs, the term "filthy" (sagit) might better convey the Penan attitude. Possibly the most imaginative lines in the entire book are on Pg. 23:

These people, with their concentrated peacefulness, seemed to be of an especially high order spiritually. They bring to mind the gekko (sp.) lizards, charming and wriggling, and track-prints and imprints of lizards found among layers of stone - a past and present that is one, remaining in mid-movement.

It is interesting to speculate how Penan might respond to this characterization of themselves, were they to read it. This portrayal, while surely meant to be flattering, has a more sinister side. It betrays an acceptance (almost certainly unintended in Rubenstein's case) of the racist notion of the "primitive" as living under the Tylorian "dead hand of tradition": static, without history, lacking free-will, in an eternal present. Rubenstein says precisely this in remarking on the similarity of Penan dialects (Pg. 20): "This consistency [in language] may be caused by the arrested state of their culture, as the language had neither to encompass nor to create change." In reference to hearing a Penan farewell song, she states (Pg. 128) that "It could have been thousands of years back."

My goal in the preceding discussion has been not only to evaluate the commentaries which Rubenstein provides for her translations but, more importantly, to demonstrate what these reveal about her approach to translation more generally. In his introduction to Writing on the Tongue, a collection of translations of six Southeast Asian literary texts, Becker (1989:2) notes three



concerns that he and others involved in this project expressed as they undertook the task of translation:

The first concern was with our exuberances, those things we had to unlearn before we could become aware of our deficiencies. The second had to do with our deficiencies, the things we had to learn in order to read the text coherently, information about the work and the context that gave it meaning. The third issue concerned the esthetic sense itself, our ideas about where the power and the entertainment lay in the works we had translated.<sup>8</sup>

The problems of exuberance and deficiency are ones that we all face, both in translating actual texts and in ethnographic writing more generally. What marks good translation is an awareness on the part of the translator of those portions of a text about which we have a limited understanding. Through our knowledge of a language we must be continually led back to the text, or into the ethnographic context which gives that text meaning. The translator must respect the text by being aware of the possibilities of exuberance and deficiency, and must continually try to correct for these. This can only be achieved through a familiarity with the language in which a text is provided. The commentaries provided by Rubenstein are most telling in the degree to which they reveal a lack of appreciation for these concerns. Rubenstein not only lacks the linguistic skills which translation requires, but also the spirit with which she approaches the texts themselves must also be questioned.

I now turn to the translations themselves, in order to illustrate the ways in which Rubenstein's approach has fallen short. As mentioned, I concern myself here only with Rubenstein's Penan material, and particularly with a single text. I do so on the assumption that it is representative of the larger body of her work.

#### Rubenstein's Translation of "Greeting by Hunter Returning with Nothing"

In the present volume Rubenstein presents translations of 13 Western Penan texts. Of these, 12 have been previously published, in both the 1973 Sarawak Museum Journal and in The Honey Tree Song. As noted, only "li li

<sup>8</sup>Becker (1989:5) credits Ortega y Gasset (1959) with originally using the terms exuberant and deficient in this context.

Voice Cries Out", from her 1985-86 field research, is previously unpublished.<sup>9</sup> In the present work, Rubenstein presents only the English translations of these texts. As I set about evaluating these translations, I found it useful to consult Rubenstein's 1973 Sarawak Museum Journal collection, which provides both Penan and English versions of these texts. Inconsistencies in transcription and the lack of any systematic orthography made for considerable difficulties in deciphering particular items of Penan vocabulary. It is partly for this reason that I concentrate my remarks on a text with which I am very familiar, one which is fairly conventional among all Western Penan. In doing this, I show specific instances where Rubenstein's method of translation has failed. I believe that concentrating on the translation of a single text is a more effective way of illustrating the shortcomings of her method of translation than attempting to pick out a multiplicity of minor problems in a larger number of texts.

The fundamental problem with Rubenstein's work lies in her "word-by-word" method of translation. Rubenstein has attempted to explain and to justify this method in previous publications (1973, 1985). It is clear however that, as practiced by Rubenstein, this word-by-word method is unreliable. Understanding the lexical items in a text is, of course, a starting point in any translation exercise, but it minimally requires some prior knowledge of the language which is being translated. It is only in the act of learning a language that one begins to understand the etymological, semantic, and metaphorical foundations of a text or utterance, the allusions that are being made, and the emotive and the aesthetic textures being expressed.

The basic procedure in Rubenstein's word-by-word method of translation is that she records a text, transcribes it with the help of informants, and then, with the help of a translator, records the meaning of each word. Segmenting the text into lines (often arbitrarily, it seems), she then attempts to figure out the meaning of each line. The result is an English version of a text. Unfortunately there is a critical link missing here: not knowing any of these languages, Rubenstein is unable to recognize exuberances or deficiencies in translation. When one knows a language one recognizes multiple instances where informants, tired by incessant questioning, in a hurry to go off to work, or simply out of ignorance, provide one with explanations that are truncated, incomplete, or incorrect. Every fieldworker has experienced this. The inverse occurs when one encounters informants who are happy to tell about anything, even things they know to be wrong. What is important is that we learn to recognize this situation

<sup>9</sup>At least it does not appear in these two previous publications. I do not know if she has yet published this text elsewhere.

when it arises. When a researcher does not know a language, however, it is impossible for them to realize that this is happening.

To my knowledge Rubenstein has never attempted to learn any of the languages of the groups among whom she worked.<sup>10</sup> In translation therefore, she has been entirely reliant on her translators. She has no way of distinguishing their commentary on the meaning of a word from the meaning of the word itself. This problem is exacerbated by the use of translators who are not native speakers of the language they are translating, as was the case in all of Rubenstein's Penan work. I have met all of her Penan informants, as well as Hawing Yah, the Kayan headmaster of the school at Lg. Urun: it was he who helped Rubenstein translate her texts from Penan into English in 1985-86.<sup>11</sup> While Hawing Yah is an extremely able individual, his command of Penan in 1986 was rather limited. He was able to speak some basic Penan, but was unacquainted with numerous items of basic Penan vocabulary, expressions and turns of phrase.

Rubenstein seems to assume that translating is a sort of intuitive process. Referring to a conversation with me in which I pointed out the difficulties of translating Penan songs (See footnote 12), Rubenstein states (1989:89) that "I noted that once the unmistakable clues are found, the deciphering is much more readily accomplished." Translation may indeed to some extent partake of an intuitive quality, but such intuition can only operate when one has some proficiency in the language in which a text is given. It is only possible to perceive "unmistakable clues" when one knows what they are hearing.

For a number of reasons, Penan texts are exceedingly difficult to translate. This applies particularly to songs (sinui). One of the primary reasons for this is that Penan songs incorporate elements of vocabulary from any number of languages. This is done in part for purposes of cadence and flow, but also because Penan feel it imparts a certain elegance. A single line of a song may contain items from four or more languages: Kayan, Kenyah, Iban, Malay and others. Often, particularly in the case of younger persons, the composer of the song does not even know precisely from what language a word may derive, or its precise meaning. Rubenstein does not mention this in any of her earlier work, or in the present volume, though she does discuss this in a recent article in the

<sup>10</sup>In 1985 Rubenstein was just beginning to learn Malay.

<sup>11</sup>I have not met Anthony Lawai, a Kenyah, who was apparently Rubenstein's primary translator of Penan texts in the 1970s (Rubenstein 1973:x).

Sarawak Gazette.<sup>12</sup> It is because of her faulty methodology that Rubenstein was never able to discover this aspect of Penan sinui on her own, yet it is a critical aspect of this genre. Because of shortcomings in orthographic transcription and serious inconsistencies in spelling in the 1973 issue of the Sarawak Museum Journal, it is often impossible to recognize instances of this in the texts Rubenstein collected.

In the case of prayers and invocations, translation is difficult for another reason. The power of these lies not only in their literal meaning, but in their stylistic attributes as well. Prayers and invocations are spoken rapidly and have a cadence imparted by strings of alliterative or assonant dyadic sets (sensu Metcalf 1989:37-41), stylistically identical to Berawan piat. Rubenstein records this in the original texts, but ignores it in translation. Unlike sinui, these are conventional texts, so it is difficult to know anything about their original composition. Words are often employed which have only the most tangential relevance to the actual meaning of the text, and even nonsense words are employed where they lend cadence or some otherwise euphonic quality.

Rubenstein appears not to understand the consequences of the flaws in her method of translation. The result is that her work is littered with mistakes in translation. There are numerous instances where she fails to capture not only the meaning of a particular segment of an utterance, but the intention of a text altogether.

The best way to illustrate this is to consider in detail one of the texts Rubenstein includes in the present collection: "Greeting by Hunter Returning with Nothing" (Pp. 80-81). As noted, I have chosen this particular text because it is a

<sup>12</sup>In her Sarawak Gazette article Rubenstein does not adequately acknowledge the source of her information, claiming to have been told about this by Penan rather than by myself. In 1985 Rubenstein gave me translations of five texts she had collected at Lg. Urun, including "Ii Ii the Voice Cries Out". I looked at them briefly, and suggested that there were considerable problems with them. For the record I wish to state that I never checked these for accuracy, nor in any way indicated to Rubenstein that I had done so. Instead, I gave them back to her and, indeed, as she reports (1989:89), I mentioned to her some of the difficulties of translating Penan sinui. What Rubenstein does not report is that in this conversation I attempted to impress upon her the necessity of learning a language before undertaking the task of translation. It was in that context that I explained to her the difficulties involved in translating sinui, primarily the inclusion of words from other languages. I was disturbed to see her report this as her own discovery in her 1989 Sarawak Gazette article.

form employed by all Western Penan with only minor variations, and I have heard it innumerable times. Another reason for my choice of this text is that I am familiar with the individual who performed it for Rubenstein and with all of his close relatives. The texts provided by Rubenstein was recorded from [Aban] Balang Liban at Lg. Mətisim in the Silat.<sup>13</sup>

The genre represented by "Greeting by Hunter Returning with Nothing" is something Penan call *pia pəsabəh*, a set of conventional utterances employed not only on returns from hunts, but also when returning from anywhere bringing something that those in one's community are anticipating.<sup>14</sup> There is a rich inventory of such utterances, covering a range of possibilities: no pig at all, a small pig, a pig with no fat, those returning from a trip with no tobacco, and other such circumstances. In the context of hunts, *pia pəsabəh* is usually heard by those remaining in a camp or settlement when returning hunters are still at some distance, perhaps a few hundred feet. Other than dogs, which usually arrive home a half hour or so before, hearing *pia pəsabəh* is the first indication people have of the hunter's return. These utterances, spoken loudly and deliberately, have a certain distinctive cadence. Those at the camp are attuned to this and, having already inspected how distended (or not) the stomachs of returning dogs are, are usually anticipating it. It is generally the cadence that people first perceive; then they begin to discern key words. Though they often miss much of what is said, from these key words they know the message that is being conveyed.

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<sup>13</sup>Balang Liban, about 80 years old when I met him in 1987, was the half-brother of the wife of Sugun Uwing, the late patriarch of the community of Lg. Jek, where I conducted my field research. He died in September of this year. According to Rubenstein (1973:1337) she never actually met Aban Balang, whom she terms a "priest" (there is no such thing in Penan society). While she was at Lg. Jikitan ("Jagitan"), he was at Lg. Mətisim ("Matisem"), some 5 miles up the Silat. Rubenstein mentions that he was a member of the community of Lg. Jikitan, while in fact he was a member of an entirely different community, the group currently at Lg. Belian: his son is now the headman of Lg. Belian. She reports that there was no room in the boat for her, and she thus sent assistants upriver to record him. I met Aban Balang in 1987 at Lg. Belok in the Apoh River. He was there with his adult children, who were employed in the logging industry.

<sup>14</sup>Another context in which one frequently hears death-names used as statements of verification is in accusations of lying. The accused will employ the death-names appropriate to them in this context in asserting that they are telling the truth.

Rubenstein transcribes the text "Greeting by Hunter Returning with Nothing" as follows:

I come back from hunting  
not even one thing to hold,  
absolutely nothing.  
No animal fell down, I killed nothing.  
No animal lay dead -  
I am a widower!  
There was no nose of the wild boar,  
not even one unlucky wild boar,  
there was no snout of the wild boar,  
no single sign of the wild boar,  
empty-handed of wild boar,  
absolutely nothing of wild boar.  
Of everything there is, there was none.  
Every animal had scattered -  
I am a widower!

In order to evaluate Rubenstein's translation of this text, I went back to her transcription of it in the 1973 *Sarawak Museum Journal* (Pp. 1354-55). The Penan version of the text is as follows:<sup>15</sup>

Uli ki tai mengaso  
Yeng pu'on ateng ki mengen manigen  
Sa'ok petedok muba mengaya  
Aban  
Talisu abai panyet bugeh  
Bayah bu'in balengang  
Sa'ok patedok  
Paminbu kekat urat  
Aban

One of the most daunting problems in trying to rectify these two versions, in addition to the problems of orthographic transcription and inconsistency in spelling (note "petedok" and "patedok" above) is, as Metcalf has pointed

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<sup>15</sup>There are a number of mistakes in Rubenstein's transcription of this text. Here I present the text as she published it in 1973. In my comments on particular portions of the text on following pages, I will provide more accurate transcriptions.

out (1989:23), that Rubenstein provides "no criteria for the segmentation of lines." One thus experiences great difficulty in discovering correspondences between lines in the vernacular text and the English translation. Among other things, this makes it difficult to see where Rubenstein's translation is exuberant, deficient or wrong.

Before commenting on the accuracy of Rubenstein's rendition of this text, I would first note something that should be obvious to any reader: independent of how accurate or inaccurate Rubenstein's translation of the text is, it is an extremely awkward one. Consider line 11: "empty-handed of wild boar." One is hard pressed to see a poet's hand at work here.

The more significant problem with Rubenstein's translation of this text is that it is grossly inaccurate. The process of translation is inexact, and we must recognize that for any particular text there is no such thing as a single "correct" translation: the process may in fact produce many correct renditions of a text. But a translation may be understood to be inaccurate, and it may indeed be wrong.<sup>16</sup> Further, the significance of a text, and the force it embodies, may inhere in certain key parts of it, and this is certainly true in the case of pia pāsabah. When these key parts are misapprehended, the force of the text may be lost entirely. With this in mind, Rubenstein's work can now be considered.

The first two lines of the Penan text (Uli ki tai mængaso; Yəng pun atəng ki mængən mənigən) correspond to the first two lines of the English translation:

I come back from hunting  
Not even one thing to hold,

Rubenstein's translation here is fairly straight-forward and cannot be said to be inaccurate as such. However, with the words mængən mənigən, we begin to see problems emerge with Rubenstein's translation of this text. The word mængən means "to hold", while the word mənigən, rarely heard except in pia pāsabah, means "to clasp or grab something". This latter word seems to have been entirely omitted in translation. Used together as they are here, these two words take on the quality of expletives, a quality that becomes more pronounced as the text progresses.

<sup>16</sup>Were I to translate the Malay term sungai as "lake", this would clearly be wrong. It would not simply be an alternative correct translation.

It is with the next line that Rubenstein's translation really begins to break down. The third line of the Penan text is Saok, todok,<sup>17</sup> muba', məngaya'. Rubenstein translates this as:

absolutely nothing.  
No animal fell down, I killed nothing.  
No animal lay dead -

Here Rubenstein's translation suffers from both exuberance and deficiency. To begin with, Rubenstein spuriously inserts the line "I killed nothing", which has no equivalent in the Penan text. More importantly, the four Penan words that make up this line do not form full sentences, or even fragments thereof, as Rubenstein supposes. Rather, what we see here is a chain of four forcefully spoken expletives. These are linked in a way that I will discuss shortly, but they do not constitute sentence fragments by themselves.

In the course of hunts, pigs often escape while being chased by dogs. As we might expect, hunters may be quite frustrated and even angry at this. Therein lies one of the main reasons that pia pāsabah is employed. The four words with which we are concerned in the present line form the beginning of a long chain of expletives. The first two words, saok and todok, generally only employed in the context of pia pāsabah, express totality: "all" or "every single", and refer back to the items mængən and mənigən in the previous lines referring to "hold" and "clasp". The next two words, muba' and məngaya' mean, respectively, "to cause to fall down" and "to cause to fall over dead".

Rubenstein seems to have gotten some of the semantic content of these words correct, but translation involves much more. Her primary failure here is in creating sentences or sentence fragments rather than recognizing these as a form of expletive. This would be equivalent to translating the obscene English expletive which means to copulate as "They had sexual intercourse": something is clearly lost in translation here.

The next question is, if the first two words of this line are expressing totality, and the next two words speak of causing something to fall over, what is it that is being referred to? Though I cannot be sure, it seems to me that the text provided by Rubenstein is missing three words. I would grant that what she presents here may simply be a Silat variant of the text and that Rubenstein has not omitted anything. However, in all the instances in which I have heard this

<sup>17</sup>Penan Gəng use only todok: I am uncertain whether petodok/patedok is a Penan Silat usage or whether it is a mistake in transcription.

particular pia pəsabah, the segment saok, todok ended with the words dain kan, literally "face of [game] animal".<sup>18</sup> It seems to me unlikely that Penan would simply refer to "all", "each and every", without referring to all of something. With respect to the segment muba', məngaya', in my experience this is always preceded by the term atəng, an emphatic negative.

Either because several words were absent or because she inadvertently omitted them, Rubenstein did not recognize one of the most interesting features of pia pəsabah. Through the recitation (as expletives) of strings of words with similar meanings (hold/clasp; all/every), the structure of these utterances is such that they form a sort of cumulative phrase line or sentence. The result, over several lines, is a sort of meta-expletive: "I did not hold/clasp all/every face of animal, did not cause to fall over/fall dead".

The next line in the text is a single word: aban, literally "widower". It also recurs as the last line of the text. Rubenstein translates this as "I am a widower!", again creating a sentence where none exists. There is an even more serious problem here however, the result of Rubenstein's ignorance of the Penan language.

Among Western Penan, pia pəsabah has two elements. There is first the body of the utterance itself. In the context of hunting or the return from another place, the body is, as noted, a conventional repertoire for various types of situations in which those returning have not brought back what is anticipated. Framing the body of the utterance is the second element of pia pəsabah: one or more death-names at the beginning and end and, occasionally, in the middle. It is in fact the use of death-names in this way, to frame a statement, rather than the meaning of the body of the utterance in the context of returning from the hunt, that makes it pia pəsabah. This point requires some explanation.

Penan death-names are employed in a much wider range of contexts than those in which an actual death has occurred. Not only are they used in the context of bereavement but, more commonly, (1) as terms of address denoting affection, (2) as terms of verification, and (3) as curses. All these alternative usages derive from one central notion: the power of reference to death, the belief that the suggestion of death may beget its occurrence. By referring to an individual's death, one may bring it about.

<sup>18</sup>As used here, the term dain is not simply a classifier, but is an expletive that conveys frustration or anger as well.

It is in pia pəsabah that the second usage, verification, is manifested. In using a particular repertoire of death-names, the speaker is asserting the truth of his or her statement. This is done by referring to the death of close kin, using the death-names one would have if one's close kin -- mother, father, sibling, etc. -- were to die. An individual whose mother and father are both still living would say "Uyao, Apah" ("Father-dead, mother-dead"). Normally the Penan have a strong prohibition against reference to the death of another, particularly those in one's own community. It would seem that here one is threatening the welfare of those who are most dear. This is indeed the case. The logic underlying this particular usage is that one is wagering the lives of one's closest kin on the truth of one's statement: only if one is lying are their lives in danger. The power of this usage comes from the fact that it so forcefully invokes the death of another. In the case of pia pəsabah employed following the return from hunting, one is asserting in the most forceful terms that one has been unsuccessful. It is not possible, in the context of pia pəsabah, to use death-names with reference to those already deceased. The logic here is simply that one cannot wager the truth of a statement on the lives of relatives who have already died.

Rubenstein records the name of Balang Liban as Aban Balang, yet he employs the death-name aban in the text provided here. This is problematic. I do not know if his wife had already died at the time Rubenstein recorded him in the early 1970s, but I assume, because he apparently was referred to as Aban Balang at that time, that she already had.<sup>19</sup> Why then should he employ the death-name aban in the pia pəsabah provided here? I suspect that because it was uttered on tape as a hypothetical case, for a distant person he had never met, he preferred to use aban so as not to curse any of his surviving kin: this is the death-name he would have employed in pia pəsabah were his wife still living. That she was already dead provided him a safe example. For Penan this is a very appropriate thing to do. Having missed this entirely, Rubenstein misreads the force of the entire text.

The next line of the Penan text forms a chain of four words: Təlisu, abai, panyənk, bugih. Rubenstein translates these as:

<sup>19</sup>It may be that, because he employed the death-name aban in this text, Rubenstein or her Kenyah informant assumed that he was aban. I doubt this, but it is a possibility.

There was no nose of the wild boar,  
not even one unlucky wild boar,  
there was no snout of the wild boar,  
no single sign of the wild boar,<sup>20</sup>

Let us now consider what these four words actually mean.

First of all, Rubenstein is correct in recognizing that two of these words refer to the nose or snout of a pig, but she seems to have missed much else.<sup>21</sup> To begin with, as in previous lines, these four words do not form sentences or sentence fragments. This is again simply a chain of expletives. These words are intended to curse (mənu) game that has eluded the hunters. This line is in specific reference to the bearded pig and these words are intended to be pejorative. The meanings of these four terms are as follows:

Təlisu: Term for hammer, referring to the flat nose of the bearded pig (Sus barbatus).

Abai: Term for Malay,<sup>22</sup> derived from a just-so story told by Penan that pigs are transformed Malays because pigs so often migrate from the direction of the coast.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Because this fourth line does not correspond to anything in the Penan text, I am uncertain whether Rubenstein intends this to be included with this line of the text or the next line.

<sup>21</sup>Rubenstein does note correctly in her 1973 Sarawak Museum Journal publication (pg. 1354) that the use of these words constitutes a curse, but she does not provide this interpretation in the present volume.

<sup>22</sup>Harrison (1950:277) notes that in "the remotest part of Borneo, the uplands of the north-centre" (by which he is presumably referring to areas occupied by Lun Bawang and Kelabit) abai is one of the terms used to refer to Malays. Other writers who have noted the use of this word are Talla (1979:14), with reference to Kelabit, Gossen (1924:154) with reference to Dusun, and Labo Pur (1965:35) with reference to Lun Bawang. Penan use the term abai only in the context of pia pəsabah. The term they normally use to refer to Malays is alo'.

<sup>23</sup>I call this a "just-so story" because it would be incorrect to say this is something that Penan actually believe. Rather, it is an idea that is perhaps equivalent to the Western notion of the man on the moon. It certainly does not indicate any animosity toward the Malay people: indeed Penan feel much more

Panyənk: Reference to the blunt nose of the pig, which Penan consider to be ugly.

Bugih: Penan pronunciation of "Bugis", used for the same reason as abai i.e. the Bugis are from the coast.

It is noteworthy that there are similar words for other types of game which were unsuccessfully sought and/or encountered.<sup>24</sup>

The next line in the Penan text is formed by the three words Baya buwin, bələngəng. Rubenstein translates this as:

empty-handed of wild boar,  
absolutely nothing of wild boar.<sup>25</sup>

The literal meaning of these words is "crocodile, domestic pig, rhinocero hornbill". Rubenstein seems to have missed this line in its entirety, despite the fact that it is one of the most important in the text. Whereas the previous line was in specific reference to the bearded pig, this line has a more general intent though an intent which is more powerfully emphatic. Among Western Penan this expression is a very strong form of curse. In the wrong context, directed against certain types of game which are potentially more supernaturally "dangerous" than pig, such as gibbon (kəlaβət), or against creatures such as hairy caterpillar

animosity toward their longhouse neighbors than they do toward Malays, with whom they have very little contact. The association in this usage is only with respect to coastal living and to directionality.

<sup>24</sup>Some of these are as follows:

1. Bear (buang) - Pakəp, "crippled", referring to the bent-legged shuffling gait of the bear.
2. Pig-tailed macaque (modok) - Kəbəngəh, "prognathic"
3. Porcupine (larak) - Kəbutum, referring to its pointed snout.
4. Deer (payau) - Kələdət, reference to eyes which shine at night when a light is shone at them.
5. Terrestrial monitor lizard (kəβok) - Butək, "deaf", reference to fact that it has no ears.

<sup>25</sup>As mentioned in footnote 20, I am not sure if the line "no single sign of wild boar" which precedes these two lines belongs here or with the previous line of the Penan text.

(ləngant), it is believed likely to result in severe thunderstorms, hail, and possibly even the petrification of whole communities. This is such a standard form of curse that among Western Penan, one of the primary terms meaning to curse something in this way is ngəbaya', the verb form of baya'. In the context of pia pəsabah it means that no game whatever was killed. This is obviously something that is of considerable interest to those anticipating a meal. When those at a camp first hear the pia pəsabah of returning hunters, they listen attentively for those three words. For Penan, who do not as a rule store food, an unsuccessful hunt means another day of hunger. In passing over this line in particular, Rubenstein missed the essential force of the utterance. What elements of this she did comprehend were misinterpreted.

Finally, we can consider the last two lines of this text (excluding the use of the death-name aban at the very end). The Penan version provided by Rubenstein is as follows: Saok, todok; Pəminə, kəkət, urat. The translation provided for this by Rubenstein is:

Of everything there is, there was none.  
Every animal had scattered -

Here again Rubenstein's translation suffers from both exuberance and deficiency. It is interesting, first of all, that she translates the two words saok and todok differently here than when they appear in line 3 of the Penan text. The word pəminə (which Rubenstein transcribes as "paminbu") means "the majority of", while kəkət means "each and every". Only in the line which refers to animals having scattered does Rubenstein convey something of the semantic content of the original text.<sup>26</sup> The problem, however, is that, as with the previous lines of this text, these are not sentences. Rather, as before, they form a chain of expletives which express totality (all, the majority of, each and every) and the fact

<sup>26</sup>In recent correspondence, Professor Rodney Needham has pointed out to me an error in my initial translation of the word urat. I had assumed, and my informants had seemed to indicate as well, that this term referred to totality, as do the other words in this line. However, Professor Needham has reminded me that urat is the stem for the intransitive verb purat, the transitive from being pəpurat, meaning "to scatter or disperse" (cf. Kayan urat, "to fling or scatter articles about", Southwell 1980, Pg. 376). The source of this confusion rests in the fact that among Penan Gəng the verb purat is most commonly used in reference to the fissioning of a household or community, conveying, the sense of "to split into two" rather than "to scatter". I am grateful to Professor Needham for providing this corrective to my interpretation of this portion of the text.

that that which the hunters are seeking has scattered. Finally, as in line 3, it seems that the words dain kan might be missing.

### The Consequences of Misreading a Text

From this examination of the original text, and Rubenstein's rendering of it into English, it is evident that Rubenstein understood neither the meaning nor the significance of much of what she recorded. The result is not simply that certain portions of the text are mistranslated or missed. Rather, as I will demonstrate, Rubenstein misread the sense of the text in its entirety. In this we can see how Rubenstein's lack of language proficiency intersect with her New Age perspective. While Rubenstein would undoubtedly like us to believe that she is writing in the voice of her informants, what we are in fact reading is a voice made inaudible by the noise of Western bias. In the following I illustrate several ways in which Rubenstein has misapprehended the meaning of this text.

On Pg. 79 Rubenstein notes that "The failed hunter is greeted with sympathy, having shouted ahead his unhappy news, as in 'Greeting by Hunter Returning with Nothing'." In the short note introducing the text itself, Rubenstein states (Pg. 80) that:

The hunter returning empty-handed at once puts himself in disgrace, exaggerating and thereby voicing everyone's unspoken disappointment. He calls himself a widower (aban), his wife dead of his neglect, through his being so poor a hunter and provider. This is the formal announcement of one's failure.

First, let us return to the use of aban in this text. Rubenstein tells us that this is an admission of neglect, which led to the death of his wife. No such thing is implied. I have already demonstrated that Aban Balang's use of the death-name aban here is almost surely hypothetical. Were his wife living, he would be wagering her well-being on the truth of his statement that indeed, emphatically, he was unsuccessful. Not recognizing this hypothetical usage, or the significance of death-names in pia pəsabah more generally, Rubenstein has elaborated - incorrectly - on the meaning of this text.

A second way in which Rubenstein misreads the intent of the text is with respect to sympathy and disgrace. It is neither sympathy for the hunter nor his disgrace which is being implied. Rubenstein missed two important aspects of pia pəsabah here, as employed in the context of returning from hunts. She therefore entirely missed the reason for such utterances.

Let us first consider Rubenstein's statement about sympathy for the hunter. This is completely off-base. Pia p̄asabah, in the context of returning from the hunt, is spoken out of concern for the feelings of dependents, specifically women and children. Penan are concerned that those remaining behind in the camp will be anticipating food and, in the case of an unsuccessful hunt, will be disappointed. One of the remarkable characteristics of Western Penan is the extreme compassion which they direct toward children, the old and infirm and, in the case of men, toward women. This sense of compassion is very general, but often has to do with concern for a person's hunger. For Penan, the food supply is uncertain and there are periods when no food at all is available. At such times parents will speak of how they masih (pity) their children, seeing them hungry. They express pity at the thought of the anticipation (nyamo) children will feel at the thought of hunters returning with food.<sup>27</sup> In pia p̄asabah it is sympathy for dependents, rather than for the hunter, that is being expressed.

Rubenstein's other contention, that the hunter is putting himself in disgrace is entirely incorrect as well. Disgrace plays no role whatsoever in the use of pia p̄asabah. Among Western Penan, lack of hunting success is decidedly not a matter of disgrace, as it is believed to have nothing to do with a hunter's skill. To begin with, hunting with spears and dogs is not an enterprise that requires a tremendous amount of skill. One must simply be able to run in the forest for as long as it takes for the dogs to hold a pig at bay. Some knowledge of the landscape is also required so that on a long chase (often 30 minutes or more) one does not become lost. When a hunt fails it is virtually never considered the fault of the hunter. Rather, blame is usually put in one of two places. Most frequently it is placed on the dogs. Penan hunters are masters at cursing, blaming and criticizing their dogs, usually saying they are lazy for giving up the chase too soon. Often, however, failure is believed to be due to supernatural causes. I will not go into this in any detail now, but simply say that there are any number of malevolent spirits (the most common being ungap) which are forever trying to frustrate the efforts of hunters by hiding game from them. Such spirits may, for instance, cause dogs to turn to the right when they should have turned to the left, or they may conceal game entirely. Hunters try in numerous ways to hide their intentions from such spirits, mostly by employing

<sup>27</sup>When men are far away in the forest on collecting trips, where food tends to be plentiful, they frequently express guilt at the fact that they have food while their families at home are probably hungry.

an elaborate avoidance vocabulary.<sup>28</sup> The point is that failure in hunting is not perceived as a function of skill, and thus not in any sense a matter of disgrace. It is worth noting, as an aside, that for similar reasons Rubenstein misses the point of another pia p̄asabah text as well. In the introductory comments explaining "Greeting by hunter returning with game", Rubenstein states (Pg. 81) that:

In this formal announcement of his hunting triumph, the hunter again calls himself a widower, but as a joke, since he is so "poor" a provider that all can now eat delicacies, and also (possibly exaggerating) tells that other animals he has killed are preserved in a stream and are to be fetched later.

Just as hunting success is not a matter of disgrace, neither is it a matter of triumph. Luck perhaps, but not triumph. Here too Rubenstein's explanation of the use of aban is entirely without sense, and she is clearly reaching. Further, telling that another pig has been cached in a stream somewhere is by no means an exaggeration: this is a very common practice, when hunters get more pigs than they are able to transport home. For the same reasons that they avoid causing dependents to nyamo (anticipate) food, Penan would never exaggerate about such matters. The attempt to eliminate anticipation is precisely why pia p̄asabah is employed.

What I have tried to do in this examination of "Greeting by Hunter Returning with Nothing" is not simply point out simple mistakes in translation that have resulted from Rubenstein's method. More than this, I have tried to demonstrate the cumulative consequences of such mistakes, and the consequences of the perspective Rubenstein brings to bear on these texts. In the case of the text considered here, Rubenstein misses the point altogether. In translating a text from one language to another, we are certainly all liable to make some mistakes. But to miss the intent of a text altogether is inexcusable. Even more serious is that, not understanding what was being said, Rubenstein provides her own incorrect explanations. What she thus loses is not simply the "meaning" of the text, but the powerful emotive and aesthetic sense it conveys. Here the deficiencies of Rubenstein's method are fully evident. While Rubenstein does

<sup>28</sup>For Penan there is a strong distinction between hunts which were unsuccessful because the dogs did not encounter any pigs at all, and those that were unsuccessful because dogs failed to pursue pigs sufficiently long, allowing them to escape. The former is usually blamed on supernatural agents, while the latter is usually (though not always) blamed on the dogs.



provide a passable rendition of the first two lines of the text, she misunderstands its broader intent and is never cognizant of its most powerful elements.

### Conclusions

In the latter half of this review I have discussed one of the texts collected by Rubenstein in some detail. I have done this not to be picky, but to illustrate both the shortcomings of the method Rubenstein has chosen, and the perspective which informs it. It may indeed be that there is no such thing as a "correct" translation of a text, particularly in the case of those which partake of more poetic qualities. But there are translations which are deficient, exuberant, or simply wrong. More than simply a process of word-by-word translation of the elements of a text, translation requires prior familiarity with the social, moral and linguistic foundations of a society, and with the particular social contexts in which performers operate. If there is one thing that a poet should have some sense of, if not the formal mechanics of a language, it is the kinds of sentiments being conveyed in a text or utterance: sympathy, anticipation, disgrace, concern, and the like. A poet undertaking the translation of a text must at the very least convey the emotive and aesthetic essence of that text. Rubenstein misses precisely these things, instead inserting her own western biases about disgrace, triumph, and sympathy for the hunter, rather than the sympathy he feels for those in his community. In translation, these texts only come alive if one is familiar with the sentiments being conveyed. Rubenstein clearly is not, and hence is unable to communicate either their sense or their meaning. This is nothing less than a betrayal of the text.

The process of translation requires respect for the text being translated. A minimum criterion is that one should have some familiarity with the language in which the text is provided. It is precisely Rubenstein's failure in this regard that has resulted in the many problems evident in her translations. This is really a tragedy: these are valuable and sophisticated texts, and they deserve more care.

One might have hoped that, in the nearly twenty years since Rubenstein began collecting this material, she might have attempted to become more familiar with the ethnographic literature and with local languages. Throughout the time she has worked in Sarawak, numerous individuals, myself included, have suggested that she attempt to work with a single group and learn a language, any language. She failed to do this, or apparently even to consider it. Instead, Rubenstein has consistently responded to such well-meaning comments by saying she was a poet, as if this were relevant. Her status as a poet has become her universal defense for her work. This is no longer enough. If Rubenstein merely claimed that the texts in The Nightbird Sings and previous works were inspired

by native texts, it would be much easier to appreciate them. But, while claiming that her status as a poet gives her some form of license, she presents these texts as accurate translations of the originals. As I have demonstrated through the example of one of Rubenstein's Penan texts, this is not credible.

In The Interpretation of Cultures, Geertz referred to the work of many ethnographers as being led by the "dead hand of competence" (1973:88).<sup>29</sup> Rubenstein, in her unwillingness to accept the twin possibilities of exuberance and deficiency in her translations, and in her ability to impute fictitious meanings in a text, displays precisely the opposite.

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#### A B S T R A C T S

Jay, Sian, 1989

The basir and tukang sangiang: two kinds of shaman among the Ngaju Dayak - Indonesia circle - No. 49 (June 1989) - 1989, p. 31-44; bibl., fotogr.

The apparent division between the two groups of Ngaju Dayak traditional religious functionaries inspired the author to describe in detail the relation between humans and spirits according to their kaharingan tradition. While the tukang sangiang, usually women, operate individually and are possessed by spirits, the basir (nowadays usually men) work in small groups and have the power to 'receive' spirits temporarily, just for the duration of certain ceremonies. The author gives a vivid account of the ceremonies involving the tukang sangiang and although both groups of spirit mediators perform different religious functions, she considers both to be shaman.

Dietrich Kobschull and Karl Fasbender, 1987

Transmigration: The Indonesian resettlement programme / schungsschwerpunkt Entwicklungssoziologie, Fakultat für Soziologie, Universität Bielefeld; Hamburg: Abteilung Entwicklungslander, Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (HWWA), II 43 bl., bibl. (Wirkungen der transmigration; no. 3).

This publication provides an evaluation of the effects of transmigration programmes, based on empirical surveys of settlers in East Kalimantan. It consists of two parts, a discussion of the logistics of the Indonesian transmigration policies, on the one hand, (Ch. I - "Objectives, System and Volume of Transmigration") and attitudes of the settlers on the other (Ch. II "Motivation, Expectation and Experience of Transmigrants"). The authors conclude that although there have been considerable deviations between the ambitious government programmes and reality (i.e. shortcomings in planning, implementation and administration), the greatest difficulties arose in the first two years of a settlement; after subsistence level was, however, secured, a clearly marked process of development could be ascertained.

Sellato, Bernard, 1989

Nomades et sédentarisation à Borneo: histoire économique et sociale/ Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 293 p.; bibl., ill., krt. - )Etudes insulindiennes; Archipel; 9).

This study contains a methodological description of the political, social, ecological and ideological aspects which influence the nomadic life-style of several hunter-gatherer tribes in Kalimantan. Chapter 1 contains an historical reconstruction of the traditional ways of life of nomadic groups, the Penan. In Chapters 2 and 3 the author compares the traditional way of life and recent transformations of two of these groups, i.e. the Bukat and the Kereho of the Busang. In the final chapters it is concluded that the Penan, for a variety of reasons, seem to have adapted themselves, changed to rice-production and became more settled. Although experiencing subsequent social changes, the Penan retain a specific socio-cultural life-style, relatively independent of the neighbouring agricultural groups.

Tsuguyoshi Suzuki and Ryutaro Ohtsuka, eds. 1987

Human ecology of health and survival in Asia and the South Pacific / Tokyo; University of Tokyo Press, 1987 - VIII, 226 p., bibl., fig., map, tab.

This book contains the following articles concerning the Indonesian situation: R. F. Ellen, "Environmental perturbation, inter-island trade, and the relocation of production along the Banda Arc: or, why central places remain central;" O.S. Abdullah, "Comparative 'adaptive strategies' of transmigrants in Indonesia: a case study of Barambai, South Kalimantan;" H. Kano, "The long-term development of farm agriculture in Java: a rice economy;" Moji Kazuhiko, "Invariable daily energy expenditure of Sundanese villagers with recent changes in their time allocation;" Shosuke Suzuki, "Complex of environment, activity and health in Indonesian kampungs" and A. Manuaba, "Pejaten, a village developing into advanced and self-sustaining growth."

Sabiham, Supiandi, 1989

Studies on peat in the coastal plains of Sumatra and Borneo. Part II: The clay mineralogical composition of sediments in coastal plains of Jambi and South Kalimantan / by Supiandi Sabiham and Sumawinata Basuki - Southeast Asian studies - Vol. 27, No. 1 (June - p. 35-54; bibl.

The clay mineralogical composition of sediments in the coastal plains of Jambi and South Kalimantan was studied in order to find support for field observations. The pleistocene terrace underneath the deep peat in the coastal plains of Jambi shows a predominance of the 1:1 type clay minerals (7.2 A). More recent sediments from uplifted tidal flats and mangrove deposits contain relatively higher amounts of the 14 A minerals than the Pleistocene terrace, although kaolin minerals still dominate these sediments. In South Kalimantan, the samples come only from recent sediments of tidal flats and mangrove deposits. Although all samples show a predominance of the 1:1 type clay minerals, they also contain appreciable amounts of 14 A minerals. The amount of 14 A minerals in recent sediments in South Kalimantan is higher than in Jambi. The recent levee materials are characterized by illite (10A) and 14 A minerals. These clay minerals were transported by the river from the hinterland as weathering products. The transformation of clay mineral in the sediments was controlled by: 1) the sediment source, 2) the acid environment resulting from organic matter decomposition and pyrite oxidation, and 3) the marine environment.

Sabiham, Supiandi, 1989

Studies on peat in the coastal plains of Sumatra and Borneo: Part III: Micromorphological study of peat in coastal plains of Jambi, South Kalimantan and Brunei / South East Asian Studies - Vol. 27, No. 3 (December, p. 339-351; bibl., ill., tab.

The micromorphology of peats was studied on order to characterize the various stages of decomposition and to describe the overall change of organic matter after deposition.

Klokke, A. H., Klokke-Coster, M. Saha, 1988

Ngaju-Dayak dierverhalen; orale literatuur uit Midden-Kalimantan; ingel. door Matijke J. Klokke.-Dordrecht (etc.): Foris, VI, 79 p.; bibl. Text in Dutch and Ngaju-Dayaks. (Werkdocumenten/Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde; 2) [KITLV ee-1391-N]

The disappearance of the old generation has resulted in a still decreasing number of people who can speak certain regional languages. For this very reason it was and is necessary to record the oral literature. In Indonesia, initially, the study of the oral tradition was focused on gathering stories from various diverse regions. The stories were usually written down and translated. Nowadays the starting point is the region. Stories from one specific area are collected and then analyzed and interpreted in terms of structure and cultural context. This collection Ngaju-Dayak animal tales is a contribution to the documentation of Indonesian (Central Kalimantan) regional stories.

Horner, David, 1989

The Australian army and Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia. Australian Outlook, Vol. 43, No. 1 (April), pp. 61-76.

At the end of 1964, after the request of The British, the Australian government sent military forces to Borneo, which had been the battlefield in the conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia since 1963. Australian military operations in Borneo - described in detail for the first time in this article - were never covered extensively by the media, and British authorities restricted the activities of the news reporters. The war had to be played down to give Indonesians an opportunity to end the war without losing face. The Australians were also silent about it. Military techniques had to be kept secret as they were also to be used in Vietnam. Relations with Indonesia, the neighbouring state after the Dutch left New Guinea in 1963, had to remain as good as possible.

Lindblad, J. Thomas; with the collab. of Peter E. F. Verhagen, 1988

Between Dayak and Dutch, the economic history of Southeast Kalimantan, 1880-1942 - Dordrecht [etc]; Foris, X, 282 p., bibl., ill. - (Verhandelungen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde; 134).

Between 1880 and 1942 history took a decisive turn in Southeast Kalimantan. Economic expansion transformed the region from a tranquil homeland of the Dayaks into a dynamic centre of production for foreign export markets controlled by the Dutch. What were the causes and consequences of this economic expansion? The author describes and analyses both the preparatory phase marked by pioneering (1880-1914) and the era of actual expansion (1914-1942) and concludes that 'dualism' lay behind both cause and consequence.

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#### NOTES FROM THE EDITOR (Cont'd.)

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