

**Faculty of Social Sciences**

**Conjunctive Staging, Scripted Equivocation, and “The Headhunter’s Dream”**

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Conjunctive Staging, Scripted Equivocation, and

“The Headhunter’s Dream”

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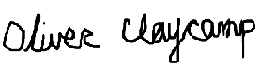
Faculty of Social Sciences

UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SARAWAK

2017

###### DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis is based on my original work except for quotations and citation, which have been duly acknowledged. The thesis has not been accepted for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any other degree.



Name: Oliver Claycamp

Date: April 11, 2017

‘

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###### ABSTRACT

This study presents and then partially tests an ethnographic methodology for extracting and exploring a quality referred to as ‘Conjunctive Knowledge.’ Conjunctive knowledge refers to the shared and stereotyped social knowledge held mutually by any specific grouping of people. This sort of group is referred to as a ‘conjunctive community.’ The objective of Conjunctive Staging is to discover a means of efficiently extracting and reflecting upon targeted information from a specific community. This process of extraction and reflection is hypothesized to produce a holistic picture of the shared social knowledge the group. Moreover, the methodological process used within this study should motivate the group in question to cooperate actively in the investigation of their own culture for reasons equivocal to that of the anthropologist’s. The method that extracts this particular type of information from a community is called ‘Conjunctive Staging.’ This method has three main portions called the abstract, actualized, and reflexive. In the abstract, a special kind of narrative is developed and then delivered to a conjunctive community through a process called ‘scripted equivocation.’ This is where the anthropologist delivers the narrative to a translator who then delivers to the audience. The audience is restricted from direct communication with the anthropologist and vice versa. So, after hearing a portion of narrative, the translator considers the audience of his or her conjunctive relations, and then delivers a revised and corrected version of the narrative which better matches the specific culturally relative understandings of that audience. In the actualized portion, the newly revised narrative is converted into a film script which, through further help from that conjunctive community, is actualized into a film or stage play. In the final reflexive phase, that film or stage play is viewed (it becomes recorded either way) by other members of the larger conjunctive community who reflect upon the story and its implications. This method of Conjunctive Staging was tested with a conjunctive community of traditionalist Iban people from Sarawak, Malaysia on the island of Borneo. The narrative specifically designed for that community featured themes concerning headhunting, ghosts, demons, and the supernatural more generally. It was successfully delivered three times in the field via the scripted equivocation process in April 2015. The results of those encounters are analyzed and presented in full within the Appendices of this work. The results of that analysis are twofold. Firstly, the scripted equivocation process does work, at least within the confines of the experiment as presented. Further, with some modifications this scripted equivocation process should have the theoretical capacity to produce a far great amount of specific and targeted information Secondly, the success of the scripted equivocation suggests that the full process of Conjunctive Staging, when it is completed, should also be successful. In conclusion, after this preliminary exploratory research, a strong suggestion is made that the process known as scripted equivocation has merit and should be repeated under different circumstances to better understand the dynamics involved. Further, Conjunctive Staging, as a logistical process from which the scripted equivocation emerges, warrants completion and further investigation.

**Keywords**: Pengetahuan Konjunktif, Pementasan Konjunktif, Penyesuaian Skrip, Iban

***Persembahan Konjunktif, Penyesuaian Skrip, dan "Mimpi Pemenggal Kepala.”***

###### *ABSTRAK*

*Kajian ini membentangkan dan kemudiannya menguji satu kaedah etnografi untuk mengekstrak dan meneroka kualiti yang merujuk kepada ‘pengetahuan konjunktif’. Pengetahuan konjunktif merujuk kepada perkongsian dan stereotaip pengetahuan social yang diadakan bersama dengan mana-mana kumpulan dengan orang-orang tertentu.* *Kumpulan ini dikenali sebagai 'masyarakat konjunktif’. Objektif pementasan konjunktif adalah untuk mencari cara yang berkesan untuk mengekstrak dan mencerminkan maklumat yang disasarkan daripada komuniti tertentu. Proses pengesktrakan dan refleksi adalah hipotesis untuk menghasilkan gambaran yang menyeluruh berkaitan dengan perkongsian pengetahuan sosial oleh kumpulan tersebut. Selain itu, proses metodologi yang digunakan dalam kajian ini perlu memberi motivasi kepada kumpulan berkenaan untuk bekerjasama secara aktif dalam penyiasatan budaya mereka sendiri bersama dengan ahli antropologi secara bersebab. Kaedah yang mengekstrak jenis maklumat tertentu dari kamuniti itu dipanggil ‘pementasan konjunktif’. Kaedah ini mempunyai tiga bahagian utama iaitu abstrak, realisasikan dan refleksi. Dalam ekstrak, sejenis naratif khas dikembangkan dan kemudian disampaikan kepada komuniti konjunktif melalui proses yang dipanggil ‘penyesuaian skrip’. Ini adalah di mana ahli antroplogi menyampaikan naratif kepada penterjemah yang kemudian menyampaikan kepada penonton. Penonton adalah disekat daripada berkomunikasi dengan ahli antropologi begitu juga sebaliknya. Selepas mendengar sebahagian daripada naratif, penterjemah menganggap penonton adalah hubungan konjunktif beliau,dan kemudian menyampaikan versi yang diperbetulkan dan disemak naratifnya yang lebih sesuai dengan pemahaman budaya ahli keluarga tertentu penonton. Di bahagian yang sebenar, naratif baru yang telah disemak ditukar menjadi skrip filem yang melalui konjunktif komuniti adalah direalisasikan ke dalam filem atau bermain pentas. Dalam fasa refleksi akhir, filem ataupun bermain pentas adalah dilihat (ia direkod cara sama) oleh ahli masyarakat konjunktif lain yang lebih besar yang mencerminkan cerita dan implikasinya. Kaedah pementasan konjunktif telah diuji dengan masyarakat konjunktif iaitu tradisionalis orang Iban dari Sarawak, Malaysia di Kepulauan Borneo. Naratif yang direka khusus untuk masyarakat yang dipaparkan tema mengenai pemburuan kepala, hantu, syaitan dan alam ghaib yang lebih umum. Ia telah Berjaya dihantar tiga kali di lapangan melalui proses penyesuaian skrip pada April 2015. Hasil daripada penemuan tersebut dianalisis dan dibentangkan sepenuhnya di bahagian Lampiran karya ini. Hasil analisis itu adalah dua kali ganda. Pertama, penyesuaian skrip berfungsi, sekurang-kurangnya dalam batasan eksperimen seperti yang dibentangkan. Selanjutnya, dengan sedikit pengubahsuaian proses pengelakan ini, skrip perlu mempunyai kapasiti teori untuk menghasilkan jumlah yang lebih besar maklumat khusus dan disasarkan. Kedua, kejayaan penyesuaian skrip mencadangkan bahawa proses penuh pementasan konjunktif, apabila siap perlu juga berjaya.*

*Kesimpulannya, selepas kajian penerokaan awal ini, cadangan yang kuat dibuat bahawa proses yang dikenali sebagai penyesuaian skrip mempunyai merit dan perlu diulangi di bawah keadaan yang berbeza untuk lebih memahami dinamik yang terlibat. Selanjutnya, pementasan konjunktif, sebagai proses logistik yang kemudian penyesuaian skrip muncul, waran siap dan untuk siasatan lanjut.*

***Kata Kunci:*** *Konjunktif,* *pementasan konjunktif, penyesuaian skrip, Iban*

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# CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.0 Arrangement of Chapter

This chapter will give a general overview of a complex methodology called ‘Conjunctive Staging.’ Each of the five phases will be introduced in Sections 1.2-1.2.5, collected into Table 1 in Section 1.3,and explained inSection 1.3.1. The general theoretical literature and significance will be outlined in Section 1.4. This study will be tested with human subjects, the Iban of Sarawak, Malaysia, who will be introduced in Section 1.5. ‘Scripted Equivocation’ refers to a method internal to the Conjunctive Staging process and is covered in Section 1.6.2.The ‘Headhunter’s Dream’ is a narrative specifically created for this project and is introduced in Section 1.5.3**.** Section 1.7 will discuss the various limitations encountered within this work. The objectives will be covered in Section 1.8 and the final organization and conclusion in Section 1.9.

## 1.1 Introduction

This study will present a multi-phase methodology for studying “Conjunctive Knowledge” (Mannheim, 1982). According to Mannheim (1893-1947), Conjunctive Knowledge is the shared “experiential and stereotyped knowledge” of a particular community (1982; 191-203). It is *physiognomic knowledge,* as in the sort of knowledge coming not from analysis but instead the total apprehension that makes analysis possible (1982; 158).[[1]](#footnote-1)The conjunctive is rooted, *in situ,* within a particular holistic structure inclusive of that structure’s characteristic features, objectivities, and contextures. It is therefore holistic, an aggregate of abstract, actualized, and reflexive knowledge tied within a single system and understood as a whole.

The material characterization of the conjunctive is, according to Mannheim (1982; 192), narrative. Mannheim was correct in this assessment, yet, to bring forward the methodological usefulness of this insight more detail is required. The theoretical departure made in this study is to characterize the conjunctive as not simply a narrative, as in *a story,* but instead as a *stage narrative* within a *production cycle.* This sort of narrative is naturally the kind destined for the stage or screen within a series of actions that cover script development, staging, and the final reception and review. In comparison to the simple narrative, a stage narrative is holistic; existing as an abstract hypothetical account, an actualized happening, and an event to be reflected upon. By placing these three phases into a single methodological structure, a harmony is created with Mannheim’s conjunctive. Accordingly, the most fitting title, never expressed by Mannheim, for this method overall is “Conjunctive Staging.[[2]](#footnote-2) ”

## 1.2 Conjunctive Staging

As an ethnographic methodology, Conjunctive Staging proceeds by developing, staging, and reviewing a stage narrative in collaboration with a group of native people. In methodological terms, this process will ultimately present a protracted negotiation between the anthropologist and the natives concerning specific concepts suggested by the anthropologist for inclusion within the narrative. By receiving the narrative, the natives will be confronted with these concepts and, as representative experts of that particular conjunctive reality, give their frank assessment of the relative fidelity and validity of the narrative as it artistically portrays their specific and culturally unique universe. As such, those natives’ conjunctive knowledge or, in a slightly different set of terms, their ‘ontology’ - which is to say their beingness as the ground from which knowingness comes- is converted into an applied, and, in being applied, explicated, epistemology crucial for staging the narrative in ways agreeable to that specific group.

### 1.2.1 Phase One - Development

Conjunctive Staging proceeds by analogously following a production cycle. The first phase of that cycle is the development where the writer(s) produce the scripted document. The Development phase in this case is for the anthropologist to produce the first draft of the *narrative script* that will start the negotiations. The hypothesis here is that if the natives approve of the script then they will be willing to discuss it, correct it, help stage it, and ultimately stand behind it as a collaborative creative endeavor. If the script is bad as in boring, strange, or otherwise not understandable then they could reject the process outright. So, like a screenwriter pitching a screenplay to a board of producers, the anthropologist will pitch the script to the ‘board’ of natives.[[3]](#footnote-3) Since much depends on the quality of the narrative then, following this line, the narrative should be dramatic, as in interesting, surprising, exhilarating, terrifying, wrought with tension, etc. If it is all these things as well as relatable to the natives, then it should be accepted by those natives. This acceptance includes the suggestion of the native’s further commitment to seeing that narrative become a holistic reality.

### 1.2.2 Phase Two - Abstract

The second phase of this process is the ‘abstract phase.’ This is when the anthropologist presents the first draft and carefully records the discussions and revisions of the narrative by those natives. Ultimately, the natives will retell the narrative in their own terms and ideological frames. It is in this phase that the narrative will cross out of the anthropologist’s imagination and move into the native’s conjunctive space. The native has absolute authority over this space, especially in comparison to the anthropologist. The natives will be motivated to give these revisions and critiques freely based on two main principles. Firstly, the natives will wish to prevent distorted or false depictions of themselves and their culturally constructed universe. Secondly, the act of giving critiques and revision will be an expression of their cultural authority and creativity**.** The specific data collection method for phase two is the ‘scripted equivocation’ which will be discussed more in Section 1.4.1.

### 1.2.3 Phase Three - Actualized

The actualized phase follows where the events of the corrected and finalized script are staged either with those natives as actors and directors, or with others under their active supervision. For example, a local acting troupe could be brought in and directed by those natives. Whereas before, in the abstract phase, the events depicted were hypothetical, in this phase they become actualized by real people in real time, thereby giving the anthropologist the opportunity to elicit and record data from those natives under distinctly different theoretical parameters. This could go, for example, from recording a village council discussing the most proper or respectful way to depict a certain event, to how an actor might feel or imagine his or her character might feel when performing at a specific point within the script. Theoretically speaking, as the abstract solidifies, the discussion too becomes more specific and rooted within the cultural and social contexts. In the abstract, the discussion circles general possibilities; in the actualized those discussions move into the specific details needed to bring the hypothetical to life. As both the instigator and collaborator the anthropologist is naturally allowed, or even required to take part in each step.

### 1.2.4 Phase Four - Reflexive

In the fourth stage, natives of that conjunctive community (i.e. those that live within the specific conjunctive or cultural space in question) review the final product, either as a film or staged event, and then reflect upon the specific information and messages instantiated within that product. To members of that specific conjunctive community, the conjunctive production will be something quite different than a normal film or stage play. This is true because, as opposed to a neutral or non-personally directed art piece, each movement of the production will be *designed* to have a message or make some kind of statement about the cultural or ontological existence of these people. Having made the initial suggestion and therefore helped to plant the messages, the anthropologist will naturally know where those messages[[4]](#footnote-4) are and be able to use them to facilitate a broad and ultimately philosophical discussion. Given the mobility of a filmed product, phase four can be accomplished with the natives most directly responsible for the production (i.e. those who helped write the script and acted in the production) and other groups not specifically involved. This latter idea is truly exciting because it allows for the possibility of gaining access to the consensus understanding from across the larger population.

### 1.2.5 Phase Five - Negotiated

After completing and collecting data from the three phases, the protracted negotiation between the anthropologist and the natives can be completed. The end point of these negotiations is for both the anthropologist and that group of natives, preferably those who took part in the production process, to review the information gathered and agree upon the ‘final’ understanding of the production and the concepts instantiated within it. In effect, the anthropologist will ask the natives what he or she should write. In performing this function of delivering a ‘final’ understanding the natives will have the data elicited from the previous 4 phases at their disposal, thereby allowing them the possibility of delivering complex and holistic responses.

The import of the above is not that natives would produce a definitive understandings of concepts that concern themselves – they do this all the time - but that the anthropologist will have been brought along and allowed to supply the tools (conceptual, material, and motivational) by which this possibility could manifest in terms meaningful to both sides. Therefore, theoretically speaking, the natives become positioned as analogous anthropologists both capable and ideally committed to self-expression. As such, the anthropologist’s epistemological advantage (De Castro, 2003) of coming from a western academic tradition that routinely cares about these definitive style statements, will be balanced by bringing the natives up to the level of co-author of the study, not simply in the staged production but also in the general meaning taken from it and as part of the final treatise.

## 1.3 Overview of Methodology

Conjunctive Staging is not a simple idea. It ultimately combines the complexity of ethnographic fieldwork with the complications of orchestrating a theatrical stage production. Nevertheless, there is much which is intuitive about it. The production cycle of conceiving, staging, and reviewing is a logical formulation which should, in principle, make what could be an overly complex interaction understandable for all parties involved. Ideally, the natives will not only understand what is being expected of them but also be uniquely suited to accomplish those expectations. Assuming that the narrative is something that the natives are willing to stand behind artistically, their participation could be less an imposition of the anthropologist and more an opportunity for them to utilize the format for their own creative ends. Ultimately, by using this format, the natives will be facilitated in making their own artistic and formal statements about themselves and their unique understanding of their own ontological universe. See Table 1 for a complete overview.

Table 1: Conjunctive Staging

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Steps** | | **Methods** | **1st** | **2nd** | **3rd** |
| **Name/Description** | | **Method/Literature** | **Cooperative**  **[Done in the field]** | **Data Collected** | **Independent**  **[Done by Anthropologist]** |
| Phase 1 | **Development**/  Write the script | Beat sheet/  Snyder (2005). Recursive Analysis/  Holbraad (2008). | Review ethnographic documents | Ethnographic literature review | 1st narrative script |
| Phase 2 | **Abstract**/  Review the script in the field | Equivocation/  De Castro (2004) | Retell the narrative | Narrative Retellings | Full script |
| Phase 3 | **Actualized**/  Stage the script in the field. | --------------------- | Produce the Script | Video and transcripts from production | Production Tour [&/or] Film Edit [+]  Questionnaires |
| Phase 4 | **Reflexive**/  Watch the production in the field | --------------------- | Watch the production or film | Questionnaire/ Transcripts | List of concepts for final negotiation |
| Phase 5 | **Negotiated**/  Review the data in the field. | ---------------------- | Review and discuss data | Transcripts | Final Anthropological Treatise |
| *The Theoretical Literature for this work consists of:*  *Mannheim (1982), Wagner (1981), Viveiros De Castro (2013, 2004)* | | | | | |

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### 1.3.1 Table 1 - Explanation

Conjunctive Staging is a large multi-part concept. Table one allows the reader to see the process in a logical formation and on a single page. Two main features should be observable after review of the chart. These are that Conjunctive Staging produces a fair amount of information and that it hypothetically has a large demographic reach.

### 1.3.2 The Data Collected

To the first point, in the column marked ‘output 2nd’ a list of documents is given which will ideally be produced by the Conjunctive Staging process. These are literature review, narrative retellings, production video plus transcripts, questionnaires, and finally the transcripts of the negotiated analysis. Even from this rather introductory position there is much reason to believe that the information obtained will be of a focused and detailed kind. For example, this current study concerns the concept of the demon huntsman “Antu Gerasi.” In the literature review information is presented about this demon. In the retellings a group or several groups of research subjects discuss this demon. In the production video this group then determines how best to stage the Gerasi and then performs this action. The questionnaires are for research subjects not directly associated with the staging and their response to that staging. Finally, in the negotiated phase, all the information is brought back in a bi-lingual format to the original group of research subjects. After a review of the previous documents these research subjects deliver their ‘final’ understanding. Hence, in this example much detailed and focused information is brought forward about the demon Antu Gerasi; what he looks like, how he moves, stories about him, etc.

### 1.3.3 The Demographic Reach

The second important feature of Conjunctive Staging is to consider the number of people potentially touched by this process. Phase one 1st the anthropologist alone reviews a series of books about the target people but in phase five 1st the anthropologist sits with a large group of those target people pouring over data collected from even larger groups of those target people who were able to observe and comment upon the staging. Hence, a process that started alone potentially ends with a wide reach across a specific demographic. If the production video is made available on the internet then its reach could extend for years to come.

## 1.4 Significance and Literature

Following the above, the main purpose of Conjunctive Staging is the production of highly focused data from across a broad set of a particular population. A fitting analogy is that of a data production machine with two broad functions. The first is to ‘scan’ or pick up information about a human grouping and the second is to project outward an image or interpretation of that information in the form of a film or film of a stage production. The target population views this projection and then delivers even more focused information.

In order to obtain a better understanding of the significance of the data produced it is necessary to focus upon the information listed in output 2nd column. These documents, as opposed to those produced in output 3rd; deal with new information coming from the target population. By better understanding these documents and especially the documents produced through the scripted equivocation method, a deeper and more holistic understanding of both the theory and practice of Conjunctive Staging can be obtained.

### 1.4.1 The Data Produced by Conjunctive Staging and the Scripted Equivocation

The documents of current interest produced by the conjunctive process are the bi-lingual texts created through the scripted equivocation process. The method of scripted equivocation will receive a fuller description in Chapter 3. The three documents obtained through this method are available in Appendices A-C. The reason these documents are currently of interest are because they, along with the narrative base text, formulate the basic organizational template by which all other documents in the series will be subject. They therefore offer the base of the operation.

The texts generated through the scripted equivocation technique are made up of 45 separate story units within a three-act structure. The process is that the anthropologist delivers the narrative scene by scene to a translator who then delivers the story to an audience of tribal members. Hence, it is similar in some ways to the game ‘Chinese whispers.’

Three main variables exist in this process: the anthropologist, the translator, and the audience. In this work, the same translator delivered the same anthropologist’s words to three separate audiences. This one factor of different audiences as well as the idea that the translator became more proficient at delivering the story was enough to change each retelling more or less profoundly. These results are seemingly consistent with the work of Tymoczko (2014) and her work with oral narrative translation. She said that in oral narrative situations the emphasis is not on the exact words of the original but instead of a story well and truly told (61). The results are also reminiscent of Bohannan (1966) and her oral narrative work with the Tiv of Nigeria. In that project the Tiv dramatically reinterpreted Shakespeare’s Hamlet until it matched their autochthonous means of understanding.

Hence, four versions (the input or base text and three outputs) of each story unit (45 in total) exist and each version contains slightly to largely different information. When compiled a spread of data is elicited. Overall, the data gives information about the translator, the translator’s feelings about the story and the anthropologist, the audience, and the audience’s feelings about the story and the anthropologist, the audience’s answers to the anthropologist’s questions, and finally information about the anthropologist. Some of the information presented is not part of the story technically but instead things which were brought up by the story.

Therefore, if the analogy is allowed that Conjunctive Staging is some sort of complex instrument then the output of this instrument is unit after unit of data following the organization of a narrative. The narrative then is more than simply a story or stage play but is also an organizational template. Later, the information obtained will be converted into a projection to be viewed and commented upon by members of that cultural group, therefore eliciting a great deal more information. Yet, for now, only the initial blocks of data and the template have been obtained, which is phase one and two of the Conjunctive Staging process.

### 1.4.2 Theoretical Literature

The reason this analogous instrument exists and in the form that it does has much to do with a group of social science theoreticians. These are Mannheim (1982), Wagner (1981), and De Castro (2013, 2004). What is on offer is the idea that collectively these writers are pointing to this theoretical instrument or behavioral protocol illustrated in Table 1, or that the instrument is an analogy for at least some parts of their work. Proving this point definitely is far beyond the scope of this project due to the sheer conceptual density of their respective writings. This troubling fact is clear even to these writers when speaking about each other. For example, De Castro (2014) introduces Wagner (1981) that “Wagner’s conceptually dense and quite original theoretical system resists didactic summary; thus we request that the reader engage its most elegant and realized presentation in *The Invention of Culture”* (De Castro, 2014: 53)*.*  I would wager that Wagner would say the same thing about De Castro and in fact all three would easily fit under this umbrella of being immeasurably dense, complex, and highly original. On some level, Conjunctive Staging is not as complex as they are yet still uses some of the principles that they suggest. Therefore, these writers are accredited as being foundational to this concept.

### 1.4.2.1 Karl Mannheim

The name of the instrument is from Mannheim (1982) and his conjunctive knowledge. The connection here is how Mannheim looks at this form of knowledge and how it implicates an intuitive organizational structure. He refers to this knowledge type intersected with organizational system as a “utopian process” with a “natural scientific character” (1982: 192). Understanding how an organizational system might be considered ‘utopian’ requires a task made easier through that system. Mannheim’s task was to understand and account for social knowledge, how it grows between people, and the distinct features which separate it from other kinds of knowing. Conjunctive Staging follows Mannheim by creating an artificial or conceptual conjunctive experience between the anthropologist and the natives and then utilizes the objective contextures of that experience as markers within a larger organizational template. The utopian ideal is how efficiently data becomes sorted into meaningful containers and how quickly in turn that data can be analyzed.

Similar to Mannheim’s ideal, Conjunctive Staging produces a useful and flexible system of knowledge sharing and storage. For example, the anthropologist can use the story as an interrogation tool by asking questions about what the subject thinks about a particular character or trait. Hence, the story can *break the ice* around any particular subject and allow for free communication. In essence, this trait answers the question of why the anthropologist is asking a particular question. The answer is because it is beneficial to the understanding of the story.

Beyond the interrogation potential, Conjunctive Staging also offers an intuitive organization and storage system. This is because the process utilizes a narrative organizational template such that each time the natives discuss the narrative or film or production process they will inevitably be referencing some particular scene within the story. If they reference Johnny’s drinking problem, for example, then the analyst will know precisely to file this with act 1 scene 5 because that scene has to do with this concept. The benefit of having a premade filing system is in how it hastens the analysis. For, in such a case the analyst simply need open a file, sort the top ten or twenty responses to a given topic, and search for patterns. If enough informants speak on a particular topic then generating statistics also seems quite plausible.

Whether these two points amalgamate into a “utopian system” is complex. Utopian is a bold term yet it is certainly true that the combination of features used in Conjunctive Staging creates a useful and convenient system. In this work, the process was only done three times with the same translator. It could have been done an indefinite number of times with any number of translators. Further, if and when the stage production is put on, then it could be viewed by more and more subjects thereby producing an ever increasing amount of information to be neatly filed, sorted and made ready for analysis. Hence, even if it is not ‘utopian,’ Conjunctive Staging does seemingly produce something quite nice and possibly quite useful.

### 1.4.2.2 Roy Wagner

Wagner’s (1981) work concerns itself with a concept that he calls “invention.” Culture is, according to Wagner, a creative thing and when anthropologists create descriptions of cultures they are also doing something creative; inventing a picture of that culture, but differently than how those natives would have done so for themselves. Therefore, by creating this picture the anthropologist has “usurped the native’s right to create” (182). To balance this out the anthropologist and the native must embark on a mutually creative exploration that will illuminate both sides in equal measure. Therefore, the investigation of the other must include the apparent and explicated subjective proclivities of the anthropologist. The anthropologist is the second subjective persona within the cross-cultural encounter; hence, by assessing both sides an analogously objective view might hypothetically be procured.

In a very literal and direct sense, Conjunctive Staging does this. Both parties within the negotiation are being literally creative, and through this mutual creativity explicate the conjunctive. Methodologically speaking, both sides of the engagement produce documentation which, when compared to the other documents in the same series, exposes the subjective creativity of those creators. Therefore, both sides become instrumental to the analysis and it is in this way that an analogously objective view can be procured.

### 1.4.2.3 Viveiros De Castro

The third theoretician in the group is that of Viveiros De Castro. Two important ideas will be taken from De Castro (2013, 2004). These are his idea of the “epistemological advantage” and the “Equivocation.” The later idea has more methodological applications and will be discussed further in Section 1.5.2, developed more in Chapter 2, and put to practical use in Section 3.3.

This section is currently concerned with the epistemological advantage which is a complex idea dealing with the relation of knowledge and power between the anthropologist and the native. A means of understanding concerns physical texts. The anthropologist has at his or her disposal a series of texts that in some way deal with the anthropologist’s epistemology. Chances are that the native will not be familiar with that series of texts and, on the opposite token the anthropologist might not be familiar with all the texts or oral histories, etc, which the native holds in their memories or bookshelf which could be used to explicate the native’s epistemology. If and when the anthropologist chooses to write the final dissertation to match his or her own epistemology then an implicit denial is made of the native’s epistemology and that application in describing and explaining concepts relevant to that native.

Conjunctive Staging overturns this dynamic in a profound way. Instead of simply observing and then wrapping those observations within an implicit epistemological structure, here the anthropologist and the natives collaboratively create a corpus of shared bi-lingual knowledge. Both sides of the engagement having access to the corpus create a fundamentally equivalent position. It is from this position where a new negotiated epistemology might emerge which could better illuminate the natives’ perspective and help the anthropologist move beyond his or her own implicit western-centric biases.

### 1.4.3 Significance of Study - Conclusion

It is hoped that by this stage the reader has been given a glimpse into the general significance and theory underlying this process. In Chapter 2, a fuller treatment of the theoretical literature will be done in the hopes of expanding that picture to include more of the information obtained as well as the virtualities and consequences of that increase of perspective. Ideally, this work will offer a practical and theoretical foundation for further projects in this direction.

## 1.5 Fieldwork

The Fieldwork done for this study took place in Malaysia in the province of Sarawak on the Island of Borneo (Figure 1).

**Figure 1:** Map of Malaysia (Source : Political and Administrative Map of Malaysia, 2016)

### 1.5.1 A Brief History of Sarawak

In figure 1 a circle has been placed around the location of the fieldwork in the province of Sarawak. Sarawak, as an independent country, was first ruled by the Englishman James Brooks in 1841 (Reece, 1982). Brookes was known as the ‘White Raja’ and his relatives ruled Sarawak until it was occupied by the Japanese in 1942. After the fall of the Japanese empire Sarawak was returned to the Brookes in 1945 to be finally ceded to the British in 1946. In 1962, Sarawak officially became a self-governing part of the federation of Malaysia (Pringle, 2007).

### 1.5.2 Physical Description of Sarawak

The area of Sarawak occupies 124,450 square km and is bordered by the Sultanate of Brunei and the Malaysian province of Sabah to the north and the Indonesian province of Kalimantan to the west. Being on the equator Sarawak has a tropical climate with regular monsoons. The average temperatures range from 23° in the mornings to 32° in the afternoons. It is very humid and receives some amount of rain nearly every day. Sarawak receives considerably more rain during the two yearly monsoons (Geography of Sarawak, 2015).

The land of Sarawak is mostly jungle and maintains a great deal of physical diversity. Sarawak and Borneo more generally has one of the highest concentrations of animals anywhere on the planet. Some notable animals that can be found in Sarawak are Orangutans, proboscis monkeys, and pygmy elephants (Chai, 1981).

There is also a large amount of ethnic diversity. In Sarawak, there are 6 main ethnic groups as well as 40 sub-ethnic groups (Rousseau, 1990). The Iban are the largest ethnic group in Sarawak, numbering nearly 750,000. Some of the other ethnic groups include Malays, Chinese, Indians, Bidayuh, and the Orang Ulu. The religion in Sarawak is overwhelmingly split between Christian and Islam with roughly 25% practicing some other kind of religion. Accordingly, to the Department of Statistics Report (2015) only 1% of the population follows a traditional Bornean religion (“The Borneo Post,” 2015).

### 1.5.3 Research Subjects -The Iban of Sarawak

Phase one and two of this method was put into practice in April 2015 with a group of Iban people living in a rural area of Sarawak, Malaysia on the Island of Borneo. The Iban are agriculturists and the largest indigenous group in Sarawak (Sutlive, 2001). For this study the more important aspect of the Iban comes not from their current state but instead their history because many of the elements chosen for the narrative are more traditional as opposed to modern ideas.

Prior to 1900, the Iban were the fiercest and deadliest of all headhunters on the island of Borneo (Pringle, 2007). The importance of headhunting for the Iban during that time was not simply as an act but also an essential value within their autochthonous religion (Uchibori, 1978). While headhunting in Sarawak has been suppressed by the colonial governments since that time, some groups (less than 10% of the total population) still maintain aspects of their traditional spiritual practices including the retention and symbolic feeding of severed heads (Sutlive, 2001).

A community of these traditional Iban people was selected as the research subjects for this Conjunctive Staging process precisely because they claim to not only remember much of their traditional customs but still *believe* in some of those values and ways of thinking. In practical terms they preserve and maintain their trophy skulls and practice many of the larger rituals called *gawai*. While none in the community have actually severed a head in the traditional way some of the older members were able to remember relatives who had. The process of Conjunctive Staging was used to open negotiations concerning the topics of headhunting, demons, ghosts, shamans, taboos, curses, death practices, burial practices, and reanimation. The initial hypothesis was that because they at least claim to still remember and believe in some of these ideas, then Conjunctive Staging should be able to tap into this particular conjunctive space and therefore experience something from that particular reality.

Overall, the process at least up to phase two, was successful and the anthropologist was able to use the narrative script to obtain three script retellings. The translator in this process is instrumental. In a very literal sense the narrative passes through the mind of the translator and it is that mind, as well as the anthropologist’s, which leaves an indelible mark upon the retellings. The translator for this project was the headman of a traditional Iban community. After finishing the process the translator also agreed to be listed as co-author on the completed script, suggesting further cooperation for the coming stages. The aspects not anticipated about phase two was how much information would be delivered through this method of scripted equivocation. I quickly found myself overwhelmed by detail. Using that information to guide the production of the complete script was relatively straightforward, but formulating independent understanding of these people based on the imprints proved problematic on several fronts. See Section 1.7 scope and limitations for more details.

## 1.6 Overview of Events for Phase One

For phase one, I created a literature review (see Section 2.7) focusing on concepts of interest and then, using that information as the base material, created the first narrative script (see 3.4). The theory behind this act has some commonality with Holbraad (2008) and his concept of “Recursive Anthropology.” Simply put is the idea that the anthropologist try to present native concepts, no matter how unusual they might seem, as being ‘normative.’ The reason for this decision rests on two levels. The first more superficial reason is that if the anthropologist can depict the various concepts coming from the natives as being normal as opposed to absurd, strange, horrible, etc. then chances are higher that the natives will find that depiction acceptable. The second more complex reason has to do with epistemologies. One of the larger premises exposed by De Castro (2013) and Holbraad (2008) is that the anthropologist should not rely upon their implicit epistemology when processing information coming from the native. Instead the anthropologist should reformulate a new epistemology unique to those people and the specific texts and concepts under analysis. Holbraad’s insight is that by depicting a concept as ‘normal’ a stable base line is created between the perspectives of the natives and the anthropologist. The anthropologist’s normative treatment might not be ‘correct’ in an empirical sense yet it will almost definitely be a closer fit to native sensibilities than otherwise.

The extension of this idea into screenwriting is that if the native concept within the scene is presented as normative then the natives should accept it. Therefore being normal is conflated with being acceptable or at least understandable. The reason why this is desirable is due to a fairly straightforward consideration of the nature of right, wrong, understandable, and incomprehensible. An idea can be understandable even if it is wrong. If it is understandably wrong then it can be efficiently corrected. If the answer is understandable and correct then no corrections are required. If the answer is incomprehensible then no corrections can be given. Since Conjunctive Staging is aimed at being an ethnographic data collection instrument then being understandably wrong and then being revised by the informants is the ideal position. Hence, by the anthropologist trying to depict a concept as normal and failing, which is quite common if the culture is far enough removed, suggests that at least the idea will be within this golden region of being understandable yet also incorrect. It is within this region that the native will give the most comments and corrections, which is the desired result.

The process which was used to structure the narrative comes from Snyder (2005) and his ‘beat sheet.’ The beat sheet is a script template that features 15 discrete narrative movements or ‘beats’ within a three act structure. The benefits of this sort of structure are many. Firstly, it acts as a natural organizational system which assists the analysis. Secondly the three act narrative structure formulates a natural dialectical contrast of thesis, antithesis, synthesis or, in the Hegelian sense abstract, negative, concrete (cf. Adorno, 1994). It is beyond the scope of this work to speak of the nuances of the dialectical nature of narrative structuring other than to point out that the dialectical narrative is an intellectual and premeditated structural feat, and, at least according to the classic philosophers, maintains a base architectural premise somehow rooted in man’s spiritual understanding and experience of the world. In the Hegelian sense the dialectic is history as in the documentation of the movement of the human spirit towards its eventual realization. More specific insight into the interest accrued through the usage of a complex narrative structure can be found in Section 1.5.3.

More to the point, the ‘beat-sheet’ is a recognized Hollywood style narrative template and generated after extensive analysis of film narratives. The reason this structure was chosen as opposed to something more reflective of indigenous narrative structuring was that it was more understandable to the anthropologist. Further, Hollywood movies are usually well received, even in Malaysia (cf. Liew Chee & Lee Weng Chuan, 2012). Therefore, because the beat-sheet was created based on extensive film narratives analysis with the resulting films being generally well received worldwide, the decision was made to use the beat-sheet in order to produce a well-structured and acceptable narrative.

The first narrative screenplay produced through the usage of the beat-sheet was titled “Taking Heads: A Jungle Horror.” A brief description of the first narrative script is:

*During a visit to a traditional Iban village, a ghost-obsessed white man consumes a forbidden death wine and brings down a horrific curse. Only by going on a spirit quest can an unwitting Iban city boy become the hero of legend and defeat the evil plaguing the community.*

The reason why this narrative was chosen was because it allowed for the integration of the themes of interest. I decided early on to interrogate the Iban concerns themes like death rituals, ghosts, demons, headhunting, and shamanism. This narrative was able to accommodate these themes while presenting them within a normative yet still dramatic and interesting structure.

### 1.6.1 Overview of Phase Two

For phase two, the anthropologist delivered the narrative script to several groups of traditional Iban people through the process of ‘scripted equivocation.’ This method is named after de Castro (2004) and his usage of the term ‘equivocation.’ Equivocation refers to a special kind of misunderstanding that tends to happen during cross-cultural communication. Though not a term De Castro used, Mannheim would probably label the phenomenon as being due to a mismatch of conjunctive knowledge. Scripted equivocation captures the moment where a concept enters into and is restructured by the conjunctive of the Other or those who maintain a conjunctive foreign to the anthropologist. This happens when the anthropologist passes the narrative, scene by scene, through a translator on the way to that translator’s conjunctive community. The translator within these conditions takes on a special function of being both a linguistic and cultural translator by changing the script to better match the expectations and understandings, which is to say the conjunctive, of the receiving group.

### 1.6.2 Overview of Results

By using this process, I managed to capture the attention of roughly 50 people for 9 hours broken into three sessions. These sessions produced retellings equaling approximately 100 single space pages of information. The translator also made a series of changes to the script, some of them quite dramatic. The most dramatic of these changes was probably the ending of the script. In a very clever move the translator cut off the last three scenes of the script and replaced them with scenes that better matched the expectation of the audience. This was done completely outside of my knowledge and demonstrated a high level of premeditation.

Much like the DNA of a living organism, each point within the narrative structure of a screenplay was created in order to support and be supported by many other aspects within the same structure. Therefore, it creates a web of meaning. The final scenes wrap up the story and ties off loose ends. The fact that the translator was able to revisualize an entirely different ending and then seamlessly integrate that into the flow of the narrative without alerting the anthropologist (me) was quite noteworthy. The audience in the end approved of the translator’s version of the story. The overview of the changes that happened in the retellings will be presented in Chapter 4. The full retellings in both Iban and English translation are available in Appendices A-C.

The last step of Phase two was for the anthropologist to produce a full script based on the script retellings (cf. Appendice D). The name of this script was changed to “A Headhunter’s Dream” and was credited to both the anthropologist and the translator. The translator agreed to share credit for the script because he made substantial and uniquely creative revisions. Accrediting him was the only fair decision and the fact that this translator is also a headman offers other potential advantages that will become apparent during the later phases of the process.

## 1.7 Scope and Limitations

The information contained within the retellings as well as the specific changes made to the script by the translator created a highly complex “polychromatic” field of analysis (cf. De Castro, 2014: 65). The translator consciously evaluated each and every concept and with reasoning and intentionality ‘tweaked’ the concept based on his own conjunctive understanding. In turn the audience either passively accepted or actively dissented with his delivery. Therefore, each move that the translator made in accepting, rejecting, or transforming the incoming concepts became laden with information, reflecting the conjunctive structure by which the choice was made. These choices frequently reflected other choices within the same body of retellings thereby creating a holistic web of cross references. The overt intentionality within the text also gave the impression, at times, that the message suggested by the change was directed at me, ultimately amounting to some kind of evaluation and critique of my character and motivations. Hence, the retellings are pregnant with information, consistently self-referential, and sometimes personally directed. In sum, the retellings offer a complex field of analysis.

Plunging into this analysis and therefore this sometimes personal ‘holistic web of cross-references’ became highly complex and ultimately frightening because the story is a horror. The texts depict demons, decapitation, madness and other horrific acts. This, coupled with the idea of a web of meaning created a very strange and disturbing analytical experience, something akin to being trapped in a hall of mirrors. The deeper I ventured the deeper the maze extended. This led to a decision to keep the analysis superficial. The subjects of this study are still alive and still available to offer up more information and clarification. Therefore, it is simply not necessary to understand and nail down every inference and nuance wrapped up within the texts.

Beyond that, the process of Conjunctive Staging is also meant to be a protracted negotiation between the anthropologist and natives, with the natives ultimately coming up with final declarative answers (see 1.2.5). The fact that this process stopped after phase two opened the opportunity for me to get lost in the texts and jump to conclusions far ahead of the final negotiation. Before coming to any ‘final declaration’ I need to return to the community, stage and film the script with those natives who helped generate the script in the first place, play that film for several different communities, and then finally discuss the accumulation of material in a large group. It is therefore counterproductive to the spirit of the process to attempt a complete analysis at this stage. Instead, the data will be recorded and organized for later reference when the process is continued. With the above in mind, three limitations or constraints have been put in place.

### 1.7.1 Limitation No. 1 - Translation Issues

The first limitation was the decision to retain the sometimes imperfect translation delivered by a relative of the translator alongside the original Iban text. This was done for three reasons; to restrict qualified analysis, keep the analysis superficial, and promote further cooperation among the research subjects.

To the first point, if a more perfect translation had been obtained, then non-Iban speakers would feel confident in formulating their own conclusions. Retaining the broken translation in connection with the original Iban language text will keep the more authoritative analysis exclusively within the sphere of Iban academics. It is thought that these particular academics, being much more familiar with the context, will be better suited to produce appropriate analysis. A corollary to this idea is the necessity for non-Iban speakers to keep the analysis more superficial. As said previously, a deep analysis at this stage would be counterproductive.

The final reason for keeping the sometimes imperfect translation is that it was given by a member of that conjunctive community. Therefore, if I require clarification it suggests that they would be more willing to give it than otherwise. Hence, the translation offers another instrumental reason why the native group that originally assisted in the research will be motivated and committed to engaging in the continuation of the process.

### 1.7.2 Limitation No. 2 - Analysis

Given all that was said above, the analysis of the retellings will be constrained to only (1) organize the texts in preparation for the continual process and (2) organize and highlight the major changes made by the translator. The third usage of the analysis will be to assist in coming to better understandings of the scripted equivocation process and the implications therein. Therefore, (3) the text will be used for that purpose in the hope of assisting other researchers in possibly making use of this system.

The analysis will not be used to make general statements about Iban culture. The reason for this is because this process, which could be done with the same script an indefinite number of times using an indefinite number of translators, has so far only been done three times with one translator. Therefore knowing where the translator ends and where traditional Iban culture begins is nearly impossible at this stage. That is not to say that the understandings or general concepts brought forward by the translator are invalid. They are as valid as any statement any individual in that culture might decide to make and the fact that an audience of people from that culture overheard those comments and seemingly approved gives some indication of the generic nature of many of the understanding. Yet, a host of those understandings becomes influenced by the subject matter. The subject matter is a horror story where people die in sometimes gratuitous ways. The fact that the translator agreed to deliver, or even at times accentuate, those scenes to the audience does not *ipso facto* imply anything negative about him, Iban culture, or the anthropologist (me) who originally made the story. This point is obvious when it comes to film yet in a relatively novel format like the script retelling it might be forgotten. See Section 4.1 for a more specific treatment of this issue.

### 1.7.3 Limitation No. 3 - Privacy Issues

The combination of the retellings with the two scripts and the history of the people involved make for a rather unique literary experience. The Iban depicted in the story are ‘accurate’ in a sense, in that they are mostly consistent with how the traditional Iban people interviewed understand themselves to be. Yet, it is also manifestly dramatized. Iban no longer collect severed heads and have not done so for some time. The fact that the narrative used this topic is not to suggest that this is still attractive to them or that there is some apparent darkness within them, etc.

The last and possibly worst outcome of this study would be for a reader to come to the above conclusions and then seek this community out as part of some kind of horror tourism. This is not to suggest that they would or would not favor such attention. The point is that this is something that the research subjects should have the right to decide. Therefore, in order to maintain their privacy and allow them to make this decision at a later time the name and location of their community will be redacted. Privacy is a standard best practice for anthropology and is part of the consideration of any IRB requirement.

## 1.8 Objectives of Study

Given the limitations stated above this study will maintain three objectives:

1. Organize and present the first narrative script, the three script retellings, and the complete script within a practical and referential structure useful for the coming stages of the process.
2. Facilitate the reader in assessing the significant changes made by the translator as well as moments that might demonstrate interesting or significant aspects of conjunctive knowledge or the Conjunctive Staging process.
3. Demonstrate the feasibility of Conjunctive Staging as a research method for other anthropologists.

### 1.8.1 Information to be Presented

Overall, the information to be presented in this study will include:

1. The basic theoretical underpinning of Conjunctive framing
2. A literature review concerning concepts to be integrated into the narrative
3. An overview of how the narrative was written
4. The first narrative script
5. A record of the fieldwork encounter
6. A presentation of the scripted equivocation method
7. A summary of the major changes that happened within the retellings
8. The three script imprints (Appendice A-C)
9. The completed script. (Appendice D)

## 1.9 Conclusion and Organization of Thesis

This chapter has presented an overview of the Conjunctive Staging process as well as the anthropologist’s efforts to test the first two phases in the field. Overall, Conjunctive Staging is a conceptually complex operation. This first chapter was devoted to presenting some aspects of the ‘big picture’ of this process. The big picture of Conjunctive Staging is of a data collection instrument. Among other things, this instrument creates bi-lingual organized records of the speech acts of the research subjects. These records (see Appendices A-C for reference) are to be reviewed with the subjects as the process moves forward and especially prior to the negotiated phase. In the negotiated phase, the ideal is for the anthropologist and the subjects to collectively review the corpus of data and from that review produce some larger and more authoritative conclusions.

Understanding the significance of this idea is complex. At phase five, the anthropologist will interrogate the research subjects with the assistance of a corpus of texts made out of their words said at various moments in response to different kinds of tasks within this continuum of occupations. Since these are the actual words of the research subjects, then those subjects will ideally treat these words differently by subjecting them to a greater sense of deliberate attention. Unless the specific speaker is one who is generally misunderstood then the fact that the words should be comprehensible to those natives is forgone. Hence, the basic data of the analysis will be accessible and available to those natives. Since the natives will have the ability to assess the data then they will also hypothetically have the ability to answer complex questions which move through multiple texts.

The above is a description of a certain ideal of anthropological data collection. Both the anthropologist and the natives have equal access to the basic data and an equal capacity to perform the analysis. Due to these ‘equal’ faculties the natives are raised to the level of experts in their particular field. Hence, the entire anthropological encounter comes off as something of a meeting of minds. This is exciting because this kind of expertise requires no specific education. Outside of basic literacy, it can be done with almost any human population. If the process is directed at a particular problem then the negotiated meeting of minds might produce surprising conclusions. That’s the ideal and this ideal seems worthy of being pursued.

**CHAPTER 2  
 LITERATURE REVIEW**

## 2.1 Introduction

This literature review will be broken into two parts. Part 1 will cover the theoretical literature from Sections 2.2 to 2.4. Part 2 in Sections 2.5 to 2.9 will deliver a more specifically ethnographic review of literature as well as how that literature will be used in this study.

Part 1 of this review gives a presentation of the theoretical literature first listed in the last box on Table 1. The purpose of this chapter is to assist the reader in better understanding the reasoning or intent of the eight ‘conjunctive’ documents that will make up the main body of this work and to provide a theoretical foundation for the arguments in this thesis. To that end ideas from Mannheim (1982), Wagner (1981), De Castro (2013, 2004), and Holbraad (2008) will be discussed.

## 2.2 Literature Review Part 1: Theoretical Literature Review

The first name on the list of theoretical literature is that of Mannheim (1982) and his posthumously published “Structures of Thinking” where he first introduced conjunctive knowledge which is the main focus of this thesis. Mannheim’s theory in that work is made complex by the sheer quantity of information presented and that some of that information seems based on suspiciously metaphysical premises. According to Kettler (1967) German Idealism and other radical or even “heretical” central European philosophies heavily influenced Mannheim, especially in the period prior to the publication of “Ideology and Utopia.” Hence, it is possible that the conceptual structures developed in “Structures of Thinking” were, at least a bit, ‘out of this world’ which might explain why it took nearly 60 years for publication.

Nevertheless, this work will argue that beyond those complications a radically sensible and even practical conceptual and organization structure exists which can be spoken of in exoteric terms. In Chapter 1, conjunctive knowledge was tied with narrative. This chapter will push deeper by presenting an analogy that will clarify the subject and how it might be used. It is hoped that through this analogy Mannheim’s ideas will appear both ultimately practical as well as able to accommodate concepts from Wagner, De Castro, and Holbraad.

The first main premise of this analogy follows the idea that Mannheim was most interested in the science of textual analysis or hermeneutics (Bauman, 1979). Hermeneutics as a branch of social sciences maintains an interesting position. Like history, hermeneutics proceeds on the basis of textual analysis, yet unlike history in a traditional sense hermeneutics attempts to use that analysis to better understand not only the events and periods, but also to gain a subjective or interpretative understanding of the producer/s of the text. Hence, hermeneutics is a social science that treats documents as a means of understanding human behavior and subjectivity (Bauman, 1979). The setting of the analogy, especially constructed for this chapter, follows the idea that instead of being surrounded by people the hermenuetician is surrounded by documents. Hence, we see a file clerk, poor and lonely, endlessly toiling deep within the stacks of some impenetrable library.

To the above comes a second premise also from the perspective of a file clerk. This is to consider a hypothetical where every thought, word, or impulse of a single human was somehow recorded then humans, by and large, would produce massive amounts of information. Hypothetically, this could amount to as much as 200 pages a day. To further the analogy, if all this information from all these people were coming to a single location then the great task of that file clerk would be to organize a filing system which would best assist the researchers in locating, referencing, and ultimately making use of all this information. The first logical step of that operation would be the basic insight that the information coming from each individual should be filed in that specific individual’s separate file cabinet and then subject to that individual’s internal filing system. Immediately after this however, a large and complex issue arises in how best to organize the files concerning group interaction. This complication is seemingly at the heart of conjunctive knowledge.

If two people (say Actor #1 and Actor #2) have a discussion then naturally #1’s record of that discussion should go to #1’s file cabinet and 2’s record to #2. These records will then be broken up based on the relevant classificatory system internal to that cabinet. To be fair, a third file should also be opened labeled 1&2 based on the conjunction of the two actors. This is firstly because the specific information contained within that file is best assessed by looking into the files of both #1 and #2. It also needs to be held in an independent location, neither directly connected to the #1 or #2 files because the discussion marks the limits of the knowledge of #1 about #2 and #2 about #1 respectively. Secondly, the complete file of the event in question contains both actor #1 and actor #2’s records of the discussion. Thirdly, from the analysis of the complete file a new organizational scheme becomes apparent based on the unique and dynamic conjunction of those two documents. While Mannheim never uses this particular terminology, the kind of file being described in this analogy would be called a conjunctive file as a designated unit of conjunctive knowledge.

‘Conjunctive’ is defined as “a union or conjoining” (Webster’s, 1928) and with the addition of the term ‘knowledge’ becomes an idea of a “socially shared experience” (Friedman, 2001: 51). Defining what makes the conjunctive file distinct from other file types is one of the main concerns of “Structures of Thinking” and becomes radically complex as the conjunction spreads through multiple people like a “contagion” (Mannheim: 195). Mannheim makes clear however that it is something beyond the direct contagion that allows a third or fourth person to become included in the “we-experience” (*ibid*). The third party must bind or enmesh themselves with the action, thereby becoming equally instrumental for the understanding of the whole.

Instead of moving into the complications of the ‘we-experience’ this work will return again to the more simple analogy of Actor #1 and #2 and their two separate records. The necessary thing is to look at what kind of documents Record #1 and Record #2 are, and how they differ from each other. Simply put, each document is a subjective record, or *perspective* of a shared event. It is therefore possibly quite different from the other in terms of its subjective annotations, redactions, expansions, and organizational features. Depending on the case the two documents might be so different as to appear related to entirely different events, yet, as Mannheim points out, both will still be grounded in an external world where that interaction took place (1982*)*.

From the above comes a principle of conjunctive filing; for every *x* (an account of a happening) there must be a *y* (a second account of that same happening from a slightly or largely different perspective). Hence for every event are multiple perspectives. This even could be true of an event experienced by a single individual because, overtime, the individual could experience a new perspective about it (Mannheim, 1982; 285). Each perspective *could be* a record, “limited by the extent and manner of his [the other] entering into a common relationship and explicating himself in it” (1982; 192). If the subject does explicate himself, and those records as well as the original are placed together, a holographic overview of the event becomes possible, thereby granting a more holistic view of the events in question.

A corollary to the principle of *x* & *y* is the notion that the *x* document alone is insufficient. Lacking its counterpoint, *x* is somehow biased or unbalanced; forcing the interpretation of the event down some narrow subjective corridors. Yet, the necessity to procure the *y* document with its inherent possibility of undermining the authority of *x* can be onerous. Hence, is *Y* really necessary? This issue comes to the fore in a subject matter like anthropology where the creation of accounts of the other is common practice.

From a file clerk’s perspective, anthropology in general is more complex than other fields. This is because it is not only Actor #1 and Actor #2 but that #1 is from culture A and #2 is from culture B meaning that their files are stored in different sections of the library. So, *x* as an ethnographic document is filed in section A along with the anthropologist and his or her culture, whereas the *y* documents, if recorded at all would be in section B with the documents produced by members of that culture. The reason this document would not be filed in the B section (even though it is *about* culture B) is the same reason why actor #2’s report would not wind up in actor #1’s file. For one, the linguistic, organizational, or stylistic decisions apparent within the account might be relatively inaccessible for members of culture B. Secondly; it might present a picture of Culture B at odds with the normative understanding held by those members.

The *y* document in the case of an ethnographic treatise would be naturally scattered across the many different peoples and occasions spanning the length of the anthropologist’s fieldwork. Hence, its procurement would be problematic. Further, given that the natives might have had no clear notion of what the anthropologist was thinking, their record might offer only vague or circumstantial reflections at best. At the same time, when compared to all the documents needed to create a reflection (all the loose and unsorted documents of *y* compared against the tightly organized and bound *x*) it would be clear that much redaction, or editing in line with publication, went into the ethnographic account. Hence, to the file clerk it would appear obvious that in the case of anthropology the *x* document and the *y* documents are radically different as in different languages, organizations styles and associated with possibly quite different subject matters. Therefore, to the file clerk, the ethnographic account is obviously an interpretation of the information presented in the *y* and therefore imbalanced if presented in exclusion. Yet, does this concept of imbalance suggest that the *x* document alone is biased and in need of the *y*?

Both Wagner (1981) and De Castro (2013, 2004,) take up the case that the anthropologist’s *x* without the *y* is somehow biased, incomplete, or unfair. De Castro refers to this as the “epistemological advantage” (2013), and Wagner refers to it as “invention” (1981). These ideas will be looked at separately at first in order to better understand the problems with the *x* document in exclusion.

Since culture, according to Wagner (1981) is creative then the basis of anthropology in terms of looking into and accounting for the Other must also be creative. This creativity comes in the anthropologist’s translation or transformation of the natives concepts into the terms of the anthropologist’s own ideology. An analogy that Wagner uses is that of the artist. The ethnographic reporting is like an artist’s depiction of an object, as based on the unique configuration of that perspective guided by the suggestion of the thing being depicted (1981: 22). It is understood, yet is also an oft forgotten point that the culture of the other as depicted by the anthropologist is not the actual culture of the other in the same way that this artist’s barn is not the actual barn the artist seeks to depict (*ibid)*. Instead, the depiction of the other is an invention. It did not exist before the anthropologist came forward and created it based on his or her own unique foundations. Therefore, it is essentially a creative occupation, which delivers up something rather new. To the file clerk this seems rather obvious when comparing the stack of documents in the *y* pile against the single, bound, highly redacted and organized *x*. The *x* is not quite a novel but is still an obviously creative and subjective production.

Wagner (1981) puts it that the invention of the other (as presented in document *x*) tends to create something like a waxwork style museum piece. This is that the anthropologist is making a presentation of culture B and therefore tunes the information towards more solid, sorted, and logical systems of meaning. As an analogous or even textual exhibit this style has the benefit of presenting information in ways that are accessible, informative, and possibly entertaining. These are all positive traits. What Wagner suggests is not that this is wrong so much as that it could be different. If both the *x* and *y* were obtained and analyzed together then the results of such a process might then demonstrate that the *x* alone style is limited or even, in certain ways, biased.

De Castro labels the wrong of the *x* in exclusion as an “epistemological advantage” (2013). He describes this phenomenon in terms of the *de facto* or point of fact, and *de jure*, or general knowledge conditions shared between the anthropologist and the native. It is his idea that while the anthropologist might enjoy *de facto* equality with the native, in that both are natives of a culture in their own right, the anthropologist will still maintain a *de jure* advantage of knowing more than the native about the concept of culture itself. As Wagner might say, such is naturally the case because it was the anthropologist that invented the abstract concept of culture in the first place. This *de jure*epistemological advantage expresses itself finally in the fact that it is the anthropologist who retains the ultimate “prerogative to determine what those native meanings mean” and therefore the job becomes one of “explaining and interpreting, translating and introducing, textualizing and contextualizing, justifying and signifying” (De Castro, 2013: 475).

Hence, the issue is one of redaction. It is the job of the anthropologist to prepare the text for consumption. Since the text is about a culture then this preparation is analogous to making a preparation of that culture. When the anthropologist justifies and contextualizes it adds up to a necessary reduction and redaction of information. Indeed, the corresponding pile of *y* documents validates this as so. The assumption that this redacted version of events is a sufficient accounting of the diversity of information present is to create a univocal conception of knowledge. When this happens the “alterity between the anthropologist’s and the native’s respective discourse dissipates as the former encompasses the latter” (2004: 480). Hence, it is often the case that while reducing and redacting, the instances of true alterity or those moments that surpass the organization frame of the anthropologist become cut; no doubt because they were not fully understood.

Therefore, between Wagner and De Castro two sorts of limitations become apparent. These are in making an unrealistically organized picture of the other and, in the process, redacting moments of genuine alterity. Hence, what is left behind is a tamed and relatively understandable exhibit or presentation. The reverse of this is not the suggestion that poorly organized and mostly indecipherable presentations would be preferred. Instead the suggestion is the need for multiple perspectives (the *x* and *y*) which are compared against each other to better understand the depth of discrepancy.

Hence, the case is here made that both De Castro and Wagner are seemingly in agreement that the *y* document should not be excluded. Yet, what is the *y* document? A good example comes from the folkloric work of Borland (1991) in her analysis of an oral narrative told by her own grandmother. Borland’s analysis of her grandmother’s story came out as a very consistent feminist style account of the assertion of female independence in a male dominated world. She shared her article with her grandmother and the grandmother’s response is well worth paying attention to:

“So your interpretation of the story as a female struggle for autonomy within a hostile male environment is entirely YOUR interpretation. You’ve read into the story what you wished- what pleased YOU. That it was never -by any wildest stretch of the imagination- the concern of the originator of the story makes such an interpretation a definite and complete distortion, and in this respect I question its authenticity. The story is not longer MY story at all. The skeleton remains, but it has become your story. Right? How far is it permissible to go, in the name of folklore, and still be honest in respect to the original narrative?”  (Borland, 1991: emphasis in the original)

Borland’s article finishes that after receiving this sharp response (the above is only a part) Borland and her granny had a long chat about the nature of feminism and history. Both came away with new found understanding and appreciation for the other. That this moment came about is due to the reflective dimension made available through the comparison of the text and counter-text, or the *x* and the *y*.

The principle of *x* and *y* has been presented here in least ambiguous form imaginable. De Castro (2004) also talks about an analogous principle but in a different light. He refers to the *x* and *y* an equivocation as set against his definition of a comparison (2004: 6). A useful analogy is that a comparison happens when a reasonable assurance exists that the *x* and *y* documents both contain the same basic data. In cross-cultural situations where said assurance cannot be reliably given this comparison becomes an equivocation; *a perspective* which is not necessarily more reliable than that of the other. When a comparison is possible, the *y* document becomes redundant. Yet, in the later situation, the *y* document becomes possibly indispensible.

De Castro defines equivocation as “referential alterity between homonymic concepts” (2004: 6). In other words, the equivocation is the disparity that emerges when the two alternative perspectives are set against one another. An example he brings comes from Amerindians that when a Jaguar sees manioc beer a human sees blood. Therefore, between this one object (blood or beer) are two separate perspectives. According to him, the task when confronting such basic discrepancy is not discovering the single referent between the two (blood or beer) but instead making explicit the implied equivocation because “we and they are never talking about the same thing.” (De Castro, 2004).

  While equivocation most certainly would happen in cross-species situations, the more pertinent instances are within the cross-cultural spheres. This intra-cultural equivocation is not a malady of the anthropological endeavor in line with misreading, lying, forgetting, manipulating, etc. The hammer cannot be blamed for seeing everything as a nail because that is the nature of the hammer. Hence, if the individual brings all his or her intellectual capacity to bear on the reading of a certain event then this reading is true. A similar notion exists within the concept of the hermeneutic circle (Bauman, 1979). Here is the basic idea that understanding is circular and as perspectives shift and more information become available, the original interpretation becomes that much more limited and deficient. In other words, time makes liars of us all. Yet, this does not imply that the original was wrong, instead it was simply limited.

“Equivocation,” De Castro continues, “is not just a “failure to understand” (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989 cited in De Castro 2004), but a failure to understand that understandings are necessarily not the same, and that they are not related to imaginary ways of “seeing the world” but to the real worlds that are being seen” (2004: 8). Anthropology is about misunderstanding but the misunderstanding of the anthropologist is not the same as the misunderstanding of the native (ibid, citing Wagner 1981:20). Equivocation is not an error, because error can only exist when a single context is presupposed; equivocation presupposes heterogenic premises. By presupposing these alternative genetic foundations equivocation becomes a tool of objectification, or really seeing, as to mean to go beyond the limitations of one’s own genetic, or culturally conditioned, basic point of view.

Hence, for every *x* there is a *y*. The basic condition for procuring and organizing the *y* is the existence of the *x*. Therefore, assuming *x* was produced honestly then it is an honest document regardless of what the addition of *y* might reveals. The assumption that *x* alone is sufficient documentation in cross-cultural situations is unwarranted. The ability to anticipate the misunderstanding of the other (and thereby dispense with the *y*) is unwarranted. A further unwarranted assumption underlying the promotion of *x* alone is that both actors #1 and #2 live on the *same* world, therefore their separate reactions to the same event should not necessarily be distinct enough to necessitate document *y*. The counter assumption is that the other, especially in cross-cultural situations, may well live on an entirely *different* world. This can only be known if and when the *y* document is procured and comparison made. If and when the *x* and *y* documents are compared a greater measure of objectivity should be obtained.

De Castro (2004) goes on to produce a *y* document through inference. An anthropological statement is presented about the meaning of an indigenous concept. By combining two separate strands De Castro produces a counter interpretation. These strands are the history of anthropological ideas cross-referenced with that specific anthropologist and knowledge of Amerindians (to which those indigenous people belonged). De Castro goes on that his production of a counter-interpretation (the *y* document) is not an implication of the wrongheadedness of the anthropologist. Instead, it demonstrates that anthropologist’s culturally conditioned limitations. All humans, by being bound to a specific historical age and peoples will necessarily be limited. By reviewing the conjunctive documents, the individual is given the ability to transcend those limitations.

Holbraad (2008) gives another method for inferring a *y* document though his “recursive analysis.” In this method the “alterity” embedded within the target text is focused upon. Alterity is “an apparent divergence between ethnographic data and the assumptions that are taken as initial for purposes of analysis. (Holbraad: 98)” Holbraad terms these moments as anthropologically interesting and needing to be looked at critically in order to expose something of interest about those who supposedly hold such a belief, and something interesting about us who finds such a belief contrary to our normal assumptions.

When an ethnographic concept manifests alterity it often appears to the anthropologist as absurd, foolish, illogical, etc. The reason for the alterity is not because that data is absurd or foolish, thereby suggesting a univocal reality underlying all other forms which the anthropologist has privileged access to. Instead, the reason is that something within that piece of data contradicts an understanding, template, or framework held implicit within the anthropologist’s mental construct. In order to relieve the alterity the anthropologist must ask him or herself why that specific indigenous concept appears so absurd or wrongheaded and through this line of inquiry come to reformulate the frameworks of understanding until that concept can be presented as normal.

Therefore, by targeting alterity and the reader’s subjective reaction to that alterity, the anthropologist is able to assess his or her own mental files as a means of discovering the roots of any particular belief and what might be required to see any specific alternative concept as being normal. That route to normalcy can be considered a *y* document as a mediated reflection of the *x*. Through the assessment of the *y* the anthropologist is able to bring forth new insight to enrich the understanding of the target document and the understanding of the self.

An important discussion concerning something analogous to these *x* and *y* documents occurred between De Castro and Descola (Latour, 2009). De Castro and Descola’s discussion was about typologies and organizations of indigenous worldviews. It was Descola’s position that his typology of indigenous ontology could accommodate any worldview whatsoever. From a file clerks position he was saying that his filing scheme would make logical and even intuitive division of information out of knowledge itself. De Castro disagreed, saying that his indigenous perspectivism would act as a ‘bomb;’ blowing apart not only Descola’s typology but also the philosophical and theoretical foundations upon which modern day ethnographers base their interpretations. If his indigenous perspectivsim is conflated with the notion of conjunctive filing, then to the file clerk De Castro’s point is obvious. If his perspectivism were to be taken up at full force then everything most basic about the anthropological system of data collection would be ripped to pieces. Instead of collecting nicely bound and redacted texts, specific moments from within those texts which could be correlated to their alternative perspective would be dramatically ripped from their covers (or nicely photocopied) and re-filed in separate places. On top of that, the study would change from an inquiry of those people to the study of both those people and the ethnographer (separately and together.) Such a system would not be benefited by any single univocal system, but instead would necessarily be dynamically situated upon each separate conjunctive file to best ascertain what that information seems to be showing and how best it might be added upon.

Another way to phrase the above comes from Holbraad (2012) that the “contingencies of the ethnographic alterity transmutes itself on the level of analysis” (Holbraad, 2012 cited in Pederson, 2012). Therefore the extra information discovered when comparing the *x* to the *y* results in a necessary alteration of the analytical process. Such contingent information might include the moments of radical alterity previously designated as beyond the anthropologist’s scope of assessment (hence the reason for the original redaction). So, by being exposed to and forced to deal with these radical differences, the anthropologist and the way he or she thinks and analyzes data becomes transformed. Therefore, instead of coming in with some basic framework for understanding, the anthropologist allows the content to reconfigure the frame. This commitment to not only what the other refers to as ‘being there,’ but also how that content might reshape the basic western-centric dichotomies of the anthropologist (Morita, 2012) is one of the basic positions that unites De Castro, Holbraad, Wagner (cf. Henares, 2005) and the other writers of the anthropological movement known as the ‘Ontological Turn.’ (Course, 2010 cited in Pederson, 2012)

Allowing the logic of conjunctive knowledge and the comparison of the *x* and *y* documents to reconfigure how information is gathered and assessed will necessitate a reconfiguration of the analytical systems utilized in making such assessments. Such a process could grant new insight into ‘otherness.’ De Castro quotes Deleuze (1991) that the other is neither subject nor object but instead “The fourth person singular, existing on the river’s third bank (Deleuze and Guattari, 1991 cited in De Castro, 2013). Deleuze’s stance is naturally romantic, as in colored with a brush designed to increase the drama of the presentation. Yet, at the same time, the logic follows that the other is something beyond or outside of even the most deep set generalized organizational system (such as language) or basic logic (such as the number of sides of a river). By analyzing the *x* against the *y* and then assessing the scope of discrepancy the analyst is forced to come to grips with alterity even to the point of reorganizing basic logistic systems. By truly assessing difference comes the radical possibility of discovering and experiencing genuine alterity or, in other words, true otherness.

## 2.3 Literature Review No.1 - Conclusion

The base argument in this chapter has been in favor of following the concept of conjunctive knowledge and a conjunctive filing system. In practical terms, this is to suggest that multiple perspectives on the same or connected events are collected and then analyzed side by side. By following this system, multiple benefits become apparent. Firstly, by having multiple perspectives present the analyst gains a more holistic or even holographic perspective upon the events in question. Such a perspective stimulates reflexivity on both sides and thereby brings forth the possibility of new insight into the target document and the self. A corollary of this analysis is the ability to witness both the scope of redaction and the moments of genuine alterity that normally and unintentionally become excluded. By witnessing these moments of true alterity the anthropologist can come to reshape his or her basic western-centric frames and thereby move beyond culturally conditioned limitations. Finally, in comparison to the limitations of the single perspective, the conjunctive stance seemingly grants a greater measure of objectivity.

Conjunctive Staging compliments this conjunctive stance by utilizing a narrative in order to obtain consistently focused and relevant *y* documents. These documents will, when referentially compared to the *x* (original document) and the other *y* documents in the series, be able to cast light upon the culture conditioning and limitations of both sides of the interaction. The series of documents that follow Conjunctive Staging’s production cycle will be *obviously* connected, and being obviously connected will present a more direct analysis even across variant fields of experience (hypothetical, actualized, reflexive). The obviously connected text that will be presented in this study are the literature review, the base narrative text, the description of fieldwork, retellings 1-3, the summary text, and finally the full script.

Naturally, by reading the literature review insight is granted into the subjective thinking of the anthropologist within the creation of the base text. By reading the description of the fieldwork, the reader gains a fuller picture of how the base text was delivered which will then help in better understanding the three retellings. By reading through each retelling, the reader is granted subjective or interpretative insight into the translator, the translator’s feeling about the audience, and the audience’s feelings about the narrative, among other things. By assessing the three retellings in combination with the previous documents, the reader can obtain interpretative ground to better understand the anthropologist’s thinking process in developing the full script. Hence each document in the series is related to the others in a complex and interactive way that makes the larger understanding of all involved that much deeper and richer. Ideally, as the Conjunctive Staging process continues more interrelated documents detailing each additional step of the process will become available.

Therefore, as the Conjunctive Staging process takes a narrative through the abstract fantasy to a actualized staging to a memory of that event, a series of documents are produced which record a specific moment of that process. These records are *y* documents; reflections of the *x* (the narrative) from a multitude of alternative perspectives. Ideally, when the actualized and reflexive portions are completed, the format will allow for the making of complex connections between the three separate spectrums; abstract, actualized, reflexive, or in other terms projection, realization, reflection.

## 2.4 Conclusion

Chapter 2 Part 1 has presented theory meant to better assist in understanding the significance and intent of the documents presented in this work. Chapter 2 Part 2 will present the Iban literature review, and the base narrative. Chapter 3 will present an overview of the methodology called the scripted equivocation and the description of its enactment in the field. Chapter 4 will presented the results of this scripted equivocation in the form of a summary text detailing the distinct differences that happened within each retelling. Chapter 5 will look into many of the implications, assumptions, and hypotheses of the process, a plan for continuation and a conclusion to the work.

# Part 2 - Ethnographic Literature and the Development Phase

## 2.5 Introduction - The Development Phase

According to Table 1, the first phase of the Conjunctive Staging process is “Development.” During this phase, the anthropologist researches a particular group of people, selects a series of topics of interest, writes a literature review covering those topics, and then produces a screenplay that those people should accept. Conjunctive Staging as a whole is a complex concept and the development phase starts that complexity by serving up a series of concepts and motivations that can quickly become tangled. The most efficient way to unravel this knot and allow other researchers the possibility of repeating this process is by carefully following series of activities distilled within Table 1.

## 2.6 Phase One - Methods and Literature

The main task of the development phase is to produce a screenplay that the natives will accept. Supporting this task is a series of smaller occupations. For example, in order to write a screenplay that a certain group of people will accept, information needs to be obtained about those people. In order to get that information, the anthropologist must read widely from the ethnographic literature. Then, given that this is an academic work, the anthropologist writes a literature review in order to contextualize the topics to be woven into the screenplay. Finally, the screenplay is written thereby allowing the reader of the work to use the review to gain insight into the thinking of the anthropologist as subjectively expressed within the screenplay. This therefore creates a foundation through which the reader can come to understand the thinking style that starts the project.

Two authors are cited in reference to this phase: Snyder (2005) and Holbraad (2008). Snyder’s work refers to narrative structuring whereas Holbraad’s concept concerns how the Anthropologist should think about and understand the process. These two authors cover the basics of writing an accurately formulated screenplay and the general philosophical line for how such a screenplay might be directed at a specific group of people, especially if the anthropologist does not know or understand those people well.

This later idea of writing a screenplay for a group of people that one does not share a cultural background with or even know well is not a simple notion. Normally a screenwriter will share a cultural background with his or her target audience and therefore attempts to write a ‘good’ screenplay. ‘Good’ here euphemistically refers to being in general alignment with the conjunctive knowledge of a certain people. The writer in such a situation will have a sense or intuition about how to write for that group. Yet, in the case of Conjunctive Staging the anthropologist has no such useful intuition about the definition of good, and therefore must rely on other features that might lend the screenplay enough value to be approved of by those natives. These values are *sincerity* and *structural integrity*. The concept is that if the screenplay is sincere and well-structured those natives will make the necessary corrections until it matches their subjective definition of ‘good’ and thereby agreeing with their conjunctive knowledge. It is through this correction process that the main data will come.

### 2.6.1 Two Principles – Sincerity & Structural Integrity

Sincerity is a reference to Holbraad (2008) and his concept of the Recursive Analysis. This analytical principle is a means for understanding alterity, which, as previously expressed, is the divergence between assumptions and data, suggesting that some concepts coming from the natives will initially appear irrational or absurd. It is this appearance of absurdity that becomes a sign posting for the anthropologist to alter those assumptions in such a way as to arrive at the position of being able to represent the ethnographic data as truths. In terms of screenwriting, the concept is that anthropologist need dream up a situation and a larger framework upon which to house that situation where said concept can be depicted as logical and normal.

For example, in ‘Taking Heads; a Jungle Horror’ the anthropologist set himself the task of discovering a means of presenting the concept of headhunting as being normal or even good. The solution developed was to create a scenario where the hero of the story was forced to decapitate an enemy in order to save his village from some unambiguous existential threat. The sincerity here refers to the idea that some kind of logic exists whereby the anthropologist can put him or herself into the shoes of that character and thereby imagine responding accordingly. Therefore, I, as the writer of the work, can say that if my village were under attack by a supernatural monster that could *only* be killed by decapitation then I would be willing to decapitate that monster. The fact that fighting monsters might have nothing in particular to do with the Iban conception of headhunting and that they might entirely miss the various ontological overtones instantiated within the sequence does not necessarily affect the sincerity of the offering. Writing the sequence into the screenplay is not to suggest that it is or will be correct to the research subjects but instead that it is an answer that the anthropologist is sincerely willing to stand behind as being logical and ‘normal.’

Following this idea of sincerity is the suggestion that when the anthropologist does the initial reading of ethnographic texts a sincere attempt is made to locate concepts that can be understood and presented as normal. Some concepts coming from the natives might contain so much alterity as to resist being woven into the narrative. These alternative concepts could suggest that the anthropologist’s imagination is simply not large enough to appropriate that idea. For example, if one has never spent any time with a shaman, Iban or otherwise, then it might prove difficult to write a convincing scene with a shaman in it. Therefore, during this process the anthropologist comes to grips with the limitations of his or her imagination and the basic necessity of reading widely and taking in as much information as possible. Ethnographic texts become not simply useful but instrumentally vital in stretching the imagination enough to make this task even theoretically possible.

The second principle that will assist in seeing that the screenplay is accepted is that of being well-structured. Snyder’s (2005) “Save the Cat” is a straightforward and practical means of both understanding narrative structuring and creating a well-structured screenplay. Using his ‘beat sheet’ is not exactly simple, requiring one to have some concept of screenwriting, yet, overall it is not excessively taxing, especially for the action genres. By correctly following the beat sheet, each scene within the final output will appear not only sincere but also integral to the story. In the case of “Taking Heads” the narrative has a logical build to the climax where the hero is forced to decapitate the monster. Whether or not the natives agree with that logic, especially as it confronts their own autochthonous conjunctive understandings, is another matter but at least they should be able to see that a sincere effort was put into making a sensible narrative line. Therefore, the second applied principle when reading through the ethnographic material is to find concepts that the anthropologist can understand and also apply within a larger structure.

## 2.7 Ethnographic Literature Review

The literature review follows the principles outlined above. Each concept selected was done so because the anthropologist felt able to find some means of incorporating that specific idea into a larger narrative structure. Many of these concepts are dramatic, historical, and essentializing which is apropos considering that the script to come will be dramatic. Neither the review nor the narrative script is necessarily meant to reflect the Iban people as they actually are, but instead how this anthropologist and other anthropologist over time have reported or imagined them as being. The intention of Conjunctive Staging is that this narrative will be worked over by those specific natives most concerned with the subject matter until each misapprehension of the anthropologist is purged from the proceedings. Therefore, given this planned intervention, the anthropologist need not worry about issues of essentialization or exoticization from the outset and will instead be free to follow his or her imagination by choosing the most evocative and stimulating topics. In effect, the development phase is not concerned with the Native’s truth. That truth will be fleshed out and developed upon in phases two through five. The development phase is most devoted to the anthropologist creating and organizing his or her own declarative statements, which will then be supported or refuted by the natives.

The review for this work will cover headhunting in general, Iban headhunting, Iban social and cosmological organization, shamanism, spirits and demons, and finally death practices and rituals. This review will finish by showing something for how these themes will tie into the screen narrative. The narrative that will be created from those concepts will be presented in Section 2.8.

### 2.7.1.1 Headhunting

The first important focus on this study is on headhunting, and this practice has been around for a very long time. According to Phelan (2001) headhunting probably started as early as 5 B.C. with the Scythians near the black sea and continued on until at least 1963 in the North Eastern Indian state of Assam. The most usual formula in S.E. Asia was for a small hunting party to enter into the territory of another with the goal of taking a few heads. Bravery as it is usually understood did not generally play a significant role in headhunting expeditions where the heads of men, children, the elderly, or women, whether pregnant or not, would be taken freely (Schefold 2007, Hoskin 1996). Scholars in Burma and Assam were among the first to recognize that headhunting was not only about violence or revenge, but instead had significant spiritual aspect to it. The heads were frequently brought into the community with much ritual fan-fare and treated with honor and respect (Herman, 2009). According to Schefold (2007), it is the ritual aspect which gives the act meaning over and above the act itself. Hoskin (1996) defines headhunting as “an organized, coherent form of violence in which the severed head is given specific ritual meaning and the act of head-taking is consecrated and commemorated in some form.” Overall, the heads themselves were associated with bringing about positive benefit to the community, better status for the headhunter, relief from sickness, and the ending of the traditional mourning period. (Freeman 1970; Rousseau 1990). Maxwell (1992) collected information from 23 headhunting groups to come up with 10 common reasons; Suspending mourning, impressing a bride, displaying ones honor and prowess, preventing sickness or famine, promote crops, score in feuds, mark initiation into manhood, increase fertility for village women, gather slaves for the afterworld, and atoning for adultery. (Maxwell, 1992 cited in Hoskin, 1996). So important was this activity that, according to Kisar De Josselin de Jong, headtaking was highly celebrated and the headhunter made into a tribal hero. It was also a reciprocal act in replacing the head of those who had died. By losing a member, the community would also lose some amount of supernatural power and prestige that disrupted the religious and spiritual balance. Taking a new head offered a means of redressing this situation. The importance, he continues, is not because the head is laden with a ‘soul’ or ‘power.’ but is instead concerned directly with this sort of redress or balancing of the scales (Downs, 1977 citing Josselin De Jong, 1937).

  While Josselin De Jong’s theory does make sense that head-taking was usually done as a sort of redress of the larger balance over specifically being an object of supernatural power other theories disagree by specifically seeing the head as a basket or container for ‘soul substance’ which brings about positive benefit for all (Needham 1976, citing Hutton 1938). In such the head was distinctly a magical object of power. Yet, Needham (1976) disagreed that the heads themselves brought about the power as much as being as more general symbol of supernatural favor. To him, the desire to create a causative link between the head and the supernatural benefit was a western-centric view that the natives might not have shared. This particular argument goes back in forth in the literature leading both Hoskin (1996) and Schefold (2007) to conclude that no single answer or distinctly defined headhunting complex will probably ever be decidedly proven. Therefore, we will probably never know whether headhunting was a “hermetic system linked to the antagonistic exchange of victims and souls” (George, 1991), a means of procuring in the ‘social personhood’ of the victim (McKinley, 1967), a means of obtaining a general supply of ‘life fertilizer’ (Hutton 1938 cited in Hoskin, 1996), a battle between the opposing halves of the universe (R.E. Downs, 1977), or the curiosity of amateur naturalists who find natural interest in collecting heads (Pannell 1992, cited in Hoskin, 1996).

### 2.7.1.2 Iban Headhunting

What is true however was that virtually all groups in Borneo were, at one time, headhunters (Pringle 2007). Arguably the most ferocious and efficient of these groups were the Iban (Freeman 1981). They were so terrifying that the mere mention that the Iban were coming was enough to cause some of the nomadic hunter-gather groups to abandon their sites and spend weeks fleeing through the jungle (Rousseau, 1990). It makes good sense, as Vanya (1963) states, that Iban headhunting was deeply connected with their territorial expansion, because the Iban were one of the most rapidly expanding groups on the Island (Sutlive, 1978). Yet, specifically why the Iban collected heads and what it meant to them has been a subject of much debate. Most of the ideas in this regard have circled around the ideas of seeing the heads as focal points of power and connecting to fertility (Winzeler, 1993). Freeman (1979 cited in Hoskin, 1996) made the connection between the heads and a phallic symbol as part of the “regenerative power of nature.” This rested on the Iban idea that the heads contained seeds. Davis and Sutlive (1991) revised this idea that instead of having a connection to a penis it was more a ‘fruit.’ The connection was made due to the treatment of the head by Iban woman. They treat the skull like a child and thereby suggest a link between the head and children and the idea that the warriors go to battle to obtain a ‘child’ for their wives.

  The specific treatment of the head by Iban woman has been noted several times. According to Low (1848) the Sea Dayak, or Iban, cared for the heads very highly by referring to them with terms of endearment, giving them the nicest foods and even cigars. The idea was to convince the head that it had been adopted into the community and must therefore stay and aid the community into the future. Following this adopting scenario Sutlive (1978) put Iban headhunting into a four-fold functionality that had its central distinction in symbolizing the opposing forces of the *Sebayan*and the *Dunya*, or the ‘here and now,’ and the ‘opposite’ or the afterlife. He said that headhunting creates balance, replaces a life for a life during the mourning ritual, it allows the soul of the departed to be released, and completes a cycle by bringing greater fertility to the paddy crops.

### 2.7.1.3 Severed Heads and the Fervid Longhouse

  Whatever the real situation is, the fact of the matter remains that headhunting was and still is very important to many of the more traditional Iban groups. Uchibori (1978) even goes as far as saying that headhunting is one of the ‘core’ values of the Iban. Understanding the centrality of the headhunting to modern day Iban is complex, yet one point that seems relatively clear comes from Barrett and Lucas (1993) in the idea that as the trophy skulls become ‘cold’ or *chelap*, the longhouse will become hot or *angat*. This ideas of cold and hot or ‘fervid’ are immediately reminiscence of Jensen (1974) and his idea that the longhouse itself must maintain a state of balance between the physical and supernatural forces. If the skulls become cold, then the longhouse enters into a state of agitation, called the ‘*rumah angat*,’ or the fervid house (Reed, 1998). Interpersonal relations are disrupted, spirits intrude everywhere, foods rot, and dogs bark all night, omen birds enters the longhouse. (Barrett & Lucas, 1993). In order to avoid such an outcome the skulls must be fed and kept warm by lighting a fire beneath them at least once a month (Sutlive, 2012; Sather 1978). To give an example of how serious this idea is, Vinson Sutlive (2012) recounts an experience with a *rumah angat* when he entered a longhouse where several unexplained deaths had recently occurred. According to him the people believed that an ‘antu’ or ghost/demon was living under the longhouse. Sutlive performed an exorcism but two weeks later another man died and the community took the house apart and rebuilt it as single residences in a different location. They rebuilt that longhouse again later.

### 2.7.1.4 Iban Cosmology and the Adat System

More generally, the violation of the cosmic order (Jensen, 1974) happens more frequently when a *pemali* or taboo is broken (Sutlive & Vinson, 2001). So seriously is this idea taken that, at least according to Reed (1998), if a ritual offense was declared but the fine was not paid and someone died during the interim, the person guilty of the original offense could be liable for murder. Further, on the supernatural side, these sorts of offenses can lead to violent storms called *Kudi* and other natural calamity (Sather, 1978). To avoid these natural and supernatural consequences the entire longhouse community comes together as both a social and a spiritual congregation. The longhouse and the community that occupies it act as a sort of microcosmic model universe (Sutlive, 2012; Richards 1963). The cosmic order of this spiritual universe is also a moral and spiritual order as codified in a complex system called the *‘adat*’ (Sather, 1980).  *Adat* covers the customary laws, norms, and ritual conventions of the entire community. It is “the normative rules and understandings that regulate human affairs and govern relations between humankind and the unseen supernatural worlds (Sather, 1994). Being in alignment with the adat is manifested as a state of wealth, health, and general prosperity. This idea of the *adat* is, according to Sather (1980), one of the main ways in which the Iban egalitarian system was kept together. According to him, at some point in the past the Iban were made up of a series of independent acephelous warring communities that were only brought together by the regulated conventions found in the *adat* system. It became a way to solve disputes and avoid violence. The authority of the *adat* is maintained by the belief in its moral correctness and the influence of the longhouse headman or *Tuai Rumah*.

### 2.7.1.5 The Headman of the Iban

  The position of the *Tuai Rumah* is a complex social institution among the Iban. (Sutlive & Vinson, 2001). According to Michael Buma (1987) the *Tuai Rumah* is “a leader in every way,” not as a “dictator,” but as the final say in any kind of dispute. He is a “democratic leader.” (*ibid*) yet lacks the ability to rally people to his command, or impose his will on others (Sather, 1980). His position is “somewhat limited” and “informal” (Jawan, 1994), or according to Derek Freeman (1970) “nominal” and lacking any direct influence. The position of the *Tuai Rumah* is not hereditary but elected. He is usually expected to be wealthy because he entertains but usually keeps residence indistinguishable from others (Morrison, 1962). The *Tuai Rumah* is at once known as the custodian of the *adat*, community peace keeper and arbitrator of disputes (Jawan, 1994, Sather, 1980). He maintains the social and spiritual wellbeing of the community, organizes work parties, greets guests, oversees rituals, and generally mediates between the human and non-human or spiritual world (Sutlive & Vinson, 2001). In cases of a serious breach of the *adat*the*Tuai Rumah* will hold court, or *bechara* (Buma, 1987) and litigate in alignment with community consensus and the conventions of the *adat*(Sathers, 1980) The judgment made by the *Tuai Rumah*, as based on community consensus, is generally final and frequently sealed by the *Tuai* chanting an invocation that calls on God’s punishment if the judgment is not followed through (Buma, 1987). Therefore, it can be seen that the *Tuai Rumah* occupies a very complex position of mediating between the various forces in the social and spiritual universe of the Iban.

### 2.7.1.6 Iban Shamans

Another important mediating force that provides direct influence on the spirit world is the Iban *Manang* or shaman. The *Manang* is central to their spiritual and medical system. He engages in magical battles and kills spirits that threaten the health and wellbeing of a community (Sutlive & Vinson, 2001). During the times of *rumah anga*t or the ‘fervid house’ it is the shaman’s responsibility to perform ‘cooling rituals’ using a *ubat penchelap* (Sather, 2003). The Manang will maintain an entire series of charms for this occupation such as quartz stones, tusks, bone, animal teeth, bottles, beads, etc (Sutlive & Vinson, 2001). The *manang* does his practices by skillfully utilizing his tools which, according to their beliefs, allows him to gain access to the spirit world and through further rituals can come to influence that world (Graham, 1987). Shamanic trance is, according to Sather (1978) one of the three main ways in which humans might come in contact with the spirit world. The others are during dreams and sometimes while walking in the jungle. According to Barrett (1993) deception is central to the *manang’s* craft and this is done through sleight of hand and other fast maneuvers. There are three main types of shamans in the Iban system. The *Manang* *Mata* or ‘unripe,’ the *Manang mansua* ‘Mature’ or done, and finally the *Manang Bali*, the ‘transformed.’ This latter category of shaman is usually a man that wears woman’s clothing. They will often take a husband and do women’s work. According to Sutlive & Vinson (2001) this category of the *manang* was created when the gods or *petara* took the shaman’s genitals and replaced them with a woman’s. This final category of the *Manang Bali* is now almost entirely gone (Graham 1987, Sandin 1965).

### 2.7.1.7 Demons and Spirits and the Antu

The things that the shaman will most often do battle with are referred to as the *antu*. This term refers to (1) the dead, (2) other-than-humans, (3) demons or devils, (4) anyone or anything which acts strangely, or (5) a corpse after the spirit or *semmengat* has departed. The *Antu* share the world which is connected with the human world but can usually only be seen in dreams though sometimes briefly in waking moments. The most dreaded are those that hunt and feed on human souls. It is also a believed fact that serious illness and calamity can be caused by the *antu* (Sutlive & Vinson, 2001). This most frequently happens when the person’s *semmengat* or soul/dream double leaves the body and wanders away during the dream state. Sometimes, during these periods, the *semmengat* can become captured by a malevolent spirit and this can lead to death (Sather, 2003; Sather, 1978). While many different kinds of demons exist in the Iban system, two are particularly important for this review. These are the *Antu Gerasi* (Sather, 2001, Sutlive, 2012) and the *Antu Koklir* (Sather, 1978). The *Antu Gerasi* is the demon huntsman who hunts human souls for sport with the help of his pack of ghost dogs (Sather, 2003). The *Antu Gerasi* is frequently created or summoned into being when ritual prohibitions or warnings in dreams or other omens are not followed (ibanology, n.d.). The *Antu Koklir* on the other hand, is a demon that is created when a woman dies during childbirth. She then comes back as a sharp clawed cat woman with hair matted and full of lice. Her occupation is to bite off men’s testicles. A woman who dies in this way will have her feet tied and pierced to prevent her from wandering away (Sather, 1978). According to Sather this particular *antu* is related to a fear of sexuality in the Iban phenomenological world (ibid, 1978). Vinson Sutlive (2012) also held to this sort of psychological theory. He tells one story about relating this sort of theory to the famous Iban folklorist Benedict Sandin. After hearing how the *Antu* *Gerasi* is about the fear of authority, and the *Koklir* is about guilt about a woman’s death, Sandin replied, “that’s all well and good, but they are real you know” (ibid, 2012).

### 2.7.1.8 Iban Dreaming

  The reality of these *antu* is most often found, once again, in dreams. When the *semmengat* soul goes traveling during the night it is the opportunity to come in contact with a variety of spirits of the *sebayan* or afterlife (Sather, 1978). Jensen (1974) puts it that the spirits of the *sebayan* see clearly during the night and it is during this time that might announce future success or warn of evils to come (Nyuak, 1906), and offer up the most immediate source of mystical inspiration and religious experience (Uchibori, 1978). This consistent belief in the constant interaction of man and spirits means that the omens and suggestions coming from the dream realm are taken very seriously. If an unfavorable omen is interpreted, then much time can be lost when work projects are put back or abandoned entirely (Sutlive & Vinson, 2001). Dreams for the Iban, according to Sather (2003) are not imagined entities but are actual experiences of the soul’s movement within the *Sebayan*.

### 2.7.1.9 Death and the Spirit

  A time of great danger when the “border between the world of the living and that of the dead is said to be ‘no thicker than the skin of the brinjil fruit,’” (Freeman, 1970) is immediately follows a death. This is true because the soul will not necessarily know that it is dead and needs to be informed and then separated from the living (Sutlive, 2012). Therefore, to inform the dead of their passing, make sure they don’t become malicious, and see them set up properly in the afterlife, several steps are taken. The first is to do a complex ritual mourning or dirge singing called the *sabak*. The second is to enact a special mourning period called the *ngulit*. Finally, once every several years a festival of the dead, called a *Gawai Antu* is held.

### 2.7.1.10 The Sabak Wake

  The ritual of the *sabak* has been described in great detail in Sutlive (2012). After death the soul of the departed must be guided to the land of the dead. This is done by a generally female dirge singer called a *Tukang Sabak*, in a ritual somewhat similar to a wake (ibid, 2012; Sather, 2003; Uchibori, 1978). The dirge poem that she sings is very long and complex, describing the step by step events that happens as her soul and that of the dead move through the *menoa sabayan*, or lands of the dead, on their way to the ‘earthen door’ where it will be received by its kin at the banks of the river Mandai. The *Tukang Sabak* singer is thought of as a weaver who, through her poetry weaves together imagination and truth. It is this imaginative capacity that allows her to enter the land of the dead and act as guide. According to Sutlive (2012) the *sabak* ritual has three main functions: to separate the dead from the living, to assure the living that death is not the end, and to show that even in death the soul is not alone.

### 2.7.1.11 Ngulit death prohibitions and the Severing of the Wilted Flower

  At the moment of death, including the period of the *sabak* ritual, the community starts a series of rituals and prohibitions called the *ngulit*(Uchibori, 1978; Vinson & Sutlive, 2001; Sather, 2003)*.*This is the period in which the soul must be ‘disaggregated’ from the living and it can generally be a dangerous time, especially if the soul might be malevolent (Sather, 2003). During this period, especially for an important person, the entire community comes under a set of prohibitions. These generally include no singing, no washing with soap, no loud noises, and no merry making. The family of the departed will frequently go into seclusion and the entire community takes some time off of work (Sutlive & Vinson, 2001). A special fireplace rack is set up near the communal bathing area with offerings for the spirit. This is to keep the wandering confused spirit satisfied that it has not been forgotten but also not reenter the longhouse, and acts as a symbolic barrier between the living and the dead (*ibid*, 2001, Uchibori 1978). This would be followed by the ritual of the*Serara Bungai*, or the severing of the wilted flower (*ibid*, 1978). In traditional times the *ngulit* period was only finished by the taking of a head. In modern times members of the community will go out hunting and return ‘triumphant’ by firing a shot into the air (*ibid*).

### 2.7.1.12 Gawai Antu, the Iban Festival of the Dead

The last major act to honor the spirits of the dead (Reed, 1998) and be sure that they are properly set up in the *menoa sebayan*is to hold the elaborate festival of the dead or the *gawai antu*. This ritual has been described several times, and especially notable accounts come from by Uchibori (1983), and Sandin (1961). The purpose of this ritual is generally to clear out the various ghosts that have accumulated in the longhouse since the last time the ritual was held. It generally takes several days to complete and requires a substantial investment which is why it is only held occasionally. During this ritual, the spirits of the recent dead and sometimes older more respected dead will be specifically invited back into the longhouse. A ritual bard priest of the Iban known as the Lemmanbang will recite the specific steps that the ‘guests’ from the land of the dead are taking as they come to arrive at the longhouse. When they arrive they are honored and remembered with special toasts of rice wine (Uchibori, 1983).

### 2.7.1.13 The Sungkup and the Wine of the Corpses

A special house, something like a stylized doll house, is created for them called a *sungkup*. According to Uchibori, this *sungkup* house is symbolic of the idea that even in death the spirits live in a state of distinction between the civilized world and the wilds of the jungle. It is the final act of separation by literally building a house in the land of the dead (*ibid,* 1983). Another integral part of this ritual is the consumption of a special rice wine which Metcalf (1987) referred to as a ‘wine of the corpses.’ Metcalf uses this wine to make a connection between the activities of the Iban and the more elaborate secondary treatment of the remains done by the Berawan people (cf. Metcalf, 1982). In the case of the Iban this special wine is firstly treated by the priest bard who walks the long veranda floor of the longhouse all night reciting a special ritual song called the *Timang Jalong.*This work is done completely by memory. This song tells of the long journey the soul takes back into the land of the living, and is essentially the reverse of the *sabak* (Metcalf, 1987). At dawn after the treatment has ended, the wine takes on a special cloudy color which is seen as ‘dirty’ (*kamah*) or even ‘poisonous’ (*rachun*). It has become, symbolically speaking, infused with death. In the *Timang Jalong* it is called the ‘stormy winds colliding.’ Only those who are ‘brave’ can drink it. Being brave means specifically having taken a head or having claimed a victim (*mumpong*) (Uchibori, 1983). In more modern times this can also include the descendants of headhunters (Sandin, 1961). The *Lemambang* or bard priest both encourages and threatens others to drink it because it is the wine of those who are ‘lost and dead’ (Metcalf, 1987). If one who drinks it is not brave it will become a poison and they will die.

Uchibori (1983) tells a story of a wife whose husband had claimed to be brave and was about to drink the death liquor or *Jalong ai*. There was some doubt about his bravery which hadn’t been witnessed by anyone. As the account goes she became so panicked that she started to wail and act mad, having eventually to be restrained. During the period of the *Gawai antu* ritual people will sometimes fall unconscious or ‘go mad’ and it is considered a particularly dangerous time where the longhouse might become fervid or *angat* (ibid, 1983.) This ritual helps overcome what Sutlive (2012) refers to as one of the greatest fears of the Iban; that of the living forgetting about the dead. This fear is much more profound on the side of the dead. After the ritual is accomplished the people can relax in the idea that the dead have now found their place and the communal and open ended relationship founded on mutual respect and commitment between the living and the dead will continue on into the future (Reed, 1998).

   As Clifford Sather (2003) says, “The immanent realities of death, as understood by the Iban are believed to be close at hand and are never entirely veiled from the living.” It is this world of the Iban where life and death, humans and spirits, dream reality and physical reality mix and blend together. According to Sutlive (2012) this world is filled with humans, spirits, gods, ancestors, sentient birds and other animals, and all other manner of material and immaterial things. By understanding this world and following the rules as set down by the adat system the Iban find this idea of balance and harmony between the various forces, and brings about the hope and prosperity that they desire.

## 2.7.2 Conclusion of Review

This concludes a brief journey through the literature of the Iban. The themes that were brought up in this review will come to be explored or even, in a sense, lived through in the coming narrative. For example, the story in the base text starts with a *Manang Bali* or the transvestite wizard (Sandin, 1965) performing the ritual heating of the trophy skulls. The plot of the story centers on these ideas of death and the specific conventions of the *ngulit* or mourning period. One misguided soul will drink the *jalong ai* or ‘wine of the corpse’ and bring about the fabled *kudi* or supernatural calamity. The longhouse will descend into a ‘fervid’ state with the *manang* and the *Tuai Rumah* trying desperately to restore order. Headhunters will appear and look into the value of the *mumpong* or severing of the head. Several demons will be invited to the party as well as a brief side journey through the Berawan ritual of *Nulang* (cf. Metcalf, 1982). One man will make a journey to the *menoa sebayan,*or territory of the dead, and receive a gift from the spirits. This journey will be completed by catching a glimpse of the fabled magic of the severed head.

## 2.8 The First Narrative Script – “Taking Heads – A Jungle Horror” - Introduction

The first narrative script or ‘base text’ represents the creativity of the researcher of this study. Simply put, it is a scripted fantasy about Iban people. As mentioned in Section 2.6.1 the script will be based on Snyder’s (2005) beat sheet, meaning that it will contain the requisite 15 units or ‘beats’ broken up into a three act structure. This script is referred to as a ‘narrative script’ because it has more narrative features than the complete script which will be prepared as per P2: 3rd. This kind of script is also referred to as a ‘treatment.’

The potentially troubling issue that needs to be address is that this script treatment is a scary story. The reason why the anthropologist chose to write a scary story, as opposed to all other possible kinds, is that scary stories are exciting, thereby increasing the possibility of the audience listening and taking the story seriously. Further, a horror story is the most fitting genre when considering the chosen themes; demons, decapitation, madness, death rituals, etc. Finally Iban people, at least the ones that the anthropologist spoke with, enjoy scary stories. Therefore, much sense exists in this particular genre selection.

The question to ask while reading is how this story, which is simply the imagination of a non-Iban person, would change if this story was retold as a more proper Iban narrative. What would *their imagination* and their more fitting understandings do to the story? How will the story change?

### 2.8.1 Formatting

The base text for “Taking Heads –A Jungle Horror” will now be presented. The format for the base text follows a script treatment style. The first time a character is presented it is done so in all caps. Some conversations are detailed and some are simply described. Film action is put in brackets [--]. The scene notation of [B:a1:s5] means: Base Text, act one, scene five.

### 2.8.2 Cast List

Lachlan (M, 40’s): A gregarious host of a ghost hunting television show.

Ruth (F, 20’s): An Anthropologist and Iban expert.

Andy (M, 30’s): An effeminate producer.

Rentap[[5]](#footnote-5) (M, 20’s): A strong Iban guide.

Dayak Film Crew #1/#2: Two Dayak guys hired to carry the camera equipment.

Ancient Shaman (M, 100+): A very old Iban Shaman named ‘Asu Rengka’ or ‘Greedy Dog.’

Headman (M, 50’s): The headman of the village.

Manang (M, 30’s): An Iban shaman and Asu Rengka’s disciple.

**Taking Heads -A Jungle Horror**

### 2.8.3 Act One

#### [B:a1:s1] Ancient Shaman Makes a Fire

A very old Shaman (ANCIENT SHAMAN) with long white hair is bent down preparing a fire. He is dressed in traditional Iban female clothing. His eyes are white with cataracts. He lights the fire and when it starts smoking he stands up. Above the fire hangs a collection of human skulls. Each skulls lacks a jawbone and are all coated in a thick layer of ash. The old Shaman puts his hand onto a skull and talks to it in Iban. His words are mumbled and slightly incoherent. Ancient Shaman-…Serapoh went from longhouse to longhouse carrying a jar and asking the people “will you be our enemy,’ will you be our enemy?” but no one was willing. Finally he despaired, “who will be our enemy?” As the fire becomes hotter the old Shaman stands back and sings a traditional song. [Fade to Black.][[6]](#footnote-6)

#### [B:a1:s2] Woman in graveyard/montage of TV show footage

(1.) In a graveyard on a Woman’s face lit by a camera’s night-vision. Woman- “I’m really scared right now... Ah! Oh god, what was that?” [cut to]: LACHLAN (big white man, 40’s, in a separate room watching her on a computer screen)- “It’s alright darling... just keep moving forward, you’re doing fine.” [back to]: Woman-“ Hello? “[cut to]: (2.) Lachlan, in a room in front of a séance table, lit by candles, some people cower to one side. Lachlan (Yelling) - “Ok Mr. Edward Laslow! You’ve had your fun, haunting this house and these poor people for 20 years. But now I call you out! It’s enough now! (Hitting the table) I call you forth! I call you! By the power of light and good I summon you.” [cut to]: TECH GUY (watching on a computer) - You see anything? [Back to]: Lachlan- (whispering into his microphone) “No, nothing yet... Wait! Did you hear that?” [Cut to]: (3.) Lachlan, Woman, Tech Guy in an SUV while driving. Lachlan-“Yeah, I was pretty scared there for a minute.” Tech Guy- “When that chair moved I was like...” [Fade out, end of montage.][[7]](#footnote-7)

#### [B:a1:s3] Lachlan’s back-story on a boat

(1.) Lachlan is being filmed while sitting on a Bornean style riverboat. He gives an introduction to his show ‘Ghost Chaser.’ He also tells where the cast is, Sarawak Borneo, and that they are traveling by river to a remote longhouse to meet with an ancient Shaman of the Iban people named Asu Rengka. Asu Rengka is reputed to have the power to speak with and even control ghosts. Lachlan’s attitude in the introduction is friendly and enthusiastic.

#### [B:a1:s3(2)] Lachlan Interviews Ruth

Lachlan introduces RUTH (female mid-20ties) as an anthropologist and Iban specialist. Ruth starts to talk about the Iban and their history of headhunting. She becomes technical, naming dates and researchers. Lachlan yells ‘stop’ and his attitude suddenly changes to aggressive and rude. He tells her to stick to the interesting facts. This is a ghost television show, not some crap academic film, don’t be stupid, etc. After some back and forth Ruth delivers the fact that while there are many theories, no one knows the exact truth about headhunting but local accounts suggest that the trophy skulls (antu pala) are connected with ghosts. Further, Ruth doesn’t know if she really believes in ghosts or not.

#### [B:a1:s3(3)] Meet Rentap

Finally Lachlan introduces their guide RENTAP, (Iban male, mid 20ties, long hair, rock and roll tee-shirt). Rentap introduces himself as ‘John’ but Lachlan yells at him to pick a better ‘more native name’ because John is boring. Rentep reveals that his grandmother used to call him Rentep. Lachlan likes that name because it sounds ‘jungle like.’ Lachlan also forces Rentap to take off his tee-shirt. Rentap protests that he doesn’t even live in the jungle, he is from the city, but intimidated by Lachlan’s fierce demeanor removes his shirt. He has a traditional Iban tattoo on his left pectoral. On camera Rentap reveals that Ancient Shaman is his great uncle and well over 100 years old, but no one knows for sure how old. Some people believe he has real power. Rentap is reluctant (even when being pressured) to say that he really believes in the ancient Shamans powers. He says finally that many ‘old people’ believe.[[8]](#footnote-8)

#### [B:a1:s4] The Boat Journey

We meet ANDY, (30ties, TV producer.) Andy is very effeminate and soft. He is also chronically worried about everything; mosquitoes, bugs, animals in the water. He complains of motion-sickness. We also meet two local DAYAK FILM CREW MEN. The boat passes through the beautiful Bornean rain forest, but the scenery is marred by some smoke from a burning field that looks suspiciously like a skull. Rentap confesses to Ruth that he is worried because he hasn’t been able to make contact with the longhouse for almost a week. It is also the rainy season so he hopes the weather holds.[[9]](#footnote-9)

#### [B:a1:s5] Arrival at the Docks

The cast arrives at the dock landing but no one is there to meet them. When Lachlan finds out that it is two km hike to the longhouse he gets upset and yells at Rentap. He is nearly physically angry. He also says that since he is the star of this show and he won’t carry anything and that if this project doesn’t work out he will strangle someone. Later, Rentap asks Andy why Lachlan is so angry and Andy says that Lachlan is angry because the show has been struggling lately and this is its last chance. [[10]](#footnote-10)

#### [B:a1:s6 (1)] Passing the Cemetery

The crew walks up the jungle path. They pass a recently dug grave. Lachlan wants to investigate but Rentap is hesitant, saying that it’s best to not disturb a fresh grave. The Dayak film crew men also don’t want to approach. Lachlan yells at them that if the ghosts are at the grave then this is where we will go. He says that Rentep and the Dayak men are being weak, so afraid. He says that they will come back later.[[11]](#footnote-11)

#### [B:a1:s6(2)] A Strange Thing in the Jungle

On the path they see a coral snake. Andy gets a leech. Briefly Rentep sees what looks like a *traditional Iban warrior* hiding in the jungle, but as quickly as that it’s gone. Ruth asks him what he saw but he says that the jungle was just playing tricks on him.

#### [B:a1:s7] Arrive at Longhouse

They come to a traditional longhouse on stilts. They see many dogs around. The crew is met by HEADMAN (M, Iban, 50’s) who explains that Ancient Shaman died only two days before and was buried only yesterday. His last request was about the crew. Before Ancient Shaman died he told them that they shouldn’t perform any mourning ritual for him because he already knew the way. Also the foreigners should be taken in and entertained. Lachlan asks why they didn’t contact them about this. Headman answers that the Ancient Shaman had forbidden them from telling anyone about his death. Ancient Shaman had said many things before he died but mostly it were not understandable. The members of the longhouse thought about it and decided to honor his final request by not having a mourning ritual and allowing the foreigners in, even though some members were against it. They said that we should not break our tradition. Tradition protects us and keeps us safe. Lachlan is very angry about all this and does a poor job of hiding it.[[12]](#footnote-12)

#### [B:a1:s8] Debate outside Longhouse

The crew talks amongst themselves about whether they should enter the Longhouse or not. Lachlan is, of course, not happy. Rentap thinks it is a bad idea to enter, even though the ancient Shaman wanted it. He has a bad feeling. Andy says that they could still salvage the show. Lachlan agrees and says that he will save the show any way he can. [[13]](#footnote-13)

#### [B:a1:s9:(1)] Ancient Shaman’s Room

The crew, along with the Headman, enters the longhouse. Many villagers gather to meet them. Headman tells them that he would like them to come into Ancient Shaman’s apartment. They enter and see that his house is set up as a very ornate alter-table. Head man explains that this alter was set up by Ancient Shaman prior to his death and that it contained some of the most powerful and sacred objects that he had collected over a lifetime. These objects would have been used by him to perform his rituals. We see a little house made of wood with long fancy wooden feather coming off it called a *sungkup*, many ornate and decorated baskets, and hanging near that are a collection of skulls. On a table below are a series of small objects; strange curled bones, oddly shaped stones, a packet of things on a cord which is said to prevent bullets, as well as several bottles. A picture of Ancient Shaman has been placed on the Tabernacle showing him dressed as a Shaman. The crew rolls the camera and Lachlan asks what the most powerful thing of them all is. The Headman confirms that a particular bottle has a liquor inside of it that was made at a very famous Festival of the Dead nearly 50 years before. It was infused with the essence of death. The drink will supposedly allow the bravest of men to see the dead, but he who is not brave will die. Lachlan confirms that he is the bravest person he knows and not afraid of anything. The Headman laughs.

#### [B:a1:s10] The Party

The group takes a meal on the floor of bat meat and fried frog. Andy is disgusted. Then some of the men of the longhouse dress up to do traditional dances for the crew. They are given plenty of alcohol. They see PREGNANT WOMAN (F, 25, 8 months pregnant). The crew also meets SHAMAN (M, 52). Headman explains that Shaman is just a simple Shaman, nothing like Ancient Shaman; he was Ancient Shaman’s student. Shaman offers to read Lachlan’s palm but does not like the results. He says something quietly to Headman and then walks away. Headman says never mind about Shaman and that it is good, Lachlan will have a long life, but we see something troubles him. A BEAUTIFUL IBAN GIRL (F, 22) serves drinks. Rentap tries to flirt with her but she isn’t interested, even though he is a successful film producer and lives in Kuching. She says something like ‘you should focus on helping your people over benefiting yourself.’[[14]](#footnote-14) Andy gets too drunk and vomits. All swirl into a drunken haze. [[15]](#footnote-15)

### 2.8.4 Act Two

#### [B.a2.s1] The Dream of the Headhunter

All is dark in the longhouse. Rentap suddenly awakens to the feeling of a sword blade against his neck. Standing ominously over him is a traditional warrior wearing traditional clothes and tattoos. Warrior removes the sword, almost jokingly, and motions Rentap to follow him. Rentap, at a distance, follows the headhunter to a different apartment. Inside all is dark. A shadowy form is seen sleeping there. Rentap watches as the warrior quietly stalks the sleeping form and with great swiftness brings his sword down on the neck. After mostly severing the head Warrior starts to pull the head off the body with a sickening ripping sound. He shows a dark gin and turns the head to face him. We can’t see who it is. At that moment \*LIGHTENING\* flashes and deep \*BOOM\* of thunder. Rentap is shook awake.[[16]](#footnote-16)

#### [B:a2:s2] Labor Complications

The thunder lingers as Dayak Film crew #1 shakes Rentap awake. Heavy rain has begun to fall. #1 tells Rentap that he must come. Pregnant Woman has gone into labor early, and they are calling for Shaman. #1 tried to wake Lachlan but he was completely passed out from the alcohol. Rentap jumps up to grab his camera.

#### [B:a2:s3] Pregnant Woman

Rain falls heavily with intermittent flashes of lightning and thunder. They go into pregnant Woman’s room which is lit by candle light (the longhouse has no electricity). The men stay outside filming but Ruth goes inside. Pregnant Woman lies moaning on her bed. Andy is very nervous, complaining that he is drunk, asking whether a doctor is coming. What will they do? Shaman arrives soaking wet having walked through the storm.

#### [B:a2: s4:(1)] Shaman’s Ritual

Through the soft light of the candles and the sound of the howling rain and thunder Shaman does his ritual, putting the blanket over his head to ask the spirits for guidance and spasmodically convulsing. Several other women are in the room. Ruth helps to keep the pregnant Woman calm. Rentap, #1 and #2 film from outside the door. Shaman chants and prays, sometime screaming at the spirits. He also sacrifices a chicken and waves it around.

#### [B.a2:s4:(2)] Baby Born

Andy watches (also outside) with great fear and panic, constantly asking when the doctor will come. He can’t seem to understand that the doctor is far away. Through the flashes of lightening Rentap sees another brief image of the Headhunter through the window. Finally as the tension builds a great crash of \*THUNDER\*, and lightning Shaman holds up the bloody baby who’s first \*WAIL\* pierces the night air. Andy runs off to vomit again.

#### [B:a2: s5] Pregnant Woman Dead

Day has come but outside the rain still pours down in a heavy tropical deluge. We focus on a tree; the earth beneath it has already become a pool. [inside] Ruth stumbles out of her room looking haggard. She hears from the veranda the sounds of wailing. People are carrying out the body of the pregnant Woman wrapped in a blanket. They perform various rituals on her, such as piercing her feet and tying up the body tightly. The crew sits solemnly on the rumah floor. Ruth, “Oh no! No no no.” Everyone looks drained. Rentap says that the woman died less than an hour ago from excessive bleeding, but the baby is ok.[[17]](#footnote-17) Andy is huddled in a corner, and looks shell shocked. Where is Lachlan!!?

#### [B:a2:s6] Lachlan Dead

Andy enters Lachlan’s room. He is on the floor. Andy shakes him roughly and yells at him. Andy-“ God damn it Lachlan! Get up! You missed everything. This is why the show is failing, because you get drunk all the time! “ Andy shakes Lachlan again and Lachlan head rolls back in an unusual angle.

#### [B:a2:s7] Andy Panics

The crew sits on the floor drinking coffee. The other villagers sit near them. Everyone is calm and somber. Many people, including the Headman, are near the body of the dead woman. Suddenly, from Lachlan’s room we hear Andy’s womanish SCREAM. Andy runs out of the room. Andy- “He won’t wake up! He’s dead! He’s dead! Oh my god, I don’t know what happened!”- Andy is in a panic. The other villagers and the Headman rush to investigate. Ruth grabs him and tries to calm him down. Ruth-“Just calm down! Calm down!”- But Andy has snapped, raving about Lachlan being dead. Finally Ruth smacks him! Ruth- “Calm down!” The villagers jump between them and pull Ruth away. Andy falls to the floor. Headman- “what happened?” - Ruth- “It’s Lachlan.” As Ruth explains we focus on Rentap. Lightning flashes \*BOOM\* and he sees again for the briefest of moments the figure of the Headhunter outside the window.

#### [B.a2: s8] Lachlan’s Death Inquiry

Rentap, the film crew, Ruth, Headman, and several other Iban men go to Lachlan. He is obviously stone dead and his face pasty white. There is no visible reason why. Near him is an empty camera case. Rentap sees it and whispers to Dayak film crew #1 to find the camera. #1 leaves.

#### [B.a2:s9] Finding the Film

Rentap, Ruth, and Andy sit inside an empty apartment. Dayak Film crew #1 and #2 return carrying the second camera. They found it set up inside the ancient Shaman’s room. Rentap retrieves the memory card and puts it into his computer.

#### [B.a2:s10] The Film

They see firstly the dark face of the Lachlan, illuminated by candle light, talking quietly to the camera. He tells his name and that he is of sound mind and body. He feels that he is a supernatural journalist and that it has always been his mission to procure real proof of ghosts. He is a brave person, he has never been afraid to go anywhere that ghosts might be. Now he has decided to drink this death liquor. He opens the bottle and pours it into a coconut bowl from the tabernacle. He doesn’t know what it will do, maybe nothing, but it is a risk he is willing to take. He takes the bowl, gives cheers to the camera, and says that he will give the ghosts his regards. Then he drinks. \*SNAP\* lightening flashes and the camera goes fuzzy. As if taking a deep breath we suddenly PLUNGE into the scene.

#### [B:a2:s11] Lachlan’s Vision

Lachlan swallows, lightning strikes and he begins to choke and cough. He looks momentarily sick but pulls himself together. His body starts to sway and his eyes widen. He again looks sick. The rain starts to fall heavily outside making a crashing sound. We see the tabernacle from Lachlan’s point of view. Everything goes strange and fuzzy. Lachlan sits heavily, hanging near him are the skulls. Time seems to slow down and by the light of the flickering candles Lachlan stares at the skulls. To his mounting horror one of the skulls spins to face him, and its empty eye sockets stare back at him. \*LIGHTNING FLASH\* [cut to] The jungle at night in the torrential rain. A petite girl stands outside wearing soaked traditional clothing, her long hair hanging loose and dripping. [back to]: Lachlan \*Yelps\*, and crawls backwards away from the skulls. [cut to]: The same jungle scene as before but now there are a whole host of people in traditional clothing standing behind the girl in the rain. Lightning flashes and we see for an instant that they are corpses with holes throughout their bodies. The girl is different, fresh. She looks up and her eyes shine in the darkness. [Back to]: Lachlan crawls backwards, gets up and rushes out the door into the veranda area. Between intermittent flashes of lightning we see, now in the longhouse, a host of grim headhunters, tattooed and wielding swords. They are stalking him. Another \*FLASH\* and the girl is in front of him. Even wet she somehow looks attractive and approaches him in a sensual way. Lachlan stumbles away but the girl is still right in front of him. He freezes and she reaches out her hand and strokes his frozen stiff face. We hold on Lachlan’s face the girl drops to her knees. He looks down at her head to see it swarming with lice. Lachlan lets out a terrible scream which is swallowed up the thunder. Everything fades back to the static on the computer screen. [fade into a static screen]

#### [B:a2:s12:(1)] After the Film

All are shocked after watching the video. Dayak Film Man #1 lets out a squeal. “He brought a demon! We’re all going to die!” Rentap tries to calm him down but he can’t. Dayak film man #1 shouts at Ruth. –“You did this! This is your fault!” And he tries to attack her. Rentap wrestles with him, but Rentep is much stronger. Dayak man #2 helps his friend. Finally they both back off. The Dayak men say that they are leaving, everything is going bad here. Rentap tells them that if they have to flee then go out the back, don’t make everyone crazy. Without another look they both leave by the backdoor.

#### [B:a2:s12:(2)] Ruth and Andy Argue

Andy is fascinated that the video shows real proof of ghosts. Ruth turns on him and says that this is all some big trick set up by Andy and Lachlan. Andy denies it. Ruth becomes angry and says that things like this don’t really happen. Native people always talk about it happening but things like this don’t really happen. Rentap says that it is happening, two people are dead. If Ruth wants to act crazy she should run out the back with the others. If not they should all calmly go back into the veranda and sit with the villagers.

#### [B:a2:s13:(1)] Dayak Guys Flee

Dayak Film guy #1 and #2 jump out the backdoor and down onto a muddy path. The rain is coming down hard, making them slog through mud. A group of wet dogs suddenly come out from the bush and growl ominously at them.

#### [B:a2:s13:(2)] The Black Rice

Rentap, Ruth, and Andy sit next to the Headman and the other villagers. The villagers are having a debate about recent events and trying to understand what has happened. A Woman brings out a bowl of rotting rice. It was fine the day before but now it is black.

#### [B:a2:s13(3)] Weird Thing Happens

[cut to: Outside]: There are 6 yellowish brown dogs circling #1 and #2. They bare their teeth and approach with their heads low. #1 and #2 walk backwards slowly, the rain is pouring down, obscuring their vision. One dog attacks and #1 strikes it with a stick. Suddenly all the dogs look behind them submissively. #1 and #2 look and their eyes widen with terror. #2- “Run!” Both start to run as fast as they can but the rain and mud makes them constantly slip. The dogs collectively leap at #1 and #2 tries to fight them off.

#### [B:a2:s13:(4)] Debate About Rentap’s Dream

The debate has become even more heated and the Headman tries to keep things calm. The Headman asks if anyone has had a dream that might tell something about this situation. Rentap tells his dream. Ruth is surprised. ELDER (M, 80, Iban) believes that the reason for Rentap’s dream is because this headhunter is his ancestor, and is trying to help him.[[18]](#footnote-18)

#### [B:a2:s13:(5)] Dayak Guys Fight the Dogs

[Cut to]: #1 and #2 are fleeing through the forest with the dogs close on their heels. #1 has already been bitten and has blood on his arms. His shirt is torn and soaked. They come to an open place and find three more dogs charging at them. The dogs leap onto #1 knocking him down and biting into him from all sides. #2 fights with all his strength to hit the dogs with his stick.

#### [B:a2:s13:(6)] A Scream from Outside

[Back to]: Rentap, Ruth and Andy listening to the Elders. Suddenly they hear a \*SCREAM\* from outside. Rentap and Ruth look knowingly at each other and both jump up, saying they must help their friends. Both of them, along with others, run out into the rain.

#### [B:a2:s14] Rentap Fights in the Rain

The rain is coming down HARD. Everyone runs around trying to find #1 and #2. Rentap finds them. The dogs are all around. #1 is covered with blood. #2 is trying to keep the dogs away. With no fear Rentap jumps into the middle and starts fighting the dogs. He hits one on the head with a rock, and throws another off of him. He gets bit but he doesn’t care. Finally all the dogs back off. Rentap calls for help and Ruth and the other Iban men find him. They pick up #1 and with #2 all run back to the longhouse to get out of the rain. Rentap is left behind to keep the dogs away.

#### [B:a2:s15] Rentap’s Experience

Suddenly all the dogs run away and Rentap hears a strange sound. He looks up and sees the Traditional Warrior standing under a tree. Rentap seems captivated. Warrior beckons for Rentap to come with him, turns, and disappears into the Jungle. Lacking a will of his own Rentap seems fascinated, removes his shirt and drops it into the mud. Then he walks resolutely into the jungle.

#### [B:.a2:s16:(1)] Villagers Panic

Andy is waiting as Ruth, #2 and the other Iban men bring in the ripped up body of #1. He is bleeding terribly. #2 is holding his friend in a state of pure shock, whispering that something is out there, they are trapped, and no one can leave. While they stand around him Andy goes into a state of hysterics. Andy-“Oh my god! What happened? What’s happening! Why is everyone dying?” He begins to hyperventilate. His hysteria infects the others and the villagers start to respond, everyone starts moving faster. A woman screams that the demons are upon them and tries to run off into the rain but the men grab her and hold her back. She falls to the ground and goes into a kind of epileptic fit, banging her head onto the floor. Another man starts to panic and tries to leave. At that moment the Headman screams for everyone to stop! Everyone becomes calm for a moment. Headman- “Nobody can leave! We have to remain calm.”

#### [B:a2:s17:(1)] Shaman’s Vision

Manang comes into the veranda. Everyone sits on the floor drinking liquor while watching Manang who is calmly laying out his equipment. They bring in a pig in a sack and kill it. Its screams fill the room. Manang whispers over it as it dies. Manang then takes out his crystal and looks around the room. He puts the blanket over his head and starts rocking back and forth. Suddenly he stiffens. [Manang’s Point of View: POV]. Manang receives a vision of ancient Shaman (Asu Rengka) while lying on his deathbed, many are there around him. Ancient Shaman mutters “who is the enemy now? It is hidden.” Then he sees Lachlan drinking from the cup, and the ghost Woman. Lightning crashes. [out of vision pov]: Manang falls to the floor in convulsions. He suddenly stops shaking and sits up; his body language becomes totally different. He points to the corpse of Lachlan. Manang (in a strange voice) “I have spoken with Ancient Shaman. It is him! He has brought this curse upon us!”

#### [B:a2:s17:(2)] Villagers Attack Andy

All eyes turn to Ruth. Ruth (panicking) “It’s true! Last night he drank the corpse wine! He wanted to see the ghosts.” All the villagers start to walk towards Ruth and Andy who begins to panic. Andy- “It wasn’t me! I didn’t know what he was doing! Oh god! no!” All the villagers start to reach for him. Andy starts to hyperventilate and falls to the ground, writhing on the floor. Headman \*SCREAMS\* for everyone to sit down! Andy is still gibbering “please please! I didn’t know anything, it wasn’t me.” Everyone backs away and slowly sits. Only one old GRANDMA (80’s) hobbles towards Andy. Andy- “No No! Stay away!” But she places her hand upon him and her love and kindness overwhelm him. Suddenly he becomes calm.

#### [B:a2:s18:(1)] Kill Ruth

Dayak man #2 sits near #1 while he vainly struggles for breath. He is covered with mud and blood seeps out of him from twenty different wounds. IBAN MOTHER (F, 35) sits with him trying to stop some of the bleeding with a cloth. Finally, with blood coming out of his mouth #1 dies. #2 is shocked, at first his eyes are filled with sadness but then something else comes into them... frenzy and rage. He stands up. #2 “He’s dead! You did this!” (Pointing at Andy and Ruth). - At this he rushes across the room like a WILD ANIMAL. Before anyone can as much as react he has Ruth on the ground CHOKING the life out of her. With absolutely madness in his eyes #2 chokes Ruth. Some Iban men pull him off. Ruth takes in a ragged painful gasp of air, and sits on the floor crying. Dayak guy #2 is screaming “you did this! We are trapped here, everyone is going to die!” He is exactly like a wild animal; many people have to hold him down. Many women start to wail. Headman (yelling) “Everyone sit! Just sit! No one move! The heat is about to overtake us!”[[19]](#footnote-19)

#### [B:a2:s18:(2)] We Must Do Nulang

All eyes turn to Shaman. Shaman- “The spirit of the Ancient told me what must be done! The evil is upon us! We must bring it forth, reveal it! I know of one ritual of my Grandmother’s people, the Berawan. I think we must perform this ritual, we must meet this evil with reverence and respect. We must perform the ritual known as Nulang!” All are silent. Then many others start voicing opinions, saying that they should leave now. A group of younger men say that if they leave together they can make it. What about the older people? Another longhouse is only one hour away on foot; if they run they can make it and will come back with help. Headman calls for a vote, “All in favor of trying to get to the other longhouse!” The young men raise their hands. Everyone else is in favor of doing this ritual Nulang.

#### [B:a2:s19] Run from the Demon

The young men are outside the longhouse. The rain is still coming down hard and it is very dark. The water is getting deeper on the ground. The men run as fast as they can through the forest. They hear the sound of barking, and the sound of a horn. It is coming for them. Now they are hunted.

#### [B:a2:s20] Andy and Ruth Sleep

Andy still sits on the floor being cradled by Grandma. Andy (weakly) “What’s going on?” But no one is around to answer him in English. An Iban Woman brings him a bowl of liquid and motions him to drink. He drinks. Andy, (sleepily) “What is it?” Ruth, still recovering from being attacked looks around. “Wait, where’s Rentep? “ An IBAN MAN puts something in front of Ruth. It is Rentep’s wet tee-shirt. Iban Man- “We found this outside. He’s gone.” Ruth- “Oh no.” Ruth is also given the drink and with that she falls asleep. [Fade Out]

### 2.8.5 Act Three

#### [B:a3:s1] The Nulang Ritual

[Outside shot]: It is a dark and stormy night. Outside we see the same tree as before in Act 2, Scene 5, but now there is much more water. Darkness has started to fall and it is like a lake outside. [Inside]: Andy has been left to sleep in a different apartment. He is shook awake by Ruth “They’re calling us. It’s time.” Ruth and Andy enter the veranda. A Ritual throne has been set up. Sitting on the throne, wearing Iban traditional dress and a crown is the CORPSE of Lachlan. His head is tied with a rope to keep him sitting upright. In his hands are a cigarette and bowls of alcohol are all around him. His other hand sits in a bowl with paper money and sweets. There is some glossy sparkles on his face. Everyone in the longhouse is sitting at his feet. There are also many electronics and electrical devices at his feet; a computer, iron, cell phones, a car battery.[[20]](#footnote-20)

#### [B:a3:s2] The Ritual Offerings

Andy is shocked to see Lachlan like this. Andy- “What are they doing to him? This isn’t right!” Ruth- “This is the ritual of the Berawan. They believe that Lachlan’s corpse is now a personification of death. They hope that by revering him with this ritual the ghosts will be appeased.” Andy “What’s that smell? It’s terrible. That’s him isn’t it?” Ruth- “just sit.” Film crew #1 sits behind the camera filming. A row of women come up and one by one put give offerings to the corpse. One puts some rice into his mouth, another puts some beads into his mouth, etc.

#### [B:a3:s3] Nulang Begins

Several Iban musicians start to PLAY on their percussive instruments, and the women start to make a very creepy WAILING sound. The Sabak (ritual poet) begins to recite a poem about the journey the soul takes to the land of the dead. The atmosphere, between the music, the wailing, the poem, and the corpse king, becomes dreamy.

#### [B.a3: s4] Rentap’s Journey

After listening for some time to the words of the Sabak singer we cut away to the forest outside with the heavy rain falling. The dreamy atmosphere blends into cut away like a reflection on water.

[Begin dream vision sequence] We see a series of events. (1) A boat being paddled down a dark river (we cannot see the sailor). (2). A person walking through a dark jungle. (3). Rentep climbing a tree. (4). An ancient longhouse. (5). A series of very old traditionally dressed Iban covered with tattoos. (6). an ancient half naked Woman with pendular breasts. (7). Rentep sitting at the feet of the group. (8). Rentep receiving a traditional tapping tattoo. The music and the wailing blend with the images to make something beautiful, hypnotic, and sad.

#### [B:a3:s5:(1)] Corpse Awakens

We come back after what must have been Many hours of telling. Most, including Andy, are sleeping uncomfortably, lulled by the hypnotic rhythms. Unbeknownst to the watchers a thin trickle of blackish blood has started to seep out of Corpse’s mouth. At this, and in climax with the poem, the corpse’s finger TWITCHES. As the poem continues Corpse starts to twitch all over. His eyes, with dark black lines underneath open. A low \*MOAN\* escapes his lips. A large quantity of black blood, the rice and other things fall from his mouth. Everyone \*GASPS\* and looks up at him in shock and horror.

#### [B:a3:s5:(2)] Andy Breathes Smoke

Andy stands up in amazement “Lachlan! You’re not dead! (to the group) he’s not dead! We thought you were dead! You were just in a coma or something!” With reflecting black eyes and his face still completely slack, Corpse picks up his hand holding the cigarette like he had never seen it before. A line of ANTS runs up his finger tip and back down his arm. The cigarette suddenly flames to life and slowly Corpse brings it to his bloodied lips to pull in a long drag of smoke which curls out his nose. Ruth panics and yells at Andy “It’s not real Andy! This isn’t happening! This is a hallucination. I’ve read about this before. It’s just the corpse decomposing.” Andy (grimacing and ignoring Ruth) “Wait... you’re not dead right? (to others) He’s going to be ok? He was just poisoned or something, right? Lachlan, hello? Do you need help or something?

Corpse finally seems to hear Andy and his still black eyes flicker towards him, he seems very tired and moves slowly. Corpse blows a large cloud of smoke from his cigarette at Andy. Andy takes a deep panicked breath and immediately starts coughing. Andy continues to cough like he can’t get any air. He falls to the ground coughing and vomiting, his face contorted in pain.

#### [B.a3:s6] Andy Dies

Ruth holds Andy as he struggles for breath. She has had some emergency training and uses a pen to make a tube and stabs it through his throat to relive the congestion. Immediately a thick black blood comes out of the tube. We see that the blood in his body has become black. With the black blood smeared on his face and hands Andy reaches for Ruth, grasping for breathe. Finally he dies. All eyes turn from him back to the Corpse of Lachlan. Corpse again sits perfectly still though the cigarette is still burning.

#### [B:a3:s7:(1)] Stab It!

IBAN SHAMAN screams “It’s a demon!” All jump up to grab nearby weapons. As a group they approach Corpse with weapons drawn, but it is again not moving and they hesitate. “Just attack it!” But no one wants to get close enough. Finally one BRAVE MAN pokes the corpse in the stomach with his sword but still it doesn’t move. Maybe it was all a hallucination? He stabs the sword in again, deeper this time… Suddenly the corpse’s massive jet black eyes shoot open! Everyone gasps! The corpse opens its mouth to let out an ear piercing \*SIREN SCREAM\* that goes on and on. All stand back holding their ears.

#### [B:a3:s7:(2)] Lights Out

With a puff of wind all the candles go out and the longhouse is plunged into blackness but the continuous lightening outside creates a stereoscopic effect within the house. The temperature suddenly plunges and we can see through the flashes that Ruth’s breath comes out as a fog. Ruth sits over the body of Andy muttering to herself “This isn’t real, this isn’t real.” Corpse seems to have disappeared.

#### [B:a3:s8:(1)] Begin nightmare sequence-Longhouse Changes

Suddenly a loud deep VOICE in Iban rings out “You would kill me? How can you kill that which is already dead?” The voice swirls through the room as the Iban men, through the flashes of lightening, armed with their various weapons stalks the room looking for something to attack. VOICE- “You don’t need to hunt for us! We are already here!” At this moment the very wood of the longhouse starts to warp and the rain water starts seeping in and dripping down onto Ruth who is still sitting over Andy’s body. When a stream of water hits her on the head the shock grabs her, the cold. She suddenly looks up and takes it all in. The house looks old now, abandoned like. The thunder \*BOOMS\* and through the flashes of lightening she sees that the house is now full of shadowy ghosts.

#### [B:a3:s9] Headman Meets Long Tongued Demon

The Headman is walking through the house holding his sword out. Everything seems strange and foreign now, empty abandoned rooms covered in dust and decay. Lightning flashes and he sees a skeletal person! In shock he backs away, turns again to see the demon girl shrieking at him, hissing. He runs and ends up in a further room, better lit, with many old floor boards that show the black space between them. From out of this space a thick smoke issues forth, taking on the shape of an ancient person covered in wrinkles that starts to crawl and drag itself towards him. This creature opens its mouth and a long tongue comes out like a cow tongue. It unrolls towards him. The Headman screams, drops his sword, and runs.

#### [B:a3:s10] Shaman Talks to Corpse

(Back to the main room.) Manang is chanting in frenzy. He does some sort of magic that makes fire come out of his hands. With this the darkness recedes, the candles come back to life and Corpse sits as before but now it has started to rot and decay. Manang- “name yourself demon!” Corpse (in Iban) “I am death. I have watched a thousand worlds rise and crumble before me but now I am here.” Manang- “Why have you come?” Corpse “For centuries you have hidden from me, stolen from me, kept me locked away in the dark, but I alone am patient. Now I will take back what is mine!” Manang- “What would you have us do?” Corpse- “Kneel before me! Kneel before your new master. Give me your life!” Manang- “No! Never!” Corpse-“ Is your light strong enough? Are your tricks and magic enough to stand against me?” The darkness begins to press back against the light. Manang tries to fight but Corpse’s dark magic is too powerful! Corpse- “The time of the living is over! Now the dead will rule. Kneel! Kneel before your king!” Manang fights but cannot help falling to his knees. The blackness swirls to overtake him…

#### [B:a3:s11] Rentap Appears

Suddenly, \*BOOM\* a thunderclap, the loudest yet and powerful voice comes from off screen (os). VOICE (OS)- “ Release him demon! We will never bow down to you!” All eyes turn to see Rentap has returned. He is dripping wet, dressed as a traditional Iban warrior. He has several new tattoos on his body and holds a sword. A big leech is on his chest but Rentap pulls it off without feeling, leaving a long trail of blood. Corpse- “Who are you?” Rentap- “I am Rentap! I have been to the land of the dead and I have no fear of you!” Corpse-“You have no fear of me? Then what of them? (referring to the other ghosts in the room) Do you fear them?” With that all the ghosts in the room suddenly come to Rentap. We look into the eyes of Rentap but there is no fear there, only strength. He knows that he is being tested. Rentap drops his sword and falls to his knees with his arms held out. The ghosts begin to circle him like wind whistling around his body, the ghostly fingers reaching out for him. Rentap- “If you would take me now then I am ready!” The ghosts reach their hands out to him, coming close to touching him, whispering to him. Ghosts- “show us… show us your fear!” But there is fear to be found. At the last moment, instead of touching him the ghosts all drop down to their knees.

#### [B:a3:s12] Exchange with Corpse

Corpse- “No! How can this be?” Rentap stands and takes up his sword. Rentep- “You see demon! We Iban have always respected our dead, we live in the balance. Nothing is forgotten! Nothing is lost! Our ghosts are happy with us.” Corpse- “Happy? How can they be happy? Your skulls are cold and lonely, a new skull has not been added to them for more than 100 years!” Rentap- “If our skulls are as lonely as you say then I will add to them right now!” With that Rentep starts to walk towards the corpse king. Corpse- “Come to me then hero! If you dare!” At that the corpse king suddenly flies up into the air, a large bubble of darkness surrounding him.

#### [B:a3:s13] The Showdown

Rentap, his sword raised, charges the flying corpse. Yet when he brings his sword hand down the corpse raises his own and grabs Rentap by the wrist. Rentap tries to force his sword down but the corpse is too strong. The corpse adds its second hand to Rentap’s arm. Rentap’s arm, caught in the corpses grasp, starts to rot and wither, turning black, his fingers turning black and dead. Rentap screams with great pain. The corpse lifts his body up into the air. Corpse- “You cannot win.” But Rentap does not give up. He pulls the sword out of his mostly useless hand and holding it in his left hand with it chops at the corpse’s arms, cutting one off. Rentap falls to the floor. Rentap charges the corpse again, hacking and cutting with his left hand with great fury. Yet, no matter how deeply he cuts into the corpse’s body it seems to do nothing to him. The corpse raises up its other arm to fend off the blow, but with his blackened dead hand Rentap grabs the hair of the corpse, pulls the head back and with a cry, severs the head. At first the corpse’s face still moves but then it finally becomes still. The other ghostly figures vanish. The rain still falls heavily. Grandma comes to him and whispers something into Rentep’s ear. He understands, drops the sword and, still holding the head, and exits.

#### [B:a3:s14] Holding up the Severed Head

All stand to watch on the outside platform as Rentap wades through the water. He pulls himself up onto a wood pile and with his last strength holds the head up high towards the longhouse and gives a long howl. At this moment the rain suddenly ceases and mornings light breaks through. Pretty Iban girl is overcome by his strong heroic presence. Grandma stands next to her. Grandma- “Go to him.” With that Pretty Iban girl jumps down and runs to him. Rentap pulls her up, while still holding up the head, and she nestles herself against his strong torso. All is finally at peace and the birds sing.[[21]](#footnote-21) Ruth is watching with the camera and she says to Dayak guy #2 that people will never believe this. We should destroy this film.

#### [B:a3:s15] Police Come

[Superscript- A few days later] The water has drained off, the sun is shining and people are repairing the roof. Some police men in uniform enter the house. [cut to: card] After hearing stories of native superstition the police were happy to accept the idea that the longhouse had suddenly been struck by severe malaria. Half crazed with the disease Lachlan Reed, host of the popular ‘Ghost Chasers’ television show had run into the jungle and been washed away by the flash flood. It is unlikely that his remains will ever be found. Everyone else was found to have died from natural causes.

#### [B:a3:s16] Rentap Makes the Fire

Rentap, his arm still black and withered but wrapped in a white bandage, lights the fire underneath the collection of hanging trophy skulls. He turns to see pretty Iban girl holding the baby of the dead mother wrapped in a blanket. Rentap joins her. We look again at the skulls and see that the bottom most skull is Lachlan’s. The fire reaches up and slowly burns off its flesh.

**The End.**

## 2.9 Conclusion

Chapter 2 Part 2 presented the basic philosophy for the development phase, the ethnographic literature review, and the first narrative script. The review and the script work together in allowing the reader a better understanding of the anthropologist’s starting position. Chapter 3 will cover phase two by discussing the method of delivery and the analysis of results. The three script retellings and the complete script will be presented in Appendices A thought D. .

# CHAPTER 3 METHODS AND THE ABSTRACT PHASE

## 3.1 Introduction - The Abstract Phase

This chapter will discuss Phase two as found on Table #1. This phase is entitled the abstract and consists of the idea of equivocation as put forward by De Castro (2004), in reference to the methodological concept of a ‘scripted equivocation.’ This chapter will revisit the idea of the equivocation Section 3.2, describe this method of the scripted equivocation Section 3.3, and finally describe the conditions of delivery and the fieldwork Section 3.4. The three script retellings will be analyzed in Chapter 4 and presented in full along with the full scripted in the Appendices.

## 3.2 Phase Two - Methods and Literature

In phase 1 ‘development’ the anthropologist weaves ideas from ethnographic sources into a film narrative. The hope is for the natives to appreciate the narrative so much as to be inspired to correct and comment upon its various representations. In the abstract phase this hope is tested by the anthropologist delivering the narrative scene by scene to those natives. As the narrative is passed to those natives, and especially through the mind of the translator, it becomes transformed into something more closely matching their specific conjunctive understandings.

Overall, the term ‘transformative’ is a generally good descriptor for the abstract phase. Not only does the narrative transform from the anthropologist’s fiction about those people into those people’s fiction about themselves, but the process of Conjunctive Staging overall transforms from a creative endeavor to an ethnographically meaningful encounter. The concept located to best describe this event or series of events, as a subsection of the larger Conjunctive Staging process, is that of the equivocation as described by Eduardo Viveiros De Castro (2004) and his article “Amazonian perspectivism and the Method of Controlled Equivocation.”

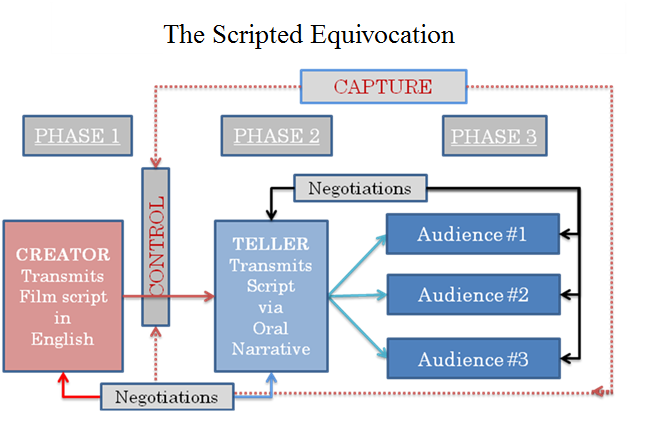
### 3.2.1 De Castro and Equivocation

In Chapter 2, Section 2.2, information was presented about De Castro (2004) and his equivocation. This concept was defined as “referential alterity between homonymic concepts” (480). This definition is technical, precise and fairly abstract. The understanding that will be used in this work is of a more concrete nature; an equivocation is a special misunderstanding. Similar to the regular misunderstanding, the equivocation happens most during communication acts. Also, like it’s more humble cousin, the equivocation has much to do with language and alternative definitions. Yet, unlike that more normal kind, an equivocation is more profound than any simple error, or if it is an error then it is essentially being wrong about everything. An equivocation is not a clash of opinions because such would depend on either side of the communication act being aware that (a) they hold an opinion and (b) that the other side doesn’t agree. An equivocation is a clash of worldviews where one or both sides of the discussion are unaware of holding an opinion and therefore are not only unaware but essentially incapable of empathizing with or even specifically acknowledging the alternative understanding of the other. Therefore the equivocation is a special and profound kind of misunderstanding that happens primarily beneath the surface of consciously recognized knowledge.

Like Mannheim’s Conjunctive (1982), fully describing an equivocation is a complex and philosophical undertaking. An equivocation is a profound misunderstanding, a clash of worldviews beneath the surface of the known. The philosophical query comes in by asking for a precise definition of ‘worldview’ and how that concept relates to conjunctive knowledge. A philosopher turned social scientist could ask how exactly an equivocation is ‘profound’ and how might this profundity be measured? These are all the sorts of questions that the process of Conjunctive Staging will ideally cast light upon at some point in the hypothetical future. Yet for now, given these sorts of complexities this discussion will be shifted away from asking *what* an equivocation isor might be, to instead discuss *where* it might be found. This is a far easier and more direct occupation when it is recalled that an equivocation, regardless of its endless layers of complexity, is a misunderstanding. Naturally the best way to study a misunderstanding is to capture it within a discussion; i.e. talk about it. Following this line suggests that the best means to study a special kind of misunderstanding is to engage in a special kind of discussion. The methodological process of the Scripted Equivocation amounts to a special kind of discussion or storytelling event that will ideally capture an equivocation.

## 3.3 The Scripted Equivocation - The Basics

The scripted equivocation amounts to a complex interaction format between (a) the Anthropologist, (b) a translator, and (c) an audience of people who share a conjunctive relationship with the translator. The process has three main steps: (1) the anthropologist delivers a scene to the translator; (2) the translator delivers the scene to the audience; (3) the audience either comments upon or responds to questions about the scene. An important feature of the process is the Control, a wall or barrier between the anthropologist and the audience. The anthropologist is unable to directly communicate with the audience and vice versa, necessitating that all information pass through the translator. This process is then captured by a recording device. See Figure 2 below.

**Figure 2:** The Scripted Equivocation

### 3.3.1 Description of Figure 2

The mechanical functioning of the scripted equivocation should now be basically understandable. The purpose of this process is to stimulate the translator and the audience to correct and comment upon the narrative until the narrative becomes recapitulated to match the conjunctive understanding of the translator and audience. Why the translator and audience would be willing to fulfill this function is complex and will be discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 3 will continue by offering a descriptive account of the fieldwork encounter where the scripted equivocation was put into practice.

## 3.4 The Fieldwork - Introduction

In the coming section the anthropologist’s fieldwork within a traditional Iban community will be presented. This information should prove instrumental in coming to a more throughout investigation of the script retellings. While some geographical place names are given, neither specific census information nor a map to the community location will be presented. The reason for these decisions was discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.7.

The purpose of the anthropologist’s fieldwork was to perform this scripted equivocation process. The decision was made previous to the fieldwork encounter to repeat the process three times with the same translator but different audiences, essentially following a snowball technique of locating the audiences after arriving in the village. The reason for this decision of doing the process three times was to promote the possibility of seeing patterns in the data (following the aphorism once an exception, twice a coincidence, three times a pattern) and to guarantee that at least one person (the translator) would have sufficient familiarity with the narrative so as to able to more fully assess its relative merits or lack.

The fieldwork presentation will be done in the first person in order to increase the literary appeal. The details presented function on two levels; the first is to give a picture of the anthropologist’s activities, and the second is to provide information which should be useful in assessing the script retellings.

### 3.4.1 Entering the Field

8 am. Armed with a backpack, my script treatment and a profound sense of optimism I boarded the dilapidated bus from the long distance Kuching bus station. My destination was the a small city in the center of Sarawak. The ride in the ancient bus took nearly six hours of heaving up and down the sharp hills and winding jungle road that characterize so much of Sarawak. This gave me plenty of time to reflect on my occupation while snacking on some durian flavored candies being handed out by a friendly neighboring passenger. I was on my way to deliver a scary story about demons and headhunting to an entire village of people, as many as possible per session, at least three times to three separate audiences. Of course, these are not just any people but the grandchildren of the real, honest to god headhunters of Borneo; a fact of which they are quite proud. I would have to sit in front of them and, with a straight face, report what the zombie kings has to say about death, as well as a make some crashing ‘zap’ ‘pow!’ type noises for the climax. What if they laughed at the wrong places? What if they didn’t like it and got angry? What if they decided that I had somehow offended the spirits by telling such a story and then charged me for violating the *adat*? There were many options and I think, during that six hour bus ride I covered them all.

I finally arrived to be met by Sang, the headman of Rumah Lasa. I had first met Sang through his niece, who was also a student, and had first brought me to the village. Sang was a very friendly intelligent man who spoke English quite well given his many years of school study and several years of working at an international shipping concern. Sang had agreed to host me for the duration and assist me in transmitting my story, though he didn’t yet understand what kind of story that would be.

We ran some errands in the city and met some of his friends for a meal. During our meal Sang told many stories about the ‘brave’ Iban. ‘Bravery’ to the Iban, he explained, meant having killed someone in hand to hand combat. There were only a few within the larger community who could claim such a distinction, and those came from their years of war service.

Finally, after 8 pm we started the long trip back to the longhouse. We rode in Sang’s quite modern four wheel drive four door Ford truck. The first hour of the trip was on paved road while the next three to four hours done in winding mountainous pitch black dirt roads. The roads had been made by the logging companies and some parts were in very poor condition. Sang told me several stories that concerned ghosts or the supernatural. One story happened about 70 years before. A woman had died, and while travelling to her longhouse to pay his respects, her nephew (who was a relative of Sang’s) saw a group of ‘antu’ surrounding the body of his aunt (the dead one but not dead at this moment) out in the jungle. The nephew understood the situation, broke through the circle and grabbed up his aunt and ran away. The demonic antu gave chase. As he was running the body he was carrying began to shrink. When he arrived at the longhouse it was only a head. He rushed into the longhouse and returned the head to the dead woman who then promptly came back to life and lived for many years after. According to Sang this story was absolutely true.

Around 10 pm we stopped at another longhouse on the way which was still under construction. I was served a meal of rice cooked in bamboo, wild pork, and ants. The ants were a specialty and quite nice. Sang asked me to tell my story but it took too long so I was only able to deliver around 20 minutes worth to the Lemambang (Priest Bard) of that house. I was able to ask Sang if the Lemambang believed in ghosts and the answer was quite emphatically yes. That Lemambang told some stories about seeing an ‘antu’ in a waterfall and being quite terrified. We stayed in that house until around midnight before finally finishing the last leg of the journey to Rumah Lasa at the very top of the Enkermop mountain.

I slept on the living room floor of Sang’s apartment or ‘bilig.’ Iban longhouses are like an apartment building turned onto its side and connected by a long single hall. Even though Sang was the headman his bilig was not the most modern apartment in the longhouse though it was quite nice. There were plenty of tarantula-like spiders on the walls, mostly around the size of my palm. I was concerned about those spiders but Sang told me to just leave them alone and they wouldn’t bother me. After the generator was turned off the entire longhouse became very dark and very quiet. I laid awake for sometime in the pitch blackness smelling the smoke from some burning mosquito coils and imagining what those spiders were doing.

The next day I awoke to find the longhouse mostly empty outside of a few very elderly people and a couple of kids. It was mostly empty because all the able bodied members were out picking peppercorns. Unwittingly, I had chosen a rather bad time to do my work. The price of pepper had recently hit an all time high of 30 Malaysian Ringgit per kilo and therefore everyone was harvesting as much as possible. People returned at around 5:30 pm. I managed to elicit a promise from the head of a neighboring bilig named Kunor, who also spoke English very well, that he would listen to my story the next day, which, as luck would have it, was a lunar holiday.

### 3.4.2 The First Telling

The next day in the afternoon I delivered the story to Sang, Kunor and roughly 8 others in the longhouse. I had before me the script delivered in Section 2.8. Our group sat on the floor of the veranda. Many chickens were crowing around outside. I delivered the first section of the story to Sang and Kunor. When they understood they would nod or ask clarifying questions. When they were satisfied Sang would deliver a translated version to the audience. The audience asked clarifying questions throughout. Often Sang would ask questions to me in the middle of his translation to clarify some detail. After the scene was delivered I was given some time to ask questions to the audience. The questions I asked were directly related to the story. For example, ‘have you ever met anyone like Andy?’ ‘Do you think Lachlan’s anger is justified?’ The audience, at least for the first hour roughly took much interest in listening to the story and answering and debating upon the questions. Extra information was spontaneously elicited by the audience and there were also several moments where the audience did not agree with how my story was going. There was also some confusion about the timeframe of the story. They seemed to think that it was a traditional story even though there were video cameras and computers.

The sequence of events depicted above was fairly regular but due to the length of the engagement this regular pattern began to break down. The full process took 3.5 hours. After hour two everyone was tired, Sang and Kunor especially because their translation process was not simple. Because the process had been going on for so long, Sang and Kunor asked for longer pieces of the story to be delivered which were then translated in a shorter fashion. This caused the ending of the story to be basically lost after [a3:s8]. Yet, even though the end of the story in translation was lost I was still able to make it through to end and deliver the entire story in English. Towards the end of the session the principle of the local elementary school arrived and caught the ending of the story. Sang and the rest of the audience asked me to ask him about the moral of the story, even though he hadn’t heard the whole thing. He came up with an answer then said that I should tell my story at his school to the teachers. I was happy to agree.

That night Sang and I traveled on foot through the jungle to a nearby longhouse that was having a dispute. One family had brought formal action against another family that had been playing their music too loudly. In the Iban system this results in a community trial called a *bechara*. Headmen from neighboring longhouses were summoned to act as impartial judges. The trial itself involved both sides of the dispute sitting quite far away from the other down the long communal hall. Between them would sit many members of the village as well as Sang and people from other longhouses. The two aggrieved parties started by yelling at each other, back and forth, for around 30 minutes. Finally they tired and the headman announced his ruling that one side was fined 5 Malaysian Ringgit while the other was fined 7 ringgit. If they didn’t agree with the headman’s ruling then they could take the case to a higher court which would cost much more. Both sides accepted the ruling. Sang and I walked home through the moonless jungle.

That night I had a dream that Sang and I were again walking through the jungle, going from longhouse to longhouse telling stories and admiring their trophy skulls. Since Iban are quite interested in dreams I told Sang about it in the morning. He thought about it and then later told me that he had decided to help me because I had had this dream. This is significant because it suggests that his motivation for offering assistance changed from general friendliness or something else to a spiritual or religiously motivated commitment. This also might suggest that his understanding of the story changed from an ‘action’ story to a spiritual story.

That morning Sang drove me on his motorbike to the elementary school. Even though I had packed formal clothing I reasoned that due to the motorbike riding, and that it was muddy and dusty I shouldn’t wear them. This was an incorrect choice. When we finally arrived I realized that I would be delivering the story to school children and everyone was dressed far better than me.

### 3.4.3 The Second Telling

I was surprised to be delivering a horror story to school children, so surprised in fact that I accidently left out a1s2 which had been problematic in the first delivery and replaced it with the idea that Lachlan was simply a ‘ghost-hunter.’ My translator Sang noticed that I was flustered and making mistakes. He reminded me to calm down and recalled some details from the first telling that I had forgotten to mention. It seemed that his memory, even after only one telling, was possibly better than mine.

After that initial problem everything became normalized and the process went faster than the first time because the kids weren’t inclined to ask or answer questions. Therefore we simply focused on telling the story as efficiently as possible. I did notice that several scenes had become much longer and that Sang was talking more than the first time through. The school principle and several class teachers also listened. The comments they made mostly reflected their disagreement about my usage of the name ‘Rentap’ and that my presentation was conflicting with the children’s education about this historical figure.

Sang and I sat in an outside store/drinking establishment near the elementary school where we drank beer and discussed the story. Sang said that he realized that when Rentap disappears in act 2 scene 7, he went on a ‘Betapa,’ which I gathered was something like a spirit quest. He also recommended that I add more historical details about Rentap’s life, though didn’t offer any specifics.

After coming back we watched the Iban TV show “Iban Tyko.” It had just debuted and the villagers were interested to watch. It was a criminal serial about a group of Iban who start up a small scale mafia enterprise. Sang told me later that he thought the plot was rather boring and predictable. As opposed to this my story was new and fresh.

We had a plan for the next day to again visit the longhouse in the jungle where the trial had been held but it was raining so we returned to the elementary school area and had a drinking party and barbecue with several people. Some stories were told about the legendary demon Antu Gerasi and seeing his eyes in the jungle. Sang said that he had never seen anything like this but that people who were scared have a better chance of seeing.

### 3.4.4 The Third Telling

That night we delivered the story to Sang’s relatives at Rumah Jafar. The audience was around 10 people total. Again Sang acted as translator for the process. This had the effect of speeding up the process and decreasing the telling time to 2.5 hours. I was able to ask some questions but not as many as in the first telling. Some nice information was received about what Antu Gerasi looks like and some stories about family relatives who had actually seen Antu Gerasi and other ghost stories. An old woman said that the idea of ghost hunting was very good because it would inspire many new stories. I got the feeling that most of their antu stories were pretty old. Everyone agreed that the story was good.

On the last day I was driven four hours to the city where I took a bus back to Kuching. All told I had spent five days with the Iban.

### 3.4.5 After the Fieldwork

Some interaction with that community in direct relation to this work came up. The niece of the headman agreed to transcribe and translate the three telling. She reported to me that members of the community who had heard the story, especially in the third telling, delivered the information back that they had enjoyed the story, looked forward to seeing it as a film, and that I should not use the name Rentap. Instead I should use the name ‘Bantin.’ No other information was given about why this was the case. Another woman, the aunt of my translator had also said that I should make the movie. Then she could go from longhouse to longhouse selling dvd copies.

The last piece of relevant information was that after a basic analysis of the three telling the anthropologist put the information together to create a full script. It was realized within that analysis that the translator Sang, who was the headman, had made some substantial changes to the story and therefore deserved to be credited as ‘co-writer.’ He agreed to this and said how he would like his name to be presented on the script.

Sang and I had a plan to meet once again several months after the fieldwork but it was cancelled due to the death of the longhouse’s oldest member. The death had happened nearly a week before our scheduled meeting but he still had to cancel. I asked him if he couldn’t still make the meeting but he said “you know what our ngulit ritual means.” I understood immediately what he meant; not in the romanticized version where the angered spirit of the dead might wreak supernatural havoc onto the people but in the more basic fact that these people have a profound respect and appreciation for this particular rite. Even though I had not witnessed it first hand I did have an experience with this idea and therefore a sense of the depth of meaning that filled it. My translator knew that I knew this because he had had the same experience as me. Therefore we had developed what Karl Mannheim (1984) referred to as an existential conjunctive relationship. The narrative, the concepts within the narrative, and my experiences with the Iban became, between us, a platform to both recall and extenuate shared knowledge and understanding.

## 3.5 Conclusion to the Fieldwork Description

The importance of the fieldwork description apropos the scripted equivocation is the details of how each telling session went. The first telling [**T1**] had problems because the script was unfamiliar, there were too many English speakers present, and it was too long. The second telling [**T2**] had problems because the anthropologist was not mentally prepared to tell the story to children and therefore made some mistakes in the first several scenes. The fact that the children were not interested in asking or answering questions meant that the style of telling changed. In T1 many questions were answered and that took up much time. In T2 very few questions were answered making an almost exclusive focus on telling the narrative. During the third telling [**T3**] some questions were answered but not nearly as many as in T1. This change in the style will be reflected in the script retellings.

Using the same translator created some issues with this question asking in general. In T1 the questions were new to the translator. He questioned the audience and seemed to procure the definitive answer. When I wanted to ask the same question again in T2 and T3 he seemed to take this almost as an affront, as if I had not believed the first group. Therefore asking those questions were, to him, a waste of time.

## 3.6 Conclusion

Chapter 3 has been devoted to a functional and descriptive account of the ‘abstract phase’ of the Conjunctive Staging process. This description has included the overview of the scripted equivocation method as well as a first-person account of the fieldwork where that method was put into effect. The larger theory of equivocation, while touched upon in 3.3, will be covered more completely in Chapter 4 along with a discussion of the resulting retellings. The full script, as the last document to be produced in phase 2, will also be discussed in Chapter 4.

# CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present an analysis per objective #2. The first function of this analysis is to help the reader assess the significant changes made by the translator in each of the retellings. The second function is for the analyst to point out other significant or interesting features found through the comparison. Section 4.1 will better explain the reasoning behind this document. Section 4.2 will present the summary text. In section section 4.3 the analysis will be concluded. In section 4.4 a brief presentation of the full script will be made. Section 4.5 will be a general conclusion.

## 4.2 The Analysis

In Chapter 3 a presentation was made of the scripted equivocation process. In that process a narrative consisting in this case of 62 separate text blocks, each being roughly a paragraph in length and consisting of a scene of story, were passed through a translator on the way to 3 separate audiences on three different occasions. Assuming that some words passed the lips of the translator concerning each scene (which was not quite the case as will be shown) then there should be 186 new scenes to be compared against the originals amounting to 248 blocks of data. Such would be the mathematically ideal number. The real number is somewhat messier in that some scenes were not translated (especially in T1), some scenes were added, tangents, side accounts, sometimes important conversations came up during the telling process necessitating that those too be accounted for and, in T1 especially the audience took the opportunity to have a discussion about the narrative. Yet, all told, the real number is quite close to the ideal number suggesting ultimately no shortage of data to be analyzed.

The number of ways those 248 blocks of text, with each block having countless direct or indirect correlation to other blocks in the series, could be analyzed is simply too numerous to enunciate. One could proceed from most any discipline in the social sciences, ask any number of questions and ultimately have much to work with. To each question one could bring out the countless interrelations, not only to the main series but also the two separate documents previously presented. All and all, if so inclined, one could engage in an analytic merry chase through all the diverse yet interconnected information presented throughout this thesis.

Such analysis is a merry chase because it will, without firm theoretical foundations, simply go around and around. This has to do with the size of the database and the contingent ability to make a case in most any direction depending on one’s temperament and a priori assumptions. An example will best illuminate this conundrum; In act 2, scene 18 part 1 Dayak guy #2, enraged from watching his friend die from dog bites, attempts to kill Ruth through strangulation. In the base text it is specified that the men of the village pulls Dayak guy #2 off of Ruth, thereby saving her life. In the first retelling (T1) Dayak guy #2 says to Ruth “you will die next,” and then tries to “catch her.” In (T2) he simply wanted to fight and punch Ruth. Yet, in (T3) this Dayak man actually starts to choke her and, surprisingly, “No one stops it. The villagers did not stop him.” The translator goes on that it was not however truly Ruth’s fault but actually Lachlan’s. So, instead of specifying that Ruth was rescued from her attacker per the Base text, specific mention is made to the exact opposite, that no one helps her and hence leaves her to her fate. The invariable question then is whether Ruth lives or dies. It seems plausible that the enraged Dayak actually chokes her to death with the entire village watching. Regardless of whether the translator knew this to be a consequence of his presentation, this question of Ruth’s fate is certainly there, especially to an audience who had never heard the story before.

Therefore, with all the above it seems fruitful to ask the question ‘why?’ Why did the translator make this choice? Was it purposeful, meaning that the translator stopped liking Ruth and hence no longer cared whether she lived or died? Was it accidental meaning that he believed that the audience would somehow know that she survives the encounter? In either case why don’t the villagers or the headman intervene? From an ‘objective outlook’ it seems that an innocent woman is being strangled, possibly to death, in front of an entire group of people. By simply being associated with the ‘naughty’ Lachlan and his misdeeds does she now deserve to die? Worse yet, does the fact of the villagers not stopping the behavior mean that they condone this killing? Such would seem nefarious yet other options definitely remain. For example, the translator could be simply testing the limits just to see what would happen if he choose *not* to save Ruth at that moment. Then it would not be a statement about Iban people or even his people but instead a reflection of the process. Another option is that this is a valid reflection of how the translator believes that life in the olden times might have been like.

An argument could be made for each of the options above by citing other moments in the story that seem to suggest or refute the ideas in question. This tactic could go on and on. A more scientific route might be to recognize that the information in the text is ambiguous with any number of possible arguments to be made. Therefore the best option, given that the anthropologist plans to return to the field, is to simply ask the translator and the villagers their opinion about this and other moments. Such is less satisfactory than using the material to proceed directly to conclusion making, but it has the greater potential of determining what is there in actuality as opposed to what the anthropologist or reader might imagine there to be. Therefore, since more data is theoretically available, the anthropologist will strive to be as scientific about the analysis as possible and thereby allow the data to speak for itself.

## 4.3 The Summary Text

In order to allow the information to speak for itself the decision was made to restrict the analysis to the kind of arrangement of data which should most aptly assist the reader in coming to an understanding of specifically *what* happened in each scene in each of the retellings. For example, in T3:a2:s18(1) the villagers did not help Ruth while she was being strangled. *Why* this happens, or why the translator decided to make this choice requires a much more in depth reading. To make such a reading the analyst requires a clear, organized, and accurate summation of the specific changes and happenings in each scene. That is what this analysis will do.

Each scene will be presented four times: [B] (Base text), [T1] (Telling 1), [T2] (Telling 2), and [T3] (Telling 3). Beyond this the coding conforms to the system first introduced with the Base Text. Hence [ST.a3s15(1)] means the first of several moments (1) contained within scene 15 (s15) of act three (a3), as depicted within the Summary Text (ST). The main details of each retelling should also be recalled. In T1 the audience was adult and the atmosphere was jovial and somewhat chaotic. In T2 the audience was made of school children around the age of eight. The atmosphere was serious. In T3 the audience was again adult. Unlike the first two, in T3 the telling happened at night. The atmosphere was more serious than T1 but less than T2.

It is hoped that by preparing this summation document both the reader and the anthropologist will be benefited by having this clear and easily referable presentation of data. Naturally, after dealing with and preparing the texts, the anthropologist will have various insights into patterns and interrelations that might not be immediately noticeable to the reader. These insights will be put as footnotes throughout. Finally, in line with any summary document some of the text will have been reduced. The intent has been to decrease the size and make clear the intent while retaining the specific flavor and flow of the story. When in doubt or desiring more detail the reader is invited to refer to the relevant moment in the relevant Appendice.

### 4.3.1 Act One

#### [ST.a1s1] Ancient Shaman makes a fire

(B) A very old man with long white hair is lighting a fire while wearing woman’s clothing. His eyes are white. Above the fire is a collection of human skulls. He touches the skulls and talks to them, tells them a story. Then he sings a traditional song. (T1) A long time ago as we always say, an old man with long hair was living in the jungle (kampung), walking in the jungle. His vision was blurred. Then he lit the fire but not with matches. He used the old technique of rubbing, like this.[[22]](#footnote-22) When the fire began to burn suddenly a skull (keruntuk) appeared in the smoke. A skull like an antu pala.[[23]](#footnote-23) Then the antu appeared. The old man saw the antu. (T2) This is an ancient story of an old man with dim eyesight. He meditated (betapa) in the jungle (kampung). In the jungle he spun the fire alight. Back then there were no matches. How did he do it? Well, he was well experienced at this. When the fire was burning suddenly an antu pala appeared in the smoke. He was shocked. Would you run away in such a situation? Would you be brave enough? After the old man saw the antu he started to pray (besampi) and sing (belagu). His spiritual song started after that antu pala appeared. (T3). The story goes like this; a long time ago, because we Iban believe in shamans. There was an old man, an elder ancient shaman, a long time ago. He was walking in the jungle (babas), means he was looking for something. Then he sleeps there.[[24]](#footnote-24) After that he makes a fire but without the lighter. He uses the old style like a long time ago. Then the fire was lit and he saw the image of an antu pala in the smoke.[[25]](#footnote-25) After seeing the antu pala the old man did some ritual (belian), singing like (belagu), how to say that? Praying to be told the meaning after seeing that thing (Besampi bejara meh madah ka reti). Then he[[26]](#footnote-26) cuts the story. We will hear how it goes on.

#### [ST.a1s2(1)] Woman in Graveyard

(B) The ghost hunter Lachlan is remotely assisting his camera woman (also a ghost hunter) as she walks through a graveyard at night. She is afraid when she talks to the camera. (T1) After that, the old man we are talking about, he sees a girl appear near a graveyard. This will appear on the camera later on. So that thing (the antu pala) appeared near the girl. Behind the girl is a man named Aslan. Aslan watches her and looks at the computer. He watches the white girl exit the burial plot. In another room nearby a man was watching the girl. This man was big and he was playing computer. (T2.a1:s2.D)[[27]](#footnote-27) Do you want to join the antu hunters? –No![[28]](#footnote-28) The reason why will follow. Will it be ok if this becomes documented on film? He is inviting us for antu hunting. Will you join the antu hunt? What if it is the pictures only on the tv? The antu will appear? Is that what you mean? (T3) Because this is a story. After he shows the ancient shaman then there appears a ghost eye (antu mata). After that a picture of a girl, like a girl. The girl looks frightened. She is frightened, and the picture is shaking, in the film.[[29]](#footnote-29)

#### [ST.a1s2(2)] Séance

(B) Lachlan, in a room in front of a séance table, is yelling and hitting the table while attempting to summon the ghost. Cut to someone watching and talking to him on a computer screen. (T1) What story is this? Ok, in the movie they see a big guy named Lachlan in a room with the candle. He lights the candle, knocks on the table and tells the antu to come out, because he said that he had never seen an antu. (T2) missing. (T3) Because this is a story. The white people come here to study about our Iban culture. So there is a white man who doesn’t believe in antu. He comes and brings his laptop. He is calling and wants to see the antu that people are always mentioning. He knocks on the table. I want to see, he said. He isn’t scared of the antu, he said, that white man said.

#### [ST.a1s2(3)] Car Ride

(B) Lachlan, Woman, Tech Guy in an SUV while driving. Lachlan-“Yeah, I was pretty scared there for a minute.” Tech Guy- “When that chair moved I was like...” (T1) So after he knocks on the table the ghost comes out. Then the three of them run away. Actually they saw something there, the chair was moving… like this… Then all the things inside that room were moving. That’s what happened to the three of them. Very strange things like that happened. (T2) Missing. (T3) So the white man met a white girl and then they came together. They got an idea, like what they saw while walking, the chair moving. That’s the story of the white people. There are no antu, they said. That’s the story, hunting for the antu.[[30]](#footnote-30) [T3.a1s2(3).D#1] I’m sure this will be a good film later when we watch it but some parts will make us afraid. We will be scared to see th antu. One must be frightened to see the antu, because it’s weird (nyelai). If we see the eyes of antu gerasi then we must be scared, especially if we see its body. Even it’s eye is scary. [[31]](#footnote-31) Holding spirits (genggam semangat). [T3.a1s2(3).D#2] A story is shared by an audience member about the late Manan’s mother who died and became an *antu Gerasi*. The late Johnny’s Grandpa’s dog became an *antu jaran giging[[32]](#footnote-32)* (demon with the irregually spaced teeth) and scared away this real antu Gerasi. This story happened 70 years ago to Manan’s Mother and is a true story (as opposed to this fiction). This took place in the late Johnny’s late grandmother’s dream. The late Genam’s Mother also married an Antu Gerasi. Many voices are captured on the tape making the translation difficult.[[33]](#footnote-33)

#### [ST.a1s3(1)] Lachlan’s Back-Story on the Boat

(B) Lachlan sits on a Bornean river boat giving an on-camera introduction to his TV show “ghost chasers.” The cast is traveling to an Iban longhouse in Borneo to meet this ancient shaman ‘Asu Rengka’ who can summon ghosts. [T1#1] So, he means that the white man was being pursued by an antu, which was a dog. He said that they wanted to run away to Borneo, to a village like our village, wanted to meet a shaman, somebody like a shaman, a person who could do rituals (beliau). Villages have many dogs and he asks why antu are afraid of dogs and what are the things between antu, dogs, and humans? That’s what he means. Because Ibans have shamans, have rituals, and have dogs. That’s what he said. [[34]](#footnote-34) [T1#2] So, he is on the boat shooting the film. He asks where he can meet the antu. Then he got the idea to go to Borneo, to our country, Sarawak. He wanted to meet this Iban shaman named Asu Rengka. That shaman has the power (kuasa) to call the antu. (T2) There was an American who also knew this story, a story told by a shaman. That’s why he came to Borneo, to ask the shaman to hunt where the antu are. High possibility he wants us to join, meet the shaman and hunt for antu? According to Iban belief only the shaman can see the antu, others can’t see it. We will not know if he can see it or not because we won’t join the shaman who is covered (betudung).[[35]](#footnote-35) (T3) So this white man, he comes far away to Sarawak. They come here, come to us. They arrive in Sarawak, as well as the driver, arrive at the river and sit on a boat. It is the boat they will use to find the shaman. This is from a book that he read.[[36]](#footnote-36) He’s thinking that he wants to meet a shaman. Only the shaman can show and know where the antu are.

#### [ST.als3(2)] Lachlan Interviews Ruth

(B) Lachlan, still on the boat, interviews Ruth on-camera. Ruth is an anthropologist and Iban specialist. She talks about Iban history and becomes technical. Lachlan suddenly yells at her that this is a ghost show and he doesn’t want to hear about all that academic crap. Ruth talks about headhunting and its connection to ghosts. (T1) Yaa, so they are walking and arrive at one place where they meet a woman inside a house. About 20 years old, anthropologist like him, and studies Iban language. He started asking that woman about Ibans a long time ago, telling some story. Asking her about when Ibans a long time ago went for headhunting (ngiga pala). So she tells some stories and then Lachlan says enough. That’s enough, he says. (T2) So this white man, named Lachlan, came to Sarawak to find the shaman. Then he is walking and meets a white woman named Ruth. She is a scientist, Ok? Not anthropologist. She had lived in Sarawak for a long time, could speak Iban. That white woman knew what the Iban were doing. She told Lachlan the Iban do headhunting (ngayau ko orang)…Hunting for heads (ngiga pala). (T3) So the white man Lachlan arrived in Sarawak and met a white woman named Ruth. Ruth is like him, studying Iban culture and living in Sarawak, also good at speaking Iban. Where is her husband? Also a white man. She is married to other white people.[[37]](#footnote-37) Yaa, but she is good at speaking Iban. So Lachlan asks her about Iban culture. The white woman tells some stories of a long time ago, planting paddy and hunting for heads (ngayau)[[38]](#footnote-38). But the white man doesn’t want to hear about that, he just wants to see who can really show him the antu. He makes a joke that he doesn’t want to hear stories about farmers,[[39]](#footnote-39) he wanted to know about the antu. So he doesn’t want to hear what Ruth was saying. So Ruth knew, because she studied that Iban are headhunters (ngayau) and planted paddy. But he didn’t want to hear. This means that he only wanted to find the shaman and the antu. He wanted to hear stories about shamans.

#### [ST.a1s3(3)] Meet Rentap

(B) Finally Lachlan introduces Rentap (Iban, M 20’s, long hair, rock tee-shirt), the tour guide. Rentap introduces himself on-camera as John but Lachlan wants him to pick a better name. John is boring. Rentap says his grandmother called him Rentap. Lachlan likes that name because it is ‘jungle like.’ Also Lachlan wants him to take off his rock and roll tee-shirt. Rentap protests that he is from the city not the jungle but, intimidated, removes his shirt. He has a tatoo. He talks about ancient shaman. (T1) So the story goes on. They meet the tour guide. He has a very tough body and long hair. So the white man asks him his name. My name is John. But the white man doesn’t like that name. Because John is too modern for Jungle people like you, said the white man. Then the Iban man answer that I’m from Kuching and I don’t know. You should change your name, said the white man, to be more like an Iban name. At the village my grandma called me Rentap. That’s a good name, said the white man. Then the white man wanted him to take off his shirt. The white man didn’t want him to wear a shirt. Take off your shirt. I want to see your body. That will make you look like a villager, means like a wild jungle person (orang utan ).[[40]](#footnote-40) So he takes off his shirt. He has a bungai terung tatoo. That’s very nice, says the white man. (T2, 1) So Lachlan met with Ruth the scientist who knows everything about us Iban. She knew all the traditions, the stories, the legends. They both had a thought to find Rentap to accompany them in hunting ghosts. They asked Rentap if he believed in antu or not. He said he didn’t know because he lives in Kuching. There are less antu stories in the city. (T2.D) Have you ever seen a shaman worship and talk to the Antu? Next time you see a shaman ask them to bring the antu, catch it. (T2, 2) So they started their film and Rentap was wearing a nice shirt that was written “Rock and Roll.” The white man asked him to take off his shirt, but he didn’t want. So the white insisted and he took it off. See, there are a lot of tattoos on his body. Rentap is a stong man, big and strong. [[41]](#footnote-41) (T3) So because the white person knew all about Iban lives she became a tour guide. Yaa… So they met with some Iban guys, handsome young and tough. So the white guy asked him his name. The Iban guy said his name was John but the white guy didn’t like that name John. He said John is not an Iban name, in our country Amerika, there are too many people named John. I don’t want to hear that name. So my grandmother called me Rentap, he said. Then the white man was satisfied. Then Rentap was wearing a rock and roll t-shirt. The white didn’t like it and told him to take it off. It should really look like Iban from a long time ago. He took off the shirt and they saw many beautiful tattoos. Rentap accompanied them to the shaman because only shamans can see the antu.

#### [ST.a1s4] The Boat Journey

(B) On the boat, meet Andy the effeminate producer. He is always worried and complaining. Meet two Dayak film crew guys. The boat passes through the beautiful jungle. The smoke from a burning field looks like a skull. Rentap mentions that he is worried because he hasn’t heard from the villager in some time and also it’s the rainy season. (T1) So, there was a white man that reacted like a girl. He behaved like a woman. So they were on the boat and see an animal carcass before arriving at the mooring of Nanga Engkamop.[[42]](#footnote-42) (T2) They go by boat. They saw a field next to the river. It was on fire. Similar to the first story about the old man, there was an image of an antu pala, in the smoke. [[43]](#footnote-43) It appeared but they didn’t know who lit the fire. (T3) So Rentap and the gang with the white people were walking upsteam through the river. During the journey they met two Iban guys. This makes six walking upstream (kulu). On the way they saw a field on fire. In the smoke appeared something weird, the antu pala appeared. They thought that the skull appeared. Rentap says that he hasn’t visited the shaman for a long time. So they saw something while walking up stream. Walking to find the shaman.[[44]](#footnote-44)

#### [ST.a1s5] Arrival at the Dock

1. (B) The cast arrives at the dock landing but no one is there to meet them. When Lachlan finds out that it is two km hike to the longhouse he gets upset and yells at Rentap. He is nearly physically angry. He also says that since he is the star of this show and he won’t carry anything and that if this project doesn’t work out he will strangle someone. Later, Rentap asks Andy why Lachlan is so angry and Andy says that Lachlan is angry because the show has been struggling lately and this is its last chance. (T1) So they arrive at the docks but nobody is there to welcome them. He is angry at Rentap because Rentap is the tourist guide, guiding the white people. Then why is nobody waiting for us? Rentaps says that he also doesn’t know. So that’s what happens, believe it or not, because he wants to make a story.[[45]](#footnote-45) Because nobody was there he gets angry and feels like he wasted his money. (T2) After they on the boat they stopped at the Jetty, not far from their destination. But no one was there waiting for them from the longhouse. Because of this Lachlan the white guy was angry at Rentap. There was no one to wait and help carry the bags. That is his story. If we are lucky we will see this happen. Who would like to join in the acting? (T3) So they arrived at the destination meaning the guide guided the white people. But nobody was there to accompany them to the shaman’s house. So the white man became angry at Rentap. Nobody here to carry this stuff. I won’t carry this stuff, the white man said to Rentap. He’s angry because he doesn’t want to bring that stuff and walk so far. He blames Rentap because Rentap didn’t bring the people from the longhouse. Doesn’t mean that they won’t pay. They’ll pay. [[46]](#footnote-46) Then Rentap asks why the white man is so angry at him. He is angry because no one came to help carry the stuff and it is too far away.

#### [ST.a1s6(1)] Passing the Cemetery

(B) The crew passes a recently dug grave. Lachlan wants to investigate but neither Rentep nor the Dayak guys want to disturb a fresh grave. Lachlan yells at them and says they are being weak and afraid. He says that they will come back later. (T1.v1) Then, when they're on the way with Rentap, they meet with the Iban guys. The cemetery is not too big, then the white man bring them to go to the cemetery. Guess he wanted to see what is there. But the Iban guys don’t agree to go to the cemetery. Because they’re afraid of the antu. But the white man is stubborn. He said that Iban are fearful. Don’t believe on things like that. That what the man says. So, after that, the white man get’s afraid. So he's still not in a good mood. Someday I'll come again here, wanted to see it again, he said. After that, before they arrive at the longhouse, they see the snake. Lachlan is also bites by leech. Ermm... That’s what he said. (T1.v2)[[47]](#footnote-47) They’re walking through the jungle. All the crew together with the Iban guys. They see the graveyard. Like a grave, a recently dug grave. So he says don’t stir it. Because it must have an antu. Because it is a Dayak graveyard. Afraid if the antu comes out, he said. Then Lachlan is screaming at them. If the ghost come out from it. What should we do? He is asking. Do not stir it for now, said the white people to the rest. They are afraid. They feel demoralized. Then they are afraid. They are afraid, that something will emerge. After that, they continue their journey. They see the snake. They also see the leech. (T2)On the way to place that they want to visit.. [Graveyard right? *Ya, graveyard*.] Suddenly, they stumbled with the graveyard. It’s a new graveyard. That means it’s a new death. The white man who would like to hunt for the ghost, he will hunt it in the new graveyard. He would like to dig in the grave that was completely done, but Rentap doesn’t allow him.[[48]](#footnote-48) (T3). So, 6 people are walking together to the longhouse. Only Lachlan did not bring anything. It’s about 2km walking. It’s so far. They have to go through the river, the land and also the hill. Not so far from the longhouse, they saw the cemetery. So the grave yard are still new when they pass by. So, the white people want to go there and wanted to take a photo of it, but Rentap wouldn’t allow them to do that. Because according to Iban culture, we cannot disturb the cemetery. The white man, becomes angry again because he was not allowed to take the photo. Then they're arguing again. He said that Rentap was frightened.. Rentap was not frightened or what, but because we cannot disturb the cemetery. That’s the main thing. Then, what if the owner of the graveyard comes?

#### [ST.a1s6(2)] A Strange Thing in the Jungle

(B) On the path they see a coral snake. Andy gets a leech. Briefly Rentep sees what looks like a *traditional Iban warrior* in the jungle but then it’s gone. Ruth asks him what he saw but he says that the jungle was just playing tricks on him. (T1). So, they were walking through the jungle to reach the longhouse but they get lost. So, the white man was still not in a good mood, not satisfied, because they did not see any longhouse during their journey. They said it was too far. So, the story goes like this, meaning that the white people did not trust the Iban. That antu can come or something weird can come from out of the jungle. (T2) They arrived at the graveyard and there was a white guy who is foolish and acts gay, named Andy. He is scared of everything; scared of leeches and snakes. The snake was there when they arrived at the graveyard. The leech bit Andy. He was scared of leeches but the leech came to Andy. It stuck to his body. Then Rentap saw a shadow. It looked like a woman. It appeared in front of him. The white man saw him and insightful asked him directly, What is that? He asked Rentap. There’s nothing, Rentap answered. He was just lying to the white man. That’s how the story goes. (T3) After they saw the cemetery, then they continued walking through the jungle. They saw a snake. They also saw the leech and some stuck to white man’s body. So Rentap saw something like a shadow while they're walking. It appeared in front of him, a shadowy vanishing thing. So the white man saw Rentap staring like that, what are you looking for, he asked Rentap. Nothing, said Rentap. But Rentap was trying to hide something. Ok? Even though he has saw something like a shadow. But he said nothing.[[49]](#footnote-49)

#### [ST.a1s7] Arrival at the Longhouse

(B) They arrive at the longhouse. Many dogs and children are around. They meet the headman who tells them that the ancient shaman died just two days before. His last request was that the villagers should perform no mourning (ngulit, see pg. 61 for more detail) and not tell anyone about his death for three months. Also the foreigners should be taken in and entertained. The longhouse decided to honor his last request by bringing the foreigners in. Lachlan is angry and does a poor job of hiding it. (T1) They arrive at the longhouse.. They see many dog. Children see the white people. And they run inside the house and called the headman to come out. The white man is looking for someone at that longhouse. He is looking for Asu Rangka. But Asu Rangka has died two day ago. From the first story. That is what the white man looking for. He just passed away and was already buried. Then he asks, why did nobody tell me that antu Rangka died? How can we tell him? Yaa, but Asu Rangka had his own story. If he died, he ask the villagers not to ngulit for him. Then, please don’t tell other. Never tell people that he died. Just let him died like that. Don’t ngulit for him. We should respect his request. Then, the white man cannot come in. They should tell Lachlan the truth about it.[[50]](#footnote-50) [T2] That’s the story of the white man and the 6 of them. They arrived at the longhouse, at the old man’s longhouse. They visited at the very old longhouse. There were a few kids that saw them. Kids run away. The headman came out and welcomed the arrival. The headman shared a story with them. It’s because of the attention to come and hunt the ghost. Meet with the clever shaman that was described earlier in the story, the shaman who knows about lighting the fire and saw the antu. However, the graveyard that they passed actually belonged to the shaman who died. He just passed away, two days before he passed away. The shaman who knows how to hunt for the antu. So, the white guy felt uneasy. Why didn’t you tell us that the shaman died? This is what the white man told the old man. That’s the headman. The headman told that before he died, he didn’t allow any outsider to come when he is dead. No mourning allowed for him too. (T3) Yes, after walking for so long, they arrived at the longhouse. When they reach at the longhouse ground, they saw a children playing.[[51]](#footnote-51) After that, the headman saw them. Then the headman asked them to come in. The longhouse was an old design like a long time ago. When they come into the house, the circumstance was silence because they were in ngulit period. They came into the house. The old man asks about their purpose for coming over there. So he tells that the ancient shaman was named Asu Rangka, the old shaman. Know that the grave yard that they pass by is ancient shaman’s grave yard. The ancient shaman that the white man was looking for just pass away. The white man was angry once again. The things they're looking for came to nothing. The white man tells that he is disappointed because nobody told him that the ancient shaman already died. Rentap did not say anything. The headman tells him. Yes, it’s ancient shaman house. The headman says that the ancient shaman did not ask them to ngulit for him. If I die, just bury me. If people want to come just come, said the ancient shaman. Because they called the ancient shaman Antu Rangka[[52]](#footnote-52). The ancient shaman’s name. Yes, ancient shaman’s name. That’s why the ancient shaman was angry, because people did not meet him. The people that he was looking for were dead. [[53]](#footnote-53)

#### [ST.a1s8] The Debate outside the Longhouse

(B) The crew talks amongst themselves about whether they should enter the Longhouse or not. Lachlan is, of course, not happy. Rentap thinks it is a bad idea to enter, even though the ancient Shaman wanted it. He has a bad feeling. Andy says that they could still salvage the show. Lachlan agrees and says that he will save the show any way he can. (T1) Then Rentap asks them to turn back. Because that longhouse is still in ngulit period. But the white man doesn’t want. He still wants to do his mission there. Wants to shoot. Wants to see the antu. While the villagers are still ngulit. (T2) The story goes like this. After they arrive at the longhouse… In that house, Rentap who is Iban, feels uneasy about something. He felt reluctant to enter that longhouse. But Lachlan forced him to do so. We must get in. We must enter, he said. This is about his story. Why they must they get in when Rentap felt uneasy has meaning. Why the white guy insists to get in. It has a story. Because this is a story made by him. In this story, their visiting is because they would like to visit the shaman. The shaman that died, right? How many days since the shaman died? Two. The shaman had been dead for two days. (T3) Then they're arguing, about that thing. How? When they arrive, people were ngulit for the old ancient shaman and Rentap felt uncomfortable. Rentap didn’t want to stay there. He wanted to move to another longhouse near that house. Not so far from that longhouse. Yes. But the white man didn’t want to move. He wanted to stay at that longhouse. Stay at ancient shaman house. Because Ancient Shaman didn’t stay with others. He lived alone.[[54]](#footnote-54) The white man was arguing with Rentap because Rentap didn’t want to stay there. Rentap felt uncomfortable to stay there. He thought of something. That’s why he asked the white man to move to another longhouse but he didn’t want.

#### [ST.a1s9] Ancient Shaman’s Room

(B) All enter the longhouse and ancient shaman’s apartment. They see an alter made by ancient shaman and containing his ritual objects. It has a sungkup house, baskets, skulls, bones, stones, bottles, and a picture of ancient shaman dressed as a woman. On camera Lachlan asks the headman about the most powerful thing in the room. The headman says it is the jalong liquor. Only the brave can drink it. Lachlan wants to drink it because he is brave but the headman laughs at him. (T1) Then they come in. The headman asks them to come in. Then they enter the longhouse. The headman brings them to the Asu Rengka’s room. They come in and at the middle of room there is a table. There's a lot of things on the table, that are lupung (sacred) to Asu Rangka. They see something like a coffin inside that old man’s room, and other things, like a skull. Something that people do there, and they put it there. Inside the room. Because he is half ghost. There is also a bone, also a stone. Yaa, there is also something like a gun. What is that? Then he tries to shoot the gun[[55]](#footnote-55). There is also the shirt of kirai. It also makes an appearance there. They see one of Asu Rangka’s pictures dressed like a women. They keep looking in Asu Rangka room. After that they find one jar that contains tuak that Asu Rangka has keep for so many years. Lachlan is a bit naughty, and he wants to drink that water but is restricted by the headman. Lachlan says that he brave. But the headman does not give him permission to drink that water. If you're not strong enough or don’t have power, you cannot drink that tuak and if you drink, it can become poison. The water inside the jar. Jalung water. Drinking jalung, can make you become weak. The person who drinks the jalung water. (T2) They talked to the villagers right after they reached the longhouse. The headman led them to the shaman’s room. The shaman had one room. In that room, they saw many things. It had an antu pala, human bones and candles. Many things. There was a celebration of the death in the old man’s house. Is that’s why we are invited to get in? See some antu pala hanging. All the antu and many things. Magic stone too. Because he is a shaman. Aaa… that’s why he uses those things. The white man is being naughty by asking, what’s the most powerful thing in this room? he asked. Means what’s the most powerful thing in that room. So the headman said that the shaman owned a bottle of tuak, a tuak that had been kept for 50 years and above. That tuak had been worshiped by him. The power of the tuak must be worshiped. Only those who are brave enough can drink that tuak. Those who have killed someone can drink that tuak. (T3) After that, because the white man really wanted to meet Antu Rangka but he'd passed away. So, the headman brings them to Antu Rangka room. They're go there. He lives alone. Only him. When they got there, they saw something that white men do. That’s what they saw, there was something like a coffin, bones and also a picture of skulls on the wall. And also all the stuff that he used during the ritual. Inside the room. Nobody touch. That’s what they saw. They saw all thing inside the room with the headman. The naughty white man is asking, what is the most powerful thing inside the ancient shaman’s room. So the headman tells him what the powerful thing there is. Because long time long time ancient shaman kept tuak. It was old tuak. He got it during a Gawai Antu a long time ago. Only the brave man can drink that tuak, he said. That’s what ancient shaman told before he died. So because Lachlan is naughty, he wanted to try it. But the headman did not allow. Did not allow him to drink that water. Yes, Because if you try to drink that water and you are not brave enough it can cause you to die. There will be something that will happen to you later on, said headman.

#### [ST.a1s10] The Party

(B) The group takes a meal on the floor of bat meat and fried frog. Andy is disgusted. Then some of the men of the longhouse dress up to do traditional dances for the crew. They are given plenty of alcohol. They see PREGNANT WOMAN (F, 25, 8 months pregnant). The crew also meets SHAMAN (M, 52). Headman explains that Shaman is ancient shaman’s student and not as powerful. Shaman reads Lachlan’s palm but does not like the results. Headman says never mind about Shaman and that it is good, Lachlan will have a long life, but we see something troubles him. A BEAUTIFUL IBAN GIRL (F, 22) serves drinks. Rentap tries to flirt with her but she isn’t interested, even though he is a successful film producer and lives in Kuching. She says something like ‘you should focus on helping your people over benefiting yourself.’ Andy gets too drunk and vomits. (T1) After they take the story, then they stay at that longhouse. They will do some party, eating. They eat and after they eat. The youth and the old people. They ngajat and disco. That’s what they do. Party for them, the white people who come over there. Then they keep on drinking. During their drinking, one pregnant women come in. The pregnant women is looking for shaman because she almost ready to deliver. Then the headman says that, they have a new shaman. Just a shaman, that is just a new shaman. Not same as Asu Rangka, the ancient shaman long time ago, that they use to belian. Then shaman takes out the magic stones (batu Ilau.) But the white people don’t want to see the batu ilau. Instead he asks the shaman to read his palm. He just wants to see the Lachlan’s palm. He just wants to see the white people palm. He said that the white person will have longevity. Then they keep on playing. Beautiful Iban girl comes out ages around 22 years old, gives them water. Rentap tries to tackle that girl. But that girl doesn’t want. Rentap tell her that he has everything. He tells where he work. And tell that he come from Kuching. But that girl doesn’t want him because she doesn’t want a town man. (T2) Aaa… after they entered the shaman’s room, it was already passed evening time. All the villagers in that longhouse got ready and gathered to have dinner. Because we are Iban. Many dishes. Fresh water frog and tortoise. The senseless white man, Andy was scared to see. He was scared to eat those dishes too. So the kids dance the traditional dance “Ngajat”. Some are dancing, partying too. The white man, Lachlan would like to meet with the new shaman. The new shaman with 15 years experience is incomparable to the late ancient shaman. He speaks with the headman. The headman tells him that he is not well experienced. This is the new shaman. After that, Lachlan asks him to read his palm. Means what is the fate in his hand. What is my fate? he said. Then he saw it, Lachlan’s palm showed something not good. But yet he didn’t interpret the meaning of his palm. He just did pelian.[[56]](#footnote-56) He just shook his head. Lachlan will die because he is naughty. He just makes this story. On that night, when they were partying, there is a pregnant lady, 8 months preggy. There is a lady who served the guest. Served the drink to the guests. Serving the drink as usual, when there is a party, they will serve the drink, right? A lady aged approximately 22 years old. She met with Rentap. Because Rentap is strong. Rentap wanted to tease her. Would like to date her. The girl doesn’t like him. Rentap told her that he is working there, a lot of money. Rich. Working with this company, said Rentap. The girl doesn’t like him. Because Rentap just thinks of himself. Never thinks about far away places. Rentap is considered selfish. That’s how the story goes.(T3)After that, they come out from the ancient shaman’s room and then have their dinner, having some party, some are ngajat, eating, drinking. After that one pregnant women comes. Almost delivering her baby. Because, there also have a young shaman. He is still new. Around ten years he had been a shaman. She wanted to see the shaman. Wanted him to do some ritual. Because she is pregnant. In this story. Do some ritual. After that, the shaman wanted to see Lachlan’s luck, the white man. See it using stones? No, he read on his palm like this. But shaman doesn't want to tell anything. After he looked at his palm, then he was just silent. Then, he pushed his hand away. He did not tell the truth either good or not. But his palm was not good. But still it can be corrected.[[57]](#footnote-57) Yes after that, one of the white man that they meet is drunk already. Drunk after drinking a lot of alcohol and eating a lot of various Iban food. He feels foul at the first. But then he gets drunk.[[58]](#footnote-58) So there is also an Iban girl at that longhouse. Pretty. She gives the water. Then, Rentap tries to tackle her. But she doesn't want Rentap. Because Rentap is a town person. Not a villager. That’s what she said. There are so many people who live in the town and some are very arrogant, said the girl.[[59]](#footnote-59)

### 4.3.2 Act Two

#### [ST.a2s1] The Dream of the Headhunter

(B) Rentap awakens to the sword blade of a traditional tattooed warrior being held against his neck. Warrior removes the sword and motions Rentap to follow. They enter another apartment… a shadowy form is seen sleeping there. The warrior decapitates the sleeping form, with a ripping sound… a dark gin… head turned to face him. We can’t see who it is. Lightning flashes and thunder booms. Rentap is shook awake. (T1) Rentap was dreaming. He dreamed that somebody was hunting for heads and met him… the head hunter. He saw the old man bring the dagger. Put the dagger on his neck. Near him and wearing the Iban clothing. Had so many tattoos on his body. Then the old man asked him to go out. Rentap just followed that man… walked in the dark. Then they came in to the other room. There were many people inside the room, laying there. The man then cut one of the head. But not Rentap. Rentap was afraid when he saw that man cut off the head. After he cut off the head, the thunder and storm struck. They hear the rumble boom conditions. That’s what they hear. Rentap is very frightened. Then he wakes up. But it’s only a dream.[[60]](#footnote-60) (T2) Rentap was drunk and he has a dream. In his sleep, he saw someone with that name, as we say. The man who severs the head. (Orang mumpung pala.) The old man has a dagger. He puts the dagger on Rentap’s neck while he is sleeping. Rentap wakes up directly. He is scared. You must follow me, said the old man. With the dagger at his neck. Both of them entered a room. In that room, there was someone waiting. Someone that had been caught by the old man. The old man brought Rentap there, then he severed that person’s head and showed it to Rentap. Rentap was scared until he shook. After being scare to death, Rentap woke up. Then he realized it was a dream. That’s… That’s the story. (T3) That night, they drink even after they're tired from walking. Rentap falls asleep, after being tired. And after the drink. And after walking for so long. While sleeping, he has a dreamed. Dreams of seeing a man, what’s that, like us a long time ago, like one who joins a war party, a hunter. Then he put the knife at his neck. In his dream. That’s what he asks. What does his dream mean? What is the meaning of Rentap dream? After he puts the knife at his neck he then asks Rentap to stand up. Rentap is frightened. He is afraid of the knife at his neck. You must follow me, said that man. It’s almost dark. In his dream. Then he follows that man to one house. Once they reach that house, he saw someone inside that room. Inside the room, the old man then cut his neck. Once they enter the room, the old man then cut his neck. He then holds it like that. At the same time he holds it, then the thunder and storm start. Rentap then wakes up. He is woken up by people around him. He is sleeping on the ruai. What is it for? What does the dream mean? What is the meaning of his dream? Is it? That is a good dream. It is a good dream for man.[[61]](#footnote-61)

#### [ST.a2s2] Labor Complications

(B) The thunder and heavy rain continues as Rentap awakes. Pregnant Woman has gone into labor early. They are calling for Shaman. Dayak guy #1 tried to wake Lachlan but he was completely passed out from the alcohol. (T1) So, Reantap was dreaming and they shook Rentap to wake him up. Rain was falling outside. [[62]](#footnote-62) Also the sound of storm and thunder. Rentap wakes up and he saw one women wanted to give birth. That’s what he dreamed last night. The storm and thunder last night. Then they called the Shaman. The white man was drunk maybe because he drank so much alcohol. Rentap ran away and found the shaman, Asking shaman to belian for that women. (T2) Night of celebration, after the celebration. Rentap is awakened from the dream, just now. He faced the storm, lightening. The pregnant lady was giving birth. Rentap was woken up by them with the delivery of this news about the pregnant woman. It is because that thing scares us. Just like the ghost story I think. [[63]](#footnote-63) (T3) Yes, while he was sleeping. Before Rentap woke up. The Raining started falling. The thunder and storm. The pregnant women that they saw was also giving birth. Looking for a shaman. A shaman that can heal that women. All of them were busy waiting for the pregnant women, but she still did not giving birth. The shaman then did some ritual. Killing the hen. The new shaman. But not the ancient shaman, Antu Rangka that they looking for. Because he had already pass away. So one of the naughty white man are still sleeping because he drunk. Drunk after drinking a lot. They tried to wake him up but was still sleeping, drunk. .The one who was not afraid of the antu. The one who challenged the antu.

#### [ST.a2s3]Pregnant Woman

(B) Heavy Storm. Pregnant Woman’s room is lit by candle light (because the longhouse has no electricity). The men stay outside filming but Ruth goes inside. Pregnant Woman lies moaning on her bed. Andy is very nervous, complaining that he is drunk, asking about the doctor. The Shaman arrives soaking wet. (T1) He comes with the shaman. It’s also raining heavily. The women is struggling to give a birth. Then the white person comes who studies anthropologist and sees what they are doing. So, the white man, named Andy who gets drunk like Apai Nyanau, he tells that he is drunk. He is asking where is the doctor? Has he come or not? Because it is not the doctor who comes. But the shaman who comes. Then the shaman is walking towards the pregnant women in the rain. (T3) That night, after Rentap’s dream, it was the same night the pregnant lady was giving birth. She wanted to give birth by using the shaman. (T3) During the time that the women wanted to give birth. Waiting for the shaman. So, the white man, Andy was afraid from looking at that. The one that they met while they were on the way to the longhouse.

#### [ST.a2s4(1)] Shaman’s ritual

(B) Candle light and howling rain. Shaman does his ritual, putting the blanket over his head, convulsing. Ruth helps. Rentap, #1 and #2 film from outside the door. Shaman chants and prays, screaming at and sacrifices a chicken and waves it around. (T1)This is the story of the shaman just now. During that happening. The shaman started his ritual. Together and near the white women. Even Andy is still drunk, frightened to see the things like that. Then the shaman is killing the hen. Andy gets more frightened. Then he is asking where is the doctor? He doesn’t want to see the shaman doing things like that. At the same time the raining keeps on falling. (T2)The shaman directly did belian for her. Kneeling, slaying all things. (T3) The shaman kept doing his ritual, covering his head. So many thing, how to say? During the ritual. Rentap also joined them.

#### [ST.a2s4(2)] Baby Born

(B) Andy watches with great fear and panic, constantly asking about the doctor. He can’t seem to understand. Through the lightening Rentap sees an image of the Headhunter through the window. The baby is born. Through the thunder and lightning Shaman holds up the bloody baby who’s first wail pierces the night air. Andy vomits again. (T1)The thunder and storm keep on striking. When the storm and thunder strikes, there will be lighting.. Suddenly Rentap sees the shadow of something. The shadow looks like the shadow of the old man that cut off the head in his dream. The woman also gives birth to her baby. But the thunder and storm keep on striking. Aaa… The shaman is holding the baby. Then he is holding it and brings the baby outside onto the tanjau.[[64]](#footnote-64) They are happy because the women already gave birth to her baby. Yes. When the shaman see the thunder, then Rentap also saw the man that he met in the dream. (T2) The outside looked shiny. In the middle of all that sparkling, was Rentap. But there was no shining light in the house, just shadows. Rentap saw the old man who wanted to kill him in his dream appear in the window. Then the thunder boomed loud. Exploded as we say. After that, the little child was born. The shaman held the little child after he did the pelian. The white man, Andy. He was scare. Scared to see things like that. Like he wanted to run away. Scared to see the delivery process. Just Ruth, the scientist who knows everything about us, Iban. She is the only one brave enough to remain with the others. Andy was the only one who was scared. (T3) The thunder and storm are very bad. Because of the gleam, because he just woke up from the dreaming. The shadow of the old man that cut off the head in his dream. It appeared. The women also gave birth to her baby. But the thunder and storm keep on striking. A baby boy. The shaman was holding the baby. The raining kept on falling. Suddenly Rentap saw a group of something weird outside. But Rentap was in the house. But that thing was outside. Just a shadow. A shadow in front of his eyes.[[65]](#footnote-65)

#### [a2:s5] Pregnant Woman Dead

(B) Still raining, Ruth is sleepy, hears wailing. People carry the body of the pregnant woman wrapped in a blanket, outside is flooding. They pierce her feet. (T1) The pregnant woman died; Ruth is sleepy, outside flooding. They pierce her foot with a porcupine quill to prevent her from becoming an Antu Koklir. She is also tied with red thread. She might become the antu koklir that likes to eat men’s testicles. (T2)The villagers are carrying the completely covered body. She is placed face down onto the ground, outside of the longhouse and tied with thread. (T3) The baby lived but the mother died. The white people were not told about the condition of the pregnant woman and whether she had died or not. Ruth comes out in the morning and sees many villagers carrying the body covered in a white cloth, tied with red thread, feet pierced with porcupine and then laid down. This is because she was Iban. People who die during childbirth become the Antu Koklir.

#### [ST.a2s6] Lachlan Dead.

(B) Andy enters Lachlans room and tries to wake him up, yells at him but he doesn’t wake. Lachlan is dead. (T1) Lachlan was drunk and didn’t see the pregnant woman that died. (T2)Lachlan was passed out drunk. He had been drinking then laid down on the floor directly (translator demonstrates) while the others continued drinking. Andy tried to wake him but couldn’t. (T3) The naughty white man was drunk, which was his habit. They saw he was dead. He had drunk the forbidden tuak in the ancient shaman’s room.

#### [ST.a2s7] Andy Panics

(B) Andy runs out screaming, panicking. Ruth smacks him. Headman is told about Lachlan. (T1) One of the white people [Andy] wakes up screaming. He possibly had a dream related to the dead woman. Headman asks him what happened. He saw something. Then the people punch him because he is delirious. (T2)Andy ran out scared that Lachlan had died and scared of Lachlan’s dead body. (T3) Andy is scared of the body. All gather to see.

#### [ST.a2s8] Lachlan’s Death Inquiry

(B) Team gathers to investigate. No apparent reason why he is dead. Searching for the camera. (T1) Lachlan is dead, they try to find the camera. Maybe Asu Rengka took him because he said he was brave. (T2) Rentap requests for the camera. Maybe Lachlan went somewhere, maybe to Ancient Shaman’s house. He died while the celebration was going on. He died because he had entered ancient shaman’s room. (T3) They gather and locate the camera. It was behind Lachlan’s body.

#### [ST.a2s9] Finding the Film

(B) The camera was in Asu Rengka’s room. Rentap puts the memory card into the laptop. (T1) The group all sits in a different room, then bring something. It is the camera. It was in Asu Rengka’s room. They put the memory card into the laptop. (T2) They play the film on the computer. Lachlan had hunted for ghosts. (T3) They put the memory card into the computer but don’t know the story behind it.

#### [ST.a2s10] The Film

(B) Lachlan talks to the camera by candle light. He is a supernatural journalist and wants to find proof of ghosts. He is brave so will drink the death liquor. He drinks from a bowl, camera goes fuzzy, lightening strikes, audience plunges into the scene. [T1] They watch the thing taken from the “ghost’s room” (bilik antu). They see Lachlan, the man that died in Asu Rengka’s room, the antu that died who was a shaman, the Antu Rua and Antu Rengka (consuming ghost, greedy ghost). He drank the forbidden *Jalong tuak* (death liquor) because he thinks he’s brave. (T2)Lachlan’s picture appears, candle light, the table. He says he wants to hunt for ghosts. Therefore he drinks the forbidden “ai tuak,” the tuak of the ancients because he said he was strong and not afraid of anything. “He poured in a bowl. A big bowl. He poured in a bowl but not in glass.” Then the thunder sounded. There was meaning to it. (T3) While the others were drinking Lachlan had been in the ancient shaman’s room drinking that forbidden tuak, because he wanted to be tough and not afraid of ghosts. He drank it then he died.

#### [ST.a2s11] Lachlan’s Vision

(B) Lachlan swallows, chokes, coughs, looks sick, everything is fuzzy. He sees a skull turn towards him. Lightening, raining, girl in the rain. Lachlan is afraid. Behind the girl are many other corpses. She has shining eyes. Many headhunters and the girl are in the house. The girl is blocking him from exiting. She strokes his face, goes to her knees.[[66]](#footnote-66) Her head is swarming with lice. Lachlan screams. (T1) Thunder striking. He goes onto the ruai (central floor). He sees a wet woman outside, a pretty Iban girl. He is scared to see that girl. Thunder lightening strikes then a antu appears. He wants to run but she obstructs him. Why did he say he was brave but then frightened by the ghost? The ghost is frightening. The ghost stops and sits infront of him. He sees animals on her head; fleas, leech and a bowl of lice but she still looks beautiful. (T2) Lachlan drank and started to burp, shaking, everything spinning. He saw some antu pala outside. In the flash was a shadow of the antu. A girl in the rain. An image of he who hunts for heads appears, like from his dream. There were many antu pala[[67]](#footnote-67) behind that girl. Because he is a scared person Lachlan looked into the eyes. The eyes looked bright when the light strikes them. Would you stare into those eyes at night?[[68]](#footnote-68) Lachlan runs but she blocks him, slaps him. He is shaking. She sits. On her head are many worms and leeches. He becomes more scared to see those animals. (T3) On the video. Lachlan drinks and feels like vomiting. Thunder and storm starts. Sees a shadowy thing (ayas-ayas) like an antu pala. So he runs outside,[[69]](#footnote-69) sees the girl, small girl. He runs, she stops him, slaps him, he is shaking. Many things on her head; roaches, leeches, creeping things. He became so frightened. He said that he had never seen a ghost before (never become afraid before) but when he saw the ghost he became frightened. (T1.a2:s11.D) That girl is definitely the ghost Koklir of the dead pregnant woman. That kind of thing happened maybe 20 or 30 years ago.

#### [ST.a2s12(1)] After the Film

(B) All are shocked. Dayak guys try to attack Ruth. Rentap stops them. They leave out the backdoor. (T1) So, the woman died and became a Koklir. Then they thought it was because of the white person. That’s why one died, eaten by a ghost. They wanted to expel her, kill that woman, but Rentap stopped them. (T2)The two dayak people that had joined them wanted to run away. Rentap forced them to use the ladder. (T3) There are five people. The two Iban guys are angry. They saw so much and two people were dead, Lachlan and the pregnant woman. He says that it happened because of the white people. They are almost fighting but obstructed by Rentap. They despise Ruth but Rentap stops them.

#### [ST.a2s12(2)] Andy and Ruth Argue.

(B) Andy is excited by real proof of a ghost. Ruth accuses him of playing a trick. Rentap yells at Ruth. They go out. (T1) missing. (T2)The one who is senseless, scared of leeches, he was not afraid. He wanted to bring back the ghost, then we will raise it and sell it. He was making a joke. But Ruth said its not like that. It can only be captured using media technology. Then no need, said Andy. Don’t believe in this thing because there is no ghosts, said Ruth. (T3) missing.

#### [ST.a2s13(1)] Dayak Guys Flee

(B) Two Dayak guys jump out the backdoor and through the rain and mud. A group of wet dogs suddenly appear. (T1) Two men were frightened. “I don’t want to live here because of the Koklir. They run away but raining and so many dogs. (T2)This is a ghost story. The two Iban guys went out by the back door because they were scared from the film. They ran outside, raining, thunder. They ran into the bushes. There were many dogs that wanted to attack them. Ghost dogs. Many things happened when the dogs were chasing. The girl died, that one died after the shaman. (T3) Those two guys who were fighting with the white people ran outside into the jungle. They didn’t want to live in that house anymore.

#### [ST.a2:s13(2)] The Black Rice

(B) Group sits on Veranda talking with headman and others. Woman brings black rice. (T1) They are meeting with Headman. Why are things happening like this? A woman brought rice but it had turned black, changed to become poisonous, erm. (T2) I think this happened because of the white man who disturbed the old shaman’s graveyard.[[70]](#footnote-70) The three of them were there, seated in the middle of the night, asking each other why these things happened. An old woman came. They thought to give food, give rice. The rice was white at first. After it got to them it changed to black. (T3) A woman came and brought rice for the white people and asked them to eat. She wanted to give food to the white people. They ate together. But the rice had turned the color black. Yes that Weird thing happened.

#### [ST.a2s13(3)] Weird Thing Appears

(B) Dogs attack Dayak guys. #1 hits dog with stick. Suddenly the dogs stop. There is something behind them. Dayak guys become afraid, run![[71]](#footnote-71) They run but the dogs are still attacking. (T1) Two men are being chased by dogs, bitten by dogs, hits dog with wood, run. While running they see something, only they see it, then they run again, run from this thing. What is that sound? They run. (T2) Those two still hadn’t had enough and were being barked at by ghost dogs. They saw a weird thing… ran from the dogs then the antu appeared. (T3) Those two were being chased and bitten by six dogs. Then they heard something, means something weird. Then they run away from the dogs and that thing.

#### [ST.a2s13(4)] Debate about Rentap’s Dream

(B) They are debating with the headman. Rentap tells of his dream. An elderly man says he thinks that the headhunter is Rentap’s ancestor and is trying to help him. (T1) The people are still meeting. One old man, around 80 say that Rentap’s dream made this come true, after the death in his dream. (T2)So the people in the longhouse were chatting about why the pregnant lady had died and the white guy that drank the tuak. They were confused. It means there was a problem, allowing these ghosts to appear, rice turning black. (T3) After so many things happened they asked the headman about his idea. Did anyone have any weird dream? Rentap tells about his dream of the man cutting off the head and the knife on the neck.

#### [ST.a2s13(5)] Dayak guys Fight the Dogs

(B)Two dayak guys flee from the dogs. One has been bitten, blood. They get knocked down. (T1) missing. (T2)Those two were running outside, chased by dogs. One was bitten, a lot of blood, shirt torn. The other one tried to help by hitting the dog with a stick. Who is stronger? The antu dog. They ran to the other side but there were dogs there too. They must learn if they don’t want to be chased. These ghosts appeared while they were thinking about why this happened. (T3) missing.

#### [ST.a2s13(6)] A Scream From Outside

(B) Suddenly a scream. Rentap and Ruth run outside. (T1) During the meeting they tell many stories and then hear a sound from outside. Two men are there, bitten, bleeding, because they ran away. (T2)Then Rentap and the white woman heard shouting, saw their friends fighting with dogs. (T3) After they were asking about the dream. Some said it was good and some said it was bad. Then they heard a sound of the two guys fighting the dogs. Rentap and the white woman came out.

#### [ST.a2s14] Rentap Fights in the Rain

(B) Raining hard. Everyone is running around. Rentap finds them covered in blood, fighting for their lives. Rentap jumps in, hits one dog with a rock and kills it. He gets bit but doesn’t care. Dogs back off. Ruth and others take the two Dayak guys back to the longhouse. Rentap stays behind. (T1) Rentap tells about the dream the sees two men against the dogs. Rentap helps them and the villagers help those two men. Rentap keeps on against the dogs. ((T2))Rentap helped because he’s strong. He helped saved those two from being bitten by ghost dogs. Rentap killed the ghost dog because he’s strong. Those two were bleeding. The villagers brought them home. (T3) Rentap helped those guys against the dogs. They would have died if Rentap didn’t help them fight against the dogs. There were so many cuts and scars on their bodies.

#### [ST.a2s15] Rentap’s Experience

(B) The dogs run away and Rentap sees warrior under a tree. Warrior beckons and then goes into the jungle. Lacking a will of his own, Rentap removes his tee-shirt and follows. (T1) missing.[[72]](#footnote-72) (T2) Rentap, who had fought with the dogs saw the ghost appear. It was from his dream. He took off his shirt and followed it into the jungle. Later we will hear what happens to him in the jungle. (T3) This story is a little weird. After he killed the dogs and some ran away the person from his dream appeared, the one that wanted to kill people. It called him and asked him to follow. He felt weird so he took off his shirt and followed, even though it was raining and at night. Actually that thing was an antu, a real antu.

#### [ST.a2s16] The Villagers Panic

(B) Ruth, Dayak #2, and others bring in the ripped up body of #1, bleeding terribly. #2 whispers that something is out there. Andy panicks. A woman screams and has a fit. People try to leave the house. The Headman stops everyone. (T1) After that Andy and others ask why these things are happening and some want to run. But the headman doesn’t give permission. “Don’t do anything stupid.” The villagers become chaotic after the many weird things. (T2) They had done something wrong so there were too many ghosts in that area. Two of them were sick after fighting with the dogs. The wives treated them but the villagers were scared. The one bit by dogs didn’t want to stay. He said there were ghosts everywhere and encouraged the others to flee. But the headman stopped them. No need to run, he said. Just stay here. (T3) Ruth and Andy are frightened, arguing. So many unexplainable things happened. One old man repremands them for arguing. He tells the people to not overthink the things that have been happening.

#### [ST.a2s17(1)] Shaman’s Vision

(B) Shaman arrives, kills a pig, uses magic stones and has a vision. He sees Asu Rengka on his deathbed mutter about “who is the enemy?” Then he sees Lachlan drinking, the ghost girl, lightening crashes. He has a seizure. Finally he points to Lachlan’s corpse. “It was him. He did it!” (T1) Oh yeah, it is because Lachlan drank the water of Asu Rengka. That’s what the shaman sees. They called the shaman, do some ritual, kill a pig. The main problem is because of Lachlan. (T2) Because the villagers saw too many ghosts they called the shaman. He expelled the ghost (Belian muru antu). The shaman sacrificed the pig so they were safe and the ghosts will run away. After he did everything he covered himself. He saw the shadow of the white man and the dead girl. He was scared, shaking. The house has an antu because he drank the forbidden tuak. He did it, said the shaman. This is the fuction of the shaman. (T3) After the many things that happened they called the shaman to do some rituals. The shaman killed a pig, covered himself with a traditional blanket and looked through a transparent stone. He meets the old ancient shaman. They talk about many things. He says all the people that are still alive are his enemy because that white man drank his forbidden tuak. Everyone deserves it.

#### [ST.a2s17(2)] Villagers Attack Andy

(B) All turn on Ruth who confesses. Villagers walk towards them. Andy panicks, hyperventilats, falls on the ground. Headman screams for everyone to sit down. An old grandma grabs him and suddenly he feels calm. (T1) After the shaman’s ritual they say that the white man brought the problem. They want to scold the two white people who remain there, man and woman. But the headman forbids it. It was not them who brought the problem. (T2)Because there were so many ghosts the white man was afraid. He wanted to run but couldn’t. Outside had dogs, inside had ghosts and dying villagers too. That’s why the headman asked them to hold on, wait for the shaman to finish his ritual. There will be no more ghosts after the shaman expels them. (T3) The shaman’s story is too long and the villagers are not satisfied. They want to scold the white people. The headman won’t allow it. Andy is shaking, almost fainted. He was afraid that the people would kill him and scared that Lachlan had become a ghost. Then an old woman clapped him on his backside. Then he stopped shaking. Andy is a white person but he did not drink the tuak. Antu Rengka, the old ancient shaman. He is antu Gerasi, antu Rengka and Antu Gerasi. If he hadn’t drunk that water these things wouldn’t be happening.

#### [ST.a2s18(1)] Kill Ruth

Dayak guy #1 dies while Iban mother tries to stop the bleeding. #2 becomes filled with sadness and rage. He blames Ruth and Andy, and rushes Ruth like a wild animal and madly starts choking her. Iban guys pull him off. He is screaming at her. Headman tells everyone to be calm. (T1) The two men who were caught by the dogs, one is bleeding and being helped by an old woman, but he dies. His friend, the one still alive sees and becomes embittered. He becomes angry at the white woman. He says to the white woman “this is your fault. You will die next.” Then he comes and wants to catch that white woman. (T2) Those two who fought with the dogs, one of them bleeding so much and being treated by an old woman dies. His friend was angry and wanted to fight and punch that white woman. He thought they disturbed the grave. He saw them disturb it. Disturbed the grave and drank the forbidden tuak. That’s why these things are happening and why we should never disturb the grave. It will disturb the villagers, like this story he will make. The ghosts will come out from the graveyard if we disturbed it. Do you dare go to the graveyard? Lachlan dared I think. Are you Brave? This is why, if at the graveyard, do not disturb the graves. Don’t allow the ghosts to come out.[[73]](#footnote-73) (T3) The two guys that wanted to run, one of them bleeding from the throat. He died and his eyes became big and red. His friend, Iban or Dayak guy, hated those white people. He caught the white woman and choked her. No one stopped it. The villagers did not stop him. But its not really her. The white woman is good. Lachlan is the naughty one. [[74]](#footnote-74)

#### [ST.a2s18(2)] We must do Nulang

(B) Shaman talks about the evil. Ancient shaman told them they must do the ritual of his (shaman’s) grandmother, the Berawan. We must do this ritual called Nulang. Some want to do the ritual, others want to run. The young guys vote to run to a different longhouse. (T1) Afterwards they do some ritual with the shaman to chase away the ghosts. (T1#3)[[75]](#footnote-75) The villagers want to run away after so many things happened. Some want to run and some want to stay. The headman calls a vote, who wants to stay and who wants to run. Most want to run, some are still doing the ritual.[[76]](#footnote-76) (T2) All the people are wretched and disturbed. This will happen when there are many ghosts. They didn’t know what to do. They wanted to run but no place to live, run outside but also a lot of ghosts. Some of the teenagers wanted to run away to another house, like our house. They wanted to run to this school and not stay there. Then the headman says that we will worship with a different shaman, a Berawan shaman because our shaman is too new. The Iban shaman was scared so now they will use the Berawan shaman who came to fight the antu. (T3) We continue with the ancient shaman story. After he met with Asu Rengka then Renkga told him that if they don’t want to be disturbed by the antu they should do a ritual with a Berawan Shaman. Shaman told this to the villagers but they were quiet. They didn’t know what to do. The only way is to run and tell the Berawan shaman to do Nulang. What is Nulang? Nulang is a ritual with the dead body, put them sitting on poles or put the person inside a jar, sitting down like a long time ago. Do they bury afterwards? We don’t know. Yes, Berawan of the Punan nation. If they are dead then its not smelly, put various things like smoke. [[77]](#footnote-77)

#### [ST.a2s19] Run from the Demon

(B) The boys run from the house. It is raining hard. They hear a sound of a horn, coming for them. They are hunted. (T1) Nulang is a Kenyah cultural thing right or Punan? So they use the Berawan shaman. The young people run away from that longhouse. The old man doesn’t want them to. When they are running in the jungle they hear the sound of the antu. (T1:a2:s19.D) Maybe it is the antu kok lir or Antu Rengka. Kok lir says kok kok kok then lirrr, testes! Because she is a woman. Asu Rengka can possibly become antu Rengka, but antu Kok Lir will never become Antu Gerasi. We want to know what is chasing them, there must be an ending. People once knew magic words to stop the antu. (T2) Scared, the teenagers ran, to something like our house here. They didn’t want to spend the night in their house because of the antu. Midway they heard a sound and the antu’s voice. But there were a lot of them and the antu was afraid to kill them, not as many antu. Can one fight an antu? (T3) The young people didn’t believe in the shaman and so they ran away. They saw the antu and ran. Some ran but some stayed. The people that ran arrived at a place near another longhouse and heard the antu. So they returned to Antu Gerasi’s house. The young people were afraid and hence wanted to run away. What does Antu Gerasi look like? His head is like a pyramid with long teeth. He has big eyes and a sharp head.[[78]](#footnote-78)

#### [ST.a2s20] Andy and Ruth Sleep

(B) Andy and Ruth still sit on the floor with the grandma. He and Ruth are given a drink. Where is Rentap? Someone found his wet tee-shirt outside. He’s gone. Both fall asleep. (T1) The two people are still sleeping. That’s why they give the two white people Rentap’s shirt. They bring it back and show it to Andy and Ruth.[[79]](#footnote-79) (T2) The white man was tired after taking a drink from the old woman. He didn’t care what happened. (T3) They are busy with the ritual and don’t realize that Rentap is missing. He is already walking and nobody knows where he is. That’s the attitude.

### 4.3.3 Act Three

#### [ST.a3s1]The Nulang Ritual

(B) Ruth wakes up Andy and they go to the veranda. The corpse of Lachlan sits on a throne, his head tied, glitter on his face, one hand in a bowl of money, a cigarette in the other hand. Villagers sit at his feet along with many electronics; computer, cellphone, car battery, iron. (T1) The white people enter the longhouse and see the shaman doing the Nulang ritual, from the Berawan nation. They see Lachlan dead and sitting like a king. There is something tied on his head and also his body. They put many lights (candles) around. Lachlan was already dead but he held a cigarette in one hand and money in the other. Shiny oil on his face. The villagers sit down. How about if we see something like Lachlan? That would be something. Why are there electronic equipments?[[80]](#footnote-80) That’s the story, they believe and trust in the shaman. (T2) Because the Iban shaman couldn’t protect the house they called the Berawan shaman. He has ghost photos (gambar antu), wants to be an antu (ka nyadi antu). After he came then these things happen. Berawan are different. If you are dead you will not be laid out, instead put sitting, like this. The body will go on a plank. They tie the fingers and put a cigarette in the mouth. So, the Berwan community started the ritual. Their house was also being distrubed by the antu. (T3) Nulang is different because the dead person is sat down on a chair and tied and at his feet are put many things, old stuff and money in his hand, smoke, and various goods. This is the Nulang style.

#### [ST.a3s2]The Ritual Offerings

(B) Andy is shocked to see Lachlan like this and protests. Ruth explains the Berawan ritual, that the corpse has become the personification of death. They hope to make the ghosts happy by honoring him. Corpse smells, they film. A row of woman are talking to the corpse, making offerings by putting rice and beads into his mouth. (T1.a3:s1(2)D#2) Maybe the Berawan shaman is more powerful than Iban shaman. This is a quite spiritual thing. Does Lachlan respond when they talk to him? … Yes they do put cigarettes, the Punan, put cigarettes into the dead man’s mouth. That Berawan Shaman, haha. How will the body smoke that? It’s funny but also interesting. (T2) He disturbed the house because he dug that grave. That’s why it’s forbidden. If he hadn’t done it then the house wouldn’t be haunted. He called the antu. One day we will watch this film and see his face.[[81]](#footnote-81) (T3) Andy didn’t understand the Nulang and was upset and dissatisfied that his friend was not buried. Ruth knows everything about Nulang because she’s been here so long.[[82]](#footnote-82) This is the way of Nulang, the body put onto a pole. Then the woman come and bring some rice and smoke.

#### [ST.a3s3] Nulang Begins

(B) Musics start to play percusive instruments and the women start to wail in a creepy way. The sabak poet beings to recite a poem about the souls journey to the land of the dead. Everything becomes dreamy. (T1) missing. (T2) This is our Iban culture. If someone dies we cry and lament (nyabak). They were standing next to the dead body of the white man and crying. (T3) The people are also crying (sabak). Crying in order to carry him to the door of that place, the door of the heaven (sebayan). To accompany his spirit (semangat) to heaven. That’s what we call it, crying with meaning (sabak buah).

#### [ST.a3s4] Rentap’s Journey

(B) The wailing dreamy atmosphere starts a dream sequence as a reflection in water. We see a series of events; a boat paddling down the river, a person walking through the jungle, Rentap climbing a tree, an ancient longhouse, a group of old Ibans covered with tattoos, a half naked woman with pendulur breasts, Rentap sitting at their feet, Rentap receiving a traditional tattoo. (T1) missing. (T2) Rentap who killed the dogs that attacked his friends and took off his shirt to run after the antu. It chased him, he chased it. After reaching one place, the ghost tree “pun Kara” (parasitic fig), that antu chased him. But after he reached the Pun Kara the antu was gone and he climbed the tree. On top of that tree was a longhouse. Rentap entered and saw a very old community. One old woman was there with loose boobies. Rentap was scared at first. Because he is brave means he doesn’t become scared? Then he met with an old man with tattoos. He liked them. He spoke to the old man, “I want to see your tattoos.” (T3). Now back to the Rentap story. Rentap had run away while following someone. Then he arrived in one land (menua) and saw many boats and so many people walking in the dark. He arrived at the Pun Kara tree and climbed it to arrive at a house. Inside were many old men and women. One very old woman had saggy breasts. An old man had beautiful tatoos. Rentap asked for them to make one for him. They live at the top of the tree and Rentap stayed there to get a tattoo. A ghost tattoo (pantang antu).[[83]](#footnote-83)

#### [ST.a3s5] Corpse Awakens

Many hours later. It is very late at night and the wailing song continues. Black blood has started to trickle from Lachlan’s mouth. The finger twitchs, and then the corpse starts to twitch all over. His eyes open and black blood and rice come out his mouth. Everyone is shocked. (T1) Missing. (T2) A group of people were facing the old man and crying (nyabak). If someone dies they put him into the middle of the ruai, like us and many people will gather. This old man was dead and therefore people were crying for him. It sits like this in the room. That room has a bed and a chair. Suddenly those things move. They move by themselves, no one moves them. This happened while they were mourning for this antu, the dead antu[[84]](#footnote-84). Then they were shocked from seeing the table moving and then everything was moving.[[85]](#footnote-85) They sat the old man against the pole then something came out of his mouth, like dark blood and a piece of rice. Everyone was scared. Maybe it was that alcohol that he drunk before, the one that couldn’t be drunk by humans. But he drank it, then he died. After he died he turned into an antu. (T3) So people keep crying over the dead person and it is late. Andy is still awake while others sleep, but others are awake in front of the corpse (bangkai). Andy stares at the corpse and sees something come out if its mouth, something black. Then its hand moves a bit. Then he vomits a bit, something like rice comes out his mouth. The people near him get frightened, they don’t know what to do. Only the white man isn’t frightened because it is his friend.

#### [ST.a3s5(2)] Andy Breathes Smoke

(B) Andy stands up, amazed. “Lachlan, you’re alive!” But Lachlan looks like a corpse, with slack eyes. Corpse lights a cigarette, line of ants runs up his arm. The Corpse smokes.[[86]](#footnote-86) Ruth thinks it’s a hallucination. Andy asks the corpse if it wants help. The corpse hears and blows the cigarette smoke at him. Andy inhales and suddenly begins coughing and falls on the floor. (T1) missing. (T2) Then more drink comes out of that thing’s mouth. The cigarette it held suddenly lit, in his fingers. It lit like someone lit it up. The dead body smoked while sitting. His friend thought he was alive, happy that he was smoking. He went there and told him “smoke your cigarette.” He exhaled cigarette smoke towards Andy. Andy almost fainted from that antu smoke. It is not an antu but a corpse. You know corpse? Corpse in mourning? (bangkai ke disenggai). (T3) So because he is the friend he is brave. He thought that his friend was still alive because something had come out of his mouth. He went there and clapped his friend and said that he did not die. After he held his friend’s hand he saw the ants. The cigarette is suddenly lit. The fire of the smoke is on his hand. But he did not see his friend light it. It happened suddenly. Then he puffed the smoke. His friend was happy that he could smoke, did so for the second time, puff in and out. He was full of smoke. Then his friend asked him and then fainted after sucking the smoke. He fainted.

#### [ST.a3s6]Andy Dies

(B) Ruth holds Andy who is struggling for breath. She has some emergency training so she takes a pen and uses the tube to stab through his neck to open the airways. Immediately a thick black blood comes out of the tube. His blood has turned black. With the black blood on his hands and face, Andy reaches for Ruth and dies. All eyes turn back to the corpse. It sits perfectly still but the cigarette still burns. (T1) Then there is something inside of Andy’s throat. He’s like choking, constricted. When they see that he is choking they put something like a pen into his throat and the blood goes out. He almost faints. (T2) After the antu smoked the smoke got into Andy, means it became poisonous. Andy almost fainted. Smoke Moves like this… The white woman and others wanted to help him. They didn’t know how to save him. He almost fainted, like something stuck in his throat. So his friend took something like a straw, sharpened and stuck it into the white man’s throat. She pierced it again and then blood came out. Then he died. Two of them were dead, leaving only one.[[87]](#footnote-87) (T3) So after Andy was unconscious his white friend came to help him. He was choking like, constricted. They put something like a pen into his throat. A black blood goes out of his body. His face turns black and he dies. The white man died because he sucked the smoke of the dead. Then it stopped smoking, but the cigarette was still lit. It still held it.

#### [ST.a3s7] Stab It

Iban man screams that it is a demon. Everyone grabs weapons and approachs the corpse but it is still not moving. They hesitate; no one wants to get close enough. Finally one brave man pierces the stomach with his sword, but it still doesn’t move. Maybe it was a hallucination after all? He stabs again. This time the eyes suddenly shoot open. Everyone gasps. The corpse screams like a siren and all stand back. (T1) So that’s what he said. The dead body of Lachlan, they try to pierce it with a blade. After they pierce it the Lachlan’s eyes suddenly become big, just like a buah terung (*kind of vegetable).* His voice is like a scream. (T2) They wanted to cut it with a sword but couldn’t reach. An old man came. He didn’t want it to become an antu. He would kill it so that it wouldn’t turn into an antu. He pierced the body of that dead white person and then the eyes became so big. The eyes came out that big. This tends to make people scared to see such big eyes. (T3) The villagers took the duku blade. They wanted to cut the thing that disturbed them. But how to cut if they can’t see anything? The dead body did not move. One of them wanted to stab it in the stomach. Just acting like he would stab it. But it wasn’t moving because it was really dead. But he saw the smoke burning. The other died from breathing that smoke. So he pierced the stomach and then Lachlan’s eyes suddenly became bigger, so big. Then they were frightened. His eyes almost came out.[[88]](#footnote-88)

#### [ST.a3s7(2)] Lights out

(B) With a puff of wind all the candles go out and the longhouse is plunged into darkness. The continuous lightening outside makes a flashing stereoscopic effect. It suddenly becomes cold. Ruth sits over Andy’s body repeating “this isn’t real.” The corpse disappeared. (T1) missing. (T2) So the lights were off, and plenty of lighting and thunder. When the lightening sparked brightly then there were no humans, just the sitting antu and antu sebayan.[[89]](#footnote-89) (T3) After he pierced it the eyes became big and all the lights turned off suddenly. The villagers didn’t know where to go. The white woman was still next to Andy. Andy was already dead from the smoke.

#### [ST.a3s8] Begin Nightmare- Longhouse Changes

(B) Suddenly a voice rings out, “You would kill me? How can you kill that which is already dead?” The armed Iban men stalk through the room, looking for something to attack. Voice –“You don’t need to hunt us, we are already here.” Then the house itself starts to warp and become old. Rain water seeps in. A stream falls onto Ruth and suddenly in a flash of lightening she sees that the longhouse is full of ghosts. (T1) Then the weird thing (penyelai). Lachlan knew how to speak Iban. “Why do you kill the dead people?” So that corpse that died disappeared and the house changed. The wood changed to become old, like one room. (T2) Those antu didn’t show anymore unless the lightened struck. When the lightening sparkled a group of shadowy antu appeared in that house. That antu was still there, standing there. There were many antu in that house. The lights were off. The white woman from the other story, she was just the same as everyone in that house. We won’t see it because there will be too many ghosts in the picture. Raining, the house changed into an ancient thing, a bad house, shady (jai/tuduh). That white woman got rained on, wet because the rain fell through the roof. (T3) After that the new house turned old. It was wet from being rained on all night. So, in that house appear the image of the antu. But nobody saw it except Ruth. Then somebody is talking, in Iban, coming from outside. “This is because of you that these things are happening.” But nobody could see who was talking. Because of the rainy night the house had become wet and damaged. The house became torn (ruyak-ruyak) and all the lights went out. They could only see the shadowy antu.

#### [ST.a3s9] Headman meets the Long Tongued Demon

(B) The headman, armed with a sword, walks through the house which now sees strange and foreign. Lightning flashes and he sees a skeletal person, then he sees the demon girl. He ends up in a farther, better lit room. From out of the old floor boards comes a black smoke that takes the shape of an old ancient person crawling and dragging itself towards him. The creature opens its mouth and a long tongue unrolls from its mouth. The headman screams, drops his sword and runs. (T1) After that, because the longhouse had changed the Ibans found their weapons (duku). They wanted to cut off the thing that disturbed them but how could they cut it when they couldn’t see anything? It had disappeared. (T2) Weird. He brought his weapon and went out because he was not satisfied. He got outside and said “where is the antu?” and “Why do you disturb our house?” His walking brought no results. He wanted to reach that other house there, to go out from the house that was his. Many holes. While walking he saw smoking coming out of many holes. Then that smoke turned into an antu. It was crawling and its tongue was out. The headman wanted to fact that antu but he was the one that ended up running. He was scared to face it. The tongue was out.[[90]](#footnote-90) (T3) After it turned dark somewhere still holding their weapons. They wanted to kill that old man. So the headman went outside to find out what was happening, whether it was an antu or not. Means that he wanted to challenge that thing. He exited and walked to the other house, in between the houses was a hole and from out of that hole came some smoke. It came out like this and then came together and became an antu, like antu kelansat. It was crawling. Its tongue was long and in this story his face was weird.

#### [ST.a3s10] Shaman Talks to Corpse

(B) In the main room the shaman is in a frenzy and makes magical fire come out of his hands. The darkness leaves and the candles light again. Lachlan’s corpse is still in the same place but has now started to decay. Shaman asks it what it is. The corpse says that it is death, that it has been waiting for a long time but now it will take back its possessions. “What should I do?” asks the shaman. “Kneel and give me your life,” says the corpse. “The time of the living has finished. Now the dead will rule.” The shaman doesn’t want to surrender and fights but is soon overcome. (T1) After that the Berawan shaman tries again to do the ritual. The Shaman makes a fire. In the thatch where there are many candles. After that the body of Lachlan appeared again. The Shaman sees it and asked him why he appeared again. This is because Lachlan belived in Iban culture so the Shaman trusted Lachlan. So the shaman asked Lachlan to tell him what was happening.[[91]](#footnote-91) (T2) missing. (T3) The lights were off and the shaman kept on with his ritual. Because the old man had seen the antu and cut the antu. So the shaman was doing his ritual after the lights went out and then he used his hand power to make the lights come back. The fire, candles, on the wall. He used his power to do that. Then the lights came back and all the people were there, the dead body too. It became old, changing and becoming old. He talked to the dead body. Why do you do like this to us? He asked. The antu still talked eventhough it was an antu. The dead body answered, “we having been looking for you for so many years and you live here.” “That’s good,” said the shaman.[[92]](#footnote-92) So the corpse asked the shaman to offer forgiveness (ngampun).[[93]](#footnote-93) Forgive him and kneel down. But the shaman doesn’t want to do that. He still wants to use his powers. He makes the fire again but it is getting down. He uses his power against the dead white man, still in the Punan style. But it was not really that old man and the shaman’s powers were losing.[[94]](#footnote-94)

#### [ST.a3s11] Rentap Appears

(B) The loudest thunder clap and Rentap appears. He tells the demon to release the shaman. He is dripping wet, dressed like a warrior, with a new tattoo and a big sword. He pulls a leech off his body. Rentap tells the corpse his name and that he had been to the land of the dead and that he doesn’t fear the corpse. So the corpse makes all the ghosts in the room attack Rentap. But Rentap has no fear and drops his sword and falls to his knees. The ghosts circle him and almost touch him but they can’t find his fear so they drop to their knees instead. (T1) Oh yeah, Rentap was not around. He ran away to the jungle but then he came back.[[95]](#footnote-95) (T2) So Rentap who chased the antu, climbed the tree at the antu house and mediated (betapa) there came out from the jungle. The shaman doing the ritual was unable to cast out all the antu. Rentap tells the antu, “I’m not afraid of you!” He wanted to face the antu. Then a lot of antu came to face him. At first there was only the corpse. Rentap had a lot of tattoos and had became strong. That’s Rentap. I’m not scared of a lot of antu, he said. He threw his sword. All the antu came forward like they wanted to eat him. Rentap spoke, “No need to fight, to be enemies, and disturb each other.” They still came at him but Rentap stopped the fighting. All the antu stopped, kneeling like that. They were scared to go against Rentap. (T3) Then Rentap came. He looked handsome with a tough body after he climbed that Kara tree. Leeches stuck to his body with blood coming out. Then he called to the corpse and they were arguing. The corpse says to him, “you must be brave to go against me.” “Yes, I’m brave,” says Rentap. Then the antu came out and wanted to fight with Rentap. Rentap put down his sword. “Come here if you want to fight with me.” Then the Antu Enkeramba[[96]](#footnote-96) came and wanted to fight him but then that Antu kneeled down. All of them kneeled down.

#### [ST.a3s12] Exchange with the Corpse

(B) Corpse is upset that the ghosts didn’t kill Rentap. Rentap says that Iban people and ghosts have a good relationship and that the ghosts are happy with the Iban. Corpse asks how the ghosts could be happy if the head collection hasn’t been added to for 100 years. Rentap says if the collection needs a fresh head then he will take one right now. Corpse says “come at me if you dare” and suddenly rises up into the air. (T1) missing. (T2) Some of the antu still wanted to fight Rentap. This the is the antu that they mourned for. That antu stood up and wanted to fight him. Rentap agreed with that so they fought. (T3) Then Lachlan, the one that died wanted to fight him. He stood up and wanted to fight. Are you brave enough to fight with me? Yeah, I’m brave, said Rentap. “If you’re brave then lets fight,” he said. Then they fight. [[97]](#footnote-97)

#### [ST.a3s13] The Showdown

(B) Rentap charges the flying corpse. Yet the corpse grabs his hand and withers it. It turns black and rotten. Rentap screams but keeps on fighting. He takes the sword into his other hand. He cuts off the corpses arms and then hacks at it with great fury but it doesn’t do anything. Finally Rentap severs the head. The face becomes still and the other ghosts in the house vanish. (T1) missing. (T2) The white man woke up, slashed him, on the right side of Lachlan’s face. Then that white man caught his hand and he couldn’t move. So he took the sword with his left. He used it to slash the antu rapidly. Then he managed to catch its head and severed it using his sword. Rentap is strong. The other antu ran away. He stood against that antu just now, the one they mourned for. Have you heard about Rentap? Where does he live? Mt. Sadok. (T3) He cut the antu. Then it caught his hand and his hand turned black and couldn’t move anymore. So he took the weapon with his left hand. He slashed the antu but without effect. This was because he had only one hand. If he had used two hands he would have killed it. So he held the ghost’s head like this and then severed it. He severed the head of the corpse. He cut it until the head was broken.

#### [ST.a3s14] Holding up the Severed Head

(B) Rain still falls outside. A grandma comes and whispers something into Rentap’s ear. He understands and, still holding the head, exits. All go outside to watch. Rentap wades through the high water to a piling. Then, holding up the head, Rentap gives a howl. At this moment the rain suddenly ceases and the morning light breaks through. Grandma is next to the pretty Iban girl. She says “go to him.” With that, pretty Iban girl runs to him, swimming through the water. He pulls her up and, still holding the head, tucks her under his armpit. She rests against his strong torso. Finally, all is at peace. Ruth and Dayak guy #2 talk about having to destroy the video. (T1) missing. (T2) After Rentap cut off the antu’s head then he left the house and walked. The weather changed. He came to the water. During the period when he took the antu there was explosive rain and thunder and many antu came, came again. Everything in the sky went through the river, all bright. The next day, Rentap walked while carrying the head through the river. He saw a lady, really beautiful. She was in the water. He jumped into the water and took that woman, caught her and carried her under his arm like this. He still held the antu’s head. (T3) The rain keeps on falling. After Rentap cut the antu’s head. He held it like this. Once arriving at the river, setting off toward the river,[[98]](#footnote-98) he held up the antu’s head like this because of all the rain. It was almost morning, already morning. After he went against the antu. Then he went to the river and held the head up like this. The rain stopped and the sun was shining. He kept on walking on the river. He then arrived at the jetty and saw a beautiful girl. Then somebody was talking and said “take that girl.”[[99]](#footnote-99) He then took her and brought her under his armpit[[100]](#footnote-100) like this. One side was swimming at the other one put up like this. And he was rowing. On the other side he was holding that girl and brought her back home.

#### [ST.a3s15] The Police Come

(B) A few days later. The sun is shining and the people are repairing the longhouse. Some police in uniform enter. (On card)[[101]](#footnote-101) After hearing the superstitious stories the police decided that it was disease that caused the crazed Lachlan, host of the popular tv show, to run off into the jungle. His remains will never be found. (T1:a3:s15.D) A question for you… Did the policemen wear the old uniform or the new uniform? *I think the new uniform.* I think better it should be the old uniform. That is my suggestion. (T2) After the antu was dead because Rentap killed it, two or three days or even a week later all of the villagers were repairing their new house. The policemen came to investigate the deaths. So the villagers shared the story with the policemen who wanted to investigate the death of the white people, the shaman, the death of the pregnant woman, the death of the one that got eaten by dogs. So the villagers of the longhouse shared the story and then the police stopped investigating. (T3) This is almost the end. A few days after that the villagers were repairing their house. After so many people died then maybe somebody made a police report.[[102]](#footnote-102) The police came and were asking why four people died, either it was sickness or something else. But the villagers still didn’t know why the people died like that. They explained to the police that they didn’t know why those people died. The police came to make an investigation. [[103]](#footnote-103)

#### [ST.a3s16] Rentap Makes a Fire.

(B) Rentap, his arm still black from the battle lights the fire underneathe a collection of trophy skulls. He sees Pretty Iban girl holding the baby of the mother that died. Rentap joins her. We look again at the skulls and see that the bottom most one belongs to Lachlan. The fire reachs up and burns off the flesh. (T1) Missing. (T2) The lady that died while delivering her baby, the one that died in the rain. They came out and saw the lady that died while giving birth. But her baby is safe, being carried. The white man was also seen outside, the corpse of Lachlan that died in there. After he saw Rentap’s camera continue to shine brightly then the white man’s face faded into black. [T2:a3:s15.D] That’s the end of the story. The white man died because his head was destroyed due to Rentap’s power. Rentap was stronger. (T3)[[104]](#footnote-104) Then their images appeared again. Rentap sees them. The image of the white man also appears at the final point of this story. A shadow in the camera. So the picture of the naughty white man appears being burned by the fire, burning in the fire.[[105]](#footnote-105)

## 4.4 Conclusion of Analysis

This concludes the summation document. More information is available about how the audience perceived the narrative [T1.Summary] and facts that happened after the telling event [description of fieldwork]. All told, a great deal of information was procured throughout this process and it was done in only nine hours, or roughly three hours per telling. Understanding the greater significance of this information, either as it relates to Iban people or this process of Conjunctive Staging more generally, is a larger question, the scope of which can’t be covered in this study. Ideally, when phases three through five of the Conjunctive Staging process is concluded more information will be available in order to approach and hopefully answer those questions.

## 4.5 The Full Script

The final step of phase two is the completion of a full script. This script is presented in full in Appendice D as attributed to both Oliver Claycamp (the anthropologist) and Anak Sang Lemah (the translator).

Much could be said about the writing of this script yet, with the aid of the 7 documents previously presented the reader could, if inclined, work through the specific thinking that the anthropologist took concerning each moment. This is true even though the anthropologist’s telling in especially T2 and T3 was mostly redacted. This redaction was done because the anthropologist is not meant to be the focus of this exercise but instead the focus is meant to be on the research subjects. That being said, much can still be understood about the anthropologist’s specific way of understanding by looking at the subjective decisions made in the base text, the reformulations that this decisions engendered within the retold texts and finally the new form taken up in the full script.

The philosophy of the full script maintains the line that the script itself is not attempting to ‘tell the truth’ about Iban people but instead to assist, maintain, organize, and push forward a discussion with them. In the beginning of this chapter an example was made out of [T3.a2s18(1)] where the enraged Dayak tries to kill Ruth. That same scene in the full text follows the line in T3. The villagers back off and allow the Dayak to strangle Ruth. After an uncomfortable amount of strangulation Ruth manages (by herself) to break free. The reason for this line was that firstly it would be inconvenient to have Ruth actually die. She is needed to explain the Nulang ritual in A3s2 and perform the emergency tracheotomy A3s6. Secondly, this treatment allows the anthropologist to broach this rather awkward subject of when it might be appropriate to murder taboo violators, and ask the translator if this was what he had meant to have happened. By placing this partial understanding into the script, a door is opened for much greater detail and information to come.

The same can be said for Antu Gerasi. In T3 a description was finally presented concerning Antu Gerasi [T3.a219] as well as some specifications for how he might be used in the film. So, in the full script Antu Gerasi appears following those specifications. Hence the question is whether the villagers will actually allow Antu Gerasi to appear and whether they will assist in this happening. Hence, the full script pushes the discussion further in that direction of the anthropologist’s choosing.

## 4.6 Conclusion

The purpose of chapter 4 has been to accomplish the second objective by lining up the main differences among the three retellings and presenting them in such a way that the reader can make a relatively quick assessment. Footnotes were also included to point out some of the significant moments.

Much could be said about the changes made by the translator. The most significant change is probably the treatment of the zombie head. In the base text the line was given that the head, or skull, is added to the villagers’ trophy skull collection. In the second and third retelling the line was for Rentap to carry the skull far away into the jungle, across the river and then destroy it by burning it. Hence this is a dramatic recapitulation of the story. The base text suggests that these fictional Iban people in the story, or traditional Iban people in general might be happy about this severed head falling in their laps. The translator’s retort is that this head is obviously a cursed thing and needs to be destroyed in a dramatic fashion. From an analytical perspective, understanding specifically why the translator made this decision is complex, thereby necessitating a long and complex analysis. There simply is no room in this thesis for that and similar analyses. So, instead of doing that, and potentially being wrong, the better decision was made to simply ask the translator what he meant by this while using the specific moments in the text to compliment and better explain the questions. Such an approach seems more in keeping with the spirit of Conjunctive Staging as expressed especially in Section 1.7 of this thesis.

# CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 5.1 Introduction

Due to the eclectic nature of this study several major themes require further attention before coming to a close. These themes are the significance of the translator’s changes to the ending (Section 5.2), some implications and assumptions underlying the scripted equivocation (Section 5.3. 5.4), some hypotheses concerning the scripted equivocation (Section 5.5), a plan for the continuation of this work and Conjunctive Staging in general (Section 5.6), a scenario for the usage of Conjunctive Staging in other contexts (Section 5.7), and a conclusion (Section 5.8). Sections 5.2-5.5 constitute the findings of this research. Sections 5.6-5.8 constitute some interpretations and recommendations. Ideally the information presented in this chapter will better satisfy research objective No. 2 in explicating the significance of the changes and objective No. 3 in helping other anthropologists in possibly making use of this system.

## 5.2 The Significance of the Ending

In Chapter 4 a synthesis documents was presented which demonstrated each change that happened throughout the three retellings. There were also footnotes which presented a variety of perspectives on the events demonstrating the many different levels of interest or possible significance. The story is interesting as a piece of literature, as a potential film or stage script, as a record of a storytelling act, and as an ethnographic data collection instrument. Each perspective speaks to a different theoretical point of departure and different sets of concerns. This essential polyvalence of being able to look at a single document from a series of valid perspectives causes the notion of following up and singling out any particular perspective complex. Therefore, because of these and other reasons, the decision was made to restrict the analysis as much as possible to a more direct presentation of the data.

Yet, one point which could not be ignored concerns the significance of the translator’s changes to the ending. The reason this point constitutes an exception is mostly due to the aesthetic of the story and the possibility of the reader, from a literary perspective, feeling dissatisfied with the treatment. More to the point is the question of whether the translator’s new ending was merely a more suitable dramatic conclusion or did it also contain some kind of message? If there was a message then what was this message in response to?

### 5.2.1 The Ending of the Story

In order to assess the changes the translator made to the ending, a synopsis will be presented of scenes a3s14-16.

The story in the base text:

[B.a3s14-16.synopsis]

*After passing through the hero’s journey Rentap returns, slays the evil by severing its head, and thereby saves the longhouse. An old grandma whispers something to him (presumably about the treatment of the head). He goes outside and uses the powers of the severed head to stop the storm. Grandma whispers to the beautiful girl that she should “go to him” so she recklessly dives into the water, swims to him and finally embraces him while he holds his trophy head up high. Ruth and the last Dayak guy use the camera to film this moment. Later the police come but find no fault in any of the deaths. -*Final scene*- Rentap starts a fire underneath the collection of trophy skulls. His arm is still bandaged from the fight with the zombie. The bottom-most head is that of Lachlan. Its face melts off. The beautiful Iban girl holds the dead pregnant woman’s baby. They leave together. The end.*

The reason for this sequence, especially the ending, was to show that Rentap keeps the white man’s head, inherits the dark necromantic powers of the ancient shaman, and uses the opportunity to add to the community-wide trophy head collection. One of the many implications which could be brought out of this moment is the suggestion that this Iban community (fictitious or otherwise) would or should be willing to continue the practice of trophy head collection and shamanic death magic. It should be noted that the severed head is put up as a positive item. It grants magical powers and is a prized addition in the trophy skull collection. The translator’s retelling of these scenes can be seen as a very essential response to these implications.

In the retelling this sequence comes back:

[T2/T3.a3s14-16 synopsis]

*Rentap severs the head and without consulting anyone leaves the longhouse. He walks through the jungle for several days while still holding the head. After crossing a certain river Rentap uses the head’s powers to stop the storm. Then Rentap continues to walk and sees a beautiful maiden in the water. A voice says “take her.” So Rentap again holds up the head and grabs her. Then or sometime in the future, Rentap burns and possibly crushes (anchor) the head. Later back at the longhouse- The police come, the villagers say “We don’t know why these things happened.” Last scene- at funeral for the dead pregnant woman; The whole tribe is together and Rentap is filming the event on the camera. He sees through the camera the ghost of the dead pregnant woman. The film ends with Rentap watching Lachlan burn.*

The last moment of watching Lachlan burn is presented in an ambiguous way but still in association with the camera. It is possible that somehow the skull burning moment was captured on camera and he reviews this footage in the final moment. It could also be a flashback. The last option is that Lachlan’s spirit is still hanging around the longhouse but by using the camera Rentap is finally able to cast it out. Whatever the case, Lachlan is physically and spiritually annihilated.

Could the translator’s new version be called a ‘counter-message?’ It seems quite likely. The implication of the base text is that this fictitious community should accept this head, use its magic and restart or continue their headhunting ways. The new implication is that this head should be immediately taken far away from the longhouse and destroyed. Not simply far away but three days of walking through a monsoon jungle far away, i.e. heroically far away. Therefore the first implication is refuted. The head most definitely and certainly was not accepted.

The treatment of the girl is somewhat similar but instead of the grandma pushing her to join Rentap a disembodied voice is brought in. Hence it seems that the translator agreed that Rentap should get the girl but it was more of a spiritual as opposed to social matter. He also agreed that the head would have magical powers. It is clear in the retelling that the head itself had the power to transfix the beautiful woman. This could be different than the base text where the beautiful woman was transfixed by Rentap’s heroic awesomeness. Hence as a magical item, the head is made even more unambiguously powerful than in the base text.

The treatment of the police is different because the villagers take the opportunity to say that they don’t understand what happened. This seems to be a pretty direct criticism of the plot. Why don’t the villagers explain to the police about Lachlan drinking the death liquor and Asu Rengka’s angered spirit? There is a chance that the death liquor angry spirit idea does not cover all the strange happenings. Certainly it could account for the death of the pregnant woman and appearance of Antu Koklir, the appearance of Antu Gerasi and the death of the Dayak guy by the ghost dogs, the black rice, the madness in the longhouse, and the shaman’s vision. Yet, it fails to fully account for the reanimation of Lachlan’s corpse. Therefore the villagers were unable to give a full accounting.

Another option to the above is that only Rentap understands the secret significance because he was in tune with the spirit world. Only he saw the shadowy thing in the jungle. He had the headhunter’s dream. Only he went on the hero’s journey and obtained a ghost tattoo (antu pantang). Without any consultation from the old Grandma he knew what to do and did it confidently. Later he was rewarded with both the beautiful girl and the camera equipment. Therefore it could suggest a *dues ex machine* justification that only the gods really understand and Rentap is their vessel. Hence the villagers wouldn’t know what to say because they didn’t go with Rentap on his journeys.

The last scene is the most significance change because instead of inheriting the skull and possibly Asu Rengka’s dark necromantic powers, Rentap inherits the camera equipment. Ruth who was last person seen holding the equipment ([B.a3s14]) and was therefore assumed to be the one to inherit everything. Instead Ruth’s final moment is cut and her fate is left unmentioned. There are many reasons to think that Rentap inheriting the equipment as opposed to Ruth was fair. Giving Ruth the camera equipment was an afterthought in the base text. She has no justified reason, other than being white, for taking the equipment. It is also interesting that Rentap is seen using the equipment to film a community event. i.e. doing something for the community good. This is already better than Lachlan’s selfish desire to simply become famous. Therefore Rentap defeats Lachlan physically by destroying his skull, spiritually by destroying his spirit, and morally by turning the ghost hunt into a real social benefit.

What seemingly happened was that the translator recognized that in the base text Rentap receives a gift in the form of the skull. The skull was something like a magical collector’s object. The translator rejected this gift and the entire premise of skull collection. Instead he took a different underutilized narrative concept, the film equipment, as his ‘reward.’ This move was in fact very clever because the premise had already been established that cameras can see ghosts. This was the basic premise underlying Lachlan’s profession and the means by which the cast came to know of the Antu Koklir. Therefore, in the filmic universe, cameras absolutely had this special function. Hence the translator realized a missed opportunity by having Rentap take the camera. In the final scene, Rentap demonstrates that he is fully aware of both the natural and supernatural functions of the camera by filming a ghost.

If the imagination is allowed to continue onto what Rentap might do next then a very interesting scenario is established. For starters, Rentap now has this camera equipment which can see and possibly capture or fight ghosts. Rentap is also blessed with a spiritual intuition. Therefore, he could become a proper ghost hunter for the benefit of his people. It is also interesting to note that the time period is blended to a historical one but with computers and digital cameras. Perhaps other technology could enter the picture to help or hinder Rentap as he fights the various demons of the jungle. This could make a quite interesting serial drama.

### 5.2.2 The Final Message - Conclusion

Certainly there is something dramatic and quite racist about the message of the base text. The idea that this fictitious Iban community would revert back to headhunting if given an opportunity is to think that the murderous history of these people is somehow lying latent under the surface waiting for an opportunity to reemerge. In other words once a head collector always a head collector. This message is also certainly unfair and by refuting the message the translator seems to make this implication. Just because a peoples’ grandparents or even great grandparents were once headhunters does not mean that the modern people are or secretly want to be. This is a racist attitude. This is true even if the community does keep the head trophies. Keeping the trophies is simply a means of remembering heritage, nothing more.

Having Rentap retain the head and the dark magic is however dramatic and a good horror film concept. The translator recognized this but submitted instead that hunting antu with the video camera was an equally good or even better one. The reason that it could possibly be better is because it opens up a new vista of opportunity for what Rentap might do next.

## 5.3 The Implications of the Scripted Equivocation

The next main thematic issue in this chapter is to list the major implications and assumptions of the scripted equivocation process. The reason for focusing on the scripted equivocation process over and above Conjunctive Staging is firstly because it is foundational to Conjunctive Staging and secondly because scripted equivocation is the most developed aspect of this work. In the future when phases 3 through 5 are completed then more specific hypothesis will naturally come concerning Conjunctive Staging as a whole.

### 5.3.1 The Main Implications

The largest and possibly more complex implication underlying the scripted equivocation concerns the fundamental design of the process, in that the anthropologist, as opposed to the research subjects, designs the initial story. This decision has multiple implications in both a practical and theoretical dimensions. The practical dimension has to do with the ease in which the data can be collected. The theoretical dimension looks into the idea of whether the translator’s changing of the story actually constitute a truth of that individual and those specific people, or is it a truth or idea that the anthropologist has somehow imprinted upon those people. Both of these implications will be looked at in turn to better understand the process and whether it in fact warrants repetition.

### 5.3.2 The Practical Implication

From a practical perspective scripted equivocation is very simple and cost effective. As currently understood, and in order for the process to be effective, the anthropologist needs a certain number of things. The first thing is a group of people (at least two but ideally four) who come from a single culture. One of these people needs to share a language with the anthropologist and agree to act as translator. To generate the script the anthropologist needs some information about that group’s culture. The import of the information rests on it being familiar to that group over and above accurate. If the process works then the translator and the group will correct for accuracy.

Beyond the above, basically nothing else is required. The research subjects need not be educated or even literate (though basic literacy will be helpful in the later stages). They also have no need of being knowledgeable about the story, interested in the process, or really have any interest in the anthropologist or why he or she is performing this act. Outside of the translator, of whom more is required, the audience only needs be willing to hear and possibly criticize a story. Therefore, as a basic act, scripted equivocation asks the subjects to perform a simple, understandable, and not necessarily unpleasant action; i.e. listen to a story.

The justification for both the audience and the translator to take part in such an unusual storytelling session is equally simple and intuitive. It is firstly for the benefit of science and secondly it may become a film or stage play. Both these ideas suggest that the group will be contributing to something larger than themselves. Therefore, all things considered, it is an ‘easy sell.’ From a purely social perspective the translator need not know, trust, or even like the anthropologist. All those things are secondary to the basic action which is imminently understandable. The audience need not even see the anthropologist or directly exchange a single word.

As opposed to this, if the story is generated by the research subjects then all the benefits listed become negated and a more traditional social science collection process becomes instantiated. The anthropologist will need to spend much more time communicating with the subjects in order to extract the story. In such a case not speaking the native’s language becomes a serious liability by causing the anthropologist to be completely dependent on only the translator. The subjects might be unwilling or uninterested in helping in the process, etc. In short, many kinds of complications arise.

The greater reason why having the subjects help generate the story is not as good is because it will result in something less analytically viable. If an ignorant, racists, insulting, illogical story is passed through a translator and comes out as knowledgeable, tolerant, complimentary, and logical story then much information will have been obtained about specifically why the original story had those problems, and what those concepts might mean to the subjects. Yet, if the research subjects help generate the story, then they will most probably come up with a knowledgeable, tolerant, complimentary, and logical story to begin with thereby eliminating the necessity for changes. Hence, from both a practical and analytical level generating the story with the research subjects is probably much more difficult and far less rewarding.

### 5.3.3 The Theoretical Implication

The question from a theoretical level is whether the translator’s change of the story represents his or her true voice, opinion, or perspective, or whether the anthropologist has somehow implanted the messages into the process. Is the translator a genuinely free agent in the proceedings or is the anthropologist somehow acting the puppet master? The answer to this question is difficult. If, for example, the anthropologist had been acting the puppet master in this study then the translator would not have changed the ending. The reason for this is because I, as the writer, had planned the original ending carefully and had no wish to see it changed. Therefore I can testify that I did not plan for the translator to make the changes that he did and I had great difficulty in understanding those changes. Hence I did not consciously manipulate the process.

Yet, could the manipulation have been unconscious? Another way of phrasing this question is to consider how much is the translator and how much is the anthropologist. This is again a difficult question going back to the quote in Chapter 2 from Borland’s Grandmother, who complained about the folklorist’s reinterpretation of the her story. Borland, in that case, was the last person to handle the text. In this case the translator is the last person to touch the text making his or her word the last one for this particular part of the series. Hence, from a practical level and as far as the audience is concerned the translator manifests a godlike amount of freedom. Whatever he or she says will be final with no oversight other than the audience’s immediate reaction. In other words based on the very format of the operation the translator cannot be controlled. If the translator delivers some part of the story in the same way as the anthropologist then it suggests that for whatever reason the translator choose that as the best course of action instead of being forced to do it.

## 5.4 The Basic Assumptions of the Scripted Equivocation

Two main assumptions exist concerning the scripted equivocation. The first is that a different translator would respond similarly to the translator in this study by also changing the story. The second assumption is that these changes are, or could be, meaningful in pursuing a larger understanding of the culture or conjunctivity of the research subjects. If the first assumption is incorrect then this study would constitute an exception, meaning that further information in this way would not be forthcoming. If the second assumption is incorrect then there would be no reason to gather such information again even if possible. Therefore, before any mention is made of a larger programmatic, these issues need to be addressed.

### 5.4.1 The First Assumption - Story Change is the Rule

The question at this moment is whether it was logical or rational for the translator to change the story, and did those changes in fact make the story more accessible to the audience? The answer desired is an explanation of the translator’s behavior which is at once both logical and intuitive. If a logical and intuitive answer can be located then this answer can act as a guiding principle when performing scripted equivocation again and under more controlled and definable conditions.

The most efficient means of gathering this rationale is to look at the scripted equivocation process as a kind of game. The main player of the game is the translator with the anthropologist and the audience playing something of supporting roles. The anthropologist in position one delivers a block of story. The audience in position three receives a block of story. Only the translator in position two knows what the anthropologist says *and* what the audience hears. Therefore the translator has a particular vantage position. The main advantage is the ability of the translator to change the story however he or she wishes with neither side (position 1 or 3) more the wiser. Due to the control (see Figure 3.1 pg 101), both sides are left to assume that whatever the translator says is what was told to him by the anthropologist, yet neither side is able to verify this assumption. Hence the translator in this game is given an unusual amount of freedom.

It is from the translator’s vantage point where he or she can understand how the game can be won. If both the anthropologist and the audience are happy then the translator wins. If the audience, the anthropologist, or both are unhappy then the translator loses. Therefore, much emphasis is put onto the idea of the audience enjoying both the story as a piece of literature and the oral narrative storytelling process as a performative act. If the audience enjoys the story then they will listen, engage, and answer questions which will make the anthropologist happy. If, on the other hand the story is confusing, insulting, boring or otherwise, then the audience will not like it, nor will they wish to engage with it. Further, they will vent their dislike onto the only outlet available, i.e. the translator. This creates a clear reward/punishment system. The translator will wish to gain merit by using the story to entertain his or her peers and avoid the demerit of delivering a poor story. Therefore, the translator has an incentive to make the audience happy. Therefore, the translator’s situation is relatively simple. If the story is good then he or she wins. If the story is poor he or she loses.

The above can be easily shown within a typical moment of play. The translator accepts a message (a piece of story) from the anthropologist. The audience will either approve or disapprove of that message. Therefore, the game is for the translator to consider the audience and attempt to anticipate what their reaction will be. If the translator deems the message agreeable then there will be no reason to alter. Yet, if the message is deemed disagreeable then the translator will have a brief window of time to redact that message into something which will earn him a point. If a point is earned then the audience will have been moved closer to generally approving of the story and therefore approving of the translator’s performance of that story.

Hence, there is a clear logical principle within the scripted equivocation process which suggests that the translator will alter the story if and when a subjective determination is made that some part of the message to be delivered is incorrect or inappropriate for that specific audience. The hypothesis then is that more often than not (greater than 50% of the time) the translator will change the story where and when it is deemed inappropriate in order to better match the subjective tastes and preferences of the audience. The rate of change might be much higher but this will require further testing.

### 5.4.2 The Second Assumption - The Meaningfulness of the Changes

The second question asked was whether the changes produce information which will generally aid in the understanding of the research subjects’ culture or conjunctivity. Another way to phrase this question is whether the changes present real information, as in valid and useful, about the audience and, more generally, the larger pool of research subjects. This question can be answered by again looking at scripted equivocation as a kind of game.

When the translator receives the message he or she determines whether the message will be perceived as correct or incorrect (good or bad, appropriate or inappropriate, etc) by the audience. This can be called the message ‘fit’ value. If the message fits, the translator need not change. Yet if it does not fit and the translator does change, then the anthropologist will have a record of a false assumption being replaced with a correct one. In other words, the anthropologist instantiated an incorrect idea into the story and the translator changed it. Clearly, such a change is as valid as any moment where the anthropologist asks or is corrected by the native, because essentially that is what is happening. The translator corrected the anthropologist. Therefore, at least at the most basic level, the changes should be valid.

The difference between a normal question/answer and the scripted equivocation however is that the translator does not direct his or her change (the answer) back at the anthropologist but instead towards the audience of that translator’s peers. These peers are primarily the kind of people who presumably know a correct vs. incorrect answer. Hence they would be able to do what the anthropologist probably could not; i.e. directly assess the relative fit of the statement. Therefore, in the scripted equivocation process the anthropologist’s assumptions are vetted twice; the first by the translator and the second by the audience. If the assumption is deemed wrong and changed then the translator’s new answer is vetted by the audience. Hence, by being vetted, the ‘answer,’ whatever it is, cannot be simply one person’s opinion but instead is a tested and verified ‘general assumption,’ or in Mannheim’s terms, a piece of conjunctive knowledge.

The generality of the assumptions, or in other words, how general a given idea is among a target population, is ultimately a statistical question dependent on the number of times the process has been repeated with members of that conjunctive community. The difference between scripted equivocation and a more general idea of ethnographic fieldwork is that scripted equivocation is repeatable. The same anthropologist can tell the same story to the same translator but to a different audience within the same population (such as was done in this case) or to a different translator but the same audience, or different anthropologist same story. Therefore, an understandable gradation of variables can be effected to ideally limit the amount of change into understandable and manageable proportions. Hence the suggestion is that this process can be repeated an indefinite number of times with the hypothesis being that the results will be similar enough vis-a-vis to remain within an analytically viable relationship.

### 5.4.3 The Assumptions - Conclusion

At this stage a logical conclusion is that the scripted equivocation process, as a part of Conjunctive Staging, produces viable information within a reproducible context. By understanding the process like a game it seems logical or even plausible to say that the translator will change the story and that those changes will illuminate generally held concepts or opinions within the target population. The fact that scripted equivocation is, within certain measures, reproducible suggests that it could be a very effective and interesting tool for gaining understanding of human populations. Understanding how best to wield this tool however is a complex and ongoing effort. With that in mind, some tentative conclusions and suggestions will be presented in the next section.

## 5.5 Some Hypotheses Concerning the Scripted Equivocation

By trusting the principles previously detailed, it is seemingly possible to anticipate certain situations where the results of the scripted equivocation, or more precisely the specific number of deliberate changes, should decrease.For example, If I were to repeat the exact formulate presented in this work (same anthropologist, same translator, same narrative, different audience) in order to gain a fourth, fifth, or sixth telling (T4, T5, T6, etc), I can surmise that the number of deliberate changes that the translator would need to make in obtaining the optimal fit would decrease towards zero. The reason for this would be because the translator would have perfected his telling to the point of no longer needing to change the story.

In a different direction I can also surmise that if the translator’s final version (T3) is passed through a different translator from the same population then the number of deliberate changes will also decrease radically. The reason will be because the changes made in T3 were done as a deliberate effort by the translator to locate the most reasonable answers with a generally high fit value. Regardless of whether the new translator subjectively agrees with those decisions or not, their immanent reasonableness within that conjunctive context should cause them to seem more generally viable and thereby decrease the translators need to make a change.

Finally, if the base Text [B] is passed again through a different translator but in the same target demographic, I would expect a continuum of change similar to but possibly quite different than what was originally experienced in T1-T3. That is to say that the changes made by the new translator might be quite different than the changes of the first translator. Yet, I would also expect to see that the changes in both cases would be in response to the same or similar moments of the story. This would suggest that both translators would be acknowledging the same problem within the base text, though from different angles, and possibly in favor of different solutions. Hence this would suggest that both translators would be responding to the same conjunctive continuum. Further, the differences among their answers could also help to define its internal variability.

Another option is for the base text to be passed through many translators within the same target population (assumedly a large one). If this was done then there might come a time where the changes or solutions to the problems inherent within that text by the different translators would begin to show signs of repetition. The reason for this would due to the nature of conjunctive knowledge and how it interacts with the translator’s subjective decisions. Those decisions are based on the individual’s imagination, yet are also bounded by the scope of conjunctivity shared by the members of that population. Hence, the information delivered cannot be simply an individual’s subjective reasoning or creativity, but instead gives insight into the conjunctive ideas or guiding principles that enact and stabilize the shared experiential basis of a society. According to Mannheim “the individual, as he has been assimilated to a community, guides himself by these ideas… and submits himself to them” (1984:208).

Therefore, the information delivered is partially a product of the individual and that individual’s imagination, creativity, and subjective reasoning process. Yet, arguably the larger part of the formula are the rules that define the game which the translator plays. These rules are not made by the anthropologist but instead by the audience that the translator directs towards. The rules are stable and within certain measures predictable. The outcome of this procedure would be, hypothetically, a perfect story, play, or film about which no individual from the target population could find reason to critique. This is not to imply that the story must be groundbreaking but instead is imminently reasonable to all concerned.

### 5.5.1 Indicators and Best Fit

Another way to express the above is that conjunctive knowledge is a mapping of society, the contours of which overlap with the notion of ‘normal’ and ‘acceptable.’ Conjunctive Staging as a means of isolating and procuring conjunctive knowledge produces a hypothetical situation which is found to be either reasonable or not. Being reasonable is normative/acceptable within a hypothetical, or in Mannheim’s thought (1984) a ‘reasonable’ notion follows an understandable progression of transformations (i.e. hypotheticals) moving off this base line normative position.

If conjunctive knowledge is a map, then it is a map of a certain shape held in the mind of the individual and the collective. Conjunctive Staging produces its own roughly analogous shape which, when refined and redressed will come to match that specific conjunctivity. Following the mapping analogy, the moments where the anthropologist’s rough analogy crosses the native’s conjunctive boundary an indicator is tripped. This indictor aligns with both the translator and audience’s subjective responses to the story. Simply put, they will either like or dislike each scene, and more precisely each moment within that scene. In the map analogy ‘to like’ means the proposed situation is somewhere on the map and the dislike is off the map. Recognizing and recording these indicators should help to better guide the application, analysis, and further usage of data throughout the Conjunctive Staging process.

When the translator or audience member submits that they dislike a particular moment then, like a seismic reader, this indicates that beneath the surface of that individual’s mind lays some potentially useful data. This data can be dug up by simply asking ‘why?’ Why does the individual dislike this moment, and further and more importantly, what that person might have done differently? Knowing this could allow for the anthropologist to gain a great amount of information from the audience or viewers of the story about specifically how they feel about each moment of the story. If these indicators could be procured irrespective of the translator, then they could point to the relative degree in which the translator and audience are ‘on the same page.’ Therefore, discovering a mechanism which could allow for these specific indicators to be gathered should be of great benefit in allowing the anthropologist insight into where within the process further effort should be committed

## 5.6 Plan for Continuation - Introduction

My plan for continuing this work has two main components; investigative and exploratory. The investigative aspect will be to focus on the scripted equivocation process in order to better understand its specific principles and features. The exploration will be to continue the Conjunctive Staging process with my Iban research subjects. Both will be large complex operations, yet I believe when combined, will shine much light onto this process and push the operations forward into new uncharted territories.

### 5.6.1 The Investigative Study

The first main component will be to continue the study of the scripted equivocation in a more controlled and stable environment. The purpose of that study will be to explore the usage of different kinds of narratives (shorter, and not horror for example) with different demographic groups and translators in the hopes of better understanding the linkages between the base text, the retold text, the individual translator, the anthropologist, and the specific audience. The study would become one of gathering a wide base of data while alternately stabilizing and changing certain key variables until general patterns and principles can be ideally ascertained.

In order to handle a general study such as this, a great deal of effort would need to be invested into finding or developing software which could better handle the incoming data. Further, the analysis process would also need to become more sophisticated. As a first step in this direction each scene in the base text could be broken into any number of smaller units. For example, a3s5 could be broken up into subunits .1-.5 marking each discrete action of the scene’s main character, for example. So a3s5.3 would be where the character John sips from the cup, a3s5.5 would be where he punches the character Mark, etc. This sort of organizational paradigm should greatly increase the detail to be gleaned from the analysis of the retold texts.

Such a study would also benefit deeply from a wide reading and application of subject matters like communication theory, narrative theory, translation theory, and conversation analysis among others. If the data is collected correctly then patterns should emerge which will give information about each of the variables in the series. Yet, by expanding the theoretical understanding, even more and more subtle and nuanced meaning could be taken from the data. In other words, I feel that I am at the very beginning stages of understanding this kind of information and more theory will assist in ways impossible for me to foresee at this juncture.

### 5.6.2 The Explorative Study

The second major component of my future study will be to continue the Conjunctive Staging process with my Iban research subjects. As expressed in this work Conjunctive Staging is not any one activity but instead a series of related occupations which will ideally produce a series of documents which can be analyzed together. So, for example if the Headhunter’s Dream is taken through phase three then it should be possible to watch the film or film of the stage play, listen to the notes and comments by the research subjects, and then link this back to the original base text completed in phase one. Therefore information could be ascertained from a moment from the film, reading the transcripts of the actors being coached by the natives, reading transcripts from the director being coached by the natives, reading transcripts from the set builder, and the natives who supplied costumes, etc. This information could then be related back to the original texts in the series to see how the process changes when an abstract notion becomes actualized. The text will create a chain of logic and inferences which should reveal something very interesting about collaboration, creativity, and the specific culturally subjective minds under observation.

If the process is taken to phase four, then a great deal more data will become available about the general consensus from the larger Iban population. In order to maximize this information the data storage and analysis software will need to result in the possibility of ascertaining statistics. Say, for example, that the film is watched by 200 people who were not connected with the creation but are from the same research pool. The anthropologist could easily follow up by getting questionnaires from each viewer and then begin generating statistics. Therefore the question could be asked, ‘what percentage of viewer found Rentap’s dream in a2s1 to be good?’

In phase 5 these sorts of statistics should be naturally interesting to the research subjects. At that stage, the various complied information could be presented to the subjects. The idea would be that the anthropologist and the research subjects, using this information as supporting texts, could come up with authoritative answers to the anthropologist’s questions. It is still a challenge to imagine how this process might go, but ideally, if the previous stages were successful, then holding the research subjects attention should be possible.

## 5.7 Visualizations of the Future of Conjunctive Staging

As a social science investigatory tool, Conjunctive Staging could offer much when looking into topics such as cultural creativity, creative collaboration, cultural memory, cultural narrantology, translation studies, etc. Yet, and possibly more importantly, Conjunctive Staging seems to offer a new way of communication which could have potential in solving real world problems. A scenario will be presented below.

### 5.7.1 A Hypothetical Scenario - Introduction of Developmental Technologies

In this scenario, an international organization has decided to build a new power source for an ailing indigenous society. The hypothesis is naturally that the indigenous people will realize the benefits of the new technology and work hard to preserve and upkeep the project into the future. Conjunctive Staging could be used to test this hypothesis.

For example, a narrative is generated which features this new technology. Perhaps as an invention of those particular people or as a thing that saves the people from an impending disaster. Tied into the middle of the narrative is possibly a dramatic love story. This narrative is then passed via scripted equivocation to multiple communities and several translators across the demographic stretch of the particular population. Ultimately, this will amount to a large and detailed discussion of this technology and the multiple issues that it might bring up. Afterwards the multiple script revisions are collected in order to find the most suitable story for all parties involved. Then this script is turned into a stage production that tours the various communities while collecting more and more information. Finally, these results are brought back to one specific community and council is sought.

Several benefits concerning this approach would be immediately apparent. Firstly, the effort to complete the Conjunctive Staging would require time and organization but not necessarily excessive capital investment, especially in comparison to the larger project. Secondly, the approach would probably dig up all or most of the major reservations the natives might have to the project while inadvertently discovering new and more appropriate ways of presenting the original development project. Thirdly, it is a respectful means of doing business where active consideration and council is taken from those natives and their traditional hierarchies. Fourthly, the drama or film could model the sort of behavior that the international company might wish for the natives to adopt concerning the new technology. Fifthly, if and when a modification of the behavior of the indigenous community vis-à-vis the new technology becomes necessary, a dramatic sequel could be generated using the same process but featuring the necessary changes. Ultimately then, a new communication route is opened up between the organization and the community for the benefit of all.

Using the idea of Conjunctive Staging as a means of communicating with and suggesting new behavioral patterns to indigenous communities could be both effective and humanitarian. This is true because the process allows for the community members to have a real say in the drama, which in turn will be a reflective of how the larger project would be presented. This will present insight to the people that the outsiders engaged in this process are truly listening and dedicated to coming to an understanding with the native community and this, onto itself, could be a positive beginning to real negotiation and learning about the other.

## 5.8 Conclusion of Study

It is hoped that there is adequate foundation for the study of Conjunctive Staging to continue. Many things have been left unsaid because there was simply not enough space in this work to list all the many details, significations, and implications that this conceptual construct brings to the fore. Karl Mannheim (1982) refers to the study of conjunctive knowledge as being analogously scientific. Conjunctive Staging seems to reflect this idea in that it produces connected information leading towards the same single object; i.e. collective action that produces a staged reality. Similarly, Conjunctive Staging might be called the analogous ‘science of creation’ in that it studies the physical act of creating a model existence. The connection between this and the philosophical stance of idealism is worth considering.

Perhaps the most basic recognition of idealism (cf. Adorno, 1994) is that the human spirit is in perpetual movement towards the greater realization of self. It does this by projecting itself into a dialectic movement of events; first the negative breaks free from the thesis and the two forces (the thesis and the negative) synthesize into a concrete form. According to Hegel (1869) the society, the individual, and history itself goes through this process. In alignment with this idea Conjunctive Staging offers a most unusual and profound analogy.

After accepting a story block from the anthropologist, the translator becomes an analogous creator. That is to say that he or she is completely free in the delivery. He could kill the characters off, or make them fly, destroy the narrative structure, perfect it, or change it until becomes something completely alien to its original intent. It is probably true that the translator will not do most of those things but instead keep the story in line with the audience’s expectations. Yet, he could do it and will be aware of this. The idea or larger hypothesis here is that there is something very natural about a human taking on this role as the creator because it is a natural analogy, at least according to the idealists, for the process that started existence in the first place, i.e. when the spirit of man projected itself into a physical dialectic designed to reveal that which is essential. The physical dialectic which man steps into is latent with a particular promise of the individual being able to bring him or herself up to a higher realization of self. Conjunctive Staging contains the same promise; that the translator can use what is most basic about him or herself; i.e. knowledge of his or her own people, general creativity, and storytelling ability, to bring the story up to its own greater realization. The scripted equivocation grants the message, the medium, and the audience, yet it is translator’s breath and creative ability that brings the story to life.

Where Conjunctive Staging might go and what it might accomplish in the future is difficult to say. Yet, whatever happens it seems clear that the deeper the study goes the more profound the analogy of creation will become, even to the point of physically change the immediate material world (by staging the drama) through the collective action of the group of participants. In the idealist analogy, those that take part in this happening will have shifted from the *created* (those spirits cast into a physical dimension) to *creators*, projecting their own images into a new physical dimension which they themselves create. Understanding the implications of this will require a slow and thoughtful unraveling of the depths of this analogy to see what further insight it might bring.

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

TELLING #1

{At Rumah Sang. The telling happened Sunday afternoon April 20th, 2015 on the longhouse veranda. The audience floated in and out. Many women sat nearby weaving baskets and chatting. Towards the end of act two most of the audience had floated away outside of a few but then another group enters towards the beginning of act three.}

### ACT ONE

#### [T1.a1s1.T]

[*First you see a very old man. You see him down on the floor. He is making a fire. When the fire starts burning he stands up and sees many skulls, antu pala yeah? On top of the fire. The old man touches the skull and he talks to the skull. He is telling the skull a story about Seropah. You know Seropah? He is saying that Seropah had to go out of his village with a jar. And he went to many other villages and he is asking people ‘will you be our enemy’? But no one wanted to be the enemy of the Iban. Then the old man stands away and he start to sing a traditional song. This is the first scene. Could you translate this now?* –This is your script yes? Maybe you explain it to us first and we will explain to them after. –*I was hoping that you would explain it now.* –It is more better for us to see your script. Otherwise if we have to explain it is difficult, if I see it first it is easier to explain.] (02.08)

#### [T1.a1s1]

1. Laban dulu kelia, dalam masa menya menya ko kitai. **Long time ago, a very long time ago as we always mention.** Bisi apai tuai orang siku kira lebih 100 taun, buk iya panjai, iya diau di kampung din iya ngaga siti rumah diau di kampung. **There** **was a very old man aged around 100 years old, with long hair living in the jungle.** Bejalai ke kampung. Nyadi apai tuai nya ngena baju indu, ngena pakaian kita indu ke kelia. **He was walking in the jungle. He dressed like a women, wearing woman’s clothing a long time ago.** Mata iya tek nyau nama tu, mata iya enda entu tek meda endar. **His vision was a bit blurred.** Lalu iya datai iya ba kampung din, ngidup ke api iya. **Once he arrived at the jungle, he started to light the fire.** Di idup ke iya api, iya lalu ukai ngena macis. **He did not use lighter to start the fire.** Ngena setail lama, main ansar-ansar kenya. **He used the old style, that he rubbed like this.** Udah api iya nya idup tadi, tiba-tiba ba asap ai iya nya tadi bisi baka keruntuk utai antu ayan ba asap. **When the fire started burning, suddenly a skull appeared in the smoke.** Keruntuk baka antu pala ayan ba utai ke asap nya tadi ke nunu utai. **Skull like an antu pala, it appeared in the smoke of his fire.** Bisi antu ayan udahnya. Kena peda apai tuai nya. **Then the ghost appeared. The old man saw the ghost.**

#### [T1.a1s2(1).T]

1. *Ok, we go on first. Now it goes black, like on tv. Then the words come up about the movie, like on a TV. Over the words we see a woman in a graveyard, a white woman with many big gravestones around. She is walking and the camera is very close to her face. Like nighttime, looking. She is very scared huh huh, like on a tv show. Then we cut, and go to a different room and there is a man watching her, watching her on a computer screen, and he is talking to her on a microphone, and he says to her ‘don’t be scared. Don’t be scared, it’s ok. Then we go back to the woman and she is like ‘oh my god what was that what was that?’*] (03.11)

#### [Ta1s2(1)]

Udah ke meda nya tadi, apai tuai ke bejaku nya, nya iya bisi meda indu gak ayan, ba semak kubur ko kitai. **After he saw that, the old man who we are talking about, he sees a girl appear near the graveyard.** Pansut lalu ngam-ngam pansut ba kamera iya ila. **That’s what will appear on camera later on.** Nyadi utai nya semak ba gambar indu nya. **So, that thing will appear near the girl.** Nyadi ba sepiak indu ke pansut semak kubur nya bisi siku lelaki Aslan. **So, behind the girl who just appeared near the graveyard, there was a man named Aslan.** Nyadi Aslan tu tadi, benung namanya, watching her. Ngemata ke komputer. **So, Aslan just did something, watching her. And looking at the computer.** [Watching her on the computer screen? Is it? Is it he said alright darling? *Ya, ya... He said alright darling.* Ooh... ] Meda indu nya ke pansut indu burak nya ko ya ba tanah kubur, semak pendam. **He sees the white girl exit the burial plot, near the graveyard.** Ba bilik sepiak, eh nya ba rumah siti gak ngimbai pendam nya bisi lelaki siku gak. **In the next room, eh in another house near the cemetery, there was a man too**. Benung nama nya, benung ngemata ke indu nya tadi. **He was what, in the middle of watching the girl that he sees just now.** Nyadi lelaki nya besai. Benung main komputer. **That man has a big size. Playing computer.** Ba bilik sepiak, eh nya ba rumah siti gak ngimbai pendam nya bisi lelaki siku gak. Benung nama nya, benung ngemata ke indu nya tadi. Benung main komputer.

#### [T1.a1.s2(2)].T]

[*Ok next scene. Then cut to another scene. Now we have a big man. White man name is Laucklan. And he's invited so many people to the table. On the table are many candles. He is talking to them. He hits the table very hard. He yells. Ok Mr. Edward. You have haunted this family for too long. I command you to come out! Come out and face me. Come out and show yourself to me. Again we go back to the video and another man says ‘do you see anything?’ and he says ‘no nothing yet.’ Then he says ‘wait, what was that?’ He is in the room with a table, he is yelling at the ghost. He says you come out now, you have haunted this family for too long. Then we go to the tv screen again and someone is asking him, ‘did you see anything?’ then ‘no nothing yet.’* Then you cut? *Yeah cut.]* [(05.31-06.45]

#### [T1.a1.s2(2)]

Nama enda cerita tu. Au, laban ba cerita ke bai iya peda, gambar apai tuai nya besai, Lachlan nama iya. **What story is this? In the movie that they see, a picture of the big old man named Lachlan.** Ba Lachlan nya bisi siti bilik. **Lachlan is sitting in one room.** Bilik nya bisi idup ke candle. **In that room there was a candle.** [Is it a candle? *Yeah, Candle light*.] Idup ke iya api. Idup ke iya api dian. **He turned the fire. He turned the candle.** Pandam ke iya mija ngasuh ngangau ke antu pansut, laban enda kala meda antu ko iya. **He knocked on the table and asked the ghost to exit, because he said that he had never see a ghost.** [Correct? He ask the ghost to come out? *Ya, come out come out*.]

#### [T1.a1.s2(3)].T]

[*Ok, the last scene. Very quick. Now we see the three people. Lachlan, the big man and the white girl and and some other guy are driving in a car together. They are talking about how funny it was when the chair moved, and I shook like that, haha.]* [(07.20-07.33]

#### [T1.a1.s2(3)]

1. Lebuh ke mandam antu nya tadi. Sida tiga alu lari. Pansut antu. Nyadi amat bisi utai gak dipeda. **After he knocked the table, then the ghost exited. The three of them ran away. Actually, they saw something there.** Tang bangku nya begusak. Tek bakanya deh. Tek begusak utai dalam bilik nya. **But the chair was moving. Like this. Then all things inside that room were moving**. Nya ke cerita ke sida tiga. Nyelai amat, laban nya tek bansa nya ko iya. **That’s what happens to the three of them in this story. Very strange things happen like that.**

#### [T1.a1s2(3).D#1]

[*So, a question. Do you think the people. So this is a tv show about hunting ghosts. There are many shows like this in the world. Do you think the people on the show believe in ghosts?*] [(08.05-08.25)] Nyadi nya ka tanya iya, ba filem ke gaga iya nya, kati kitai tu amat pecaya nya bisi antu ko iya. **So, that what he wanted to ask, he will make a film, do we believe that ghosts exist?** Meda utai nya, meja begusak tu tadi, utai sebelah bilik berenyang-berenyang. **He sees something, the table moving, the goods inside the room also moving.** Nya tanya ke iya. Kati asai ba kita. Saut indai. Nya segi amat. **He is asking. How do you feel? Mother, you answer. Yes, it is right.**

#### [T1.a1s2(3).D#2]

[*Do they believe in ghost?* True. They believe in ghost, because they pass through this thing. Because sometimes you see a chair or a table move, but no one is there. Things happen like this. Ahh. *Do you think that the people on the show, their belief about ghosts, is it the same as Iban people?* Sorry I don’t know, because we believe in ghosts.] (08.55-09.33) Nya ke tanya ke iya, nyadi arap tauka enda orang ba cerita nya ke antu? Nya ko iya. **So, that’s what he’s asking, do you believe in ghost stories? That’s what he means.** Sebaka enggau pengarap kitai ke Iban? Pecaya ke antu bisi tauka nadai. Nya ko iya. **Is it the same as our Iban culture? Believe that ghosts exist or not. That’s what he means.** [Because all of them are white people is it? Then I don’t know, it’s up to them. *You don’t know? Any idea?*](09.39-09.49) Nya utai nyadi kenya, endang segi bisi antu. Ukai utai gaga iya. Utai nya endang tiba-tiba datai. **If something happens like that, there must be a ghost. Its not us who did it. It suddenly comes like that.**

#### [T1.a1s2(3).D#3]

[Our father believed during the Japanese occupation. There was a mix of people, American, Australian and sometimes they believed in these things as well. They mixed with Iban, during the war time. Some of them believed, some of them didn’t believe. It’s up to you. *Do you think this kind of tv show is a good idea?* For me it is a good idea.] (10.53) Enti utai nya pandang ke ba tv manah tauka enda kenya ko tanya iya. Ka meda laban nyelai. **Will this story be attractive if filmed later? Yaa, we want to watch it because it’s weird.** [She said yes, because this kind of show is different than others. Others are always repeating repeating. There are never any new ideas about the story. I think the most important thing about watching this on the tv screen is to see a different kind of story, different from the others. I think that is the most interesting. That would like to see that show very much. *They would like to see that show*?]

#### [T1.a1s3(1).T]

*Now we cut. Now we go to a Bornean river boat and we see on the boat this big guy Lachlan. White guy, big guy. He is on camera and he is giving an introduction. He is talking about his show. Now we are doing this show “ghost chasers” now we are in Borneo, into the deep jungle.* To meet Bornean people? *Yeah. Now we are going to meet this old man. His name is Asu Renka.* Asu or Antu? *Asu is dog, is it?* Yeah. *This old man has the power to see the dead, he can see the ghosts, he can talk to call the ghosts. So we want to meet him.* I think maybe you got this story from Kayan people. In Kayan Asu means ghosts, but in Iban Asu means ‘dog.’ *No, it is dog, like Iban way.*] (11.00-13.01)

#### [T1.a1s3(1)#1]

Nyadi pia ko iya tadi, sekali orang putih gagai antu. Utainya ukui ko iya, asu. **So, that’s what he means, the white man was pursued by the ghost. That is a dog.** Iya madah, sida nya lari ngelawa Borneo tu. Ka lari ngelawa, baka kitai tu ba kampung puang. **He tells, they run away to Borneo. They want to run away to the jungle like our village.** Ka betemu enggau baka manang, ka betemu enggau baka orang ke beliau. **Want to meet the shaman, want to meet somebody like a shaman, like a person who can do beliau.** Nyadi angkat nya bisi ukui, laban antu ukai nya enda takut ke ukui, kenya ko iya, nyadi bakani ko antara ukui tu enggau antu enggau mensia. **That village had many dogs and he asks why ghost are afraid of dogs and what are the things between ghosts, dogs and humans?** Pia ko iya. Laban itai iban tu bisi manang, bisi beliau. Ukui, laban asu tu. Bakatu ku nya. **That’s what he means. Because Iban have shaman, have beliau. Also have dogs. That’s what he tells**.

#### [T1.a1.s3(1)#2]

Nyadi orang putih tu baka ke angan-angan. Angan-angan benung iya ka ngambi filem. The white man camera. **He is on the camera shooting a film.** Dini iya ka ngiga bulih betemu enggau antu. **He asks where can he find and meet the ghost?** Udahnya dalam runding iya din, benung ba Borneo river boat right? **At this time, this is happening on a Borneo river board right?** *Yeah.* Amat udah iya bisi siti idea, bulih siti runding iya. **Then he got an idea**. Iya lalu berunding ka bejalai ngagai menua Borneo. Menua kitai tu meh. Menua Sarawak. **He then got an idea to go to Borneo. To our country. Sarawak.** Alu betemu enggau manang. Kena ngiga antu. Udah betemu enggau manang nya, nya gak Iban ko iya. **He wanted to meet the ancient shaman. To find the ghost. He wanted to meet the ancient shaman, an Iban.** Nyadi Iban nya nama Asu Rangka. Laban iya manang nya bisi kuasa. Ulih manggil antu ko iya. **The Iban named Asu Rangka. The ancient shaman, he has the power. He can call for the ghost.**

#### [T1.a1.s3(2).T]

[*So then he introduces. He says we have with us now an Iban expert. An anthropologist. Her name is Ruth. Ruth. A small white girl. She speaks Iban very well. He says ok Ruth, ‘tell us about Iban people.’ So she talks about Iban people. That Ibans are mostly farmers and lived from this time to that time. But the he says ‘stop!’ We don’t want to hear about that. This is a ghost show. Talk about the Ghosts, talk about the Antu Pala, about the skulls. This is not a science show, this is a ghost show. So she says ‘ok ok’ she is a little scared because he is a big guy and he is angry suddenly, very fast becoming angry. So she says ‘ok ok’ at one time the Iban people were headhunters and further believed that the skulls had ghosts in them. He asks her “do you believe in ghosts?” She says, “I don’t know. I am like a scientist.”*] (15.00-16.11)

#### [T1.a1.s3(2)]

Au lebuh ke bejalai datai ba menua kitai nya tadi. Iya betemu enggau siku indu dalam rumah. **Yaa, when they are walking and arrive at that place, they meet with one women inside the house.** Umur iya 20 taun lebih pia meh. Indu orang putih. Antrapologis baka iya. **Aged around 20 years old. A white girl. Anthropologist like him**. Alu belajar ke basa Iban meh. Iya alu start nanya indu nya. Cerita ko iya. **And studying Iban language. He start asking that women. He said some story.** Nanya ke cerita keni ko cerita kitai iban kelia ke ngiga pala.**Asking about the story of our Iban long time ago that went for head hunting.** Udah indu nya ke cerita, Lachlan alu bejaku, badu. Badu ko iya. **After the women tells the story, Lachlan then said, enough. Its enough said him.** (16.54-18.57)

#### [T1.a1.s3(2).D]

Lachlan is very rude and aggressive is it? *Yeah, he’s rude*. Why is he so rude? *Because he has two faces. On camera he is very nice but in real life he is quite rude.* Ok.

#### [T1.a1s3(3).T]

[*Another person we have on the boat is our guide, an Iban guy. He has long hair, a very strong guy. So Lachlan asks him ‘ok, now tell us your name.’ Iban guy says ‘my name is John.’ Lachlan says ‘stop! John! We don’t like that name John. That is not an interesting name. We want you to have a good jungle name. Because this show is about jungle people. So the Iban guys says ‘well I don’t know, I live in the city. I come from Kuching.’ Lachlan says ‘We don’t care about that, that’s not important. On this show you are a jungle guy.’ So he says ‘well my grandmother always calls me Rentap.’ Ok, that is a good name for you. Your jungle name is Rentap.’ Also Rentap is wearing a rock and roll tee-shirt. Like Black Sabbath or something. Lachlan doesn’t like that shirt, says take off your shirt. You are a jungle guy. Rentap is not happy but he says ‘oh ok’ so he takes his shirt off and he has a big tattoo right there, Iban tattoo. Lachlan is happy, ‘saying yeah good, you are a jungle guy now.’ Now they are making the movie and they ask him. So he says ‘Asu Renka, the ancient Shaman is my great uncle. ‘Do you believe he’s got the power?’ ‘I don’t know, I don’t know. Maybe. Some people say he’s got the power.’*]

#### [T1.a1s3(3)]

1. Au nyadi cerita tu tadi udah sida ngiga nya tadi. **Yaa, so the story goes like this after they find it.** Nya sida bisi betemu ka siku orang kira ke pemandu pelancong meh. **They meet with someone that is also the tourist guide.** Nyadi pemandu pelancong nya tinggi tubuh. Besai besai tinggi alu, buk iya panjai. **The tourist guide has a very tough body and long hair.** Udahnya tanya orang putih tu tadi iya. **Then the white man asks him.** Nanya laban iya ke pemandu pelancong reti iya jaga perau kitai ngulu ke bala orang putih ko kitai. **Asking because he is a tourist guide meaning that he has to work the boat, and guide the white man**. Tanya iya nama. Sapa nama dek ko iya. Nama iya John. Iya madah kediri nama John. **He said, what is your name? My name is John. He tells that his name is John.** Ko orang putih nya? Ukai, Iban nya ke nama John. Nyadi orang putih nya enggai ninga nama iya John. **Said the white man? No, the Iban guy’s name is John. But the white man, doesn’t like the name John.** Laban nama John nya ukai patut nama orang ba kampung ko iya. Nyaut Iban nya. **Because the name John is too modern for village people like you, said the white man. Then the Iban man answer.** Aku tu ari Kuching ko iya. Laban ke enda nemu. Enggai ko iya. **I'm from Kuching. Because he doesn’t know. I don’t want, said him.** Nuan mesti ngaga nama siti, nama Iban nuan. Enda Inda ku segi madah nama aku John. **No, you should change your name, make it more like Iban name. No, you should change your name, more like Iban name.** Inik ku manggil ku John. Enggai gak orang putih tu**. My grandma calls me John. Still the white man can’t accept it.** Tang enti dirumah din, inik ku ngumbai aku Rentap ko iya. **But at my village, my grandma calls me Rentap.** Nya baru ka orang putih ninga, gaga orang putih nya. Meda iya madah diri Rentap. **That’s a good name, said the white name when the Iban guy tells him that his name is Rentap.** Udah iya madah diri Rentap, nyadi inya bebaju. Tang orang putih nya enda ngasuh iya bebaju. **After he told that his name is Rentap, the white man asked him to take off his shirt. The white man doesn’t want him to wear the shirt.** Buka baju nuan ko iya. Aku ka meda tubuh nuan. **Take off your shirt, said him. I want to see your body.** Baru nuan betul-betul orang kampung, orang utan[[106]](#footnote-106) reti. /Bisi pantang?/ Buka iya baju nya tadi. **That will make you look like a villager, meaning jungle people. / Have tattoo?[[107]](#footnote-107) / He then takes off his shirt.** Nya bisi meda bungai terung bisi pantang. Nya baru manah ko iya. **Then they saw the bungai terung[[108]](#footnote-108) tattoo. That’s very nice said the white man.**

#### [T1.a1s3(3).D]

[It’s quit interesting. *Ok what do thing about this show, tv show? Is it a good idea for them to go see ancient shaman and see the ghost?* Ya, it’s a very good idea. ] Keni gaya enti cerita bansa nya, ka kita meda ko iya? Kita ke nyaut. Ukai aku. Aku udah madah. **Will you watch it later? You guys answer. Not me. I told him already.** Ngam cerita nya deh. **Its a good story.** [It’s a good story.] Ka ninga ko iya. Nama meh alai enggai ninga. Ka meda ila enti iya ngaga. **You guys want hear the story? We do not want to hear. We want to watch it, if he makes it later.** Nya di filem ke sida iya ila. Ka meda ila. **He will film it later. We want to watch it later**.

#### [T1.a1s4.T]

[ *We continue on the boat. We meet one other character. A small white guy named Andy. He is very much like a woman. He dresses very nicely and he is afraid all the time. He is afraid of everything. He is afraid of the water, he is afraid of the bugs. He feels sick. Like that. We also see two other Dayak guys. We don’t know if they are Iban or what. We don’t know, just Dayak. They are holding the camera. Camera guys. Ok? They are on the boat. As they go down the river, it is a nice day, Bornean river, but then they see a dead animal in the water. And the see some smoke from a burning field and it looks like a skull. Rentap tells Ruth that he hasn’t heard from the longhouse in some time, no word. He is worried but doesn’t want to tell Lachlan. Also it is the rainy season and he is worried that too much rain might come.* ] (21.21-23.04).

#### [T1.a1s4]

Nyadi bisi siku orang putih, nyadi kati ko kitai nyebut, ka pundan-pundan enda.**So, there was a white man, how to say, he reacts like a girl.** Iya, kati kitai nyebut baka pendiau orang ke indu. **He behaved like a women**. [ Just like a women? *Ya like a women. Andy is like a woman, yeah.* ]

#### [T1.a1s4.D#1]

1. [ What is your question? *So in the water they see a dead animal and smoke like a skull. Do you think those are bad signs?* ] Nyadi enti nyema kitai merau. Kili ke kitai ko iya. **So, if we use the boat. We are heading towards the downstream, said him.** Ba sebelah rantau jalai bisi meda bangkai jelu ka, meda asap, nikal tauka enda, nya ko iya. **If you're on the way to somewhere, and at the mid of your way you saw a animal death or you saw a smoke, will you turn back? That’s what he asks. /**Keni laban kitai ka bisi ka lembut[[109]](#footnote-109) ati. **How, because he has a good heart./** [So what your question? *My question is did they see the animal, smoke like a skull. Is it a bad sign or what do you think?* ]Nya meh ko iya, enti nyema nuan merau tepeda ka bangkai jelu, meda asap baka ke bisi antu pala. **That’s what he said, if you're boating, then you see the death animal, see the smoke then the skull appear.** Kati kitai tu nikal tauka enda. Manah tauka enda. **So, will we turn back or not? Is it good or not?** [ If you see the dead animal we would turn back. We continue. Sometime you hear the bird noise, not all the sounds, bird sound is asking you to turn back. There are some species or type of bird that make we should turning back.*What sound would make people turn back?* Not only bird. We also cannot see the deer. ] Enti kitai bejalai pia ko iya. Nama utai enda tau di dinga kitai. **He means if we are walking. What are the thing we should not hear.** [ So not only bird, we cannot see the deer. ]Nya ko iya, nama utai patut adu ke kitai. **That’s what he means, what should we do.**

#### [T1.a1s4.D#2]

[ *Andy is like a woman a little bit. In my country sometimes men are like this. Does this happen in Iban?* Yes, yes. *Why* *do you think this happens?* ] (25.55-26.16) Nama alai ko iya, orang putih bisi kati ko iban nyebut, bisi lemah semengat.[[110]](#footnote-110) **He is asking why the white people have the faint-heart.** Nama alai nya bisi nyadi. Nama alai utai nya tau nyadi. Bisi kala nyadi ba kitai Iban? **Why that happens. Why that kind of thing happens. Does that happen in our Iban culture?** Segi bisi kitai Iban enda. Au segi bisi. **Yaa, Iban have. We have it.** [ That kind of question is hard to answer. I think not only Iban. Chinese also got the same things. Just like this, like Andy. Do *you think they have some sort of spirit or something wrong with them?* Yes, yes, they believe like that. They also have the same thing. ]

#### [T1.a1s5.T]

[ *Now the cast arrives at their destination. But no one is there to meet them. The big guy Lachlan is angry. He says to Rentap ‘You said everyone would be here. Where is everyone?’ Lachlan is so angry, he is yelling at Rentap. Rentap says “I don’t know.” Lachlan yells at him ‘If you make this show bad I will beat you, like that. So angry. Rentap feels very bad. Lachlan is so angry. Also it is two Km. to the longhouse. They have many bags, cameras and everything. Rentap asks Ruth and Andy why Lachlan is so angry. Andy answers because the tv show is going bad, this is their last chance to do well. So they walk into the jungle. Can you translate?* ] (26.54-28.57).

#### [T1.a1s4.]

Nyadi, sida tu tadi sida Lachlan udah sida ke merau, ngili sungai udah ke meda bangkai nama jelu, nyadi datai sida ba penyangkai ba Nanga Engkamop dia. **So, Lachlan and his group are on the boat, they see the animal carcasses before they arrive at Nanga Engkamop.** [[111]](#footnote-111)

#### [T1.a1s5.]

1. Nadai orang. Nadai orang ngambat sida. **But nobody’s there. Nobody welcomes them**. Nyadi, rumah panjai 2km penyauh sida iya bedarat ngelawa rumah panjai. **So, the longhouse is 2km by walking from the jetty to the longhouse.** Udahnya, iya ringat amat ati ngelawa Rentap. **He is angry towards Rentap**. Laban Rentap nya ke ngulu ke iya ngulu ke orang putih tu tadi bejalai. **Because Rentap is a tourist guide and guiding the white people during their journey.** Udahnya, nama kebuah nadai orang ko iya nganu Rentap. **Then, why is nobody waiting for us, he is asking Rentap**. Udah ke datai ditu. Nyadi Rentap madah, aku pen enda meh nemu. **After they arrived there. So Rentap tells him that he also doesn’t know.** Nya alai, pecaya tauka enda, laban iya ka ngaga cerita. Iya tu ka ngaga cerita iya. **So that happens, believe or not, because he wants to make a story. He wants to make a story later.** Meda orang nadai, retinya ringat iya tu tadi sayau ke duit iya tebasau pia ko iya. Nyadi.... Nyadi... **Because nobody is there, he gets angry because he feels like he just wasted his money. So... So...**

#### [T1.a1s5.D#1]

[What is your question? *Ok so, in this movie, this character Lachlan is a bad guy. So I try to make a bad guy. Because he is like aggressive, fighting sometime, drinking too much. How about Iban? what make a person like bad? If you see on tv*? ] Laban tu ila pansut ba tv, ba skrip sida. Nama kebuah orang nya jampat ringat? Pia ko iya. **Because this will be part of a tv show in his script. Why do the white people get angry easily? He is asking.** Ambi ke banding, baka rentap ke ngulu ke orang putih tu tadi, ka ngelawa siti penyangkai, nadai orang siku nyambut**. For example, Rentap is the tourist guide, and brings them to the jetty but then nobody is waiting for them there.** Nyadi rumah pan jauh ari nya. Nyadi sampai orang putih nya tadi ka ngaga filem tu ringat.**So, the longhouse is far from there. So the white man that wants to do filming gets angry.** Nyau ka mukut orang. Nama kebuah tau nyadi utai bansanya. Bisi kena idup kitai Iban? **He wanted to punch people. Why does that thing happen? There is nothing here to do with our Iban lives right?** Nya ko iya. Nama kebuah orang jampat ringat bakanya ko iya. Laban orang putih jampat ringat ko iya. **That’s what he means. Why people get angry easily like that. Because that white man gets angry easily, that what he said.** Nanya nama kebuah orang putih nya jampat ringat. Au. **He is asking why the white man get the moodiness. Yes.** Bisi ke enda kitai Iban jampat ringat baka nya ko iya? Bisi tang pelaba aku engka tek jarang. **Do** **Iban have a quick temper like that? It may be but rarely, I think.** Nyau ringat bedarat meh nya? **Maybe he's tired from walking?**

#### [T1.a1s5.D#2]

[Not all these people can get angry so easy. Just sometimes an obstacle, or have a bad dream, no transportation. During bad weather last time, our road was so bad. You know, so one can get angry so easily. Be patient. So being angry fast is a bad sign. *You just want to read it real fast? Ok, just read.* Act one scene 6[[112]](#footnote-112) ] Enti kitai manding ka bakanya, maya kitai enda lantang, bakani kitai ka datai deh? **If thing happen like that, or we have bad dream, how can we come right?** Walaupun udah besemaya. Ujan kini ari baka kitai tu jalai jai. **Although it promised. Or its rainy and the road was damaged.** **[** Is it the weather bad last time? The road so bad. So we can't get angry so easily. Be patient. *Ya.* Get angry fast is a bad sign. *Ok, you just want to read? Ok, read. Act one scene 6* **]**(32.28-33.13)

#### [T1.a1s6]

Udahnya, udah sida ke bejalai ngagai bala sida iya tu tadi sida ke bejalai enggau Rentap tadi, meda kitai Iban. **Then, when they're on the way with Rentap, they meet with the Iban guys.** Pendam, ukai tek besai endar, udahnya orang putih tu tadi mai sida ngelawa pendam nya tadi.**The cemetery is not too big, then the white man brings them to go to the cemetery.** Kira ka meda utai dia. Nyadi kitai Iban tu enda setuju. Enda setuju ke duduk diau di pendam. **Guess he wanted to see what’s there. But the Iban guys don’t agree. Don’t agree to go to the cemetery.** Laban enggai ke kitai tepeda ke antu.Tang orang putih tu tadi bedegil. **Because they are afraid of the ghost. But the white man is stubborn.** Iya ngumbai kittai Iban tu penakut. Pia ko iya. **He said that Ibans are frightened.** Enda pecaya ke utai bansanya meh reti ko orang putih tu tadi. **Don’t believe things like that. That’s what the man says.** Nyadi lepas nya enda gak orang putih tu berani. Nyadi iya agi enda entu rindu. **So, after that, the white man who is brave drops it. So he's still not in a good mood.** Nganti ari bukai aku ka nikal kia ka meda baru pia ko iya. **Someday I'll come again here, wanted to see it again, he said.** Udahnya, empai datai ba rumah panjai, dia sida meda ular. **After that, before they arrive at the longhouse, they see the snake.** Udanya Lachlan tu tadi bisi kena empa lemetak. Ermm... Nya ko iya. **Lachlan** is **also biten by leech. Ermm...** **That’s what he said.**

#### [a1s6(2)]

Nyadi sida tu tadi laban ke bejalai ba kampung, ngelawa rumah panjai. **So, they are walking through the jungle to reach the longhouse.** Angkat tek tesat. Baka kitai ke tesat dalam kampung. **But then they get lost in the jungle.** Nyadi orang putih tu tadi tek enda entu rindu iya. **So, the white man is still not in a good mood**. Enda entu rindu, laban nyau bejalai-bejalai nadai gak mansa rumah orang. **They are not satisfied, because they did not see any longhouse during their journey.** Iya enda gak jauh ko jaku. Nyadi cerita tu tadi, retinya orang putih tu enda arap ke utai ko kitai Iban. **They say it’s not too far. So, the story goes like this, meaning that the white people did not believe to the Iban.** Utai ke bisi antu tauka utai nyelai-nyelai dalam kampung. **That ghosts come or something weird in the jungle.** (35.02-35.17)

#### [a1s6.D]

[*My question is, that Rentap saw in the forest a traditional warrior. What do you think that means, what do you think it is?*-] Nyadi ko iya baka Rentap, arap tauka enda kitai enti kitai kala tesat ba kampung bakanya. **So, he said like Rentap, believe or not if we are lost in the jungle like that.** Enti orang putih nya enda arap. Nya ke baruh nya ke tanya ke iya. Udah tulis ke dia magang neh? **If the white man did not believe. He is asking that one from below. He wrote it all there right?** Au. Udah tulis ke iya. **Yes. He wrote it.**

#### [T1.a1s6(1).2nd]

[[113]](#footnote-113)Sida iya tu bejalai gai kampung. Bala krew begulai enggau bansa kitai Iban. **They are walking to the jungle. All the crew together with the Iban guys.** Sida bisi meda lubang kubur. Baka kubur. Alu orang putih tu begulai enggau Rentap. **They see the graveyard. Like a grave. The white man together with Rentap.** Udah ke numbak ke utai nya. Meda orang benung ngali kubur. **After digging it. They see the recently dug grave**. Nya iya madah anang ngacau nya ko iya. Laban nya segi utai bisi antu. **So he tells do not stir it. Because there must be a ghost.** Laban nya ubur kitai dayak. **Because it is a Dayak graveyard.** Takut ke bisi antu pansut ko iya. Alu Lachlan manjung gai sida. Enti bisi antu pansut ari nya. **Afraid if the ghosts comeout, he said. Then Lachlan is screaming at them. If the ghost comes out from it.** Keni ko kitai ko iya. Anang guai ngacau nya ko orang putih madah gai sida ke enggau iya nya tadi. **What should we do? he is asking Do not stir it for now on, said the white people to the rest.** Bala orang nya udah iya ke madah ke nya, ngerara nya tadi. Orang nya alu berasai takut. **They tell him not to stir that. They are afraid**. Alu berasai lemi tulang sida. Alu sida berasai takut. Takut laban enggai ke utai nya nyau pansut.**They feel demoralized. Then they are afraid. They are afraid, that something will exit.**

#### [T1.a1s6(2).2nd]

Udah sida ke pansut nya, nyadi bejalai baru sida iya. Nya sida bisi meda ular. **After that, they continue their journey. Then they see a snake.** Ular meh peda sida. Lemetak meh peda sida. **They see the snake. They also see the leech.**

#### [T1.a1s6(2).D]

Nya ke tanya ke iya. **That’s what he is asking.** Keni ko kita ke kala meda utai nyelai-nyelai ba kampung. **What do you think if you see something weird in the jungle?** Nama reti utai ke peda rentap nya tadi ko iya. Asuh iya utai ke tanya ke iya. **What does it mean? Did Rentap see something weird just now? That’s what he’s asking.** Kala kita meda tauka bepengalaman betemu enggau utai bansanya ba kampung ko iya. **Have you experienced meeting with something weird like that in the jungle?** [ What kind of snake is it? *The red and black stripped kind.* For me, I never see something. But this one is quite interesting. ] Enti bala sida lemetak sida ular lapa ga enda kala betemu enggau. **If it is snake and leech then we have seen and met it before in the jungle**. Malam ari kami duai Apai Eniel. Nemu nuan jalai ko aku nganu iya. **During the night, I and Apai Eniel. I was asking him, do you know the way?** Nemu, sengkilu aku enda ulih ma' ditu ko iya. **I know, I left a lot things here before.** [ I have story. /*You lost in the jungle?*/ With my friend. He told me, you know, this way. He said yes, I have been here so many times. We were lost there until the next day, all night in the deep jungle. Sometimes you see things and they will disturb you. *So, you do believe in those things?* Yes, I believe in those things. ] (39.32-40.21 minute).

#### [T1.a1s7]

1. [*Ok, so, they arrive at the longhouse.* ] Sida iya datai ba rumah panjai siti. **They arrive at the longhouse.** [*They see many dog around.* ] Mayuh meda ukui ko iya. **They see many dog.** [*The children around and talk. And then the headman come out. Children see the white people. And they run inside the house and called the headman to come out.*] Datai anak mit meda iya, takut alu lari. Lari pepar anak mit. Nyadi semina kitai ke tuai tu pansut. **Children see the white people. And they run inside the house and called the headman to come out.** [*And a headman come out. And he's say Hello hello. I'm so sorry. I'm so sorry that you came so far. I've some bad news for you. Actually ancient shaman, Asu Rengka, only two days ago died. So we’re so sorry that you came here to see him, we know , but we just buried him yesterday*. *Then Ruth asks why no one told them*.][[114]](#footnote-114) (41.13-41.40). Nyadi orang putih ke ngelawa rumah nya, ka betemu enggau siku orang. **The white man is looking for someone at that longhouse.** Asu Rangka nya ke ka giga iya. Nyadi udah mati 2 ari dulu ari nya. Asu rangka nya tadi. **He is looking for Asu Rangka. But Asu Rangka died two days ago.** Cerita ke dulu agi. Nya ke giga orang putih nya. Baru udah mati. **The first story. That’s what the white man is looking for. He just pass away.** Nya ke giga orang putih nya. Nyau udah danjung orang. **That’s what the white man was looking for. But he had already been buried.** Nya iya madah, nama alai kita enda madah ke aku maya iya mati ko iya. **Then he asks, why did nobody tell me that he died?** Ni nemu madah ukai nya serumah enggau kitai. **How can we tell him?** [ *So they are looking for Asu Rengka, then he asked why did you not contact me about. Because Asu Rengka, when he was dying said many words. He said firstly you should do no ngulit for me. I don’t need it, I know the way. Also when the foreign people come you should take them in.* ] (42.18-43.07) Au Asu Rangka nya bisi cerita munyi ko iya nya tadi. Nama iya mati kitai anang ngulit. **Yaa, but Asu Rangka had his own story. If he died, he asked the villagers not to ngulit for him**. Alu anang betesau meh reti iya. Enda tua madah ke orang. Nama mati alu mati meh. **Then, please don’t tell others. Never tell people that he died. Just let him die like that.** Enda tau diulit ke meh. Laban ka bebasa ya ke mati. Lalu orang putih enda dasuh iya masuk.Sekeda ngasuh madah ke Lachlan kebuah. **Don’t ngulit for him. We should respect his request. Then, the white man cannot come in. They should tell Lachlan the truth about it.**

#### [T1.a1s7.D #1]

[ *Some of the people are against the idea of the headman. What do you think about the debate the people of the longhouse was having? Which is more important, to have the ngulit or follow the last words of Asu Rengka?* Of course it is important to follow the last words of Asu Rengka, not have the ngulit and not have the foreigners enter the longhouse. ] (43.37-43.37) Tang tuai rumah nya segi enggai. Laban iya nitih ke jaku pengarap sida. **But the headman doesn’t want to tell. Because he keeps on follow the rules of their culture.** Enda ngasuh madah. Enda ngasuh iya datai. Enda dasuh iya bepadah. **Don’t tell others. Dont ask people to come. He left a message not to tell other.** [ Now this story is accepted, people can come in the longhouse, but no party, people can come in but just sitting down, have discussion like that.] *Do you think it is important to have the ngulit for a very old man?* Yes, they should have the ngulit. *Like for a very old man, more than 100 years old?* Yes, it is important. *So you would definitely do mourning, no question?*  Yes.] (43.57)

#### [T1.a1s7.D #2]

Enti nyema kitai, ngulit tauka enda pia ko iya. Sida serumah datai orang agi bedau ngulit. **Either we will ngulit for him or not, that’s what they mean. Then the people came in the period of ngulit.** Datai iya, ka ngambi gambar bedau muai ulit. Diatu kitai agi enda setuju utai ke bakanya.**They came to do shooting in the period of ngulit. But the people did not agree with that.** Agi ngulit enggai nyadi. Laban kitai agi ngulit. **If they are still in ngulit, it cannot be done. Because they are still in ngulit.**

#### [T1.a1s7.D #3]

1. [*They are looking for Antu Rengka. Why did you not contact me? Because When Antu Rengka said, before he died, he said many words. He said don’t do ngulit, for me, I know the way. Also don’t t tell anyone for one month. Also when the foreigners come take them in and treat them good.* ](44.45-45.45 minute).] Nyadi Asu Rangka tu mati tuai ko iya. Udah lebih 100 taun. **Asu Rangka died because he was getting older. He was more than 100 years old.**

#### [T1.a1s7.D #4]

[ *Do you think Asu Rengka just died for no reason? Do you think people choose when they die?* Asu Rengka was more than 100 years old? *Yes. –Do you think you can choose when you die?* No. Nobody can be be choose when they die. Maybe he knew when he was dying. Maybe he asks them to do the ngulit, for one month, tell no one. ]

#### [T1.a1s8.T]

*Ok, so then, next scene. The crew, the western people and Rentap talk outside. They talk and ask if they should go in or not. Rentap says that he has a bad feeling about this. That they should go back. But then Lachlan and Andy say ‘no we can’t go back. We will find some ghosts, save the show.’ So they go in*. ] (46.04)

#### [T1.a1s8]

Nyadi Rentap ke ngulu ke sida iya tu tadi ke ngaga filem tu mai sida nikal. **Then Rentap asks them to turn back.** Laban rumah sida nya agi ngulit. Tang orang putih nya tadi enggai. **Because that longhouse is still in ngulit period. But the white man doesn’t want.** Keras ka ngaga utai dia. Ka ngambi gambar. Ka meda antu. **He still wants to do his mission there. Wants to do the shooting. Wants to see the ghost**. Sedang ka rumah sida nya agi ngulit. **While the villagers are still ngulit**. [What is your question? *Do you ever have a feeling like that? Like you feel something is important?* ] (47.35)

#### [T1.a1s8.D]

1. Enti semina tek niki aja nadai ngambi gambar ulih neh Indai? Ni iya ka agi ngulit. **If they just come in without taking any pictures then they can, right Indai?[[115]](#footnote-115) Because they are still ngulit.** [ So, yes we can still come to longhouse but without taking picture, just sit down and have discussion, don’t make noise. *But in this case the foreigners are to come in. That was the last word of Asu Rengka. That the foreigners should be brough in and also entertained.* Is it? *Yeah*. Ooh yeah. *Right, he said ‘no mourning for me, I want no ngulit, just put me in the ground and forget about me.* Yes. So in this case because Asu Rengka asked for this before he passed away then this can be accepted. *In this case it is acceptable?* Yes yes. ] (47.59-50.58) Padah ke sida. Laban sida ke Asu Rangka empu ke madah ke sida enda ngulit. **Tell them. Because Asu Rangka told them don’t ngulit for him.**

#### [T1.a1s9]

Niki gak sida. Tuai rumah nya ngasuh gak niki. Datai sida ba rumah nya. **Then they come in. The headman then asks them to come in. Then they enter the longhouse.** Tuai rumah nya alu mai sida ngelawa bilik Asu Rangka. **The headman brings them to Asu Rangka’s room.** Datai, tama sida iya kin, ba bilik nya bisi siti meja.**They come in and in the middle of room there is a table.** Ba siti meja nya mayuh utai lupung Asu Rangka ke udah mati nya tadi engkah iya ba atas meja. **There's a lot of thing on the table, that are lupung to Asu Rangka.** Sida bisi meda utai baka sungkup. Sida bisi meda sungkup ba rumah apai tuai orang nya. **They see something like a coffin. They see the coffin inside that old man’s room.** Alu bisi meda utai baka. Baka.... Antu pala. Ayan ba sebelah bilik apai tuai orang nya. **Also see other things. Like a skull. They appear in the old man’s room.** Utai segi gaga orang dia. Ukai utai gaga nya. Segi utai bisi bilik dia. **Something that people do there. And they put it there. Inside the room.** Laban nya tadi tu antu. Bisi tulang-tulang utai meh nya dia, baka batu meh. **Because he is a half ghost. There is also a bone, also a stone.** Au, bisi utai namanya, ngambi utai ke enda telih ba senapang. Nama utainya? **Yaa, there is also something like a gun. What is that?** Tek timbak ke iya. Baka nama nya. Baju kirai, kulit nama enda. Bisi ayan sebelah nya. **Then he tries to shoot the gun. There is also the shirt of kirai. Also appears there.** Au bisi gambar iya ka Asu Rangka nya baka gambar ka ngena gari orang ke indu. **They see one of Asu Rangka’s picture dressed like a women** (52.42-53.39 minute)Udah sida nya ke utainya tadi, puas sida ke masuk bilik dalam bilik nya tadi, benung sida ngambi gambar, nya sida bisi meda, utai baka tuak reti ko kitai, tuak nya tuak udah lama. **They keep looking in Asu Rangk’sa room. After that they found one jar that contains tuak that Asu Rangka had keep for so many years.** Alu laban Lachlan tu ka mancal agi, ka dirup iya. Enda asuh apai tuai nya. **Lachlan is a bit naughty, and he wants to drink that water but is restricted by the headman.** Nyadi Lachlan laban ngumbai diri berani. **Lachlan says that he is brave.** Apai tuai nya enda gak ngasuh iya ngirup nya. **But the headman did not give him permission to drink that water.** Laban iya takut ka nya, nama nuan ukai orang berani. Utai nya tau nyadi racun. **If you're not strong enough or don’t have power, you cannot drink that tuak and if you drink, it can become poison.** Utai ke baka jalung. Nemu, utai ke jalung ko kitai. Ngirup jalung. Ngasuh orang layu. **Water inside the jar. Jalung water. Drinking jalung. Can make you become weak.** Nya orang ke ngirup jalung. **The person who drinks the jalung water.**

#### [T1.a1s9.D]

[ He is very interested in that? *Yeah.* *Why* *do you think he made this table? Any idea?* Not like gawai antu or this. If you want to drink the jalung you must have killed someone. The Lemenbang must have sung to it. If not then it will take you. If that lemanbang made some special one then you should not drink that one. *Do you think a manang like Asu Rengka could make a drink it?* Yes, Because Asu Rengka is the owner of the liquor. He made it so he can drink it but others should not drink it, maybe they will be attacked from it. ] (54.17-55.13)

#### [T1.a1s10.T]

[ *Later that night. The Iban people make a party for the foreigners, the men do a dance. They see a pregnant woman, very pregnant. They meet a Manang, in his 50ties. He is not as powerful as Asu Rengka. The Manang looks at Lachlan’s palm, but he doesn’t want to see. The headman looks and says ‘it’s ok’ he says you’ll have a longlife. But something is bothering him. Also one pretty girl twenty-two. Rentap is flirting with her. He tells her that he lives in the city, has so much money. But she is not interested in him, doesn’t want him. She says you spend so long working for yourself but not for your people.* Yes, its correct. *Now Andy, the womanly man gets drunk and vomits.* ] (58.13).

#### [T1.a1s10]

Udah sida ka ngambi cerita nya tadi. Bala group sida nya malam ba rumah kitai ila. **Afterwards they take the story. Then they stay at that longhouse**. Bisi parti mimit, makai. Udah sida ka makai, badu sida makai.**They will do some partying, eating. They eat and after they eat.** Bala sida ke nembiak, sida ke tuai. Iya ke ngajat, ngajat. Iya ke jugit, jugit. Nya meh reti. **The youth and the old people. They ngajat and disco.** **That’s what they do**. Ngerami sida iya. Ngerami bala orang putih nya tadi. Alu sida bulih ngirup. **Party for them, the white people who come over there. Then they keep on drinking.** Udahnya, benung sida ngirup nya tadi. Bisi datai indu siku. Indu ngandung. **During the drink, one pregnant women come in.** Benung indu nya ngandung, alu sida iya, indu nya pinta ka belian meh reti, enggau manang. **The pregnant women was looking for manang because she was almost ready for childbirth.** Udahnya, alu tuai rumah nya madah, nyadi manang nya, nyau nyadi manang ke baru diatu. **Then the headman tells that, they have a new shaman.** Semina manang, kumbai iya manang sengapa. **Just a shaman, that is just a new shaman.** (58:59) [Just a simple manang is it? *Yeah*]Ukai baka Asu Rangka, manang kelia ko iya suba. Iya ke kena iya belian. **Not the same as Asu Rangka, the ancient shaman fro a long time ago, that they use to belian.** Lalu manang nya tadi alu ngayan ka batu ilau. **Then shaman takes out the magic stones**. Orang putih laban ke enggai meda batu ilau nya tadi. **But the white man doesn’t want to see the magic stones (batu ilau).** [Lachlan didn’t want to see the hand, the palm is it?]Alu iya enggai meda batu ilau, alu ngasuh meresa tapa iya. **Because he didn’t want to see the batu ilau, he then asked the shaman to read his palm.** Iya alu semina ka meda enggi Lachlan. Enggi orang putih ka iya meda. **He just wants to see Lachlan’s palm. He just wanted to see the white person’s palm.** Orang putih tu gayu ko iya ba jari. Udahnya, udah sida ke begagai nya. **He said that the white people will have longevity. Then they keep on playing.** Bisi siku gak indu Iban pansut. Bajik ko iya. Kira umur 22 taun, nyadung ai. **A** **beautiful Iban girl comes out aged around 22 years old, gives them water**. Alu Rentap laban Iban ke kering, nguji nundi indu nya tadi. Tang indu nya enggai. **Rentap tries to tackle that girl. But that girl doesn’t want.** Laban iya, Rentap tu, madah kediri amat bisi utai. **Rentap tells her that he has everything.** Gawa ba tu gawa ba nya ko Rentap madah ke iya. Datai ari Kuching nyin. **He tells where he works. And tells that he comes from Kuching.** Indu nya majak enggai laban enda gauk ke orang ke keja Kuching din kitai Iban menua ulu tu. **But that girl doesn’t want him because she doesn’t want a town man.** Nya ko iya. **That’s what he means**.

#### [T1.a1s10.D #1]

[That good. That good idea. *So do you think Iban girl more like traditional Iban guy or like modern guy?* Now a day, of course during around 60 or 70 years ago they liked the traditional guys, but now they like the modern guys. *The idea is that traditional knowledge is important. Do you think that younger guys are losing traditional knowledge is important? Are they losing something.* Yes, the young people are losing the traditional knowledge.] (1.01-1.01.43)

#### [T1.a1s10.D #2]

[What *is the Iban opinion about people like Andy, getting drunk easily, not liking everying*? ] Enti dibanding orang ke mabuk nya ko iya. Keni ko kitai. Baka orang ke mabuk baka Indi. **If compared to those who get drunk. How to say it? Somebody drunk like Andy.** Mabuk endar. Mutah-mutah. **Getting drunk. Vomiting.** [ Ya... Its quit interesting. Sometimes it is not bad, but it is very rare. *So this character Lachlan is a bad guy. When he comes into the longhouse he needs to do something bad, showing something bad. What can he do? Andy is a drunken man, gets drunk easily Lachlan is a big guy, easily upset, he needs to do something offensive*. We can not judge so easily bad or good. It is difficult.]

### ACT TWO

[T1.a2s1.T]

*Act two scene one. Night time, dark. Rentep suddenly wakes up and he feels a sword on his neck. He sees a traditional warrior with a sword down on him. The warrior removes the sword and says come on, come with me. Rentap is afraid but follows him, they go to the rumah and goes into a different bilik and sees a sleeping person. The headhunter cuts off the head, we hear the boom of thunder, like that. Rentep is so afraid. Then someone is shaking him awake*.] (1:01:58-1:04:52)

#### [T1.a2s1]

Malam nya, Rentap tu tinduk bisi mimpi. **At that night, Rentap was dreaming**. Lebuh iya ka mimpi nya tadi, asai ka nama nya, bisi kitai suba, orang ke ngiga pala. **He dreamed that somebody was hunting for heads and met him.** Betemu enggau orang ke ngiga pala. Engkah orang ba, meda bisi apai tuai orang mai duku. **He met with the head hunter. He saw the old man bring the dagger.** Engkah orang ba rekung iya bakatu. Ngimbai iya ngena baju kitai Iban. **Put the dagger on his neck. Near him and wearing the Iban clothing.** Mayuh pantang, alu apai tuai nya tadi alu engkah ba pala iya. **Had so many tattoos on his body. Then the old man put it on his head.** Alu mai iya pansut ari bilik nya. Rentap tu alu enggau iya. **Then the old man asked him to go out. Rentap just followed that man.** Alu enggau apai tuai nya. Bejalai ba utai ke petang. **He followed the old man. They walked in the dark.** Tama gai bilik sebengkah. Udahnya, datai seduai ba bilik sepiak. **Enter one room. Then they came in to the other room.** Ba bilik sepiak meh reti iya. **Means in another room.** Datai seduai ba bilik sepiak, mayuh orang gali dia, nyadi orang ke mai iya nya tadi. **There were many people inside the room, laying there.** Orang ke gali nya dipumpung iya pala iya ke siku. **The man then cut one of the head.** Ukai enggi Rentap. Nya meh Rentap takut meda nyau mumpung. **But not Rentap. Rentap was afraid when he saw that man cut off the head.** Udah iya mumpung nya tadi, ari alu kudi. Ngitar alu munyi. **After he cut off the head, the thunder and storm struck.** Ninga utai nyau begentum kulu kili munyi. **They hear the rumble boom conditions.** Nya ke dinga. Rentap laban ke segi udah takut. Udahnya tedani iya. Nya mimpi iya aja. **That’s what they hear. Rentap was very frightened. Then he wakes up. But its only a dream.**

#### [T1.a2s1.D #1]

[ Its just a dream is it? That good. Thats a great. *So what do you think of a dream like this?* This is a good dream for me. If you go for headhunting, then you will get a head, you will surely get a head, one enemy, one skull. If you have a dream like then you will have so much power, be so successful, good for you, bring power to your country. Also being scared is very good also. *It’s a good thing?* If someone chase you, an animal wants to chase you, it’s a good thing. *Why is it good?* Because it means that you will always be wary, you can be wary of other people, like that. *Why do you think the headhunter killed the other person in the dream?* ] (1:06:02-1:06:37) Mimpi munuh orang. Indu dibunuh iya. **Dream about killing people. Killing the women.** Nama dalam mimpi nya, iya kaban Rentap ke nyau munuh orang nya ko iya. Mimpi rawan iya. **What of the dream, he, Rentap's friend was killing the people. Its a dream**. Nya alai kenya. Nyau remban iya. Laban iya berani. **That’s why it happen like that. He was delirious. Because he’s brave.** [During war time, during Rentap time, you dream like that, that you kill something, then that dream will come true. ]

#### [T1.a2s2.T]

*Ok move on, he is shook awake. The dayak guy is shaking him awake. We hear the thunder. He says something is happening. The pregnant woman is going to deliver the baby, but it is too soon, they are calling the manang, it is a dangerous thing. Andy says we should go film. Where is Lachlan? I tried to wake him but he is sleeping, too drunk.* ] (1:07:40-1:08:58)

#### [T1a2s2]

Nyadi lebuh Rentap ke mimpi nya tadi. **So, when Reantap was dreaming.** Tu tadi lebuh Rentap ka utainya, Rentap agi tinduk, digusak iya. Ari alu ujan. Amat ujan. **At the time, Rentap was sleeping, and they shake Rentap to wake him up. Raining was falling outside**. Alu beduru malam nya. Nyau dani Rentap udahnya. **Also the sound of the storm and thunder. Rentap wakes up.** Nyadi lebuh Rentap ke dani bisi indu siku ka beranak. **When he woke up, he saw one women wanted to give birth.** Nya mimpi iya malam nya. Utai laban kudi laban nama. Sida alu manggil manang. **That’s what he dreamed last night. The storm and thunder last night. Then they call the manang.** Nyadi orang putih tu tadi laban ka rindang mabuk. Laban ke udah ngirup alkohol. **The white man was drunk maybe because he drank so much alcohol.** Rentap alu belanda udahnya. Madah ke manang. Ngasuh manang belian ke indu nya tadi. **Rentap ran away and found the shaman. Asking shaman to belian for that women.**

#### [T1.a2s2.D]

[That’s good. *So why do you think the woman went into labor? Is it connected to the dream?* No, I think it is a normal thing, just happened, time for her to deliver. *No connection to the dream at all?]*

#### [T1a2s3.T]

*Lightening is falling. They go to the woman’s room. The men stay outside to make film. Ruth goes inside. Andy is very nervous, where is the doctor, I feel so drunk, its very difficult like that. Then the Manang comes in all wet from the storm. (1:09:54-1:11:35 minute).]*

#### [T1a2s3]

Amat manang nya amat. Laban arinya ujan bangat. **He comes with the shaman. Its also a heavy rain.** Mayanya ujan bangat. Indu nya majak ka beranak. Datai Lachlan tu tadi orang putih. **The rain keeps on falling. Heavy rain. The women is struggling to give birth. Then Lachlan come.** [Is it man or women. *Women. It’s the anthropologist*.] Alu datai orang putih tu tadi iya ka anthropologist iya ke belajar baka pengawa sida tu. Iya alu. **Then the white person comes who studies anthropologist and sees what they are doing.** [ How about Andy? *He is there, he is very nervous, complaining, I’m so drunk, oh where is the doctor. (1:12:00-1:12:08 minute).* ] Nyadi ko orang putih, ka benama Andy, ke ati mabuk baka apai Nyanau tu tadi, madah kediri mabuk. **So, the white man, named Andy who gets drunk like Apai Nyanau, he tells that he is drunk.** Nya iya nanya ni lutur ko iya. Bisi datai ka enda? Laban nya ukai lutur ke datai. Manang ke datai. **He is asking where is the doctor? Has come or not? Because it is not the doctor who comes.** **But the shaman who comes.** Manang nya alu bejalai ngelaban ujan ngelawa indu ke padah ke sida. **Then the shaman is walking toward the pregnant women in the rain.** [T1a2s3.D] [*What do you think about the raining in this case*? Is it during raining or what? *Yeah.* It’s just a normal thing.]

#### [T1a2s4.T]

[*Ok, so… the rain is coming, big lightening. Manang does his ritual, puts the blanket, kills the chicken over the woman, Ruth helps keep the woman held. The film guys outside. Manang is doing his spirit business. Andy is so afraid, he can’t understand about the doctor. He is too afraid. Through the flash of lightening Rentap sees the traditional warrior, just for a second. In the biggest thunder the baby comes, through the candle light. Andy runs off and throws up again.] (1:12:42-1:14:14).*

#### [T1a2s4(1)]

1. Tu cerita manang nya tadi. Sekumbang ke utainya deh. **This is the story of the shaman just now. During that happening.** Manang alu start belian ke indu nya tadi. Begulai enggau indu orang putih nya. **The shaman starts his ritual. Together with the white women.** Semak indu orang putih nya. Nyadi laban Andy tu ke mabuk, nyau takut iya meda. **Near the white women. Even Andy is still drunk, but he is frightened to see the things like that.** Manang alu nyayat manuk. Alu Andy tu berasai takut. Alu nanya ni lutur. **Then the shaman is killing the hen. Andy gets more frightened. Then he is asking where is the doctor?** Iya enda meda manang nya ngadu ka nya. Sekumbang nya, ari majak ujan bangat. **He doesn’t want to see the shaman doing things like that. At the same time the raining keeps on falling.**

#### [T1a2s4(2)]

1. Namanya, bekilat kudi ngitar ko kitai. **The thunder and storm keep on striking.** Udahnya lebuh ngitar ka pansut, nyadi Rentap tu tadi bisi meda senayau utai ke pancar ba mua pintu. Senayau **When the storm and thunder strikes, their will be lighting. Suddenly Rentap sees the shadow of something.** utai baka nama. Gamal orang baka ke ka munuh iya tu tadi ba gambar eh ba mimpi iya ke dulu agi. **The shadow looks like** **the shadow of the old man that cut off the head in his dream.** (1:14:51) [ He sees the headhunter is it? *Yeah.*] Lalu indunya jung ka beranak udahnya. Tang meh kudi, utainya, begulai enggau ngitar enggau kilat. **The women also gives birth to her baby. But the thunder and storm keep on striking.** Manang nya megai anak mit nya tadi. Alu ngangkat bai iya ke tanju, alu namanya... **Aaa.. The shaman is holding the baby. Then he is holding and brings the baby outside.** Kira ke gaga meda indunya udah beranak.alu beranak indunya tadi. Au. **They are happy because the women already gave birth to her baby. Yes.** Manang nya tadi maya bisi meda ngitar, Rentap meda baka bisi ke ka munuh iya maya mimpi dulu agi. **When the shaman sees the thunder, then Rentap also sees the man that he met in the dream.**

#### [T1a2s4.D]

[*Ok, what do you think about this ritual? What would people normally do, a woman giving birth, what would they normally do?* I think for me, this is a good idea. Is it a baby boy or girl? *I don’t know, what do you think?* A baby boy. If it a baby boy, then if it a boy maybe it will become a very good headhunter, for me. *What kind of ritual would the Manang do, in this case?* It is a bit personal because we don’t believe in Manang, but before people believe in Manang. People believed in Manang to bless the soul, but now adays manang is not so important when the woman is deliverying, now people use doctors. *But in situation like this, so far in the jungle?* Yeah, that is a strange thing, seldom something like that. Maybe at that time they would call manang.

#### [T1.a2s5.T]

[*Come to next morning, rain is still falling. Rain is making a small lake, already flooding, so heavy rain. Inside Ruth comes out of her room, she looks so tired. She hears a crying sound. She sees people bringing out the pregnant woman in blankets, pregnant woman died. They are doing a ritual on her, something on the foot,* baby lived already? *Baby lived, mother dead. (1:15:38- 1:19:50 minute)]*

#### [T1.a2s5]

1. Au, bakanya ko iya. Indu orang ka mati. Pagi siti laban indu orang putih kelalu buntau. **Oh ya, it then goes like this. The women died. The next morning, the white women is still sleepy.** Malik kebaruh meda, laban nya ujan semalam-malam. Nyau ka bah ai. Udahnya pansut ke tanju. **Ruth comes out to the tanju and sees a flood downstair.** Ninga nyawa orang nyabak. Meda indai tuai ke beranak nya tadi mati. Mati beranak meh reti iya nya. **Ruth comes out to the tanju and sees a flood downstair. She hears people cry.** **Then she saw that the pregnant just died**. Udahnya, nama orang mati beranak nama utai ke tancum orang ba kaki indai? Bulu landak? **After that, when a women died while giving birth, then we put something on her foot right Indai? Porcupine quills ?** Au, bulu landak. Ngambi enda nyadi kok lir. **Yess, porcupine quills. So that she did not become a kok lir.**

#### [T1.a2.s5.D]

[What do you mean? They put something on the foot? Porcupine spine, in the foot, so that they don’t become antu kok lir, so the woman won’t disturb us, and tied up with red thread, but it on backward, lay the body upside down, facing the ground. For the dead woman, after dying after delivery. Very seldom happens now, never happens now, but maybe 50 years ago. Now we have a doctor for delivery. It did happen before, very dangerous, kok kok kok, the woman would come, very true that one, she would come back and disturb others. Kok kok kok lir, kok lir. Haha You know this woman has died already, maybe when she wakes up she will be kok lir, she disturbs man only, she likes the testes very much, 50 or 60 years ago. (1:20:37-1:20:51 minute).] Kati tancang orang ngena ubung? Au tancang orang ngena ubung merah? **So how did they tie with the threads? Yes, they tied with the red thread.**

#### [T1.a2.s6.T]

*so everyone is sitting on the floor. The crew. Andy is so distressed. They say where is Lachlan? where is the host? He is still asleep, still in his room, I will go get him.*(1:20:55-1:24:48 minute).]

#### [T1.a2.s6]

1. Nyadi orang putih ke nama Lachlan, ke besai nya tadi, laban ka namanya, laban ka ati mabuk. **Lachlan did not know what happened because he slept through the night. Maybe because he was drunk.** Maya utai nya nyadi iya enda meda. Mati mabuk? Ukai maya indu nya ke beranak tadi enda meda iya. **When the things happened he did not see. Died drunk? No, he did not see the women who died while giving birth.** Enda meda indu nya mati beranak. Ngiga Lachlan, laban Lachlan ke ati tinduk. **He did not see the women die while giving birth. They are looking for Lachlan because he kept on sleeping.**

#### [T1.a2s6.T]

[*So everyone sitting on the floor. Andy now goes into Lachlan’s room. Andy shakes him but he doesn’t move. This is why our show is failing, because you get drunk all the time. Then lachlan’s head moves in a strange way*.]

#### [T1.a2s7.T]

*Ok, so everyone is on the floor drinking coffee, everyone is calm. Others are near the body of the woman. Suddnely you hear a scream from Lachlan’s room. Andy runs out, oh my god he’s dead, he’s dead! He is panicked. Won’t calm down. Ruth Slaps him! All the villagers run over and headman comes what happened? Lachlan is dead. Then for a second we see the shadow pass the window. (1:25:13-1:26:33 minute)*.]

#### [T1.a2s7]

1. Cerita manang tadi. Nyadi siku ke empai dani. Dani iya tadi tek nyau nyerauh ko iya. **Back to the shaman story. One of them is still sleeping. When he wakes up, he is screaming.** Nemu nya bisi mimpi meda indu nya mati kini. Baka kitai, laban ngitar, ari ujan agi. **Maybe he had a dream because the women died. Then the thunder and rain kept on falling.** Iya asai ke bisi mimpi meda orang. Nya tuai rumah nanya. Nama main nuan bakatu? **He felt like he had a dream. Then the headman asked him. Why did you react like this?** Iya nyau baka ke ngigau.[[116]](#footnote-116) Nama-nama nuan bansa tu ko siku. Nya iya madah bisi meda utai ko iya. **He was like delirious. Why are you like this, he is asking. Then he tells that he saw something.** [*Ok, um… what do you think of Ruth slapping him. What do you think of that? ] (1:27:21-1:27:38)* Au laban siku nya nyau ulih orang mandam bakanya. Bendar iya remban nyau bemimpi. **Then the people punch him because he is delirious. He is delirious and still dreaming.** Jarang diatu neh indai. **Sometime. But rarely, yaa Indai.** [Sometimes people won’t wake up, we shake him or use water to wake him.]

#### [T1.a2s8.T]

[*Ok, so many people go into Lachlan’s room, but Lachlan is obviously dead, can’t wake him. No breathe, no blood nothing, he is just dead. During sleeping, but they see next to him is a camera box but empty. Where is the camera? Find the camera. Dayak guy leaves (1:28:22-1:29:58 minute).]*

#### [T1.a2s8]

1. Nyadi orang putih nya tadi, Lachlan mati enda ulih gerak orang ko iya. **Then** **the white man, Lachlan died because they could wake him up.** Nyadi laban bisi kamera kena ngambi gambar tisi iya tek nadai. Kini ke tunga nya deh? **They tried to find where the camera was.** **Where is the camera?** [Where the camera? *We don't know]. (1:30:09)* Kamera nya tau nadai. Iya tek mati. Iya ni nya ulih gerak. **How come the camera is lost? He also died. Because they could not wake him up.**

#### [T1.a2s8.D]

[*So what do you think if someone die like this in your sleep. What do you people think? Died while sleeping? What do people think normally?* That happened in ancient time. Because he said he was strong. Maybe Asu Rengka took him. Maybe Asu Rengka wanted to find out if he was really brave. *Oh,ok. Do you think that they would call a Manang in this case?* I think no because he is dead already, if he is in a coma then they call a manang. /No need to call Manang, because he is dead already.

#### [T1.a2s9.T]

[*Rentap, Ruth, and andy, sit in a different room. They found the camera in Asu Rengka’s room. It was set up but forgotten. They take from the camera the film part, they take it. What movie did he make, they want to watch. (1:30:30-1:32:57*).]

#### [T1.a2s9]

1. Nyadi udah ke mati, ko iya tadi. Rentap enggau Andy duduk ba bilik siti puang. **Then, after they know he died, Rentap and Andy were sitting in the other room.** Udahnya orang bukai ke bisi. Udahnya pulai, datai sida. Udahnya sida mai utai kena nambai bilik. **Then the others come. After that they go back. And come again bring something from their bilik.** Kati ko nama apai Tuai ke mati suba. Au, Asu Rangka. Tek ba bilik nyin kamera orang putih nya. **What is the name of the old man who passed away last time? Ooh ya, Asu Rangka. They found the camera in his room.** Alu din. Au. Nyadi laban kitai, nyadi kati kitai nyebut memory kad. **They go there. So, how to say, they take out the memory card.** Udahnya Rentap ngambi memori kad orang putih tu tadi. **Then Rentap takes the memory card, that white man brought.** Baka kitai ke ngambi, memori kad komputer laptop baka enggi nembiak.**They take out the memory card and play it with the laptop.** Ambi Rentap ka engkah iya ulih peda ke enda. **Rentap takes it, either they can watch it or not.**

#### [T1.a2s9.D]

[*What do you think he was doing in the room?* That’s a good idea. Antu Rengka stole his camera, because the camera was found there, maybe Antu Rengka took the camera into his room, good idea, very fresh. *So, they play the movie*. Yes yes yes, we said already. ]

#### [T1.a2s10.T]

*Ok, Lachlan in Asu Rengka’s room, all the candles around, the antu pala, everything. He is turning it on himself. He says my name is Lachlan, Iam a healthy man. I am doing an experiment. I will drink this death alcohol. I am like a dective of the ghost, I will drink this alcohol. He opens it and drinks. He drinks it. Right at that moment. Suddenly the lightening and thunder.* Lightening and thunder. *Then everything goes strange, shiiis, static, then as an audience we go into the film.Can you translate?* -yeah we said already. *He takes the drink and starts choaking, then ooh feels sick, then he starts coughing, swaying, then the rain starts falling, lightening, Lachlan sits heavy , every goes fuzzy he’s looking at the candles, pengarop, he looks at the skulls, then one of him, woop, turns, looks back at him, he is very surprised, big lightening. For some reason Suddenly he sees outside, his mind goes outside, but there is a girl wearing traditional clothing in the rain, rain is falling down* Iban girl or Dayak girl? *Yeah Iban girl. She is standing in the rain, rain is falling boom, here hair is down, falling down like this. He is very scared.* Why is a strong man so scared? *Then back to the jungle, lightening behind her we see many people behind her, they are skeletons, but she is different, she is not skeleton, her eyes shine, like an animal. Lachlan gets up and goes out the door, he tries to get away, goes to the Rumah. Many headhunters are coming in the house. He tries to get away but she is right in front of him, she is wet but also sexy. She is coming to him, he is petrified, can’t move. She touches his face. She goes down, there are many animals in her hair, many animals. He screams but the thunder comes and takes his scream. Then it goes back to the movie.* The last part was in the movie? *Yeah they were watching the movie, inside the movie.* Wow,very nice, I like it. It’s a new idea. Very new idea.] (1:32:08-1:39.43).

#### [T1.a2s10]

1. Cerita nya tadi udah ke meda, dambi sida iya utai ke temu sida ba bilik antu. **After they watch it, they take something out from the ghost’s room**. Dambi sida ba memori kad. Engkah sida ba filem. Engkah sida ba utai baka komputer. **They take the memory card. They put inside the film. They open it with the computer.** Udahnya sida meda Lachlan tu tadi, orang putih ke udah mati nya dalam bilik laban nya ba bilik antu rangka nya tadi. **Then they see Lachlan, the white man that just died inside Asu Rangka room.** Antu ke udah mati nyadi manang nya tadi. Antu rua enggau antu rangka. Datai din ngirup iya. **The ghost that died that was the ancient shaman from before. The antu Rua and antu Rangka. Went there and drank the water.** Nguji ngirup arak tauka jalung ke enda tau irup. Iya laban ngira diri berani irup iya**. Try to drink the tuak or Jalung water that cannot be drunk. But because he thinks he's brave.** Udah iya ngirup nya, nama nya meletup baru guntur retinya. **After he drinks the water, the thunder and storm start to strike.** Dalam guntur ke meletup meletup nya munyi-munyi. Pansut iya ke ruai. **The sound of thunder keeps on exploding. Then he comes out to the ruai.** Peda iya bisi indu siku luar din. Basah. Basah laban ujan. Indu Iban ko iya. Bajik-bajik gamal. **Then he sees a women outside. She is wet because of the rain. Iban girl. Such a pretty girl.** Perening iya bakanya. Takut iya meda indu nya. **He is looking at that girl. Then he gets scared when he keep looking to that girl.** Udahnya bekilat bekilat baru utai sebelah tisi utai nyau baka nama baka antu ayan reti ko kitai ngimbai indu nya. **Then the thunder and storm are striking again, near them, then something appears like a ghost.** Nya iya asai ka lari. Iya ka lari kin engkecit gak indu nya. Ngempang iya. **He feel like he wants to run away. He wants to run away, but the girl keep on obstructing him.** Takut Lachlan tu tadi. Engkecit gak indu nya ngelampat mua iya. **Lachlan become afraid. The girl jumps and keeps on obstructing him.** Ngelampat mua orang putih tu tadi. **Obstructing the white man just now.** Nya ku nanya nama iya ngumbai diri kering tang takut ka antu ko aku nganu iya tadi. **That’s what I asked, why he said he was brave and strong but frightened of ghosts.** Antu nya takut ko iya. Nyau pemuas, udah indu nya ka ngiga iya, laban iya ke kelalu takut. **But he said the ghost was frightening. After the girl did like that then she stopped, because he was very frightened.** Duduk indu depan iya bakanya. Iya agi bediri laban orang putih nya ke tinggi. **The girl sat in front of him like this. He was still standing up because of his height.** Peda iya ba pala nya tek macam utai. Jelu sebelah pala iya nya. Macam-macam utailah.Baka namanya. **Then he saw a lot of things on her head. Animal on his head. And many more...** (1:41:22) [ Animal or what? *Yaa.. Animal, small bug*.] Mayuh baka kutu utai ba pala indunya tadi. Bajik gak gamal. Udah indu nya duduk. **There were a lot of things like fleas on her head. But she looked beautiful. After that she sits down.** Iya mula nya bediri. Udah bediri duduk ba mua iya. Nya iya meda tek semangkuk kutu. **He stands up at first. After the girl sit down, then he sees a bowl of ticks. (**1:41:46) [ Is it bug or what? Many bug or what? *Lice?* Lice? *Yeah, head lice*. Lice in the hair? *Yeah*] Bisi lemetak meh sebelah pala iya ko iya. **There is also a leech on her head.** [Then?... *it goes back into the video, they are watching it.* ] (1:41:54-1:42:01). Udahnya gambar ke nyau nya tadi ke peda sida. Nya cerita gaga iya. **They are watching the story. He will make a story of it.**

#### [T1.a2s10.D]

*Ok so what do you think about, who is the girl*? Iban girl. Maybe a ghost or what? *I don’t know. Maybe a ghost*] Nya ke tanya ke iya. Kati ko nya antu ke ukai? **That’s what he asked. Is it a ghost or not?** [ Of course it’s a ghost.] Engka indu ke udah mati beranak. **Or maybe the women that died while giving birth.** [I'm sure that one, is the one have die the women during pregnant. I’m sure that one is a dead woman, the one that died during the delivery. Like an antu kok lir. It happened, maybe 20 or 30 years before.] (1:42:38-1:45:20) Nyadi ko enti antu rangka ngelawa iya, nama utai nyadi ko iya. **So, if the antu rangka comes to him, what will happen?**

#### [T1.a2s10.D]

[*Question, when the skull is moving, when it turns to look at him, what do you think of that? You like that idea? When he drinks the alcohol and the skull moves*? I think I have no idea about that. *Should the skulls do more things?* Of course, we have to perform a spiritual, bring the manang to make that thing not happen. In such cases we need to call one two or three manang to the village to make that thing not appear. *What about the skeletons? If you saw skeletons like that*? You should call the Manang. –*Ok, in a situation like that you should call the manang*. –Yes call manang. *Ok, last question When Lachlan screams, she goes down and he screams like that but later they find his body in his room. So how did he go? From the Rumah to his room? Do you think that is a problem?* I’m not quite sure, let me see. *You know when the thing appears he is on the rumah, but then they find him later in his bed.* But Lachlan is already dead? *Yes, but at that time he was alive. Then they find him in his bed.* Alive in his bed? *No, dead in his bed. Do you think it is a problem?* No, not a problem.

#### [T1.a2s11.T]

*Ok, I’ll go on. So after watching the video everyone is so surprised.* Yeah. *The dayak guys are especially surprised. Oh my god Lachlan brought the demon, the kok lir. One of them points at Ruth, you you made this happen. He is so angry he wants to fight with her, he goes a little bit crazy,* -they want to fight with Lachlan? *With Ruth, Lachlan’s dead.* Yeah. *But then rentap stops them, no no stop and so the Dayak guys said they had to leave, because of the curse. Rentap says if you want to leave go quietly. So fine those two guys go out the backdoor and into the rain, even thought the rain is coming so big. ] (1:45:42-1:48:42)*

#### [T1.a2s11]

Au nya agi cerita ke tusui iya tadi. Udah ke meda pengawa nya nyadi, indu nya mati nyadi kok lir. **Oh yaa, there is one more story he wants to tell. After many thing happen, the women died and become a kok lir.** Kumbai ngacau orang putih. Nya alai siku nya udah mati empa nya. Datai sida ka muru indu siku nya. **They thought that it was because of the white man. That’s why one of them died, eaten by a ghost. They came and drove her.** Ka tetak sida indu siku nya. Tang tagang Rentap. **They wanted to kill that women. But were obstruct by Rentap.** [Yeah, very nice.]

#### [T1.a2s12.T]

*So Ruth says everyone calm down, this is not true. She yells at Andy, maybe you did it, maybe you gave us a drug, maybe you did a trick to us*. –But one woman is already dead. –*yeah, and Andy says, no no,not us. Ruth says no, people always talking about these things but they don’t happen. Rentap says but they are happening, one woman is dead. If you want to run out with those guys into the jungle then do it but if not we need to go out and talk with them. You translate?* –Yeah, I already told them. *You told them already?* Yeah I told them such things. Ok ok, you explained already.

#### [T1.a2s12.D]

*Ok, so they go out back into the Rumah, Rentap, Andy and Ruth. So question, what do you think of these Dayak guys acting crazy?* –Maybe because Lachlan died, and they saw him do it. –*Do you agree with that, they are correct*? Yeah, I think in ancient times these things happen a lot, but now never.

#### [T1.a2s13.T]

[*Ok, now outside, these two dayak guys are running away from the longhouse, in the rain,* -why are they running? *Because they think that the curse has come.* Ok. *A group of angry dogs come out of the bushes at them.] (1:49:43-1:51:39 minute)*

#### [T1.a2s13(1)]

Au laban bisi 2 iku lelaki, takut 2 iku laki nya ko iya. **Yaa, there was 2 men and they were both frightened.** Enggai agi diau dia, laban takut ke antu kok lir, lebuh seduai ke lari, ari ujan, mayuh ukui ngelingi seduai iya. **I don’t want to live here because of the fear of the antu kok lir. While running away, it was raining and there were so many dog around them.**

#### [T1.a2s13.(2).T]

[*So now we go back to the rumah. So Rentap Andy and the Ruth go and sit with the villagers. They are all trying seriously to understand what has been happening here, two people are dead so quickly. So they are asking if anyone has had a dream. One woman brings a bowl of rice out and the rice is black color, yesterday was good but now it has turned black*. I think he [referring to the Iban listener] understands. *For my research*.] (1:51:56-1:52:54)

#### [T1.a2s13(2)]

1. Udahnya sida berandau nama kebuah utainya nyadi. **Then they had a meeting, why were those things happening, like that.** Sida nya baum enggau tuai rumah enggau bala nembiak nembiak iya. **They met with the headman, together with the headman.** Datai indu siku bisi mai asi. Tang asi nya warna chelum. Bebali chelum. Nya ko iya. Ermm. **A women comes and brings the rice. But the rice is the color black. Turned black. That’s what he means. Ermm.** [Ok. What is the color of the rice? *Black. Its white rice but then it changse to black.*] Au. Bebali beras nya tadi. Yaa. **Yes, The rice changed.** **Yeah.** Awak ke nyadi racun ko kitai. **It can become poison.**

#### [T1.a2s13(2).D]

1. [*Ok what do you think that mean? Why rice turn balck? Any idea?* White rice turned black. Maybe the rice was poisoned? /I think something will happen now. Black thing is not so good, never tasted now, rotten rice already? *Yes, many things are rotting.*]

#### [T1.a2s13.(3).T]

*The two Dayak guys are walking in the rain, the dogs are barking , trying to bite them. One dog attacks dayak guy #1. The other guy hits them with a stick. Suddenly they hear a sound and all the dogs look in that direction. We don’t see what it is. The Dayak guys gasp, when they look. Suddenly the two dayak guys start to run, running away from what they saw.* –What was that? –*we don’t see*. –We don’t see? –*They see though and it scares them so much that they start to run.*]

#### [T1.a2s13.(3).D]

1. [Did they take, eat the rice? Something weird happened. White turn black. Black is not so good. Maybe the rice poisonous or not? They never taste it. Its a bad.]

#### [T1.a2s13.(5).T]

*So we go back to the outside now. So the 2 dayak guys walking in the rain. You know all the dog, surround there.* ]  *( 1:54:14-1:55:15 minute).*

#### [T1.a2s13.(3/5)]

Nyadi 2 iku nya tadi iya ke udah ke belanda meda ukui gagai ukui meh. **So, the two man who ran away were chased by the dog.** Ukui nya bisi 6 iku. Alu ngigit siku kaban iya. Nyadi siku nya nulung iya. Nulung ngambi iya kayu. **There were 6 dogs. One of them was bitten by the dog. Another one was helping him. Helping him to find the wood.** Palu iya ukui nya tadi. Nya lari seduai iya. **Then he punched the dog. They continued to run again.** Maya seduai ke lari bisi ninga utai munyi, bisi meda utai. **While they ran away, they heared and saw something.** Orang bukai enda meda. Seduai iya aja meda. Lari baru orang belanda. Lari ke utai nya. **The others did not see. Only they both could see it. Then they ran again. Ran away from that thing.** Nama utai ke munyi. Agi gak lari ke ukui, lari ke nya gak. **What is that sound? They ran away from the dog and that thing.**

#### [T1.a2s13.(4).T]

[*Ok we go back in the house now. The villagers are arguing now about who had what dream? They are arguing. Rentep tells of his dream. Everyone is surprised. What do you think people would talk about at this stage. Maybe they are talking about the very strange thing, they are discussing why the death happened, if they had done something wrong or not, how can we avoid doing this again next time or not.]*

#### [T1.a2s13.(4).D]

[*What would they say about Rentep’s dream?* *Maybe it will come true, killing someone?* Yes, come true, came true already.]

#### [T1.a2s13.(5).T]

*Now we go back to the two Dayak guys running from the dog. One of the guys has been bit already, he has blood on him. One dog jumps on him and knocks him down. The other guy hits him with a stick.* [[T1.a2s13.(6).T] *One old man in the longhouse says that maybe Rentep is connected ot the ancestor, trying to talk with him. But then why did the headhunter kill someone? If the headhunters are good? (1:55:40-1:58:49 minute).*]

#### [[T1.a2s13.(4/6)]

1. Amat laban nya nyau pulai ke rumah panjai baru. Sida ke agi berandau nya tadi. **They ran away back to the longhouse. The people were still meeting.** Bisi siku apai tuai, umur 80, udahnya becerita madah ka nama alai Rentap tu tadi, mimpi Rentap tu tadi tau nyadi meh reti ya. **There was an old man aged 80 years old, then he told why Rentap’s dream became like that.** Nya utai ko iya. Amat tau nyadi nyata. Udah mati ke mimpi. **That’s what he means. Its can become true. After the death in his dream.**

#### [T1.a2s13.(4).D]

[Who killed someone Rentap or? *No, the headhunter. Why did the headhunter kill someone if it is a good guy?*]

#### [T1.a2s13.(7).T]

Suddenly they head a loud scream outside and Rentap and Ruth run outside to see what happened. ]](1:59:13-1:59:27)

#### [T1.a2s13.(7)]

Au benung sida ke berandau nya tadi, becerita bisi ninga utai munyi. **So during the meeting and sharing some story, they heard some sound.** Nama nya bisi utai ba luar. Meda seduai iku nya tadi. Siku telih lengan udah ketup ukui. **They saw something outside. They saw the two men outside there. One of them was bleeding from his leg being bitten by the dog.** Laban ke lari enggai diau ba rumah panjai nya agi udah utai ke nyadi suba. Lari. **Because they ran away and didn’t want to live there anymore. They ran away.**

#### [T1.a2s13.D]

*What do you think about the idea of the elder, that Rentap connected to the head hunter?* Maybe Rentap is quite magic. Magical. Ya magical man. *Is that why he saw the headhunter?* Yes. at that time Rentap wanted to go back, but Lachlan said no, that means that Rentap has a good relation with the outside world. Maybe he knows why these two guys passed away. One woman died during delivery, Lachlan died inside his dream. Therefore Rentap’s dream is very powerful, a very powerful dream. *Oh, ok, maybe… so Rentap is making this happen with his dream.* Yes.

#### [T1.a2s14.T]

*So the rain is coming down hard now. Rentap runs out and finds the two Dayak guys, he jumps in. he is fighting the dogs, the dogs bite him but he doesn’t care. The others and Ruth take the Dayak guys back. Rentap stays and fights the dogs, he is not scared. ] (2:00:00-2:01:30)*

#### [T1.a2s14]

1. Dalam mimpi iya tadi, laban rentap ke madah ka, meda dua iku nya benung ngelaban ukui. **Rentap tells them about his dream, then he sees the two men against the dogs.** Datai Rentap nulung. Nulung seduai iku nya ke laban ukui. **Rentap comes and helps them.** **Helping them against the dog.** Udahnya orang ba rumah panjai alu ngambi seduai iya. Rentap alu majak ngelaban ukui nya. **Then, the villagers help those two men. Rentap then keeps on against the dog.**

#### [T1.a2s15.T/D]

*Ok. Suddenly, all the dog hear the strange sound. Suddenly all the dogs run away*. Disappear? *Run away. Rentap sees the headhunter in the jungle, very clear. Just standing. Rentap is so shocked. The headhunter turns and walks off into the jungle. Rentap turns, like he has no mind of his own. Takes his shirt of and walks into the jungle.* I told them already, the dog disappeared. *No, not the dog, Rentap walks into the jungle. Like he looses his mind.* So Rentap won’t come back anymore? *We don’t know.* Does Rentap know the headhunter, know his name or what? *No no, he is just so fascinated.* Oh, so he just follows the other headhunters? And he takes off his cloths? *Yeah, he takes off his cloths and follows the headhunters*. That is quite a mystery. *A mystery. Can you translate that?* Yeah I already did it. *Have you ever heard of anything like that, people just walking in the jungle?* Yes maybe, it doesn’t happen now. Yes, sometimes in stories it happens, stories from our grandfather. Just a story like this one. In those days it happened but not nowadays. *Where do you think Rentap is going?* Maybe… Following the headhunters. *Yes following the headhunter*. It is something supernatural. Like a shaman thing but more powerful than a shaman thing.]

#### [T1.a2s16.T]

*Ok, so they go back into the house with the two dayak guys have a lot of blood on him, from the dog bites. Many bites on his body. Andy is so shocked.* W*hy is everyone dying like this? The Dayak guy is saying there is something out in the forest, it won’t let us leave, there is something keeping us in the forest. He’s still alive, but a lot of blood.* Not dead yet? *Right and he said there is something out there, we can’t go out.* I don’t have any idea about that. *While they are looking around at the Dayak guy with so much blood, Andy goes crazy and starts shaking. Suddenly many people start to go crazy. One woman goes crazy and tries to run out of the house. Everyone is going so crazy now. So the Headman has to yell at everyone, be calm, sit down.] (2:01:51-2:06:42)*

#### [T1.a2s16]

1. Udah ke cerita sida nya tadi, orang kedua ke bisi Andy, nanya nama kebuah utai mayuh enggai nyadi. Kedua ka lari meh sida ba rumah panjai. **After that Andy and other are asking why a lots of things have happened. Some want to run away from that longhouse.** Lari ari rumah nya. Tang tuai rumah nya enda ngasuh. Rilek ko iya. Anang mayuh main. **Run away from the longhouse. But the headman did not give them permission to run away. Don’t do anything stupid.** (2:06:56) [Stay calm is it? *Yeah, everyone calm down. ]* Sida kebabat magang sida serumah meda utai tek nyelai. **The villagers became chaotic because a lots of weird things were happening.**

#### [T1.a2s16.D]

*Have you ever heard of anyone acting like this?* I never heard of anything like this. *Nothing unusual like this? What do you think the headman would do in this case?* Of course he’s going to protect all the longhouse, they don’t like it but they have to stay in the longhouse. The headman would try to do something to rescue the longhouse, do miring or something like this, that is he asks everyone to calm down, because he has some idea to do something like that. ]

#### [T1.a2s17(1).T]

*Ok, now the Manang comes and kills the pig, the pig is screaming, the Manang kills the pig talks to it. He puts the blanket over his head, looks through crystal, rocking. The manang has a vision, sees Asu Rengka, he is saying ‘who is the enemy? The enemy is hidden from us. He sees Lachlan drinking the drink, sees the ghost girl. The Manang starts to shake then he stands up, and points at Lachlan ‘it is him! He brought this curse upon us!* –Lachlan? –*Yes Lachlan, it is him it is his fault. Then everyone in the longhouse turns towards Ruth. Ruth gets very surprised ‘oh my god its true! Lachlan drank the wine last night, he wanted to see the ghosts.* Haha. ] (2:07:07-2:09:46)

#### [T1.a2s17(1)]

1. Au nya asuh iya tusui, laban Lachlan tu ngirup ai Antu Rangka tilik manang. **Ohh ya, because Lachlan drank the water owned by Antu Rangka, that’s what the shaman saw**. Laban sida nyau manggil manang udahnya. Alu belian. Munuh babi. **Then they called the shaman. Do some ritual. Kill the pig.** Nya ke meda laban hal Lachlan tu ke ngirup ai ke enda asuh orang irup. Nya meh penanggul iya. **That’s the problem, because Lachlan drank what that people did not ask him to drink. That’s the main problem.**

#### [T1.a2s17(2).T]

[*Ok now, all the villagers, all the people they try walking towards Ruth and Andy. Andy becomes so panicked, Andy things maybe the villagers will hurt him, he is yelling ‘it wasn’t me, I didn’t do it. He becomes so panicked that he falls on the floor, hyperventaliting. All the people are around him until the headman screams ‘everyone back up’ and everyone backs away except an old Grandma, she comes to him. He is one the ground yelling get away away! She grabs him and he suddenly becomes calm.* ] *(2:10:18-2:11:03).*

#### [T1.a2s17(2)]

Nyadi kitai Iban tu tadi, laban ke udah tinjau manang, laban orang putih nya ngacau bisi utai nanggul. **The Iban people, after the shaman did some ritual, they said that the white man brought the problem to them.** Alu ka nganu dua iku nya duai iya. Namanya alu ka nganu Andy enggau Ruth tu tadi. **The two men wanted to scold the white people. They wanted to scold Andy and Ruth.** Bisi bedau 2 iku orang putih tu tadi. Siku indu siku laki iya ke sama pandak. **There were 2 white people left. A man and a women.** Tang tuai rumah nya enda ngasuh. Ukai seduai iya. Seduai iya madah kediri ukai. **But the headman did not give them permission. Its not they who brought the problem.**

#### [T1.a2s17(2).D]

[*Why do you think shaman is again talking about enemy, that story about Serapok?] (2:11:17-2:11.52 minute)* Kala gak ninga cerita sida Serapuk. Tang enda entu ingat. Kala ninga seduai ika? **I have heard about Serapuk story. But can’t remember all. Have you hear about it brother-in-law?** Diatu nadai agi nya. Ninga nuan John Brian nusui suba. Ba bup sengalang burung bisi. **But now, it is nothing. Have you hear when John Brian told about it last time? That story is also available in the Sengalang Burung book.**

#### [T1.a2s17(2).D]

[*What do you think about Asu Rangka? What is his part in this?* Maybe the Antu Rangka is the main character in this story. Maybe the people are dead because he said when I’m dying you shouldn’t inform anybody, no one should come to our village. But Lachlan and the foreigners came to the village, they went there, maybe this is the problem. So this made him appear. Because they came during the ngulit time. *Do you think Andy being afraid? He is afraid of all the village people. Is it understandable?* Yes of course, because Lachlan made this thing happen. *So it is understandable.* Of course. *Should the manang look at the liver of the pig?* Ah! no need. That one is not so important. If the Manang wants to slaughter a pig no need to look at the liver. The liver is just to apology if you’ve done something wrong. That is only done when something is unclear. ] Laban enti iya udah mati sebulan anang guai nusui ke orang ko iya. **Because a month after he died, he said do not tell anyone, that’s what his message was.** [When I'm dying, after a month, don’t inform other people. No need to come to our village.]

#### [T1.a2s18(1).T]

*Now we back to the two Dayak guys. One has so much blood, bite here bite there, so much blood. One Iban mother is putting a cloth on him, trying to keep the blood. Then coughing and dies. The other dayak guy sees his friend died, first sad but then his eyes changed.* Which guy? *The other dayak guy, the friend. He was sad but now his eyes change, they become angry. He turns and points at Ruth, says ‘you did this, you brought this to us! Then he is like an animal, he runs to her like and animal, before anyone can do anything he runs to her and starts choaking her like an animal. Everyone pulls him off, Ruth is crying he is screamning like an animal ‘you did this, it was you.’] (2:15:29*)

#### [T1.a2s18(1)]

1. Nyadi laban dua iku ke ketup ukui nya tadi, siku balat amat bedarah, bisi indai tuai orang siku benung ngubat kenya. **So, the two men that were caught by the dog and one of them was bleeding, and an old women helped him to clean the wound.** Benung indai tuai ngelap darah ba tubuh iya. Iya nyau mati. **While the older women treated him, he then died.** Udahnya datai kaban iya siku, meda iya mati. Meda kaban iya siku nya udah mati. **Then his friend came and saw that he died. He saw that his friend had died already**. Siku iya aja agi idup. Pedis ati iya tadi. Pedis ati[[117]](#footnote-117) ngagai indu orang putih nya tadi. **Then there was one left who was still alive. He became embittered. He got angry toward the white women.** Madah ngagai orang nya. Hal kita diatu. Kita mati ko iya madah ngelawa indu orang nya. **He told them. That it is their problem. You will die afterwards, said him to the white women.** Ka gagai iya tangkap iya indu orang nya. **Then he comes and wants to catch the white women.**

#### [T1.a2s18(2).T]

[*So then all the woman in the house are crying, being crazy. So the headman yells, everyone just sit, just sit. The heat is about to overtake us. Everyone looks to Manang and manang says I know what to do, we must do an ancient ritual from the my Grandmother’s people, the Berawan. We must perform this ritual tonight, this thing from the Berawan people called the Nulang*. Nulang? *Yeah.* ] (2:15:58-2:16:50)

#### [T1.a2s18(2)]

1. Nyadi laban sida ke kelakar ke nya tadi, belian meh sida. **After that they were arguing about it, then they did some ritual.** Ngambi ke utai nya enda nyadi. Belian ngena manang. Ngambi manang nya muru antu nya. **So that those things do not happen. They did a ritual with the shaman. And the shaman chased the ghost.**

#### [T1.a2s18(3).T]

[*Everyone is quiet… And thinking. People say their opinions. Some young guys say they should leave the longhouse. The older people say what about us? We can’t run. The young people say we wil go to neighbor longhouse, and bring help. So they have a vote. The older people vote to do the ritual, the younger guys vote to leave. So the young guys leave. The young guys leave the house and go off into the jungle and everyone else goes for the ritual* ](2:17:05-2:17:55 minute)

#### [T1.a2s18(3)]

1. Sida iya nya tadi, meda utai nya majak nyadi, nyau namanya.. Kedua bisi ka lari. **The villagers wanted to run away from the longhouse after many thing happened. They wanted to run away.** Bisi kedua ka enggai. Bisi gak nya lari ari rumah. **But some wanted to stay and some wanted to run away.** Tuai rumah nya ngasuh ngundi, berapa iku ka, berapa iku enggai. Mayuh agi ke ka lari kedua. **Then the headman ask them to vote, who wants to stay and who wants to run away. Most of them wanted to run away.** Kedua agi ka belian. **Some would still do the ritual.**

#### [T1.a2s18(3).D#1]

[*ok, so you think this dayak guy going crazy like an animal. What do you think of that? Is it a strange idea?* He tried to kill Ruth is it, because the white man brought the problem? *Yeah*. I think it’s a good idea. *What do you think about the headman saying that the heat will over take us? The hot? Everything becoming so hot. People are becoming so crazy.* Things always happen like that, see a dog bite a dayak man, something happen. *Do you think the house is becoming hot?* Of course but they have the manang to perform a spiritual so I think everything should be alright.

#### [T1.a2s18(3).D#2]

I think they should leave the longhouse for one week, and before they come back they should perform some spiritual thing, slaughtering a pig, miring, this happened in our longhouse before. Because in our longhouse, I think I was little maybe 2 or 3. We left the longhouse for one week, before the manang performed the spiritual. Actually around one month, I can still remember, my relative passed away, we had some things and left for one month, but after that it’s alright, after we did the spiritual.[[118]](#footnote-118)]

#### [T1.a2s18(3).D#2]

[*What do you think of them doing a new ritual never before done by the Iban people. Berawan ritual.* Berawan? *Because the manang’s grandmother was Berawan.* I’ve never been in a Berawan longhouse. Nulang is not done by Iban, but by Punan. Because the skull, after death they have to put inside the jar that is called Nulang. *This is the Berawan Nulang.* Yet, in this story this is not a Berawan longhouse, it is an Iban longhouse, so this is a strange story. *But the Manang said that they must do something new, something never been done before*. But that Manang is from Berawan community? *Yeah*. Berawan community? So that Berawan manang wants to do Nulang? *So it’s a strange idea?* Yes very strange, because we only use Iban manang, not Berawan Manang. *Well this manang is like half Iban half Berawan, he is a mix, his mother is Iban, but mostly Iban but he remembers his Berawan.* Oh so that is quite acceptable then. *Ok, good.* ]

#### [T1.a2.s19.T]

*Ok, now these young guys are running through the forest, the rain is falling on them. They hear a sound, like a horn call. Then they hear the horn call ‘hoo’ then they become hunted.* ] *(2:18:16-2:21:47)*

#### [T1.a2.s19]

Bakani ko suba Indai, orang ke nulang segi bansa kenyah? Kayan? Punan. **How did the nulang activity go last time Indai? The nulang is in Kenyah cultural right? Punan?** [So, nulang is not done by Iban. But it done by the Penan. Because the skull the put inside the jar. ] (2:22:20-2:22:55) Sida ka ngena manang berawan ko iya. **They use the Berawan shaman.** Sida ke bala nembiak ke lari ari rumah nya tadi. Lari ari rumah ke enda asuh apai tuai nya lari. **The young people run away from the longhouse. They run away but the old man doesn’t want them to run away.** Datai sida di kampung, bisi utai munyi antu. Ukui nyalak. **When they arrived at the jungle, they heard the ghost sound. The dog is barking.**

#### [T1.a2.s19.D]

[What going on with the young guys? *What do you think? what chase them?* Antu. Maybe antu Asu or antu kok lir. Because the sound of antu kok lir is different. Kok.. kok..kok... Maybe that one is Asu Rangka. That one they call antu kok lir, the sound is different. Kok kok kok... The sound of antu kok lir is different. But the sound of antu ranga is sound like this... Auuuuu... Antu kok lir is different is like kok kok kok... Lastly he said lirrrr..... The testes! Because she is women. Ya... -*What about the antu gerasi?* –Yes! Sometimes Antu Gerasi will chase you. Maybe Asu Rangka can become a antu gerasi. Its not impossible. But antu kok lir will never become an antu gerasi. But Asu Rangka is possible. Possibly Asu Rengka can become Antu Rangka. –*If Antu Gerasi, or other antu chasing them. Should we see more?* See more of what? /Keep moving, continue moving, what is the thing chasing them, we want to know, we want to know what is the sound. We want to know, if we don’t know then it is not interesting. There must be an ending, they want to know /Sometime in the past people knew magical words to stop it from happening, /yes, some time ago we knew the magical words to stop this, but now we don’t know. But some people can stop that, they use magic to stop them, antu or kok lir.]

#### [T1.a2s20.T]

*Ok, now we go back into the longhouse, Andy is being held by Grandma, they give him a drink, and makes him sleepy. Ruth asks where is Rentap? Someone brings her Rentap’s teeshirt, they found his shirt outside and says Rentap is gone. She is very sad. Then they give her the drink and she falls asleep.* What did they give them? Andy *and Ruth both fall asleep, Some kind of drink that makes them sleep.* They found Rentap’s cloths already? Then what happened when they showed the clothing? *They take it back to Ruth, the rock and roll tee shirt, and show it to Ruth*. Yes, its quite alright. So, sometimes finding Rentap’s cloths, never happen, especially cloths, never touch those clothes, only Rentap could touch those clothes. ] (2:26:37-2:30:15)

#### [T1.a2s20]

1. Laban dua iku nya tadi ke tinduk. **The two people were still sleeping.** Nya alai udah ke beri orang putih dua iku nya, bala bukai ke beri Rentap udah nyau baju. **That’s why, after that, they give it to the two white people, that which was given by Rentap.** Udah buka. Udahnya bai sida baju. Bai pulai. Nunjuk ngagai Andy enggau Ruth. **He had** **already taken it off. Then they brought the shirt back. Showed it to Andy and Ruth.**

#### [T1.a2s20.D]

[*So you think the clothing thing is not good?* That one I would not bring it back. If I don’t have a dream I wouldn’t take it. ]

### ACT THREE

#### [T1.a3s1/2.T]

*Act three scene one. Night time, the storm is even bigger now, rain is still going all night long, water is getting higher, darkness has started to fall. Andy is sleeping and Ruth wakes him up.* [T1.a3s2(1).T] *When they go to the Rumah. In the rumah they are having this Nulang ritual. They see a big chair, like a throne for a king, the body of Lachlan has been put on the chair, wearing traditional clothing, his hands are like this and his head is tied to the chair, some shiny thing on his face. in one hand is a bowl of rice and candy, and the other has a ciggerette. Underneath him are all the nice things are around his feet, like computer, car battery, iron, all the nice things. I have a picture, here…* ](2:31:05-2:33:46)

#### [T1.a3s1/2(1)]

1. Nyadi orang putih, dua iku nya tadi mai sida niki ke rumah. Meda manang dua iku nya nulang. **So, the white people come into the longhouse. They see the shaman doing the nulang ritual.** Bansa Berawan. Datai sida dirumah din nya ke meda gambar, Lachlan ke udah mati. **The Berawan nation. When they arrive at the longhouse, they see that Lachlan died.** Duduk baka raja. Bisi utai ap ala tancang sebelah tu. Sebelah tubuh semua. **Sitting down like a king. There was something they tied on his head. And also at his body.** Engkah ke sida kelita sebelah nya. Macam-macam utai lah. **They put the light around. And many more things.**  Lachlan ke mati nya tadi, bisi megai segerit ba jari. Udahnya sepiak jari iya bisi duit. **Lachlan who had already died, he was holding the cigarette in his finger. Then at the other side, he was holding money.** (2:34:05) [That one is always performed by the Punan, never Iban. ] Macam macam utai ba mua iya. Bisi perencing. Bisi minyak. Nya sida serumah tu tadi alu duduk. **There were a lots of things on his face. Shining. He had oil. Then the villagers sat down.** Laban iya ke mati nya duduk ba bangku. Kati baka kitai meda Lachlan ke udah mati. Nya gak siti. **Because he died and then sits down on the chair. How about if we see someone who died like Lachlan? That would be something.** Nama kebuah bisi rengka elektronik. **Why does he also have some electronic equipment?**

#### [T1.a3s2(1).D]

[Why are the electronic things by his feet? I think during the ancient times there was no such things. *I think this story is suppose to be more modern time.* That’s quite funny to me, that last thing there, around his dead body cellphone. *Putting thing around the feet around the feet is funny?* Yes putting things is funny. I think you should not put any new things at the feet, only traditional things like old plates, jars. *So, like traditional things*? Yes, I think traditional things are better.

#### [T1.a3s2(2).T#1]

[*So when Andy sees this he is shocked to see Lachlan like this. Ruth explains that Lachlan’s body has become like the personification of death and they put the things at his feet to make him happy.)* (2:35:35-2:37:10)

#### [T1.a3s2(2)]

Nya cerita engka enggai ke cerita nya arap ka manang. Arap ke beliau nya tadi. **That’s the story, they believe in the shaman. They trust in the shaman.**

#### [T1.a3s2(2)D#1]

[But the story is quit interesting. It is quite interesting. So maybe manang berawan, spiritual power is more powerful so that why Lachlan body is like that, with so many new things. That is quite spiritual also, spiritual power. /What going on between Andy and Ruth? When they See Lachlan on the chair sitting around so many things, computer, and cellphone and such?

#### [T1.a3s2(2).T#2]

*Yes, Andy is so worried, why is Lachlan sitting like that? Also the body is already smelling bad*. *Also we see more of the ritual, women come up one by one and put some rice into his mouth, giving him a little cigarette, phew, like that, they are talking to him.* Does he answer? *Lachlan?* *No, he doesn’t answer, they are just talking to him. Then they put a small bead in the mouth like that.] (2:37:52-2:39:17)*

#### [T1.a3s2(2)D#1]

Nya lebuh nuan ke enggau sida Sulutan ngelawa orang mati. Au, nya meh duduk ke orang. **Oh yaa, last time you had to go together with Sullutan to visit the dead people. Yaa, they put the dead person sitting down.** Dasuh orang nginsap. **And they put the smoke.** [Yes, they do put cigarette, punan. They put the dead body on the chair and give the cigarette like that, put the cigarette on the dead body’s mouth. That Berawan Shaman, haha. Yes, how will the body smoke that? Maybe the berawan shaman is more like ancient shaman. *So Iban never do something like this? Think it’s so funny?* Yes funny, but interesting as well.] Berawan tauka Punan nama mati segi mayuh utai dibai enda indai? **Is it Berawan or Punan, when dying they bring so many thing, Indai?**

#### [T1.a3.s3.T #1]

*Ok, so they start to play music.* The gong. *Yeah the gong, and the women start to make a crying wailing sound. Then a poet starts to tell a poem about going to the land of the dead, crossing the river, climbing the mountain, like this*. Who does it, like a woman? *Yeah a woman.* *So all this makes it very thick, these three things make it like a dream. Can you translate that?* Yeah already did it. *Oh you did already?* ](2:39:47-2:41:05)

#### [T1.a3.s3.T #2]

[*So this part is trying to be both scary and beautiful, with the candles and the rain and the crying, music, its scary, weird, but also beautiful* –yes, so this scene will be more interesting. *So what about this poem?* *What would happen in this poem?* What poem? *This poem, this Sabak*. Ah yes, the sabak is quite important. The sabak takes the soul to the land of the dead, like Christian.]

#### [T1.a3s4.T]

*Ok, so this goes on, then we go outside to see the storm, on the ground is like a lake, we look into the water*. That means the water is very visible. We can see another picture? *Yeah, we see a person on a boat in the river, a person in the jungle walking, we see the person is Rentap.* That’s very interesting as well. *We see Rentap climbing a big tree in the jungle, on top of a hill. He sees such an old longhouse. In the longhouse are many man old people with tattoos on their body, an old naked woman with very long breasts. Rentap is talking to them.* Very interesting. *They are giving him tattoo*. Then we see in the clear water we see another picture, we see Rentap in the vision, he climbing the tree, see the old longhouse, meet the very old woman, old people, getting the tattoos, very nice. What’s next? What will Rentap do next? *That’s it. we just see that for a bit and then go back. It’s more beautiful*. It’s more like decoration. *Did you translate to him?* Yes yes, we told him. *He speaks English?* Yes yes, he can understand. *Oh I didn’t know that.* [[119]](#footnote-119)]

#### [T1.a3s5(1).T]

*Ok, now it’s many hours later, this ritual has been going on for several hours.* Why is everyone tired? *Because the ritual has been going on for so long.* The ritual for Lachan? *Yes, for Lachlan*. Lachlan is still there? *Yes, he’s still there, still dead. But what we don’t see is that on Lachlan’s face is a little bit of blood running down, out of his mouth.* Lachlan’s mouth. *Yes out of his mouth, then we hear a sound oooh, coming out of his mouth. Everyone is surprised. Then he opens his mouth and the rice falls out and black blood. Everyone is so surprised*. Haha.

#### [T1.a3s5(2).T]

*Andy gets so excited, ‘lachlan you’re alive’ your alive. Then Lachlan opens his eyes and looks very strange and looks at his hand like he’d never seen it before. Maybe a line of ants run up his arm. Lachlan sees the cigarette and poof, it bursts into flame. Then Lachlan takes a puff, like this. Andy is surprised by this, so strange behavior. ‘Lachlan are you ok, do you need a doctor?’ Finally Lachlan sees it and then blows some smoke to Andy, poof, and the smoke rushes over to him. Like a big cloud. Suddenly Andy starts choaking,* *Like something is stuck in his thoat.*

#### [T1.a3s6.T]

*Ok, we move on now so Ruth runs to Andy, he is shaking, she takes a pen, opens it, and puts it into his throat, and puts a hole in his throat.* –From Lachlan’s body? *No, Andy’s body. Then all this black blood comes out, we see all these black things underneath his body, like his blood has gone black. He is shaking shaking. Then he stops, dead. There is silence. Everyone looks up at the corpse of Lachlan. But Ruth is saying ‘this is not real, not real, just a fantasy.’ But now the Corpse is sitting perfectly still but the cigarette is still burning. How did that happen. All the Iban guys jump up and get their sword, run back to the corpse, all the guys are around the corpse. You want to translate?* ] (2:41:22-2:50:57 minute)

#### [T1.a3s6]

1. Udah ke cerita sida nya tadi. Siku nya laban Andy ke nyau masuk utai ba rekung. **After that story. Then there was something inside Andy’s throat.** Iya baka kitai ke sedekan. Sendat. Meda iya sendat, dacuk ke siku nya, utai baka pen iya ba rekung. Pansut darah magang. Siku nya baka ka luput. **He's like choking. Constricted. When they see that he is constricted, then they put something like a pen into Andy’s throat. Then the blood goes out. He almost faints.**

#### [T1.a3.s7(1).T]

*All these iban guys are around the body, but the body isn’t moving. Is it dead or not?* So puzzled. *Yeah puzzled. Just hit it, finally one guy sticks him, and then boom the eyes open and gives a scream*. Yeah, just like a shouting. *Yeah, and everything goes black, suddenly all this rain falling, lightening falling down.* [T1.a3.s8(1).T] *You hear the voice of the corpse speaking Iban ‘you want to kill me? How can you kill what is already dead? ] (2:51:10-2:52:40)*

#### [T1.a3.s7(1)]

1. Nyadi nya ko iya tadi, nyadi bangkai Lachlan tu tadi, udah ka mati tadi, acuk sida enggau duku enggau lungga. **So, that’s what he said, the dead body of Lachlan, they tried to break Lachlan’s body with a blade.** Pemuas sida ke ngacuk nyau tepelut leka mata. Nyau baka buah terung. Au. **After they beak it, then Lachlan’s eyes become big. Just like a buah terung (vegetable). Yes.** Nyawa munyi orang ka manjung. **His voice is like a screaming.** T1.a3.s8(1).] Udahnya, nya meh penyelai iya ko iya. **Then the weird thing.** Udahnya, Lachlan tu tadi nyau nemu jaku Iban! Nama kebuah kita munuh orang ke udah mati. **Then, Lachlan knows how to speak Iban! Why do you kill the dead people?**

#### [T1.a3.s8(2).T]

[*So then when everything is dark it becomes cold, like in a freezer. Suddenly like the longhouse becomes so old, like 100 years old.* Haha. *Suddenly the rain starts coming in the house. Ruth is still sitting with Andy saying this is not real no real, but finally some cold rain falls on her and sudden she sees that the house is full of ghost. The corpse is disappeared. All they see is the flashes of lightening, walking around the house.*

#### [T1.a3.s9.T]

*Now the Headman is walking around with a sword. Now the house looks different, so old house. Lightening flash, see a skeletal person, then sees the Kok Lir then tries to run away, then goes into one room and sees the holes in the floor, something black comes up from the floor, like smoke, comes up comes up,turns into like an old person, like this, so old, scary, the mouth comes out,and the tongue is so long. Can you translate?* They understand. *They understand?* *It’s good for my researcher if you translate?* Oh] (2:53:52- 2:56:31 )

#### [T1.a3.s9]

1. Ohh, nya ko iya tadi, nyadi bangkai ke mati nya tadi nyau lesap ko iya. **Ohh, that’s what he tells, the dead body also disappeared.** Nyau lesap bangkai orang kemati nya tadi. Nyadi rumah pan udah bebali magang. **The corpse dissappeared. So, the house also changed.** Ramu nyau ditukar nyadi lama. Nyau baka bilik siti. **The wood changed to become old. Its like one room.** Udahnya, laban rumah nya ke nyau bakanya, kitai Iban nyau megai duku.[[120]](#footnote-120) **After that, because the longhouse changed, the Iban people found the blades (duku).** Ka mantap nama utai ke ka nyadi. Utai ke ngacau nya dia. Keni ka mantap utai nyau agi dia**? They wanted to cut off the things that disturbed them. How to cut off if they could not see anything?** Nyau nadai agi dipeda. **Then it dissapeared.**

#### [T1.a3s10(1).T]

*Ok, we come back to the main room. Now, the Manang is doing some ritual, chanting loudly, then he makes this fire come out of hand, as he chants the darkness goes away, candles are lit again, you understand?* Yes. *Now that there is more light we can see Lachlan again.* Lachlan’s dead body? *Yes, Lachlan’s dead body is in the same place as before. ] (2:57:05-2:57:55 )*

#### [T1.a3s10(1)]

1. Udahnya, laban manang Berawan nya ke belian baru. **After that, the Berawan shaman tried again to do the ritual.** Nyadi manang nya baka kitai ke ngidup ke api. Ba atap nya tadi alu bisi dian. **So, the shaman brought the fire. Along the rooftop were candles.** Udah batak ayan baru bangkai Lachlan tu tadi. **After they pulled Lachlan, then his body returned**.

#### [T1.a3s10(2).T]

[*And the manang says. Who are you? What is your name? He is asking the corpse of Lachlan.* Oh so the Manang Berawan asks the corpse what is your name? *Yes, he asks him what is your name*. What is the answer? *He says ‘I’m death, I’ve seen a thousand worlds come and go but now I am here with you. The manang asks ‘why are you hear with us now? For many thousands of years you have kept me out, kept me in the dark but I am forever patient. Now I will take what is mine. Manang says what can we do? He answers you must kneel before me, know I am your king. The corpse says is your light strong enough? Can you fight with me. As he says it the manang’s fire goes down down. The manang tries to fight, but can not and he is suddenly forced to go down onto his knees, he is fighting.*

#### [T1.a3s11(1).T]

*Suddenly there is a loud clap of thunder. Let him go demon. Everyone turns and sees Rentap*, He is wearing his cloths? *No, now he is wearing only traditional clothing, he has more tattoos on his body and like a big leech across his chest. He takes that and throws it away. And he is carrying a sword. Ok translate.] (2:58:14-3:01:11.)*

#### [T1.a3s10(2)]

1. Paham utai ko iya neh ika. Bisi temu bisi enda. Iya ke mati ayan baru. **You understand what he said right brother-in-law? The dead people appeared again.** Nyadi manang tu tadi meda ya ayan baru, nama kebuah nuan ayan baru ko iya? **The shaman saw that he appeared again and asked him why he appeared again?** Laban Lachlan nya ke arap ke pengarap kitai Iban. Nyadi manang tu tadi arap ka Lachland. **Because Lachlan believes in Iban Culture. So the shaman trusted Lachlan.** Nya iya ngasuh siku nya madah ke iya. **So he asked him to tell he was happening.**

#### [T1.a3s10(2).D]

Nyadi cerita iya tu asaika, laban ke bisi becampur enggau Manang Berawan. **I think this story is mixed with Berawan shamanism.** Ukai tek real kitai Iban aja. **Its** **not real/pure Iban that will be acted out later.** So nyadi enti kitai ka, nyadi tek setat ari cerita kitai Iban, enda ibuh betampung enggau Berawan bisi nyamai agi gak. **So, how about if this story is only Iban culture without being mixed with the Berawan shaman? I think it is better.**

#### [T1.a3s11.2.T]

[ok, carry on… Ok, so the demon says to him, who are you? Rentap says I am this [referring to the paper] (3:01:58-3:02:38 minute).]

#### [T1.a3s11.2]

1. Au, laban nya rentap ke kala nadai agi, ke udah lari ke kampung ayan baru gak. **Oh** **ya, Rentap is not around, he ran away to the jungle and then came back.** Sapa nuan? Nya Rentap madah kediri mambar tasik. **Who are you? Then Rentap tell that he is mambar tasik.**

#### [T1.a3s11.2.D]

[Who asks this? *Lachlan’s corpse*. That mambar tasik is sometime we Iban got another name. In Iban name not Rentap. His name is Libau. Mambar Tasik is another name, nick name also.]

#### [T1.a3s11.T]

*Ok. That’s my name. and I have no fear of you.* The corpse says this? –*No, rentap says this. The corpse says ‘well what of them, are you afraid of them? Then we see all the ghosts of the house. All the ghosts start to circle around him, circling him but Rentap has no fear.*

#### [T1.a3s11.D]

[[121]](#footnote-121)So I ask you one thing, Rentap in this story, where did you get that name Rentap? *History book, hero name*. According to our belief you must put the name Rentap at a higher degree, if you use Rentap you must put him at the highest degree, to make the family happy.

#### [T1.a3s11.T]

*So it should stay the name Rentap. Ok, so now many ghosts are around him and Rentap goes onto his knees and the ghosts reach out to try to touch him.) (3:03:21-3:05:38)*

#### [T1.a3s11.D]

Kaban tu ngaga cerita. **He is going to make a story.** [Maybe you should explain to our teacher, explain to him. *Oh ok, I’m telling a story, an Iban story to make into a movie, we are almost at the end of the story, there is a hero in the longhouse, one dead body has come back to life and he will save them.]*

#### [T1.a3s11.T]

Ok, so now all the ghosts are about to touch him but Rentap has no fear in his heart, like a test. Then the ghosts back up and actually go down. ] (3:05:45-3:07:14)

#### [T1.a3s11.D]

1. Nya ku madah ke iya bos enti ka ngena nama Rentap anang kelalu ngemaruh ka. **Boss, I told him if he wants to use the name Rentap, please do not patronize his name.** Enti nuan ka ngena tu, anang ngasuh Rentap baka nama. Laban nama Rentap tu tinggi datas din. **If you want to use Rentap, don’t ask him to act like this. Because the name Rentap is top up here.** [Rentap name is very sensitive. *Very sensitive name*? Yes, because he has family there. So never ask Rentap to kneel down, you must always keep his name as higher, never like a beggar.]

#### [T1.a3s12.T]

1. [ *Ok. So when all the ghosts go down Lachlan’s corpse is surprised, you see demon. We Iban always respect our dead, we live in a balance, our ghosts are happy with us. Corpse says how can your ghosts be happy, they are so lonely, you have not given them a new skull in more than 100 years.* Haha. *ok, if our skulls are lonely then I will give them a new skull right now. Then he comes at the corpse, the corpse says if you think you can fight me then come. Then the corpse flies into the air*.

#### [T1.a3s13.T]

1. *The corpse grabs his arm*. Haha. *The corpse grabs his arm, and his arm starts to wither, so much pain, screams, but he doesn’t care, to strong. He takes the sword from the useless hand and cuts the arm off, but the corpse is still fighting, and uses the useless hand to grab the hair, and then cuts the head off. First the face is moving but then it stops. But the rain is still falling but then a Grandma, tells him something. So he understands and goes outside.*

#### [T1.a3s14.T]

1. *Then he climbs through the heavy water. Up to his waist. Then he climbs up to some high ground, some wood or something, turns and holds the head up high and suddenly boosh the rain stops. And suddenly the morning light breaks through. All the people are outside of the longhouse, everything is calm now. Then the pretty Iban girl sees him, like a stong guy. The grandma says go to him. She goes to him, through the water, and he pulls her up, and she clutches against his body.* So the rain has stopped? *Yes, and the sun comes out.* *Ruth is watching with the camera and she says that people will never believe this. We should destroy this film*. Haha.

#### [T1.a3s14.T]

1. *Now, we go to the future. Now its sunny and the longhouse is nice*. So the old longhouse is gone. *Yes, that was something like a trick of the mind. Now the police are called, because so many people died. But then writing appears on the screen, the police could not understand what happened. Malaria came and a big storm happened, and Lachlan went crazy and ran off into the storm. Their official explaination is that there was sickness, and Lachlan ran off.*

#### [T1.a3s14.D]

1. [ Question for you, did the police at that time wear the old uniform of the new uniform? *I think new uniform.* I think better it is should be the old uniform, that is my suggestion. ]

#### [T1.a3s15.T]

1. *Now we go to the very last scene. Now Rentap is in the shed, his arm is still black, he is making a fire. The pretty Iban girl is there, holding the baby, the baby of the dead woman. When he walks away there are many skulls, antu pala, but at the bottom is Lachlan’s skull, as the fire burns then it starts to burn away his skull.*

#### [T1.a3s15.D]

1. Ok, you ask teacher to give comment.] (3:07:35-3:15:52 minute) Nya kena iya ngabis ke drama iya ko iya. **That is the ending of his film**. [So the englishman’s skull is burned. *All the skulls, and the bottom is Lachlan’s skull, a fresh one. When the fire comes all the skin burns*. Yes quite interesting. But you have to… to think closely. So the audience takes it interesting. *Yes, when it goes faster it is easy, when it is slow like this it is hard to catch.] (3:15:59-3:17:08)*

#### [T1.general D#1]

1. Nama nya cerita Rentap ko iya? Ukai, kira lebih baka cerita antu ko iya. **So, is this story about Rentap? No, but more a ghost story.** Iya segi ka ngambi nama Rentap. **He wants to use Rentap’s name**. [*So what do you think?* Ask teacher to comment. *Any comment?* I just heard a little part of it, the drama. *So hard to catch*. I think one part regarding the police uniform, it is old time. They should not wear the new uniform, they should change it to the old time. The Rest is ok, but the uniform. *In this movie my goal was to make the taking of the head logical, the only choice.] (3:17:27-3:19)*

#### [T1.general D#2]

1. Semina siti tadi, laban cerita tu ke bisi dicampur iya enggau bansa Berawan. **One part whereas, because this story is mixed with the Berawan nation.** So nyadi ba tengah cerita tu nyau bisi manang Berawan. Ukai semua nya manang Iban. **So, in the middle of this story there were Berawan Shaman.** **Not all are Iban shaman.** Nya ku madah keni ko tu cerita antu Iban nya nyau bisi manang Berawan. **That’s what I said, this is an Iban ghost story but why is there suddenly a Berawan Shaman.** Laban Manang Berawan tu bisi setengah Iban gak ko iya. Bisi bangkai. **But, the Berawan shaman is half Iban. There also have the corpse.** Pama mati,segi duduk ke orang Berawan enda? Berawan tu asuh orang nginsap**. If the Berawan people died, they will be seated right? Then they will be asking to have a smoke.** Iban nadai ko aku nganu iya. Nyadi diatu iya bisi mixture Berawan enggau Iban. **But Iban don’t have that kind of thing. But now this story is mixed Berawan with Iban**. Berawan baka Penan meh. Iya bisi nyebut utai nulang. Berawan segi nulang utai bansanya. **Berawan are also the same as Penan. Then he mentioned about nulang. Its in Berawan culture.** Udah nulang berapa taun kini udah duduk bakatu. Udahnya baru simpan dalam benda. **After nulang, the how many year they have seated like that. After that put them inside the jar.** Dalam kebuk deh. Tu kemari iya ba Sungai Paya ngadu enggau sapa iya din deh? **Inside the jar. So yesterday, at Sungai Paya who had an interview there?** Manang Kubu? Kubu nadai dia. Nyau dambi orang belian ke Teberu. **Kubu shaman? Kubu is not around. He went to Teberu to do the ritual.** Tu tadi bisi meda manang seduai tengah ari tu tadi? **So just now, have you see the shaman at the road?** Bisi meda manang lebuh kita ke ngadu ke enjin api? Nadai. **Have you see the shaman during you repair of the generator? No.** Laban aku ke kiruh ngadu ke utai din. Start pukul 12 tadi kami ke capuh. **Because I'm a bit busy arrange the things there. We started making noise at 12 pm.** Sida Hereward bisi mandang ke ba tv 1 tadi. Pukul 12 sampai pukul 1. **Howard has his show. His tv program on tv 1. Start at 12pm-1pm.** Sida Hereward dia belakun ke manang ba tv 1. Iban taiko? Ukai Iban Taiko. Iban Taiko nya bedau. **The story is about the shaman and released at tv1. Iban Taiko? No, not Iban Taiko. Iban Taiko has not been released yet.[[122]](#footnote-122)** Nya sida apai Joseph ke udah berapi ditu nyadi manang. **One of his actor is Apai Joseph that acts like a shaman.** Ya meh Apai Joseph. Au tamang aki Boy. Nama iya tamang Aki Boy, Apai Joseph. **Yes, Apai Joseph. Same name as Boy’s grandpa, Apai Joseph.** Belian ke orang ke udah sidin ngena motosikal. Nya kami nyau capuh tadi meda. **Doing ritual for a person who had an accident using a motorcycle. That why we were noisy here because we watched it.**

#### [T1.general D#3]

[Berawan have manang? *Yes, they have manang*. –You seen them? *I read a book about it.* Yes, teacher gives comments. ok*, last question, what do you think is the moral of the story, the meaning of the story*. Moral? *Moral value.* (3:21:31-3:21:59). Ahh… Moral value.] Nama cerita nya ngasuh takut ka nama? Moral value kati baka ngajar manah ka. **Why, is the story really scary? How about the moral value, does it have a good lesson from this story?** [ But I think sometimes the moral value is quite alright, to teach our young to respect others, to follow the traditions, I think the script is quite good. But you need to work it so that the young and old can accept it, appreciate, maybe after you finish the script then one day we will see it. –*So who is the main bad guy in this story?* –It is Lachlan is the bad guy? not such a bad guy. Not really a bad guy but in this story there must be a bad guy, to follow our life, to follow our mind. So we give chance because he knows the young and old. I think he knows. Because sometimes in the story, there is some parts that are bad but at the end of the story those bad mans can be loose, but this value tells the young to be honest person, not to do bad things. ] (3:22:10-3:25:14)

#### [T1.summary D]

1. Nyadi bakanya ko cerita iya tadi bos. Bisi siti rumah nya agi mali laban agi ngulit. **So, boss, the story goes like this. At one longhouse, the people are still in ngulit.** Nyadi manang nya madah, enti ku mati anang madah ka orang dalam kandang sebulan. **Then the ancient shaman leaves a message before he died, please do not tell others.** Nyadi laban orang putih tu ke keras ka niki rumah kitai Iban nganjung diri ka meda antu. **But the white man is stubborn and wants to come into the longhouse because he wants to see the ghost.** Nyadi laban udahnya, Lachlan tu tadi, laban ke endur mati nya tadi bisi gawai. **So, they come in and held some party for them at that longhouse.** Nyau bisi gawai berantu. **Then they had gawai antu.** Bisi sungkup peda ku dia. Nyadi laban inya ke manchal, orang putih tu tadi ka ngirup jalung. **Had a coffin there. He is a bit naughty, and wants to drink the jalung water.** Enda dasuh orang. Laban jalung tu enda tau diirup kitai ngapa enti kitai enda berani. **But is restricted by the other people. Because we cannot drink jalung water if we are not brave.** Nyadi orang putih tu tadi ka ngirup nya. **But the white man wants to drink that water.** Udahnya bemimpi orang putih nya tadi, iya ke bendar dalam mimpi nya tadi dasuh orang irup iya. **Then the white man dreams that he is allowed to drink that water.** Angkat iya alun mati. Mati tinduk. Nya cerita ke gaga iya tadi. Nya iya nanya keni ko moral value. **But he finally died. Died while sleeping. That will become a story. That’s why he is asking, where is the moral here.** Orang putih tu keras ka meda adat Iban ka mali tu tadi. Au ar.. Agi ngulit semua. **The white people want to see the Iban culture but it is a taboo. Yaa... But they still ngulit.** Laban iya enda dasuh orang niki. Enda dasuh orang niki. Iya niki. **He did not ask to come in. They did not give permission to come inside.** Iya enda arap ke jaku orang. Utai berantu semua laa. Berani la iya niki. **He did not believe in what people said. Those ghosts. But he was brave to come in.** Nya enda asuh orang irup nya ke dirup. Laban iya berani ko iya. **People did not give him permission to drink that water. But because he is a brave man he said.** Udahnya iya ke mati tinduk Lachlan tu tadi. Dalam mimpi iya, iya dibai orang orang ngirup jalung. **The man who died during sleeping is Lachlan. In his dream, people asked him to drink that water.** Iya ke mati enda dasuh madah ke orang antara sebulan, kati ko nama manang ke mati nya tadi, iya ke dalam kandang sebulan enda asuh iya madah. Asu Rangka. Asu Rangka nama manang. **Before he died, he left a message not to tell other after a month. What is the name of ancient shaman? Ohh ya, Asu Rangka. The ancient shaman’s name is Asu Rangka.**

#### [T1.principle’s D #1]

[So before he passed away he informed them to not inform others but Lachlan.. but moral value, respect others must respect one another, and the beliefs and what the manang said, must believe what the manag said, believes in others moral value, respect in one another, must obey our religion and beliefs, otherwise at the end if you not obey others beliefs, then you will meet the facts of that of that. –*You think that story of Serapok, yeah, (3:27:22-3:29:15)* Nya cerita kitai Iban ke mati enda temu dini. **The story of Iban who died but did not find it.** Nya ke serapuh. Iya ke ngulu ke pengawa nya. Au ari cerita iya. **That’s why they do Serapuh. He is guiding the company. Yes from that story.** Bisi John Brian lebuh ke kitu nyebut nya. **John Brian mentioned about it during his last visit last time.** [ *So you know that story, Serapok?* No, never heard. *Before the Iban were burying the body, having so much problem, before the Iban people learned to do the funeral, putting the body in the jungle, spirit came to Serapok telling him you must do the burial.* ] (3:30:13-3:30:31) Nya meh cerita ko iya. Suba enti kitai mati tek tikau ke ngapa nunda niang Serapuk tu suba ngatur nya. **That is his story. Long time ago, when we died, we just throw the dead body but when Serapuk come he change all those thing for more regular.** Enggai ka bangkai, nya nyau sebelah nya. Nyau ngacau lagi. **They didn ‘t want the dead people to disturb them.** [ Yes, true true. So the dead bodies, must be respected. Also to cut the head.] (3:30:53-3:31:10) Nama ketegal Serapuk nya parai suba? Setegal ari iya bejalai. Sakit-sakit? Nya meh iya. **When did Seraapuk die last time? Because of his walking. Sick? That’s is.** Aku semuti ingat suba. Diatu kitai nyau nemu ngerapuh. Cara kitai ngintu bangkai iya. **I'm can’t remember. But now we know how to ngerapuh. How to manage the dead people.**

#### [T1.principle’s D#2]

[*my question about that story as I read it from a book only, then Serapok had to take a head but not knowing where to get the head. He goes to many villages and asks them if they will be enemy but he can’t find an enemy but finds an old man in the jungle with a child. He changes the jar with the child, cuts the head and returns to the village, ends the ngulit]* *(3:31:29-3:32:20)* Iya gak suba kitai ngulit. Abis ngulit, ngiga pala orang kena ngetas ulit. **At that time we are still ngulit. After ngulit we have to find the skull to cut off the ulit.** [ Yes, in the old days, to end the mourning time we must go headhunting, to get a skull, to end that, but we have that no more. *But I wonder who was the enemy?* During that time? Iban fought with everyone, other Iban orang ulu, if you see all the skulls there it is a mix of all the people, Iban, Kayan, Batan Ie./One day, maybe they will be killed by Rentap. /During the white Rajah times, some Iban like Rentap were fighting with the white Raja, so they were the enemy. Not that popular time, not very popular, Rentap Bantin, Asun, who else, these are the people whe were against the white Raja, during the white Raja time it is more interesting. But during Rentap’s time it is something like not old story, not like what your story just now, that is Iban enemies 80’s time[[123]](#footnote-123) Iban were against Iban, and Kayan, and Orang Ulu. When peace making at Kapit at that time, 80’s something, during that time. Those who present those Kayan shows how strong they are, then Iban show how strong there, there is something like a game. The Kayan bring one head one shield, one spear. Then another iban bring one head one shield, one spear, on sword. To show how strong they are during that peace making time. … That’s why I said Iban against Iban and Kayan. Batin is Orang kali, Batan Ie, very brave young man, bullet proof. Bantin got two tongues, so people would always listen to him. In the Sarawak museum you would see Bantin’s name there? You seen. …- Rentap was very popula because he fights against Raja at Supon. *You think in the Serapok story will you be our enemy and he changes with the child, and takes the head, but who is the enemy.* –The old man is the enemy, he goes to the jungle to meet the old man and child, better to give the child’s head to Serapok to end the Ngulit. /True story that one./ During that time you must get a head to end the ngulit. *Thank you for listening*. You must tell the young people, and teach them to believe in others. (3:40:52)

## APPENDICE B

TELLING #2

{T2 or the second telling is definitly the most controversial of the three and requires some additional introduction. During T1 towards the third act the school principle of the community elementary school arrived. After hearing the ending of the story and receiving a general overview from the audience members he was asked to supply a moral to the story. He asked the researcher if he would like to come to the elementary school and deliver the story to the teachers. The researcher agreed. The principle also independently took the script and had it for some amount of time before returning it. Presumably, he actually read it. The next day the researcher was driven by motorbike to the elementary school to deliver the story to a large room full of children, average age around eight years old. Sang again acted as translator and seemed to feel that the story was very suitable for Iban children, full of traditional values. The effects of this surprising change of audience demographic can be felt most directly in s2 and s3.}

### ACT ONE

#### [T2.a1:s1]

Nemu utai ko iya kita? Cerita tu cerita dulu kelia ko iya. Nyadi dulu kelia bisi apai tuai orang. **Do you understand what he’s saying? He said that the story is about the ancient story. There was an old man.** Nama nya, iya udah tuai. Mata iya enda entu terang. **Back then, he was old. His eyesight was dim.** Iya betapa[[124]](#footnote-124) ba kampung din. Betapa ba kampung. **He meditated in the village. Meditated in the village.** Datai ba kampung din, iya ngidup ke api. Nyadi kelia nadai macis. **In the village, he turned the fire burning. Back then, there were no matches.** Ngena nama nya kena ngidup ke api? Laban iya segi mayuh pengalaman api iya alu idup. **What does he use to turn the fire burning? He easily turned the fire burning because he was well experienced.** Udah api iya idup. Tiba-tiba ba asap nya tek ayan antu pala. Nyau tekenyit iya meda. **After the fire was burning, suddenly a skull ghost appeared within the smoke. He was shocked.** Baka kitai deh, idup ke iya api tek ayan antu pala. Lari ke enda dek? **If we are in that condition where he turned the fire burning and the skull ghost appeared, would you run away?** Enti dek meda gambar antu pala. Berani ke enda? Tek ayan ba mua nuan bakanya. **If you see the skull ghost, would you be brave enough? If it suddenly appears in front of you just like that.** Udahnya apai tuai nya alu besampi. Meda antu pala nya. **After that the old man saw the skull ghost, he started to worship.** Alu belagu meh reti. Meda antu pala nya tadi. **The spiritual song started after the appearance of the skull ghost.**

#### [T2.a1:s2.T]

[*ok now, this story is like a movie. So now when the old man singing. Cut. Go to next scene. New story. New story is about the tv show. Tv show from Amerika. And this tv show people hunt ghost. So they try to go to scary place. Go to the graveyard. Go to the haunted house. And then they try to find the ghost. The camera. They say where is the ghost? Where is the ghost? Like in the dark place. Try to be scary like that. So, this people in the story a hunting for a ghost. They see one man. His name is Lachlan. Lachlan. He is a ghost hunter*.]

#### [T2.a1:s2.D]

Bai orang ngiga antu ka kita? Enggai. Nama ka ngiga antu, enggau iya lagi. **Will you join the ghost hunter? No. The reason why we must hunt the ghost, it will follow afterwards.** [*Yaa. Ok , so... Question for you. Do you think, hunting ghost for a tv show is good idea?*] Nya, iya nanya nyadi diatu ka dambi iya ba tv gak. **He asked whether it’s ok if this will be documented on TV.** Enti baka cerita, orang mai iya ngiga antu. **If it’s like a story, he is inviting us for ghost hunting.** Alu ayan ke kitai ba tv. Manah tauka enda penemu idea bansa nya ko iya. **The show will appear on TV to show the pros and cons of this ideas, he said.** Ka kita bai orang ngiga antu? Kati enti ngambi gambar aja baka ba tv ka? Ahh? Antu ayan ka nuan? **Would you like to join if you’re invited for the ghost hunt? How about if just the pictures only as already documented on TV? Ahh? The ghost will appear, is that what you mean?** [It is really scary right? What do you think? Hunting ghost for the tv entertainment? */*Yes*/* Ok? Never happen? If you bring this, very good*. Ok.* If we find something then that is very good*.]* (13:34)

#### [T2.a1:s3(1)]

Laban bisi orang bansa Amerika, iya kala ninga cerita. Cerita ba manang. **There was an American who used to know this story too. A story told by a shaman.** Nya alai iya datai ba menua Borneo. Iya ka mai manang ngiga dini endur atu. **That’s the reason he came to Borneo. He asked the shaman to hunt where the ghosts are.** Kada enda kita bai iya ila. Ka kita? Betemu enggau manang.ngiga antu ka? **High possibility he wants us to join, will you join? Meet the shaman and hunt for the ghost?** Nitih ke pengarap kitai Iban, manang aja ulih meda antu. Orang bukai enda ulih meda. **According to Iban belief, only the shaman is able to meet the ghost. The others can’t see it.** Meda enggau enda, enda nemu. Laban kitai ke enda enggau iya betudung. **Whether they see it or not, none of us know because we will not join the shaman who is covered.**

#### [T2.a1 :s3(2]

Nyadi orang putih tu iya datai ke Sarawak, Luclan tu tadi. Laban iya ka ngiga manang. Tu ba cerita tu. **So, this white man came to Sarawak, Lachlan is his name because he wants to find the shaman. This is the story.** Baka cerita tv. Lebuh iya bejalai tadi, iya bisi betemu enggau siku indu orang putih. Nama iya Ruth. **Just like another story on TV. When he was walking just now, he met with a white woman, her name is Ruth.** Nama iya Ruth, ianya Saintis au ukai Antrapologis. Iya udah lama diau ba menua Sarawak. **Her name is Ruth, she is a scientist, ok not Antropologist. She already lived for a long time in Sarawak.** Iya pandai jaku Iban. Indu orang putih tu tadi, iya nemu nama kerja kitai Iban. **She can speak Iban. That white woman knows what Iban are doing.** Nya iya becerita gai Lachlan. Laban suba kitai Iban ngayau ko orang. **She told Lachlan we Iban do head hunting.** Ngiga pala. Nya tu cerita ba movie iya. **Hunting for the head. This story will be in his movie.**

#### [T2.a1:s3(3)#1]

Aaa... Nyadi udah Lachlan betemu enggau Ruth. Nyadi Ruth tu tadi saintis pasal kitai Iban. **Aaaa… So Lachlan met with Ruth. So Ruth is a scientist about us, Iban.** Nyadi iya nemu semua adat budaya kitai Iban. Iya nemu bakani cerita kelia. **So. She knew all the Iban tradition and culture. She knew the stories and the legends.** Nyadi seduai iya tulih ke runding. Ngiga Rentap nyadi ka, eh ngulu ke seduai iya ngiga antu. **Both of them have a thought to find Rentap and accompany them to hunt the ghost.** Nya seduai iya betemu enggau Rentap alu nanya Rentap. kati nuan pecaya ke antu tauka enda ko orang putih dua iku tu nganu Rentap. **Then, both of them met with Rentap and asked Rentap, Do you believe in ghosts or not, they asked Rentap.** Iya madah enda nemu laban iya ukai diu iya diau ba pasar, ba Kuching. **He said that he doesn’t know about it because he lives in the town of Kuching.** Enda baka enti kitai ba pasar nadai ninga mayuh cerita antu. Laban nya menua jauh kitai ninga. **In town there are less ghost stories because we only heard them from the world far away.[[125]](#footnote-125)**

#### [T2.a1:s3.D]

[*Ok, do you think manang, can talk with ghost*?] Amat ke enda manang ulih bejaku enggau antu ko kita? Ahh? Kala meda orang belian kita? **Is it true that the shaman is able to speak with the ghost? Ahh? Have you ever seen any worship?** Kala meda orang bejaku enggau antu? **Have you ever seen anyone speak to the ghost?** Uji ila nama meda orang belian, asuh bai iya antu ngambi kitai meda. Asuh tangkap manang. **Next time, whenever there is any worship going on, ask him to bring the ghost. Ask the shaman to catch it.** [*Yes? No? No talkin*g?] (19:51)

#### [T2.a1:s3.(3)#2]

Seduai iya, udah seduai iya betemu enggau Rentap, seduai iya ngambi filem. **After that, they met with Rentap and started the film.** Udah sida ka mupuk, ka ngambi filem. Rentap tu laban ke orang pasar, ukai orang menua ulu. **After they made a move to film, Rentap who is from the town not from the rural.** Ngena baju lawa iya. Bisi rock and roll banjo ba to eye. Nya orang putih nya ngasuh iya muka baju. **He wore a nice shirt. It's written “Rock and Roll” on his shirt. The white asked him to take off his shirt.** Tang iya enggai. Nyadi orang putih bekeras ngasuh iya muka baju. Buka iya baju. **But he doesn’t want. So the white insists he take off his shirt. He takes off his shirt.** Peda mayuh pantang sebelah tubuh iya. Rentap tu kering deh. Besai serta kering. **See, there are a lot of tattoos on his body. Rentap is a strong man. Big and strong.** (22:32)

#### [T2.a1:s4]

Sida iya nepan perau, udah sida nepan perau meda baka ba tisi ai nya tadi, bisi siti padang. **They go by boat, after all of them are on the boat, they saw a field next to the river.** Padang nya empa api. **The field was on fire.** Tek baka cerita apai tuai nyin dulu, ba asap padang nya bisi gak gambar antu pala. **Similar to the first story of the old man earlier, within the smoke is an antu pala image.** Ayan, tek nama nya. Ayan ba asap ke tunu orang nya tadi. Iya sida enda nemu sapa ke nunu nya tadi. **It appears within the smoke but they don’t know who burned up the field.** Sida mansa api segi udah idup. Asap api nya bisi antu pala. Nya cerita gaga iya. **They passed the burning fire. The smoke has the skull ghost. That’s the story created by him.** (24:56)

#### [T2.a1:s5]

Udah sida ke merau nya tadi, kira ko kitai ka sangkai ba pendai. **After they were boating, they stopped at the jetty.** Enda entu jauh ari kawasan ka lawa sida. Datai sida dia orang nadai. **Not far from the place where they were to visit. But once they arrived, there was nobody.** Nadai nganti sida orang ba rumah panjai. **No one was waiting for them from the longhouse.** Nya Lachlan tu tadi orang outih tu tadi alu pedis ati ngagai Rentap. **Because of that, Lachlan, the white man was angry with Rentap.** Meda nadai orang ngambat sida ngagai penyangkai. Nulung sida mai barang enggau kantung katas kin. **There was no one who welcomes their arrival at the warf and help them to carry the things and bags.** Bakatu cerita iya. **That is his story.** Enti kitai bisi nasib ila, meda kitai ila. Sapa ka enggau iya belakun? Ka kita? **If we have the luck, we will see it. Who would like to join the acting? Do you want?** (26:45)

#### [T2.a1:s6(1)]

Nya sekumbang sida ba rantau jalai, ka niki ngelawa menua ka lawa sida. **On the way to place that they want to visit.** Tiba-tiba sida tetemu ke kubur. Baru empai lama kubur nya udah. [Graveyard right? *Ya, graveyard*.] **Suddenly, they stumbled onto the graveyard. It’s a new graveyard.** Sida tetemu ke siti kubur. Kubur nya kubur baru. **They found a graveyard.** Retinya orang ke udah dia, empai lama udah mati **That is the new graveyard.** **That means it’s a new death.** Nyadi orang putih tu tadi, laban program ke ngiga antu, alu nama nya ka ngiga antu ba pendam nya**. The white man who would like to hunt for the ghost, he will hunt it in the new graveyard.** Ka nyeng kubang lubang ke udah dambi eh ke udah gaga orang nya. Tang Rentap enda ngasuh. **He would like to dig in the grave that was completely done, but Rentap doesn’t allow him.** (28:08)

#### [T2.a1:s6(2)]

Datai sida ba kubur nya tadi, laban bisi orang putih ke beli-beli nama Andy, iya ka beli agi baka pundan pendiau. **They’ve arrived at the graveyard and there is a white guy who is foolish and acts gay, named Andy.**  Nyadi iya takut ke semua utai. Takut ke lemetak, takut ke ular. **He is scared of everything. Scared of leeches and snakes.** Udahnya, udah sida datai ba pendam, ayan ular tu tadi. **The snake was there when they arrived in the graveyard.** Nyadi, lemetak tu tadi makai Andy. **The leech bit Andy.** Iya ga takut lemetak. Andy ga dempa iya. Aa... Lekat sebelah tubuh iya. **He was scared of the leech but the leech came to Andy. It stuck to his body.** Nyadi Rentap bisi meda kenaya nama nya. Baka orang indu. **Then Rentap sees a shadow. It looks like a woman.** Ayan ba mua iya. **It appeared in front of him.** Alu orang putih meda iya genung-genung alu nanya iya. **The white man saw him and insightful asked him directly.** Nama nya? iya nanya Rentap. **What is that? He asked Rentap.** Rentap madah nadai ku meda utai ko Rentap. **There’s nothing, Rentap answered.** Laban iya ngemula ke orang putih nya tadi. **He was just lying to the white man.** Kenya ko cerita iya. **That’s how the story goes.**

#### [T2.a1:s6(2).D]

[*What do you think Rentap saw? What do you think?* Maybe something aaa... Antu. Its must be antu. Antu. Maybe appears just a second only. He saw antu. Suddenly disappear like that, so fast.] (31:19)

#### [T2.a1:s7]

Sida cerita sida orang putih tu tadi, 6 iku tu tadi, nyadi datai sida ba rumah panjai tu tadi, ba rumah apai tuai. **That’s the story of the white man and 6 of them. They arrived at the longhouse, at the old man’s longhouse.** Rumah panjai kelia ke lawa sida. Bisi bala nembiak meda sida. **They visited at the very old longhouse. There were a few kids that saw them.** Lari bala nembiak. Pansut tuai rumah. Nya tuai rumah alu ngelalu ke sida. **The kids ran away. The headman came out and welcomed the arrival.** Tuai rumah bisi becerita enggau sida. Laban ke lawa sida kia ngiga antu. **The headman shared a story with them. It’s because of the attention to come and hunt the ghost.** Betemu enggau manang ke pandai ba pun cerita nya tadi. **Meet with the clever shaman that was described earlier in the story.** Manang ke nemu lebuh ke ngidup ke api bisi meda antu ayan dia. **The shaman who knows about lighting the fire and saw the ghost.** Padahal pendam ke pansa sida nya tadi, pendam manang nya ke udah mati. **However, the graveyard that they passed actually belonged to the shaman who died.** Iya baru udah mati. 2 ari udah mati. Manang nya. tuai Manang ke nemu ngiga antu. **He just passed away, two days before he passed away. The shaman who knows how to hunt the ghost.** Alu orang putih tu tadi enda entu nyamai ati. **So, the white guy felt uneasy.** Nama enda madah ke kami lebuh manang tu mati ko orang putih madah ngagai apai tuai. **Why didn’t you tell us that the shaman died? This is what the white man told the old man.** Tuai rumah nya deh. **That’s the headman.** Tang tuai rumah madah, sebedau iya mati, iya enda ngasuh semua orang luar datai maya iya mati. **The headman told that before he died, he didn’t allow any outsider to come when he is dead.** Lalu, enda dasuh ngulit ke iya. **No mourning allowed for him too.** (32:55)

#### [T2.a1:s8]

Nya, cerita sida tu tadi kenya. **The story goes like this.** Udah sida datai, ba rumah panjai nya tadi, ba mua rumah, nyadi Rentap tu tadi laban iya bansa Iban, iya enda entu nyamai ati. **After they arrive at the longhouse, in that house, Rentap who is Iban, feels uneasy about something.** Ka enggai iya tama masuk rumah panjai nya tadi. **He felt reluctant to enter that longhouse.** Tang orang putih tu tadi ke nama Lachlan tu tadi bekeras gak. **But Lachlan forced him to do so.** Kitai mesti masuk. Kitai mesti tama ko iya. Nya cerita gaga iya tu. **We must get in. We must enter, he said. This is about his story.** Nama alai sida mesti tama, lagi bisi makna nama alai Rentap bisi enda nyamai ati. **Why they must they get in when Rentap felt uneasy has meaning.** Nama alai orang putih keras ka kin. Bisi ba cerita. Laban tu cerita gaga iya. **Why the white guy insists to get in. It has a story. Because this is a story made by him.** Nya ba cerita iya tu tadi, udah sida iya datai laban sida ka ngelawa manang. **In this story, their visiting is because they would like to visit the shaman.** Manang udah mati enda? **The shaman that died, right?** Berapa ari manang udah mati? Dua. Manang udah mati dua ari. **How many days since the shaman died? Two. The shaman had been dead for two days.** (36:10)

#### [T2.a1:s9]

Nyadi datai ba rumah panjai, udah sida berandau enggau orang panjai. **They talked to the villagers right after they have reached the longhouse.** Nya apai tuai, tuai rumah mai sida ngagai bilik manang nya tadi. Manang nya bisi siti bilik deh.**The headman led them to the shaman’s room. The shaman had one room.** Dalam siti bilik nya sida meda macam-macam utai. Bisi antu pala. Bisi tulang mensia. Bisi lilin. **In that room, they saw many things. It had a trophy skull, human bones and candles.** Macam-macam. Bisi sungkup meh ba rumah apai tuai orang nya. Nya kita ka bai orang tama kin? **Many things. There has a celebration of the death in the old man’s house. Is that’s why we are inviting to get in? [[126]](#footnote-126)** Bisi meda antu pala tekitang nya. Antu semua macam-macam utailah. Batu ilau meh. **See some trophy skulls hanging. All the ghosts and many things. Magic stone too.** Laban iya manang enda. Aaa... Nya iya ngena utai nya. **Because he is a shaman. Aaa… that’s why he uses those things.** Alu tuai rumah nya nanya, nama utai ke pemadu beguna? **The headman asked, what is the most useful thing?** Ukai, utai ke pemadu bisa ba bilik tu ko tuai rumah nya nanya. **No, the thing that is the most venomous in this room asked the headman.** *[Tuai rumah, headman or Lachlan that asking? Lachlan is asking the headman. What is most important thing. Yes what is most powerful thing? What is most powerful thing on this table.]* Nyadi orang putih tu tadi laban iya ke mancal-mancal, iya nanya nama utai ke paling ba dalam bilik tu ko iya. **The white man is being naughty by asking, what’s the most powerful thing in this room? he asked.** Retinya nama ke paling bekuasa ba dalam bilik nya. **Means what’s the most powerful thing in that room.** Nyadi tuai rumah nya madah, manang nya bisi ai arak sebutul, arak udah simpan dalam kandang 50 taun tauka lebih udah simpan iya. **So the headman said that the shaman owned a bottle of alcohol, an alcohol that had been kept for 50 years and above.** Nyadi, arak nya udah gaga iya. Ulih ngaga kuasa arak nya. **The alcohol had been worshiped by him. The power of the alcohol must be worshiped.**  Semina orang ke berani aja ulih ngirup arak nya. Iya ke udah bedengah[[127]](#footnote-127) ulih ngirup arak nya.[[128]](#footnote-128) **Those who are brave enough only can drink that alcohol. Those who have killed someone can drink that alcohol.** (39:18)

#### [T2.a1:s10]

Aaa... Nyadi udah sida ke tama bilik manang, manang tuai meh reti, ari pan nyau ka lemai. **Aaa… after they entered the shaman’s room, it was already passed evening time.** Nyadi semua rakyat ba rumah panjai nya, lemai nya sida iya begelumu makai. **All the villagers in that longhouse got ready and gathered to have dinner.** Laban nya ke kitai Iban. Macam-macam lauk. Lauk pama. Lauk tekura. **Because we are Iban. Many dishes. Fresh water frog and tortoise.** Nyadi siku orang putih ke beli-beli Andy takut meda. Laban iya takut makai utai nya. **The senseless white man, Andy was scared to see. He was scared to eat those dishes too.** Takut enggau orang makai utai nya. Nyadi, bala nembiak ba rumah panjai nya, bisi ngajat. **Scared to eat those dishes. So the kids danced the traditional dance “Ngajat”.** Bisi bejoget, bisi parti meh sida. **Some are dancing, partying too.** Nyadi siku orang putih ke nama Lachlan nya tadi, ka betemu enggau manang baru. **The white man, Lachlan would like to meet with the new shaman.** Manang ke segi udah di namanya, iya ke baru 15 taun udah enda baka apai tuai ke mati nya suba. **The new shaman with 15 years experience is incompareable to the late ancient shaman.** Iya bejaku enggau tuai rumah. Nyadi tuai rumah madah, manang tu nadai entu bisi pengalaman. Manang ke baru tu. **He speaks with the headman The headman tells him that he is not well experienced.** **This is the new shaman.** Udahnya, Lachlan tu tadi ngasuh iya ninjau jari iya.[[129]](#footnote-129) **After that, Lachlan asked him to read his palm.** Nama reti nasib ba jari iya. **Means what is the fate in his hand.** Nama nasib aku ko iya. **What is my fate? he said.** Udah iya ke meda-meda nya, kira ke enda entu manah meh jari Lachlan nya tadi. **Then he saw it, Lachlan’s palm showed something not good.** Alu nadai gak iya madah reti tuju jari nya tadi. **But yet he didn’t interpret the meaning of his palm.** Pelian ke iya aja. **He just did pelian.** Semina iya ngilik ke pala aja. Lachlan tu mati lagi laban iya mancal ko iya. Nya meh cerita gaga iya. **He just shook his head. Lachlan will die because he is naughty. He just makes this story.** (41:41) Nya malam nya, maya sida ke berami, bisi siku indu ngandung, kira ngandung dalam masa lapan bulan. **On that night, when they were partying, there is a pregnant lady, eight months preggy.** Bisi siku indu dara nyadung ai. Nyadung ai ngagai bala temuai. **There is a lady who serves the guests. Served the drink to the guests.** Nyadung baka enti kitai selalu meda enda, enti maya orang bisi begawai, bisi orang nyadung ai enda? **Serving the drink as usual, when there is a party, they will serve the drink, right?** Bisi siku indu, umur iya kira 22 taun. **A lady aged approximately 22 years old.** Iya betemu enggau Rentap. Laban Rentap tu kering. **She met with Rentap. Because Rentap is strong.** Nyadi Rentap tu ka nundi iya. Ka pangan enggau indu tu tadi. Indu tu enggai ke iya. **Rentap wanted to tease her. Wanted to date her. The girl doesn’t like him.** Rentap tu madah ke diri kerja ba tu, mayuh duit. Kaya. **Rentap told her that he is working there, a lot of money. Rich.** Kerja enggau kompeni tu ko Rentap madah. Indu nya enggai ke iya. **Working with this company, said Rentap.** **The girl doesn’t like him.** Aban Rentap ngira iya empu. Enda ngira, diri menua jauh. **Because Rentap just thinks of himself. Never thinks about far away places.** Kira iya retinya mementingkan diri, Rentap tu. Kenya ko cerita. (43:56) **Rentap is considered selfish. That’s how the story goes.**

### ACT TWO

#### [T2:a2:s1]

Rentap tu laban ke udah ngirup nya tadi, dalam iya udah ngirup, tek mimpi meh iya maya ke tinduk. **Rentap was drunk and he had a dream while sleeping.** Tinduk iya. Dalam iya tinduk, iya asai ke bisi meda orang nama nya, ko kitai. **He slept. In his sleep, he saw someone with that name, as we say.** Orang mumpung pala. **The man who severs the head.** Apai tuai orang bisi mai duku. **The old man had a dagger.** Engkah iya duku, ba rekung Rentap ke tinduk nya tadi. **He puts the dagger on Rentap’s neck while he is sleeping.** Udah iya engkah rekung ditu, Rentap alu tedani. Takut iya. **After he puts the dagger on the neck, Rentap wakes up directly. He is scared.** Nya apai tuai nya madah. **That old man tells him.** Nuan mesti nitih ke aku. **You must follow me, said the old man.** Ko apai tuai nya nganu iya. Mai duku engkah iya ba rekung deh. **With the dagger at his neck.** Seduai iya alu ngelawa siti agi bilik. **Both of them entered a room.** Ba siti bilik nyin, bisi siku gak orang udah din. **In that room, there was someone waiting.** Orang ke udah tangkap apai tuai nya tadi. **Someone that had been caught by the old man**. Lalu apai tuai ke mai Rentap nya tadi, alu mumpung pala nya alu pandang iya ngagai Rentap. **The old man brought Rentap there, then he severed that person’s head and showed it to Rentap.** Rentap nyau takut, nyau getar-getar kenya. Udah ke takut getar-getar, nyau tedani Rentap. **Rentap was scared until he shook. After being scare to death,[[130]](#footnote-130) Rentap woke up.** Baru iya nemu nya mimpi. **Then he realized it was a dream.** Nyaa.. Nya cerita iya tadi. **That’s…** **That’s the story.** (46:05)

#### [T2.a2:s2]

Malam sida ke berami nya, udah ke berami. Dani ari ke bemimpi, Rentap nya tadi. **Night of celebration, after the celebration. Awakening from the dream, Rentap just now.** Ari alu kudi. Beduru. Beguntur munyi. **He faced the storm, lightening.** Alu indu ke ngandung nya tadi nyau ka beranak. **The pregnant lady was giving birth.** Sida alu ngerak Rentap madah ke indu nya nyau ka beranak. **Rentap was woken up by them with the delivery of this news about the pregnant woman.** Utai nya laban ke ngenakut ke kitai. **It is because that thing scares us.** Baka cerita antu nya meh pelaba aku utai ka nyadi. **Just like the ghost story I think.** (48:04)

#### [T2.a2:s3]

Malam nya, udah Rentap ke ngigau, laban nya agi malam mayanya, indu nya siku nya ke agi ngandung nyau beranak.  **That night, after Rentap’s dream, it was the same night the pregnant lady was giving birth.** Iya ka beranak ngiga manang. **She** **wanted to give birth by using the shaman.**

#### [T2:a2:s4(1)]

Manang alu belian ke iya. **The shaman directly did belian for her.** Alu betungguk, munuh utai semua. **Kneeling, slaying all things.**

#### [T2.a2:s4(2)]

Nyadi ari agi bekilat-bekilat ba luar. **The outside looked shiny.** Sekumbang ari ke bekilat-kilat, Rentap. **In the middle of all that sparkling, Rentap.** Baka rumah tu enda, bekilat ari bisi senayau. **But there was no shining light in the house, just shadows.** Rentap alu bisi meda gambar orang ke ka munuh iya dalam mimpi ayan ba jendila kenya. **Rentap saw the old man who wanted to kill him in his dream[[131]](#footnote-131) appear in the window.** Sekali beduru bedentum inggar. Meletup ko kitai. Udahnya anak mit nya pan alu ada. **Then the thunder boomed loud. Exploded as we say. After that, the little child was born.** Iya ke dipelian ke manang nya tadi. Manang alu megai. **The shaman held the little child after he did pelian.** Nyadi orang putih ke nama Andy tu tadi. Laban ke takut. Takut meda utai bansanya. Baka ka lari iya. Takut meda orang beranak. **The white man, Andy. He was scare. Scared to see things like that. Like he wanted to run away. Scared to see the delivery process.** Semina Ruth tu tadi, iya ke saintis. Alu nemu semua pasal kitai Iban. **Just Ruth, the scientist who knows everything about us, Iban.** Iya aja agi berani bedau dia begulai enggai sida orang bukai. **She is the only one brave enough to remain with the others.** Andy aja meh ke takut. **Andy is the only one who was scared.** (50:40)

#### [T2.a2:s5]

Indunya tadi, ari siti, udah indu nya ke ngada ke anak. **The day after that lady delivered her baby.** Pansut Ruth tu tadi, laban ari majak ujan bangat. Ai nyau bisi betakung sebelah tengah laman. **Ruth came out, due to the heavy rain it was flooded in the front yard.** Pansut Ruth tu tadi. Saintis ke belajar nya tadi. Dia iya meda orang, mai indu ke udah beranak mati. **After coming out, Ruth, the scientist who studies. She saw the villagers carring the dead body of the woman who delivered the little child last night.** Udah dibungkus orang semua. **Completely covered.** Nyadi bangkai indu nya tadi, dibai sida iya. Bai bala orang rumah panjai. **The dead body was being carried by the villagers.** Udah dibungkus manah. **It had been well covered.** Datai ba tanah ditungkup ke sida. **When they got onto the ground[[132]](#footnote-132) the body was turned upside down.** Kaki iya di ikat ngena benang. **Her legs were tied with thread. [[133]](#footnote-133)**

#### [T2.a2:s6]

Nyadi Lachlan orang putih ke udah mabuk nya tadi, iya ke ngiga antu nya tadi, digerak sida alu enda ulih gerak. **The white man, Lachlan who wanted to hunt for the ghost got drunk and couldn’t be woken by them.** Digerak sida ari siti pan agi majak tinduk Lachlan tu tadi. Laban udah kelalu mabuk. (53:34) **Lachlan couldn’t be woken because he was totally drunk.** Nyadi Lachlan tu tadi, udah ke enda nemu indu ke ngandung nya mati iya. **Lachlan didn’t know that the lady pregnant lady was dead.** Enda iya nemu indu ke ngandung nya mati. Iya udah ngirup mabuk. **He didn’t know about it because he was drunk.** Udah mabuk, alu gali iya, gali ba lantai bakatu. **After getting drunk, he directly laid down, laid on the floor like this.[[134]](#footnote-134)** Nyadi sida 5 tu tadi ngirup luar. **The other 5 were drinking outside.** Nyadi Andy tu tadi tama siti bilik, ka ngerak iya baru. **Andy entered one room, wanting to wake him up.** Meda enda ulih gerak, udah iya ngerak inya. Digerak iya enda gak ulih. **He saw that he couldn’t wake him eventhough he tried many times.**

#### [T2.a2s7]

Belanda iya ari nyin. Takut. **He ran from the room. Scared.** Madah ke Lachlan tu tadi gai sida Ruth, ngagai sida Rentap. **Told Ruth and Rentap about Lachlan.** Belanda iya keluar. Lachlan udah mati ko iya. Iya nyau getar-getar. **He ran outside. Lachlan is dead, he said. He was shaking.** Takut meda bangkai Lachlan digusak iya enda dani. **Scared of Lachlan’s dead body, when he shook it and it didn’t move.** Alu meda iya mati. **Then he knew that Lachlan was dead.**

#### [T2.a2s8]

Rentap alu ngasuh iya ngambi kamera. **Rentap asked him to bring the camera.** Mai kamera ke kena Lachlan tu tadi. **The camera that had been used by Lachlan.** Nyadi, Lachlan sekumbang orang ke benung berami, iya bejalai enda kini iya. **During the celebration Lachlan might have gone somewhere.** Enda temu tunga. Nemu nya ngelawa rumah manang tuai kini. (56:54) **Don’t know where he went. Maybe he visited the ancient shaman’s house.** Nyadi, Lachlan tu tadi laban iya ke udah mati. Laban orang ke benung berami nya tadi. **So, Lachlan died while the celebration was still going on.** Keni ko iya, iya enda enggau orang dia. **How? he said. Well, he hadn’t joined with the others.** Iya masuk ba bilik manang ke tuai ke nemu ngumbai antu nya tadi. **He entered the ancient shaman’s room, the one who knew how to call the ghosts.** Laban Lachlan ke udah mati. **Because of this Lachlan died.**

#### [T2.a2s9]

Dambi sida memory kad ba kamera nya tadi ke bai Lachlan. **They took Lachlan’s memory card from the camera that he had brought**.Simpan sida ba komputer. **They played it on the computer.** Ayan sida ba komputer. Nemu nya pengawa Lachlan, ngiga antu. **It appeared on the computer. Actually, Lachlan had hunted the ghosts.** Buka sida iya nya. **They opened it.**

#### [T2:a2:s10]

Meda bisi gambar Lachlan mula. Tu orang putih ke dulu Lachlan nya. **Then Lachlan’s picture appeared. This is the white man from before, Lachlan.** Nama nya ba kamera nya manah bisi gambar-gambar baka lilin. **There were candles in the pictures.** Bekelip-kelip sebelah dinding. **Blinking on the wall.** Gambar meja. Alu iya bejaku. Aku ka ngiga antu ko iya. **The table was there. Then he spoke. I want to hunt for the ghost he said.** Nya alai iya, bisi siti ai tuak ke enda dasuh orang irup iya tadi enda, udah ke ngirup ai tuak ke lama nya tadi. **This is his reason, taking the “ai tuak” liquor that he had been forbidden from drinking, he drank that tuak of the ancient.** Orang suba enda ngasuh ngirup. Iya ngirup nya tegal iya ka meda antu. **No one then was allowed to drink**. **He drank it because he wished to see the ghost.** Laban iya madah diri ke kering enda takut ke nama laa. Laban iya ka meda antu. **Because he said that he was strong and not scared of anything. Because he wanted to see the ghost.** Salin ke iya ba mangkuk. Mangkuk besai. Kira ba mangkuk ukai ba gelas iya nyalin. **He poured it in a bowl. A big bowl. He poured in a bowl but not in glass.** Kejang iya ngirup nya bakanya. Alu meletup duru din. Guntur. Bisi tanda meh retinya. (1:07:32).] **He started to drink like this. Then an explosion sounded. Thunder. There was a meaning to it.** Nya cerita Lachlan tadi nya. **That is the story of Lachlan.** Udah iya ke ngirup ai nya tadi ke enda dasuh manang. Irup iya. **He drank the shaman alcohol that had been forbidden. He drank it. [[135]](#footnote-135)**

#### [T2.a2s11]

Udah iya ngirup nya, iya asai ke sedekan. Iya alu nama nya. Tubuh iya begetar. **After he drank it, he started to burp and his body was shaking.** Utai perening iya bepusin pala iya. **Everything that he saw was spinning.** Nyadi udah ke ngirup nya pala iya asai bepusin, meda gambar antu pala, sebelah luar. **After he drank the drink, he felt his head was spinning, saw skull ghosts images outside**. Sebelah dinding. Pancar kilat deh. Ayan gambar antu. **On the wall. The lighting and ghost images appeared.** Udahnya meletup baru kilat, malik iya keluar. Iya bisi meda indu. **After exploding thunder then followed by the lighting, he looked outside. He saw a girl.** Bisi siku indu mit enda entu besai. Bediri ba baruh ujan ba luar rumah nya tadi. **There was a small girl that was not too big. Standing in the rain outside of the house.** Peda Lachlan tu benung iya udah mabuk. Udahnya meletup baru gak ujan. **Lachlan saw it after he got drunk. After that, the rain exploded again.** Nya iya meda gambar orang ke ngiga pala. Ke dambi utainya mimpi tadi. **After that, the image of the one who hunts for the head appeared. It appeared in the dream.** Bisi ayan iya ke dambi Rentap mimpi. Meletup baru gak ngitar. **It appeared in Rentap’s dream. The thunder exploded again.** Peda mayuh bala antu pala ba belakang indu nya. **There was a lot of skull ghosts behind the girl.** Sekali aja ngilap-ngilap maya ngitar ke meletup. **They only arose when the thunder boomed.** Lachlan tu laban takut iya, perening iya ngagai bala mata orang nya. **Because Lachlan is a scared person, he stared at the eyes.** Mata nyau perencing mata kena tenggau. Berani nuan meda enti meda mata perencing malam ari? **The eyes looked so bright when the light was emitted towards them. Would you dare to stare at those eyes at night time?** Nyadi Lachlan tu tadi ka nguji diri lari iya. Eda utai bangat nyadi bansanya. **Lachlan tried to run. Things couldn’t get worse.** Lari iya belanda. Belanda iya, engkecit gak indunya. **He ran away. When he ran, the girl jumped.** Ngelampat iya. Belanda iya kin engkecit gak indunya ngelawa iya. **Blocked him. When he ran, the girl jumped towards him.** Iya nyau takut getar-getar bakatu. Indunya, alu tampar indu nya ba mua. **He was shaking because he was scared. The girl slapped him on his face.** Iya alu enda ulih engkebut laban iya takut. Antu nya da. Antu ke nampar mua iya bakanya. **He couldn’t move because he was scared. The ghost was there. The ghost who slapped his face**.Indu nya ka nampar mua iya alu duduk. Indu nya tadi, tegu iya kuyu Lachlan, tampar iya. **The girl sat, the girl who slapped Lachlan’s face.** Udah iya nampar, duduk Lachlan tu tadi. Iya gak takut. Antu ke ba mua iya. Berani kita ke antu? **After she slapped him, Lachlan just sat. He was scared. The ghost was right in front of him. Would you be brave in front of a ghost ?** Udah indu nya ke duduk peda iya ba buk indu nya mayuh lemetak mayuh lintah macam-macam utai ba buk indunya. **After the girl was seated, he saw a lot of leeches, worms in her hairs.** Indunya enda besai. Takut agi gak iya meda utai tumbuh ngerayap ba buk iya nya. **That girl was not too big. He became more scared to see those leeches and worms moving in her hairs.** Bisi nama lemetak ke lintah ke semua. [(1:09:57-1:15:16 minute).] **The leeches, worms were there.**

#### [T2:a2:s12]

Nyadi cerita nya tadi, enggi sida nya, nyadi dau iku nya udah meda cerita nya takut. **That story belongs to the white group, so the other two were scared because of the story.** Dua iku dayak ke enggau iya nya. Seduai iya ka lari. **The other two Dayaks who joined them. Both of them tried to run away.** Tang Rentap madah nama seduai ka lari, niti rumah. Asuh iya nengah ari pala tangga. **But Rentap told them that if want to run, they must run according to the house structure. Run by the ladder.** Laban seduai takut ka lari enggai diau dia. **Because those two were scared and didn’t want to stay there.** Nyadi Andy tu tadi, laban iya ke enda kala meda antu. **Andy had never seen any ghosts.** Iya ke beli-beli nya tadi. Iya ke takut ke lemetak. Ok kitai ko ya. **The one who is senseless, scared of leeches. We are fine, he said.** Laban tu meh keterubah, kitai meda antu ko iya, nya ila antu nya bai kitai ko iya. **Because this is the first time for us to see the ghost, let’s bring back the ghost.[[136]](#footnote-136)** Jaku tundi iya tadi. Bai tupi ngambi e ulih dijual kitai ko iya. Ko Andy nya tadi. **He was joking. Bring it and raise so that we can sell it, he said. Andy said that thing.** Nyadi Ruth tu tadi laban iya segi saintis, ukai ko iya. **But it’s not like that according to the scientist, Ruth**. Utai tu dambi kami ngena, media teknologi ko iya. Enda gak ko Andy. **This thing will be taken by using media technology. Then no need, said Andy.** Anang pecaya ke utai tu, laban utai tu nadai kala meda antu ko iya. **Don’t believe in this thing, because this thing will never see ghosts, she said.** [There is no ghost. Yaa. Impossible to see the ghost. (1:16:26-1:55:53-break time)]

#### [T2:a2:13(1)]

Nya, tu cerita antu tu. **This is a ghost story.** Udah sida 3 tadi bisi, Iban dua iku ke begulai enggau orang putih keluar nengah belakang bilik. **After that 3 were there, the 2 Ibans with a white person went out by using the back door.** Laban duai iya takut meda cerita nyadi ba ba filem ke di bai sida nya tadi. **Because both of them were scared to watch the film that they’d brought just now.** Lari seduai iya keluar. Ari agi ujan, namanya, bekilat meh, beguntur meh. **They ran outside. It was still raining, like, lightening, thundering also.** Datai duai iya di luar din. Nemu dek duai iya lari ke babas kin. **After they had reached the outside. Do you know they ran into the jungle.** Nya duai iya meda mayuh ukui. Ukui nya tadi alu ka ngagai duai ka ngelaban duai iya. **They saw a lot of dogs. The dogs wanted to chase and attack them.** Tu ba filem ka gaga iya tu. Ukui ka neglaban duai iya. Ukui antu. **In this film that is made by him. The dogs attempted to attack them. Ghost dog.** Nama nya, laban sida. Nama alai ukui nya ngagai alu utai mayuh nyadi. Indu pan mati. **Like that, they fought. If the dogs chased, many things will happen. The girl also died.** Siku nya pan mati. Udah manang nya ke mati. **That one also died. After the shaman died.**

#### [T2:a2:s13(2)]

Ba cerita tu lagi, pelaba aku, nya alai utai tu nyadi laban tegal orang putih nya ka ngacau kubur. **In this story, I think, this thing happened because of the white man who disturbed the graveyard.** Kubur manang ke tuai. Alu sida tiga ke tinggal dia, Andy, Rentap enggau Ruth tu tadi, bekelakar sida. Nama utai tu tau nyadi ko sida. **The old shaman’s graveyard. Then, three of them stayed there, Andy, Rentap and Ruth, asking each other. Why are these things happening to them, they said.** Maya malam ari. Benung sida duduk ba tengah laman. **When the night falls. While they are seated in the middle of the night.** Lebuh sida tiga ti bekelakar ke utai nya, datai indai tuai siku, kira meri sida makai lah. **When they were talking to each other about that thing, an old woman came, they thought to give food.** Mai asi. Bai iya asi. Burak meh mula asi. Iya datai ba sida tiga. Bebali celum asi nya malam nya. **Brought the rice. She brought the rice. The rice was white at first. After it got to them. It changed to black.**

#### [T2:a2:s13(3)]

Ari majak bekilat majak ujan. Nyadi, dua iku nya bedau meh. Salak ukui antu. **The day had continuous lightening, thundering. So, those two had not had enough. Barked at by the ghost dogs.** Dua iku ke lari ari rumah. Nengah rumah belakang.[ (1:57:27-1:58:21 minute).] **Those two ran to the house. Through the back house.** Nyadi, duai iku tu tadi, agi gak salak ukui. Agi gak bisi meda utai nyelai. Ba belakang. **So, those two just now, still being barked by the dogs. Still saw weird things. At the back of the house.** Malik seduai bakanya malam ari, laban ari ujan. Seduai alu lari. Lari ke ukui, antu gak ayan. **They turned and the day seemed dark because of the rain. They ran. Ran from the dogs, the ghost appeared.** Enti filem tu bisi ila, ila kita meda. Meda cerita antu. [(1:58:44-1:59:09 minute).] **If this film exists in the future, we will watch it. Watch the ghost story.**

#### [T2:a2:s13(4)]

Nyadi orang ba rumah panjai nya tadi, berandau sida iya. **So, the other villagers of that longhouse, they were chatting with each other.** Nama alai indu ke ngada ke anak tu tadi tau mati. **Why did the pregnant lady die?** Alu orang putih nya tadi udah ngirup tuak pan mati. Nyau carut sida. [charut:confused **Then, the white man who drank the alcohol “tuak” also died. So they were confused.** Retinya bisi penanggul, alai utai tu tau nyadi. Utau nyau antu ayan semua.[[137]](#footnote-137) **That means it was a problem, the reason these things were able to occur, that all these lost ghosts were appearing.** Asi pan nyau nyadi celum. Beras nyadi celum. **The rice turned black. Rice turned black.** Utai nyadi-nyadi, nya utai ke kerandau sida rumah panjai nya tadi. **Things happened, that’s the thing being talked about by the villagers in that longhouse.** (1:59:37-2:00:09)

#### [T2:a2:s13(5)]

Seduai iya ke luar tu tadi, iya ke lari ari belakang bilik nya tadi, gagai ukui. **The two who ran outside, who ran into the back of the house, chased by the dogs.** Nyadi siku, udah ketup iya ba tubuh. Mayuh darah ba tunuh. **One of them was bitten on his body. A lot of blood on his body.** Baju iya nyau carik. Siku nguji nulung iya malu ukui nya ngena kayu. Iya ke kering agi. **His shirt was torn. Another one tried to help him by hitting the dog with wood. Who’s stronger?** Antu nya dia. Antu ukui. Lari seduai iya kia, mayuh gak ukui. **That was the ghost. Ghost dog. They ran to the other side, a lot of dogs there too.** Lari kia mayuh gak ukui ngagai duai iya. Nya alai ngasuh belajar. Nama enggai nyadi antu. [(2:00:36-2:01:16 minute). **Ran to the other side but also dogs chased them. That’s what they must learn. If they don’t want to be chased by ghosts.** Sekumbang sida ke berunding nama kebuah utai tu tau nyadi. Antu tau tek bisi maya sida din. **While they were thinking about why these thing happened. The ghost appeared when they were there.**

#### [T2:a2:s13(6)]

Udahnya bisi ninga orang nyerauh seduai iya. Rentap enggau indu orang putih tu tadi. **After that they heard somebody, they heard shouting. Rentap and that white woman.**

#### [T2:a2:s14]

Meda kaban iya nya tadi benung berekak enggau ukui. Rentap laban ke kering, Rentap nulung iya. **Seeing his friend was fighting with the dogs. Because Rentap is strong, Rentap helps him.** Nulung dua iku nya malu ukui. [(2:01:41-2:02:15 minute).] **Helped them by hitting the dogs.** Seduai iya tu tadi, selamat ke Rentap, nyadi laban seduai ke udah gigit ukui. ukui antu ngigit. **Those two, saved by Rentap, because they were bitten by the dogs. Bitten by ghosts.** Rentap tu munuh ukui antu laban Rentap tu kering. **Rentap killed the ghost dog because Rentap is strong.** Nyadi dua iku nya tadi nyau bedarah ketup ukui. Bai sida serumah pulau ke rumah. **Those two were bleeding because were bitten by the dogs. The villagers brought them home**. (2:02:31-2:03:32)

#### [T2:a2:s15]

Nyadi Rentap tu tadi, udah iya ke ngelaban ukui, laban ke mayuh ukui ngelaban kaban iya tu tadi, iya bisi meda siku agi antu ayan. **So Rentap who fought with the dogs, because many dogs attacked his friends, he saw a ghost appeared.** Iya ke udah dambi iya mimpi nya tadi. Nyadi antu nya ayan enda lama. **He dreamed of it. But that ghost appeared.** Udah iya enda lama, alu buka iya baju, belanda nitih ke antu ke dalam babas kin. **In a short while, he took off his shirt, ran behind the ghost into the jungle.** Lagi kitai ninga nama cerita seduai iya dalam babas din. **Later we listen to the story of them inside the jungle.** (2:03:52-2:05:00)

#### [T2:a2:s16]

Laban rumah sida iya tadi, kelalu mayuh antu, ba kawasan rumah sida.  **Because their house, it had too many ghosts, in the house area.** Laban sida bisi, salah utai kerja. Nyadi dua iku ke sakit nya tadi, udah ngelaban ukui nya tadi. **Because they had done something wrong. So two of them were sick, after fighting with the dogs.** Ngubat nya sida iya. Bala sida indai tuai, nyadi sida serumah takut magang. Alu begempuru. **They treated them. All the wives, however the other villagers were scared. All gathered.**Nama utai ka nyadi. **What will happen?** Nyadi dua iku nya udah ke gagai ukui nya tadi, madah seduai nadai ulih diau ditu agi. **Those two who were bitten by the dogs, they couldn’t stay there anymore.** Antu magang-magang ko iya. Mai orang lari iya. Tang tuai rumah enda ngasuh lari. **Ghosts are everywhere, he said. Encouraged the rest to run away. But the headman didn’t allowed.** Enda ibuh lari ko tuai rumah, diau ditu aja ko iya. **No need to run said the headman, stay here only, he said.** (2:05:32-2:07:06)

#### [T2:a2:s17(1)]

Laban, sida serumah nya tadi, laban selalu meda antu, sida ngangau ke manang. **Because the villagers in that longhouse, because they always saw ghosts, they called the shaman.** Belian muru antu. Ambi sida iya manang.  **To expell the ghost. They called the shaman.** Manang alu munuh babi, sida selamat ngambi antu nya lari **The shaman sacrificed the pig, they were safe so the ghost will run away.** Udahnya udah iya munuh babi udah semua, betungguk iya.  **After he sacrificed the pig and did everything, he covered himself.** Dalam iya betungguk, dia iya bisi meda siu orang putih ke nama Lachlan ke udah mati nya tadi.  **While he worshiped, he saw the shadow of the white man, Lachlan who died.** Alu bisi meda indu ke udah mat beranak nya tadi. Sama nyadi antu. Takut iya meda.  **Also saw the lady who delivered the baby. Also became a ghost. He was scared to see it.** Ba gambar iya nya. Alu begetar nyau gusak-gusak bakanya. **On his picture. It was shaking.** Alai rumah sida nya bisi antu, laban tegal Lachlan ke ngirup arak ke enda asuh orang irup iya tadi. **In that house there is a ghost, because Lachlan drank the prohibited alcohol.** Arak nya udah lama enggi manang tuai. **That alcohol belonged to the old shaman.** Manang tuai nya pan nyadi antu. Orang enda ngasuh ngirup, irup iya gak. **The old shaman also became a ghost. It was prohibited but still he drank it.** Nya alai rumah nya nyau bisi antu ba rumah panjai nya. Utai enda asuh orang kereja. **That’s why that longhouse had ghosts. That thing was prohibited.** Kereja iya. Nyaaa... Nya utai ko manang. Nya tuju manang cerita ba ba iya.[ (2:08:02-2:09:18 minute).] **He did it. Nyaaa… this is the thing, said the shaman. That is the function of a shaman.**

#### [T2:a2:s17(2)]

Laban sida nya ke mayuh udah nyadi antu, nyadi orang putih pan takut, meda rumah nya bisi antu. **Because many of them became ghosts, this white man was also scared, knew that house had ghosts.** Ka lari kia enggai nyadi. Ka lari kia enggai nyadi. Lari ke luar mayuh ukui.**Wanted to run also but couldn’t. Run to the other side also couldn’t. Outside had a lot of dogs.** Diau di rumah nya antu gak. Bisi orang ka mati. Nya alai tuai rumah nya madah tat ke aja. **Stay inside the house, also it had ghosts. Got almost dying villager too. That’s why the leader of the headman asked to hold on.** Nganti manang udah abis belian lagi baru utai tu badu nyadi. **Wait for the shaman to be done with his ritual then this thing will stop.** Nadai agi antu nama manang udah muru. [(2:09:43-2:10:54 minute).] **No more ghosts if the shaman expels them.**

#### [T2:a2:s18(1)]

Nyadi sida dua iku nya tadi, ke berekak enggau ukui tadi enda, iya laban mayuh abi, nyadi siku benung indai tuai nya ngubat iya tadi, mati. **Those two, those two who fought with the dogs, because they had a lot of injury, so one of them, while the old woman treated him, died.** Mati laban udah mayuh pansut darah. Ari rekung iya ke udah gigit ukui nya tadi. **Died because he was bleeding so much. From his neck that had been bitten by the dog.** Nyadi kaban iya ke udah enggau iya nya tadi, ngelaban ukui nya, enda puas ati iya. **But his friend, who was with him, was not satisfied**.Meda kaban iya nya mati. Nyadi ko iya laban bisi orang putih enggau kia. **His friend was dead. But for him, it was because of the white people who joined that place.** Tu hal kita alai iya mati ko Iban siku nya. **This is because of you that he is dead, said one of the Iban**. Ka rekak iya indu orang putih nya tadi, meda kaban iya nya mati, ka bukut iya. **He wanted to fight with the white woman, because his friend was dead, wanted to punch.** Kumbia iya orang nya ngacau. **He thought they disturb it.** Iya meda nya alai mula iya meda sida datai dia suba, ngacau pendam. **He saw them since they came, disturbing the graveyard.** Ngacau kubur. Enda dasuh orang ngirup arak iya ke empu manang antu. Irup iya. **Disturbed the graveyard. Not allowed to drink the alcohol that belonged to the ghost shaman. He drank it.** Nya alai utai nya nyadi. Nya alai orang madah, kitai enda tau ngacau pendam. **That’s why these things were happening. That’s why others say, we can’t disturb the graveyard.** Enggai ke antu pansut ari pendam. Ngacau kitai serumah. Nya kenya ko cerita gaga iya ila. **To let the ghost to come out from the graveyard. Disturb all the villagers. Like this story that he will make.** Antu pansut ari pendam nama kitai ngacau. Berani gai pendam kita? Larson berani pelaba aku. **The ghost will come out from graveyard if we disturb it. Do you dare to go to the graveyard? Lachlan dared I think.** Berani nuan? Nya alai nama ba pendam, pendam enda tau kacau. Enggai ke antu pansut. **Are you brave? That’s why, if at the graveyard, do not disturb the graveyard. Don’t allow the ghosts to come out.** (2:12:06-2:13:45)

#### [T2:a2:s18(2)]

Sida nya tadi, pemuas rumah sida ke selalu sigau. Nemu utai sigau ko kitai?[[138]](#footnote-138) **They are just wretched in all the houses. Do you know ‘sigau’? (disturbed)** Nama sigau mayuh antu. Sigau ko orang. Sida nadai nemu nama utai ka kereja. **One is always wretched of course if there are a lot of ghosts. wretched due to these others. They didn’t know what to do.** Ka lari ari rumah nya, nadai nemu endur diau. Lari keluar pan mayuh antu. **Wanted to run from the house, no place to live. Run outside, but it had a lot of ghosts.** Nyadi bala sida ke nembiak, ka lari ngagai rumah orang bukai. Baka rumah kami. **The teenagers wanted to run to another house. Like our house.** Ka lari kitu rumah gai sekula tu enggai diau din. Laban din mayuh antu. **Wanted to run to this school,[[139]](#footnote-139) didn’t want to stay there. Because there were a lot of ghosts there.** Udahnya tuai rumah madah. Ok ko iya, kitai belian baru ngena manang bukai. **After that, the headman told them. Ok, he said, we worship again using the other shaman.** Manang bansa Berawan. **A Berawan shaman.** Laban ke dulu tadi enda ulih laban iya agi baru. Enda ulih teburu ke antu. Enda ulih ngelaban antu. **Because just now this shaman is still new. Can’t expel the ghost. Can’t fight with the ghost.** Iya, enda meda iya takut. Diatu iya ngena manang Berawan. Kea iya ngelaba antu. **He, without seeing it, he was scared. Now we use the Berawan shaman. He came here to fight with the ghost**. (2:14:28-2:15:05)

#### [T2:a2:s19]

Nyadi laban sida ke biak ke takut, lari. Baka lari ngagai rumah kami kitu ka. **The teenagers were scared, ran. Wanted to run to our house here.** Malam ari nyau enggai agi diau ba rumah nyin. Ka lari sida, laban ari-ari meda antu.**Night time, they didn’t want to stay there. They wanted to run because everyday they saw ghosts.** Lari sida ke nembiak. Ka lari ngelawa rumah panjai nya. Belanda. **The teenagers ran. Ran to the longhouse. Ran.** Datai sida luar, udah sida pansut, kira ba tengan jalai. Ninga munyi utai. **Reached outside, after they came out, middle of the way. Heard some sound.** Sida bisi ninga nyawa antu. T**hey heard the ghost’s voice.** Ba luar nya. **Outside.** [Then what has happen to the young guy? *Still run away. They hear the antu and they run away.]*Tang laban sida nya mayuh. Antu nya ulih bunuh sida iya. Laban antu nya enda mayuh.  **But they were a lot. Ghosts were scared to kill them. Because there were not a lot of ghosts.** Bala nembiak nya mayuh. Enti siku enda telaban ke iya. Ulih kalut. Ulih siku ngelaban antu? [(2:16:08-2:17:12 minute).] **Those teenagers were a lot. If one of them can’t fight with it. It can cause chaos. Can one fight a ghost?**

#### [T2:a2:s20]

Orang putih nya tadi laban ke udah lelak-lelak, udah beri indai tuai orang nya ngirup. **The white man was tired, after he was given a drink by the old woman.** Keni ko jalai ngelaban antu. Nyau tetinduk iya. Enda ngira utai ke nyadi. **How to fight the ghost. He fell asleep. Didn’t care about what happened.**Ka ke nama nyadi, tat ke meh ko iya. Ka pan enda nat. Lari enda gak ulih. **Anything happened, just hold to it. What to do. Also can’t run.** Nyadi bisi utai ka tanya kita? Lagi aku nerang ngagai iya. Manah cerita nya? **Do you have any questions? Later I will explain it. It is an interesting story.** (2:17:27-2:18:59)

### ACT THREE

#### [T2:a3:s1]

Ka kita meda ila cerita antu? Kaa... Nyadi orang putih tu tadi, ke benama Ruth. **Will you watch the ghost story? Want … the white woman, Ruth** [Both Ruth and Andy fall asleep. And they wake up in the night*,* is it? *Yes.*]Laban iya meda manang Iban enda ulih ngibun rumah sida iya, udahnya iya mai manang bansa Berawan.  **Because they saw that Iban shaman can’t protect their house, after that they brought the Berawan shaman.** Ngibun rumah sida iya. Bisi gambar antu. Ka nyadi antu. Udah iya ke utai nya.  **To protect their house. He had ghost photos. Wanted to be a ghost. After him that thing.** Laban bansa Berawan tu lain, enti kitai tu mati, nadai orang ngali ke dek. **Because Berawan is different, if we are dead, no one will lay you.** Bakatu dek duduk, duduk bakatu dek. Engkah orang atas meja bangkai dek. **Like this you’re sitting, sitting like this. They put your dead body on the plank.** Ikat orang bakanya jari. Mulut iya engkah orang insap. Dia tugung ke utai magang. **They tied your fingers like that. They put a cigarette in his mouth. There would also place a lot of things too.** Nyadi bansa Berawan belian. Tegal tu meh alai rumah sida iya kacau antu. **So, the Berawan community does belian. Because of this also their house was disturbed by the ghost.**

#### [T2:a3:s2.D]

Iya tu ke ngacau rumah nya, laban iya ngali kubur. Nya alai mali enggai orang pendam.  **He disturbed that house, because he dug the graveyard. That’s why it’s prohibited at the graveyard.** Enti enda kacau iya, nadai rumah nya kala sigau. Nadai antu kala masuk. Laban iya ka ngacau. **If he didn’t stir it, the house would not be wretched. No ghost would have ever entered. But he called it.** Ila kitai meda enti iya udah ngayan ba filem. Nya gambar iya ke mati nya. **One day we will watch the film. That has his face.** Laban tegal orang putih ke ngacau kubur enggau ngirup arak ke enda dasuh manang tuai irup. **Because the white man disturbed the graveyard and drank the prohibited alcohol of that shaman.** Dirup iya gak. Nya alai utai nya nyadi. [(2:21:01-2:21:20 minute).] **He drank it. That’s why this thing happened.**

#### [T2:a3:s3]

Endang segi baka bansa kitai Iban, nama orang mati, segi nyabak kitai. **This is our Iban culture, if people die, we cry and lament (nyabak).** Dia meh sida nunga orang putih ke mati nya bediri ngimbai nya. Nyabak. **They were standing next to the dead body of the white man. Crying.** (2:21:34-2:23:11)

#### [T2:a3:s4]

Nyadi Rentap udah ke utainya tadi udah ke munuh ukui ke ka ngelaban kaban iya dua iku nya tadi. **Rentap, who killed the dogs that attacked two of his friends.** Udah ke munuh nya. Buka iya baju. Lari iya ngagai, laban iya bisi meda gambar antu. **After he killed it. Took off his shirt. He ran after that because he saw the ghost.** Nya gagai iya. Gagai iya natu nya tadi, sekali datai ba siti, pun kara, antu ke gagai iya. **It chased him. He chased the ghost, after reaching one place, the ghost tree “pun kara,” that ghost chased him.** Datai ba pun kara nadai antu nya nyau lesap. Antu nyau lesap iya alu niki gai atas pun kara. **After he reached the ghost tree “pun kara” the ghost was missing. The ghost was missing, he climbed the tree.** Ba pun kara nya bisi rumah orang. Bisi siti rumah panjai datas din. Niki Rentap kin. **On the tree there is was a house. It had a longhouse on the top of that tree. Rentap climbed it.** Tama iya kin meda bala orang tuai-tuai. **He entered it and saw a very old community.** Bisi indai tuai orang siku, tusu iya lanjut angka nya ko iya. **There was an old woman, her boobies were loose, maybe she is the one he said.** Rentap mula nya ka takut, laban iya segi orang berani enda iya takut? **At first, Rentap felt scare, because he is a brave person he didn’t feel scared?** Datai iya din iya betemu enggau bala apai tuai orang bepantang bakatu, iya alu rindu meda pantang. **Once he reached there, he met with an old men with tattoos, he liked to see it.** Bejaku iya enggau apai tuai siku, aku ka nunda pantang nuan ko iya. **He spoke to the old man, I wanted to see your tattoos he said.**

#### [T2:a3:s5(1)]

Nyadi bala sida ke nyabak nunga apai tuai nya tadi enda, laban iya engkah orang ba tengah ruai bakatu, baka kitai, enti orang mati mayuh orang nunga enda. **There were a group of people facing the old man and crying, so they put him in the middle of the ruai, like us, if someone dies a lot of people will gather.** Nyadi apai tuai tu benung mati. Laban bisi orang nyaba ke apai tuai nya tadi. **This old man was in the process of dying.[[140]](#footnote-140) Because there were some people crying for him.** Nyadi duduk bakatu, ba ruai siti nyin. Bisi namanya. Bisi kitil, bangku ka. **It sits like this, in that other living room. What it has. Its has a bed, chair.** Tiba-tiba utai nya bejalai. Nemu bejalai ati diri. Nadai orang ngutai. **Suddenly that thing moved. It moved by itself. No one moved it.**  Benung orang nyenggai antu tu. Tu antu ke mati. Udahnya tekenyit sida meda meja bejalai. **While they were mourning for this ghost. This is a dead ghost. After that they got shocked to see the table was moving.** Tu bejalai semua bejalai. **Everything was moving.** Nyadi apai tu tadi ke mati, duduk sandih ke orang ke tiang tengah bakanya. **The dead old man, they sit him on the pole like that.** Udahnya pansut utai ari nyawa. Utai baka darah. Tang darah nya celum. **After that, something came out from his mouth. Something like blood. But that blood was dark.**Nya semua orang ke nunga nya tadi takut magang. **Everyone who gathered next to it were scared.** Pansut utai baka leka asi ari nyawa iya nya tadi. **Something like a piece of rice came out from his mouth.** Takut magang orang. Engka arak ke udah irup iya suba. Arak nya segi enda tau irup orang. **Everyone was scared. Maybe that was the alcohol that he had drank before. That alcohol that can’t be drank by humans.** Tang iya ngirup. Nya alai iya mati. Udah iya ke mati. Alu nyadi antu iya nya. **But he drank it. That’s why he had died. After his death. He turned into a ghost.** (2:26:51-2:28:48)

#### [T2:as:s5(2)]

Pansut baru utai ke dirup iya ari nyawa. **Things that he drank came out from his mouth again.**  Nyadi insap ke pegai orang puth nya tadi alu idup. Ba jari. Iya mati bakanya. Idup insap nya tadi.  **The cigarette that was being held by the white man lit. In his fingers. His dead body like that. The cigarette lit.** Baka ke udah tungkun orang ngena api. **Like someone lit it up.** Iya ke mati nya tadi benung dugau-dugau engkebut insap iya bakanya.[[141]](#footnote-141) **The dead body smoked the cigarette while sitting.** Kumbai kaban iya sikunya idup iya. Alu kia iya madah. Sirut ke ia insap. **His friend thought he was alive. He went there and told him. Smoke your cigarette.** Kesuh ke iya ngagai Andy. Nyau ka luput gak Andy laban asap insap antu nya tadi. **He exhaled cigarette smoke towards Andy. Andy almost fainted because of the ghost cigarette smoke.** Ukai antu, bangkai. Bangkai ke disenggai. Nemu bangkai? Nemu. **Not a ghost but dead body. Dead body in mourning. Know dead body?** **Know.** (2:29:23-2:30:30)

#### [T2:a3:s6]

Nyadi, Andy tu tadi udah antu nya ke nginsap nya tadi, kesuh ke iya kenya alu masuk ngagai Andy. **After the ghost smoked, the smoke got into Andy.** Nyadi racun reti iya. Andy pan udah kena nya alu ka luput. Kasak-kasak Kenya. **It became poison that means. Andy almost fainted. Moves a lot like this.** Bisi indu orang putih gak nulung iya. Enggau bala orang rumah panjai. **The white woman wanted to help him. With the other villagers.**Enda nemu keni cara ka ngidup. Iya ka luput. Baka utai ke bisi lekat sebelah rekung. **Didn’t know how to save him. He almost fainted. Like something was stuck in his throat.** Udahnya bisi kaban iya siku, ngambi utai baka tiub baka straw. **After that his friend took something like a tube or like a straw.** Ansah iya dulu ngambi tajam pun. **She sharpened it first so it was sharp.** Acuk iya gai rekung orang putih nya, rekung iya nyau sumbat. **She pierced it into that white man, his throat was stuck.** Acuk ke iya ba tu. Udah iya ngacuk, pansut gak darah. Iya nyau kena udahnya. **She pierced it again. After she pierced it, blood came out. He was lost after that.** [Is Andy die or not? *Andy dies*.] Nya tadi udah ke pansut nya, alu mati iya. Orang putih nya tadi. Dua udah mati. Bedau siku. **After that thing came out, he died. Two of them were dead. Left only one.** [ I think this one is the attraction in this movie. This is very interesting for me. This one is the main point of the story is it?] (2:32:28-2:34:58)

#### [T2:a3:s7(1)]

Ka pantap sida ngena ilang enda datai. Ambi sida duku. **They wanted to cut it with a sword, but couldn’t reach it. They took a big knife.** Udahnya, ka pantap enggai nyadi datai kin. Bisi siku datai iya ke tuai agi. **After that, they wanted to cut it, but couldn’t reach. Then the old man came again.** Enggai meda iya nyadi antu. A munuh bangkai ngambi badu nyadi antu. **Didn’t want to see it become a ghost. Kill the dead body so that it won’t turn into a ghost.** Acuk iya perut orang putih ke mati nya. Udah iya ngacuk perut, mata iya melut. **He pierced the stomach of that dead white person’s body. After he pierced the stomach, its eyes became so big.** Pansut mata nyau besai baka nya. Ngasuh sida takut agi meda mata nyau besai.. **The eyes came out that big. This tends to make them scared to see the big eyes.** (2:34:49-2:36:47)

#### [T2:a3:s7(2)]

Cerita gaga iya nya tadi, laban api iya udah padam, udah bisi kilat enggau duru. **So that’s the story that he made, because the light was off, with lightning and thunder.** Dalam pancar kilat lebuh kilat ke mancar, nadai agi mensia dia, semina antu ke duduk tu enggau antu sebayan aja bisi. **While the lightning sparking brightly, no more humans, just the sitting ghost and antu sebayan only. [[142]](#footnote-142)**

#### [T2:a3:s8(1)]

Nyadi Iban ke ba rumah nya nadai ayan. Enti api padam mereci mereci kilat. **Those things didn’t show themselves to the Iban anymore. Unless there was lightning sparkling brightly.** Ala meda kilat mereci. Tek senayau antu magang ba rumah nya. Ba rumah panjai nya tadi. **When the lightning sparkled. The shadow of the ghosts appeared in that house. In that longhouse.** Nyadi antu nya bedau meh dia, bediri dia. Nya antu magang-magang ba bilik nya. **That ghost was still there, standing there. There were a lot of ghosts in that room.** (2:37:32-2:38:32)Nya alai api nyau padam. **That’s why the light was turned off.**  Udah sida nya tadi, cerita orang putih tu tadi sama agi enggau orang dia. **After their story, the white woman was just the same as the others in that house.** Tang enda peda dalam gambar laban segi mayuh antu. Ari ujan. Rumah sida bebali lama. **But it can’t be seen in the photo because of the ghosts. Raining. Their house changed into an ancient house.[[143]](#footnote-143)** Nyadi rumah jai. Tuduh. **Turned into a bad house. Shady.** Nyadi indu orang putih nya labuh, tinggang ujan ke labuh ari terutu atap. **That white woman was rained on, got wet because of the rain that went through the roof.** (2:39:09-2:2:41:10)

#### [T2:a3:s9]

[After the headman saw that thing he dropped his sword? *Yes, he drops the sword.* I think better he not drop it. *Ok]* Nyelai. Bai iya duku iya bakanya. Pansut iya keluar enda puas ati. Datai iya luar, ni antu ko iya. **Weird. Brought his big knife like that. Went out because he was not satisfied. Reached outside, where is the ghost? he said.** Nama ngacau rumah aku tu ko iya. **Why do you** **disturb my house, he said.** Puas ke bejalai sebelah nya, bisi pansut ba rumah siti iya, datai ba rumah siti nya, iya ka pansut nengah rumah siti nya iya. **His walking around but it brough no results, and he went out from that house of his, to reach that house there, he wanted to go out from that house which was his.** Mayuh lubang-lubang. Ka bejalai iya, peda iya utai baka asap pansut ari lubang. **Many holes. While he was walking, he saw smoke was coming out from the hole**. Peda tuai rumah nya tadi. Udahnya, asap nya tadi nyadi antu. **The headman saw it. After that, that smoke turned into a ghost**. Iya meh pansut ari nyin alu ngerayap nyadi antu. Dilah iya ngelur. **It came out there crawling. It’s tongue was out.** Tuai rumah ke bejaku ka ngelaban antu. Iya antu bisi lari iya nya. **The headman wanted to face the ghost. He is the one that runs away after seeing it.** Takut iya meda antu ka ngelaban kenya. Dilah iya pansut. **He was scared to face it. The tongue was out. (**2:42:25-2:47:44)

#### [T2:a3:s11]

Nyadi Rentap ke gagai antu tu tadi, udah ke niki kara ba rumah antu, betapa iya din. **So Rentap who chased after the ghost, climbed the tree at the ghost house, meditated there.** Laban manang ke belian tu tadi, alu enda ulih buru iya antu tu tadi sebelah rumah nya. **The Shaman that was doing the ritual was unable to cast out all the antu from that longhouse.** Udahnya pansut Rentap datai ari babas, datai iya. Iya alu betemu enggau orang putih ke mati nya tadi. **After that Rentap came out from the jungle, I’m not scared to face you, he said. Telling the ghost.** Nya iya madah, aku enda takut ngelaban dek ko iya. Madah ngagai antu nya. **He told that, I’m not scare to face you, he said. Telling the ghost**. Aku ka ngelaban antu ko iya. Sekejap nya datai bala antu mayuh ngelaban iya. Mula siku. **I want to face the ghost he said. After a while a lot of ghosts came to face him. It start with one.** Bangkai nya aja ke ayan. **The dead body only appeared.** Nyadi tubuh Rentap tu tadi mayuh udah pantang, nyau kering, Rentap tu tadi. **Rentap’s body had a lot of tattoos, it had become strong, that’s Rentap.** Mayuh antu aku enda takut ko iya. Alu tikau ke iya duku. **A lot of ghosts, I’m not scared, he said. He threw the big knife.** Semua antu, alu mansang magang ngaga diri ka makai iya. Rentap alu bejaku. **All the ghosts, came forward acting like they wanted to eat him. Rentap spoke.**Enda ibuh belaban kitai ko iya. Badu bemunsuh agi. Badu bekacau ko Rentap bejaku. **No need to fight he said. No need to be enemies anymore. No need to disturb each other, said Rentap.** Madah ngagai antu nya tadi. Majak gak antu. Rentap madah anang badu kitai belaya. **Telling the ghosts. The ghosts still came forward. Rentap said, stop fighting.** Bala antu alu ngetu. Adu sida ngelaban Rentap. Engkunduk-engkunduk kenya sida. **All the ghosts were stopped. They were in front of Rentap. Kneeling like that.** Takut sida ngelaban Rentap. **They were scared to go against Rentap.** (2:49:02-2:51:25)

#### [T2:a3:s12]

Nyadi bala antu ke ka ngelaban Rentap nya tadi, bedau dia, dugau-dugau baka tu ke meruan ka ngelaban iya. **Some of the ghosts who wanted to go against Rentap were still sitting like that.** Antu siku tu ke disenggai sida nya tadi. **This is the ghost that they mourned for just now.** Udahnya, angkat antu nya, ka ngelaban iya, Rentap ka. Udahnya belaban duai iya. **After that, that ghost stood up, wanted to fight him, Rentap agreed with that. After that they fought.**

#### [T2:a3:s13]

Angkat orang putih nya, udahnya pantap iya, mua ari kanan kenya Lachlan nya tadi. **The white man woke up. Slashed him, on the right side of Lachlan face.[[144]](#footnote-144)** Tangkap orang putih bakanya jari iya tu tadi, tangkap antu nya deh, jari iya teganggam, enggai nyadi engkebut. **That white man caught his hands like this, caught by the ghost, his hand was held, he couldn’t move it.** Ambi iya ngena kiba tu duku nya tadi. **He took the sword by using his left hand.** Kena iya mantap antu nya. Pantap-pantap iya, udahnya ulih tangkap iya. **He used it to slash the ghost. He cut rapidly, after that he was able to catch it.** [With the right hand or the left hand? Left hand.] Nyadi jari iya teganggam tadi ulih gak megai pala antu. Pegai iya pala antu. **With** **his hand that held something he actually managed to hold the ghost’s head. He held the ghost’s head.** Pumpung iya ngena pedang. Rentap gak kering. Nyadi bala antu tadi lari magang. **He severed it using the sword. Rentap is strong. The other ghosts run away**. Meda Rentap ngelaban antu. Antu ke senggai sida nya tadi. Rentap tu orang kering. **Rentap was against the ghost. The ghost that they mourned just now. Rentap is a strong person**. Kala ninga cerita Rentap kita? Dini endur Rentap diau? Bukit dini? Bukit Sadok. **Have you ever hear about Rentap? Where does Rentap live? Which mountain? Sadok mountain**

#### [T2:a3:s14.T]

[*But still the raining falling outside. So maybe the flood coming. The grandma come to him and said something to him. So then he went outside and swam out to a high place. Then he held up the head and the rain stopped. All the villagers watched him. Then the old grandma said to the beautiful Iban girl to go to him. So she jumps out into the water, swims to him. He holds her under his armpit against his chest. The other hand holds up the head.* So, in one hand he has a beautiful woman and in the other hand the head of his enemy? *Yeah.* Wow, that’s a great! That’s really great!]

#### [T2:a3:s14]

Rentap tu tadi, udah ke mumpung pala antu, alu lari taban ke iya bai iya bejalai. Mua ari mayuh. **After Rentap cut off the ghost’s head, he went out and walked with it. The weather changed.** Udah iya datai ba ai. Maya iya ke bulih antu, meletup beduru ari alu ujan. pansut bala antu tu tadi.[[145]](#footnote-145) **Then he came to the water.** **During the period when he obtained the ghost there was an explosive thunder and rain, then came many ghosts.** Datai baru. Semua utai di langit udah nengah sungai, terang magang. **They came again. Everything in the sky went through the river, all bright.** Nyadi mula ujan, kudi. Udah iya megai pala antu, terang magang. **It started with rain, thunder. After he held the ghost’s head, all was bright.** Ari siti, Rentap agi bejalai mai pala antu tu tadi nengah sungai, dia iya bisi meda indu siku, bajik amat. **A day later, Rentap walked while still carrying the ghost’s head through the river, where he saw a lady, really beautiful.** Ba ai indu nya tadi. Terjun iya ngambi indu nya tadi, tangkap iya indu nya, kepit iya bakanya. **He plunged into the water and took that woman, caught her, and carried her under his arm like this.** Tu agi megai pala antu nya tadi. **He still held the ghost’s head.**

#### [T2:a3:s15.T]

[So what going to happen next? *Yaa, then Ruth came and said they have to destroy the movie. No one will believe. We have to destroy all of this. So now we go to few days later, and now the sun is shining. People are fixing the longhouse. Everything is back to normal now. All is fine. We seen now the police coming in. Wearing the police uniform. And they are coming to the longhouse, and we see on the screen a sign. The police heard the story, antu and all this thing and they could not understand this. The flood, the malaria, making people crazy, and Lachlan he got crazy and ran to the jungle. During the flood he left. Finished. No investigation on this. And the police left.* ]

#### [T2:a3:s15]

Udah antu mati bunuh utainya tadi, bunuh Rentap, ari siti kira 2 3 ari udahnya, seminggu udahnya, semua sida ba rumah panjai ngerepair baru rumah sida. **After the ghost died, Rentap killed it, after 2 3 days after that, a week after that, all of the villagers were repairing their new house.**  Polis datai ari pasar nyasat nama alai orang mayuh mati mayanya. **The policemen came from town to investigate why people died at that time.**Udahnya bala orang rumah panjai becerita ngagai polis, laban polis ka nyasat nama pemati orang putih, nama pemati manang, nama pemati indu beranak, nama pemati siu ke dempa ukui, nya orang rumah panjai becerita ngagai sida, madah ngagai polis. **After that the villagers of the longhouse shared the story to the policemen, because the policemen wanted to investigate the dead of the whites, the ancient shaman, the death of the lady who gave birth, the dead Iban guy that been eaten by the dog, that’s the villagers of the longhouse who shared that story with them, shared it to the policemen.** Baru polis badu nyasat nya agi. **Only then did the policemen stop investigating.**

#### [T2:a3.s16.T]

[*Now last scene, now see Rentap and his bandage now. He is down on the floor making a fire. when the fire start burning,we see above it are the skull collection. The bottom skull is Lachlan. It is being burned. He turn and see the pretty Iban girl, and she has the baby. The baby that was born from the pregnant women. And they adopted the baby. And he walk out. The last scene is Lachlan’s face burning off.]*

#### [T2:a3:s16]

Nyadi iya ke mati beranak nya tadi, nyadi ari siti, iya ke mati beranak nya ari ujan, pansut ia ari rumah nya iya bisi meda siku indu ke mati beranak ba rumah nya, iya mati beranak. **The lady who died when she delivered, a day after, who died when it was raining, she came out and saw the lady that died after delivering a baby, she was dead. Out of their longhouse there, it is seen there the woman who died while delivering in that longhouse there, she died during delivery.** Anak iya ulih ambi. Pangku iya bakanya. Alu orang putih pan bisi ayan ba luar. **Her baby is safe. She carried it. The white man was also seen outside.** Bangkai Lachlan ke udah mati nya tadi.udah iya meda Rentap kamera benung mancar kia, mua orang putih nya bebali celum. **The dead body of Lachlan. After he saw Rentap’s camera brightly shine, the white man’s face turned black.**

#### [T2:a3:s16.D]

Nya ujung cerita.**That’s the end of the story.** [It’s come to the end is it? *Yaa the end*.] Bakanya pengujung cerita iya. **Like that, the end of the story.** Orang putih nya mati ancur pala iya, laban kuasa Rentap. Rentap gak kering agi. **The white died when his head was destroyed, because of Rentap’s power. Rentap was stronger.** [Ok. Thank you very much. You have anymore question?] Uji kita nanya berapa iti soalan ke temu kita? Lagi aku nerang ngagai iya. Bakani utai tu tau nyadi. Antu nama-nama ka. Tanya aja. **Let’s ask a few questions that we know? Later I will explain to him. How this thing could happen. Ghosts or whatever. Just ask.**

## APPENDICE C

TELLING #3

[This telling represents the final telling of the series with translator Sang. It was done with a group of eight adults. A story was told by an audience member towards the beginning which was relevenat and kept in place. In many ways this telling is the most sophisticated delivery and understanding of the story. It is also the shortest telling, taking only 2.5 hours as opposed to 3.5 for T1. The term ‘antu’ meaning ghost, spirit, demon, corpse, or mysterious thing is kept in place to maintain the spirit of this rather ambiguous concept. Generally speaking antu means ‘ghost.’]

[*Third collection. Rumah Japar at 3pm. Ulu Entabai*.] (00:20-00:46 minute). Nyadi iya tu agi nembu ke pelajar iya ngaga siti filem. Siti cerita meh. **So, he still study and want to make film for his project. A story.** Cerita ke gaga iya asuh bos iya Kuching din. Mesti niki tiga buah rumah panjai iya, tiki iya. **His supervisor at Kuching has approved his story. He must go to three longhouse.**

### ACT ONE

#### [T3.a1s1]

Nyadi pun cerita iya tu bakanya, nyadi dulu kelia, kira kelia meh. **So the story goes like this, a long time ago, reckoned to be a long time ago.** Laban kitai Iban segi arap ka manang. Bisi apai tuai orang siku. Apai tuai nya udah tuai. **Because the Iban people, we believe in shamans. There was an old man. He was getting older.** Umur apai tuai nya udah tuai. Manang tuai ko kitai deh kelia. Tu cerita gaga iya tu. Iya udah tuai. **His age was getting older. He was the elder ancient shaman, a long time ago. He is going to make this story.** Nyadi, iya nya namanya diau ba bejalai ke babas. Turun iya reti. Nyadi iya turun, bemalam. **He is walking in the jungle. Means that he is looking for something. So, he sleeps there.**Udahnya iya ngidup ka api. Udah iya ngidup ka api nya, iya ukai ngena macis. **After that, then he lights the fire. He lights the fire without the lighter.** Ngena namanya, ngena sukan. Nya ngena sukan. Idup api iya nya tadi.. **What he uses is an old style. Something that was used a long time ago. Then the fire was on.** Udah api iya nya idupPeda iya ba asap nya ayan gambar antu pala. Ba asap api ke didup ke iya nya tadi. Ayan ba asap api antu pala. **After the fire was on. He saw the picture of a skull in the smoke. In the smoke of his fire. The skull appeared in the smoke.** Nya iya madah ka enda nemu nama tuju utainya. Retinya tutup dulu. Laban nya gaga dalam tv, filem. Tutup dulu ko iya. **He says he doesn’t want to know the name of this thing. Meaning this is to remain covered.** **Because it will be a show on tv, a film. Then it has to be closed first.** Apai tuai nya tadi udah ka meda gambar antu, manang nya belian meh retinya, belagu bakani kitai nemu nyebut nya. **The old man, after he saw the skull, then the ancient shaman does some ritual, singing like, how to say that?** Besampi bejara meh madah ka reti, udah ke meda antu nya. **To pray to be told the meaning after he sees that ghost.** Udahnya putung iya cerita. **Then he cuts the story**. Lagi kitai berati ke nama tuju cerita nya. Nya ko iya. **We will hear his story and where the story goes on. That’s what he said.** (02:54-03:43)

#### [T3.a1s2(1)]

Laban enggi iya tu ke cerita. Udah iya ngayan ke cerita manang tadi, meda mata antu. **Because this is a story. After he shows the story of the ancient shaman, then a ghost eye.** Udahnya ayan ke orang baru gambar baka indu. Indu kena gambar. Gamal indu baka ke ka takut. Tek takut getar-getar gambar kena filem sida tu. **After that, it shows the picture of a girl. A picture like a girl. The girl’s expression looks frightened. She is frightened, and the picture is shaking, on the film.** (04:27-04:43)

#### [T3.a1s2(2)]

Au tu laban ke cerita, kebatang amat baka kitai tu ka, laban sida orang putih enda, iya datai kitu belajar ka adat kitai Iban. **Because this is a story, actually the white people, they come here to study about our Iban culture.** Nyadi orang putih enda pecaya ke antu. **So, the white people, they did not believe in ghosts.** Datai orang putih siku nama Lachlan tu tadi, iya mai laptop iya. **Then the white person comes, named Lachlan and he brings a laptop.** Ngangau ka ngiga ni utai ke antu ko orang. **Calling and wanting to see the ghost that people always mention.** Pandam iya mija. **Then he knocks on the table.** Aku ka meda ko iya. Iya enda takut ke antu ko iya, orang putih nya tadi. **I want to see, he said. He isn’t scared of ghosts, he said, the white man said.**

#### [T3.a1s2(3)]

Nyadi orang putih tu tadi laban ke begulai enggau indu ke udah kena gambar nya tadi, tiga iku lah sida iya. **So, the white man meets the white girl, then they come together.** Nya sida iya tulih ke runding. **Then they got an idea.** Baka sida ke meda, utai tu enda, bejalai meda bangku tek engkebut-engkebut. **Like what they saw while walking, they saw the chair move.[[146]](#footnote-146)** Nya cerita sida tadi. Cerita orang putih nya tadi. Nadai antu ko sida iya. Nya kebatang endar cerita sida. Ka ngiga antu kebatang endar. Cerita sida tu. **That’s the story. The story of the white people. There were no ghost, they said. That’s the story, hunting for a ghost.**

#### [T3.a1s2(3).D#1]

[*So do you think that tv show like this is a good idea?]* Kati nya manah ko iya? Cerita antu nya. Kati bisi ka nambah ko iya. **Is it ok? The ghost story. Do you want to add something?** [Some a say good.] Manah meh enti kitai meda ba filem. Kati ko enda manah, rindu meda. **I'm sure it will be a good film later if we watch. Hoping it will be good, so we will enjoy watching it later.** Tang bisi nya ngenakut ke kitai. Bisi ngerindu ke kitai. Bisi ati kitai nya takut deh. **But some parts will make us frightened. Some will be happy parts but some will make us frightened.** Kesal, kitai meda antu. Utai tek nyau nyelai. Ni kitai enda takut, iya gak antu. **We will be scared if we see the ghost. Because it’s weird. How not to be frightened, if there was a ghost.** Antu gerasi mata pan kitai takut meda. Anang agi enti meda tubuh. Mata takut. **If we see the eyes of antu gerasi, we must be scared. especially if we see it’s body. Even it’s eye is scary.** Genggam semengat. **Holding spirit.**

#### [T3.a1s2(3).D#2]

Meda nuan niang inik Johnny enggau aki Susie, seduai iya, niang inik Johnny, iya nyau ngambi namanya kebaruh. **Did you hear of the late Johnny’s Grandma and Susie’s Grandpa? The late Johnny, she wanted to go to downstair to get something because of hunger.** Ngambi.... Bucai ka. Niang aki sida Susie diau ba langkau. **Taking the Bucai (vegetable). The late Susie’s Grandpa, he stayed in the hut**. Dinga iya utai semiah tisi langkau iya nya. Enda nemu nya antu gerasi. Bisi ukui sida. **He heard something near the hut. He did not know that it was an Antu Gerasi. They had a dog.** Alu angkat ukui nya tadi, alu nyalak antu nya surut mansang nyala. **Then the dog woke up and was barking at the ghost.** Peda niang aki sida Susie indu nya nengah tisi nya. **The late Susie’s grandpa saw a girl walking near the hut.** Laban niang indai sida Manan nya ke nyadi antu gerasi menya. Iya deh. Au **Because Manan's Mother died and became the antu gerasi. Yes.** Tek indu Iban nyadi gerasi. Nya ar... Baru tinduk inik Johnny nya suba. **She was an Iban girl and became a gerasi. Johnny’s grandma just wanted to sleep at that time.** Uuu ko iya, enti nadai antu jarang gigi, laban udok nya antu jarang gigi ko iya, udah uchu nuan bancak aku ko indai sida Manan. Dalam mimpi niang inik Johnny. **She said uuu.. if not for that antu jarang gigi.[[147]](#footnote-147) Because he said that dog was the antu jarang gigi, then your grandchild speared me, said their mother Manan.** **In Johnny’s late grandmother’s dream.** Ka endar sida niang ini nyebut. Nya aki Susie ke meda antu. **My grandmother always told that to me. And Susi’s Grandfather saw the ghost.** Au meda antu gerasi. Tang nya indu. Iya gak jadi enggau antu gerasi. Niang Indai Genam suba. **Yes, saw antu gerasi. But it was a girl. She also married the antu gerasi. Late Genam’s mother.** Nyadi gerasi indai Jelening suba. Tek tekang nyadi nyengala-ngala. **Indai Jelening became antu gerasi. The real antu gerasi.** [This is a old story. This one happened maybe around 72 years ago. But this is a true story. About antu gerasi. Because antu gerasi scare of dog. And then the dog buck at antu gerasi. Because only dog can see the antu. But human sometime, just appear but a second later disappear. But this one is happen to our family people. Around 70 years ago. *Ok now, so we go to river boat.* (09:21- 09:57 minute).]

#### [T3.a1s3(1)]

Nyadi cerita orang putih tu tadi laban ke datai ari menua jauh, datai ke menua Sarawak kitu ka. **So, this story of the white man, because they come far away to Sarawak.** Nya kebatang mula cerita. Datai kitu sida iya. Begulai enggau bala kitai. **That’s the first story. They come here. Come together with us.** Datai di menua Sarawak ditu, iya ke deriba, datai daie sida. Duduk ba perau. **They arrived in Sarawak, and the driver, they arrived at the river. Sit on the boat.** Perau ke kena nganjung sida ngelawa manang ke giga sida iya nya tadi. Ari bup ke baca iya nya tadi. **The boat that they will use to go see and find the ancient shaman**. **From the book that he read.** Iya alu berunding. Iya ka betemu enggau manang. **He's then thinking. He wanted to meet the shaman.** Manang aja ulih nunjuk nemu dini bisi antu. **Only the shaman can show and know where the ghost is.** [Is it the only manang can see the ghost? (10:32-11:41)

#### [T3.a1s3(2)]

Nyadi orang putih ke nama Lachlan nya tadi, datai ba menua Sarawak, laban ba menua Sarawak tu, bisi siku indu orang putih. **So the white man named Lachlan, he arrived at Sarawak and at Sarawak he meets the white women.** Ruth nama iya. Nyadi Ruth tu baka iya. Belajar baka adat kitai Iban. Udah lama diau ba Sarawak. **Her name is Ruth. So, Ruth was the same as him.[[148]](#footnote-148) Studying about Iban cultural and living in Sarawak for a long time. Yes.** Pandai jaku Iban. Ruth tu. Dini iya belaki deh? Orang putih. Au jadi sida sama orang putih. Au. **Good in speaking Iban. Where’s her husband? Also a white man. She is also married with white people. Yaa.** Tang iya udah belajar jaku Iban, pandai jaku Iban. Udahnya iya betemu enggau indunya. **But she has learn Iban language and is good in speaking Iban. Then he meets up with that girl.** Indu orang putih nya tadi. Tanya orang siku nya, nanya bakani gaya adat kitai Iban. **The white women just now. Asking her about Iban culture.** Nya indu nya madah kitai Iban kelia, bumai, ngayau. **The white women tells of Iban a long time ago, planting paddy and hunting for head.** Tang orang putih tu madah iya enggai ninga cerita nya. **But the white man says that he doesn’t want to hear that story.** Iya a meda sapa orang ka amat-amat ulih meda nunjuk ke iya ke bisi antu. **He wanted to see who could really see and show him the ghost.** Jenaka orang putih tu tadi. Iya enggai ninga cerita bumai. **The white man makes a joke. He doesn’t want to hear a story about farmers.** Ka meda sapa ulih nunjuk ke iya dini endur antu. Enggai iya ninga utai ke padah Ruth tu tadi. **Wanted to see who could show him where the ghost is. He doesn’t want to hear what Ruth has told him.** Nyadi Ruth tu tadi laban ke belajar ba menua kitai, iya nemu. Nemu kitai Iban tu suba ngayau.[[149]](#footnote-149) Bumai. **So because Ruth studies here, she knows that Ibans are head hunters. Planting paddy.** Iya enggai ninga nya. Retinya iya ka ngiga manang, dini ulih nunjuk ke bisi antu. Nya ko iya. Laban dinga iya ari jauh, cerita-cerita. Laban nadai manang kelia. **He doesn’t want to hear. Means that he wants to find the shaman that can show where the ghost is. He didn’t hear that kind of story. Because there was no old ancient shaman in it.** (13:06-15:19)

#### [T3.a1s3(3)]

Nyadi sida nya tadi udah ka, laban indu Iban nya ke lama udah diau ditu, nya kitai baka bisi baka pemandu pelancong ko kitai, ngulu ke bala temuai. Au ar. **After all, because the white women knows about Iban and lives here for so long, she became a tourist guide,** **oh yes.** Yaa... Sida bisi tetemu ke siku Iban. Sigat, agi biak, kering ko iya. Udahnya, tanya orang putih nama iya. **Yah. They meet with Iban guys. Handsome young and tough. Then the white man is asking what his name is**. Orang putih ke ka betemu enggau antu tadi. Sapa nama dek ko iya? Iya madah ke nama diri John**. The white people that wanted to meet the ghost. What is your name? he asked. Then he told that his name is John**. Nyadi orang putih tu enggai ninga nama iya John. John ukai nama bansa Iban ko iya. **But the white person doesn’t like the name John. He said, John is not an Iban name.** Ba menua kami ba menua Amerika baru mayuh orang nama John ko iya. Udahnya aku enggai ninga nuan nama nya ko iya. **In our country Amerika, there are lots of people named John, he said. Then I don't want to hear that name, he said.** Nyadi inik ku suba ngangau ke aku Rentap ko iya. Inik iya. Nya ka orang putih nya ninga sebut iya Rentap. **So, my grandmother called me Rentap. His grandmother. Then the white man was satisfied with the name Rentap**. Udahnya, laban iya ke baju lawa, ngena baju rock and roll. Orang putih nya enggai meda iya baju. **After that, because he was wearing a rock and roll t-shirt. The white man didn’t like his shirt.** Lak ke iya meda, betul-betul baka Iban kelia. Buka baju ko orang putih nganu iya. **It’s meant to really look like the Iban from a long time ago. Take off your t-shirt said the white man.** Buka iya baju, nya meda mayuh pantang, nyau manah pantang sebelah tubuh. Nyadi iya nganjung. **He take off his t-shirt, then they saw a lot of beautiful tattoo on his body.** Nyadi Rentap tu tadi nganjung, sida ka mai sida ngelawa manang ke giga orang putih tu. **So Rentap is accompanying and sending them to see the ancient shaman that the white man was looking for.** Laban manang nya ke ulih nunjuk ke sida dini endur antu. Manang tuai. **Because only that ancient shaman can show them where is the ghost. The old ancient shaman.** (16:41-16:55)

#### [T3.a1s3.D]

Bakani ko nya, iya nanya. **How was is it? He is asking**.Bakani ko enti cerita tu baka orang outih tu tiba-tiba ka ngiga antu, sekali ke nya manah tauka enda ko iya. Manah. **How** **was this story afterward, because the white people suddenly wanted to hunt for ghosts. Is it good or not? Good.** Rindu meda enti ba tv. **We will enjoy watching it on tv later.** (17:15-18:46)

#### [T3.a1s4.T]

*[So Lachlan, Rentap, Andy, Ruth, and two Dayak guys are going on the boat to the longhouse to meet with the ancient shaman.* Which way do they travel? Upriver or down river? *I don’t know, what do you think?* I think upriver is better. Upriver is always the way to exciting things.]

#### [T3.a1s4]

Nyadi bala Rentap nya tadi begulai enggau bala orang putih nya tadi ngulu sungai. **So Rentap and the gang together with the white people are walking through the upstream river.** Mudik ngulu sungai sida iya. **Going through the upstream of the river.** Lebuh sida ke ngulu sungai nya tadi. Bisi betemu enggau dua iku gak kitai Iban. **During the journey, they meet with two Iban guys**. Begulai enggau orang putih benung ngambi gambar. Bansa dayak. **Together with the white people that are taking a photo. A Dayak people.** [Two dayak guys and Andy. Andy ya...] Nyadi sida tiga tu tadi, begulai enggau sida Rentap. Alu 6 meh sida iya. Sama mudik kulu ka. **So, the three of them go together and join with Rentap and the gang. So they become 6 and together walk through the upstream river.** Dalam sida ke bejalai nya tadi, dia sida meda bisi padang siti ba semak tebing ai. **On their way, walking, then they saw a field near the river.** Padang nya empa api, lebuh sida ke mudik kulu empa api. **They saw the field was full of fire.** Nyadi ba asap api nya tadi, bisi ayan gambar nyelai. Bisi ayan antu pala. **So, in the smoke of the fire, there appeared a weird image. The skull appeared**. Kumbai sida bisi gambar antu pala ayan ba asap nya. **They thought, the skull appeared in the smoke.** Nya alai iya nanya Rentap, kala nuan madah ngelawa manang ko iya nganu Rentap. **That’s why, he is asking Rentap, have you ever met ancient shaman?** Lama aku udah enda kin ko Rentap nganu orang putih nya. **Its been a long time since I went there, said Rentap.** Lebuh sida ke bejalai kulu nya sida ke meda utai nya alu betemu enggau orang putih enggau kitai Iban orang putih nya tadi. **They saw something while walking the upstream, the Iban guys together with the white people.** Bejalai ngiga manang kulu. Au bejalai ngiga manang. **Walking to find the ancient shaman. Yes. Walking to find the ancient shaman.**  ( 20:03-21:13)

#### [T3.a1s5]

Nyadi sida ke udah bejalai nya tadi datai ba penyangkai. Retinya baka aku tu pengulu bala temuai. Ngulu ke orang putih. Datai ba penyangkai nya tadi. **So they arrived at the destination. Means that they guided the tourist. Guided the white people. Arrived at the destination**. Nadai gak orang ngambat sida mai sida ngagai rumah manang nya tadi. **But nobody was waiting for them there that could accompany them to the ancient shaman’s house.** Nya ke begedi ke orang putih nya ngelawa Rentap. Kini ke orang ko iya. **So the white man becomes angry toward Rentap. Where did the people go?** Orang nadai mai barang tu ko iya, nganu Rentap. Aku enda enggau kita mai barang tu. **Nobody here to bring this stuff. He said to Rentap. I won't bring this stuff.** Kita meh mai tu ko iya. Aku bejalai kediri ko iya. Orang putih bejaku enggau Rentap. **You guys bring this. He said, I will walk alone and not bring this. Said the white man to Rentap.** Begedi ia. Begedi enggai mai barang nya bedarat jauh. Ni enda, ngenyauh nya kin ngema barang. **He's angry. He is angry because he doesn’t want to bring that stuff and walk for so far. Its so far to carry all that stuff.** Nya mucahu iya gai Rentap, meda Rentap nadai mai orang rumah panjai datai dia. **He still blames Rentap because Rentap did not bring people from the longhouse to help them.** Nya reti sida tu bebayar. Bisi gaji. **Doesn't mean they did not pay them. They will pay them.** Udahnya nanya kaban siku, meda orang putih nya begedi bakanya, nama utai ko orang putih nya tadi ko iya. Iya madah ke orang putih nya pedis ati ngagai iya. **Then one of them is asking why the white man is angry, what happened? He tells that the white man is angry toward him**.Meda orang nadai enggau sida mai barang. Ka bai iya ngelawa rumah panjai manang nya tadi. **Because nobody helped them to bring the stuff that they carry to the ancient shaman’s longhouse.** Au. Ukai nya semak. Nya ke begedi ke iya. **Yes. Its too far. That’s why he is angry.** (22:20-23:23)

#### [T3.a1s6]

Sida iya sekumbang ke ngelawa rumah panjai nya tadi, sida 6 nya lah. **All of them together means 6 person walking to the longhouse.** Semina Lachlan tu aja ke nadai mai utai. Nama nyau 2km nengah jalai. Pama penyauh nya. **Only Lachlan did not bring anything. Its about 2km walking. Its so far.** Nama nengah sungai, nengah emperan nengah bukit. **They have to go through the river**, **the land and also the hill.** Kira enda jauh agi ari rumah nya, sida bisi tetemu ka siti pendam. **Not so far from the longhouse, they saw the cemetery.** Nyadi pendam nya agi baru amat. Agi baru pansa sida nya tadi. Agi baru pendam nya. **So** **the graveyard is still new. Its still new when they pass by.** Nyadi orang putih tu tadi ka ngetu dia, ka ngambi gambar pendam nya. **So, the white person wants to go there and wants to take a photo of it.** Meda pendam nya baru, ka nemu nama utai dia. Nyadi Rentap madah, anang ko Rentap.**The graveyard was new and he wanted to know what is over there, but Rentap forbid them to do that.** Laban nitih ke adat kitai Iban, pendam segi enda tau kacau ko iya. **Because it depends on Iban culture, we cannot disturb the cemetery.** Begedi gak orang putih nya tadi meda iya enda ngasuh ngambi gambar dia. **The white man, he becomes angry again because he was not allowed to take the photo.** Belaya baru gak duai iya. Iya madah ke Rentap takut. **Then they're arguing again. He said that Rentap is frightened.** Rentap ukai takut tauka enda, laban pendam segi enda tau kacau. **Rentap is not frightened or what, but because we cannot disturb the cemetery.** Nya ke kebatang. Nyaa, lagi bisi orang empu pendam tu lagi. **That’s the main thing. Then, what if the owner of the graveyard come?** (24:25-24:29)

#### [T3.a1s6.D]

Bakani ko nya tanya iya. Bakani ko betul ke enda pengawa Rentap nya ko iya. **So he is asking how was it? Is it right or not that Rentap did like that?** Betul laban nya pendam. Pendam kitai bansa Iban segi enda tau kacau. Sengkubang enda tau. **That is right because it’s a cemetery. The Iban cemetery cannot be disturb.** Segi enda tau sengkubang. **Never and cannot be disturb.** (24:46-25:37)

#### [T3.a1s6(2)]

Au udah sida ke temu ke pendam nya tadi, bejalai sida, laban nya nujah kampung. **After they saw the cemetery, then they continued walking through the jungle.** Bisi laban bisi meda ular. Bisi laban lemetak meh sida, lemetak inggap ba tubuh orang putih. **They they saw the snake. They also saw the leech and some stuck to the white man’s body.** Nyadi Rentap ke enggau sida tu bejalai bisi meda utai baka senayau-senayau utai, nama tek senayau utailah. **So Rentap saw something like a shadow while they were walking.** Ayan ba mua iya. Ayas-ayas utai. **Appeared in front of him. A shadowy vanishing thing.** Nyadi meda iya gining-gining, nanya orang putih, nama utai peda dik ko iya nganu Rentap. **So the white saw Rentap staring like that, what are you looking at, he asked Rentap.** Rentap madah ka nadai ko iya. Tang Rentap nya belalai. **Nothing, said Rentap. But Rentap was trying to hide something**. Amat iya, bisi meda utai ayas-ayas utai ayan. Tang iya madah nadai. **Ok. Even though he has saw something like a shadow. But he said nothing.**  (26:23-27:50)

#### [T3.a1s7]

Au, udah sida ke bejalai tadi nyau datai ba rumah meh sida. **Yes, after walking for so long, they arrived at the longhouse.** Datai ba tengah laman nya tadi, bala nembiak main-main ba belah tengah laman. **When they reach the longhouse ground, they saw children playing.** Udahnya, apai tuai nyadi tuai rumah nya niki tepeda ke sida. **After that, the headman saw them.** Apai tuai, tuai rumah nya ngasuh sida niki. Laban nya rumah kelia deh. Rumah kelia retinya. **Then the headman asked them to come in. The longhouse was an old design like a long time ago.** Nya alai, maya sida ke datai dia, sunyi-sunyi enda entu munyi. Udahnya, sunyi deh maya ngulit. **When they came into the house, the circumstances were silent because they were in the ngulit period.** Datai sida rumah din. Nya apai tuai nya nanya nama pejalai kita ko iya. **They came to the house. The old man was asking about their purpose to come here.** Nyadi iya madah, nama manag tu tadi kumbai sida Asu Rangka nama iya. Manang tuai nya deh. **So, he tells that the ancient shaman was named Asu Rangka. The old ancient shaman**. Nemu kubur ke pansa sida nya tadi nya meh pendam iya. **Know that the graveyard that they passed by was the ancient shaman’s graveyard.**  Baru udah mati manang tuai ke ka giga orang putih nya tadi. **The ancient shaman that the white man was looking for had just passed away.** Pendam iya nya meh ke pansa sida nya. Tuai rumah madah ngagai sida nya. **The grave yard that they passed by belonged to that ancient shaman. That’s what the headman told them.** Begedi baru gak orang putih nya tadi. Makin ka ngiga nya, nya nadai gak. Manang ke giga sida. **The white man is angry once again. The things they're looking for is nothing.** **Looking for the ancient shaman.** Nya orang putih nya madah iya pedis ati laban sida nya nadai madah ke iya nya udah mati.**The white man tells that he is disappointed because nobody told him that the ancient shaman had already died**. Ukai Rentap madah. Tuai rumah ke madah. Au nya rumah manang. **Rentap did not tell anything. The headman tells him. Yes, its ancient shaman house.** Nya iya nama kita enda madah ke kami iya mati ko orang putih nya nanya. **He said why nobody told them that the ancient shaman had passed away.** Tuai rumah nya madah laban tu segi, padah ke manang nibuh ngulit ke aku. **The headman tells that the ancient shaman did not ask them to ngulit for him.** Enti ku mati, alu terus anjung. Enti orang ka datai asuh datai aja ko manang nya nganu. **If I die, just bury me me. If people want to come just come said the ancient shaman.** Laban manang nya kumbai sida Asu Rangka. Nama manang nya. Au nama manang nya. **Because they called the ancient shaman Asu Rangka. The ancient shaman’s name. Yes the ancient shaman name.** Nya ke begedi ke orang orang putih laban enda betemu enggau. Nya ke giga nya gak udah mati. **That’s why the ancient shaman got angry, because people did not meet him. People that he was looking for had already died.** (29:52-31:36)

#### [T3.a1s8]

Udahnya kelakar sida iya. Pasal utai nya. Keni gaya. **Then they're arguing. About that thing. How?** Meda sida nya datai dia, lebuh orang nya ngulit ka manang tuai nya tadi, Rentap bisi enda entu nyamai ati. **When they arrived, people were ngulit for the old ancient shaman and Rentap was feeling uncomfortable.** Enggai diau dia Rentp tu tadi. Ka pindah ngelawa rumah ke semak nya. **Rentap didn’t want to stay there. He wanted to move to another longhouse near that house.** Kira enda jauh agi ari nya. Au. Orang putih tu enggai. Enggai enda keras diau dia. **Not so far from that longhouse. Yes. But the white man didn’t want to move. He wanted to stay at that longhouse.** Diau ba rumah manang ke ka lawa sida. **Stay at ancient shaman’s house**. Laban manang nya enda betampung enggau sida iya. Manang nya rumah kediri. **Because the ancient shaman did not stay with others. He lived alone**. Kelakar seduai iya orang putih nya, tegal laban Rentap ke enggai diau dia. **The white man was arguing with Rentap because Rentap didn’t want to stay there.** Rentap berasai enda nyamai ati diau dia. Pikiran iya lain. **Rentap felt uncomfortable to stay there. He thinks of something.** Nya iya mai orang putih nya pindah ke rumah bukai tang orang putih nya enggai. **That’s why he asked the white man to move to another longhouse but he didn’t want. (**32:16-33:18)

#### [T3.a1s9]

Udahnya tadi, laban orang putih nya enggai enda betemu enggau, Antu Rangka, tang nadai. **After that, because the white man really wanted to meet Antu Rangka but he had already passed away.** Nyadi tuai rumah, nay alu mai iya ngelawa bilik Antu Rangka nya tadi. Alu bai orang kin sida iya. **So, the headman brought them to Antu Rangka room. They go there.** Ai tuai rumah ngelawa bilik iya ke parai nyadi tadi. Iya laban ke enda sebilik enggau orang. **The** **Headman brings them to that room. He lived alone**. Kediri iya. Datai iya din, nya iya meda, utai gaga orang putih, ehh... **Only him. When they was there, they saw something that white men do.** Asu Rangka namanya, utai baka sungkup, bilik iya nya bisi tulang, bisi ba gambar antu pala lekat sebelah bilik. **That’s what they saw, there was something like a coffin, bones and also a picture of skulls on the wall.** Alu utai rengka ke kena iya belian bedau dia. Bedau ba bilik. Bedau tegu orang. **And also all the stuff that he used during the ritual. Inside the room. Nobody touched.** Nya ke peda sida ke datai dia tadi. Enggau sida Rentap sekali meh tama kia. **That’s what they saw. Together with Rentap and the gang that came into the room.** (34:06-34:52). Sekumbnag sida ke meda nya tadi, begulai enggau tuai rumah nya. **They see all thing inside the room with the headman.** Nya orang putih siku ke jegak-jegak nya tadi, iya nanya nama utai ti paling bekuasa ba bilik manang tu ko iya nanya tuai. **The naughty white man is asking, what is the most powerful thing inside ancient shaman’s room.** Nyadi tuai rumah madah, tu utai paling bekuasa. Laban manang suba bisi nyimpan siti tual. **So the headman tells him what is the powerful thing there. Because for a long time long time ancient shaman had kept some tuak.** Tuak nya udah lama. Ambi ulih maya orang Gawai antu kelia. **It was old tuak. He got it during a Gawai Antu a long time ago.** Semina betul-betul bujang berani ulih ngirup tuak tu ko iya. **Only the brave man can drink that tuak, he said.** Kenya ko cerita manang nya suba sebedau iya mati. **That’s what ancient shaman told before he died.** Nyadi laban Lachlan ke manchal, ka ga iya nguji. Tang tuai rumah enda ngasuh. **So, because Lachlan is naughty, he wanted to try it. But the headman did not allow.** Enda ngasuh iya nguji ngirup nya deh. Au ar. **Did not allow him to drink that water.** Yes..Laban enti dek nguji ngirup nya enti dek enda entu berani, mati deh. **Because if you try to drink that water and you are not brave enough it can cause you to die.** Bisi utai ka nanggul nuan ko tuai rumah nya nganu iya. **There will be something happening to you later on, said the headman.** (35:40-36:45)

#### [T3.a1s10]

Udah sida ke pulai ari rumah, manang tuai ke udah mati nya tadi, malam nya makai meh sida. **After that they came out from the ancient shaman’s room and then they had their dinner.** Alu rami. Kedua ngajat, makai, ngirup meh main sida. Udahnya, datai siku indu, ngandung. **Having some party, some ngajat, eating, drinking. After that one pregnant women comes.** Tang nyau ka beranak. Laban dia bisi gak manang biak siku, manang nya agi baru. **Almost delivering her baby. Because they also had a young shaman and he was still new.** Antara iya umur, bebelas taun meh udah nyadi manang. Iya ka betemu enggau manang. **Around ten years he had been a shaman.** **She wanted to see the shaman.** Ka belian meh reti nya. Laban iya ke nagndung. Ba cerita ke gaga iya. Ka belian. **Wanted him to do some ritual. Because she is pregnant. In this story. Do some ritual.** Udahnya manang nya ka meda nasib Lachlan nya, orang putih nya tadi. **After** **that, the shaman wanted to see Lachlan’s luck, the white man.** Tinjau ba batu? Ukai perening iya ba jari bakatu. Perening iya ba jari kenya. **See it using stones? No, he read on his palm like this.** Manang nya enggai madah. Udah iya merening kenya, enda munyi manang nya tadi. **But shaman didn’t want to tell anything. After he looked at his palm, then he was just silent.** Iar ke iya kenya jari inya. Enda madah ke utai nya enda manah, enda madah ke utai ke amat. **Then, he pushed his hand away. He did not tell the truth either good or not.** Tang jari iya tu te enda manah. Enti tesap ka nyadi ko iya. **But his palm was not good. But still it could be corrected.** [Ok and then there also one beautiful Iban girl. (37:54-38:23 minute).] Au nya meh udahnya, malam nya laban orang putih siku ke temu sida ba jalai tadi, nyau udah mabuk. **Yes, after that, one of the white men that they met was drunk already**. Mabuk ngirup laban iya tu ke enggau makai utai ke panduk kitai Iban macam-macam. **Drunk after drinking a lot of alcohol and he ate a lot of various Iban foods.** Keji iya mula. Iya nyau mabuk. Nyadi bisi siku indu nya tadi, indu Iban Rumah panjai. Bajik. **He felt foul at first. But then he gets drunk. So there is also an Iban girl at that longhouse. Pretty.** Nyadung ai indu nya tadi. Tek tundi Rentap. Indu nya enggai ke Rentap. **She gives the water. Then, Rentap tries to tackle her. But she doesn’t want Rentap.** Laban Rentap tu Orang pasar. Ukai orang ulu. Nya meh ko iya. **Because Rentap is a town people. Not a villager. That’s what she said.** Orang diau pasar mayuh lawa, sumbung ko indu nya nganu iya ba cerita sida tu tadi. **There are so many people who live in the town and some are very arrogant, said the girl.** (39:03-40:35)

### ACT TWO

#### [T3.a2s1]

Malam nya udah sida ke ngirup-ngirup, laban sida ke lelak bejalai. **That night, they drink even after they're tired from walking.** Rentap tu tetinduk. Udah lelak. Udah gak ngirup. Udah gak bejalai jauh. **Rentap falls asleep, after being tired and after drinking and after walking for so long.** Dalam iya tinduk tu tadi. Bisi mimpi iya. **While sleeping, he has a dream.** Mimpi meda orang, nama nya, baka kitai kelia, ngayau meh reti iya. **Dreams of seeing a man, what’s that, like us a long time ago, like one who joins a war party, a hunter.** Tek engkah duku ba rekung iya ditu. Ba mimpi iya nya tadi. Nya ke tanya iya. **Then puts the knife at his neck. In his dream. That’s what he asks.** Nama reti tuju mimpi iya tu tadi. Nama tuju reti mimpi Rentap nya ko iya. **What does his dream mean? What is the meaning of Rentap’s dream?** Udah iya engkah duku ba rekung, asuh iya angkat Rentap. Rentap takut deh. **After he puts the knife at his neck, he then asks Rentap to stand up. Rentap is frightened.** Nyau takut meda duku nyau ba rekung iya tu. Bantai ke orang ba rekung iya. **He is afraid of the knife at his neck. He puts it at his neck.** Nuan mesti nitih ke aku ko orang nya. Ka petang-petang laban nya malam ari. **You must follow me, said that man. Its almost dark.** Ba mimpi iya din. Nyau iya nitih ke apai tuai nya ngagai rumah siti. **In his dream. Then he follows that man and comes to one house.** Datai ba rumah siti din, dia iya meda siku orang gak udah ba bilik siku nya. **Once they reach that house, he sees someone inside that room.** Ba bilik nya , enggau apai tuai ke mai iya nya tadi. **Inside the room, the old man then cuts his neck.** Datai Rentap din enggau iya, pala ke udah din alu pumpung iya. **Once they enter the room, the old man then cuts his neck.** Alu angkat ke iya kenya. Serta iya ngangkat, ari alu beduru. Meletup guntur. Au.. **He then holds it up like this. At the same time he holds it, then the thunder and storm starts.** Rentap alu tedani. **Rentap then wakes up.** Di gerak orang, meda iya baka tek utainya, alu di gerak orang ke enggau iya dia. **He is woken up by the people around him.** Ba ruai nya ba bilik ke endur iya tinduk. Nya tuju. Nama tuju mimpi. **He was sleeping on the ruai. What is it for? What does the dream mean?** Nama reti mimpi nya ko iya. Manah mimpi kenya ko iya. Nya orang nguji. Penguji ko orang. **What is the meaning of his dream? Is it, that is a good dream.** Kitai ke laki manah meh nya. **It is a good dream for a man.** (42:12-44:16)

#### [T3.a2s2]

Au. Ngam-ngam gak maya iya ke tinduk nya tadi. Bedau Rentap tu ke dani. **Yes, at the same time he was sleeping. Before Rentap woke up.** Ari alu majak ujan. Beduru-beduru, beguntur-guntur. Indu ke peda sida ngandung tadi nyau ka beranak. **The rain kept falling. The thunder and storm. The pregnant women that they saw before was also giving birth.** Ngiga manang. Manang kena sida ngubat indu nya tadi. **Looking for the shaman. A shaman that could heal that women.** Semua sida ke bedau dia nyau begau ke indu nya ke ka beranak tang alu empai beranak. **All of them were busy waiting for the pregnant women, but she still did not give birth.** Manang nya nyau belian. Munuh manuk semua. Manang baru. **The shaman then did some ritual. Killing the hen. The new shaman.** Ukai manang ke giga sida Asu Rangka nya. Inya gak udah mati. **But not the ancient shaman, Antu Rangka that they were looking for. Because he had already passed away.** Nyadi orang putih ke manchal tu tadi alu enda dani laban iya mabuk. Udah ngirup mabuk. **So one of the naughty white men was still sleeping because he was drunk. Drunk after drink a lot.** Gerak-gerak enda dani iya laban iya mabuk. **They tried to wake him up but still he was sleeping, drunk.** Iya tadi ke enda takut ke antu.**The one who was not afraid of ghosts.** Encabar antu nya tadi. **The one who challenged the ghost.** (45:03-46:17)

#### [T3.a2s3]

Nya sekumbang indu nya ke ka beranak tadi. Nganti manang nya tadi. **During the time that the women wanted to give birth. Waiting for the shaman.** Nyadi orang putih tu tadi takut endar meda, Andy tu tadi. Ke temu sida ba rantau jalai. **So, the white man, Andy was afraid from looking at that. The one that they meet while they were on the way to the longhouse.**

#### [T3.a2s4(1)]

Laban manang tu majak ke belian. Betungguk meh reti. Mayuh macam, keni ko kitai nyebut. **The shaman kept doing his ritual. Covering his head. So many thing, how to say?** Dalam sida ke belian nya. Rentap, sama begulai enggau orang dia. **During the ritual. Rentap also joined them**.

#### [T3.a2s4(2)]

Laban ke balat amat ngitar sebelah luar. **The thunder and storm were very bad**. Laban pancar ngitar, laban iya ke empai lama udah dani, ke mimpi nya tadi. **Because of the gleam, because he had just woken from the dreaming.** Kena pancar ngitar gambar orang ke ka mumpung iya ayan. Kena peda iya baru gak. Bisi ayan. **The shadow of the old man that cut off the head in his dream. It appeared.** Ari pajak beduru. Sampai ke indu nya beranak ada. Nyau ada meh anak iya. Ada anak lelaki.**The women also gave birth to her baby. But the thunder and storm kept on striking. A baby boy.** Anak ke pelian ke manang nya tadi. Alu angkat ke manang kenya. Ari nyau majak ujan.**The shaman was holding the baby. Then he was holding the baby. The raining kept on falling.** Rentap meda utai nyelai bala luar. Tang Rentap tu tadi ba rumah. **Suddenly Rentap saw a group of something weird outside. But Rentap was in the house.** Tang utai ke peda iya nya ba luar. Ayas-ayas. Ayas mata iya. **But that thing was outside. Just a shadow. A shadow in front of his eyes**. (47:16-47:33)

#### [T3.a2s5]

Iya kati ko nyebut tu. Iya laban ke udah beranak. Iya mati beranak. Anak iya ada. Iya alu mati. **The women who gave birth to her baby. She die during delivery. After her baby was born she then died**. Kati manang tek ulih ngidup ke anak iya. Anak iya idup. Tang indai iya mati. **But the shaman saved her baby. Her baby lived. But her mother died.** (47:56-49:32) Nyadi, udah sida ke meda indu nya beranak tadi, udah indu nya ke beranak. **So, after the women gave birth**. Alu pulai ke bilik diri sida. **Then they were going back to their room.** Orang ke datai, bala orang putih tu tadi ke begulai enggau sida Rentap tu tadi. **People who came together with Rentap, that is the white people.** Orang nadai madah ke sida. Nadai madah ke nama-nama. Indu nya mati enggau enda. **They did not tell them. Did not tell anything, either that women died or not.** Pagi dani indu orang putih siku iya ke diau ba menua Sarawak. Ruth nya tadi. **In the morning, Ruth who lived in Sarawak, she woke up.** Pansut iya keluar meda orang mayuh. Mai bangkai. **When she went outside, she saw many people. Bringing the dead person.** Udah bungkus orang ngena belacu putih bangkai nya tadi. **The dead person was covered with a white cloth.** Nyadi kaki iya udah tancang orang ngena ubung merah. Lantak ke bulu landak kaki. **And her feet were tied with the red threads. They put the Porcupine quills.** Alu tingkap ke sida bangkai indu nya tadi. Laban nya ke bansa kitai Iban. **Then they laid down the dead body. Because she is Iban.** Nya ke peda sida iya. Indu orang putih nya tusah ati meda, indu nya mati beranak. **That’s what they saw. And the white women became sad because that women died while giving birth.** Nyadi kok lir enti mati beranak. Au. Agi gak tingkap ke iya. **People who die while giving a birth become the antu kok lir. Yes. Still she was laying down.** (50:38-52:05)

#### [T3.a2s6]

Nyadi orang putih ke mancal tu tadi, ke selalu belaya enggau Rentap, mabuk semalam-malam. **The naughty white man slept through the night because he was drunk.** Nya gak ulah orang putih tu. Mabuk. Pagi digerak kaban iya, enda gak dani. **That was his habit, getting drunk. They woke him up in the morning, but still he did not wake up**. Gerak iya enda gak dani. Udahnya pemuas iya ke ngerak, engka dikalih ke iya. **They wake up him again. After that, maybe they were flat on him**. Meda nyau mati nya. Mati mabuk nama kini. Nya ke lari madah gai bala sida nya. **They saw he was dead. Maybe possibly dead because of being drunk. After that they ran and said that he was dead.** Iya ngirup tuak ke enda dasuh orang. Meda iya nyau mati, ukai ba bilik nya. **He drank the tuak that people did not allow him to drink. Seeing him dead already.** Ba bilik antu manang nyin. Ba bilik manang nyin iya ke mati. Manang ke giga sida. Manang tuai. **In the ancient shaman’s room. He died in the ancient shaman room. The ancient shaman that they were looking for. The old ancient shaman.**

#### [T3.a2s7]

Nya Andy takut endar, meda iya udah bangkai iya mati. Orang bukai mula enda pecaya. **Andy was afraid to see him dead. While the others could not believe.** Udahnya nyau sida ngelawa kin. Meda iya amat mati. **After that they went to see it. And they saw that he was really dead.** (52:59-53:58)

#### [T3.a2s8]

Aaa... Nyadi, sida tu tadi laban ke utai nya, udah sida ke datai din magang. **Aaa... So, after that thing happen and they gathered there.** Iya bisi mai kamera siti. Rentap, eh ukai Rentap, Lachlan tu tadi. **He brought the camera. Rentap, eh not Rentap but Lachlan.** Bisi mai kamera iya ba semak iya ke mati nya. Engkah ba bangkai iya dia. **The camera was behind his dead body. It was put near him.**

#### [T3.a2s9]

Udahnya dambi sida iya kamera nya tadi. Ambi sida iya memory nya. Engkah sida ba komputer. **Then they took the camera. They took out the memory card and put it in the computer.** Tang enda nemu nama cerita. **But they did not know what the story behind it was.** (54:21-55:34)

#### [T3.a2s10]

Au nya ke ulah orang putih tu tadi alai ka tama sekumbang orang ke ngirup, tama bilik nya. **What was the white man doing while the others were drinking outside and he went to the room?**  Datai din nemu tek ngirup nya iya. Ngirup tuak laban iya ka kering enda takut ke antu ko iya. **Actually he drank inside the room. Drinking that tuak, because he wanted to be tough and not be afraid of the ghost.** Udah iya ngirup nya, mati nya. **After he drank it, then he died.** (55:52-58:57)

#### [T3.a211]

Au nya meh, laban Lachlan tu tadi, bisi mai kamera siti, kamera nya tadi bisi ngambar pengawa iya ke ngirup nya tadi. **Yes, because Lachlan brought the camera, and the camera recorded him drinking.** Iya nya asai ke ka nama, asai ke ka engkual rekung. **Then he felt like he wanted to vomit.** Asai ke sumbat. Nyau peda iya senayau-senayau bakanya. **He felt clogged.** **Then he saw the shadow like thing.** Nama utai, sapa ari gak ujan, kudi udah iya ke ngirup ai nya tadi. **After that the rain began falling and the thunder and storm began striking.** Utai nyau ayan ayas-ayas pengawa iya, ba gambar antu pala. Udahnya ka lari iya keluar. **He saw the shadow of something like a skull. Then he wanted to run outside.** Datai luar bisi meda indu siku, agi biak gamal. Tang enda besai.[[150]](#footnote-150) **Once he was outside, he saw a young girl. Just a small young girl.** Ba tisi indu bisi baka senayau antu pala ba belakang. Takut Lachlan tu tadi. **At her side, there were ghost skulls behind her. Lachlan become frightened.** Rari iya. Ka lari. Alu engkecit indu nya ka ngelampat mua iya. Ka lari iya kia ngelampat gak. **He felt like running away. He wanted to run away, but the girl kept obstructing him.** Iya nyau nadai runding agi. Nyau tegetar bakanya iya. Lachlan tu tadi. **Lachlan couldn’t think anymore. His body was shaking.** Indu nya nyau ngelawa iya. Tempap indu nya kuyu iya bakanya. **The girl came towards him. She then clapped his face.** Indu nya enda bejaku. Udah indu nya nempap mua iya, iya nyau uluh engkebut nyau teganggam.**She did not talk, after she clapped his face, he then couldn’t move anymore because he was very frightened.** Indu nya enda besai. Engkunduk indu nya, engkunduk bakanya ba mua iya. **The woman was not that big. The woman looked down in front of him.** Peda iya ba pala indu nya macam-macam, lemetak, gerinang. **He** **saw all sorts on her head, leeches, cockroaches**. Macam-macam ba buk indunya. Ngerayap. Nya Lachlan takut amat, orang putih nya tadi. **There were so many things on her head. Creeping on her head. That was why Lachlan became very frightened.** Gambar ba pala indu nya. Indu nya segi utai antu. Ba pala iya nya ke mayuh macam-macam utai. **Pictured** **on her head. She is a real ghost. Many things on her head**. Iya ke ngumbai enda kala meda antu. Iya takut gak. Bisi antu takut gak iya. **He said he never saw the ghost. But he was frightened. When he saw the ghost he became frightened.** (1:00:32-1:04:00)

#### [T3.a2s12]

Nyadi bala sida tubuh 6 tadi, Rentap, Iban 2 iku. Orang putih, siku nama Andy, siku Ruth. **So they were 6 people, Rentap, 2 Iban guys. The white people that is Andy and Ruth**. Iban dua iku laban ke begulai enggau sida Rentap, pedis ati seduai iya. **The two Iban guys that were together with Rentap, they were angry.** Meda utai nya majak nyadi. Nyau dua udah mati. Orang putih nyau enggau indu siku da. **They saw so many things happen. And two were dead. The white man and the other women.** Mati ke manchal nya tadi udah ke ngirup arak ke enda asuh orang ngirup. Siku mati beranak. **The naughty one was dead after he drank the tuak that people forbid him to drink. The women was dead while giving birth**. Nyadi siku mati ngirup tuak manag tuai ke enda asuh orang irup iya. Nya iya ke madah. **So one of them was dead because he drank that old ancient shaman’s tuak. That’s what he said.** Laban bisi siku, saintis ke udah lama diau ba menua Sarawak. Ruth nama iya. **Because there was one scientist that lived so long in Sarawak. Her name was Ruth.** Nya iya madah kita empu pengawa tu, nya alai utai tu nyadi ko iya nganu orang putih nya. **He said that it was happening because of them, that’s what he told the white women.** Nyau ka belaya meh sida. Nya meh Rentap ngerara, ngambi sida enda belaya. **They were almost fighting. But obstructed by Rentap.** Laban iya madah enti ukai ketegal hal kita, iya engka meda siku nya ngirup arak ngelaban pantang kitai Iban. **Because he said that it was not because of them that he drank the old tuak in the ancient shaman’s room, and that broke the rules.** Nya ke begedi ke iya. Rara Rentap, enda nyadi sida ka belaya. **They despised her. But Rentap forbid them from quarreling.** (1:05:01-1:05:48 )

#### [T3.a313(2)]

Nya ke begedi ke iya. Rara Rentap, enda nyadi sida ka belaya. Udah ke nya tadi, bisi gak namanya, bala indu Iban tadi bisi ka meri sida makai. **A women came bringing the rice and asked them to eat.** Mai asi, ka meri orang putih nya makai. Makai meh sida. **Bringing the rice and wanted to give the food to the white people. Then they ate together.** Iya datai ba inyin nyau bebali nyadi celum asi nya. Au, utai ke nyelai nyadi. **But the rice had turned the color black. Yes, that weird thing happened.**

#### [T3.a3s13(1)]

Nyadi dua iku nya tadi ke udah belaya enggau orang putih nya tadi, lari seduai iya. Lari keluar. **So the two guys that were arguing with the white people, they were both running. Running to the outside.** Belanda, lari gai babas. Lari kampung enggai diau ba rumah nya agi. **Running into the jungle. Running into the jungle and didn’t want to live in that house.** (1:06:47- 1:07:25)

#### [T3.a3s13(3)]

Au nya gak ulah dua iku tu tadi, dua iku Iban nya tadi, makin duai iya lari, bisi ukui gak. **So, the two men who ran away were chased by the dogs.** Mayuh endar ukui ngagai duai ngelaban duai iya. Bisi ngenam iku. Ka ngigit. **There were 6 dogs. One of them was biten by the dog**. Siku udah ketup iya. Siku nulung, ka palu iya ukui. Udah ke malu-malu ukui nya. **One of them was bitten by the dog. The other one was helping him. Helping him to find the wood.** Kira ka lari meh ukui nya. Udahnya, bisi ninga utai munyi-munyi seduai iya ba belakang. **But then the dogs ran away. After that they heard something from the back.** Nyelai-nyelai meh reti iya. Agi lari takut ke ukui, takut ke nya, lari baru gak seduai iya. **Means something weird. They ran away from the dog and that thing.** Gagai ukui nya baru gak. **The dog was about to catch them again.** (1:07:57-1:08:34)

#### [T3.a3s13(4)]

Udahnya sida iya, nya pemuas meda utai carut bakanya, nanya tuai rumah sida iya. **After** **that, that many things happened, they asked the headman about that**. Nama penemu sida. Sekali ke sida bisi mimpi nama utai enda manah, nyelai-nyelai ka. **What is their idea. Maybe they had a bad or weird dream.** Nyaa... Rentap aja bisi mimpi. Mimpi iya nya tadi meh. Udah ke meda orang mumpung pala. **Then Rentap told that he had a dream. Dream of that. After he saw somebody severing the head.** Duku ke engkah orang ba rekung. Nya ke padah iya gai apai tuai nya. **The knife that somebody put on the neck. That’s what he told the old man.** (1:08:58-1:10:00)

#### [T3.a3s13(6)]

Udah, benung sida ke becerita nanya ke pasal mimpi nya tadi. **Right after they were asking about the dream.** Laban bisi kedua ngumbai Rentap, manah. Bisi kedua ngumbai jai. **Some said that Rentap’s dream was good. And some said it was bad.**  Puas ke nya ninga orang nyerauh, luar din. Ni enda nyerauh, dua iku nya gagai ukui. **Then they heard somebody screaming outside. The two guys that were caught by the dogs and they were screaming.** Gagai ukui antu. **Being caught up by ghost dogs.**

#### [T3.a2s14]

Udahnya pansut Rentap enggau indu orang putih nya. **After that Rentap and the white women came out.** Rentap kenulung seduai ngelaban ukui. Pinta tulung Rentap. **Rentap was helping them both fight the dog. They asked Rentap for help.** Mati seduai rekak ukui laban ukui nya mayuh enti enda tulung Rentap. **They would have died if Rentap didn’t help them against the dogs**. Nyadi mayuh, siku balat bakal. Sebelah tu sebelah tu, laban ke jangkam ukui. **There were so many scar on their bodies.** (1:10:40-1:12:07)

#### [T3.a2s15]

Nya gak penyelai cerita iya tu, udah inya ke munuh bala ukui ke ngelaban dua iku nyin tadi, udah alah,udah lari mati maganag ukui nya. **This story is a bit weird, after he killed the dog and some ran away.** Nya iya ke bisi meda utai ke dambi iya mimpi bisi ayan. Alu ngepai iya ngasuh nitih ke iya. **Then he saw the thing that was in his dream appear. Calling him and asking to follow him.** Utai ke deka munuh, iya ke dambi iya mimpi. **Somebody that wanted to kill people inside his dream.** Enda nyamai ati iya, buka iya baju nyau iya nitih ke inya nya**. He felt something weird, then he took off his shirt and followed that man.** Laban nya malam ari. Ari ujan. Nitih ke nya Rentap tadi. **Eventhough it was night. And raining. Rentap followed him.** [What happened to Rentap next?] Antu utai ke titih ke dambi iya mimpi nya tadi. **Actually, the thing that he followed was a ghost.** Nyengala udahnya. **A real ghost**.

#### [T3.a2s15.D]

[*Has anyone heard of something like this before?*] Kala ninga utai munyinya nuan? **Have you ever hear about something like that?** [They never heard. But this is a good idea.] (1:12:57-1:14:11)

#### [T3.a2s16]

Nyadi orang putih siku ke lelaki, iya ke indu nya Ruth nama iya. **So, the white man and the women named Ruth.** Nya nyau takut meh iya meda utai nyadi kenya. **They were frightened because so many things had happened.** Utai ke nyadi macam-macam, nyau utainya, baka kitai ke nyau, keni nusui utai bakanya, orang putih siku nya ka belaya. **So many thing happened. It could not be explained, and the white people were also arguing.** Rara apai tuai orang siku. Ngambi iya badu bansanya. Nama semunya, rileks dulu ko iya. **One of the old men reprimanded them not to argue.** Anang guai irau ke utai ke udah nyadi. Nya utai ko iya. **He told the people to not overthink the things that had happend. That’s what he said.**

#### [T3.a2s16.D]

[*Have you see someone crazy like this before?]* Kala meda utai bansanya nyadi bakanya ko iya? Nadai. **Have you guys ever see something happened like that? No.** *Never?.]* (1:14:59-1:16:27)

#### [T3.a2s17]

Nyadi udahnya, meda utainya majak nyadi, bisi manang baru nya. Manang nya alu belian. **So, after that and many things that happened, then they were looking for the shaman. The shaman then did some ritual.** Namanya, bakani ko munuh babi meh sida, manang alu belian betungguk ngena batu ilau ebuh iya nenggau batu ilau, dia iya meda betemu enggau manang tuai. **Then, he killed the pig, and the shaman covered himself with a traditional blanket and saw his transparent stones. He then met with the old ancient shaman.** Manang tuai nya tadi. Nyadi udah ke meda manang tuai nya. Mayuh meh jaku manang tuai nya. **The old ancient shaman. So, after he saw the old ancient shaman, the old one talked about many things.** Madah ka bala mensia ke agi idup nya munsuh iya. Munsuh iya magang iya ke agi idup dia. **He said that all the people that still live were his enemies. All people were his enemies.** Dia iya tepeda ke orang putih ke udah mati tadi, Lachlan ngirup tuak iya. **Then he saw the white man that had already dead, Lachlan drank the tuak.** Nya iya ngumbai orang nya munsuh iya. Ketegal ai tuak ke enda asuh iya irup, irup orang gak. **That’s why he said they all were his enemies. Because of the tuak that he had not allowed people to drink**. Nya ke tanda. Enda asuh orang irup, irup inya gak laban ke manchal. **They deserved it. People forbid him to drink that water but he was naughty.** [Ya more interesting.] (1:17:27-1:18:26)

#### [T3.a2s17(2)]

Au udah ka meda manang ke belian betungguk tadi, becerita manang. Udah manang ke becerita. **The shaman knew all those things after he coveried himself and told the story behind everything. After he told the story**. Cerita manang ke panjai enda. **The ancient shaman story was so long.** Nya pedis ati meh orang rumah panjai din, laban orang putih nya ke ngacau alai antu ke bisi. **So the villagers were not satisfied, because the white people disturbed the ghost.** Ka jamah bala kitai Iban orang putih dua iku nya tadi. **The Iban people wanted to scold the white people.** Nyadi siku iya ke takut nya tadi Andy, nyau getar-getar meh iya. **So, Andy was frightened and his body was shaking.** Takut agi, takut bunuh orang iya nyau getar-getar. **He was afraid that the people would kill them**.Nyadi bala orang rumah panjai nya tadi, laban ke tek rara tuai rumah enda ngasuh nyamah. **But** **the headman did not allow them to scold the white people.** Andy tu majak getar-getar ka luput. Takut meda Lachlan tu nyadi antu. **Andy's body kept shaking and he almost fainted. He was frightened because Lachlan had become a ghost.** Semadi bisi datai indai tuai orang, tempap indai tuai orang nya bakanya iya, nya baru iya badu getar-getar. **An old women come and clap his back, so he did not shake anymore.** Andy tu tadi orang putih siku. Nya segi utai rumah sida. **Andy** **is** **one of the white people. This is their house.** Tang orang putih segi enda tau ngirup arak nya. **But he did not drink the tuak.** Antu Rangka manang tuai laban segi antu gerasi manang tuai nya. **Antu Rangka, the old ancient shaman, he was the antu gerasi.** Segi utai antu rangka, segi utai antu gerasi. Enti iya enda ngirup nya enda utai nya nyadi. **He was an antu rangka and an antu gerasi. If he hadn’t drunk that water, then those thing wouldn’t have happened.** Enti iya enda ngirup, namanya, ngirup tuak. **If he did not drink the tuak.** (1:19:41-1:20:44)

#### [T3.a2s18(1)]

Nyadi Iban dua iku nya tadi, laban dua iku nya ka balat endar bakal, rekak ukui luar, maya duai iya ke lari tadi. **The two Iban guys, because they had many scars after being bitten by the dogs while running away.** Ko jaku ka lari nyau rekak ukui gak. Nyadi siku nya balat endar bakal. **They actually wanted to run away but were against the dogs. So one them got many scars.** Benung iya bakal nya tadi, kendas-kendas orang darah pansut ari rekung sebelah tubuh. **He was bleeding and the blood came out from his throat.** Alu mati iya. Mati iya? Alu mati iya ke rekak ukui antu. **He then died. He died? He then died after going against the dogs.** Mata iya udah iya mati mata iya bali mata, merah mata iya, kembai. Au. **His eyes become big and red after he died.** Yes. Nya ke asuh, bisi siku, namanya, iya ke enggau iya nya tadi, Iban eh dayak Iban iya ke enggau iya nya tadi. **His friend that was together with him, an Iban or a Dayak guy.** Pedis ati iya ngelawa orang putih nya. Ketegal kita alai iya mati ko iya. Ka tangkap iya indu nya. **He hated those white people. He died because of you. He wanted to catch the white women.** Cekak iya. Alu nyak ke iya. Nadai orang ngerara. Orang rumah panjai nadai ngerara **He then choked her. No one stopped it. The villagers did not stop him.** Laban segi ukai iya nya tadi. Indu siku nya tadi segi orang manah. Lachlan nya ke jenaka. **But it was not really her. The white women was a good person. Lachlan was the naughty one.** Iya ke ngirup ai nya tadi. **The one who drank the water.** (1:21:43-1:23:20)

#### [T3.a2s18(2)]

Nyau nyambung cerita manang nya tadi, udah ke betemu enggau antu rangka, nyadi Asu rangka tu bisi madah ke iya. **Continue with the ancient shaman story, after he met with the antu rangka, Antu rangka told him something**. Enti kita enggai kacau antu agi, ko antu rangka, kita belian enggau manang Berawan. **If you guys don't want to be disturbed by the ghosts, you should do a ritual with the Berawan shaman.** Manang bangsa Berawan ko antu rangka eh Asu Rangka nya madah gai manang. **You use the Berawan shaman said Asu Rangka to the shaman.** Udah manang nya ngeleda tadi, madah gai sida rumah panjai manang ya tadi. **After he was back to normal, the shaman told the villagers what they should do.** Ari sida rumah panjai nya tadi, lama sida enda munyi. Nyau bingung sida. **But** **all the villagers just kept quite**. **They didn’t know what to do.** Laban antu segi bisi magang belah rumah panjai sida dia deh. Au ar... **Because all of the ghost were there in their longhouse. Yes, it is..** Nya aja meh cara ngambi antu nya nadai, lari ngambi manang Berawan ko iya.asuh iya nulang.**That was the only way so that ghost wouldn’t disturb them, run and tell the Berawan shaman and ask him to do nulang.** Nama utai ke nulang? Nulang. Bangkai iya udah utai nya. **What is nulang? Nulang. The dead body and do some ritual.** Engka nulang laban bansa orang nya sandih ke enti mati. Nyadi bangkai utainya, duduk ka. **Maybe nulang because that nation will put the dead body sitting down.** Nyadi bangkai Lachlan enda dasuh tumbak ka, tulang ko ar. Nulang ke ba tiang. **So Lachlan’s body was not buried but instead do nulang**. **Nulang on the pole**. Au, duduk ke ba tiang bakatu. Nulang tauka simpan orang ngagai utai bukai kini. **Yes, sit down on the pole. Nulang or put the person inside something**. Ukai bediri, duduk. Duduk ke meh ko orang menya. Ngambi tulang nya, nulang iya nya siku. **Not standing up but sitting down. Sitting like a long time ago. To do nulang for him.** Nulang ngagai benda tauka, ditumbak ke iya udahnya. Enda nemu kitai. **Nulang with the jar or buried afterwards. We don’t know.**  Au nyadi, iya Berawan. Iya Berawan. Berawan ke bansa Punan. **Yes, that is Berawan. Yes, he Berawan. Berawan of the Punan nation.** Laban sida enti mati,enti sida mati, engkah orang macam-macam utai, engkah ke orang insap semua. Enda bau. Beri orang insap utainya. **Because if they’re dead, the people will put various things like smoke. Not smelly. They give the smoke.** (1:24:59-1:25:33)

#### [T3.a2s19]

Nyadi laban si nembiak ke enda pecaya ke utai ko manang nya tadi, meda antu, lari. **So the young people did not believe in the shaman, they saw the ghost and ran away.** Lari ari rumah nya. Laban ke lari, kedua enggai. **Ran away from the house. Some ran away but some stayed.** Nyadi sida ke lari tu tadi, datai ba babas ka ngelawa rumah siti, ba tengah jalai. **So, the people who ran away arrived were in the jungle and at the junction to another longhouse.** Munyi ninga antu gak sida. Nikal baru gak sida ngagai rumah antu gerasi. **They heard the ghost. Then they returned back to Antu Gerasi’s house.** Sida bala nembiak takut meh sida. Nama alai takut iya kita lari enti takut. **The young people became afraid. When you are frightened then you run away.** (1:25:58-1:26:09)

#### [T3.a2s19.D]

Bakani gamal antu gerasi neh? Agak-agak. Laban ke enda kala meda. **How does antu gerasi look? (agak-agak) Because we have never seen antu gerasi.** Juring pala, baka rintung pala, ngeli panjai. Mata iya besai, pala iya tu tajam. **His head is like a pyramid, with long teeth. He has big eyes and his head is sharp.** (1:26:30-1:28:00).

#### [T3.a2s20]

Puas udah sida ke belian nama-nama, enda sida betati ke Rentap ke nyau lari tadi. **They were busy with the ritual and did not realize that Rentap had already ran away.** Nyau bejalai. Datai sida rumah nanya ke dini endur Rentap. Tang nadai siku nemu kini tunga iya. **He was already walking. Then they arrived at the house and asked where Rentap was. But nobody knew where he was**. Nya gak ulah. **That’s the attitude.** (1:28:18-1:29:16)

### ACT THREE

#### [T3.a3s1]

Nyadi lain gak pengawa nulang tu, namanya, enti iya mati, iya tu duduk. **The** **Nulang ritual ia a bit different because if a person dies he will be sitting down.** Dengkah ke orang ba bangku kenya. Tang tancang orang. **They put the person on the chair. And tie it.** Nyadi ba belah kaki iya nya tadi dengkah orang ba belah kaki iya utai kelia. Utai ke bai iya. **And at his feet they put many things, old stuff. The things that he brought.** Duit kini utai sebelah jari iya. Insap kini. Baya meh. Macam-macam utai dengkah ba dia. **They also put money by his hand. Smoke. And various types of goods.** Kenya meh setail orang nulang kelia. **That is the nulang ritual style.** Dengkah ke orang ba nulang orang putih nya tadi. **The white man was put into the nulang**.

#### [T3.a3s2]

Nyadi, Andy tu tadi laban ke enda entu nemu reti utai ke nulang ko orang, enda puas ati iya. **So, Andy did not understand nulang, he felt unsatisfying.** Nyadi siku laban ke segi lama udah ba menua kitai tu Ruth, tu nemu. Nemu adat ke nulang ko iya. **So, Ruth knew about nulang because she had already live here for so long. She knew the nulang ritual.** Nyadi iya pedis ati, meda orang putih enda tumbak ka. **He felt unsatisfying because his friend was not buried.** 'Tu ukai orang putih tang semina gambar kena orang ngaga, tang tu amat nyadi. **This is not the white man but just a picture, but this really happens.** Cara orang nulang. Bakatu cara orang nulang. Bangkai sandih ke orang kenya. **The way of nulang. Nulang are like this. The dead body is strung up on the pole.** Nyadi bala indu tu tadi, bisi mati kenya. Mai asi meri mimit. Beri sida kapu. **So the women come and see him. They bring some rice.** Beri sida insap bangkai nya tadi. **They give him smoke.** (1:31:41-1:32:13)

#### [T3.a3s3]

Au sabak ke orang iya tu tadi. **And people also cry.** Sabak ngambi iya baka kitai nya mai ngagai pintu namanya, pintu sebayan. **Crying with meaning to accompany his spirit to the heaven .** Ngiring semengat ngagai pintu sebayan. Sabak buah ko kitai. **Accompany his spirit to the heaven. That’s what we call, crying with meaning (Sabak Buah).** (1:32:30-1:34:12)

#### [T3.a3s4]

Nyau laban sida ke begiga ke Rentap, pulai ngagai cerita Rentap meh tu tadi. **Back to the Rentap story, they were still looking for Rentap.** Rentap laban ke udah, ke lari nitih ke orang nya tadi. **Rentap had already ran away and was following somebody.** Bisi nama nya, datai ba menua siti Rentap tu tadi. **Then Rentap arrived at one place.** Meda mayuh perau, mayuh nama mayuh mensia bejalai iya gak petang. **He saw many boats and so many people walking in the dark.** Datai ba pun kara, ba kayu siti, pun kara deh niki katas ke Rentap, bisi rumah orang. **He arrived at one tree, the ‘pun kara’ and climbed up it and Rentap saw a house up there.** Datai iya din,tama iya kin meda mayuh apai tuai orang, indai tuai orang. **He arrived and came in to the house, he see many old men and old women**. Sida indu ke tuai-tuai tusu nyau lanjut. **The very old women with saggy breasts.** Alu bala apai tuai orang ke pantang nyau manah sebelah tu. **And an old man with beautiful tattoos.** Meda pantang nya manah, Rentap minta pantang sida. Pantang meh Rentap da. **When he saw the tattoos, Rentap then asked the people to make one for him.** Sekumbang ke nya pantang datas din, iya gak kara endur pantang. Pantang antu. **They live at the top of the tree and Rentap stayed there to get his tattoo. Ghost tattoo.**

(1:35:11-1:35:54)

#### [T3.a3s5(1)]

Nyadi lebuh bala orang ke nyabak ke bangkai tu tadi, laban ka udah jauh malam. **So people kept crying toward the dead person, and it was late at night.** Andy tu, orang putih siku empai tinduk, orang bukai udah tinduk. **Andy was still awake while others were already sleeping.** Orang bukai bisi gak bedau nunga bangkai nya dia. **But some were also still awake and in front of the dead person.** Laban Andy tu ke selalu ngemata ke iya, peda iya pansut utai nyawa neritik ari tisi mulut iya bakatu. **Because Andy kept staring at the dead, he saw something exit from the mouth.** Bangkai nya tadi. Celum neritik. Udahnya, engkebut jari iya engkebut mimit bakanya. **From the dead body. Something black. After that, his hand moved a bit.** Iya alu jeluak mimit bangkai nya tadi. Pansut utai baka leka asi ari nyawa. **Then he was vomiting a bit. Something like a rice exited from his mouth.** Nya bala orang ke semak nya nyau takut. Enda nemu tunga meda utai bansanya. **People near him were getting frightened**. **They didn’t know what to do.** Orang putih siku nya aja enda takut laban iya nemu kaban iya ke tulang orang. **Only the white man was not frightened because it was his friend.** (1:36:56-1:38:20)

#### [T3.a3s5(2)]

Nyadi kaban orang putih siku nya tadi, laban nya ke kaban iya. Berani iya. Berani ngelawa. **So because he was his friend, he was brave. Brave and came to his friend.** Kumbai iya idup meda nyau bisi utai pansut ari nyawa. **He** **thought that his friend was still alive because something exited from his mouth.** Nyau iya kin. Tempap-tempap iya, enda nuan mati, agi idup nuan ko iya. **He came there. Clapping his friend and said that his friend had not died.** Udah ke niri jari siku muak ari kanan bisi utai semut ka nutu bakanya. **After he held his friend’s hand, he saw the ants on his friend.**Nya segerit insap tiba-tiba alu idup. Alu api idup ba utainya ba jari iya. **And the smoke was suddenly lit. And the fire of the smoke also on his hand.**Tang nadai gak peda iya nungkun. Tek tiba-tiba. Udahnya siru ke iya insap. **But he did not see his friend light the smoke. It happened suddenly. He then puffed the smoke.** Kesuh ke iya sekali. Gaga siku tu tadi kumbai iya idup. **He puffed out the smoke. His friend was happy because he thought his friend was still alive.** Meda nemu nginsap. Udahnya iya kedua kali, insap iya baru, kesuh ke iya baru. **Because he could smoke. He did the same for a second time. Puff in and out the smoke.** Peda penuh asap. Udahnya tanya kaban iya orang putih tu tadi. **Full with smoke. Then his friend, the white man was asking him.** Iya alu luput udahnya kena sintak ke iya. Alu luput iya. **He then fainted after sucking the smoke. He fainted.** (1:39:16-1:40:56)

#### [T3.a3s6]

Nyadi, siku Andy tu tadi, udah ke luput tadi, bisi indu orang putih ke teleba diau ba menua kitai Iban tu tadi. **So after Andy was unconscious, his friend the white women came towards him.** Meda iya, nyau baka ke luput baka nya, nyau sedekan. Ambi iya utai baka tiup. **He was like choking. constricted. When they saw that he was constricted, then they put something like a pen into his throat.** Acuk iya ngagai rekung bakatu kena ngambi darah ka bejalai ko jaku. **They then tried to put something into his throat so the blood could go out**. Peda nyau pansut darah. Darah celum magang-magang pansut ari tubuh Andy nyau teritik. **The blood went out. Black blood went out from Andy's body.** Mua iya nyau chelum, bebali. Alu mati Andy tu tadi. **His face turned black. He then died**. Orang putih tu baka laban ke kena insap nya tadi. Nyadi itu tadi badu agi nginsap. **The white man died because he sucked the smoke of the dead people.** **Then he stopped smoking.** Tang insap iya agi idup. Agi pegai iya bakanya. **But his smoke was still lit. He still held it.**

#### [T3.a3s7(1)]

Orang rumah panjai tu tadi, ngumbai utai namanya alu ngambi duku sida iya. **The villagers took their knives**. Enda nyamai ati meda bangkai nya tadi. Udahya kia sida ngaga diri ka mantap bangkai nya tadi. **They wanted to cut off the things that disturbed them. How to cut it off if they could not see anything**? Enda gak bangkai nya engkebut. Bisi siku ngaga diri ka ngerejang perut iya. **But the dead body did not move.** **One of them tried to stab his stomach**. Ka ngerejang perut itu tadi. Ngaga diri ka ngerejang ba perut. **Wanted to stab his stomach. Just acting like he was going to stab his stomach.** Enda gak engkebut laban iya segi mati. Maya iya meda, ke meda nya nginsap tadi. Lawa iya gak. **But it did not move because he was really dead. Because he saw him smoking so he went over there.** Nyau ngasuh iya mati laban asap insap. Au, dacuk iya perut nya tadi. **But he died because of breathing that smoke. Yes, he then pierced his stomach.** Dacuk siku nya. Udah iya ngacuk perut nya mata iya alu besai. Alu melut. **Then he pierced. After he pierced his stomach, his eyes became bigger. Yes bigger**. Mata Lachlan tu tadi. Alu melut mata iya bakanya. Nya sida nyau takut meda. **Lachlan's eyes. His eyes become big. So they were frightened.** Meda mata nyau pansut. **His eyes almost came out.** (1:42:45-1:44:17)

#### [T3.a3s7(2)]

Au, udah iya ke ngacuk ke utai nya tadi, mata iya alu melut. **Yes after he pierced something, his eyes become big.** Api semua api seluruh rumah nya padam magang. Tek padam magang semua api nya tadi. **All of the light at that house were turned off. All were turned off suddenly.** Ngena asap insap itu sida laban ke bisi peda. Utai nyau petang magang. **They** **were only using the fire from the candle. Those parts were dark.** Sida serumah gak nadai temu penunga. Nyadi indu orang putih nya tadi, agi ngimbai Andy. **The villagers also didn’t know where to go. But the white women was still beside Andy.** Laban Andy tu tadi ke udah mati, sirut ke asap nya tadi. **But Andy had already died because of the smoke**.

#### [T3.a3s8]

Udahnya, rumah sida pan, alu bebali laban rumah tu baru, nyau bebali lama magang. **After that, the house turned old, because actually that house was new**. Rumah nya nyau tuduh. Laban ujan malam nya. **The house was wet because of the rain all night long.** Nyadi ba rumah nya ayan gambar antu magang-magang. Nadai orang meda. **So, in that house then appeared the image of ghosts. But nobody saw.** Ruth aja meda, orang putih nya aja. **Only Ruth, the white women saw it.** Udahnya bisi orang luar din bejaku, madah tu bisi Iban siku madah ari luar. **After that, somebody was talking, that is an Iban, telling something from outside.**Tu pengawa kita alai utai tu nyadi ko inya bejaku. Tang enda peda iya ke bejaku. **This is because of you guys these things are happening. But they did not see who was talking.** Rumah nya nyau tudah, nyau jai meh rumah nya. Rumah ruyak-ruyak, api padam magang. **Because of the night the house was wet and had become damaged. The house was torn and the lights went out.** Ngenyit api padam. Tek senayau antu aja ke ayan. **The light suddenly went out. They could only see the shadow of ghosts** [(1:45:28-1:47:09)

#### [T3.a3s9]

Au, nyadi udah meda nya ke petang, laban sida ke bisi bedau megai duku. **Yes, after they saw that it turned dark, and some were still holding the knives.**  Ka kena sida ngamang apai tuai tu tadi. Nyadi tuai rumah alu pansut ari rumah. **They wanted to kill that old man. So, the headman came out.** Ngagai rumah. Ka pansut ngiga nama utai ke nyadi. Antu ke nama ka. Retinya kitai encabar. **Went outside. Wanted to find out what happened. Either it is an antu or something else. Means that he wanted to challenge that things.** Datai iya luar din, bejalai iya ngelawa rumah siti ngiga. Antara rumah nya bisi lubang-lubang. **He came out, walking to the another house. In between that house there was also a hole.** Lalu ba antara lubang nya, pansut asap nya. Pansut bakatu. Kira berapa iti. Betemu asap tu tadi. **Then from in between that hole, the smoke exited. Exited like this. Then the smoke met up.** Kira betemu meh. Utainya alu bebali nyadi antu. Baka antu kelansat, alu meragau. **Met up. Then the smoke became an antu. Like antu kelansat[[151]](#footnote-151), crawling.** Dilah pansut panjai. Gamal ngeringik. Ba cerita iya tu. **Its tongue became long. Its face was also weird. In this story.** (1:48:02-1:50:20)

#### [T3.a3s10]

Nyadi agi cerita nya tadi, laban api nya ke udah padam. Manang alu majak belian. **Still at that story. Because the light were still off. The shaman kept on his ritual.** Laban ke udah apai tuai ya ke meda antu. Utainya, antu nama nya pantap iya. **Because after the old man saw the ghost. Then he cut the ghost.** Nyadi manang tu alu belian meda api nyau padam. Belian ke bangkai nya tadi. **So, the shaman did his ritual after the lights went out. Ritual for the dead people.** Udah belian idup magang api, ngena kuasa jari, ngena kuasa iya. **After he did the ritual, then the lights turn on and he used his hand power.** Api ba dinding lilin baka kelita kitai kelia. Ngena kuasa nya iya ngadu. **The fire on the wall like a candle from a long time ago. He used his power to do that.** Udahnya utai nya terang magang. Rakyat bedau dia. **After that, all turned light. All of people were still there.** Udahnya meda bangkai itu, ayan baru gak bangkai inya. Bangkai nya nyau udah nyadi lama. **After that they saw the dead person, appeared again. The dead body had become old.** Bangkai nya udah bebali. Udah bebali. Ukai nyau udah bebali, udah nyau kabut ko kitai. **The dead body was changing. It had changed. It was not only changing but had become old.** Udahnya iya bejaku enggau. Bejaku iya enggau bangkai tu tadi. **Then he talked with the dead body.** Nama main kita ngaga kami bakatu ko iya. Agi nemu bejaku gak antu udah ka antu. **Why do you do like this to us, he was asking. The antu were still talking even though they were antu.** Manang ke nanya. Nya bangkai nya nyaut madah munyi nya. **The shaman was asking. That’s why the dead body answered like that**. Udah bepuluh-puluh taun kami ngiga kita, segi nadai nyamai ari menua nyin alai kita diau, menua ke endur kitai. **We have been looking for you all for so many years, and you live here.** Nya ke manah ko iya. Ko iya itu tadi. Nyadi iya ngasuh manang nya ngampun. **He said that was good. So he ask the shaman to make a forgiveness.** Ngampun ngagai iya. Ngasuh iya engkunduk pala patong.[[152]](#footnote-152) **Forgiveness for him. Asking him to kneel down.** Manang nya enggai majak ka ngena kuasa manang, Berawan nya tadi. Au. **But the shaman didn’t want and still used his power. The Berawan just now. Yes.** Tang api ke ka kena iya nyembur, ba jari enggai nyadi nyau selo ka padam. **He used the fire and used his hand but the fire was going off**. Ba sapa api deh? Ba manang. Kuasa manang nya. **Where is the fire? The shaman. The shaman’s power.** Ngelaban kuasa orang putih ke udah mati nya tadi, ke tulang sida. **Against the power of the white man who was dead.** Bedau baka setail utainya, bansa Punan. **Still like Punan style.** Au nya udah apai tuai nya ke laban empai nyengala tauka enda. **Yes, because it was not really the old man.** Laban apai tuai nadai agi kuasa, manang nya tadi. Datai **Because the shaman power was losing.** [(1:52:13-1:55:29)

#### [T3.a311]

Rentap. Ngam-ngam Rentap datai. **Then Rentap comes.** Datai tek pansut Rentap ba sida. Nyau sigat. Tubuh kering manah. Udah ke niki pucuk kara. **Rentap comes out and sees them. He look handsome. His body is tough. After he climbed the kara tree.** Udah ke betapa ba rumah orang. Tubuh iya namanya, bisi balut lintah. After he betapa at the house. **His body was stuck by the leech**. Darah pansut ba abi lintah nya. Nya iya ngangau. Ngangau ngagai, bangkai ke udah mati. **The blood goes out from the wound bitten by the leech.** **Then he calls the dead person**. Carut sida. Laban sida ke belaya nyin tadi. Nyadi bangkai tu madah gai iya. **They are arguing. Because they are arguing. Then the dead body tells them.** Nuan berani ngelaban aku ko iya. Berani ko Rentap. **You must be brave to stand against me, he said. Yes, I'm brave said Rentap.** Udahnya, udah seduai ke bejaku, datai bala antu alu ngelingi Rentap ka ngelaban Rentap. **After that, after they were talking, then the ghost comes and wants to fight with Rentap.** Tang Rentap alu nadai takut. Leka ke iya duku, mansang meh nama ka ko iya. Mansang kitu. **But Rentap was not frightened of them. He put down the sword, and said come here if you want to fight with me.** Udahnya datai antu ke bansa keramba kia ka ngelaban iya. Datai ba iya alu engkunduk. **After that the antu engkeramba comes and wants to fight with him. But then the antu kneel down.** Engkunduk magang-magang. **All of them are kneeling down.**

#### [T3.a3s12]

Nyadi Lachlan tu tadi, bangkai iya tadi, ka ngelaban iya **And Lachlan, the one who died wants to fight with him.** Ka angkat ngelaban iya. Berani nuan ngelaban aku ko iya? Berani ko Rentap. **Stands up and wants to fight. Are you brave enough to fight with me? Ya I'm brave said Rentap.** Nama nuan berani, belaban gak tua ko iya. Belaban-belaban duai. **If you are brave, let’s fight, he said. Then they are fighting**.

#### [T3.a3s13]

Pantap iya antu nya. **He then cuts the ghost.**Tek tangkap antu jari iya muak ari kanan, jari iya tu alu tekangkang alu bebali nyadi chelum. **Then the ghost caught his right hand, and his hand turned black.** Jari Rentap nya tadi ke tangkap antu. Nyau enda uliengkebut jari iya nya tadi. **Rentap’s hand was caught up by the ghost. And his hand could not move anymore.** Nyadi duku nya ambi iya enggau jari kiba. Pantap-pantap iya, enda gak ulih antu nya. **He then took the knife using his left hand. He cut the ghost but it was not effective.** Laban ngena sepiak jari. Leka ke antu nya jari iya tu tadi, nya baru iya ulih engkebut. **Because he only used one hand. Then the ghost took his hand, so that he couldn’t move it.** Pegai iya ba pala kenya. Enti semina ka pantap ngena dua piak kenya baru ulih. **He held the head like this. If he used his two hands to cut the ghost, that ghost would die.** Tu jari teganggam bakatu ba pucuk pala. Nya baru pumpung iya pala antu. **He put his hand on its head like this. Then he severed the ghost’s head.** Pala sapa? Pala iya tu tadi. Pala bangkai nya. Nya alu pantap, alu pecah pala. **Whose head? The head of the dead person. He then cut the head until it broke.** (1:57:44-1:59:15)

#### [T3.a3s14]

Au ari agi ujan maya nya. **The rain kept on falling**. Udah Rentap ke ngelaban mumpung pala antu nya tadi. Udah pumpung iya tadi. **After Rentap went against and cut the ghost’s head. After he cut it.** Agi pegai iya kenya, alu bai iya lari. **He than held it like this.** Datai sungai, kejang iya nurun sungai, alu sagu ke iya bakanya pala antu nya, laban ari agi ujan.[[153]](#footnote-153) **Once he arrived at the river, he then put up the ghost’s head like this.** Nyau ka tawas reti. Nyau tawas ari. Udah ke ngelaban antu. Terjun iya kaie, pala nya sagu ke iya. **And it almost morning. And it already morning. After he went against the ghost. He then went to the river and held the head like this.** Ari alu badu ujan, terang manah ari pagi nya. Iya alu majak nyemerai-nyemerai mai pala antu. **The raining stopped, and the sun was shining. He kept on walking on the river.** Datai iya ba namanya, ba jelatung meda indu siku iya. Bajik gamal iya ko iya. **He then arrived at the jetty, and he saw one girl. A beautiful girl**. Udahnya bisi orang bejaku ngasuh iya ngambi indu nya. Ambi iya indu nya. Kepit iya bakanya. **After that somebody was talking and told him to take that girl. He then took the girl and brought her like this.** Sepiak tu entapung, sepiak tu bedegi kenya. Kai iya bedayung. **One side was swimming and the other one put up like this. And he was rowing** Sepiak tu ngepit indu nya ka mai iya pulai kerumah. **At his other side he was holding that girl and brought her back home.** (2:00:09-2:00:57)

#### [T3.a3s15]

Au nyau ujung ujung cerita iya tu tadi, kira berapa ari udahnya, sida ke empu rumah alu setat ngerepair rumah ke udah jai. **Yes, this is almost the end of the story, a few days after that, the villagers repair their house.** Udahnya laban mayuh orang udah mati. Engka bisi orang udah ngeriput gai polis. **After that there were so many people that died. Maybe there were people who made a police report.** Kia ke polis nanya, nama nama kebuah mayuh 4 iku sida iya mati. Mati laban penyakit ke nama.  **The police came over there and were asking why there were 4 people that died. Either they died because of sickness or something else.** Tang sida alu enda nemu nama pemati orang nya ke mati tadi. **But they still don’t know why the people died like that.** Sida nerang ngagai polis enda nemu nama pemati ko sida rumah panjai. **They explained to the police that they don’t know the reason why the people died.** Nyau udah datai dia gak polis nyasat. **The** **police come over there to make an investigation.** (2:01:40-2:02:26)

#### [T3.a3s16]

Udahnya gambar sida nya ayan baru. Bisi ayan baru peda Rentap. **Then their picture appear again. Rentap sees it appear.** Gambar indu ke udah mati nya tadi. **The picture of the women who died.** Gambar orang putih ke udah mati bisi ayan ayas-ayas ba ujung cerita. **And the picture of white man also appears at the final point of this story.** Ayas ba kena pancar kamera sida. **The shadow from the camera.** Nyadi, gambar orang putih tu tadi ke jenaka ke mati kena gambar alu angusba api. [[154]](#footnote-154) **So the picture of the white man that was naughty and died while being burned by the fire.** Pancar iya empa api. **Burning in the fire.**

#### [T3.Discussion]

Manah nya ko iya? Manah. **Is it good he asked? Good.** [It a good. Interesting. Good.]

Bisi utai ka tanya ko iya. Nadai. Iya belajar baka anak nuan. **You have any question? No. He studies like your daughter.** [Her daughter also study anthropologist. *Ooh really?* But now she go to Baram upper board. Doing a research on Penan. *What time period is this story happening?*] Enti nitih ke cerita tu tadi, bakani ni maya cerita tu patut nyadi? Kelia-kelia ke nama ko iya. Segi kelia meh nya**. Regarding this story, when should this story happen? Is it long time ago or else?** [It a long-long time ago.] Tang Rentap ukai Rentap nyin. Rentap siku agi da. Ukai Rentap tu. Ukai Rentap ke sadok. **It is a Rentap thing. But not that Rentap. The other Rentap. Not Rentap Sadok.** Rentap sadok bebunuh, tu ukai bebunuh. Tu Rentap siku. **Rentap Sadok hunting for the head, this is another Rentap.** [Maybe 50 or 100 years ago. *So what kind of uniform do you think of policeman should be wear?* That a depend on the year. ]

THE HEADHUNTER’S DREAM

BY

OLIVER CLAYCAMP & ANAK SANG LASA

WRITTEN IN COLLABORATION WITH THE IBAN COMMUNITY OF

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## APPENDICE D.

### ACT ONE

FADE IN:

#### [FS.a1s1. EXT. IN A JUNGLE -- DAY

ANCIENT SHAMAN (100+, M) moves swiftly through a rain forest jungle. He is brown skinned, shirtless with a wrapped skirt and long white hair. His eyes are milky with cataract. He is looking for something.

He stops in a grove and collects wood. With obvious skill his old vein lined hands spin the fire alight. A tendril emerges that he blows upon until thick white smoke plumes from the damp wood.

Sensing something he stands back and looks into the smoke. There, caught hanging in the swirl is the unmistakable shape of a human skull. It twists and gyrates, fading in and out.

Ancient Shaman begins to SING an indigenous Shamanic song of throaty warbling tones cut by sudden staccato bursts.

He reaches for the skull.

As his old hand moves closer we zoom into the skull... larger and larger the nearer it comes, filling the screen. The smoke comes to tremble and vibrate, flitting from shape to shape as if unsure of its true form. Now all we see is this intense pulsing swirling vibration, deeper and faster until the screen seems ready to shatter. At the last moment we CUT TO BLACK

OVER THE BLACK comes a loud ear piercing WAIL of wretched pain and anger... resolving into a HEAVY METAL bassy gut pounding beat. Between the screams and the explosive guitar rifts we can still hear the shaman’s song lingering on.

MAIN TITLE CARD APPEARS:

THE HEADHUNTER’S DREAM

#### [FS.a1s2(1). EXT. GRAVEYARD -- NIGHT

OPENING CREDITS ROLL OVER SERIES OF SCENES:

Raspy nervous breath. We see MARY closely framed by a night-vision camera. Behind are tombstones.

MARY

Oh God... I don’t like this!

INTERCUT: INT. DARK ROOM -- NIGHT

LACHLAN (40’S, Big guy) watches Mary on a computer monitor. By its low light we see TECH GUY sitting nearby.

LACHLAN

(into a microphone)

It’s alright darlin. Just slow down and breath. Tell ‘em your name.

MARY

(panting, listening to Lachlan)

Fuck... fuck... (calling out) This is Mary! You... asked for me?

LACHLAN

Good Mary. Now we wait.

MARY

Eeh! I don’t like this...

(suddenly spins)

Fuck! What was that! Who’s there? Hello?

FADE OUT:

#### [FS.a1s2(2). INT. LIVING ROOM -- NIGHT

Lachlan stands in front of a candle lit table. Nearby are several cowering forms. Lachlan TURNS the candle and KNOCKS on the table.

LACHLAN

(yelling)

Alright Mr. Edward Laslow! I’m calling you out! You’ve haunted this family long enough! I’m calling you by the light, by all that’s good in the world. I summon you!

INTERCUT: INT. DARK ROOM -- NIGHT

The same Dark Room as before but now only Tech Guy watches Lachlan on the screen.

TECH GUY

You see anything yet?

LACHLAN

(whispering into a mic)

No, nothing yet... Wait! What was that?

FADE OUT:

#### [FS.a1s2(3). EXT. FOREST PATH -- NIGHT

Lachlan, Tech Guy, and Mary are walking.

TECH GUY

Fuck man! That was intense!

When that chair moved I about lost it,

There was nobody there, nobody!

Lachlan is silent, disappointed... lost in a dream.

CUT TO:

EXT. FOREST -- NIGHT

POV running through a forest. Behind comes an animal, like a dog but huge with long warped twisted teeth. It leaps, falling...

END OF SERIES

#### [FS.a1s3. EXT. ON A BOAT -- DAY

Lachlan sits in front of the camera.

LACHLAN

(to the camera)

We’re in the shit now. Welcome to the Sarawak.

The land of the headhunters.

Camera makes a quick pass at the thick jungle pressed into the mud brown river.

LACHLAN (CONT’D)

We are doing what none of those other bastards ever had the balls to do. We are going right into the heart of it. There is a man that lives in these jungles, a shaman, a practitioner of an ancient blood magic. If the rumors are true he can summon ghosts and force them to do his bidding. This guy is the real deal. He is Iban, the fiercest headhunters that ever lived, and he is more than 100 years old. If anyone knows what happens on the other side it is this guy and we are going to meet him. Fuck yeah!

LACHLAN (CONT’D)

Now you know me. I never do anything half-assed. If you are going into a place like this you’re going to need some guides, and I got the best.

Camera moves to include RUTH (f,20’s, bookish) in the frame.

LACHLAN (CONT’D)

Allow me to present Ruth Western. She is an anthropologist, Iban expert. She knows everything there is to know about these people. (to Ruth)

So, why don’t you tell us a little about yourself?

RUTH

Right... well (to the camera)

Hiya! I’m Ruth... We are going to meet some Iban people, and this shaman. His name is actually Asu Rengka which means Greedy Dog. Sounds strange, I dunno if that’s his character or what. I’m not sure about him doing blood magic, (to Lachlan) should we say that? (beat) Anyway, so the Ibans were headhunters, that’s true... but they’re not anymore. Now they are farmers mostly, you know paddy, pepper, other crops. What else? Their social type has been called egalitarian but there has been some doubt about that among scholars over the years. It’s been frequently believed...

LACHLAN

What the Fuck! What the shit are you talking about? We don’t care about that. We don’t want to hear some bullshit about farmers. We’re here to find a fucking ghost. This is not some academic crap fest. Stick to the important motherfucking facts!

RUTH

(surprised,talking faster)

Right! Yeah, so they were headhunters ... right? and some of them still keep some of the traditional trophy skulls. They believe, supposedly, that there is some kind of spirit attached to the skull that protects the longhouse, and even that the head can do some kinds of magic. That’s probably why they did it, cut off heads, to get this kind of supernatural powers, I guess. Some even said that the freshly severed head would even make... well... the girls go crazy.

Lachlan gives her a strange look.

LACHLAN

Ok ok, Andy! Is there something you can do here? About her hair? Look at this, its a fucking mess. Isn’t that your job? (to Ruth) You might look hot in the library or something but right now its not doin’ it for me. Can we do something about this?

CUT TO BLACK

FADE IN:

ANDY (30’s, M, feminine) finishes fixing up Ruth and steps out of the frame.

Ruth now wears heavy lipstick, hair up, and no glasses.

LACHLAN

That’s the best you could do? Seriously? Fine, ok Ruth, now say what you just said, about the skulls and all that, but this time... do it a little more sexy. Can you do that?

RUTH

(squinting without her glasses)

Right...

CUT TO:

LACHLAN

(on camera)

We also have a local person with us.

Camera pans to include BANTIN (m, Iban, 20’s, strong).

LACHLAN (CONT’D)

Why don’t you introduce yourself?

BANTIN

(to camera)

Ok, hello. My name is John Ngau. I’m an Iban.

LACHLAN

Stop! Stop! Fuck, John! We can’t call you fucking John. Everyone back home is named John. You need a better name, a more jungle name.

BANTIN

What? What do you mean? That’s my name. John.

LACHLAN

Ok, if you can’t think of one then we’ll give you one. Suggestions? Andy? Ruth?

BANTIN

What? Wait wait... ok. My grandmother in the village used to call me Bantin.

LACHLAN

Ban...tin? Ok! That’s good. You should have started with that, a jungle name! Now, next thing, your shirt. I don’t like it. It doesn’t say jungle man to me.

Bantin is wearing a black Megadeath tee.

BANTIN

What? Wait, this is how I dress. I don’t even live in the jungle man. I come from the city. I grew up in Kuching!

LACHLAN

I could fucking care less. Right now you are a jungle man, got it? So lose the shirt. Yeah, take it off.

BANTIN

Oh fuck man! You’re serious?

This shit’s racist.

Bantin removes the shirt. He is strong and muscular. He has an Iban tattoo on his peck called a bungai terung.

LACHLAN

Excellent! Now you’re a real jungle man! (clapping Bantin) Also, try to talk a little more jungle like... Ok, one more time (beat) So, why don’t you tell us about yourself.

BANTIN

(hesitating)

Uh, I... am... Bantin! I am Iban! I live in... jungle!

LACHLAN

Great! So what are you going to do for us?

BANTIN

I will be guide,

take... white people to Iban longhouse.

LACHLAN

Good to have you with us Bantin. You excited to see some ghosts?

BANTIN

(thinking)

Yes!

LACHLAN

Excellent, those muscles might come in handy later. (to the camera)

FADE TO BLACK

#### [FS.a1s4. EXT. ON THE RIVER -- DAY

Andy sits next to Bantin. Two DAYAK GUYS paddle the boat slowly upriver. Ruth reads a book. Lachlan sips on a flask.

ANDY

Oh my god! It is so hot! I’m dripping! And these mosquitoes! I already feel some malaria coming on. So, Jungle man... You really know where we’re going?

BANTIN

Yep, I have a cousin in this longhouse. But its been a long time.

ANDY

Well, that’s good. These are your people. So... I want to be honest with you. I have a weak stomach and I’m worried about the food. You think there will be something normal there to eat? Like burgers or something? Salad maybe?

BANTIN

I don’t know... You ever eaten bat meat before?

ANDY

Huh? You did not just say that! Oh my god! I don’t even know what I’m doing here, and these fucking mosquitoes. I’m feeling sick! I need my pills.

EXT. ON THE RIVER -- LATER

The boat glides through some scenic Sarawak jungle. They pass a troupe of macaques, a tropical hornbill and crocodiles in the water.

Then they pass a bloated PIG CARCASS on the bank festering with flies.

ANDY

Oh my god! I’m going to be sick

Just look at that poor dumb animal.

RUTH

It’s a wild pig. The locals hunt them.

ANDY

I feel like I’m on “Animal Planet.”

BANTIN

You shouldn’t make fun of animals.

Things... don’t work the same here.

ANDY

Huh? Ok, I’ll try to remember that next time we see some dead thing, don’t make fun. Mental note.

LACHLAN

Shut up Andy.

ANDY

God! I feel like everyone is ganging up on me right now. I’m already feeling emotional!

The boat passes a burning swidden field. Thick black smoke fills the air. For a moment it briefly takes the shape of a SKULL.

#### [FS.a1s5. EXT. RIVER DOCK -- LATER

Lachlan confronts Bantin.

LACHLAN

Where the fuck is everyone?

Bantin SHRUGS while unloading the bags.

LACHLAN

You told us people would be here to meet us. Where the fuck are they?

Lachlan gets up in Bantin’s face.

BANTIN

(Dropping a bag)

I don’t know. They said they’d be here.

LACHLAN

When? When did they say that?

BANTIN

A couple weeks ago.

LACHLAN

(pushing Batin to the edge of the dock)

Come again? Two weeks ago! That’s the last time you talked to them?

BANTIN

I tried but I couldn’t get an answer.

LACHLAN

So now what? We have to pack all this shit through the jungle?

BANTIN

We could wait but it’s going to be night soon.

LACHLAN

Right, fuck. The first important thing you have to do and you’ve already fucked it up. Let me tell you something Ban-Tin. If this shit doesn’t work out I’ll not only not pay you but I’ll smash your fucking head. You understand me... you dumb fuck? That’s how passionate I am, That’s where my commitment level is at, got me?

BANTIN

Fine!

LACHLAN

and if you think I’m humping this shit through the jungle you’re in for a fucking surprise. Get those muscles moving. Do what you’re good for jungle man, carry shit.

Bantin is ashamed.

EXT. JUNGLE PATH

BANTIN

What’s his problem?

ANDY

Who? Mr. Grumpy pants? Don’t take it personal. He’s been under a lot of stress lately. He drinks too much... Everything has been going to shit lately, really. That’s why he’s so passionate or whatever, on edge. He’s just going to make this work, no matter what.

BANTIN

He’s an asshole.

ANDY

Yeah, when he calms down he is alright, but lately, I agree. I didn’t even want to come, goddamn made me.

#### [FS.a1s6. EXT. JUNGLE GRAVE -- LATER

Lachlan sights a poorly dug grave.

LACHLAN

Fuck! That’s a grave!

BANTIN

We should keep moving.

LACHLAN

Like hell. Get the camera. Let’s check it out.

Lachlan walks near the grave. The others stay behind with the bags.

LACHLAN

I said bring the camera!

No one moves. The two Dayak Guys MURMUR to themselves.

BANTIN

(yelling to Lachlan)

They say they don’t want to!

LACHLAN

What? Why the fuck not?

RUTH

Um Lachlan! Dayak people are very sensitive about graveyards.

Lachlan disappears over a mound.

LACHLAN (OS)

Shit! There’s a body here! I can see part of it.

The two Dayak guys now look agitated, terror in their eyes.

BANTIN

Stop! Don’t touch it! Just come back now!

LACHLAN(OS)

What?

Lachlan returns.

LACHLAN

What the fuck did you just say to me? Did your pansy coward ass just tell me what to do?

ANDY

It’s just better to leave it be.

It’s a cultural thing.

LACHLAN

Shut up Andy!

BANTIN

In Iban culture we should never disturb a grave. I won’t allow you.

LACHLAN

Excuse me? You won’t allow me? What, you gonna fight me now?

BANTIN

I will stop you.

RUTH

It’s really serious Lachlan. If the locals see they won’t have anything to do with you.

Lachlan assesses the group.

LACHLAN

Oh this is fucking great, all you assholes are already turning against me!

ANDY

No one is turning against you.

We should just keep moving.

LACHLAN

Fine! You know what? We’ll get permission from who ever and then we’ll come back here. We’ll stay here all night. You guys can just be shitting yourselves with fear for all I care. Fucking cowards!

#### [FS.a1s6(2). EXT. JUNGLE RIVER -- LATER

ANDY

Oh no, what do we do now?

BANTIN

We cross.

Crossing, bags on their heads.

ANDY

Damn it! My shoes are ruined!

LACHLAN

Fuck Andy! Don’t drop anything.

Strange bird calls. Bantin looks

In the jungle, a shadowy person... disappears.

LACHLAN

What? What did you see?

BANTIN

Oh! nothing, just my eyes.

EXT. MUDDY PATH

Andy is panting, dripping with sweat.

ANDY

Oh my god, this is terrible!

RUTH

It’s just mud.

ANDY

It’s not the mud! It’s everything! The heat, the bugs, the lizards...

BANTIN

The leeches?

ANDY

What?

BANTIN

Your leg.

ANDY

Ahhh!

#### [FS.a1s7. EXT. AT THE LONGHOUSE -- DUSK

Arrive at a traditional Iban longhouse. Many kids and dogs.

LACHLAN

Finally!

Exhausted, dropping the heavy bags.

RUTH

Seems awfully quiet.

Waiting. Strange looks from the kids.

LACHLAN

Now what?

BANTIN

Here he comes.

HEADMAN (50’s, Iban) emerges from the longhouse.

BANTIN\*

(in Iban, referred to with the [\*])

Greetings uncle!

HEADMAN\*

(suspiciously, to Bantin)

Hello? Who are you? Why have you come?

RUTH

He is asking who you are.

LACHLAN

Lachlan Reed! Nice to meet you!

Headman ignores Lachlan’s hand. Lachlan awkwardly rescinds it.

RUTH\*

He is Lachlan. We’ve come to meet Asu Rengka.

HEADMAN\*

Oh! You couldn’t have known.

RUTH

Something is wrong.

HEADMAN\*

Unfortunately Asu Rengka... died only two days ago. We buried him just yesterday. I’m very sorry.

BANTIN\*

Why didn’t you contact me?

HEADMAN\*

We would have but... you know that Asu Rengka was very old right?

LACHLAN

What’s going on?

HEADMAN\*

Before he went he told us to tell no one for one month. Also to do no mourning. We have to respect his wishes.

BANTIN\*

That’s strange.

LACHLAN

What the fuck is going on?

RUTH

There is some confusion.

LACHLAN

Fuck!

HEADMAN\*

What is it? What did he say?

BANTIN\*

Nothing, go on.

HEADMAN\*

He looks angry.

RUTH\*

He comes from an angry people. It’s normal.

HEADMAN\*

Ok. Asu Rengka was not a happy man. That is why he lived alone. People rarely came to visit him. So he said to do nothing for him. If he died just let him go, like that. If people came fine but don’t say anything. We have to respect his wishes.

LACHLAN

I’m about to lose it right now.

RUTH

Um, we’re... um... too late.

He’s... already dead.

LACHLAN

What?! No! No! He’s dead? Shit! shit shit shit. 100 year old guy couldn’t hang on for a few more days!

HEADMAN\*

I’m terribly sorry about all this. Asu Rengka did mention your coming.

RUTH

Rengka talked about you.

LACHLAN

He did? What’d he say?

HEADMAN\*

If you’d like to enter his room to pay respects that will be ok.

RUTH

You’re to be allowed to enter his room to pay respects.

LACHLAN

Respects? Ah fuck!

Lachlan motions Andy and Bantin away from the headman.

RUTH\*

Excuse us.

#### [FS.a1s8. EXT. NEARBY

All gather in a different area.

LACHLAN

Now what?

ANDY

He’s really dead... That’s terrible.

LACHLAN

What else could go wrong?

ANDY

But we can see his room! Get something out of it.

BANTIN

I don’t think we should. There is something not right here. I have a bad feeling. I think we should move on. There is another longhouse not far in that direction.

Lachlan thinks.

LACHLAN

Fuck that! We are going to make this work. I haven’t come this far just to walk away.

ANDY

Good! Right, we can save this!

LACHLAN

Yeah, you fucking better!

ANDY

What? Me?!

#### [FS.a1s9. EXT. JUNGLE PATH TO ANCIENT SHAMANS -- DUSK

RUTH\*

Has anyone else come to pay respects?

HEADMAN\*

Yes actually. A shaman from the Berawan nation showed up yesterday. No one knows how he found out.

RUTH\*

A Berawan Shaman? He must have traveled for days. Is he staying at the longhouse?

HEADMAN\*

No, he is staying at a nearby one, because of the mourning taboo.

RUTH\*

Right, strange.

HEADMAN\*

Well, this is it.

A jungle house raised on stilts. Stairs lead to a large covered Porch.

EXT. ANCIENT SHAMAN’S PORCH -- CONTINUOUS

Dark, many old baskets and weaved products hang about covered in dusty webs. A net hangs from the low rafters.

ANDY

What’s in here?

Andy holds the torch up to the contents of the net. It is full of smoked black human skull, possibly 20 or more. Also bird feathers.

ANDY

Ahh! Oh my god!

LACHLAN

Awesome. So, these are the skulls?

HEADMAN\*

Those are Asu Rengka’s. They were taken from people all around this region. But that was a long time ago.

BANTIN

This was our tradition. Taking heads.

LACHLAN

(to dayak guys)

You filming this?

INT. ANCIENT SHAMAN’S HOUSE -- CONTINUOUS

All enter the shadowy room lit by the flicker of candle light. A long tabernacle table is set up nearby. Clearly it is a shrine. Hanging near it are several more trophy SKULLS.

ANDY

Woo hoo! Spooky. See? This is already good.

Dayak guys film.

LACHLAN

(to camera)

So, we are now in the old Shaman’s room. Unfortunately the bastard just died, one day before our arrival! But at least we can enter his room and check out his stuff. Let’s see what we can find.

HEADMAN\*

These are the shaman equipment that Rengka collected over many years.

RUTH

He says that Rengka was quite the collector of odd relics and magic baubles and such.

Camera sweeps over the alter table. We see some bones, crystals, an oddly wrapped cloth packet, some bottles, and an ornate thing like a doll house. Many candles burn on the table illuminating a photograph of Rengka.

HOLD on picture.

LACHLAN

(to Camera)

So this is the man. The Greedy Dog. We’ll never know why he was called that. Was he a real bastard? Just a name? But I will say this (to photo but still aware of camera, an entertaining aside) Dying right before we arrived was a dick move Rengka. A dick move. If that was your last fuck you to the world then I agree with your name. Greedy dog, greedy bastard more like it.

LACHLAN(CONT’D)

Now what’s this?

HOLD on packet.

RUTH

That’s a collection of charms, called pengaroh. Don’t touch it! These charms were given by the spirits. A packet like this can be used for many magical actions.

LACHLAN

Cool! And this?

HOLD on a crystal with a rhinoceros beetle’s head attached to it.

RUTH

Oh, that’s a batu ieu, ah, a magic stone. The shaman uses that to see into the next world.

LACHLAN

And that’s a beetle?

RUTH

Yes

LACHLAN

That’s huge! I’ve never seen anything like this stuff before. Ok Ruth, million dollar question. Ask the headman what is the most powerful thing in this room. The real deal, what is it?

Ruth (OS) consults with headman. While Ruth talks with Headman Lachlan continues to inspect table.

HOLD on a black and white photo of an Iban warrior displaying a severed head.

RUTH

(OS)

Interesting.

(Return to Ruth, holding a bottle)

Um, He actually says that it is this bottle.

HOLD on a grubby bottle.

LACHLAN

Ok, what’s so important about that? Looks normal to me.

RUTH

He says that this is actually a very special liquor. Rengka collected it nearly 50 years ago. In Iban it is called Jalong water. During their festival of the dead it is made and actually infused with... well... I suppose, the essence of death.

LACHLAN

Woo! I’ve drunk some fancy spirits before, but never a 50 year old death liquor! What does it do?

RUTH

Besides blow the back of your head off?

LACHLAN

Right.

Ruth consults OS. Lachlan and camera inspect the fancy doll house. It is very strange and creepy. Inside the tiny room a candle burns.

LACHLAN

(to Camera)

God, this is so weird. What sort of kid would play with this?

Back to Ruth.

RUTH

So the person who drinks this will have contact with the ghosts or what they call the Antu. But only a brave man can drink it.

LACHLAN

No shit? This sounds like exactly my kind of drink! Everyone knows I’m brave. I go where no one is willing to go. I’m the bravest person I’ve ever met.

Ruth translates to Headman (OS). Lachlan finds a very old gun and inspects it. It probably won’t fire.

Back to Ruth.

RUTH

Look! Lachlan. He’s laughing, you actually made him laugh. He says that’s crazy. Jalong is only for the true braves. If the drinker isn’t brave then it can become a poison.

Show Headman still chuckling and waving his hand in a ‘no no no’ fashion.

LACHLAN

(to camera, puts the gun back)

Hmm, well there you have it. This guy has obviously never seen my clips. Prove yourself in one place doesn’t mean shit in another. Here I’m just a greenhorn, don’t even know the meaning of the word brave. A joke. Yeah, it’s ok... no problem. I can take a joke too...

FADE TO BLACK

OVER THE BLACK we hear traditional Iban percussive GONG MUSIC playing underneath a steady cacophony of VOICES that slowly raise in volume.

FADE IN:

#### [FS.a1s10. INT. LONGHOUSE VERANDA -- NIGHT

(This scene and the majority to follow take place in the longhouse. This structure is like a one story apartment complex made of bamboo, raised up on stilts, with a long covered veranda that connects all the apartments together. The veranda is so long that it stretches off into the darkness.)

A group of traditional Iban dancers, wearing loin clothes and bird feather hats, holding swords do a stylized warrior dance to the gong music. The cacophony of voices, both Iban and English, continue.

VOICE OF ANDY

Oh no, I can’t...

VOICE OF RUTH

It’s quite nice really

VOICE OF LACHLAN

Yeah man, it’s new to me.

VOICE OF RUTH

He’s asking where you’re from.

VOICE OF LACHLAN

Just tell him...

As the dancers continue we shift to see the entire village sitting on the floor across from the foreign crew. A series of dishes sit in between them. A large PREGNANT WOMAN, and a PRETTY GIRL serve drinks. All eyes are on the foreigners.

LACHLAN

Thank you.

ANDY

(whispering)

I can’t drink this. I’m not a liquor guy.

RUTH

It’s rice wine.

ANDY

Uh, hello? Wine is grapes, not rice.

LACHLAN

(whispering)

Just shut the fuck up and drink it. You are embarrassing the shit out of me right now.

ANDY

Ehh! Fuck it! (takes the shot) Woo! Let’s party!

Headman ENTERS with SHAMAN (40’s).

HEADMAN\*

This is our local shaman.

RUTH\*

Hello, nice to meet you. You must have known Grandfather Rengka?

SHAMAN\*

Yes, he was my teacher.

RUTH\*

Sorry for your loss.

HEADMAN\*

He is not like Asu Rengka. He is just a simple shaman, only 15 years training.

RUTH

This is their local shaman. He was Rengka’s student.

LACHLAN

Oh yeah? Maybe he could show us the ghosts.

RUTH

No, the headman says that he is just a simple one.

LACHLAN

Ok, then show me something, entertain me. Read my palm or something.

RUTH\*

He is asking if you can do some ritual for him.

SHAMAN\*

Oh, I would be happy to but I left my equipment. We can do it tomorrow.

RUTH

He says he didn’t bring his equipment. We’d have to do it tomorrow.

LACHLAN

Tomorrow? No, I’m not talking about the whole show, just a simple thing. Here, read my palm.

RUTH\*

He wants to know if you can just do something simple right now, maybe read his hand?

Shaman takes Lachlan’s offered hand, unsure of which side to read. Still he studies it deeply. Suddenly, as if bitten, Shaman looks up deeply into Lachlan’s eyes. Shaman shakes his head ‘no,’ drops Lachlan’s hand and without a word walks away.

LACHLAN

What the fuck was that about?

Headman gives a nervous laugh and takes Lachlan’s hand, studies it briefly, and gives it a reassuring pat.

HEADMAN\*

That was nothing. You will have a very long life.

RUTH

He says that guy is just moody. You will become a very rich and powerful man in the future.

Lachlan seems suspicious.

LACHLAN

Ok, whatever. Let’s drink!

All drink. When no one is looking Lachlan pours the remainder of his full cup into a nearby empty bowl.

LATER IN THE NIGHT:

The party wears on. Andy, quite drunk, attempts to learn the warrior dance to the great amusement of the audience.

ANDY

Ok... swing the sword...

swing the sword...

step to the right...

crouching squat... crouching squat...

we’re stalking the victim... stalking the victim...

And... take the head!

The audience applauds.

ANDY

Woo! I’m a real man now! I’m a warrior! yeah!

Bantin and a group of Ibans talk with Lachlan.

BANTIN

They are asking if you ever caught a ghost. Put it in a cage or something?

LACHLAN

Well... no, not exactly like that. We do it with the camera.

BANTIN\*

He says with the camera.

IBAN MAN\*

You can capture ghosts with a camera?

BANTIN\*

I think it captures the shadows.

IBAN AUNTY

My grandpa saw a ghost once. It was the Antu Gerasi.

IBAN MAN #2\*

That’s true. I remember that.

IBAN MAN\*

Ask him if he could see any ghosts right now with that camera.

BANTIN

They want to know if you could use the camera to see any ghosts right now?

LACHLAN

Well, it’s more complicated. Usually the ghosts come out at night, in graveyards, or haunted places.

BANTIN\*

He says the ghosts only come out at night.

IBAN AUNTY\*

That’s true. That’s when my grandpa saw the Gerasi, in his dream. My grandma actually became the Antu Gerasi. Tell him.

BANTIN

She says that her Grandma actually became a ghost called the antu Gerasi or the demon huntsman. That’s a true story, it happened maybe 70 years ago.

LACHLAN

Uh, Ok, that’s too bad... I guess.

BANTIN\*

He says that is very common. It happens in his country also.

IBAN AUNTY\*

I knew it!

Outside a flash of dry lightening. Distracted, Bantin looks quickly to see the sudden silhouette of a shadowy man through the window. As quick as that it’s gone.

BANTIN

Cheers!

All drink.

CUT TO BLACK:

OVER THE BLACK comes an intermittent swirl of light and snatches of murmuring conversation and other party noises. SUDDENLY Bantin’s eyes snap OPEN and he takes a ragged gasp of air.

### ACT TWO

#### [FS.a2s1. INT. LONGHOUSE APARTMENT -- NIGHT

The blade of a sword presses snugly into Bantin’s neck. His eyes seek upward. There, standing above him, is a grim HEADHUNTER (50’s) dressed in warrior regalia, with more tattoos than naked flesh. His merciless eyes are filled with some obscure madness and a deep rage.

Headhunter uses the blade of the sword to force Bantin onto his feet. With the sword still pressed tightly Headhunter pushes him towards the door of the apartment.

In the near pitch black of the sleeping longhouse Bantin is marched through the quiet veranda. They enter another apartment.

There, in the gloom is a person bound, on her knees.

Headhunter removes the sword from Bantin’s neck. With a quick professional motion he brings it swiftly onto the exposed neck of the bound person with a sickening KWACK! The body crumples to the floor.

The blow however did not sever the head completely. Headhunter reaches down to grab the person’s hair. With his foot on the body for leverage he tears the head free of the body with a gratuitous RIPPING SOUND.

Headhunter turns the dripping head, its long hair flailing, tangled in flowing fluids, until it is face to face with Bantin. Horror fills Bantin’s eyes, horror beyond question, beyond belief. The fear paralyzes his body. He can’t breathe, gasping and stuttering for air, shaking uncontrollably with terror.

From outside comes a terrific BOOM of thunder and a massive SHOCK of lightening strike, for a split second it illuminates the room and the disembodied face that Bantin stares at, transfixed in his terror. A second later the rains like a river erupting, deafening, crashing... thunderous deluge...

The sound of the rain carries over as Bantin is SHOOK awake.

END OF DREAM SEQUENCE

#### [FS.a2s2. INT. LONGHOUSE APARTMENT -- NIGHT

Bantin’s eyes snap open. The rain still falls heavily with intermittent flashes of lighting. Shaking him is Dayak guy #1.

DAYAK GUY #1\*

Bantin! Something is happening. That pregnant woman is going into labor early. They are calling the shaman. Andy wants us to get the camera.

BANTIN\*

Did you wake Lachlan?

DAYAK GUY #1\*

I tried but he wouldn’t wake up. I think he’s too drunk. I couldn’t find one of the cameras either.

Bantin nods and gets up.

#### [FS.a2s3. INT. LONGHOUSE VERANDA

Bantin and Dayak Guy #1 walk through the veranda. The constant lightening outside makes a stroboscopic effect but inside the longhouse are only shadows.

Outside the door of the last apartment stands Andy and Dayak guy #2 filming through the open door.

ANDY

Oh, thank god your here. I don’t know what’s happening! I feel so drunk.

BANTIN

It’s ok.

A deep MOANING sound comes from inside the apartment.

INT. PREGNANT WOMAN’S APARTMENT (THROUGH THE DOOR)

Pregnant woman lays on the floor panting for breath. Ruth sits next to her holding her head. Several other people are in the room as well.

ANDY

Did they call a doctor? Is the doctor coming?

BANTIN

There is no doctor. They have called the shaman.

ANDY

The shaman!

Shaman enters from outside wearing a heavy cloak wrapped around his body, dripping wet from the rain. He casts it aside to reveal a covered basket strapped to his back. He immediately enters Pregnant woman’s room.

#### [FS.a2s4. START SHAMANIC RITUAL

Through the gloom of the flicking lanterns Shaman, chanting, dressed in his ritual gear, bleeds a chicken onto the moaning Pregnant Woman.

All that can be heard is the sound of her pain screams, the thunder and the heavy rain falling. Ruth holds her head and tries to keep her still.

Shaman puts a blanket over his head while chanting. Suddenly he springs up and with a drawn sword starts slashing the air all around her while screaming at the demons.

ANDY

What is he doing? They should call a doctor. This isn’t right!

BANTIN

Be quiet!

Shaman continues to chant and laying hands onto Pregnant woman’s body. Her screams begin to mount longer and louder. The lightening becomes faster.

The baby emerges; its first crystal clear WAIL pierces the night air. High above his head Shaman holds the screaming infant, with a thunderous boom, the flashes of lightening from outside illuminating all.

Through the lightning flashes Bantin SEES, for a moment only, Headhunter, but as quick as that it is gone.

ANDY

Oh! That’s not good. I can’t!

BANTIN

You ok?

Andy faints.

#### [FS.a2s5. INT. VERANDA -- NEXT MORNING

The rain continues to fall heavily. Many people sit on the veranda in the dim rain soaked light of early morning.

Ruth, haggard from the poor sleep, stumbles out of an apartment. Andy, Bantin, and the Dayak guys sit together drinking coffee.

Ruth goes to the window of the veranda to look out into the heavy rain. Focus on a single tree, the rain has already swelled to make a small lake and still it comes on relentlessly.

A loud adult WAILING SOUND comes from behind her. Ruth turns.

A group of men carry the body of the pregnant woman out of the apartment. It is covered in blankets and being held face down.

RUTH

Oh no! No, no.

The wailing of the women continue as the people tie the feet of the body with red thread and pierce the souls with porcupine quills.

In a daze Ruth stumbles over to the rest of the group.

RUTH

When did it happen?

BANTIN

A few hours ago. We didn’t want to wake you.

ANDY

Why are they doing that?

RUTH

It’s ah, superstition. They believe that when a pregnant woman dies she might come back as an evil spirit called a Koklir. So they tie the feet like that. Lachlan is still sleeping?

ANDY

I’m going to wake him up! I don’t care how hungover he is. I’m not going to take it anymore! That sonofabitch drug me here and now he just sleeps through everything. I’m going to give it to him!

Andy marches off resolvedly.

RUTH

I need coffee.

BANTIN

Here.

#### [FS.a2s6. INT. LACHLAN’S ROOM

Andy comes up to Lachlan’s sleeping with a blanket over his face. The floor beneath is obviously wet.

ANDY

(yelling)

Lachlan! Wake up! You... you asshole! You missed everything, because you’re drunk! That’s why we’ve had all these problems but you can’t see it! (shaking him) Because you’re a damn alcoholic! Wake up!

Andy shakes him HARDER but no movement. Finally he pulls the blanket away from Lachlan’s face. It is especially pale, hair damp and messy.

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a2s7. INT. VERANDA

Bantin, Ruth, and the others hear Andy’s PIERCING womanish SCREAM.

ANDY(OS)

AHHH! He’s dead, he’s dead!

Andy comes running out like a madman.

ANDY(CONT’D)

He’s dead! Oh my god! I tried to wake him, I was shaking but then nothing, he’s dead he’s dead.

Andy is in a hysterical panic.

RUTH

What? Calm down! What do you mean he’s dead?

ANDY

He’s dead! Dead! Not alive dead! I don’t know what to do, everyone is suddenly dying, what the fuck is happening, what the fuck are we going to do?!

The other members of the longhouse have noticed Andy’s panic and are coming over to investigate.

Ruth SLAPS him!

RUTH

Calm down, sweet christ! You’re going to start a panic.

ANDY

Oww!

Andy sits hard nursing his cheek, clearly in shock.

HEADMAN\*

What’s happened?

BANTIN\*

There is something wrong with Lachlan.

#### [FS.a2s8. INT. LACHLAN’S ROOM

Headman, Bantin, Ruth, Dayak Guys and others stand over the body of Lachlan.

HEADMAN\*

Clearly he is dead. There is no blood.

RUTH\*

But he is wet though, look!

He’s soaked. Was he in the storm?

Bantin thinks

BANTIN\*

(quietly to Dayak Guy #1)

The camera! He must have taken it outside. You got to find it.

DAYAK GUY #1\*

Right!

Dayak guys exit.

HEADMAN\*

What was that about?

BANTIN\*

Nothing.

#### [FS.a2s9. INT. EMPTY APARTMENT -- LATER

Bantin, Ruth, and Andy sit together. Dayak guys come back wet from the storm carrying the camera in the case.

DAYAK GUY #1\*

We found it, it was set up in Asu Rengka’s house.

RUTH\*

In Asu Rengka’s house? What was he doing?

BANTIN\*

I can guess but I hope I’m wrong. We need to see what’s on that camera.

Bantin takes the MEMORY CARD from the camera and puts it into the computer.

#### [FS.a2s10. INT. ANCIENT SHAMAN’S ROOM -- NIGHT (VIDEO SEQUENCE)

After pressing the record Lachlan stands back from the camera. He is in Asu Rengka’s room. The candle light casts flickering shadows on his face.

LACHLAN

(whispering to camera, nervous)

This is Lachlan Reed. I am here in Asu Rengka’s room. The shaman. I’m here on my own accord, not drunk, not crazy. At least I think I’m not... I’ve spent my life trying to get proof, a sign. (holding up the bottle of Jalong) In this bottle might be a key to the other side. I don’t know what will happen, maybe nothing, but I have to find out.

Lachlan opens the bottle and pours some brackish liquid into a wooden bowl. He closes the bottle and puts it back in place.

LACHLAN (CONT’D)

(inspecting the drink)

Woo! Smells strong. Nothing to do now.

(holding the bowl up to the camera)

See you on the other side!

He drinks it in one go. The moment he swallows comes the rumbling BOOM of the thunder, with a massive flash of lightening that follows. The electricity causes the computer screen to become filled with static.

With this, like taking a deep breathe, the audience

#### [FS.a2s11. PLUNGES INTO THE SCENE. (VISION SEQUENCE)

As the heavy rains begin to fall Lachlan sways on his feet. He burps and then burps again. The liquor is not settling well. Lacking coordination he stumbles and sits heavily.

Sitting, he can see under the table, the candle light flickers fast from the wind whistling through the poorly constructed shack. Near his head are two hanging skulls.

Lachlan’s POV, everything becomes blurry and jumping around. He stares at a skull, facing away from him, yet as he stares it slowly starts to spin by some invisible hand until it’s eyeless recesses stare directly into his soul.

THUNDER again

CUT TO:

EXT. JUNGLE CLEARING -- VISION SEQUENCE

A young woman stands in a field in the rain. She wears traditional clothing and her long hair hanging loose, drenched.

INTERCUT: INT. ANCIENT SHAMAN’S HOUSE

Lachlan, shocked, tries to crawl back from the skull, his breath a heavy gasping pant. But where can he go?

JUNGLE CLEARING

Again the girl, head bowed, hair long, unfurled in the deluge. Behind, out of the swirling rainy fog rises a host of floating human skulls, soot black in Iban style, each with its own spinal column and some signs of a stomach sack. The ghost girl looks up now, her eyes glow reflective like a cat’s. They look directly at Lachlan. They see only him.

ANCIENT SHAMAN’S HOUSE

Lachlan goes for the door, escape, flee. Yet the ghost girl is there, sopping, drenched clothes pressed seductively against her small but ripe form. She stares with her reflective cat eyes, never blinking, head weaving, tracking her prey.

LACHLAN

Stay away!

Tries to move around her, but she is there. Like a dance, step by step, each step he takes, she is there... right in front of him, those gleaming eyes boring through his skull.

LACHLAN

Just let me go...

The ghost reaches her hand towards him. Her finger nails like a cat’s claws. Lachlan, frozen, those fingers brush his face while her eyes lock into his own. Yet, she still looks pretty, she is, or was, a very pretty girl.

Her prey frozen, ghost girl lets her hand trace his body down until it reaches the genital area. She grabs with steely force. Lachlan GASPS. Her lips part, a mouth full of sharpened teeth. She kneels to better investigate her findings.

From this position he can see the top of her head. It is infested; lice, ticks, leeches. Her skulls, mushy like an overripe fruit, creature pouring from it.

The paralysis momentarily breaking, Lachlan’s scream is at first one of horror but turns to pain as the ghost girl discovers her prize.

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a2s12. STATIC COMPUTER SCREEN (END VIDEO SEQUENCE

All sit glued to the screen trying to register what they had just witnessed.

DAYAK GUY #2\*

Aah! He’s brought the Antu Koklir! It’s going to kill us all!

BANTIN\*

Keep your voice down!

DAYAK GUY #2\*

You saw it! He brought the demon!

DAYAK GUY #1\*

It was you two! You brought this upon us!

ANDY

Who are you pointing at?

DAYAK GUY #1

You did this!

Dayak guy #1 tries to grab Ruth.

Bantin jumps in front of him, grappling.

BANTIN\*

Stop! It wasn’t her! You saw for yourself. No one could have controlled what he did.

DAYAK GUY #1\*

She has to die! It’s the only way!

Bantin uses his greater strength to throw him to the floor.

BANTIN\*

No one else is going to die!

DAYAK GUY #2\*

We have to get out of here! This house is cursed! We have to flee!

BANTIN\*

If you want to run like animals then do it.

Both make for the door but Bantin blocks them.

BANTIN\*

Not that way, I won’t let you start a panic.

If you want to flee then go out the back.

Without hesitation the two Dayak Guys exit by the back door.

ANDY

Christ! That was intense. You know what this video means? He did it! He got his proof. This could be worth millions!

RUTH

Proof! What the hell are you talking about? This was you two wasn’t it? You set this up!

ANDY

What?! I didn’t have anything to do with this! You saw the video same as me. That was a ghost, a real ghost!

RUTH

There are no such things as ghosts you idiot. There are only the scamsters and the gullible. I know you’re behind this. Natives always talk about things like this but they don’t happen!

BANTIN

It is happening. Two people are dead. If you want to go crazy then go out the back. If not all three of us need to calmly go out and sit with the others.

All agree.

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a2s13. EXT. OUTSIDE LONGHOUSE -- RAINY DAY

The two Dayak guys exit the longhouse via the back way down a ladder. The rain is pouring onto them and the ground is already muddy.

Despite the weather both make it to the path. As they run toward the cover of the jungle a group of mean yellowish dogs come out of the bush. The dogs are growling, heads low, bearing teeth.

The Two Dayak guys slow to assess the scene.

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a2s13(2). INT. LONGHOUSE VERANDA -- DAY

The rain still falls heavily as the Ibans sit together holding council.

VOICE OF IBAN MAN\*

If it hadn’t been for them coming.

VOICE OF OTHER MAN\*

Shush, they’re coming.

Ruth, Bantin, and Andy walk to them.

HEADMAN\*

Please, join us.

All sit.

HEADMAN\*

These are very serious times in our village. Two people are now dead. To avoid having more deaths follow we must come to understand the cause.

OLD MAN\*

These happenings are clearly related to the dispute had by the Enchul family and the Imba family. That case was never formally settled by our headman and no official fine was dispensed.

HEADMAN\*

That was because no fine was warranted. We’ve spoken of this many times before.

An eruption of voices emerges from the group with each individual vying for his own theory to be heard.

HEADMAN\*

Settle, settle please. This is not the time to bring out old grievances. What we need to do is look at the most recent evidence.

TALL OLD MAN\*

Has anyone seen unusual bird activity?

Again many voices emerge.

HEADMAN\*

Why talk of bird omens when you know we have no interpreter? What we need to speak of is dreams, and not dreams of 20 years ago Ungkir, recent dreams. Has anyone had any recent dreams?

BANTIN\*

I had a dream.

Ruth is surprised.

CUT TO:

[FS.a2s13(3). EXT. OUTSIDE LONGHOUSE

Six angry dogs circling the two Dayak guys.

Dayak Guy #1 scrambles to get a stick. A dog jumps but #1 hits it away. Another dog leaps at #2 biting him on the arm.

Suddenly there is a loud sound like a HORN call. The dogs look behind them submissively.

Standing in the woods is a very tall jet black being with a conical shaped head, massive boar like tusks, and perfectly spherical lidless round eyes. It is the Antu Gerasi.

DAYAK GUY #1

Run!

Turning to flee as fast as they are able but the muddy ground causes them slip. The dogs are close on their heels.

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a2s13(4). INT. LONGHOUSE VERANDA

HEADMAN\*

This dream is very important. Clearly it is a good dream. Elder?

VERY OLD MAN\*

It is a good dream for a man but it is known that in the cases of dreams like this the events in waking life will follow.

OTHER OLD MAN\*

Yes, they are connected.

VERY OLD MAN\*

We cannot know precisely what will happen next but it seems certain that death will follow death.

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a2s13(5). EXT. OUTSIDE OF THE LONGHOUSE

The two Dayak guys drenched, clothing torn flee through the woods. #2’s shirt is covered in blood.

In an open area, three more dogs come in front. One leaps at #2, knocking him down. Dogs come from all sides biting. #1 fights them off as best he is able with his stick but the struggle is clearly futile.

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a2s13(6). INT. LONGHOUSE VERANDA

A flurry of voices as the people argue over what to do.

HEADMAN\*

Calm! Everyone Calm! We have a shaman,

we can stop this!

IBAN MAN\*

It’s gone too far! Too much has happened.

OTHER MAN\*

We need to think of our future.

Just then from outside comes a long dying SCREAM for help. Bantin looks at Ruth knowingly.

BANTIN

We have to go out there!

RUTH

Right!

HEADMAN\*

What is it?

BANTIN\*

That’s my friend!

Both charge out the door into the rain.

#### [FS.a2s14. EXT. OUTSIDE -- CONTINUOUS

The rain continues to fall heavily onto the wet earth. Bantin and Ruth attempt to track the scream.

BANTIN

You see anything?

RUTH

Nothing yet!

BANTIN

Be careful!

Bantin pushes through some scrub to find the two Dayak guys and the dogs all around.

Without hesitation Bantin jumps into the fray, hitting the dogs off of Dayak guy #2. A dog bites him deeply but he doesn’t care. He just keeps fighting, grabbing a rock and hits one upside the head.

He takes a stick and uses it to keep the dogs back.

BANTIN

Over here!

In a short time Ruth and several other Iban guys come.

BANTIN

You get them out of here.

I’ll keep them back!

Ruth and the Iban guys make short work of taking the two bleeding Dayak guys away from the dogs.

#### [FS.a2s15.

Bantin is left alone waving the stick menacingly.

As if by design all the dogs suddenly DEPART and the rain slackens. Standing in the jungle is Headhunter. Bantin meets his eyes and they stand evaluating the other.

Headhunter turns without a word and walks into the jungle. Bantin, as if transfixed, pulls off his wet megadeath tee and drops it carelessly into the mud. Half naked he walks determinedly into the jungle. Then he breaks into a run.

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a2s16. INT. VERANDA -- RAINY DAY

Ruth and the Iban guys return carrying in the body of Dayak guy #2 while #1 limps behind. #2 is covered in blood. His throat has been jaggedly rent open. #1 is obviously in shock.

DAYAK GUY #2

There is something out there!

We can’t leave, no one should leave!

It’s coming for us!

IBAN AUNTY\*

What? What’s out there?

Andy sees the ripped up body.

ANDY

What happened? Oh my god, why is this happening? What’s going on? Why is everyone dying?

Andy begins to hyperventilate.

ANDY (CONT’D)

There is nothing we can do! Everyone just keeps dying and dying. What.. what...what..?

Andy collapses from the panic attack. His fear seems to INFECT the others.

IBAN AUNTY\*

It’s the Gerasi! The curse has been brought down upon us! We have to go! We have to get out while there’s still time.

In a pure state of panic the elderly woman makes a mad dash for the door. Several men grab her to hold her back.

IBAN MAN\*

Aunty, no!

IBAN AUNTY\*

I have to go! We have to get out, it’s not safe, it’s the demon!

With almost supernatural strength she breaks free and it takes the combined force of three men to hold her pinned to the floor.

Unable to move Iban Aunty can only bang her head violently against the floor.

IBAN AUNTY\*

It’s coming! It’s coming! It’s coming!

HEADMAN\*

(with a roaring scream)

Everyone Stop! Stop right where you are! The heat is about to overtake us! Everyone sit!

Like obedient children all sit. Even Iban Aunty recovers enough to be released.

HEADMAN\*

Our Shaman is here! He will slay these demons and save this house!

#### [FS.a2s17(1).

Shaman enters confidently. Behind him come to Iban men carrying a PIG inside a burlap sack. The pig’s squeals fill the room.

The pig is laid down. Shaman CHANTS and then positions his spear on it’s neck. The pig begins shrieking and SQUEALING all the more, its bound body convulsing. The squeals are very human like.

The spear finds its mark and the squeals turn to pain and blood oozes onto the floor. Eventually the pig stops kicking.

Shaman opens the bag and inspects the pig’s body. He then starts to CHANT.

He sits, still chanting, and puts a blanket over his head. He holds up to his eye a crystal.

SHAMAN’S POV- Dark from the blanket and deeply blurry from the crystal Shaman looks around the room. Strange colors seem to jump out of the walls. Near Lachlan’s body is a swirling shape.

Suddenly Shaman stiffens, dropping the crystal.

INT. VERANDA -- DAY: FLASH BACK/ VISION

Asu Rengka lays on the floor, clearly dying, his milky white eyes searching the room. Shaman sits next to him.

ANCIENT SHAMAN

The enemy, the enemy...

SHAMAN

Who is the enemy grandfather?

ANCIENT SHAMAN

The enemy is here, can’t you see?

With a vice like grip Ancient Shaman pulls Shaman towards his decrepit rotting mouth. His milky eyes locking into Shaman’s own.

VISION SEQUENCE: SERIES OF SCENES

The foreigners on the boat, the dogs attacking #2, Pregnant woman moaning, the Antu Koklir (ghost girl) fixing Lachlan with her gaze, Lachlan drinking the liquor, the severed head from Bantin’s dream, the skull in the smoke.

END OF SEQUENCE:

Shaman breaks free of Ancient Shamans grasp.

ANCIENT SHAMAN

You can see now? All are the enemy, all have become my enemies!

END OF FLASH BACK/ VISION

#### [FS.a2s17(2).

With a sudden GASP Shaman throws the blanket off of himself and begins CONVULSING on the floor. Many run to help him.

Recovering Shaman stands up unsteadily.

SHAMAN

I have had a vision from my teacher! (pointing at the corpse of Lachlan wrapped in blankets in a corner)

It was him! He brought this upon us!

All eyes turn to look at Lachlan and then to Ruth and Andy.

RUTH\*

Oh shit! It’s true, it’s true. He drank the Jalong liquor. We didn’t know!

With this as if by unspoken consensus the entire community starts walking slowly towards the two of them. Their eyes reflecting a kind of madness.

ANDY

What’s happening?

RUTH

They know everything!

ANDY

Oh shit, oh shit! It wasn’t us! It’s wasn’t me! Don’t touch me, I didn’t do this!

The crowd gets closer and closer, their hands reached out to meet them.

ANDY

Stay away from me! I didn’t do this. Oh god, don’t hurt me please.

He starts to hyperventilate again, panting so deeply that he falls to the floor.

ANDY (CONT’D)

Stop, stop, please, don’t.

At this OLD GRANDMA (80’s) breaks through the crowd and grabs Andy.

ANDY

Don’t touch me!

But she doesn’t want to hurt him. Instead she pulls him close and somehow her warmth and calm effects the audience. Andy begins to breathe more normally.

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a2s18(1). INT. VERANDA NEAR DAYAK GUY #2

Dayak guy #1 sits next to #2 who gasps for breath, blood bubbling out of his mouth. #1 keeps a rag pressed up against his throat but the fight leaves him. #2 dies.

In #1’s eyes we first see great sadness... and then... something else. RAGE, visceral rage.

#1 jumps up and points at Ruth.

DAYAK GUY #1

You did this!

Like an animal #1 breaks through the crowd and tackles Ruth, bringing her to the ground almost immediately. #1 starts to choke her with all his might, his eyes filled with madness and rage.

DAYAK GUY #1

You did this! You did this! You have to die!

The crowd all stands back, watching.

VOICE IN THE CROWD\*

It’s not him... it’s not him.

Ruth’s face turns purple from the violent choking. Yet moments before death she reaches the last ounce of her strength to KNEES him in the testicles. Dayak guy #1 rolls off her with a GROAN.

DAYAK GUY #1\*

You fucking bitch! You bitch!

RUTH\*

(crying, holding her bruised neck)

It’s wasn’t us! God damn it! It wasn’t us!

HEADMAN\*

Stop this now! Everyone calm down.

It wasn’t her. They didn’t do this.

We need to focus on what is to be done.

(to Shaman) What else did Rengka say?

SHAMAN

This is something like I have never witnessed before. Asu Rengka told me that the only thing for us is to do something that us Iban have never done before!

WHISPERS in the crowd.

#### [FS.a2s18(2).

SHAMAN(CONT’D)

We must do the Nulang ritual of the people known as the Berawan!

CROWD WHISPERS

Berawan, Nulang! How can we do that?

SHAMAN

There is a Berawan shaman with us now. He was summoned by Asu Rengka. He will perform this ritual for us. It is the only thing that will save us!

OLD IBAN MAN\*

We can’t do that! We must flee! We must get away from this place!

HEADMAN\*

We cannot flee! The antu is outside. We will be lucky to bring the Berawan shaman here safely. There is only only chance!

All eventually nod in agreement.

HEADMAN\*

Good, we must prepare. The ritual will be held tonight!

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a2s19.

Andy sits. He is still being cradled by Old Iban Grandma. Ruth sits near him nursing her throat.

ANDY

(weakly)

What’s happening?

RUTH

They have a plan, they are going to do a ritual of the Berawan.

ANDY

Oh... that’s good.

An IBAN MOTHER brings some liquid in a bowl and presses it on Andy.

ANDY

What is it?

IBAN MOTHER\*

Drink.

Lacking the will to resist Andy takes a deep swallow. Iban Mother then gives a drink to Ruth.

RUTH

Wait? Where is Bantin?

No one else answers. The power of the drug hits Ruth.

RUTH

Oh, I’m suddenly feeling very sleepy.

Putting the stresses of the day behind them both Ruth and Andy sleep.

MEANWHILE...

#### [FS.a2s20. EXT. JUNGLE -- RAINY DAY

Running through the jungle. Bantin, shirtless, wet from the rain... running. Headhunter is always a few steps in front of him, always faster, always better. Yet Bantin runs on recklessly, not caring that the branches slap his body, that the vines rip into his flesh and scratch his legs.

Bantin LEAPS from the top of a hill at headhunter. They grapple on the ground. Headhunter breaks free and is moving again, not running yet still swifter than a mousedeer. Bantin must use all he can to keep up.

Bantin struggles to the top of a steep hill that juts off into a ragged cliff.

Night is falling

In the valley below is a dark river with many boats moving across its surface. Yet how can they see? Bantin searches for a path.

### ACT THREE

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a3s1. INT. LONGHOUSE APARTMENT -- NIGHT

The rain continues to fall heavily, beating onto the roof.

Ruth shakes Andy awake.

RUTH

They’re calling us. It’s time.

INT. VERANDA NEAR NULANG -- CONTINUOUS

In the corner of the veranda, lit by many candles and lanterns is a large seat, like a throne. On the throne sits the CORPSE of Lachlan. He has been dressed in colorful traditional robes with something like a crown. His head is tied to the back of the chair. A sparkly gel on his face makes it glitter. One hand has been placed into a bowl full of paper money and candies. The other holds a cigarette. At his feet are many old plates and jars. Behind his head are hung many traditional blankets.

A crowd of villagers sit at his feet. A swing has been set up nearby and one woman, SABAK SINGER, sits on it. BERAWAN SHAMAN, (heavyset, 50’s) paces nearby, shirtless wearing a fur cape and a cap with animal horns.

ANDY

Oh my God! What’s going on?

RUTH

This is the Berawan ritual of Nulang.

ANDY

Why is he sitting like that?

RUTH

They believe that he is something like a god now, a death god. The ritual is to make him happy.

ANDY

This is crazy. He wasn’t a Christian or anything but this is too much!

RUTH

Just watch.

#### [FS.a3s2.

A line of women dressed all in white come marching into view. Each of them carry a bowl. They take turns standing in front of Lachlan.

WOMAN #1\*

What a handsome man you are! Here, I’ve brought you some special rice. Just like you like it.

She spoons some rice into his mouth and closes it. She steps aside.

WOMAN #2\*

I know you love to smoke so I brought you your favorite cigarette.

She blows smoke into his face and then holds the thick rolled cigarette up to his lips. She steps aside.

WOMAN #3\*

I have brought you some beads to help with your crossing.

She puts the beads into his mouth, shoving it in deeply to find space.

ANDY

Beads, cigarettes, rice? They don’t know him at all. You know what he’d really like?

RUTH

What?

ANDY

Whiskey.

RUTH

Here it comes.

ANDY

Oh... good.

Woman #4

Here brother, I know you must be thirsty so I brought your favorite drink.

She holds the bowl up to his lips. Some drink dribbles down his chin.

ANDY

This has to be some kind of dream.

RUTH

It is very unusual. I’ve never seen the likes before.

ANDY

Why is that lady on the swing?

RUTH

Hmm, she must be the Sabak singer. Her job is use poetry to lead the soul to the land of the dead. They must believe that because Lachlan is an outsider his soul doesn’t belong in the Iban lands of the dead and needs to be guided to his own.

ANDY

Oh... that makes sense... I guess. This is crazy!

RUTH

Shush! It’s starting!

#### [FS.a3s3.

All take their positions. A slow stately gong MUSIC starts up. The women, in chorus start to make a long wailing sound... WAAA-AH-AH-AH. This continues...

Now the Sabak singer begins. Her eyes are closed, as if in a trance, swinging back and forth. Her speech is singsong.

SABAK SINGER\*

Oh brother, what has brought you to our lands? These lands are our ancient boundaries. Caught now outside your home. You are lost, we know, in the jungles with the banana trees, the creeping fig, rivers wide and deep. Fearing, in confusion, I know your pain and confusion. Come with me, follow my voice. Follow the river to its source...

(The poem goes on in a like fashion, leading the soul to the singer and together they travel by boat to the earthen door and the land of the dead.)

The subtitles taper away leaving only her singsong like voice. Between that, the rain, the slow gong music, the staccato wails and the corpse, a dreamy macabre like beauty is created.

The camera GLIDES around the room, sucking in the ambiance, the flicking light as it plays across the corpses glittery face, the wailing women, the Sabak singer, eyes closed in concentration. The camera eventually wanders outside.

EXT. OFF THE BALCONY -- CAMERA POV

The camera wanders through a window and, with the sound still leaking in from the house assess the jungle in the rain, settling finally to watch as the drops splash into the standing water. A swirling random pattern.

Within the water another image appears, it starts slowly, still troubled by the rain but it comes on more and more strongly.

#### [FS.a3s4. VISION SEQUENCE -- SERIES OF SCENES

...At first there is a man paddling a boat across a dark river. One lantern at the prow and other disembodied lights undulate in the calm water.

...The scene shifts to him walking through the dark jungle, finally coming to a massive vine laden parasitic fig tree (pun Kara).

... The man is climbing the tree. We can see clearly now that it is Bantin. His half naked body exerting itself to pull up the vines, find the footing. Looking down on the river below, spotted with the bobbing lights.

...At the top he sees, rising up on a hill, an ancient longhouse, dark and foreboding.

... Inside are many ancient people. ANCIENT GRANDMA, shirtless, her breasts hanging like pendulums, and other old men covered with beautiful tattoos.

... Bantin sits at the feet of this group as they speak.

... Now ANCIENT GRANDPA gives him a bamboo tapping tattoo. Bantin grimaces in pain...

FADE TO BLACK... MUSIC AND SOUNDS CONTINUE

FADE IN:

#### [FS.a3s5. INT. VERANDA NEAR NULANG -- SEVERAL HOURS LATER

The candles burn low yet the Sabak continues to the music and wails. Most of the audience has been lulled into an uncomfortable sleep. Andy is still awake.

Perceptible to Andy alone the corpse’s finger suddenly gives a TWITCH.

Andy GASPS

The corpse’s mouth opens partially. A small GROAN emerges along with some blackish fluid and rice, splashing grotesquely onto his colorful robes.

ANDY

It moved!

People awake. The music stops.

RUTH

What?

ANDY

Look!

The corpse starts to twitch more. Its mouth opens wider ejecting the rest of its contents along with more blackish blood. A smear is left on his chin. The eyes FLUTTER open.

Andy stands

ANDY

Lachlan! You’re not dead!

RUTH

Andy! I don’t know...

The corpse doesn’t seem to hear. Instead its eyes seem to be struggling to come into focus, trying to move... Awkwardly at first.

The hand holding the cigarette comes up stiffly. The corpse views it as for the first time. A LINE OF ANTS runs up the arm, over the hand, and back down the sleeve.

ANDY

Lachlan! Can you hear me? Are you... Ok?

Staring at the cigarette. Suddenly it bursts alight. The Corpse slowly takes it to his lips and sucks deeply, ending with a slow French inhale. Smoke runs through his nose and mouth.

Andy walks towards Lachlan.

ANDY

Lachlan? I’m coming to you now.

RUTH

Andy don’t! It’s not him, it’s some kind of shared hallucination or something. I’ve read about these!

She tries to grab his leg but Andy shakes it off.

ANDY

It’s Lachlan. He’s ok.

He reaches the corpse and puts his hand on its shoulder.

ANDY

I’m here now buddy,

You need... a pill or something?

#### [FS.a3s5(2).

The Corpse finally seems to become aware of Andy, his face shifting to meet his. Taking another drag, the smoke still curling around his lips the corpse projects a great PUFF into Andy’s face. Like slow motion the smoke crashes against him, shattering into tiny wisps.

Andy takes a great INHALE and immediately starts to COUGH, loudly and with great force. He can’t breathe. He falls to the floor still coughing, his face contorted with pain.

Ruth runs to him.

#### [FS.a3s6.

RUTH

Oh my god, oh my god... He’s choking, I know what to do!

Now Andy’s breathe seems caught in his throat which is swollen thick reddish black. A blackish stain seems to be there.

Quick as a shot Ruth pulls out a pen and dissembles it to get the plastic tube. With all her might she rams the tube into his throat, piercing it. A thick black blood SQUIRTS from the tube splashing Ruth’s face. All his blood has turned black, moving like a plague through his veins and coming out bubbling from his mouth.

ANDY

Oooh!

Andy, frantic for air tries to grab hold of something, Ruth’s face, black blood from his fingers smearing there. Yet there is nothing to be done, the blood leaks from the tube, his mouth, under the skin the blackness. Choking on his own thick blood, gurgling... Andy dies.

RUTH

Oh shit! Oh shit!

#### [FS.a3s7.

HEADMAN

Swords!

The crowd that had previously been in a stunned motionlessness suddenly jumps into action. Each grabs a sword that had already been placed conveniently nearby.

The women scatter.

The crowd is led by Headman. All look again at the corpse.

It sits perfectly motionless as it was before. Did they dream it?

The only thing difference now is the cigarette. It still burns, sending out a steady twisting spiral from the corpse’s motionless dead hand.

The crowd hesitates.

IBAN MAN\*

Stab it! Kill it!

Headman turns to look back at Iban Man. Kill what?

OTHER IBAN MAN\*

Just do it!

The crowd edges forward to the motionless corpse. Iban Man is pushed forward.

OTHER IBAN MAN\*

Do it!

Iban man tentatively holds out his sword, gently poking the corpse. No movement.

He pokes again this time it pierces the flesh. Still nothing.

#### [FS.a3s7(2).

OTHER IBAN MAN\*

Just stab it!

Emboldened he gives it a full THRUST, stabbing into the corpse’s stomach. All wait...

It seems that it will not move, it was some kind of mistake, a hallucination. The men EXHALE.

At this moment the eyes spring OPEN! Wider than any human eyes should ever be. Everyone GASPS!

The corpse, now awake, lets out a long ear shattering WAIL. All stand back holding their ears.

Then POOF, all the candles go out. The only light remaining comes from the storm and the frequent lightening, making a stroboscopic effect.

Ruth still sits over Andy’s body. Everything becomes COLD like in a freezer. Ruth breathe comes out as clouds.

RUTH

This isn’t real, this isn’t real!

#### [FS.a3s8.

DISEMBODIED VOICE\*

(Laughter) Why do you try to kill that which is already dead?

Through the FLASHES we see the Iban Men, swords out, pacing the floor. The corpse has seemingly disappeared, throne and all.

HEADMAN\*

Find it!

DISEMBODIED VOICE\*

You are looking for us? But we are already here!

At that a great CREAKING sound from the wood of the longhouse. It is aging now, become ancient, full of holes. The falling Rain begins to drip down from the ceiling.

RUTH

It’s not real, it’s not real!

Suddenly a heavy stream of cold rain lands on her head. She GASPS, shocked. The FLASH comes and she sees. The house is full of ghosts.

RUTH

Oh shit! Oh shit!

#### [FS.a3s9. INT. STRANGE CORRIDOR

Headman, sword drawn, stalks the halls. Yet the longhouse is strange now, made up of unknown decrepit corridors with holes in the floor and ceiling. He walks carefully, unsure of where to go.

A FLASH and there is a ghost head floating. He stumbles back. Another FLASH and it is the Antu Koklir (ghost girl) hissing, her eyes gleaming.

INT. STRANGE ROOM

Headman turns an unknown corner into a strange room. The floor is cracked with darkness below.

Out of this hole pours a thick black smoke.

It settles low to the ground before finally taking the form of an ANCIENT LEGLESS PERSON, its skin so wrinkled as to almost fall from its body. Having no legs it drags itself towards Headman, growling, opening its mouth to reveal a massive cow like tongue that unfurls, reacher ever closer to him.

Headman SCREAMS, turns, and flees.

CUT TO:

#### [FS.a3s10. INT. VERANDA NEAR NULANG

Through the blackness we hear a frantic CHANTING. Its voice powerful and confident.

Suddenly a FIRE bursts forth illuminating Berawan Shaman. It came from his hands. His chanting gets louder and deeper until the candles suddenly flicker back to life, first low and then stronger, casting more and more light.

Sitting in the original position is the Corpse. Like it hadn’t moved at all. Yet now it is far more rotted and decayed. It’s waxy skin hardly stretching, sometimes breaking over its skeletal frame.

BERAWAN SHAMAN\*

Who are you? Why do you do this to us?

CORPSE\*

Who am I? I am the one that has been seeking you. For countless years I have been coming, but now I am here.

BERAWAN SHAMAN\*

Why? Why come here?

CORPSE\*

For too long you have kept my kind out, in the shadows, forgotten and hopeless, feeding on the tiniest of light.

BERAWAN SHAMAN

What should we do?

CORPSE

You should kneel before me! Kneel before your new master. Kneel and give me your life!

BERAWAN SHAMAN

No! Never!

Berawan Shaman is still producing light from his hands. He starts chanting more fiercely and the light grows stronger.

CORPSE

You think your little tricks can stand against me?

The Corpse stretches out its hand and Berawan’s shaman’s flame suddenly dims.

CORPSE

Kneel!

BERAWAN SHAMAN

No!

He is fighting but it seems the corpse’s magic is too strong. Berawan Shaman is being forced to his knees!

Yet, still he resist. With all his strength, with all his magic, but everything is dimming.

CORPSE

Die!

Suddenly a BOOM, the strongest thunder clap of all, comes ripping through the house, shaking the very wooden beams.

#### [FS.a3s11.

STRONG VOICE(OS)

Release him demon! We will never bow down to you!

All turn to see Bantin! He looks stronger and handsomer than ever, half naked in a traditional loin cloth, new tattoos on his body, holding a wicked looking sword. A huge leech sticks to his chest but he pulls it off without flinching, leaving a trail of wet blood.

CORPSE

Who are you?

BANTIN

I am Bantin! I have been to the land of the dead and I have no fear of you!

Corpse studies him.

CORPSE

You have no fear of me? What of them?

The room fills with ghostly howling forms. They howl and circle upon him.

Yet, in Bantin’s eyes there is no fear, only strength. He drops his sword.

The ghost horde swirls around him like whistling wind.

BANTIN\*

I am not your enemy. We are not your enemies.

GHOSTS\*

Show us... show us... your fear.

BANTIN\*

If you would take me then I am ready! I will not fight you!

The ghosts test him but Bantin doesn’t flinch, even as the ghostly fingers come near to touching him, even as the ghostly hand passes through his body.

When the ghosts stare into his eyes they can see no fear there and they know they have lost. The ghosts, as one, drop to their KNEES.

#### [FS.a3s12.

CORPSE\*

No! How is it possible?

BANTIN\*

You see demon. We Iban respect our dead! We live in balance. Our ghosts are happy with us!

CORPSE\*

Happy? How can they be happy? Living in the shadows, forgotten by those that once claimed to love them?

BANTIN\*

Enough! I have no fear of them and I have no fear of you.

CORPSE\*

You think you are brave enough to fight me?

BANTIN\*

I’m brave.

CORPSE\*

Then come on jungle man, prove it.

#### [FS.a3s13.

Bantin charges forward.

The Corpse suddenly launches himself out of his chair and up into the air, flying to meet his charge.

It catches him before Bantin can bring down the first blow. Raising him up into the air.

CORPSE

You think it would be so easy?

Bantin wrestles free, falling to the floor. He grabs his sword and takes a reckless swipe at the creature. It makes contact but with no effect. He swings again but nothing.

The flying corpse again swoops at him. Bantin brings down his sword but this time the corpse grabs his wrist, it’s rotting hands like an iron vice. Bantin’s skin starts to bubble and turn black. He SCREAMS in pain. His hand turned withered, its fingers curling up.

Yet, without stopping Bantin pulls the sword from his mostly useless hand and with his left continues the fight.

He hacks away fiercely. The corpse raises its arms in defense. The blows find their mark, severing the arm but still no impact. The corpse doesn’t even feel it.

CORPSE

There is nothing you can do to hurt me!

BANTIN

There is one thing!

With obvious and explosive pain Bantin uses his withered hand to grab the corpses hair. The neck exposed Bantin brings the sword down savagely. Once, twice, the head detaches from the body with a sicken splash of ickor.

#### [FS.a3s14.

Bantin assesses the scene. The face of the corpse still contorts in agony yet the body has stopped cold and the other ghosts in the house vanish. The heavy rain still falls.

Without a word and the head in tow, Bantin leaves the longhouse. He doesn’t look back.

EXT. OUTSIDE LONGHOUSE -- NIGHT

Bantin crashes through the jungle, trying to move as quickly as he is able. The corpse’s face still moves.

EXT. NEAR THE RIVER -- DAWN

Bantin reaches a river. He crosses it.

Once on the other side he stops, turns and holds the head up high. There is a rippling CRASH. The grey sky runs through the river and everything comes out sparkly, clean and bright.

The first light of dawn finally breaks through and the promise of a lovely day.

EXT. ON THE RIVER -- LATER

Bantin continues walking up the river, still holding the corpse head.

There, washing in the water is a Beautiful IBAN GIRL.

DISEMBODIED SPIRIT VOICE\*

Take her!

Again Bantin holds up the head. Beautiful Iban Girl, seeing his manly presence is suddenly overcome, abandons her washing and runs to him. She tucks herself under his left armpit. His withered right hand still holds the head up high.

EXT. IN THE JUNGLE -- LATER

Still holding the head Bantin and Iban Girl walk together.

EXT. IN A GROVE -- LATER

The corpse head sits in the dirt, it’s mouth uselessly gaping open and shut, its eyes moving in circles all around.

Bantin has built a fire. When it is burning hot he throws the head into it. The face contorts in pain but soon it’s flesh is burned away.

Bantin crushes it with his foot.

#### [FS.a3s15.

CUT TO: CARD

A FEW DAYS LATER

The sun shines brightly. The people of the longhouse are busily working to repair the longhouse. We see some police departing. They wear traditional colonial era uniforms. Ruth walks with them.

CUT TO: CARD

AFTER SOME INQUIRY THE POLICE WERE UNABLE TO DISCOVER THE TRUE REASON FOR LACHLAN REED AND ANDREW COOPER’S DEMISE. IT WAS FINALLY DETERMINED THAT A SUDDEN WAVE OF MALARIA HAD INFECTED THE LONGHOUSE CAUSING THE MULTIPLE DEATHS. WHILE SUFFERING FROM THE DISEASE LACHLAN HAD MADE OFF INTO THE JUNGLE TO BE WASHED AWAY BY THE STORM. THERE IS LITTLE HOPE OF EVER RECOVERING HIS BODY.

#### [FS.a3s16. EXT. ON THE LONGHOUSE BALCONY -- LATER

Bantin, his right hand bandaged, Iban girl, the rest of the community gather around the body of the pregnant woman. Another woman holds the new infant. Shaman is chanting.

Bantin focuses Lachlan’s camera on her body.

THROUGH THE CAMERA VIEW

A spectral force comes off of pregnant woman’s body. Taking her shape in a ghostly form. The spirit woman stands among the others, all unaware except Bantin.

It moves to stand near her new baby and the woman holding it. Seemingly content it gives a sad smile and simply fades away.

END CAMERA VIEW

Bantin is content. He sets the camera down for a moment yet we can still see the camera view.

IN THE CAMERA

The Spirit Woman reappears in front of Iban Girl. The spirit goes into Iban Girl’s body.

CUT TO:

Iban Girl seems shocked for a moment; her face takes on a strange angry grimace. Her eyes flash. Then she suddenly looks sweet again. Bantin doesn’t see.

CUT TO:

Bantin presses the buttons on the camera. In the view comes the image of Lachlan when he was about to drink the Jalong liquor.

Bantin presses DELETE and OK. All goes black.

Bantin looks down at the camera and considers his future. Things are looking up.

FADE OUT

THE END

1. *Physiognomic:* a reference to the archaic practice of phrenology, or the reading of the bumps on the head. After observing the specific arrangement of the skull the reader intuits an understanding of the character of the individual. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Besides the name, Conjunctive Archeology, first developed by Walter Taylor (1940), has relatively few similiarities to Conjunctive Staging as expressed here. Conjunctive Archeology deals with a sequence of phases but has nothing to do with the work of Karl Mannheim. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. The specific make up of the “board of Natives” will vary dependent on which group within that society might have the most relevant expertise on the conjunctive reality being investigated. Generally however, and in the case of this study, the board will be made up of the structures of authority already present within that particular culture. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Messages in this case refer to moments where the research subjects alter the written or actualized (i.e. performed) script in order to express a specific statement or opinion. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. In the first narrative script and subsequent retellings the guide’s name is Rentap. But, due to the fact that Rentap is a historical figure the research community decided that the name should be changed to Bantin. Due to this, the name Bantin is used in the screenplay found at the end of the appendixes. The name Bantin should be considered the final name for all subsequent productions. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. The concept of this scene is that this is a Manang Bali who seemingly has some special collection to the village trophy skulls. The idea of the story of Serapoh will return. This idea of ‘who is the enemy’ connects to a larger question about their headhunting and why they did it. Questions: What is the setting for this scene? [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Introduce the concept of the ‘Ghost Hunter.’ Question: is the concept of ghost hunting a generally reasonable idea? How seriously do we in the west take this notion? Notice the cut format…will the audience be able to follow this? [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. We see the character of Lachlan who is meant to be the villain. His villainy mostly resides in the fact that he is insensitive and quick tempered. Question: do you think this kind of villainy is universal? (2.) Why does Rentap do what Lachlan commands? [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Notice the skull in the smoke. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Is it reasonable for Lachlan to become this angry about not being met at the dock? [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Is Lachlan criticizing all Iban people when he accuses the two Dayak Guys of being cowards? [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. This brings up the Ngulit dilemma, essentially a paradox. Will the audience agree with the idea of the foreigners entering the house even though this violates their taboo, or will the last words of the ancient shaman take precedence? What’s the headman’s role in all this? [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Structurally this is an important moment, signaling the last chance for the protagonist to turn back and demonstrating that they made a free choice to go forward. Is this idea universal? [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. What do rural Iban people think of city Ibans? [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. What kind of party is this? Is it a formal affair or a more raucous drinking party? [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Is this dream good or bad? Structurally speaking what is the function of this scene? [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Think about the death of the preganant woman. Why was this birthing sequence put into the story? [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Is the Elder’s interpretation sensible? [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Notice that the Iban men save Ruth. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. It is important to note that this Berawan ritual of Nulang is specifically not Iban. The Iban do not perform secondary treatment of the bodies. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. It’s good to visualize this moment clearly. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. In the first aborted telling the translator directly asked if the old man used a lighter or did it like the handsome heros of the past. Aiming to please the anthropologist chose the later. This was probably an important question impacting other scenes having to do with timeframe issues. (cf. [(T3):a2:s2(2/3)], . [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Instead of simply a physical skull which the shaman is smoking per the custom (see page 54) the skull actually appears in the smoke and is referred in all four versions as an ‘antu pala’ suggesting not a ‘trophy skull’ as in a physical object but instead the homonymic ‘floating skull demon.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. This additional moment suggestes that everything after *could be* part of the old man’s dream. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. He says he doesn’t want to know the name of this thing. Meaning this is to remain covered. Because it will be show on tv, a film. Then it has to be closed first. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. ‘He’ refers to the anthropologist who is telling the story. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Scene two is cut from the second telling. See page 101 for more details. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. The average age of the second audience was 8. They evidently didn’t want to join the antu hunt. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. There is something evocative about this sequence. What would an antu mata, especially on a movie theater screen look like? [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. While hunting for antu is seemingly an acceptable or interesting occupation the TV show is never mentioned. Without the TV show the interpretation of many scenes becomes quite changed. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. The eye of the ghost is a reoccurring theme and was also mentioned by someone else not associated with the story. (see pg 103). [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. The idea of the ghost dog appears again in [T1.a1s3(1)] [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. It should be pointed out that this rather odd story was presented by many members of the same family as true but also simultaneously a dream. According to Eric Jensen (1974) the Iban believe that dreams are as true or even more true than real life. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. The reason for this odd back story which only appears in T1 probably has to do with a confusion about the Shaman’s name ‘Asu Renka.’ Asu in Kayan language means ‘ghost’ but in Iban means dog. The translator thought that the anthropologist had heard this name from a Kayan source and evidently fused the two definitions; therefore Lachlan was being chased by a ghost/dog. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Referring to the Iban shamanic practice of putting a blanket over one’s head in order to see the antu. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. This was from a book the anthropologist read as well. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Ruth spends years studying all things Iban but is still married to other white people. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. In T1 it is “ngiga pala” (to search for heads). In T2 it is #1. Ngayau (go on a war expedition) and then #2 Ngiga pala. In T3 it is only ngayau. This suggests that ngayau is a euphimism for headhunting. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. All the people in the audience were farmers. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. orang utan:wild person [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. The cutting of the reference to the name John suggests that this Rentap is the historical hero Rentap who fought the white Raja and hunted for heads on Mt. Sudok. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. The mouth of the Engkamop river. This river flowed very close to where the anthropologist presented the story. Basically the translator took the characters directly into his own backyard. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Given that this was the second time that a smoke skull appeared in the story (only once intentionally) probably suggested to the translator that it was a significant symbol or that the anthropologist was seemingly obsessed with skulls and smoke skull demons. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. In T3 a major change happens that instead of using the boat the group decides to walk upstream. The reason for this probably has to due with the season. This story happens directly prior to the rainy season. In that time the stream would be too low to use a boat. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. This ‘believe it or not’ comment is due to the translator being unable to follow Lachlan’s motivations. In [T1:a1:s5.D] he asks the audience “this has nothing to do with our Iban life right?” Yet the translator’s auntie disagrees. “Maybe he’s tired from walking.” The audience collectively decides that it is possible to become upset like that but it is a bad quality. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. If we imagine this story to be a historic one then going up river in a canoe through headhunting territory might well be dangerous. If John Rentap does manage to get these white people to the destination then he probably deserves to be paid. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. The second English speaker in the audience Kunor takes over the translation for this one scene. Kunor heard the English, heard Sang’s version, and read the script. Sang resumes translating after this scene. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. #### Notice that Lachlan is given the added intention of actually digging in the grave or digging up the grave. This is a possible interpretation of “to investigate” given in T1. This is naturally a misinterpretation of the western techno-ghost hunter who might enjoy filming in the graveyard and taking energetic readings or some such but would not actually exhume the corpse. Notice as well that this is being delivered to the children. Refer to [T2:a2:s13(2)][T2:a2:s18(1)] [T2:a3:s2.D]

    [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. What is the difference between this ayas-ayas (shadowy/vanishing thing) and the antu? In T1 it is referred to as an ‘antu’ yet at the moment it is simply a shadow. Are these possibly different ontological categories of phenomenological beings? [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. This issue caused a substantial amount of debate with discussion #1-4 being devoted to it. The issue reemerges in s8.D as well. The end results of the debate are that the foreigners can enter the longhouse but have to be quite and not take any pictures or shoot the film. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Children is consistent throughout all three but the dogs only appear in T1. Perhaps it is a demographic issue. Rumah Sang is occupied primarily by elderly people. Having children around suggests that it is a fully occupied longhouse. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Notice that the name changes from ‘Asu Rengka’ to ‘Antu Rengka,’ or greedy dog to greedy ghost. This same mistake or change of his name reoccurs several times making it difficult to know if it is a mistake or an intentional change. The term ‘antu’ means corpse or ghost, hence the change is from Greedy Dog to Greedy Ghost. Yet, after death he literally becomes a ghost. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. There is much emphasis on the name ‘Asu Rengka’ or ‘greedy dog.’ The greedy dog was angry that no one came to see him. He lived alone and told the villagers not to mourn for him. The blame for the coming events is shifted over to him. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. The fact that Asu Rengka lives alone suggests that he is not a good member of the society. Since he was an angry old man the idea that he will become an angry ghost is nearly forgone. Hence, by using these mostly overlooked details the translator was able to satisfactorily answer a complex question instantiated within the base text. His method of relocating Asu Rengka to a separate location, and thereby implicating ambiguity about his communal standing and the focus on the name to emphasis his hostility towards the community were both creative and resourceful responses to the problem. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Clearly Lachlan is already being naughty by trying to fire the gun. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Pelian: ritual practice, communion, worship, magic [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. This seems to suggest that the shaman could have done something to prevent the coming catastrophe, therefore some of the blame is pushed onto him. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. This is almost certainly Andy, yet the treatment is quite different. Instead of being emphasized for his foolishness his identity is concealed as just ‘a white person.’ This possibly is because the audience in T3 is made up of older people. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. It would seem the translator thought about this question of what rurual Ibans think of city Ibans. In T1 she rejects him because he is from the city, in T2 it is because he is considered selfish, in T3 it is because city people are sometimes arrogant. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. [T1.a2s1.D #1] [Its just a dream is it? That good. Thats a great. *So what do you think of a dream like this?* This is a good dream for me. If you go for headhunting, then you will get a head, you will surely get a head, one enemy, one skull. If you have a dream like then you will have so much power, be so successful, good for you, bring power to your country. Also being scared is very good also. *It’s a good thing?* If someone chase you, an animal wants to chase you, it’s a good thing. *Why is it good?* Because it means that you will always be wary, you can be wary of other people, like that. **Dream about killing people. Killing the women.** **What of the dream? He, Rentap's friend was killing the people. Its a dream**. **That’s why it happen like that. He was delirious. Because he’s brave.** [During war time, during Rentap’s time, you dream like that, that you kill something, then that dream will come true.] [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. The changes of the scene are small but significant. In T2/T3 the headhunter forces Rentap to stand up, like a hostage situation. Also the terms for headhunting: T1- orang ke ngiga pala (person that searches for heads), Orang mumpung pala (person who severs heads), baka kitai kelia- ngayau (person like we used to be, on the war path) [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. The storm is referred to as a *Kudi* which is a particularly violent storm brought on by a voilation of a taboo. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. It is probably the case that in T1 the translator thought that the story would be *about* this baby, therefore the shaman brings it out into the storm increasing the already dramatic moment by exposing this only minutes old baby to a nighttime monsoon. Yet by (T2) the translator realized that the entire birthing moment was not instrumental but instead atmospheric, hence his line “it is because that thing scares us, like the ghost story I think.” [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. The tanjau is the longhouse balcony and open air. Therefore the shaman brought the baby out into the storm. See footnote #59. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. The shadow is the ayas-ayas. What is the difference between this and the antu? Do these formulate different ontic categories of being? [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. The implication was that she bites his testicals off but it was obviously too subtle because that moment is never clarified. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Floating Skull Demons. It is possible that these have a spinal cord and a stomach sack. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. This is one of many moments where the translator speaks directly to the children, almost taunting them. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Translator shifts the scene to outside in the rain. It’s possibly more interesting than the original. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. #### Refer to [T2.a1:s6(1)], [T2:a2:s18(1)], [T2:a3:s2.D]. The translator is laying the foundations for instantiating a moral message into the story.

    [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. The tactic here was to simply to insert an imbiguous form that happens to bear the features of one of their concepts,i.e. Antu Gerasie. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. [T1.a2s15.D] This thing is a mystery. It is a like a shaman thing but more powerful than a shaman thing. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. #### The moral message is revealed through a strong ontological connection between the physical act of disturbing the graveyard and the summoning of ghosts. It should also be recalled that this message is being delivered to children and that the translator is a headman and respected member of the community. How might this message coupled with the narrative make the children feel about graveyards? Compare this to [T1.a1s6.(v2)] where the second translator seems to express a profound horror at the very idea of disturbing the graveyard, that they were “demoralized.” Is this an adult manifestation of the belief systems being transmitted to the children in this scene? See [T2.a1:s6(1)]

    #### [T2:a2:s13(2)] [T2:a3:s2.D]

    [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. The idea that the villagers or whoever would pull the attacker off Ruth is specifically rebuked. No one stops the choking. It is also unclear whether Ruth lives or dies. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. An audience member shared a story about having to leave their longhouse house because of spiritual reasons. The informant was three years old and they stayed away for one month until shamans did their ritual. [T1.a2s18(2)D#2] [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. I asked translator “Is the house become hot?” He answered, “of course, but they have a shaman to perform a spiritual so everything should be alright.” [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Notice in all three that the Iban Shaman and Berawan shaman are made into two people. This issue comes up in the s18 discussion as well as the discussion at the end of T1. The first audience didn’t seem to approve of using a Berawan cultural idea in an Iban story. The story became ‘mixed.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. An interesting question about staging. If Antu Gerasi is put into the show will that create problems? [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. In the discussion the point was made that this returning with the shirt business was not right, never happen. One should never touch another person’s clothes. Only Rentap can touch them. The informant would never do such thing unless he had had a dream first. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. A comment: [T1:a3:s1(1)D] “Quite funny that electronics are put at his feet. Should be traditional objects like old plates, jars, etc.” This seems to suggest a timeframe issue. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. This moral message concerning the disturbing of graves was delivered to the children over the course of four scenes. The fact that this happened causes some ethical consernation with the anthropologist who first agreed to deliver the story to children and secondly though unwittingly allowed it to be used as tool for transmitting this potentially terrifying and psychologically damaging message. It was certainly not my intent to terrify or damage the community children. It is clear however that the role of scary stories and children is somewhat different than in the west. Being scared is good, nightmares, especially vivid ones are good, murder and especially head severing is a distinction of bravery. Hence, “Taking Heads” was seen as an appropriate story for school children. According to the school principle [T1.final discussions] the story has a good moral message about respecting cultural traditions. See [T2:a2:s18(1)][T2:a2:s13(2)][T2.a1:s6(1)] [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. A picture is passed around showing the Nulang. “'Tu ukai orang putih tang semina gambar kena orang ngaga, tang tu amat nyadi. **This is not the white man but just his picture, but this really happens.** [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. While naturally symbolic it might be noted that this is probably as close as the anthropologist will ever come to the Iban spirit world. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Antu also means corpse. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. A fairly complete reimagining of the scene as far more directly supernatural. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. In the full script this is changed into a French inhale which is where the smoke is exhaled through the nose and inhaled through the mouth. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Translator’s comment: “I think this one is the attraction in this movie. This is very interesting for me. This one is the main point of the story is it?” [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. In T3 the eyes almost come out, in T2 they become so big, and in T1 they look like a vegetable. Is this a serious treatment of the zombie? Is this villan being given credit as a proper supernatural horror monster? [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Antu sabayan: the ghost of the afterlife. Something seemingly more like a normal ghost. Notice that in T2 the demons are generally not named outside of this antu Sebayan and antu pala. This differs greatly from T1 and T3 where many demons are named. Why would the translator wish to not name the demons for the children? [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. The translator makes a comment that it is better that the headman in the story not drop his weapon in the face of the long tongued demon. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. It seems like the Berawan Shaman is considering trusting Lachlan, possibly because he speaks Iban. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Another moment where the Shaman and the corpse are in seeming agreement. The idea that this supernatural being has tried really hard to come to this particular longhouse is possibly complimentary. Perhaps enough to overlook his killing of Andy. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. According to Richards (1981) ngampung refers to the making of a ritual offering to appease an offended spirit. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. The corpses responses are changed greatly. It seems to have changed from a demon hellbent on bringing a dominion of the undead onto the earth to a mildly irritated antu that simply wanted to be appeased. This could have to do with the idea that this corpse king is a Berawan monster, not an Iban monster. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. In [T1:a3:s11.D] The school principle says that Rentap is a very sensitive name. Therefore he should never be depicted as kneeling down or being like a beggar in any way. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Antu Enkeramba: The demon of the carved wooden statue. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. The closest Rentap and Lachlan’s corpse get to talking comes in T3:a3:s11 when “they argued.” It seems that the idea of the corpse being connected to the trophy skulls was found not acceptable. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. It seems that in T2 Rentap walks for several days through the river. The same basic line in T3 is that Rentap’s first impulse is to get far away from the longhouse before enacting the magical effects of the head. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. It’s interesting that in B this line was given to the old grandma but here it is simply a disembodied voice, possibly from the spirits. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. The translator seemed to like the idea of tucking the girl underneath the armpit while holding up the head and therefore imported it even if it caused difficulties to the story. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Reference to the script convention that this will be writing on the screen. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. There seems to be some dynamic at play concerning the relationship between the community and the state. Perhaps the idea that the police would show up is somewhat unrealistic, regardless of the number of deaths. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. This moment sounds supiciously like a larger indictment for the logical workings of the story. Why could the villagers offer no explanation for the events? What about Lachlan drinking the forbidden liquor, or ancient shaman’s anger, etc? Where specifically had the story gone astray to the degree that the villagers had no idea? [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Scene 14, 15, and 16 differ fairly substantially to the base text in both T2 and T3. In T1 these scenes are missing. It should be noted that during the retelling process the translator made no suggestion that he was changing these three scenes, thereby leaving the anthropologist to believe that all was proceeding normally. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. In T2 and T3 a camera being operated by Rentap appears. Rentap sees Lachlan burning and the dead pregnant woman in the camera. It is also interesting that the trophy skull collecting is never mentioned. Instead there is a suggestion that Rentap destroyed the head, possibly by burning and and crushing it (achur), some time after meeting (and possessing) the Beautiful Iban woman in the jungle. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. 1. orang kampung: jungle people, orang utan: wild people

     [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. An audience question. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. The most famous Iban tattoo that looks like a black flower with a swirling shape in the middle. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Lembut: soft, weak, gentle. (Howell, 1901) [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Lemah: feeble, languid, relaxed. Semengat: the soul, the shadow (Howell, 1901) [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Nanga Engkamop: the mouth of the Engkamop river. The Ulu Entabai community where the data was collected live on Mt Engkamop very close to this river. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. The translator takes the script here and reads the scene title directly into the microphone. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. This version of s6 was done by the second translator Kunor after reading that page of the script. Therefore he had heard the scene delivered twice in English and Iban and read it in the original English. Translator Sang carries on for s7 and beyond. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. The Telling style changes here. The Teller (anthropologist) delivers shorter sentences which are translated immediately one by one. This is the only time this style is used. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Indai is an older lady who commented before that maybe Lachlan was just tired from walking. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Ngigau: Igau (v. f. ngigau ; beigau or bigau), s,nightmare, delirium, dream, vision, (Howell, 1901) [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Pedis ati: ‘a heart of pain/heart ache’ i.e. become angry. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. This story was told by Kunor who was already in his 50ties. Another audience member who mostly remained silent also remembered this event. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. The person they are referring to is the same audience member that confirmed Kunor’s account of abandonning their longhouse due to supernatural motivation in [T1.a2s18(3).discussion#2]. He certainly did not speak English. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Duku; ‘chopper/cleaver/knife/small sword’ [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Elementary school principle arrives. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Iban Taiko was an all Iban made tv show about Iban gangsters. It actually premiered during the anthropologist’s time at Ulu Entabai. After watching the first few episodes Headman Sang said it was quite similar to other shows. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. 1880’s, during the time of the white Raja (cf. Pingle 2001 for more information.) [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Betepas or, pelian suman. To sweep off the evil effects of, or do away with, a bad dream. A prayer is recited and a fowl waved

     over the person affected (Howell, 1901). [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. menua: territory, place. Juah: distant/far. Ninga: hear. Baka: like, enti: if, pasar: market, nadai: no/none/never, (Sutlive, 1992). [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Sungkup:miniature coffin put over the grave, Kita:2nd pl. ka:to/towards, bai:bring/carry, tama:enter/go in, kin:there/that place [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. bedengah:claimed a victim, murder, kill, cf. dengah: a victim, a head trophy [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. udah: past time/was done, gaga:use/make, ulih:able/can ngaga:make, kuasa; power/strength/authority, berani:brave/bold/daring,udah:past time, bedengah:claimed a victim, murder, kill, dengah: a victim, a head trophy. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. tu:this/these, tadi:just now, ngasu:to hunt with dogs, ninjau:to look at/to search at a distance, jari: hand. Pelian: shamanic healing, ritual, mati: die lagi: soon, manchal: naughty, mischevious, gaga: to make, diri:oneself,alone, jauh:distant/far, ngira:to think/account for, empu:self. tadi:just now/before, dalam:deep, Reti: meaning/ understanding, asai:feel/taste, ke:who/which/that/for/to, bisi:are/is/to have, meda:see, ko:say/speak, kitai:we/us**.** mai:bring,duku:sword/ chopper, Engkah:to put down, to place, rekong:neck, mumpung: decapitate,behead, Ngelawa:to go/go for short time. Pandang:show/ exhibit. Nyau:lost, become. Getar:shaking [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. takut:scared. getar-getar: really shaking. ‘Scared to Death?’ Ari:from,alu:welcome/greet kudi:violent weather brought on by violation of taboo, Duru:the heavy sound of someone running, beduru:to make that kind of sound. Beguntur: to make the sound of lightening, munyi:sound/make sound. A violentstorm, thunderous boom conditions, lightening sounds. bekilat:sparkly-glittery/shiny, Nyadi:to become/turn into, agi:more,still, luar:outside. Sekumbang:during/while, ari:from bekilat-kilat:shiny sparkly. Ngenakut:takut:fear., Ngena:to make/serve, bekilat:sparkly-glittery/shiny, Nyadi:to become/turn into, agi:more,still, luar:outside. Sekumbang:during/while ari:from bekilat-kilat:shiny sparkly. senayau: transparent, Agi:more/still more. Pasal:about/concerning [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. dalam mimpi: deep/auspicious dream? [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Traditional longhouses are up on stilts. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Datai: to arrive/land, tanah:ground, tungkup:overturn, sida: they/them, kaki:foot/leg, ikat: tie [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. a seemingly typical longhouse drinking custom, get drunk and pass out on the floor. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. lama:ancient, siti:one/classifier, in his place was one alcohol that no one was to drink, from before to drink that ancient alcholhol from before. Alai:room/reason/cause, suba:in olden times, ngasuh: allow, meletup: to explode, duru:heavy sound of running, yonder. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. bai:bring/carry, tupi:feed/keep/care for, ngambi:to fetch, jual:sell, asoh:force/coerce, nengah:halfway, ari:from, tangga:stairs/ladder [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. penanggul:problem/handicap, alai:reason, tu:this/these, tau:know how, able, nyadi:occur, nyau:gone/lost, ayan:visible/expose, semua:all, pan:even, nyau:lost [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. sigau:disturbed, selalu: haunted [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. This story was being delivered in a school. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Benung Mati: within the process of death, in the middle of death. In the process in which his soul was being transferred to the land of the dead. Therefore he is not entirely dead at this moment. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. dugau-dugau:sit quietly, engkebut:to move or stir, insap:smoke, sirut:to inhale sharply, di enggai: to be in a state of refusal, faint/swoon, asap:to smoke, nyau:lost/gone [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. Antu Sebayan, the ghost of the afterlife. This idea is most closely related to the western ‘ghost..’ In T2 only the antu pala and antu sebayan are named. The others are simply ‘antu.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. peda:behold,see, gambar:appearance,photo, segi:angle, maioh:many. Ari:from/out of, sida:their bebali:change/transform, lama:ancient/old, laboh:to fall. Tinggang:to crush/fall upon, ujan:rain, terutu:to drip onto, atap:thatch/roof [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. pantap;strike/slash, mua:too much, kanan: right, on the right, tangkap:catch, jari:hand, teganggam:speechless,convulsions, engkebut:to move. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. bulih:to get/obtain, meletup:explode, duru:heavy running sound, ujan:rain, maya: season, baru: a kind of shrub, semua, langit:sky, ngagah:from within/out of?, sungai:river/stream, terang:bright,clear, magang:all, ba:in/at/on, ai:water, that girl was. Terejun:to jump down, to leap, to plunge, kepit: to carry something under the arm. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. engkbut: move/stir, endar:real/true, ngiga:search for, nyelai: different/unusual**,** anang: do not, agi:still/even, enti:if, tubah:still more, kebaruh: hungry/famished, surut:withdraw, mansang:advance, nyala:red/firey red. Angkat:to arise/lift up, tisi:border/edge, aki: grandpa, peda:see, niang:late/deceased, nyadi:to occur/become, menya:long ago. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Antu jarang giging: The antu with the irregularly spaced teeth. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. The anthropologist [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. suba/kalia: formerly, long time ago, ngayau: to make war expeditions [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. agi:more/still biak:young, gamal:look/appear, tang:but besai:big/important tisi:at the edge senayau:shadowy, baka:like, belakang:behind ngumba:exaggerate, pretend,ayan:visible/expose, pengawa:work/occupation/ritual, [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Antu Kelensat: the Creeper [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. Ngampun: a rite to appease an angered spirit. (Richards, 1981) [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. kejang: setting out, nurun: to, sungai, sagu: lift/heave up, ari:from, agi:more, ujan:rain,tawas:daylight, morning, clear, reti:meaning, Terjun:jump [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. angus:burned/consumed,panchar:shine on, empa:consumed [↑](#footnote-ref-154)