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BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

Vol. 16, No. 1





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April, 1984

The Borneo Research and September) by the Borneo Research address all inquiries and contributions Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr., Editor, Borneo Department of Anthropology, College of Williamsburg, Virginia 23185, U.S.A. Single issues ar available at US\$2.50.

NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

It is with great sadness that we inform readers of the deaths of Peter Gowing, Marius Jacobs, and David McCredie. Each made memorable contributions to Southeast Asian studies, and their untimely deaths are great losses. An obituary of Marius Jacobs is contained in this issue and appropriate memorials on Peter Gowing and David McCredie will appear in the next.

There will be a business meeting of the Borneo Research Council during the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Denver. If there is a sufficient number of persons interested in participating in an organized session, we shall organize a program for the Association of Asian Studies in Philadelphia. To this end, the Editor urges the submission of proposed papers.

We are grateful to the following persons and institutions for their contributions to the work of the Council: Robert Austin, J. B. Avé, Tim G. Babcock, Martin Baier, Richard Baldauf, Jr., Barr Smith Library, Adelaide, Basler Mission, Paul Beavitt, Stanley Bedlington, Luke Beidler, E. J. H. Berwick, Ian Black, Peter Brosius, E. F. Brunig, P. K. Cassels, Glen Chandler, R. G. P. Claydon, William L. Collier, E. J. H. Corner, Conrad P. Cotter, Earl of Cranbrook, David Crawford, Colin N. Crisswell, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Gale Dixon, Michael R. Dove, Richard Allen Drake, Fred Eggan, John Elliott, Field Museum of Natural History, Mary B. Fulcher, Jack Golson, P. Bion Griffin, J. St. J. Groome, University of Hawaii Library, C. J. Healey, A. John Hepburn, Timothy C. Jessup, Institute of Ethnology, Basel, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, Inter Mission Language Center, Bandung, D. C. Johnston, Lars Kaskija, Linda Kimball, Dietrich Kühne, Donald H. Lambert, John L. Landgraf, Matthias Laubscher, Michael Leigh, Cynthia Mackie, Wolfgang Marschall, Rex Marshall, Peter Martin, Peter Metcalf, A. R. G. Morrison, John Musgrave, Shuichi Nagata, Rodney Needham, Robert Nicholl, H. Arlo Nimmo, Stanley J. O'Connor, Ethnographical Museum, Oslo, Christine Padoch, J. R. Palmer, J. Q. Phillipps, Hillman Library, Pittsburgh, Ifor B. Powell, Primate Information Center, Seattle, A. J. N. Richards, C. W. S. Robinson, Raymond R. Rudes, Sabah Parks, Kota Kinabalu, Clifford Sather, Anne Louise Schiller, Werner Schneeberger, William M. Schneider, Bernard J. L. Sellato, Richard Shutler, Jr., Heather Strange, Jack Stuster, University of Sussex, Heather Sutherland, David Szanton, Peter Thomas, Donna Mayo Vargas, Patricia Vondal, Carol Warren, Tadayo Watabe, Peter D. Weldon, R. O. Whyte, Cynthia Wilder, William D. Wilder, Inger Wulff.

RESEARCH NOTES

KADAYAN EVIDENCE FOR WORD MEDIAL \underline{h} IN BRUNEI MALAY 1

Allen R. Maxwell The University of Alabama

INTRODUCTION

One of the most striking phonological characteristics of the Kadayan subdialect of Brunei Malay is the presence of the voiceless glottal fricative, h, in positions in which it has been lost in most other Malay dialects. Dyen has drawn attention to the significance of this consonant for historical Austronesian phonology in his monograph on Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PAN) laryngeals (1953), and more recently has updated his discussion by including Banjarese evidence (1971).

In an earlier note, Kimball suggested that intervocalic h is in the process of being lost in Brunei Malay, citing evidence from the Barunay subdialect (1979). I will discuss the occurrence of word medial h based on my work with the other subdialect of Brunei Malay, Kadayan (see Maxwell 1980). The evidence presented will suggest that it is premature to conclude that he is being lost in Brunei Malay. From the perspective of the Kadayan evidence, Brunei Malay is better understood as an heretaining dialect, especially in root internal intervocalic position, but also in initial position (ch. Dyen 1971:42). While Kimball deals with only morpheme-internal phenomena, I will discuss an additional class of cases of intervocalic h, namely those which occur word- but not morpheme-internally, at morpheme boundaries.

BRUNEI MALAY

The Brunei dialect of Malay can be distinguished from other varieties of Malay on both ethnographic and linguistic grounds. Bruneians as well as non-Bruneian Malay-speakers recognize Brunei Malay to be a distinct speech form, differing from other types of Malay in its phonological inventory, intonation, speech rhythm, derivational morphology, lexicon, and syntax. Locally this form of speech may be referred to as Bahasa Brunei or Bahasa Melayu Brunei. In addition, the two native Malay-speaking groups in the country, the Kadayan and the Barunay, recognize more specific subdialectal differences between their own respective forms of speech, cakap kadayan and kurapak barunay. This distinction applies primarily to characteristic patterns of linguistic usage, and not necessarily to the specific performances of individual Kadayan and Barunay as representative

members of these two ethnic groups. This qualification is important because many individuals have competence in both subdialects and switch codes often. Many, if not most speakers can identify particular utterances as "Kadayan" or "Barunay" if asked to do so (see Maxwell 1980:Appendix).

SYNCHRONIC EVIDENCE

The evidence to be considered concerns primarily root medial h, with some attention to word medial h occurring at morpheme boundaries. There are a number of reasons for making this choice. In word final and root final positions, the occurrence of h is least problematic. Kadayan exhibits a clear set of phonologically significant contrasts between -Vk, -Vh, and -VØ (e.g., patik 'I--when addressing the Sultan', patih 'A TRADITIONAL RITUAL OFFICE', pati 'box, chest'; balak 'boards', balah 'break in two', bala 'affliction'; paluk 'embrace', paluh 'perspiration', palu 'sago-pith' chopper'). In utterance final position, -VØ is always realized phonetically as $\frac{-V^2}{V}$ Word final \underline{h} in utterance medial position participates in a number of morphophonemic shifts which are too numerous to examine exhaustively here. Some of these will be discussed below. Generally speaking, in initial position hV- \sim ϕ V-, and contrasts with kV- (e.g., haran \sim aran 'charcoal', karan 'later'; hilan vilan 'lose', kilan 'food processing plant'; hulu o ulu upstream', kulu k.o. bird, the Giant Pitta'; but also *hucin/kucin vuciy cat', *halah/kalah valah 'be defeated, lose'). In utterance initial position, ØV- is always realized as ?V-.

At this point it is important to understand how the data cited herein were collected. Unless otherwise qualified, all of the forms derive from overheard natural speech in conversations among Kadayan. They do not derive from elicited answers to questions about sound shape, meaning, or phonological and lexical alternation. These distinctions are important for two reasons. First, the data exhibiting phonological variation are not contrived, that is, they do not represent responses to questions such as, "Is it possible to say x?". Second, due to the highly developed cultural patterns of politeness found in Southeast Asia generally, and among Malay speakers specifically, it is often difficult to determine if an informant is applying his native speaker faculties critically in responding to questions about permissible variations between alternating linguistic forms.

Phonological Characteristics of h

As a preliminary to the rest of this discussion, it will be useful to describe the phonetic characteristics of the Kadayan glottal fricative first. For purposes of succinctness I utilize a traditional structuralist statement of allophonic and free variation within a phoneme class.

/h/: [fi] voiced glottal fricative, occasionally with a voiceless onset, occuring

1. in medial position, intervocalically, /bahay/ [ˌba.fiqi]
'a k.o. woven basket', /tiharap/ [tɨˌfia.rʌp'] 'fall down
prone', /mahadap/ [maˌfia.d:ʌp'] 'cememoniously greet
the Sultan'

- [6] glottal fricative commencing voiced and ending voiceless, occurring
 - 1. in final position /payah/ [,pa.y:ah] 'tired; difficult', /sudah/ [,su.d:ah] 'MODAL--expressing completed action', /putih/ [,pu.t:th] 'white', /paluh/ [,pa.l:uh] 'perspiration'

Morpheme Structured -h-

Just as nature abhors a vacuum, Kadayan language structure seems to abhor monosyllabic words (excepting, of course, such forms as enclitics, interjections, prepositions, etc.). Phonological pattern congruity converts a number of borrowed words of the type CV'C to CV'hV'C, for example, Ar. jin > jihin ~ gin > gihin 'type of ghost', Ch. cat > cahat 'paint', Pers. jam > jaham 'hour, clock', Eng. bup > buhup and buk > buhuk 'book', and a Malay word nun > nuhun 'yonder'. The Malay word for 'evil, naughty', jahat, occasionally undergoes the same process in reverse, appearing as jat. In addition to these examples with -h-, the reluctance to admit monosyllabic words into the language is realized in variant forms in a number of other words borrowed from English lacking -h-, especially those having an initial consonant cluster beginning with s, in which variant forms have taken on a prothetic vowel, i-; for example, iskup ~ skup 'shovel', istim ~ stim ~ sitim 'postage stamp', istur ~ stur '(storage) shed', and also taray ~ tray 'try'.

Alternation of -h- and - ? -

There is at least one example in which intervocalic \underline{h} alternates freely with $\underline{2}$, the man's name $\underline{nahat} \sim \underline{na^2at}$. For a number of other

lexemes informants accepted commuted forms, differing only in the substitution of $\frac{-2}{-}$ for $\frac{-1}{-}$, intervocalically, as the same. Some examples are $\underline{pa?at} \sim \underline{pahat}$ 'chisel', $\underline{ja?at} \sim \underline{jahat}$ 'evil, naughty', $\underline{pu?un} \sim \underline{puhun}$ 'proximal end, tree', $\underline{nu?un} \sim \underline{nuhun}$ 'yonder', $\underline{ba?u} \sim \underline{bahu}$ 'shoulder', $\underline{ta?an} \sim \underline{tahan}$ 'endure', $\underline{pa?an} \sim \underline{pahan}$ 'taste of the $\underline{panalaban}$ fruit'.

Thematic -h- at Morpheme Boundaries

In connected speech Kadayan exhibits a plethora of facultatively introduced <u>h</u>'s at intervocalic morpheme boundaries. The description of these events at the root initial boundary, while complex, is straightforward.

- (1) Bound elements, whether prefixes or initial ftems in circumfixes, which in peninsular Malay have the shape bər- or pər-, commonly occur without r in Kadayan; thus ba- and pa- (e.g., jalan 'walk, travel', bajalan 'be walking, traveling', pajalanan 'journey'.
- (2) In root initial position, $h- \sim 2- \sim 0$. Consequently, the "h" which occurs stem internally but simultaneously root initially in derived forms can be explained by the shape of an alternate form of the root, or by the facultative introduction of a glottal fricative at the intervocalic morpheme boundary. The result is the same, and there is presently no apparent way to resolve this question synchronically by means of a critical test case (see Popper 1959:277). Some examples are hatap ~ 2 atap ~ 2 atap 'rooff', bahatap 'roofed'; 2apa? ~ 2 apa? 'what', bahapakan 'what is it?'; hujan ~ 2 ujan ~ 2 ujan 'rain', kahujanan 'be accidentally caught in the rain'. The question becomes moot, however, when the comparative evidence of other Austronesian dialects is considered. Kadayan h properly belongs to a word base when it reflects a laryngeal reconstructed in a PAN root (see DIACHRONIC EVIDENCE, below), and is properly thematic when no comparative evidence supports its inclusion in a root.

The situation is different, however, at the root final morpheme boundaries of derived forms. In this position, a facultative h is introduced before postposed bound elements, whether suffixes or final items in circumfixes, which have an initial vowel or a phonological alternate with an initial vowel. An h is not introduced if the root ends in a consonant, or if a phonological alternate of a postposed bound element begins with a consonant. A similar phenomenon in which h acts as a sandhi consonant in Tagalog has been noted by Dyen (1947:55, 1953:29). Blust underscores Dyen's suspicion "... that suffixial h in Tg. has been generalized to roots in which it has no etymological basis "(1976:227).

The postposed elements in question are $\underline{-an}$ and $\underline{-akan}$ $\sim \underline{-kan}$, corresponding to the Peninsular Malay forms $\underline{-an}$ and $\underline{-kan}$, respectively. (The element signifying all future action--for Peninsular Malay, \underline{akan} , and in Kadayan, \underline{kan} $\sim \underline{akan}$, but usually the former--is a different morpheme, and should not be confused with the examples under discussion here.) Thus in derivations with the element $\underline{-an}$, we find \underline{tanda} 'sign, indication', $\underline{patandahan\ padi}$ 'natural occurrences signifying the beginning of the rice cultivation season';

raja 'king', karajahan ^ karajaan 'monarchical government'; lupa 'forget', kalupahan ^ kalupahan 'be unintentionally forgotten'. In derived verbs containing the element -akan ^ -kan, three alternate forms are found, sidia 'make ready', fidiahakan ^ fidiahakan ^ fidiahakan | make something ready for some purpose'; bali ^ bli 'buy', mbalihakan ^ mbaliakan ^ mbaliakan ^ mbaliakan o nunukan | munuhakan o nunukan | munuhakan o nunukan | munuhakan o nunukan o nunukan

Lexical -h-

After citing a number of examples, Kimball offers a number of generalizatins to explain the "loss" or retention of https://depending.or/ to explain the "loss" or retention of https://depending.or/ on the different phonological environments in which it is found (1979:40-41). These explanations, however, suffer from being either imprecisely stated, or easily disprovable. While the examples are given which purportedly reflect the well-known loss of https://depending.or/ as the reflex of a laryngeal reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian (see Dyen 1953, 1971), and others having uncertain etymologies in which https://depending.or/ dispression of the examples cited (e.g., Kimball 1979:40).

The difficulties for any explanation of the loss or retention of <a href="https://example.com/has-only-three-phonologically-contrastive-vowels: a high front, i, a low central, a, and a high back, u, giving total of only nine possibly different intervocalic environments. Lexeme internal h occurs in all of these.

pihit 'pinch'	pahat 'chisel'	tuhur 'shallow'
<u>lihat</u> 'see'	jahil 'rod with pendant noose'	buhat 'carpenter bee'
mihun 'fried noodles'	tahun 'year'	ruhit 'barb'

In the same environments in other lexemes, or in phonologically alternate versions of lexemes with -h-, the -h- is absent.

piit 'pinch'	saat 'instant'	<u>puun</u> 'tree'
niat 'vow'	< <u>lain</u> >, <u>layn</u> 'different'	<u>kuat</u> 'strong
pium 'opium'	<laut>, lawt 'ocean'</laut>	duit 'money'

Consequently, it is not possible to explain the loss or retention of intervocalic h by the phonological characteristics of the surrounding vowels.

Whether a two syllable form contains an intervocalic \underline{h} , a diphthong, or as both shapes as alternates, appears to be purely a lexical characteristic. Some examples occur both with and without $\underline{-h}$ (e.g., $\underline{bahik} \sim \underline{bayk}$ 'good', $\underline{tahil} \sim \underline{tay}$ 'tael', $\underline{tahu} \sim \underline{taw}$ 'know (facts)', $\underline{tuha} \sim \underline{tua}$ 'old (animate)', \underline{vuhit} 'barb' and witwit [with loss of \underline{r}] 'k.o. woodpecker', $\underline{lihat} \sim \underline{liat}$ 'see', but with apparently no $\underline{CihuC} \sim \underline{*CiwC}$). Other examples seem to occur only without $\underline{-h}$ (e.g., \underline{kayn} 'cloth', \underline{lawk} 'fish', \underline{tuap} 'pour', \underline{cuik} 'saucer', \underline{liar} 'wild', \underline{siut} 'small shrimp net'). Still others occur evidently only with $\underline{-h}$ (e.g., \underline{lahir} 'be born', \underline{sihat} 'healthy', \underline{mihun} 'fried noodles', but apparently no $\underline{C'uhic''} \sim \underline{*C'uiC''}$, \underline{juhan} 'champion', but apparently no $\underline{C'ahuc''} \sim \underline{*C'awC''}$. In the intervocalic environment in which the preceding and following vowels are phonemically the same, $\underline{-h}$ is usually present, or, the lexeme has an alternate form in which the $\underline{-h}$ is present (e.g., $\underline{pihit} \sim \underline{piit}$ 'pinch', $\underline{tahan} \sim \underline{taan}$ 'withstand', $\underline{buhur} \sim \underline{buur}$ 'summit', exception: baah 'flood').

The suggestion that $\underline{-h}$ - may be retained in order to prevent a form from being confused with another similar one with a different meaning, but lacking $\underline{-h}$ - (Kimball 1979:41), also is not accurate because of the following examples involving homonymy.

'see' <u>lihat ~ liat</u> :: <u>liat</u> 'nonfriable'

'man's name' <u>sahat</u> :: <u>sahat ~ saat</u> 'instant'
.
'shoulder' <u>baw</u> :: <u>baw</u> 'smell'

'neck' liir :: liir 'fish slime'

While these examples are, I believe, sufficient, an even stronger case can be made against this suggestion. If the phonological loss of \underline{r} in intimate Kadayan speech is considered, another kind of case can be cited which indicates that postulating a "need" to keep different lexemes phonologically distinct is unwarranted.

'bitter' pahit ∿ payt :: payt < parit 'ditch'

'evil' jat ∿ jahat ∿ jaat :: jaat < jarat 'snare'

'understand' paham ∿ paam :: paam < param 'store fruit till ripe'

'tree' puhun ∿ puun :: puun < purun 'k.o. grass'

'Dahat Island' dahat ∿ daat :: daat < darat 'land'

'shoulder' bahu ∿ baw :: baw < baru 'new'

'PLACE NAME' bian :: bian < biran 'lie, tell falsehoods'

'fruit' buah :: buah < burah 'untie'

'shock' (< Eng.) siuk :: siuk < siruk 'inhale deeply'

DIACHRONIC EVIDENCE

Generally speaking Kadayan (K.) reflects the expectable Malay inheritances of the Proto-Austronesian laryngeals, as reconstructed by Dyen (1965, 1971). Thus we find for *q: *qimpun, K. himpun 'gather', *buqaya [], K. buhaya 'crocodile', *[] utaq, K. mutah 'vomit'; for *q: *q: qiun, K. hidun 'nose', *peraq ½ u, K. panit 'bitter', *buaq ½, K. buah 'fruit'; for *Q_1, *paq_1 iC[], K. pahit 'bitter', *paQ_1 paQ_1, pala | pala | palm frond'; for *Q: *[dD] aRaQ_2, K. darah 'blood'; for *Q_1: *buluQ_12, K. buluh 'bamboo'; for *h: *dahun, K. dawn 'leaf'; for *h: *h: *h: *a (m)pir, K. hampir 'near'; for *h: *h: *a nin K. a nin 'wind', for *h: *baHi[], (K. b[in] * ifemale'), *baRaH[], K. bara 'ember'; for *x: *x: *a pup [], K. api 'fire'; for *x: *x: *x: *paq, k. Mahi 'forehead'; and for *?: *?enem, K. anam 'six', *ka?en, K. ma | kan 'eat'.

Earlier Dyen (1953) had cited a number of Peninsular Malay forms having medial h on the basis of its preservation in Malay orthography (e.g., bahu 'shoulder', tuha 'old', jahet 'sew', pahet 'bitter'), whereas Dempwolff (1938), in his original PAN reconstructions, had utilized Malay evidence which lacked medial h (e.g., tua' 'old', d'ait 'sew', pait 'bitter'). A critic objected to his practice of utilizing only orthographic indications of -h- in lieu of phonological evidence (Unlenbeck 1955-56). Dyen, however, was later able to justify his earlier decision about Malay by citing confirming evidence from Banjarese. It is remarkable that Kadayan exhibits the same well-marked and unmistakable /h/ in medial and initial positions in the same forms which Dyen found for Banjarese (1971:39-40); i.e., K. jahit 'sew', tuha 'old', dahi 'forehead', pahit 'bitter', tahun 'year', buhaya 'crocodile'; harus 'tidal bore', hanut 'float', hati 'liver', hatap 'roof', hubi 'yam', hidup 'live', hutan 'woods', hujan 'rain'). It may be noted that Dyen's reconstructions and interpretations of the PAN laryngeals have been confirmed by additional evidence not examined by him in 1953, as Blust has pointed out (1976:231, 1978:470), thus vitiating the objections of earlier critics.

CONCLUSION

The evidence of Kadayan shows clearly that the glottal fricative is not being lost from the Brunei dialect of Malay. It is a prominent phonetic property of Kadayan speech utterances. Consequently Kimball's claims regarding the loss of $\underline{-h}$ - can apply only to the Barunay subdialect of the Brunei dialect of Malay. It is probably an oversimplification to pose this question in terms of the "loss" of \underline{h} in Brunei Malay. Kadayan \underline{h} is best described by a series of obligatory and lexically-specified optional rules which account for the large amount of variation in the phonetic and phonological representations of this dialect (Maxwell n.d.).

Key:

K. : KadayanC : consonant

c) : unreleased stop consonant

C : phonetically de-emphasized (shorter, weaker) consonant

(C)V : primary stressed syllable secondary stressed syllable

: vowel

V : lowered vowel

: phonetically de-emphasized (shorter, weaker) vowel

inasalized vowel
inphonetic diphthong

V., C.: phonetically half-long vowel, or consonant V:, C:: phonetically long vowel, or consonant

NOTES

- 1. Research in Brunei was supported by National Institute of Health Grant 1 TOL MH 11,231-01, and Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Pre-Doctoral Fellowship No. 2173, and locally by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Brunei. Additional support was also received from The University of Alabama Research Grants Committee. I would like to thank Tamati M. Reedy for his comments on an earlier version of this paper.
- 2. For purposes of brevity, I will use "the Malay language" or "Malay dialects" to include Bahasa Malaysia, Bahasa Indonesia, and Bahasa Malayu Brunei, that is, the national languages of the Federation of Malaysia, the Republic of Indonesia, and the Sultanate of Brunei, respectively; as well as local variants or dialects of these.
- 3. The reasons for referring to Kadayan and Barunay as <u>subdialects</u> of the Brunei dialect of Malay are the following. Preliminary comparison of 197-word basic vocabulary lists for Kadayan and Barunay conservatively shows 94+ per cent cognates (187+ of 197 words). This percentage is considerably higher than the, admittedly arbitrary, but nonetheless useful, 70 per cent figure suggested by Dyen as the lowest percentage of cognates between dialects of the same language (1965:18, 28ff.). On the other hand, comparison of Kadayan and Standard Malay lists shows 78 per cent cognates (154 of 197 words), a figure closer to Dyen's cutoff figure of 70 per cent.

The Brunei dialect of Malay is widely spoken along a several hundred mile stretch of the coast of Borneo north and south of Bandar Seri Bergawan. Depending on the river concerned, it also extends upriver into the interior of the island to varying distances.

4. I had originally intended to append a description of the Kadayan h within the framework of generative phonology. This will be presented at a later date as it requires a greater amount of abstract formalism

and detail than is necessary for present purposes—to establish that \underline{h} is not being lost from Brunei Kadayan, and that Kadayan is better understood as an \underline{h} -preserving Malay dialect. Generative phonological theory will also provide a perspective to assess the view that Malay \underline{h} "... is losing its phonemic character..." (Dahl 1973:35). (See key following conclusion.)

- 5. Occurrence of this thematic \underline{h} in Tagalog has presented certain problems for the reconstruction of the PAN laryngeals when the character of the Tagalog evidence is critical (cf. Blust 1969:92-93, 100 n⁻¹).
- 6. Kadayan and Banjarese are typologically very similar Malay dialects. In addition to their agreement on modern reflexes of the PAN laryngeals, both exhibit the same three-vowel system of <u>i</u>, <u>a</u>, and <u>u</u>, which lacks a phonologically (but not phonetically) distinct schwa (cf. Ras 1968). There are additional shared phonological and lexical similarities which seem to distinguish these two Borneo dialects from Malay dialects found elsewhere. Some examples include

	Banjarese	Kadayan	Peninsular Malay
'VERB SUFFIX' 'flood' 'swim' 'mirror' 'adze handle' 'Oncosperma tigillaria' 'house post' 'be relatives' 'pool, deep' 'throw net' 'hanging line' 'luminous gemstone'	-akan baah ba-nanan caramin paradah hanibun tihan ba-dan sanak luhuk rambat sampir-an kumala	-akan baah ba-nanaŋ caramin paradah hanibuŋ tihaŋ ba-daŋan sanak luuk rambat sampir-an kumala	-kan bah bə-rənaŋ cərmin pərdah nibuŋ tiaŋ bər-sawdara lobo? jala sampay-an kəmala/gəmala 'bezoar stone'
			bezoai stone

These similarities should not be assumed to necessarily represent shared inheritances. The Banjarese and Kadayan forms for 'be relatives', 'handing line', and 'luminous gemstone' may well reflect Javanese or Old Javanese influence (cf. Maxwell 1982).

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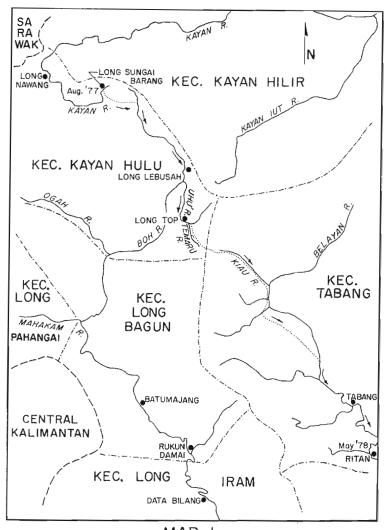
TRADITIONAL MIGRATION IN BORNEO: THE KENYAH CASE

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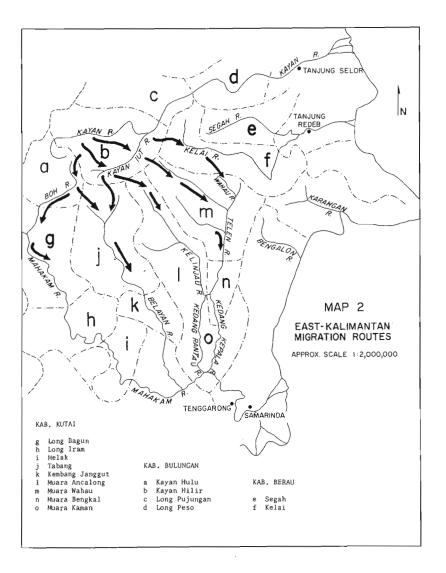
INTRODUCTION

In 1978 a paper in Indonesian by Jan Zwirs, a Dutch missionary of the Holy Family Mission (MSF), was published in Samarinda in the Catholic bulletin KONTAK, under the original title "Perpindahan orang Long Sungai Barang ke Ritan Baru." It recounts the long and difficult migration undertaken in 1978 by a group of 170 people with all their belongings, as the newcomers' headmen told it to Father Zwirs in Ritan (see Map 1). We are presenting here a translation of this paper because we consider this text to be an important human and ethnographic document, of a kind rarely reported by anthropologists.

Later we provide some comments on the events described in the text and some tentative explanations as to what migrations were in the past and what they are today. Finally, on the basis of tables showing published or unpublished population figures, we estimate the flux of people, especially various Kenyah sub-groups, who, since the beginning of this century, have left Apo Kayan and entered the Mahakam River drainage basin (see Map 2).



MAP | KENYAH MIGRATION SCALE 1:500,000



DOCUMENT

The Migration of the People of Long Sungai Barang to Ritan Baru

1. The Kenyah Leave Their Homeland

In Kalimantan there are quite a few areas far inland which cannot be easily reached. One of these is the Apokayan Plateau close to Sarawak, the homeland of the large Kenyah tribe. Because of its remoteness, the Kenyah have no marketplace for their farm products and all manufactured goods such as gasoline, salt, soap, cloth have to be brought in from afar on a long and dangerous route and are thus very expensive. Furthermore, there are no colleges, hospitals, oil or timber companies.

For a long time they had felt like leaving their homeland and moving toward the modern world. The first group, the Uma'Timai², moved over the watershed to the Belayan River at the beginning of this century. But the bulk of these migrations took place during the last ten years, and by now (1978) thousands of Kenyah have left Apokayan.

Long Sungai Barang was until 1968 one of the biggest settlements on Apokayan. Then a few families dared leave and settle at Ritan, on the Belayan River (some 350 km from Samarinda), after a walk lasting several months across the mountains. The land there was fertile and not overcrowded.

A few more families who had left Apokayan earlier but had not yet settled, joined them, and, by the beginning of 1973, 300 Kenyah were living at Ritan Baru. In 1972, a large group left Long Sungai Barang and moved over to Ritan, paddling down the perilous rapid-broken Boh and Mahakam Rivers. This year the total population is over 1000 persons.

Then the provincial government launched a resettlement program and Ritan became a district by itself, with its own camat, and it received technical instruction by a staff of government advisors for health, agriculture, plantations, etc. During the following years, the people of Ritan were busy building houses, a school, a meeting hall, a medical center, streets, a bridge, a church, while still working at their basic farming occupations. Another group left Long Sungai Barang in August 1977 for Ritan and the following story may give an idea of their long and difficult migration.

2. From Long Sungai Barang (LSB) to Lebusan:

One hundred and seventy persons, old and young, male and female, left in August 1977, under the leadership of Amai Pajak (father of Pajak). Prior to leaving they had built five 12-meter long canoes on the upper Boh river and had left them at Dumu, a one-day walk from LSB. Then, after all their valuable goods and heirlooms, (such as jars, gongs, sewing-machines, coffers, cooking implements, tools and also rice supplies) had

been carried overland to Dumu, the group started from this once populous village of Long Sungai Barang (which has now no more than a few hundred souls). Amai Pajak, however, had to stay behind because one of his children was ill.

From Dumu, all five canoes had to be paddled downstream four times, twice loaded with goods and twice more with people. Each two-way trip took four days. Within three weeks, the whole group and their belongings had been taken down to Lebusan. But the Boh river overflowed and they could go no farther because of waves and whirlpools in the rapids. Their food supplies dwindled, so they settled there and helped clean the villagers' fields in Lebusan, Mahak and Lisi², to receive paddy in return. That paddy, after they had pounded it, yielded more than one ton of rice.

The people of Lebusan offered them a cane plantation, from which they made more than 23 tins of brown sugar. In the meantime, a few members of the group went back to Long Sungai Barang and picked up Amai Pajak and his family. Four babies were born during this period, so the number of the group increased, and Christmas was celebrated there in Lebusan. After the New Year, the river level went down and they were able to continue their journey.

3. From Lebusan Through Punan-Top to the Upper Temaru River:⁵

After having thanked the people of Lebusan for their help, the group left and went again on its way. The next stop was to be in the area of Punan-Top, about one hour down the Boh River and then two days up the Uhu' River, a left tributary of the Boh. Every morning the five large canoes carried goods or people and every afternoon they were back After one month of this all goods and people were at Punan-Top.

When the group left Long Sungai Barang, it was sowing time; when in Lebusan, it was weeding time, and when they reached Punan-Top, it was already harvest time. Another flood and ensuing food shortage forced them to remain there and help the Punan-Top to harvest their paddy. The Punan-Top gave them 400 tins of paddy, more than their due in return for their work. They pounded the paddy and wrapped the rice.

Then they left again for the Upper Temaru River, located but half a day's trip upstream. Like before they had to make several trips up and down until everybody and every piece of luggage had reached Temaru.

They built a camp on the bank of the Temaru and sent five strong and fast-walking men to Ritan to convey the news that Amai Pajak and his group were heading for there and had begun their walk across the mountains to the Upper Belayan River. After a two-week trek across the jungle, the five men reached Ritan. The people of Ritan, hearing that their relatives were arriving, began to gather rice to meet the needs of Amai Pajak's group. The following week, all five men with 32 others from

Ritan went up the Belayan with more than one ton of rice to meet the group. A sad event befell the group at Temaru: one of the four women who had given birth at Lebusan died, leaving her husband and seven little children. After the burial, Amai Pajak and his group began their long walk across to the Belayan River.

4. Across the Mountains from Temaru to Belayan:

The five boats were abandoned at Temaru. While the five men were on their way to Ritan, the other strong and resistant men of the group began to carry the goods and luggage overland, at the same time clearing the path. The first day, they stopped at 2 p.m. and built a rough hut where they left the luggage; then they went back to Temaru. The following days they repeated the same process until all luggage had reached the hut. Only then the group left Temaru. The men who had carried the luggage were now carrying cooking implements, food, sleeping mats and a few old persons who could not walk. The whole group walked past the hut and stopped at the end of the afternoon to build a large camp like the one in Temaru. The next day the men went back to the hut, took the luggage and carried it past the camp to a place farther where they built another hut.

So the group moved on, up and down the mountains, across marshes, along small streams, harassed by thousands of mosquitoes and leeches. They also had to build bridges to get across three larger streams. While the group was at the third camp, the five men who had been sent to Ritan arrived, along with the 32 men from Ritan and some rice. The rest of the rice had been left here and there on the path between Belayan and the third camp so that the group could pick it up easily whenever needed. There were thus more men who could carry luggage, so the rest of the trip should have been faster. During this leg of the journey, some people died, and some babies were born.

At the sixth camp an old woman died and the second day after the burial the group was again on its way. At the seventh camp an old man also died. These two elders had had to be carried on other people's backs since LSB, but it was sad that they were not able to see the place they were heading for. During the walk between the seventh and eighth camps, they had to seek shelter in the hut because of heavy rains and there a woman gave birth to a baby girl who was later given the name of Maria Icin.

5. At Last They Arrive:

From the sixth camp they had sent again four men to Ritan to tell the people there that the group was approaching the Belayan River. The Ritan people were busy gathering rice and buying gasoline, and, after one week, 69 men from Ritan went up river on board 33 canoes equipped with engines, bringing 750 kg of rice. After two and a half days of navigation, they reached the place where they had to leave their boats, on the Upper

Belayan River. Seventeen of them stayed there to build a large camp and watch the canoes. The other men went overland and met Amai Pajak's group after a one-day walk. The following day everybody walked down to the place where the canoes had been left and spent the night there, at the ninth and last camp which had been prepared for them.

From there they took the canoes down to Pedohon, whose population had previously come from Long Sungai Barang and presumably preferred to stay at Pedohon as a small group rather than to join the people of Ritan, for fear that the farming land around Ritan would be rapidly exhausted after a few years because of such a large population. For the same reason another group from Long Sungai Barang had chosen to settle at Alan.

At last this group, who had left Long Sungai Barang in the middle of August 1977, reached their destination by the middle of May 1978. They were received by the people of Ritan with great joy for they had not met since 1968 or 1972.

This trip took them no less than nine months because of various events such as diseases or deaths, but mostly because of frequent floods. They had been lucky to receive so much help from the people of Lebusan and Punan-Top, and they achieved their long and difficult journey safely, thanks to the help from their relatives in Ritan Baru.

The following night the population of Ritan Baru and the newcomers thanked God together for having protected the group the way He had protected the Tribes of Israel long ago in their journey to the Promised Land. Then welcoming rituals performed and finally dances were performed, those artistic manifestations of the Kenyah, where even the author was not left out and had to show what he could do. I prayed to God that these people who had just moved may find in this village the peaceful and prosperous life they had been hoping for.

NOTES OF THE TRANSLATORS

- 1. Thus no salaried jobs are available. A physician has been based in Long Nawang since 1981, but transportation from other villages to Long Nawang is not easy.
- 2. See Table of Kenyah sub-groups.
- 3. <u>Carnat</u>: head of district. Selected locations for important resettlements are given a special <u>carnat RESPEN</u> during the period of the resettlement program, then the village is normally incorporated as a <u>desa</u> (village) into a kecarnatan (district).
- 4. The Dutch introduced the use of large metal tins for carrying and storing paddy and rice. Such a tin (East-Kalimantan lingua franca belek) holds about 13 kg of paddy or about 15 kg of pounded rice and its lid is waterproof. It can also be used for sugar.

- 5. <u>Temaru</u>: Rhinoceros (Didermocerus sumatrensis, Fischer).
- 6. The route crosses a large basaltic plateau, very flat and marshy, called Apo Kiau (Plateau of the Kiau River).
- 7. They are 'long-tail' engines, locally called ketinting or ces.
- 8. At the confluence of the Tepele' River. Upstream from there, canoes cannot be used up the Belayan River.
- 9. According to our data, the Kenyah in Pedohon are Uma'Timai and not Uma'Tukung: this very fact could be the actual reason for their reluctance to join the people in Ritan.
- 10. In the village of Batu Majang, on the Alan River. These Uma'Tukung had come down the Boh river to the Upper Mahakam. In Batu Majang are also found a large number of Uma'Baka and three Uma'Timai families.

After having read this account, we now realize that the planning and logistics for such a mass migration are not easy tasks. After the decision of moving has been made (we shall see below why and how), all the families involved in the migration commence working a much larger plot of land than usual. They may take a year or two until the rice supply is considered sufficient to begin the journey. Then a date is set for the departure. On the middle and lower course of main rivers, swidden cultivation begins with the slashing of the undergrowth in May-June and ends in January-February or sometimes March. We would then expect the people to try to complete their trip between March and May (actually a journey such as the one described above could have been completed in less than three months), so that they could begin their new agricultural year on time. But in elevated plateau areas, like Apo Kayan, the rice cycle is longer and thus the harvest may last until the end of May (Colfer 1983). In any case, the March to May period is usually rainy, and the rivers flood and the jungles are not practicable.

The people of Long Sungai Barang chose to leave in August, which is the dry season, the period when they usually burn the fields (July-August). The rivers are at their lowest, paddling and walking are easy. Leaving in August, the moving group should be ideally self-sufficient in rice until they can harvest a crop at their new village, one and a half years later. Their relatives in Ritan had probably also cultivated larger rice-fields than usual in the meantime to meet the newcomers' needs.

Before leaving, the people of Long Sungai Barang had to build canoes to be ready for them over the watershed. The making of five twelvemeter dugouts may well keep twenty men busy for more than a month, maybe two months (that is between the end of harvest and the departure). We have seen in Father Zwirs' text how they move: first the goods, then the people, both by boat and on foot; how they utilize an interesting

system of alternating resting places and storage huts; how they send people ahead to call for help from their relatives over in Ritan and how the last leg of the journey is organized.

It appears that, mainly due to unexpected floods, their journey was delayed several times. The first time was in Long Lebusan. The Uma'Tau of Long Lebusan and Lisi are, like the Uma'Tukung of Long Sungai Barang and the Uma'Bakung of Mahak, under the authority of the Uma'Tau (or Lepo Tau) rajah (paran bio) of Long Nawang. In spite of differences in language and former long-lasting enmities, they are all Kenyah and now help one another. So the migrating people, stuck there because of the flood, could obtain paddy in return for their work in their fellow Kenyah's fields.

The Punan-Top (a sub-group of the Lisum), living in Long-Top, are direct vassals to the village rajah (paran lepo) of Long Lebusan and could not refuse to help the migrants if the rajah had ordered them to do so, to the point of giving them more than was due.

Holding together a large group in difficult circumstances is a challenge to a leader. It appears that a party of about twenty (personal data) split off from the group led by Amai Pajak (it seems that his name is actually Ajak, or PěAjak, Pě being a contraction of Pui, grand-father, and a respectful address to an elder) and went straight down to Batu Majang, where other Uma'Tukung were already living. Similarly it is reported that the Uma'Jalan from Long Ampung on their way down the Boh River in 1974 split up into two groups: one led by Kepala Kampung Udou went to Data Bilang, while the other led by the Kepala Adat went to Long Segar.

In an appendix, we provide tables of population figures for Kenyah (and some Kayan) newcomers' villages in the Mahakam basin. These sometimes contradictory figures nevertheless enable a gross estimate of the migrations from the Apo Kayan (Kabupaten Bulungan: Kecamatan Kayan Hulu and Kayan Hilir) to the Mahakam River Basin (Kab. Kutai). Although incomplete and inaccurate, the data are striking: between ten and thirteen thousand people have poured into Kab. Kutai, among whom about ten thousand over the last fifteen years, and the process is still going on. Another table shows the absolute decline of total population in the Apo Kayan area: there are 8,000 still living there, while the Kenyah total over 20,000 in the Mahakam area.

The Kenyah migratory process might well be the major movement of population in Borneo since the Kayan and Modang groups left the Apo Kayan area during the 18th century (excepting the Iban penetration into Sarawak and the recent Javanese immigration).

What are the reasons for such a massive process that began around 1900? Before the migratory wave of the late 1960's, migration could have been caused by quarrelling and even wars between Kenyah sub-groups over territories for instance, or for political leadership, or by the splitting

process of large villages (<u>lepo</u>) consisting of several longhouses (<u>uma'</u>). Fission then occurred mainly because of competition for leadership between families of high aristocrats (<u>paran</u>). It seems that the need for new farm land has never really been an actual reason for Kenyah moves out of the Apo Kayan, for this area still provides plenty of good land.

It is easier to figure out the current reasons for such a move. A new stimulus is now at work, namely the attraction to economic networks. Transportation is easy between new village sites and the towns of Kab. Kutai, so trading and shopping activities are stimulated and products are easily marketed. Facilities also play a key role now: schooling (SMP, SMA) and medical care, for instance, are more readily available in the middle Mahakam area. Furthermore, the prices for the basic staples (sembilan bahan pokok) may, in remote upstream villages, be five- to twenty-fold those in Samarinda. The possibility even for unskilled workers to find a salaried job in a timber company is also a very strong incentive. The middle Mahakam area has become a melting pot, with upriver people moving downstream and Muslims (Bugis, Kutai, Banjar) moving upstream from the coast. Cash economy now prevails and upriver people are well aware of it. They wish to become more involved in the economy of their region and benefit from development programs." The Indonesian Government encourages them in this respect. Furthermore, the provincial government, with its RESPEN (Resetelmen Penduduk, or Population Resettlement) program, provides special administrative structures and facilities for new village sites, at the same time managing to gather formerly scattered populations. However, it remains that most Kenyah chose to move over to the Kab. Kutai rather than down the Kayan River. The obvious reason appears to be that, in spite of what has just been said about economic factors, the need for farm land is still an important criterion to the Kenyah. They are still primarily farmers and would not move to an area where land is hardly available, as in the lower kayan River area. Farmland is still plentiful on the wide drainage basins of the northern tributaries of the Mahakam River (Belayan, Kelinjau, Telen, Wahau Rivers).

Concerning Kayan migrations, J. Rousseau (1978) says, "Wars seem to have been both a cause and a consequence of migration." Let us try to determine how an ethnic group colonizes a new river basin. Of those Kayan who split up and left Apo Kayan, a group went over to the upper Mahakam. We have read of 'invasion', of 'conquest'. The Kayan certainly had to capture the upper Mahakam area from its inhabitants (numerous but apparently not warlike groups related to the present Ot-Danum and Tunjung). The Kayan are famous warriors, and some of these Ot-Danum and Tunjung fled down the Mahakam, some fled over to the Barito and the rest were enslaved and assimilated by the Kayan who controlled the whole course of the Mahakam upstream from the rapids. Then came the Bahau and Busang groups (also Kayan s.l.), also from Apo Kayan. The Bahau only had to force the remainder of the autochthonous population farther down the Mahakam, while the Busang had the Kayan make room for them. The Long-Gelat, arriving in the Mahakam later, gathered most of the Busang

sub-groups under their leadership and waged war on and subdued the reluctant ones. The latest to arrive on the upper Mahakam, the Kayan Uma'Suling, settled in the midst of their predecessors.

It thus seems that, if the pioneering group had a real war of conquest to wage in order to settle on new headwaters, the following groups of the same origin had much less to do, for instance, pushing back already half-vanquished enemies. Their arrival strengthened the pioneer group's positions, and increased the pressure upon former inhabitants. Those who came later could use the established bridgehead of their predecessors and settle with little trouble.

Even the 'war of conquest' waged by the pioneer group may not be an all-out war but only a continuous harassment with but a few skirmishes. The Kereho (or Punan-Penyavung) 'conquered' the upper Busang River area (Barito) from the Ot-Danum: they created such a state of insecurity in the area by harassing the farmers in their fields and then retreating in deep jungles that the Ot-Danum could no longer farm. Finding no enemy to face or retaliate upon, they chose to leave for the Juloi River, far downstream.

The same pattern applies to the colonization of the headwaters of several tributaries of the Mahakam by the Kenyah. Kenyah raiders, based on the upper Kayan River, so frequently launched head-hunting raids to the upper Mahakam that the Busang abandoned control of the Ogah and upper Boh Rivers, where the Kenyah began to settle. Much bloodier events occurred when the Kenyah first ventured in the northern tributaries of the middle Mahakam. The Kenyah Uma'Timai had to defeat and expel the Modang from the upper Belayan. There was a bloodbath as early as 1906 when the Kenyah Uma'Kulit ventured into the Modang territory of Wahau.

It seems that the Kayan on the upper Mahakam, like the Kenyah on the Belayan and Wahau, first sent an expeditionary force ahead to wage war on the group which was holding the territory they wanted to conquer. Depending on the result of the ensuing 'war of conquest', the civilian population would follow or not. What happened subsequently is of a different nature: once the Kayan had a hold on the upper Mahakam, other Kayan sub-groups such as the Busang could more easily pour into the area. Likewise, once the Uma'Timai had established themselves on the upper Belayan, other Kenyah groups began to pour over from Apo Kayan. Some even used the Kenyah bases on the Belayan to conquer territories farther East.

Such a late migration, (some time after the bridgehead is established and the situation is back to normal), involved the whole group and must have been very much like Jan Zwirs' description of the 1978 migration: a flow of people including women and children, with their worldly goods. Besides relying on paddles and poles instead of outboard motors, they needed warriors for constant protection. Pioneer warriors were scouting ahead on the path (what we suspect they still do to-day just in case).

Once a bridgehead is established and a continuous flow of newcomers strengthens the group settled on a new river basin, a new type of pressure begins on the next group downstream: an economic and demographic pressure. The weapon for 'conquest' is no longer the mandau or the sumpit (although they may be used in some cases), but a high population growth, linked to a high standard of farming. The sheer number of the Kenyah on the upper Belayan and the number of their offspring, related to the size of their swiddens and the huge amount of their paddy supplies might have been enough to force the Modang as far downstream as Kec. Kembang Janggut. It may be that the same process explains the earlier Bahau expansion down the middle Mahakam at the expense of the Tunjung-Benua' groups.

Today the Kenyah expansion goes on without violence. The Kenyah are massively colonizing the Mahakam. Kenyah, like Kayan, have a strongly stratified society, but while middle Mahakam Bahau society has been slowly disintegrating, especially during the last half-century, location in a remote upriver area has preserved this feature in the social organization of the Kenyah. When moving to new areas of settlement, they maintain their socio-political unity, where the power of traditional headmen is not challenged. While Bahau society gives way to individualistic attitudes and a clear weathering of traditional power, the Kenyah decision-making process is still firmly controlled by a council of elders and high aristocrats and this very fact holds together the community and gives Kenyah an advantage over their Dayak and Muslim neighbours. Gregarious, hard-working, excellent farmers, the Kenyah appear to be also an enterprising and pragmatic people. Their villages form by and large the biggest mono-ethnic Dayak settlements on the Mahakam basin (Ritan Baru, Data Bilang, Long Segar), at places bigger than the local district head-village. These villages attract markets, shops, companies, and attract also population from smaller surrounding villages and assimilate them. Although not the numerically dominant ethnic group, the Kenyah are, by their sense of unity and their economic dynamism, a major Dayak entity in Kab. Kutai, especially if they prove as successful at wet rice cultivation, (which the government is now promoting), as they are at swiddens.

NOTES

- 1. When names of groups are concerned, $\underline{lepo} = \underline{uma'}$. On this point, see Whittier, 1973, 232-234.
- 2. The total number of Kenyah in East-Kalimantan (all three Kabupaten) is estimated at 32,000 to 40,000 (Whittier, 1973, 13-15; Conley, 1976, 15).
- See Headley, 1980, 19; Whittier, 1973, 25; Conley, 1976, 25.
- 4. See Jessup, 1981, 23-25; Colfer (1983, 84) stresses the flexibility, creativity, rationality and opportunism of (these) rural people.

- 5. Resettlement programs in East-Kalimantan, begun in 1971 and aimed at 'stabilizing' Dayak swidden cultivators, are considered a potential threat to the primary forest, as timber is one of the major economic resources of this province. But in 1972 the provincial government launched a new policy to prevent border areas (daerah perbatasan) from being deserted. People must stay in their districts (kecamatan) where local village regrouping is advocated. However, Kenyah people tend to move out without permission to downriver areas where RESPEN programs take care of them upon arrival. See T.A.D., 1977, 74-84.
- 6. See Nieuwenhuis, 1904-1907, vol. II, 278-279; Whittier, 1973, 24.
- 7. See Swart, 1906, 29. The hostility between Kenyah Uma'Kulit and Modang was long lasting. The Uma'Kulit and Uma'Jalan moving over in the late 1960's to Long Segar and Long Noran had to make a formal peace with the Modang at Ben Has (upper Telen River) before continuing their journey downstream.
- 8. Wherever ecological conditions are propitious to wet rice cultivation. In some areas it has proven less rewarding than swidden cultivation. See Colfer, 1980, 2-3; 1983, 81.

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Notes to Tables 1 and 2

- 1. Leaving from Long Sungai Barang, these Uma'Tukung lived at Long Mujut (lower Boh River), before settling at Batu Majang, on the Alan River. They were recently (1983) resettled by the administration at Muara Alan. A Uma'Timai group from Long Huroh has lived at Batu Majang from 1924, to 1965-67, when they left to join another Uma'Timai group at Beluk Sen, on the Belayan. Only three Uma'Timai families have stayed at Batu Majang until now.
- 2. The Uma'Jalan group from Long Ampung stayed one year at Data Bunyoh (lower Boh), where they numbered 642 (1971), and gathered with the Bahau and Bekumpai of Lutan. The Uma'Bakung from Long Metulang lived some time with the Bahau and the Punan-Ratah at Muara Ratah, then joined the Uma'Jalan to found Data Bilang (over 3,000 persons in 1983), while the remaining population at Muara Ratah (which still holds a status desa) numbers 120.
- 3. Several groups have come since the first settlement in 1970 (see Jan Zwirs' document). The total population is approaching 3,500 (1983).
- 4. This Uma'Timai group was previously known as Uma'Bekuai, for it inhabited a village of this name on the Bengen River. The present village is located at the confluence of the Bengen and Belayan Rivers.
- 5. This group, coming from Long Jemahang (Tanah Putih) was known as Kenyah Long Pejalin, from the name of their village before they moved to nearby Uma'Dian.
- A group of about 40 Uma'Tau from Long Lebusan arrived in 1983.

District (kecamatan)	Village	Ethnic Group or Sub-group	Village of Origin	District of Origin	Year of Settlement	Notes
Ma Wahau	Lg Segar	Ke U. Jalan	Lg Ampung	Kayan Hulu	1968-72	
	Lg Noran Lg Kejiak/ Miau Baru	Ke U. Kulit Ka U. Lekan	Naha Keramo Lg Heban	Kayan Hilir Kayan Hilir	1968 1969	
	Upstream from Miau Baru	Ke L. Teppu	?	Kayan Hilir	1982	
	mag Dard	ite 21 Teppo	•	Kujun inni	1702	
Ma Ancalong	Rantau Sentosa	Ke U. Jalan	Lg Ampung	Kayan Hulu	1969	
-	Lg Gemar	Ke U. Jalan	Lg Ampung	Kayan Hulu	1969	
	Tanjung Manis	Ke U. Tau	?	Kayan Hulu	1976	
	Lg Puh / Poo	Ke U. Tukung	Lg S. Barang	Kayan Hulu	1970	
	Lg Le'es	Ke U. Bem	Lg Lebusan	Kayan Hulu	ca. 1940	
Lg Bagun	Batu Majang	Ke U. Tukung	Lg S. Barang	Kayan Hulu	1972-73	
		Ke U. Baka	Lg Marung	Kayan Hilir	1968	(1)
		Ke U. Timai	Lg Huroh	Kayan Hulu	1924	
	Rukun Damai	Ke U. Tau	Lg Temunyat	Kayan Hulu	1972	
Lg Iram	Ma Ratah	Ke U. Bakung	Lg Metulang	Kayan Hulu	1972	
	Lutan Baru / Data Bilang	Ke U. Jalan	Lg Ampung	Kayan Hulu	1971	(2)
Tabang	Ritan Baru	Ke U. Tukung	Lg 5. Barang	Kayan Hulu	1970	(3)
	Uma' Tukung	Ke U. Tukung	7		1969	
	Ma Pedohon	Ke U. Timai	Sungai Aka		1969-72	
	Tabang Lama	Ke U. Bem	Upper Boh	Kayan Hulu	ca. 1940	
	Kpg Bengen	Ke U. Timai	Lg Jemahang	Kayan Hulu	ca. 1900	(4)
	Kampung Baru	Ke U. Timai	Sungai Aka		?	
	Uma' Dian	Ke U. Timai	Lg Jemahang	Kayan Hulu	ca. 1900	(5)
	Beluk Sen	Ke U. Timai	Lg Jemahang	Kayan Hulu	ca. 1900	(1)
	Bila Talang	Ke U. Timai	Lg Jemahang	Kayan Hulu	?	
		Ke U. Tau	Lg Nawang	Kayan Hulu	1970	
	~	Ke U. Tau	Lg Lebusan	Kayan Hulu	1983	

Ma - muara (confluence) Lg - long (id.) Ka - Kayan Ke - Kenyah U. - Uma' L. - Lepo

Table 1: Kenyah Settlements in the Mahakam Region

Distric		Wille			Populatio (See Sources	Below)			
		Village	1	2	3	4	5	6	Notes
Me Waha	u	Lg Segar	963	963	1559		1949		
		Lg Noran	525	425	562		602		
		Lg Kejiak / Miau Baru	798				1773		
		Upstream from Miau Baru						450	
Ma Anca	long	Rantau Sentosa	500	74.0					
ma Airca	TONE	Lg Cemar	580 1200	742					
	Tanjung Manls	1200	1200				360		
	Lg Puh / Poo	1712	1712						
		Lg Le'es					1863		
Lg Bagun	Batu Majang	273		310 (283)			330	(1)	
		Rukun Damai	248	248	620 (374)			797	(1)
Lg Iram		Ma Ratah	1243	248	120 (119)				(2)
		Lutan Baru /							(2)
		Data Bilang	625	625	2874 (2782)				(2)
Tabang	Ritan Baru	1552	1552	2338	2481			(3)	
	Uma' Tukung	161		185	119			.,,	
	Ma Pedohon	162	312	171	081				
	Tabang Lama	87		66	42				
	Kpg Bengen	262		239	370			(4)	
		Kampung Baru	213		381	274			
		Uma' Dian	144		339	368			(5)
		Beluk Sen	290		675	600			(1)
	Bila Talang	234		113	60			(6)	

Table 2: Kenyah Population in the Mahakam Region

Column 1

Laporan Pelita I, Samarinda, 1973.

Column 2
Personal data collected from officials, 1978

Column 3
Statistics from kecamatan offices, 1979. In brackets, T.A.D. Population Survey, Ms, Samarinda, 1978.

Column 4
Statistics from kecamatan offices, 1980.

Column 5
Penduduk Propinsi Kaltim, 1982, p. 28; statistics from kecamatan office, 1981

Column 6
Statistics from kecamatan offices and personal data, 1982-83.

Table 3: Population of the Apo Kayan Area

District	1929 (1)	1970 (2)	1971 (3)	1976 (4)	1981 (5)
Kayan Hulu	15 902	8,551	7,866	5,527	5,223
Kayan Hilir	15,892	3,970	3,997	3,834	2,544
Total	15,892	12,521	10,863	9,361	7,767

Sources:

Column 1

Tillema, in Whittier, 1973, p. 21. Only 19 villages

Column 2

Whittier, 1973, p. 19. Number of villages: 29.

Column :

T.A.D. Report, 1977, Annex 3, p. 145. Number of villages unknown.

Column 4

lbid.

Column 5

Penduduk Propinsi Kaltim, 1982. Number of villages: 24.

NB: Most of these figures include a few hundred of Punan.

PATTERNS IN BRUNEI HISTORY AND CULTURE (A Paper Read to the Association for Asian Studies, March, 1984)

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I want to talk about those patterns of culture and history in Brunei that are most likely to affect Brunei's future. The principal long-term elements of Brunei's heritage are Islam, monarchy, hereditary rank, and ethnic plurality. The most important short-term elements are small size, extraordinary wealth, and the impact of British colonialism; the last three, short-term elements are hard to separate from each other.

ISLAM

Shortly after Malacca was taken by the Portuguese, in 1511, it was reported that the Brunei ruler, hitherto a pagan but having many Muslim

subjects, converted to Islam. Other lines of documentary and epigraphical evidence show or strongly suggest that Islam was present in Brunei a century or two earlier, and at least some Bruneis understand their own traditions to indicate conversion of the ruler well before the arrival of the Portuguese in Southeast Asia. It is quite certain that in the 1500s the Bruneis proselytized vigorously, particularly in the southern Philippines. While many Bruneis acknowledge a pagan background for their kingdom, and all acknowledge that many of their ancestral groups were pagan, the general opinion is that Brunei has been Muslim for a very long time. The identification with Islam is unequivocal.

Brunei has been the only officially Islamic state in Southeast Asia in recent times; I presume it remains an Islamic state after independence. This has two important implications. For one, it imposes the problem of enforcing Islamic law, probably more on a par with the situation in the Near East than in the other countries in Southeast Asia that are predominantly but not officially Muslim (i.e. Indonesia and Malaysia). The problem develops, on the one hand, from the differing degrees of orthodoxy among Muslims in Brunei. While there are few if any genuinely skeptical Brunei Muslims, many of those who have been educated abroad practice a form of Islam seen as offensively lax by the more orthodox or conservative. The less orthodox object to curbs on their eating and drinking habits, for example, but the orthodox are insistent that government must regulate restaurants in such a manner that no Muslim could have the opportunity of violating Muslim food and drink prohibitions in public. On the other hand, the problem arises between the Muslims and the others living in the State, sometimes over the same issues, for example, the regulation of eating establishments. I should add that this problem is not peculiar to Brunei: in Malaysia or Indonesia the same problems take the form of demands that the state become officially Muslim, so that enforcing Muslim law will be a constitutional requirement. It might be said that such matters as the regulation of restaurants are not really significant, but sometimes the issues are larger. For example, being a Muslim confers distinct advantages in Brunei law, such as the privilege enjoyed only by Muslims to serve in the Brunei Malay Regiment.

The second implication of Brunei being an independent and officially Muslim state is that there is now increasing pressure on Malaysia and Indonesia to become officially Muslim, pressure that has led to serious friction even before the Brunei precedent. There could conceivably be a sort of contest between the Muslim elements of Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia, and even the Philippines, each trying to be more Muslim than the other.

MONARCHY

In Brunei tradition Islam and monarchy are closely connected: their very first ruler was converted to Islam (and there was no State before there was a ruler). According to Chinese records, however, monarchy in Brunei goes back to the tenth century. For the considerable majority of

Bruneis their country is almost unthinkable as anything but a monarchy (we might note that the word for state in Malay, kerajaan, is equivalent to kingdom). I have found no trace of formal democratic institutions in Brunei society or history, even at the village level. There is no clear evidence of a regular state council in pre-colonial Brunei, although the ideal of consultation was well-established. There were certain limitations on the monarch, in addition to those materially imposed by the very limited resources at his command. For example, he alone appointed all (or most) offices, but he had to make his choices from specific sectors of the Traditionally, he seemed almost never to demote his appointees. His ability to interfere in the domains of great nobles, who controlled much of Brunei's territory and people, was very limited. Finally, the idea that the ruler should not oppress the people (and that they should not rebell) was well understood--although without the right to rebell against an oppressive ruler this limitation was essentially moral only.

In the colonial period the Sultan's powers greatly circumscribed vis a vis the British Resident, but vis a vis his inferiors, noble and commoner alike, his powers greatly increased. In the long run, monarchical power has been considerably augmented, though its authority may in fact be less now. The authority of the Sultan has been eroded in two ways. One is that western ideas, clearly enunciated as aims for Brunei in the final years of colonialism, have given some Bruneis a desire for democracy. The other is that some forms of Islam are democratic, and these forms have a considerable popular appeal among some Muslims today. While these Muslim democratic idéals are not necessarily anti-monarchic--sometimes they are, sometimes they are not--they do imply a more limited role for the monarch, something less absolutist, more limited or constitutional. Thus although monarchy has deep roots in Brunei culture and history, it now exists under conditions quite dissimilar from those of the past.

HEREDITARY RANK

When the Brunei social system began to be understood by outsiders in the nineteenth century, Brunei was found to have a hereditary nobility (pengiran-pengiran). Chinese evidence suggests that it existed for centuries. The nobles had considerable power and authority, much of it retained at least until the 1960s. Since the 1960s there is some evidence that educated elements of the population, regardless of their birth rank, have moved into relatively high positions that in the past have been held largely by nobles. It is not at all clear whether this indicates a wider dispersal of power in Brunei society, or a narrowing of it by curbing those most likely to rival the Sultan's power. But it is my impression that rankconsciousness remains strong in Brunei. The Sultan's address to the 21st session of the State Legislative Council in late December, 1983, contained an admonition to "titled people to concentrate more on their duties and obligations to the State and not to be overconcerned with privileges, status and prestige" (Borneo Bulletin Dec. 24). This suggests that those with traditional rank are not all quietly accepting a new order.

An important test of the extent to which Brunei has been able to set aside the claims of noble descent, and in other ways escape from its past concern with traditional criteria of rank, is presumably taking place right now. For at least the last 130 years at every important governmental turning point--particularly at successions to the throne, but also when Brunei received internal independence in 1959--large number of persons were appointed to traditional offices (which are closely tied to traditional stratification) as part of the celebrations. Thus each change was an affirmation of the traditional patterns. As near as I could tell last summer, when I visited Brunei, there were no plans this time to rejuvenate the traditional system of offices, which, as is usual between turning points, has been in decline lately. If the traditional offices are not rejuvenated, it will mark a substantial decline in the power of traditionally titled persons, or persons who expect titles on traditional grounds. If the channels of vertical mobility are open, rank-consciousness need not be a bad thing at all, since it may all the more inspire people to achieve and rise.

This topic--rank in Brunei--is not likely to get much press inside or outside of Brunei, but I would not underemphasize its importance to Brunei's internal stability.

ETHNIC PLURALITY

In Brunei tradition the state was ethnically plural from earliest times. There is no reason to doubt the tradition. In every period for which we have evidence it has been thus, and Brunei remains a plural society today. Nineteenth-century evidence suggests that those persons counted as ethnic Bruneis--in contrast to the Kedayan, Belaits, Tutong, Dusun, Murut, Kayan, Iban, etc .-- were in some sense considered superior. The evidence also suggests that those who were Muslim (Kedayan, Melanau, and Sarawak Malay, as well as the Brunei Malays) were in some sense considered superior too. How this all worked out is now very obscure. But at any rate, from the viewpoint of the Bruneis, ethnic groups could be ranked, and the Brunei Malays (i.e., the bangsa Brunei) were at or near the top. When the British Resident was established in 1906 the ethnic Bruneis were given a sort of first-class citizenship, others something less. At present some of the old attitudes may well persist, but there is a strong tendency for all the indigenous Muslim elements to identify as Malays (Melayu Brunei) rather than as Bruneis, Kedayans or whatever, and there is some tendency for the indigenous peoples to identify themselves in opposition to the immigrant groups: the Chinese on the one hand (many of whom may have deep roots in Brunei) and on the other hand all the more or less temporary foreign residents of Brunei. While it is rarely if ever discussed in public, ethnic Bruneis--i.e. the bangsa Brunei, as opposed to the Kedayans, Tutongs, Belaits, etc.--are aware that they do not form a majority in the State, and probably never

The amalgamation of indigenous groups into a single ethnic group, often accompanied by conversions to Islam; and the status of those Chinese born in Brunei but lacking Brunei (or any other) citizenship, are the two aspects of ethnicity currently warranting the most attention.

THE SHORT TERM ELEMENTS: SIZE, WEALTH, AND COLONIALISM

Although Brunei is now a small country the memory of its one-time dominion over the peoples and territory included in the present-day states of Sarawak and Sabah, Malaysia, is quite strong in Brunei, and is not forgotten among its neighbors either. The indigenous Malays (including Kedayan) or Sarawak and Sabah are perhaps particularly mindful of the old connections between them and the Brunei Sultanate. Malays in Brunei are often tied by kinship to families in Sarawak and Sabah. These ties will increasingly remain an ingredient in the social, political, and economic life of the region.

Insofar as it makes sense to think of a Muslim, Malay-speaking population in northern Borneo that to some degree feels a sense of unity, its spiritual center may well be Brunei's capital. On the folk level the embodiment of this unity's center is Kampong Ayer, the collection of wards surviving from the old capital built over the water of the Brunei River. Kampong Ayer has long been the target of Malay immigration from Sarawak and Sabah, generally facilitated by kin ties. In turn, a great many Malays were resettled ashore from Kampong Ayer during the decades in which government attempted to eradicate the community. But more people came to replace them, so that Kampong Ayer grew faster than resettlement schemes could reduce it. No doubt Kampong Ayer will continue to grow, and continue to be a culturally vital part of Brunei.

The new capital, that is, the various structures built up on the land adjacent to the old capital, is both a folk and elite center. Parts of it undoubtedly look foreign from the viewpoint of Malay tradition, but parts of it have enormous symbolic value to the Bruneis. The gold-domed mosque and new palace are tangible signs of Brunei's religion, government, and prosperity. All these are meaningful to the Brunei consciousness, and must also enhance whatever pan-north Bornean Malay feeling there may be.

But there is much in the capital to remind one of Brunei's long years under British control, and an even longer period of close ties with Britain. English is very widely spoken, many Bruneis were educated in Britain, and virtually all the trappings of western civilization are available in Brunei. Moreover they are considered a normal part of life. Anti-British sentiment ran high in Brunei in the 1950s, and was still strong in the 1960s. And yet I don't think I ever personally heard a complaint about the various aspects of British or western culture. There are of course objections to alcoholic beverages and foods prepared in a non-Muslim way, and to immodest feminine attire or behavior, but there is nothing specifically anti-western in this. The westernization of Brunei is here to

stay, though contacts with countries other than Britain are almost certain to become more important now.

Brunei's oil industry has been ever more profitable. After the Near Eastern oil embargo Brunei's wealth skyrocketed, so that it is now one of the few wealthiest countries in the world on a per-capita basis. Precisely how to best use the country's wealth, as a hedge against the time when the oil gives out, has been a vexing problem. Overseas investment currently brings in a considerable amount of the nation's revenues, and no doubt can be a source of income well into the future. But like other small countries living high on oil wealth, the expensive tastes now being acquired may become a problem in the future. Rather than wealth being a stimulus to sustainable development, it may be dissipated in showcase projects that in themselves are not profitable.

At present Brunei's small size has at least one benefit—the wealth need not be spread so far. But as recently as 1978 Brunei lived under a constant threat from its much larger neighbors (in that year Indonesia and Malaysia renounced any designs on Brunei, and subsequently invited Brunei into ASEAN). But when does a small, wealthy country ever entirely free itself of such threats? And while great wealth from oil presently obviates the problem, how does a small country establish a secure and self-sustaining economy? No one seems to know. There must scarcely pass a moment when Bruneis do not wonder if one of the old patterns—that of a greater Brunei—might not be the long-term solution, but that pattern may well be gone forever.

CORRECTIONS

Please note the following corrections in Antonio J. Guerreiro's article, "A Note on Pronouns in the Long Gəlat and Busang Languages," (BRB 15:2):

- p. 100 One should read \underline{he}' instead of \underline{he}
- p. 101-102 <u>Kəla ɛ ñ</u> instead of <u>Kəlɛñ</u>
- p. 102 <u>muyn</u> instead of <u>muiñ</u>
- p. 103, 104 and 105 sombroek instead of soembroek

p. 104, note 13
The Long Galat terms are not well placed, they should be as follows:

<u>saməs∲n oan koy</u>

samənow koy

sahulaen kay

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Update on Linguistic Research in Sabah

In the September 1980 (Vol. 12, No. 2) issue of the <u>Borneo Research Bulletin</u>, a brief report on "Linguistic Research in Sabah by the Summer Institute of Linguistics" was presented. In that report it was stated: "Four basic procedures are being employed by the institute to investigate the distinctiveness of the languages and dialects found in Sabah: (1) the collection and comparison of lexical items, (2) the study of ethnographic data, (3) intelligibility testing, and (4) in-depth studies of certain local dialects." The first and third of these procedures have been pursued extensively, and a collection of findings from field researchers has been submitted to <u>Pacific Linguistics</u> for publication.

The collection and comparison of lexical items has resulted in a lexico-statistic classification of the languages and dialects in Sabah by Kenneth D. Smith. Smith considers speech communities to share a common language if at least 80% of the lexical items are traceable to a common source. On the basis of lexical comparisons, he identifies 51 languages, 33 of which are considered to have their cultural centers in Sabah. He also identifies 83 dialects spoken in the state.

To test the lexicostatistic classifications, intelligibility testing was carried out throughout the state. The results of this testing have altered some of the classifications which Smith proposed solely on the basis of the lexicostatistic data. In some cases, groups which Smith considered to speak different dialects of one language were found on the basis of intelligibility testing to speak different languages, while some which he considered to speak different languages were found to speak dialects of the same language. In most cases, however, Smith's conclusions were confirmed by the results of the intelligibility testing.

The write-up of the language survey results is in the form of 22 articles authored by 9 SIL members. These will appear along with the Smith article in a volume to be published by Pacific Linguistics

In-depth study of 9 Sabah languages is now in progress. These include Ida'an/Begahak spoken in Lahad Datu District;* Eastern Kadazan, a Dusunic language spoken in Labuk-Sugut District; Nabay, a Murutic language spoken in Keningau District; Tatana, Dusunic language spoken in Kuala Penyu District; Tambanua, a Paitanic language spoken in Labuk-Sugut District; Upper Kinabatangan, a Paitanic language spoken in Kinabatangan District; Timugon, a Murutic language spoken in Tenom District; and Coastal Kadazan, spoken in Penampang and Papar Districts. A number of articles have been submitted for publication on various aspects of these languages. In addition to linguistic research in these languages, further ethnographic data will be collected for these groups. It is hoped that within the near future, investigation of several more Sabah languages will have begun.

In addition to the above-mentioned articles, also of interest to Bornean scholars will be two forthcoming papers by SIL members. One by Michael and Alanna Boutin entitled "Indigenous Groups of Sabah: An Annotated Bibliography of Linguistic and Anthropological Sources" lists books and articles dealing with the languages and peoples of Sabah. It is intended to be a reference guide and also to contain information on the availability of such resources in Sabah. This paper is to be published by the Sabah State Museum.

A second paper to be published by the Sabah State Museum is "Sabah Peoples' Who's Who: A Glossary of the Terms Used for the People and Languages of Sabah, East Malaysia" by Phyllis Dunn. This glossary is an attempt to define the various terms found in the literature available in Sabah, as well as the terms employed by still other authors. Such a listing should be of great assistance to anyone undertaking research in Sabah because it helps to identify groups which have been referred to by a great variety of names and spellings in publications that have appeared in the past describing the languages and peoples of Sabah. (John D. Miller)

7

A Reaction to "Kedayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan"

I am writing in connection with the article of Allen R. Maxwell "Kedayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan and Kadayan in Brunei" which appeared in the BRB Vol. 15, No. 2 of September 1983. You may already have had reactions to this from others, but I would like to use this opportunity to oppose the view put forward on p. 92, namely that kedayan is probably not derived from Javanese.

^{*}Banggi spoken on Banggi Island in Kudat District

To my mind, there is not the slightest doubt that we are dealing with a Javanese word here. I refer to P. J. Zoetmulder's Old Javanese-English Dictionary (The Hague, 1982), where under dyah "young man or woman of gentle birth" we find, amongst others, the form kadyahan "corps of pages" which first occurs in the kakawin Ghattotkacāśraya, i.e. circa A.D. 1200. In accordance with the usual process, ya becomes e (é), and so we get in Middle Javanese kadehan "corps of pages, suite of young noblemen", found passim in the kidung literature, e.g. Kidung Harsa-Wijaya and Wangbang Wideya. The change from kadehan to kadevan is merely a matter of spelling; both are listed in Gericke & Roorda's Javanesch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek (vol. 1, p. 598). In Modern Javanese it occurs only in the expression kadang-kedéyan, meaning simply "relatives", as listed in the dictionaries of Pigeaud and Horne.

As with a number of other words from the romance literature of early Java, $\underline{kadeyan}$ was borrowed by Malay and used in areas influenced by Java, be they in Borneo or Sumatra.

I hope the above has been sufficient to make my view of this question clear. (Dr. S. O. Robson)

REPLY TO S. O. ROBSON

Dr. S. O. Robson's comment on my "kedayan in the Shair Ken Tambuhan and Kadayan in Brunei" (BRB 15.2:87-97), in which he states he "... would like to use this opportunity to oppose the view put forward on p. 92, namely that kedayan is probably not derived from Javanese.", mistakes my position. On page 92 I wrote, "Consequently Wilkinson's suggestion that kedayan derives historically from kadyahan should not be accepted, at least until it can be attested in Old Javanese or Old Malay and given a plausible semantic interpretation" (emphasis added). Dr. Robson has done just this--Q.E.D. My citations were regrettably limited to sources available locally to me. I greatly appreciate his explanation of Mal. kedayan from OJ kadyahan. I will say more on the etymology of 'Kadayan' (Brunei) in the future. (Allen R. Maxwell)

A Comment on "P. J. Veth's "Origin of the Name Dayak"

I'm puzzled by the strange etymology for "Dayak". Veth's alternative view (p. 120) that it means "inland" is largely ignored. But in northern Luzon, i-daya generally refers to "upstream" or (usually) inland dwelling or mountain dwelling peoples, who may also have specific names. (See Reid, Phil. Minor Languages, Oceanic Linguistics, Special Publication No. 8, 1971, p. 74. No. 88 - east including Kankanay daya. (East is, of course, only relevant where the streams flow generally west.) In some regions it refers to "downstream". (Fred Eggan)

REPLY TO FRED EGGAN

Mea culpa to Prof. Fred Eggan for my use of an infelicitous phrasing: "Semantically, Veth articulates an alternative view of the origin of the word 'Dayak' to one very commonly encountered in the English language literature on Borneo; namely, that it derives from something like 'inland' (see, e.g., Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909:24, 33) "---Maxwell, BRB 15.2:120. A clearer rendering of the meaning is: "Semantically, Veth articulates a view of the origin of the word 'Dayak' which is an alternative to the one very commonly encountered in the English language literature on Borneo; namely, ... " etc. In no way did I mean to suggest that Veth had indicated the word 'Dayak' to be in any manner connected with a meaning 'inland'. My sole intention was to make a relatively unknown view--which, however unacceptable to us now, is not without historical interest--more widely known. Prof. Eggan is, of course, correct in identifying Philippine cognates as pertinent to the formulation of a proper etymology of 'Dayak'. I will have more to say on Bornean etymologies for this form in the future. (Allen R. Maxwell)

OBITUARY

MARIUS JACOBS (1929-1983)

It is with great chagrin that I have to venture on a brief personal narrative of the life and work of Marius Jacobs, with whom I was in close contact over three decades, and to whom I -- and so many others -- are so much indebted. From his youth Marius was obviously attracted by plants,

for in spite of a difficult time he had after being obliged to leave grammar school through financial circumstances, he managed to attend an agricultural college for three years, followed by a few months voluntary assistance at the Rijksherbarium in 1949. He could then enroll as a student at the University of Leiden for the state degree KIV (biology). He took an active part in students life. After obtaining his degree he was temporarily attached to the Flora Malesiana Foundation, working on various small botanical subjects, pending taking up a post in Herbarium Bogoriense, for three years, from January 1954.

During this three years' stay at Bogor he pursued taxonomic studies, amongst others on Capparis, later the subject of his thesis, but above all he became acquainted with tropical vegetation on various expeditions in Java, Sumatra and North Borneo, praising the mentorship of Dr. Kostermans. This stay in the tropics laid the definite basis for his devotion to tropical plant life and the necessity and virtue of conservation. From February 1959 he joined the Flora Malesiana staff, working out the taxonomy of Salicaceae, Malpighiaceae, Capparidaceae, Juglandaceae, and finally Violaceae. He also worked on the variability of the tree genus Pometia (Sapindaceae), his paper becoming a classic in exposing the masses of 'paper species' described from the tropics. All the work he performed was well-considered, meticulous unto detail, and complete, and has stood the test of time, due to the exemplary devotion and care in all he did, whether it was a taxonomical problem, the making of the itinerary of A.F.G. Kerr in Siam, an inventory of abbreviations in Identification Lists, the setting up of experiments for explaining domatia in plants, selecting the equipment and preparation for an expedition -especially that to Persia -- or filling the co-editorship of Flora Malesiana Bulletin from n. 17 (1962) onwards, not worrying too much about the distinction between major and minor issues. All things he found interesting and of good purpose in the fields he would support, often at the expense of his own time, and this led frequently to great help to colleagues whose work was causing frustration. In some way he felt attracted to defend lame ducks and was challenged by lost or controversial cases. Resourceful as he was, he could often make clever suggestions and find ways and means, amongst others for opening later the possibility of publishing the Mountain Flora of Java.

The period 1962-1965 was busy, he preparing himself for academic degrees, with the doctor's degree awarded in 1965.

In later years he pursued his taxonomic work, but remained keen on field work, with expeditions to Luzon, South Sumatra, New Guinea, and East Celebes, gradually coming under the spell of nature conservation which he found more important. This superseded his personal taxonomical research, which soon came to a standstill. Though a conservationist myself -- show me any tropical botanist who is not! -- I never approved of this sine qua non decision and would have preferred a more harmonious output; Jacobs confined his share in promoting taxonomical work to

supervising work of students and in assisting other collaborators with arranging MSS and initiation of new projects.

Soon Marius became a member of the Netherlands Commission for International Nature Protection and was instrumental in the exploration of the Leuser complex in North Sumatra. With one of his students he compiled a large, selected, well annotated "Conservation Literature on Indonesia", a bibliography especially aiming to disclose the work done in earlier times but hidden in a large number of periodicals and pamphlets in Dutch. In those capacities he was also one of the principal advisers to the World Wild Life Fund in the Netherlands. He was the Secretary of the Ecology and Development Group of the Netherlands Commission, which persuaded the Dutch Government to apply ecological considerations in their overseas development policy. When the Netherlands government established an official advisory committee on Ecology and Development this task was completed and Marius Jacobs handed over the Secretaryship at a meeting on 21 April, during which he was struck by a fatal heart attack.

His involvement in nature conservation in the tropics led to his assisting ecological explorators in Indonesia and educating students by colloquia and courses, in order to raise interest in youngsters. When he was, some fifteen years ago, still chiefly involved in taxonomy, he passed to me a huge MS for perusal, intended as a 'Manual' or Introduction to Taxonomy, for students. It appeared far too bulky for publication. Later, when he was chiefly involved in conservation, he felt he had to prepare a similar educative 'Manual' in this field by working out a students' course he gave on all aspects of rain-forests in the tropics resulting in a book "The Tropical Rainforest - a first introduction" inspiring other people, for which he had a singular capacity, both by his witty and matter of fact way of writing and his great ability for lecturing. As such he was a scientific public relations officer of the highest standing.

Thus far I have touched only on his motivation for biological science, plant taxonomy, his ambitions and his interest, in which only glimpses of his versatile personality came to the fore. From his student years Marius viewed life as an adventure for a lone individual, to digest experience and contacts and as a challenge to his development, to spread his wings by his own power, probably himself curious to what this would lead and what hidden capacities he had in store. He preferred to work alone, in his own nightworker time-schedule; all he wrote was in a stylish way. He did not fit into teamwork. As his friend, Mr. Van Peype, said during the memorial service at Warmond, Marius viewed life as a play on the theatre Earth, in which all persons fulfilled a role.

For quite some years Marius was a member of the editorial committee of the LUB, a University newsletter, which he peppered with witty, not seldom opinionated, and often provocative comments on all sorts of subjects, his contributions being for many the only readable matter in this dull weekly. His interest was also in biography on which he

first embarked in a slightly arrogant view of "Linnaeus -- the Man and his Work" (1957). He was fascinated by personalities and history and enjoyed learning personal details and anecdotes from old times at Bogor. He confided to me that he regretted that so much of such information, revealing personalities, got lost, and was never put on record. In this respect he made good and compiled, after many sesisons, a book on the life and work of his former teacher, my predecessor, Professor Lam, which, it is hoped, will be published by Rodopi, Amsterdam, this year. This interest in history is part of the distinct -facet in his interests. He was for example well versed in the philosophy of Descartes on which he once gave me an unprepared private tutorial. It appeared also in a lecture he gave before the staff on the role of plants in antique Roman art and culture. It is less well known that his interest in the life and thinkings of man and the structure of society led him to write many essays outside the biological field, some very substantial. He was also a member of the fraternity of freemasons and was heavily interested in the psychological works of Professor Van den Berg at Leiden, whose works on 'metabletica' he greatly admired and avidly propagated. Always questioning what he was doing, and trying to dig into the sources of motivation, he pondered also on conservation and recently, in one of his last writings, he developed a conservation philosophy under the title "Spirits of Bali."

Scanning part of his written work, which I hope will some time be compiled into a bibliography, shows the breadth of his interests, and witnesses the panorama of his many-sided gifted personality, zealous, inventive, resourceful, provocative, but also sensitive to criticism and rather convinced of the correctness of his opinion, ambitious for good causes but rather inflexible, always ready to help, a man full of original ideas from whom much could be expected.

For those who had the privilege of knowing him well his death comes as a great personal loss. For international conservation of nature and of tropical rain-forests in particular his disappearance makes a gap that will prove to be hard to fill. Flora Malesiana lost with him one of its earliest and ardent collaborators and supporters -- (C. G. G. J. van Steenis).

BORNEO NEWS

Regional News

MISS BARBRO AXELIUS collected and studied Xanthophytum and Lerchea (Rubiaceae) in Sarawak, Kalimantan and Sumatra, August 1982-February 1983.

JAMES W. EDWARDS, a Ph.D. candidate in medical anthropology at Columbia University is studying the syndrome of Koro in the transcultural

psychiatric literature. He welcomes any information on Koro-like syndromes, aphrodisiacs and sex tonics, spirits which castrate or destroy vital energy, in Bornean societies. His address is 18 Prospect Place, Brooklyn, N.Y., 11217, U.S.A.

KWITON JONG, the U.K. Scientific Coordinator of the Programme, visited Malaysia in July and early August 1982. The primary purpose of his visit was to find out what the scientists there thought about the latest proposals of the Royal Society for a joint scientific research programme on rain forest ecology, and to consult with individuals and organizations interested in the programme.

The programme will concentrate initially on studies which would bring a better understanding of the recovery processes involved when a species-rich rain forest is disturbed through natural causes or by man. The Danum Valley Conservation Area in Sabah is an area of primary mixed dipterocarp forest some 438 square kilometres in extent with neighbouring areas of logged-over forest, and is considered a promising site for the programme. This area is in fact part of the Sabah Foundation timber concession, and all indications are that it will be kept in pristine condition for a long time to come. Kwiton was able to make a "flying" visit to the site with Dr. Clive Marsh (the Wildlife Officer of the Sabah Foundation), which included his first ever helicopter flight, on one of the Sabah Foundations regular aerial surveillance flights to check on the boundaries of their timber concession areas in eastern Sabah.

JOSEPH LAFERRIERE, Department of General Biology, University of Arizona, is planning an ethnobotanical study of native peoples of Borneo starting sometime late next year, as his dissertation project.

1985-86 ASIAN SCHOLARS-In-RESIDENCE - Under the Fulbright Program, American colleges and universities are invited to submit proposals to bring foreign scholars to lecture on their campuses. The purpose of the program is to strengthen the international dimension of U.S. scholarship by enabling colleges and universities to bring scholars from Asia to:

- teach courses on Asia from a comparative or foreign area perspective with emphasis on the humanities and social sciences.
- --- serve as a resource for students and faculty.
- --- participate in the general development of international aspects of the curriculum.

Applicants may name a particular scholar or request assistance in recruitment from the Fulbright Commission or USIS Post Abroad. The United States Information Agency, the government agency responsible for the Fulbright Program, provides the funding for grants to cover international travel, maintenance stipends of approximately \$60 a day and

basic medical insurance. Host institutions are asked to provide supplementary funding or in-kind support, such as housing.

The Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) assists the Agency in the administration of the Fulbright Program. All inquiries or requests for applications should be sent to: Mrs. Mary Ernst, CIES, 11 DuPont Circle, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Seminar on Cognatic Kinship in Southeast Asia: Amsterdam

A seminar on 'Cognatic forms of social organization in Southeast Asia' was held in Amsterdam from 6 to 8 January 1983. The seminar was intended to be a survey and discussion of new developments in the study of cognatic kinship in the Southeast Asian context by bringing together people who have done recent research in this field.

Originally the seminar was to have been held by mid-June 1982 under the auspices of the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Amsterdam. The organizing committee consisted of Frans Husken (University of Amsterdam) and Jeremy Kemp (University of Kent at Canterbury). In December 1981 invitations were sent to thirteen anthropologists working on Southeast Asia in Britain, France and the Netherlands. Nearly all of them responded favourably. Later on several others showed an interest in participating in the seminar and they were subsequently invited as well. Funds for the organization of the seminar were obtained from the University of Amsterdam (Subfaculteit Sociologie, Culturele Antropologie en Niet-westerse Sociologie), the British Institute in South-East Asia (Singapore), the Dutch Organization for Pure Scientific Research (ZWO) and the Dutch Foundation for Anthropology (Wassenaar).

In total, eighteen papers were submitted and discussed thoroughly over the three days of the seminar. An opening address was delivered by Professor Dr. Otto van den Muijzenburg and the papers were presented as follows:

Session I - The Content and Boundaries of Kinship

Stephen Headley (CeDRASEMI, Paris). 'Houses in Java: the missing kin'.

Mark Hobart (SOAS, London). 'The art of measuring mirages', or 'Is there kinship in Bali?'

Charles MacDonald (CeDRASEMI, Paris/Manila). 'The status of kin terms and kin terms for status'.

Bill Watson (University of Kent). "cognatic or matrilineal: Kerinci social organization in Escher perspective".

Session II - Kinship and Political Economy

Frans Hüsken (University of Amsterdam). 'Kinship, economics and politics in a Central Javanese village'.

Rosanne Rutten (University of Amsterdam). 'Kin solidarity and worker solidarity in a Philippine sugarcane hacienda'.

Maila Stivens (University College, London). 'The political economy of kinship in Rembau, Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia'.

Willem Wolters (Erasmus University of Rotterdam). 'The political mobilization of kin ties in the peasant communities of Central Luzon and Java.

Session III - Kinship and Community

Janet Carsten (London School of Economics). 'Bisan, equality and community in Pulau Langkawi, Malaysia'.

Jeremy Kemp (University of Kent). 'Processes of kinship and community in North Central Thailand'.

Will Lundström (University of Goteborg). 'Kin and non-kin in Minahasa'.

Josiane Nassard (CeDRASEMI, Paris). 'Kinship and exchange practices in a Malay village'.

Bill Wilder (University of Durham). 'Kinship, community and the structure of Pahang Malay kindreds'.

Diana Wong (University of Bielefeld). 'The family development cycle and social differentiation in a Kedah village'.

Session IV - Genealogy, Rank and Household

Larry Hirschfeld (Columbia University/University of Paris). 'Filiation, exchange and stability in North Sumatra'.

Terry King (University of Hull). 'Cognation and rank in Borneo'.

Stephen Morris (University of Cambridge). 'Kinship and rank among the coastal Melanau of Sarawak'.

Bernard Sellato (CeDRASEMI, Paris). 'Nomadism, utrolocal residence and affinal terminology in Borneo'.

Discussions in the seminar proved to be vivid, interesting and valuable. Most contributors profited from the comments and remarks that the chairpersons and the other participants made on their respective papers.

Several topics turned out to be of primary interest during all sessions: the specificity of cognation as compared to unilineal systems of descent; kinship and the 'axiom of amity' in village community life; and the relation between kinship and social stratification and political mobilization. Next to this, general problems with regard to the definition and relevance of such concepts as 'kindred', 'stock' and 'generalized' versus 'balanced reciprocity' were discussed.

The concluding session on Saturday 8 January was to have been chaired by Professor Barbara Ward, who had agreed to give a general overview of the results of the seminar. Three days before the start of the seminar, however, she suddenly died. In her place, Dr. Victor King made the concluding remarks on the papers and the seminar discussions. As the seminar contributions dealt with an important but rather neglected field of study in the anthropology of Southeast Asian societies, the participants agreed to give the papers a much wider distribution. The organizers of the seminar are now editing most of the papers and are writing an introductory essay in which they develop a more general framework for

the analysis of cognatic kinship in Southeast Asia, as well as give a review of the seminar discussions. The provisional title of this publication is Cognation and Social Organization in Southeast Asia.

RATTAN INFORMATION CENTRE. This centre was established and started operation at the Central Library of Forest Research Institute, Kepong in May 1982 where sources of references are readily available. It is financially supported by IDRC (International Developient Research Centre, Canada) the grant of which is expected to cover a period of 3 years.

Generally the objective of RIC is to seek, acquire, classify and store all relevant information on rattan and disseminate this information in various forms to those interested.

A quarterly newsletter/bulletin on rattan will provide current awareness on all aspects of rattan research; the first bulletin came out September 1982, the second in December.

Proceedings of the <u>8th</u> <u>World Forestry Congress</u>, Jakarta, October 1978, can be ordered from: <u>Direktorat Jenderal Kehutanan</u>, P.O. Box 3668, Jakarta, Indonesia. There are seven volumes, ranging from 700 to 2600 pages. Price \$250, separate volumes \$50, including postage by surface mail.

<u>Brunei</u>

<u>Brunei</u>. The University of Leeds, U.K. organized an eight weeks expedition to Brunei to carry out a comparative study of primary and selectively-felled mixed Dipterocarp forest.

Kalimantan

BIRUTE GALDIKAS (also a BRC member) and I would appreciate your letting people know that people will be able to visit and work on her orangutan research project for three week periods between June I and December 31, 1984 under the sponsorship of Earthwatch (10 Juniper Road, Belmont, MA 02178). By December 1, 1983 about half of the 90 available spaces were filled. Sufficient inquiries probably will lead to repetition of the opportunity in future. Costs are \$1,290 + airfare, which many will be able to use as a tax deducation. (Dave Churchman)

DR. MARK LEIGHTON spent considerable efforts during the years 1977-1979 to make a botanical collection, in the East Kutai Reserve, by the Sengata and Mentoko Rivers, i.e. on the northern side of it. His numbers run from 1 to 1141 (the compound numbers like OB13.40E5 on the handwritten labels refer to plots and have no other standing), but not all of these numbers were used. Only trees and climbers were collected, with special attention paid to fruits, many of which were preserved in alcohol.

The best represented families are Annonaceae, Burseraceae. Euphorbiaceae, Lauraceae, Meliaceae, Moraceae (with c. 49 spp. of Ficus, in many samples), Myristicaceae, Myrtaceae, Rubiaceae, Sapindaceae, Anacardiaceae, while many Bombacaceae. Dilleniaceae. Dipterocarpaceae, Fagaceae, Guttiferae, Melastomataceae and Vitaceae were also taken. After sets had been split off for the BO and DAV Herbaria, the collection was received 'raw' at Leiden, where the essential curating work was done, errors in the numbering corrected, identification work was organized (with the kind assistance of many specialists), and standard labels were added. The quality of the material was uneven; at L were retained c. 400 numbers, with 180 alcohol samples; the remainder and duplicates were sent to the Arnold Arboretum, where Dr. Leighton is now on the staff as a rain-forest ecologist.

From 15 March-5 April 1982, MESSRS. T. PARTOMIHARDJO, S. SUNARTI and A. MA'ROEF visited Wanariset Forest, Samboja, in connection with the continuation of ecological study in this forest. During this visit, they collected 2000 numbers of vouchers and live plants, incl. Durio kutejensis, D. lanceolatus, D. aquatifolius and D. oxeylanus.

MESSRS. ROCHADI A., T. PARTOMIHARDJO and A. MA'ROEF (BO) visited Lempake Forest Samarinda, East Kalimantan on 10-22 May 1982. They collected 700 nos of vouchers; at the same time, MISS E. A. WIDJAJA explored Apokayan forest, near the boundary with Sarawak, for collecting bamboos. She collected 135 numbers of herbarium specimens and 124 numbers of live plants.

On 20 Sept. - 20 Oct. 1982, MESSRS. S. ABDULKADIR (Treub Lab.), S. SUNARTI and RAMLANTO (BO) visited Wanariset Forest, Samboja for continuing ecological study. During this study, they collected 55 numbers of live plants, 46 of herbarium specimens and 284 of vouchers.

MR. SOEDARSONO RISWAN returned to BO, Indonesia, after having completed at Aberdeen his Ph.D. thesis on <u>Ecological studies on primary, secondary and experimentally cleared mixed Dipterocarp forest and kerangas forest in East Kalimantan, Indonesia.</u> In Bogor he will continue to work on the ecology of Dipterocarp forests.

ANNE SCHILLER, a Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology at Cornell University, has just completed the first year of a research project on ritual innovation and doctrinal change among the adherents of Hindu-Kaharingan. Kaharingan is the religion of the Ngaju Dayaks of Central Kalimantan. The research is supported by funding from Fulbright-Hays and Wenner-Gren.

From 16 Oct. - Nov. 1982, MR. H. WIRIADINATA (BO), R. HARAHAP (Bogor Botanical Garden) and NOERDJITO (Bogor Zoological Museum) visited Palangkaraya, Kuala Kurun and Kuala Kapuas, Central Kalimantan. They collected 199 numbers of live plants, 19 of seeds, 1062 numbers of herbarium specimens and 28 of ethnobotanical artefacts.

On 25 Oct. - 20 Nov. 1981, MESSRS. ROCHADI A, S. SUNARTI and A. MA'ROEF (BO), MR. TAHAN UJI (Bogor Botanical Garden) and S.

ABDULKADIR (Treub Lab.) visited Wanariset forest, East Kalimantan for continuing ecological study in this forest. More than 1200 numbers of live plants, voucher and herbarium specimens and also ethnobotanical artefacts were collected.

Forests at Kersik Luwai Nature Reserve and Melak Mahakam Ulu, East Kalimantan were visited by MESSRS. EKO B. WALUJO, KARTINI KRAMADIBRATA (BO) and E. R. RASMANDI, Dulhaer (Bogor Zoological Museum) on 21 Dec. 198 til 26 Jan. 1982. During this trip they collected

196 numbers of live plants and 1069 of herbarium specimens.

MESSRS. ROCHADI A., R. YUSUF, S. SUNARTI, A. MA'ROEF and MASKURI (BO) and S. ABDULKADIR (Treub Lab.) visited Wanariset Forests, East Kalimantan on 15 Jan. - 18 Feb. 1982 for continuing ecological study in this area. They collected 3500 numbers of voucher and 25 of herbarium specimens.

On 16 Feb. - 6 March 1982, MR. D. GANDAWIDJAJA (Bogor Botanical Garden), U. WARSITA and J. J. AFRIASTINI (BO) explored Sampit and Palangkaraya Areas, Central Kalimantan. During this exploration, they collected 248 numbers of live plants and 330 numbers of

herbarium specimens.

The <u>Bukit Raya Expedition</u>, financially sponsored by WOTRO, Dir. Gen. Wetenschapsbeleid (Min. of Ext. Affairs) and Bureau Buitenland (Leiden University) was carried out between Nov. 1982 and March 1983, by an interdisciplinary team consisting of the following persons: DR. H. P. NOOTEBOOM (L, leader), the only full time member of the expedition; MR. A. BRADER and PROF. R. A. A. OLDEMAN (Wageningen); MR. H. VAN REULER (MAB Unesco); MR. J. P. MOGEA and MR. H. WIRIADINATA (both BO); DR. I. G. M. TANTRA (For. Res. Inst. Bogor); DR. E. TORQUEBIAU (Biotrop); DR. J. F. VELDKAMP and DR. W. J. J. O. DE WILDE (both L).

Purpose of the joint undertaking was to establish an integrated image of the lowland forest in the Bukit Raya Nature Reserve based on aerial photographs and ground observations, and to make a preliminary inventory of plant species. Hardly any botanical collecting has been done in the area so far. A soil reconnaissance was carried out in a number of plots laid out to study regeneration patterns and tree architecture.

The team had to overcome considerable logistic problems at the start. As a result of extremely low rainfall in the last five months the rivers were nearly dry, making transportation by boat next to impossible.

The area studied ranges from 50 m a.s.l to 2278 m (the summit of Bukit Raya). The vegetation consists of various types of rain-forest except in the summit area which is convered by small-leaved Ericaceous shrubbery. At least part of the lowland forest is destined to disappear in the near future by logging. Most of the forest in the lower regions grows on rugged terrain. During the rainy season even under forest cover erosion takes place and would assume desastrous proportions should the forest be removed.

The herbarium specimens collected number about 3500, and appear to include several species new to Kalimantan or even to science. A preliminary report was produced by Dr. Nooteboom.

Sabah

Hunting for Nepenthes in Sabah, DR. R. SCHMID-HOLLINGER (Unterentfelden, Switzerland), who works since many years on Nepenthes and made formerly explorations in Madagascar and the Seychelles on which he published, has received a Swiss grant enabling him to stay for some months (May 1983 onwards) in Sabah for collecting plants and gaining field knowledge on the genus.

Independently MR. J. MARABINI of the University of Herzogenaurach (Germany) spent over one month (mid-March to end May) in Sabah. He reported to have found a new hybrid (N. Lowii x N. edwardsiana) on Mt. Trusmadi. He grows Nepenthes in greenhouses and studies their germination. He could also locate a second locality of N. macrovulgaris described as new a few years ago by Turnbull & Middleton.

In the Danum Valley a Field Study Centre is being developed as an educational centre for Sabahans. It is hoped that the Danum Valley area, which has some fine undisturbed tracts of forest, will be available for joint research and training under the Royal Society's Rain Forest Programme.

Sarawak

PETER BROSIUS plans to investigate the subsistence ecology and social organization of Penan foragers in the Belaga District, Sarawak, Malaysia, with a view toward understanding the impact of Penan exploitation on the long-term availability of the sago palm Eugeissona utilis. Evidence suggests that exploitation may have a profound effect on the demographic characteristics of this resource, with implications for the long-term efficiency of exploitation. This suggests that ecological models derived from optimal foraging assumptions may be inadequate to account for key features of Penan social organization. Optimal foraging models are context specific, and thus static. They lack a time function and cannot account for change through time. What is optimal or efficient in the short-term may not be optimal given a longer time range. Further, exploitation may in the long-term enhance the productivity of a resource, with implications for (1) future edible biomass available to foragers, and (2) the efficiency of future exploitation. Models for assessing efficiency must be incorporated with those which assess availability over time, i.e. optimal yield. In-depth demographic analysis of a single resource is a necessary first step in developing more complex interactive models of resource demography and hunter-gatherer socioecology. Such models may clarify aspects of settlement and social organization not adequately explained by optimal foraging assumptions. Aspects of social organization considered will be group size, spacing behavior, mobility and territoriality.

MR. P. P. K. CHAI, senior forest botanist at SAR, was awarded a Ph.D. degree at the University of Malaya, June 1982. His thesis was entitled <u>Ecological Studies of Mangrove Forest in Sarawak</u>.

MR. ABANG MOHAMMAD MOHTAR joined the Research Office of the Forest Department, Kuching, Sarawak, as forest botanist.

Orang-utan Sanctuary Established - In March 1983 Malaysia established Lanjak-Entimau Wildlife Sanctuary, the country's largest protected area. It covers 168,760 ha of rugged hill country in Sarawak, home of the orang-utan Pongo pygmaeus. The Sanctuary will also protect Sarawak's state emblem, the rhinoceros hornbill Buceros rhinoceros and the catchments of eight major rivers.

Several botanical expeditions were made by the Kuching herbarium (SAR). They visited Bunhog Range, Ulu Engkilili, Bukit Kana, Gunong Murud, Niah F. R., Bukit Sadok and Ulu Belaga. This yielded c. 1300 collections.

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS & BIBLIOGRAPHY

West Kalimantan: A Bibliography, Jan B. Avé, Victor T. King, and Joke G. W. DeWit, Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1983

This bibliography, compiled over the last six years, attempts to place on record most of the available literature on the Indonesian administrative division of Kalimantan Barat (West Kalimantan), which covers the same area as the former Dutch 'Westerafdeeling van Borneo'. We include in our project the Karimata archipelago and islands close to the coast such as Pulau Bawal, Maya, Laut and Lemukutan. The Natuna, Anambas and Tambelan island groups are excluded, belonging as they do to the Indonesian province of Riau.

The bibliography was originally intended as a reference work for anthropologists, but as the project proceeded it became apparent that many writings which contained material of relevance to anthropologists ranged over other subject matter as well, or indeed were primarily directed towards other disciplines. Therefore, we expanded the enterprise into a general bibliography for all disciplines, covering such categories as physical and cultural anthropology, exploration and travel, history, natural sciences (including such subjects as physical geography, topography, geology, zoology and botany), technology, economy, demography, government, education, health, hygiene, medicine, 'missiology', language and ethnic classification and belles-lettres. In order to keep the bibliography within manageable proportions we limited ourselves initially to West Kalimantan. We felt it to be within our competence to compile a bibliography on an area in which we both have an academic interest and which we know personally. Of course, this spatial restriction produces several difficulties. For example, various ethnic groupings in West Kalimantan such as the Iban, Kayan, Ot Danum, Bidayuh, Selako, Punan, Bukat, Malays and Chinese are found in other political and administrative divisions of Borneo, viz. in Sarawak, Brunei, and Sabah, and in Kalimantan Tengah (Central), Selatan (South) and Timur (East). Some areas outside Kalimanan Barat have had especially close relationships with our region of interest. For instance, Kotawaringin district in the present province of Kalimantan Tengah has had intimate economic and political links with the Pinoh river area in Kalimantan Barat; and as a result of the past migrations of such peoples as the Iban, Selako and Bidayuh, and indeed the Chinese of the West Borneo goldfields, various regions of Sarawak are historically and even to the present day ethnically connected to parts of West Kalimantan. Furthermore, some references to plants, animals, forestry, fisheries and minerals, and some aspects of material culture such as the penis pin (palang) and the hampatong (carved wooden statues of sacral significance) have relevance not only to West Borneo but to other parts of the island as well. To overcome some of these problems we have included material, where we think it appropriate, which is not strictly confined to West Kalimantan. We also hope to begin bibliographical work on the remaining parts of Kalimantan in the not-too-distant future.

Fruit resources and patterns of feeding, spacing and grouping among sympatric Bornean hornbills (Bucerotidae), xv + 246 pp., 28 fig., Ph.D. thesis Mark Leighton (1981, Anthropology, University of California, Davis, CA 95616).

From August 1977 he and wife Dede (who studied monkeys) worked in the northern part of the East Kutai Reserve, at 30-300 m altitude. In a 300 ha plot they established 30 km of trails, and built a platform in a big tree now identified as Shorea platyclados. Except for old hand-logging swaths, the forest was pristine, and during the period, an estimated 900 species of trees and lianas bore fruit.

Hornbills, of which 7 species inhabit the area, differ conspicuously in habit, sex and age, and not having much to fear, are noisy creatures, easily located and followed. Territories are c. 1½ km \$\phi\$; the birds live in densities of a few per km² and operate in groups of 3-6, ranging c. 5.6-9.7 km a day. Although they are omnivorous -- 2 cm beetles to 60 cm snakes, centipedes, and even small birds on the wing are snapped up -- fruits make an essential part of their diet.

Leighton speaks of 'fruiting patches' of trees or lianas as units in hornbill ecology. These patches are scattered: those amounting to 5 grams dry weight of lipid-rich flesh were detected with an average of 3.5 in 15 ha, patches of 20 grams with 0.92 in 15 ha, which means a mere 1.17-1.23 grams of dry weight on a given day. Circa 265 spp. of hornbill fruit species are tabulated, among them c. 37 Ficus, which is an important component through the year. Meliaceae, 44 large trees rather close to the river, and Myristicaceae, 32 large trees farther away, were other important constituents, yet their combined density amounts to 1 tree in 4 ha on average.

Among the fruits 3 diameter classes are distinguished: to 10 mm, 10-20 and up, with 29 mm as the biggest item to be swallowed, but this is no match for the widest hornbill gape of 42-55 MM. The birds handle any kind of fruit, including the husked ones, with facility in no more than 30

seconds. Beside this category, that of the lipid-rich is distinguished; their flesh is hard and oily, like in Canarium and Elaeocarpus. A third category is the carbohydrate-rich, i.e. the sweetish or mealy ones, among which the figs are most prominent. While monkeys like figs better, the hornbills rather go for the lipid-rich ones, which contain more calories. Leighton's pet hornbill, Cyrano, showed signs of ill health after two days on an all-fig diet (90.3 grams dry weight a day, in 411 figs); an all-round diet restored him quickly.

The birds weight 1-3 kg, depending on species. Meal size is 100-300 cc. After c. I hour, the seeds are regurgitated. Behaviour is determined by group-size -- foraging in small groups makes location of patches easier -- and a balance between distance to be covered and fruit availability. Factors like these are analyzed statistically for all the species, with hypotheses examined, in dry, technical prose. Seasonal differences in fruiting account for fluctuations in hornbill grouping and behaviour; but it is the constant basic supply of fruits, a kind of mosaic-in-time, that makes this co-existence of species and the important role of hornbills as seed dispersers, possible. (M. Jacobs)

Language Atlas of the Pacific Area, Stephen A. Wurm and Shiro Hattori, Editors

The Australian Academy of the Humanities in collaboration with the Japan Academy, and assisted by the Departments of Linguistics and of Human Geography in the Research School of Pacific Studies. The Australian National University, 47 multicoloured maps; 500 x 360 mm, six to nine colour, with text giving demographic, bibliographical and other relevant information. Part 1: New Guinea Area, Oceania and Australia, 24 maps, with text. Part II: Japan Area, Philippines and Formosa, and Mainland and Insular South-East Asia, 23 maps, with text. Printed by Kümmerly and Frey AG, Bern, Switzerland. Distributors: Geocenter, Stuttgart, West Germany. The Pacific area is linguistically the most complex part of the world. About two thousand distinct languages, with a very large number of dialects, are located in the Pacific islands area and in marginal regions to the west of the Pacific area proper. Most of these two thousand languages are concentrated in the south-western part of the overall Pacific area. There are three main large language groups --Austronesian, Papuan (or non-Austronesian), and Australian. Most of the languages in the south-east Asian marginal areas belong to groups other than these three. In addition, there are a number of pidgin and trade languages in the Pacific area. During the last twenty-five years or so, a tremendous amount of research work has been carried out into the language situation in the Pacific area, and the immensely complicated language picture in practically all its parts has been clarified and its nature fully recognized. This new understanding of the distribution, grouping and classification of the languages of the entire Pacific area has now made it possible to compile this comprehensive Language Atlas of the Pacific Area which provides the fullest possible up-to-date information on the language situation in the Pacific area. The atlas is under the joint editorship of Professor S. A. Wurm of the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the Australian National University, and of Professor Shiro Hattori of the Japan Academy, with over fifty consulting editors and editorial advisors from various countries assisting in providing and coordinating the information on which the atlas maps and the text materials are based.

The understanding of the complex language situation in the Pacific area is of relevance to a very wide variety of interests, many of them not directly linked with language work and scholarly endeavour in general. The atlas is therefore of value, for scientific and pragmatic purposes, to a broad range of scholars such as linguists, anthropologists, archaeologists, geographers, demographers, sociologists, historians, political scientists, economists and many natural scientists whose fields of interest are directly or indirectly connected with human beings. Such scholars would be, for instance, physical anthropologists, geneticists, ethnobotanists, agriculturalists, ethnozoologists, as well as geomorphologists, geologists and oceanographers interested in the effects of past geological and climatological events upon human populations and their migraitons. Scholars in medical sciences, such as epidemiologists, may also find this atlas of value.

The atlas provides easily understandable, detailed graphic information whose lack has until now created serious problems in understanding a great range of situations. The Language Atlas of the Pacific Area reaches out also to a wide variety of governmental, administrative and other agencies and persons with applied interests of relevance to the Pacific area: foreign affairs departments, media services, politicians, educationists, bodies concerned with economic and developmental aid, health organizations, other United Nations and UNESCO agencies, and last, but not least, to the peoples of the Pacific area themselves, notably those of the newly independent nations.

The price of each part is DM250, or DM500 for the complete Atlas.

Ecological Studies on Primary, Secondary and Experimentally Cleared Mixed Dipterocarp Forest in East Kalimantan, Indonesia, Soedarsono Riswan, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen.

Ecological studies on primary, secondary and experimentally cleared Mixed Dipterocarp Forest and Kerangas Forest in East Kalimantan, Indonesia is the subject of research carried out by Mr. Soedarsono Riswan and the title of his thesis (Aberdeen). The project was designed in conjunction with Man and the Biosphere (MAB) Programme Project No. 1 to provide scientific data on the effects of tropical forest clearance with a view to future long-term management of kerangas and mixed dipterocarp forest.

Control plots from both forest types were described in detail together with secondary forest established for 35 years. Experimentally treated plots were clear-cut and burnt and the changes in soil and vegetation followed and described in detail for 1.5 years.

The two initial forest types represented a range of forest formations in the tropics from poor to rich conditions. Fluctuations in the control plots were followed for 1 year. The whole process of recovery was different in the two forests: in the strategy of individual tree species, the species composition and changes in soil nutrients.

A variety of conclusions about the trees, saplings, seedlings, shrubs and herbs components, turn-over periods, biomass, natural regeneration and species composition of these forests are dealt with and further conclusions outside the scope of this thesis will be published later.

Ethnobotany in Sarawak

Compilation of ethnobotanical data of plants native to Sarawak, is one of the priority projects of SAR. About 100 species were collected in 1982, making the total c. 450 species.

Ferns of Borneo

K. Iwatsuki and M. Kato (TI) are compiling their results of field surveys in East Kalimantan, 1979-1981. They intend to compile a checklist of the pteridophytes of Borneo.

Forest Resources of Tropical Asia, FAO, 1981 "Sabah: The Forest Situation"

The FAO study Forest Resources of Tropical Asia (1981) contains materials for an updated overview. Main features are a) the western lowlands, narrow in extent but inhabited by c. 70% of the population; b) the Crocker range, with Mt. Kinabalu but mostly only 1200-1800 m high; c) the Central Uplands, with Mt. Trusmadi and some vulcanism in the NE; d) the Eastern Lowlands with some swamps behind the coast.

Population in 1976 was c. 800,000, with annual growth of 4.7%. Many thrive in the timber boom, but c. 350,000 are poor shifting

cultivators.

For the forests the classification of Fox (Tropical Ecology 19. 1978) is followed. Lowland and hill dipterocarp forest by 1980 covered 54% of total forest area; montane dipterocarp forest, 14% Mangroves cover 3500 km² or 7% of the total forest area; the 650 km² peat swamp forest have mostly been exploited. Beach, freshwater, and kerangas forests are small in extent.

Lowland and hill dipterocarp forest areas were estimated in 1975 at 29,300 km², in 1977 at 26,520 km², and in 1980 'incorporating changes on account of shifting cultivation, transfer of land to permanent agriculture, and reclassification of part of inaccessible montane forest into commercial forest' at 32,000 km², of which 19,200 was undisturbed and 12,800 logged. Under secondary forest was 13,900 km², under grass 1550 km².

As protected is listed 1200 km² national park, 390 of which 'virgin

forest', and 150 'amenity forests'.

Landownership is through Reserves (27,700 km²), State Lands (27,680), and Alienated Lands (18,560). Most of the existing forests are either located in 'Forest Reserves' or in State Lands. Forest reserves (now 36,380 km²) are supported to be dedicated to sustained yield management and thus are of greatest potential for timber production or greatest value for watershed protection. The situation of the State Lands is rather confusing and far from satisfactory (p. 299).

Damage caused by logging is extensive: 'areas of forest ranging from 14-40% are made bare by tractor tracks and landings (loading areas).

There is significant damage to natural regeneration and advance growth' (p. 309).

Canadians air-photographed the whole state in 1969-1972 at scale 1:25,000 and 1:40,000, resulting in a 1:50,000 map. Commercial forests were classified into 8900 or more m /ha (area.9900 km²), 6200-8900 (area 20,770 Km²), 3500-6200 (area 4620 km²), subdivided by province. Extensive breakdowns are made of stands, virgin and after logging. Unlogged natural forest under concession amounted in 1980 to 20,290 km², under a total of 1766 licenses, most of these valid for 1 year only, others for 21 years at most. Dipterocarps make up 77.6% of the total volume. Log production reached peaks in the late 1970's of c. 13 million m² and is expected to decline towards 7.5 million by 1985. At that time 14,700 km² of virgin forest will be left, plus 14,300 of logged over forest, 1,750 under legal protection, and 16,000 under shifting cultivation. Intensively managed forest is apparently not projected.

Plantations are intended for a larger role in the wood supply; 1880 km² having been established in 1980. It was decided to plant agricultural crops like cocoa under valuable forest tree species, and interest has grown

in rattan planting in the logged-over forest.

Brunei: The Forest Situation

From Forest Resources of Tropical Asia (FAO 1980) 143-149, we take a few data. Population in 1971 c. 136,000 of which 65% urban, annual increase 4.5% (1.2% due to immigration). 2500 families are shifting cultivators: many figures are 10 or more years old.

Undisturbed mixed dipterocarp forests cover 2293 im², virtually all accessible; this may be 1990 in 1985; logged over is 120 km², this may be 170 in 1985. Secondary is 2370 km², expected to be 2620 in 1985. Undisturbed peat swamps cover 410 km², 50 of which has been logged; in 1985 this may be 100 km². Kerangas covers 220 km², mangrove 70 km².

There is almost no reserved forest nor has much forestry planning or inventory work been done. Air photographs may be available. Logging has increased: 37,000 m in 1961-65, 81,000 in 1966-70, 92,000 in 1971-76, 140,000 in 1976-80. In this oil producing country with the highest per capita income of Asia after Japan, 390 tons of fuelwood and 412 tons of charcoal were consumed annually in 1975, but the trend was downward. Most logging is concentrated in the western part where 90% of the lands is below 60 m. About 290 km was concessioned for logging in 1975. Deforestation, estimated at 70 km²/year during 1976-80, is expected to decrease to 50 km²/year during 1981-85. Nevertheless, with this rate, the 2290 km² of MDF in 1980 will be reduced to 1990 km² in 1985 and will have gone in less than 40 years, i.e. by anno 2034. The magnificent forests of Brunei!

MAY, B. & P. MOMAL, <u>Forest for Food</u>. Report prepared for the transmigration area development project East Kalimantan (June 1981) 67 pp. mimeographed, appendices, tables.

A background report for the U.S./Indonesian Man and Biosphere (MAB/Unesco) project 'Interactions between People and Forests in East

Kalimantan'. The report by Dr. May, teamleader, and Dr. Momal, program coordinator, gives a well-worded, substantial survey of the various forest products in the forests of East Kalimantan, their value, uses, modes of maintenance and status in the original vegetaion, together with information on how they should be accommodated in the home-gardens of the immigrants, which species should be encouraged, etc. Information is given about the various forest types and their relation to soil types. The report also indicates how forest can be managed for game production. The idea of the project is to come to a supporting scientific organization for the transmigration project and settlement tied up with experimental trials in the field, especially for fruit trees, while it is realized that local forest reserves, as source areas, should be established. In short, all sorts of facets to canalize efforts towards a successful and harmonious colonization, and to prevent a wild-west situation by these very substantial changes of land-use. -- C.G.G.J. van Steenis.

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THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 and its membership consists of Fellows, an international group of scholars who are professionally engaged in research in Borneo. The goals of the Council