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

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

We express our appreciation to the following persons for the continuing financial support of the Bulletin: J. P. Andriesse, J. B. Aloe, Peter Beavott, Ian Black, Gale Dixon, Jack Gibson, Linda Amy Kimball, Christine Paduch, Raymond Rudes, C. N. Southwell, Peter Thomas, and William Wilder.

The Borneo Research Council

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

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

Research Notes

The Upper Mahakam Area

Bernard J. L. Sellato
Tiong Ong, Kalimantan

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

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

The Ethnic Groups

Bahau and Busang look upon themselves as two different groups. The self-acknowledged principal difference is in language. The Busang (or Bahau-jan) say Jan, "no," while the Bahau (or Bahau-bate) say bate. A second difference relates to their locations. The Bahau area is kecamatan Long Iram (Lahar, Paring, and Long Hubung). In the area considered in this paper (i.e., upriver) only Busang are to be found (kecamatans Long Bagun...
and Long Pahangai). The Busang are divided into many small groups, each of which is independent and has its own hipui (rajah). All of them consider themselves Busang and part of the Bahau group, and as sharing a common place of origin, the Apokayan. They differ in their histories and the routes and times of arrival in the Mahakam. Some came along the Boh River, most in fact, some came from Sarawak, and others possibly from West Kalimantan. Each small group had a specific dialect, but today most of these dialects are lost or incorporated into the lingua franca. The Uma Suling dialect seems to be considered the original Busang language, while the Uma Wai dialect sounds like Balui Kayan. The busang sub-groups are:

1. Uma Naya, a small group in Long Mirei.
2. Uma Naya, their first place on the Mahakam being around Long Lunuk, where there are still 20 families. There are 15 families in Data Naha and seven families in Ujoh Bilar, which split off from Long Lunuk. Four families moved recently from Long Lunuk to Long Hubung Baru (kecamatan Long Luro), and some to Mamah Hilir.
3. Uma Wai, the original population of Long Bagan Hulu. They came from the Serantah River (kecamatan Long Apri) where they were living near or with the Uma Suling.
4. Uma Wai, originally in Mamah Hilir, where most of them still live. Seven families were transported from there to Data Naha by a former Long Gelat rajah of Ujoh Bilar.
5. Uma Suling, from the Batu Macan, on the upper Serantah, to Long Inun. Two groups from Long Inun found Long Pahangai and Long Lirai (or Naha Anu). A group from Long Lirai moved to Linung Uling.
6. Uma Wai, came from the Apokayan along the Boh and settled on the upper Danum Musan river, where they fought against and were defeated by the Long Gelat of Long Tuyo'. Five families followed the Long Gelat secession to Ujoh Bilar.
7. Uma Tepai, as the Uma Wai, lost a war with the Long Gelat, no longer have a hipui of their own, and are under the authority of the Long Gelat rajah of Long Tuyo'.
8. Uma Sekue, an independent subgroup, formerly living in Liu Mulang, now all have moved to Long Tuyo'.
9. Uma Uru, six families in Long Lunuk, three more families recently moved to Long Hubung Baru.
10. Uma Sam, an important subgroup in the past, now only five families in Long Lunuk.

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

Long Gelat came from the Apokayan (Gelat River, Upper Bahau), and first settled at Long Gelat (Gelat River, Boh). They then moved to the Mahakam just above the rapids, where they defeated and dominated the Uma Wai and the Uma Tepai. The Long Gelat language is said to have been the same as that of the Long Irai and Waiang, but has changed through Long Gelat contact with the Busang. Every Long Gelat can speak fluent Busang, but almost no Busang can speak Long Gelat. Their historic center is around Long Tuyo' and Long Tepai, but some groups went to Long Lunuk, where eight
families live today, and to Ujoh Bilang, with eleven families. In Data Naha, there are eight families from Ujoh Bilang, settled there by a former rajah of Ujoh Bilang. Two more families moved from Long Lunuk to Long subang Baru recently.

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

Achong, called Penihing by the Busang, and are comprised of five subgroups of different origins:

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

Kero, considered a group which preceded from Long Apari long ago. Hearing, originated as part from the Apokayn and small nomadic tribes from the sources of the Kapuas, settling on the Kuving River. They now live in Lirung Aham.

Tong Ilir, seem to be a blend of tribes from the sources of the Mahakan, or Uma'Kuling and of Punan-Setelah (Punan-Merah). Their village today is Naka Naha.

Chian, part of which seem to have come from the Apokayn and across Sarawak to the Upper Kapuas and to have intermarried with local nomadic tribes. They migrated to the Chian River to which they gave the name of their former center in the Apokayn (the Chian River on the middle Boa). Their main village now is Tiong Ong, from which a group recently moved to Long Bagan Ilir, and ten families to Lahum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kenyah are newcomers to the Mahakan, although they often raided this area in the past. Uma’Rakung came from Sungai Batang (Upper Kayan) to Long Mujur (Lower Poheng), and then to Batu Raya. Lepu Tau moved from Long Nawang and settled in Rakun Damai. This village, although larger, is still part of desa Long Merah, but will soon be given the statute of desa on its own.

Other Kenyah groups moved through the Upper Mahakan from the Bog downstream. The Uma’Jalan, from Long Ampang (Apokayn), first stayed at Data Bungeh (Lower Boh), and then settled in the large village of Data Bilang (kecamatan Long Ilarum), together with a faction of the Uma’Bakung of Metulung (Upper Ogha River). The Upper Boh and Ogha area, formerly part of kecamatan Long Bagan, is now part of kecamatan Kayan Hulu (kabupaten Bulungan); several Kenyah villages in this area, Metulung and Mahak Baru (Uma’Bakung), Dumu Mahak, Long Lekusam, and the Punang village of Long Top (Hu’ River), are now officially depending on Long Nawang.

Miscellaneous groups live in the Upper Mahakan area in addition to those already discussed. These form no separate communities and include Slang, Murung, Punan-Murung, Tunjung, Bagis, Kutil, some Javanese, and a few Chinese.

The Villages

Kecamatan Long Bagan included 11,750 square kilometers, within which is the Boh-Ogha area, but has been reduced to 6,500 square kilometers. The population is 4,069 persons, living in 11 villages which are, from downstream: Long Bagan: Busang Uma’Nya, population 676 (77 Catholics, 36 Muslims, and ten Protestants).

Long Merah: Punan-Merah, some Achong and Bagang; population 137 (74 Catholics, 14 Muslims, and 36 Protestants).
Kecamatan Long Pahangai has an area of 3700 square kilometers and a population of 884 people. The villages from downstream are: Long Isun: Uma'Suling, population, 189 (67 Catholics, 146 traditional religion).

Long Tuyo': original population, Long Gelat, Busang Uma'Tuan, and Busang W'Pala; population, 360 (254 Catholics, 146 traditional religion).

Long Wlaham: Kayan and some Bakm, population, 379 (318 Catholics, 61 Muslims).

Long Apari: Meng Long, population, 189.

Long Goa: original population, Long Gelat, Busang Uma'Tuan, and Busang W'Pala; population, 236 (146 traditional religion).

Long Mekaham: Kayan and some Bakm, population, 379 (138 Catholics, 61 Muslims).

Ujoh Bilang: capital village; original population, Long Gelat (11 families), Busang Uma'Tuan (seven families), Busang Uma'Pala (five families). Others include Tunjung from Dami, other Busang groups, Bakm, Bugis, Kacau, and Kayan. Kompang Baru, a little downstream: Aoheng Long Apari (20 families). Total population, 884 (676 Catholics, 146 Muslims, 15 Protestants, 47 traditional religion).

Long Pahangai: Aoheng Cihan; population, 244 (224 Catholics, 20 Muslims).

Long Apari: original population, Busang Uma'Nak (15 families). Others include Ot Danum, Aoheng, Punang-Murung, Sialang, Kacau, Bakm, Bugis, and Javanese. Total population, 370 (254 Catholics, 51 Muslims, and 65 traditional religion).

Batu Kajang: Kayan Uma'Tukung; population, 620 (Protestants).

Long Isun: Uma'Suling, population, 189.

Long Isun: Uma'Suling, population, 360. Both Naha Aru' and Long Tan are on the Murah River.

Naha Naha: Busang Uma'Tuan (15 families), Busang Uma'Mok (7 families), Long Gelat (8 families), comprising a population of 188 persons.

Long Ujong: Busang Uma'Suling, and a few Busang Bang Kelau; population, 249.

Long Laruk: Busang Uma'Tuan (20 families), Long Gelat (eight families), Busang Uma'Urit (six families), Busang Uma'San (five families), Busang Bang Kelau (five families); population, 467.

Long Ruling: Kayan; population, 873.

Maling Krohong: Kayanized Malays; population, 84 Muslims with mosque.

Kecamatan Long Apari includes about 5,000 square kilometers. The official figure of 63,000 square kilometers is highly questionable. The villages from downstream are: Long Mutal 3: Seputan from Long Penae; population, 98.

Long Mutal 2: Seputan from Long Penae; population, 90.

Long Mutal 1: Seputan from Long Penae; population, 189.
LOOKING AT ORAL LITERATURE:

INTERPRETATION, THE TAKA' LAVE', AND KAYAN INHERITANCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

The reference above to the Takna' Lawe' was at the time of writing more private than practical; within the next few months, however, an introduction (emic and etc.) to this remarkable Kayan song-cycle will be available from the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin (411 Helen C. White Hall). In its present form, the Lawe' consists of five separate tales, all centered on a single spirit-hero: Lawe' (515 verses), Nygo (1874), Be' (796), To' Kasung (1902), and Ling Buau' (1965). All have been transcribed by their singer, Lit' Long of the Mandambil in West Kalimantan, with the encouragement of the area's Kayan Pastor A. J. Ding Nyo, who then typed them, standardizing spelling and punctuation, and translated them into English and into Indonesian. I made preliminary English translations of the two shortest texts (the first completed) in the Mandambil in 1973, with the help of the Pastor's versions and both men's advice; since then I have continued to work on the tales as I received them, first through the Indonesian, then from the original Kayan texts sent earlier to Dr. Jérôme Rousseau of McGill University. His help with comparative data on the culture and language of Kalu Kayans (most similar in both to the Mandambil), along with older published research from the area, has been invaluable. In writing the tales, I have been able to use the amount of information provided by Pastor Ding in his notes, correspondence and travel journals, primary source so far for my translations, glossaries and interpretations.

The tales share a uniform and highly formalized style: each verse contains from two to fifteen lines (averaging just under seven), all with a common final rhyme except for the last and longest, which ends with one of 27 names or nouns each of which leads to a specific six-syllable chorus. Other fixed formulas are repeated throughout, the most frequent being the fifty or so praise-names for noblemen or (half-) Kayan Lawe' alone, stressing physical and spiritual power, with an equal number that qualify a woman by her radiance. Words identical but for their endings, groups of tied adjectives and of synonyms clustered around familiar words (twenty for river, eight for cigarettes or sirih), all like the praise-names form sets of alternatives available to fill out a rhyme, and so also to fit single subjects into the different rhyme-schemes of distant or juxtaposed parallel verses. These basic elements combine to make up the formulaic descriptions, sequences and epiphanies that recur in many different contexts, with variation in length or detail (common among them are accounts of travel, dancing, dancing, feasting and battle, and a noble's past). This is the diction of epic poetry, source of the creative singer's paradigms, the natural body for idea in every scene (narrative, dramatic, descriptive) but in some brought into particular prominence. A reliable and readable translation needs to try to preserve this continuity of form, without letting style outweigh context where content matters most, or content over style where the effects created are primarily poetic. This foregrounding of language is generally a function of repetition, itself which can help to maintain some of the rhythm of the original; it may even help to justify taking into account the aural value of possible equivalents as well as their precision, by providing contexts within which connotations may shift and shades of meaning emerge more naturally than through the notes and glossaries alone. The most satisfactory among equivalents, though, are those which happen to be literal, meaningful and poetic all in one, slightly jolting the reader, creating a confrontation with the strange or unexpectedly familiar (shining spirit-tiger, sleep-sending night, the joining of earth and sky); and this culture-based dislocation is one of the commonest sources of the tales' effect.

The Lawe', like all other Mandambil Kayan spirit-stories and invocations, take place in the upper world (tana' usun), along the river Kalimantan that has its source in the mountains beyond Apola-gaan, the great peak that rises nearly to the over-arching sky. midway down its left bank it flows live the huma dead, in the headwaters of the tributary Telanganh; all along the right bank, by tributaries and in the hills behind them, live the beings who give the tales their name, the noble spirits or takna' panas. The life they lead is traditionally Kayan, in underlying order and in detail; or rather Kayan life is theirs, for the customs are the customs taught to humans in the Apo Kayan by the highest takna' under the sky, descendant of Tapan Warangan who lives above the sun, the quick-tempered Ayo' (or Dapo' ipu) of Apola-gaan. She still has her home there even in the time of Lawe', her own descendant through her great-grandson Jenggana, trapped in a banyan for daring to hunt her squirel, and the son (Tapan Linge') of her brother with a nubbed head, who was worthy of his noble power. He was born a year late, he vanished, and spent two years in the Kalimantan before being discovered by a poor common woman, Baring of Long Burak, in the belly of a prawn. She named him Kalimantan, and raised him as her own. As he grew he made an army of the old ruler's headstrong house-guest Ipu Mebanga, and a playmate and friend of her daughter Karigat, whose life he once restored by sending out his soul to bring her home; at last, when he robbed his own tomb-grove, his house burned and caves revealed, he went on to build himself followers in formal ways, married a dozen noble wives up and down the Kalimantan, and built himself a new longhouse beside the old.
All this and much more we know from stories in prose, long, and from
passing references in the *Takna* as it presently stands: for here the
first of the tales begins, following *Lame* through a single pleasant day
at Lung Burak, setting the scene for any one of the adventures to come.
It starts with a call on its hero's forbearance (*Lame* is present in the
singer, lending him the power to perform), and goes on to guide the
hearer's gaze from the shore bright with ripe *rambutan* to the longhouse
roofed with fine carvings and sometimes with fire, then to the happily
crowded verandah where *Lame*'s sister, deadly, red-headed and serene, carrying
plendid patterns in bone. To this noble pastime he returns at the end of
this and every other tale, here after taking a meal prepared by his foster
sister, bathing in the clear *kaliman*, playing *kalas* and *sape* for
dances in the evening (one comic collapse, one lyric solo) and staying
till cockcrow in the old longhouse with *Karigit*, now his hase* *lsai* or
night-visited wife, dazzling but (until tricked out of it) disconcertingly
cold and shrewd. Details can be found in the forthcoming paper, which contains a
full transcription; with it are extensive summaries of the four longer
adventure-tales, in each of which the peace of *Lame*’s home life undergoes
violent disruption.

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

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

This and the occasional presentation of simultaneous action, as again in
the early scenes of “*Lirung Buaa*” (*Lirung* in ambush across the river,
*Karigit* paddling over, *Lame* humming at the sound), define a literature of
considerable sophistication. As epic, and heroic epic, the tales may indeed
be found in the forthcoming paper, which contains a
full transcription; with it are extensive summaries of the four longer
adventure-tales, in each of which the peace of *Lame*’s home life undergoes
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adventure-tales, in each of which the peace of *Lame*’s home life undergoes
violent disruption.
The tales about Lawe's, though their singers may be specialists in ritual and their audience have gathered for one, themselves seem to serve no instrumental purpose; people listen to them for the pleasure they give. This could contribute toward making their presentation of Kayan culture rather more flexibly realistic than that of openly didactic stories, like the myth of origin analyzed by Rousseau (219); it might also make it more persuasive (cf. Peacock 243-5). The vivid particularity with which the tales portray human universals does seem also to be a feature of their treatment of specifically Kayan detail: exquisites of bombhill ivory, for instance, first glossed in the Mendalam as poetic hyperbole, proved to have indeed existed as symbols of exceptional success (Hose and McDougall 145; interesting in view of the fact that Lawe's wears them, rather than leopard's teeth, only in the last tale) This and other similarly verifiable depictions of details of level-spanning symbolism enhance the tales' value as sources, as they do their effects. The culture the tales present is traditionally Kayan, stable and pristine (the most recently introduced items in it seems to be circular, adopted within the last century into the long-established symbolic pattern of cigarettes); even to Kayans this is a world increasingly foreign. That it is may shift the focus of the tales' impact, without necessarily impairing it: for aesthetic response to the texts is necessarily dual, part comfortable pleasure in familiar things, part that intermittent disorientation Barthes called bliss (the Housmanic or hedgehog reaction; herissage). What hearers and readers find familiar may be daily detail, as for traditional Kayans, or common human drama; the strange may be manifestations of spiritual power, or the entire fabric of traditional custom and belief. Through this aesthetic dialectic, qualified as it must be (for spirit-manifestations also may be perceived as daily or domestic), the tales produce a more highly integrated image of reality, of the Kayan cosmos and of human potential: and so provide access, on levels subjective and analytical, to a highly complex cultural code (the Mendalam dialect of Kayan, itself a dialect of Bornean, Bornean of what might be called paleo-Asian) through which the deeper levels of human experience find specific expression.

The code's subtlety might be suggested by a look at raw material for its analysis, one brief outline of some of the immediate contexts of a single word. "You'll be struck by the drope of spattering rain, beloved sister," says Linug to LeLaw in Lawe's group: "People speak once, beloved, and your eyes over close; twice and you set out, for you cannot hear, once and twice, drawn word, you wait for others' words" (LB 1423-4). Rain may refer to her loss of shelter, possibly also to Linug's tears but it also is the common symbol of war ("...these are the men that Lawe's trusting in times of heavy rain, when he stands in battle..."). LB 248). The specific link is in the bahui words, the Kadi storm which Mendalam Kayans ascribe to four arcanae causes, only one of which is moksety of animals. More usual, to go by Kargiti's first fear when one wakes her in "Juk Apui", is imminent battle; but the storm may also mean (as Lawe's tells her this does, falsely) only that migrating wild pigs are swimming the river upstream. Its most catastrophic consequence is petrifiction, the destruction of an entire longhouse, commonly expressed (as by Linug a few verses later) in the image of wild pigs' rooting up the ground on which it stood. Proximate cause of the storm is the wrath of Balare', Thunder, who sometimes appears in the shape of a boar whose tongue is lightning, whose teeth are said to have torn the trees that lightning strikes, his urine to have killed them; Balare' (or Dale') is also a noble's name or praise-name, one given in fact to the old ruler at Lung Burak whom Lawe's now supposes to be Povon, storm-named. Lawe's himself was briefly bestowed by spirits of red lightning, and enters battle like it against To 'Mung, and when in Lawe' he grins to himself at his trick's success, his head on Kargiti's thigh, the flash of his teeth reminds him of lightning from the mountainside, and her exclamations evokes a type of apparition startling and sometimes deadly (malian, a word with extensive Bornean echoes: penali, pelian, balian, bali, Balan, Balasam ...).

Through correspondences such as these it might be possible to trace the entire system out from any single image: a system within which the material, plant/animal and spiritual orders of being help to clarify the social because they reflect it, proving it as natural as nature, the ideal embodiment of forces universally active. Such is Lawe's; and he and other noble titles, as they act out the noble's role, can provide interesting perspectives on the relationship of rank to the possession and control of economic and spiritual powers, of course begins his life at Lung Burak with no other patrimony than raw descent (and a necklace that later proves it); the increase in his power naturally is a major theme. On the most familiar, material level, from background stories through the four adventures, it is possible to trace the ways in which success reinforces success. As a youngsters, like my Lawe's himself was briefly fostered by spirits of red lightening, and entries battle like it against To 'Mung, and when in Lawe' he grins to himself at his trick's success, his head on Kargiti's thigh, the flash of his teeth reminds him of lightning from the mountainside, and her exclamations evokes a type of apparition startling and sometimes deadly (malian, a word with extensive Bornean echoes: penali, pelian, balian, bali, Balan, Balasam ...).
primarily as the dramatic parallel to and consequence of his inherent quality. For every reference in praise-names or formulas to the noble's social role (almost always as heir to the closest kin, occasionally as abbot), there are many more to details of Lawe's ancestry and childhood: that is, to the sources and earliest evidence of his spiritual power: (ninggang: the active form, characterized most commonly). He has and demonstrates it not by virtue of being tanaa', a spirit, but because as a spirit he can manifest openly the power that belongs to human nobles by right of descent. By far the most frequent praise-names and formulas refer to this, invoking noble animals real or spirit (leopard, monkey, hawk, hornbill, charadrius and radius), and above all plants that sting, burn or poison: effects that like withering light or animal fierceness represent the haz (parit) that contact with power can cause to Those with less, an automatic sanction against possession. Born with power, nobles can be dangerous: so they tend to be the focus of attention, space is made around them, and people listen when they talk. Prestige, and certainly confidence, are theirs by effect of birth; both undoubtedly enhanced by the outside sources of power their own enable them to contact and control, some inherited (spirit-helpers and spirit-powered goods, charms, and symbolic ornaments) and some acquired. Lawe himself shows certain specific powers from birth (to vanish, to send out his soul, to call upon his ancestor Tipang Chaman and by that aid to repair and heal); but as his material power increases so too does the amount of spiritual power available to him, in charm, equipment and the help given him by animal or elder spirit-beings, from the one who in his childhood gave him hair like curly flame up to those who carried out his spectacular eightfold reforging. Material and spiritual power are coupled in formula (ninggang jaya) and also in belief: good harvests, good luck in battle, prestige and political influences are all manifestations of personal power, ways in which it relates to the social and natural order. The power to succeed may be sought directly, in material form or through dream-mediated relationships; but Kayans seem to place more emphasis upon the other aspect of the equation, logically primary (success depending as much as it does upon factors beyond human and individual control), the pre- assumption that success itself reveals power possessed or gained. Non-nobles, for instance, who through their prosperity and persuasive wisdom achieve a political role, the elders of kalunan aya', show by this that they must have some spiritual specialists possess by vocation, nobles by birth, "strong souls' and spirit helpers" (Rousseau 221). Both together define power's action: in each case an intrinsic, generalized quality enables its possessor to make use of specific outside aid, as for instance a helper's entry into a shaman lends her the power to send out her own soul, or into a singer the power to create new spirit-embodies in song.

The underlying principle seems to be that of boundaries transcended, communication established between categories otherwise alien: which in itself is a fair definition of the noble's role, in actuality as in the tales. The harvest festival given such emphasis in formula (dangge: joke in the Balui, one of Lawe's synonyms) brings together neighboring communities and spirit guests in a single joyful harmony: by birth and experience, the ruler responsible is more at east with both external realms than with any of the people. Among them as well he mediates, resolving conflicts, having the last word (as Balui's umang tangaran: Thunder, severer of talk). The image the formula projects of his authority is however somewhat idealized: noble success over people, political effect, the result of rank rather than of the harvest festival, less the less the ruler may find that in need his followers melt away (Rousseau 233); persuasive influence, uncertain as other forms of success, is equally clearly to be seen as a manifestation of the ruler's spiritual power (Lawe for instance possesses a necklace supposed to make people plant and agreeable to whatever he says, not to mention a headcloth with similar effect upon women: neither work too well: L 329 ff.). Noble failure too, loss of followers, of fame, donated food (in perpetuity or in consequence, in defeat or by happenstance) of life itself, all signal a loss of spiritual power, in the tales made explicit: "Au phah nang ninggan jaya ta", says Lirung Bawa as he sits down, like Richard II, to mourn: all our power is gone (L 1404). Lawe himself, revive by Argus, by a fate fatal fall from the sun and subsequent long decay is bluntly told, "lawe' te ja'ak ule" (Ny 921), in both terms this best the normal expression for all-round worthlessness, and specifically for the ritually low, commoners and slaves (kalunan aya' Rousseau 218).

The suggestion carried of an actual shift in rank ascription can be seen as a dramatic intensification of one theme of actual Kayan practice: Rousseau has noted the possibility of such success-based shifts, both upward and down. Slaves (dipan), by original definition the defeated, may now after a period of living as commoners come to be so considered; in the Mandala somewhat more flexible, they always could buy their freedom (Rousseau 1974:349-8). Commoners of the better sort (panyin jia), so cultivated according to their prosperity (Rousseau 1974:359) and past intermarriage with the upper classes, may activate these links (usagmatic: the ideal basis for rank transmission, but always overruled by residence). Most commonly uncoloric) by including upper-class elements in their rituals: if they get away with this, and their position is secure, social ridicule or disaster controllable as parit, they become hipuy (Rousseau 231). This is a class (hipuy uk, little hipuy, in the Mandala) that in Rousseau's definition serves expressively to insulate ideology from economic fact, the highest nobles' ritual status from its base in wealth and followers' service (Rousseau 230). Real nobles, maran lan, are defined as those who control favors and prestations, which go most willingly to hipuy, but not in a position to hold the highest feast, to perform their classic ritual and social role, have less claim on social reward, and so in time decay to hipuy status (or even worse): eventually it seems that failure may outweigh descent entirely, and the hipuy "become a panyin if poor and unable to behave with the dignity expected of his rank" (Rousseau 1974:393-4, 390). Some hipuy, apparently, may like the panyin jia try to move up by emphasizing higher ancestors (Rousseau 229), but their position is precarious hipuy rulers, extremely rare, may be followed only as long as nothing untoward occurs (Rousseau 1974:406). Ideal rulers are the maran or hipuy aya' (great, senior), in the Mandala hipuy maran aya' or hipuy maran jaya': or rather it is among these that the ideal ruler is to be found, best in parts and preparation of those eligible by descent (sons, sons-in-law, nephews, adoptive children, far or near), in the Mandala charader maran aya' rule, like the Ny), and being the de facto title of leader (Rousseau 221, 224). The ruler then is the best representative of his kind, and must remain so: or he risks finding, as a Pawan's wife does when she cries for her friends to save his head from Juk Apui's warriors, that those he trusted were off after fallen durians (JA 281 f
Puan's decline dramatizes Pastor Ding's definition of his rank as not a class but a condition, that can change, based upon wealth, followers and personal ability (Ding 1975:65): the social ratification of a way of life.

This pervasive theme, rarely so conscious, has the effect of reconciling an ideology of natural, inherited differences with mutable actuality: the emphasis given to descent itself, with the time it may take to alter the consensus that marks any rank shift as valid (decades, even generations), serves to deflect attention from it, as the ideal of agrarian descent may from situation-based matrilineality. In both cases, ideal and practice best coincide among the stably wealthy, one reason for their high prestige.

If success is defined by its effects in and on society, so also it is constrained. In the tales the theme of active, individualistic self-aggrandizement is paralleled by another that stresses its potential for dangerous disruption, and the need for control by both self and society. Much sly fun indeed is made of the tales of noblepersons' notorious pride (arjen also has come to mean arrogant: Rousseau 219), some through Puan's baselessness boasting (in word and gear: only one of his many stories has power, the rest are rivers-gravel), some through Ipi Melawang, whose scorn of Lawe's low upbringing suits ill (as his foster father tells her, vigorously: Ny 259 ff.) with her own very shady past and present. Even in acceptance, she grumbles: "So it's true Lawe is hipui aya', still he can't get dry weather" (SM 18: in fact, a ruler's power and duty: Rousseau 1974:411); which he does, therefore, once he has control of To' Mangky's charmerstone, for so long that the Kilemeen's deepest pools go dry. Despite the more usual restraint of his insecurity (Ouk Apil and Litang Buaa', both gone like old-West gunfighters to test their growing fame against the heat, find him most grimly moved by their misadventures in breaking his peace), Lawe's still represents both noble pride and its darker obverse, self-centered willfulness and resentful overreaction: and sometimes he suffers for it. "Nyalo" in particular is a highly didactic: only when he learnt a better approach than boastful rape does Nyalo cease to vanish: only when he admits his helplessness is he helped; and he spends most of the tale's last half carefully following the advice of those who should have asked for it sooner, who now have to reconcile the drastic alternatives of dogtail curse or incest, the village elders. Perhaps a little more strongly than in reality (Rousseau 221), the elders embody the social order: they understand customs, and their counsel helps the ruler carry out his prime responsibility, the preservation and restoration of good relations among all orders, social, natural, and cosmic.

The theme of harmony re-established in basic to each of the four longer tales and seems best to be symbolized by Lawe's inherent power, suggestively shamanistic, to restore both broken things and wounded people (even, with female and musical help, the dead). This type of spirit (as in epics: Bowon), given particular prominence: Lawe uses his special powers in general only after it has become necessary, sometimes disastrous: perhaps as an expression of that philosophy stated in "Litang Buaa" to deter the harshest of his friends from cutting down his tree, that of greater good is known only through the greatest deeds; perhaps also in keeping with the interesting tendency evident in ever deal to view the display of spiritual power (shape-changing) as an admission of desperation. Here again there seems to be tension between overt and covert themes; that ningaan is seen as equivalent appears in its secondary meaning, probably part-related, of profound disorder, misery, like Puan's in his tree: TM 1444-5). Emphasis in the tales is upon recognizably human action, individual and social: on the dramatic events (personal clashes, quests, deeds of the drawn sword) that precede Lawe's restorative interventions, on the universal human responses that in most cases follow, which like the typological dange present personal success transmitted, through the right use of power, into universal harmony.

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

Balui Kayans have named ethnic categories by their technological-ritual base and for the group felt best to represent it ("Kayan" for upriver farmers, "Puran" for nomads, "white" for engine-builders), ranking them by inherited predisposition to live in a certain way; but individuals may change ethnic ascription just as they most easily do rank, by having themselves born into the new context (Rousseau 1975:44-6), and the entire system may also undergo changes that call its components into separate question (cf. Pano, Bajau, etc.). As it is itself a fairly traditional challenge (cf. niasok Kiyutu), one that may be dealt with by reliance on familiar holistic sanctions, as when Balui Kayans waited approval of Christianity upon the fertility of converts' fields (Rousseau 1974:109), creatively assembling, from a core of indigenous elements, a new cosmic unity. The impulse toward change as well as judgment upon it may derive from spirit-related sources not only indirectly, through a model's success or one's own, but directly through dreams, which may be of considerable social importance: their recall and interpretation unite part of each of the common healing ceremonies (dayung), and they can have far more
than personal effect (Rousseau 1974:170, 409, 104 et al.). The classic instance of this may be the Bungun cult, which is a private vision of the well-named Kenyah Jok Apail, trance of the Apo Kayan, because when validated by his and his converts' subsequent prosperity a flame of protestant fervor across much of inland Sarawak. It seems then that the concept of a universal order within which social structure, nature and the spirit would completely interact, influencing each other through subtle shifts of power, could prove useful in the analysis both of what one might call ethnocentric drift, the development and stabilization of local variation, and of the equally Bornean ingestive pull of a particularly successful way of life.

Dreams as well as outside models are also of course the ultimate source of song (one long Pendamal Takam whose origin is still remembered grew in the course of its singer's three-day sleep), which lends the tales further authority as expressions of their culture's deepest symbolic dynamics. It has indeed been suggested, refining an older theory of social structure and symbolism based on Indonesian sources, that even among cognatic societies those with sharp distinctions of class might express this with particular directness in their symbol system, through equally sharp, consistent patterns of binary antithesis (King 84-5). In this model the egalitarian Iban's loosely parallel, flexible and relational dualistic system stands against the rank-conscious Kayans' precise, thorough-going and value-laden series of oppositions, with Kayans presumably somewhere along the scale, providing one of the test cases called for. As it happens, though unequal dualisms are indeed a feature of the Takam's symbol system, they seem to no more fundamental importance to structure than to characterization (whose freedom from moralistic dichotomies is also a traditional feature of other Southeast Asian genres). Though the analysis of pairs can be highly productive in detail, each term's connotations shift in the context of different relationships to an extent that makes any presentation of precise vertical linkages fairly unconvincing. It is not easy, for instance, to place night firmly on the side of disorder, disease and danger, while Love, as he listens in the headwaters to the cries of the night-dwelling spirits (so 'ton malak) is filled with such aNeedless to say, even Nyalo slips his mind (By 462 ff.). It should be noted that the dualistic paradigm, Schärer's by his Leiden training, has been severely criticized (cf. Geertz); Freeman indeed contrasts it to the pervasive metamorphic mutability expressed in one Iban instance to that widespread sound and concept-clusters mentioned earlier, bal (for bal nyak; 1972) to change form, become something new, 286-7). This in Kayan (bali/balul) refers to a semblance put on through spiritual power, a shape into which the possessor of power enters and through which one can enter a room (mailum); and as among other inland groups, it also becomes a title for the class of beings with this power (Whittier 103, King 75, et al.).

Transmutation itself, it has been argued, presupposes a clear and categorical perception of each element involved (Needham); in more than one way, then, the word would indeed seem to provide a good summary image for the cognitive processes that among Kayans and other groups as well appear to underlie the social organization; that producing correspondences between ideas upon which the tension between ideal and actual, the field of malleable space that exists between ideological and situational determinants in class, descent and even in achievement: the boundary-crossing, rather than boundless, principle of power itself. From this point of view, which brings familiar sociocultural concepts into relationship with emic beliefs to create what should be a "thicker", more accurate representation of the cultural reality, ideology can be seen in varying degrees detached from behavior, to be analyzed as an independent, perhaps even a literary order of being: for it individuals manipulate the space between ideal and real, so do the mythmakers, the singers of tales.

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

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

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

Collection and Comparison of Lexical Items

Utilizing a list of 367 words, local equivalents were elicited for 331 language communities in 325 different locations through all 23 districts of the State. Every place where district officials, or the local people of certain local dialects visited by SIL technicians, or someone from that area was asked to give equivalents for the words on the list in his local dialect. (Casad, Collection and Comparison of Lexical Items, 1979.)

Intelligibility Testing

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

Study of Ethnographic Data

A certain amount of ethnographic material has been collected from each of the locations where a word list was elicited. This includes information about the history of each village, if it is known; the various types of people living in the village; its trade and marriage patterns; availability of schools, churches, mosques, shops; language employed for commerce, marriage ceremonies, political meetings, community affairs, etc. Linguistic and historical information were also taken from each individual who assisted in the data gathering process, as well as in the intelligibility testing phase of the research. It is recognized that this type of information is not comprehensive at this point in the research project, but what has been collected has proven of value in interpreting the linguistic data. For example, one might wonder why a Murut village in the Upper Kinabatangan River area of Sabah understands Kolobuan, a Paitain language,

better than it does another Murutic dialect, unless it is known that this particular village is isolated from other Murutic groups by a mountain range, and that they send their children downstream to school in a Kolobuan speaking village, where they also go to do their marketing periodically.

BY THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

John D. Miller
Summer Institute of Linguistics

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

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Utilizing a list of 367 words, local equivalents were elicited for 331 language communities in 325 different locations through all 23 districts of the State. Every place where district officials, or the local people in the villages indicated there was a difference in speech was either visited by SIL technicians, or someone from that area was asked to give equivalents for the words on the list in his local dialect. (Casad, Collection and Comparison of Lexical Items, 1979.)

Intelligibility Testing

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

In testing intelligibility, villages which have been chosen to listen to a certain set of stories are visited in order to record on tape ten to twelve questions from each story, which are then dubbed into the story in the local dialect immediately after the relevant information given in the story. A maximum of seven stories is used for testing in any one village. Ten to twelve individuals are asked to listen to the stories and answer the questions. An attempt is made to test both male and female, young and old, educated and uneducated individuals. The first story a participant is asked to listen to is one from his own village. This serves as an introduction to the procedures and makes possible elimination of individuals who are unable to take the test. The last story listened to is in Bahasa Malaysia.
to test comprehension in the national language. The testee listens to the stories through headphones along with the technician. The technician then records on paper the accuracy of the testee’s responses. From this data, percentages of intelligibility are computed between the village being tested and the villages from which the stories have come. This phase of the research project will probably continue until the middle of 1981. Findings will be published as results become available. (For a full description of procedures used in testing intelligibility see Casad.)

**In-depth Studies of Certain Local Dialects**

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

**Bibliography:**


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**NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**Professor Johannes Nicolaisen**

1922 - 1980

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

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

**BORNEO NEWS**

**Regional News**

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

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

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

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

While in Malaysia in 1979, WILHELM G. SOLHEIM II visited the Sabah Museum in Kota Kinabalu, the Brenell Museum, and the Sarawak Museum where he met many of the staff who were there during his fieldwork in 1958-59. He notes that the Sarawak Museum urgently needs storage space and may be able to expand in the near future.
CARL L. HOFFMAN, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, is conducting fieldwork among Punan groups of East and Central Kalimantan with study permits arranged by LIPI. He plans to survey as many Punan groups as possible before selecting a small number for more intensive ethnographic study. While a general ethnography is planned, his special concern is the topic of ethnicity and ethnic relations of human and non-Punan groups. His focus will be upon what he believes are the diverse origins of those groups in Borneo generically referred to as "Punan." Hoffman's research is supported by a two-and-one-half year predoctoral research grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. His address is c/o Sita Van Ness, Jalan Comorojajar 16, Yogjakarta, Indonesia.

BENJAMIN SELIGER is currently working in Kecamatan Long Apari on the Ashan language, and on linguistic and ethnological correlations between the peoples of the Pulau-Sioneer ranges area in order to define a linguistic "Punan complex" which originated in that area.

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

Sarawak News

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

PETER MUIR KIRKST is studying the social and economic changes of the Baram Al Tahan, specifically the effects of modern economy on their social-cultural system. He will return to Sarawak in December for six months field work after which he will return to the University of Sydney where he will write his dissertation under the supervision of DR. WILLIAM GEEDES.
1971 and 1972 among the Bidayuh, a sub-group of the Land Dayak in Sarawak. At that time the Bidayuh were in a transitional phase between shifting cultivation of hill paddy and cultivation of perennial cash crops such as rubber and pepper, and permanent use of small swamps for wet paddy.

Much attention was paid to the role of the Government which had made available a wide range of projects and programs aimed at villagers and individual farmers. The leading question at the start of the research was: What are the social and situational characteristics of the villages which engage most in the different types of village development projects? In particular the influence of homogeneity, integration, leadership, size and accessibility would be assessed.

The research methods used comprised in-depth studies of eight villages by participant observation, unstructured and structured interviews, and a survey of all 96 Bidayuh villages, in which headmen and other representatives answered the questions on the different aspects of their village. Besides this, information was collected on the organization and procedures of the departments and institutions charged with rural development.

The research findings indicated that differences in structural aspects of villages did not account for the ability to attract governmental assistance. The situational factors were only of minor importance. Village projects were more or less randomly distributed. Instead, the government programs aimed at individuals, as part of the externally stimulated incorporation process, did influence the social structure of the Bidayuh villages. 

The egalitarian tribal society of the Bidayuh, with its relative abundance of land, had always allowed every individual much personal freedom. Some levelling mechanisms existed, but with little effect. The individual Bidayuh eagerly accepted the externally provided opportunities to personal welfare such as education, employment, markets for cash crops, and medical subsidies. Consequently, the inequality in the villages increased, which conflicted with the traditional egalitarian ideology. The relations between the households weakened and responsibility felt for the well-being of the community decreased. Indicators are the replacement of exchange labor by family and wage labor, increase in the number of separate dwellings, some even outside the village center, instead of the traditional longhouse, little participation in village meetings, and headmen who increasingly are regarded as representatives of the government rather than the village leaders.

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

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

De Foubert, Cathiron and Paul Vissers. Kalimantan in de Houtgreep: achtergronden en effecten van de woogexploitatie op Kalimantan (Indonesie) (Background and Effects of Forest Exploitation in Kalimantan), Wageningen, 1979. (Dutch, with English summary).

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

A literary study of these groups showed that:

1. Most timber is extracted from the Kalimantan tropical rain forest, which is one of the richest ecosystems on earth: it contains a high percentage of valuable hardwood species, mainly Dipterocarps. Technically, a permanent exploitation of this ecosystem with the use of natural regeneration methods is feasible, as is proved by analogous situations in Malaysia and the Philippines.

2. In practice, however, forest exploitation is generally done on the basis of a "hit-and-run" strategy with no care for recovery or regeneration. This is due to high exploitation costs, the temporal character of the concession agreement, the lack of stringent legal regulations or, if any, insufficient implementation. The forest service in by no means equal to its task.

3. Usually foreign companies enter Indonesia by creating a joint venture with a native counterpart. Before 1971 most were small-scale non-mechanical enterprises, in increasing numbers attracted by the favorable concession conditions, rising prices, and the decrease of wood supplies in surrounding countries. After 1971 large-scale enterprises gradually took over, using heavy mechanical equipment. They were favored by legal regulations forbidding the export of timber extracted by non-mechanical methods, increasing the minimum concession area, etc., and, secondly, by price fluctuations causing the withdrawal of smaller companies.

4. On the whole, the Indonesian government's interests ran parallel with those of the concessionaires. Before 1976, over a million dollars had been invested in the forestry sector. Annual exports increased up to 18.6 million m³ ($721,000,000) in the same year. Kalimantan—especially East Kalimantan—provided 71.6 percent of Indonesia's timber.
exports in 1975. Since 1972, the country has been the world’s leading exporter of logs.

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

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

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


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


Due to the fact that the Indonesian government has been reluctant to promote research on Indonesian ethnic groups to be carried out by Indonesian scholars, most studies to-date have been done by foreign social scientists. This condition has hampered the flow of information on ethnic groups to Indonesian policy makers who have to deal with ethnic minorities. The present paper gives a short survey of the main ethnic groups, the problems they face, and the relationships they have with other ethnic groups. According to the author, ethnic and cultural differences do not in themselves generate inter-ethnic conflict. It is rather the competition for social status and access to economic resources which invites ethnic groups to oppose each other. To overcome existing problems, the author argues, the government needs more anthropological evidence collected through empirical research. For this reason, it would be well advised not to discourage such research in the future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


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