

Mount Kinabalu: the Sacred Emblem of the First UNESCO World Heritage Site on Borneo

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ABSTRACT

Mount Kinabalu is one of the prime natural wonders in the Malaysian State of Sabah that is richly endowed with beautiful legends and folklore associated with the creation of the mountain as well as the derivation of its name. Being passed on from generation to generation through word-of-mouth, these stories are fragile and susceptible to the danger of extinction. This paper has recognized the importance of creating awareness of these legends and folklore as well as preserving and promoting them. Despite the lack of evidence and the discovery that several of the recorded stories overlap and at times contradict one another, there is nothing intrinsically ridiculous about the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu. They form an essential portion of the KadazanDusun legends and folklore as a whole which, to a significant extent, shape the distinct cultures of this largest ethnic group in Sabah. They can be capitalized on to create a supplementary attraction and to diversify the destination image of Mount Kinabalu. Furthermore, educating visitors about these legends and folklore is essential in an attempt to sensitize them to behave in a fashion that is more respectful of the sacredness of the mountain. This paper has also discussed a number of methods that can possibly be employed to ensure the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu are here to stay such as the publication of children story books and production of documentary film and movie based on these legends and folklore as well as the function of local guides to mention them during interpretation.

Keywords: Malaysia, Mount Kinabalu, Legends, Folklore, Intangible Heritage, Cultural Tourism

INTRODUCTION

Sabah is the second largest Malaysian state. It occupies the northern portion of Borneo Island, which is the third largest island in the world. For the locals, the State is affectionately known as the '*Land below the Wind*' due to its location just south of the typhoon-prone region around the Philippines. The capital of Sabah is Kota Kinabalu, formerly known as Jesselton. This Malaysian State fits the description of the nation as Malaysia Truly Asia perfectly. In addition to the three major races

namely Malay, Chinese and Indian, the State is also home to 32 legitimately recognized ethnic groups, with the KadazanDusun being the largest indigenous ethnic group, followed by the Bajau and the Murut. This makes Sabah an amazingly diverse, vivid State with each of the ethnic groups possessing its own distinct and enthralling cultural, linguistic, religious and behavioral traits.

The tourism industry in Sabah has experienced a rapid growth and is a huge contributor to the State's economy. Apart from natural beauty, the uniqueness of the cultures and customs of the various ethnic groups in Sabah is also emerging to be an important tourism product (New Strait Times, 2012). In 2011, Sabah recorded tourist arrivals of over 2.8 million tourists, an increase of approximately 12% compared to the tourist arrivals in 2010 (Sabah Tourism Board, 2013). Ecotourism is Sabah's primary draw card owing to the State's wealth in outstanding natural resources including world-class diving spots, white sandy beaches, wildlife reserves, green hills, mountains, white waters and rainforests. Moreover, Sabah is rich in cultural and heritage tourism due to its fascinating history from British ruling to Japanese occupation and diverse cultures as well as a rich source of legends and folklore that are part of the cultural heritage of the various ethnic groups.

A number of these legends and folklore have been assessed and utilized to form the groundwork of the development of a cultural tourism product. A good example would be the establishment of Monsopiad Cultural Village founded on the legend of Monsopiad. Legend holds it that Monsopiad was once a powerful KadazanDusun warrior. His power was so great that no enemy could defeat him and during his lifetime and he took the heads of 42 enemies in an effort to protect his village. Another fine example would be the staging of *Unduk Ngadau* beauty pageant, which is the highlight of the most indigenous and grandest festival in Sabah namely the *Ka'amatan* Harvest Festival held every May 30 and 31, based on the legend associated with the sacrifice of Huminodun. Legend has it that Kinoingan (the one and only god) sacrificed his beautiful and compliant daughter named Huminodun so that his people would have seeds to cultivate food they needed. When Huminodun was sacrificed, parts of her body produced rice and other agricultural products such as coconuts, ginger, maize, yams and other edible part (Sabah Travel Guide, 2013).

Mount Kinabalu is a defining symbol of Sabah. Being the chief attraction of Kinabalu Park, it is an exceptional natural wonder that is also richly endowed with legends and folklore. It has always been a significant feature in the lives and legends of the early KadazanDusun people. The facts on Mount Kinabalu's biological diversity are well documented and highlighted in books, tourist brochures and travel magazines as well as in the interpretation provided to visitors. To some people, Mount Kinabalu might even be better associated with the annual Mount Kinabalu International Climbathon. Nevertheless, it is absolutely imperative that the beautiful legends and folklore surrounding Mount Kinabalu are also well recognized by visitors and non-visitors alike. These legends and folklore not only form a significant part of the intangible heritage in Sabah as a whole, but also shape part of the identity of the KadazanDusun people specifically.

THE PROBLEM

There are different facets of Mount Kinabalu. Perhaps the most well known sides of the mountain are its immense wealth in outstanding biological attributes as well as the activities associated with it including traditional mountain climbing, Mount Kinabalu International Climbathon and the recently introduced Mountain Torq or *Via Ferrata*. In fact, there is another side of Mount Kinabalu that is conceivably less known to the visitors and local residents alike, that is, the mystifying legends surrounding Mount Kinabalu. These exceptionally beautiful legends form a significant fraction of the KadazanDusun legends and folklore. They have been told and retold over the years from one generation to the next. Due to lack of physical structure in the transmission of these enthralling

tales, they are fragile and susceptible to the threat of extinction if they are not well documented and shared with. It is, thus, crucial that there is thorough documentation on all the legends and folklore connected with Mount Kinabalu for the purposes of raising awareness of and inculcating genuine respect for these legends and folklore, as well as of preserving and promoting this delicate intangible heritage that otherwise might vanish with time.

Kinabalu Park and Mount Kinabalu

Kinabalu Park is one of the prime attractions in Sabah. It was established in 1964 as the first State Park in Sabah to protect and preserve Mount Kinabalu and the diverse flora and fauna species that inhabit it (Jacobson, 1979). Later, Kinabalu Park was gazetted as Malaysia's first World Heritage Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2000 for its exceptional biological quality (Sabah Tourism Board, 2013). Kinabalu Park encompasses a total area of 75,400 hectares, making it larger than Singapore. With this size, there indeed is much to see within and surrounding Kinabalu Park.

The main attraction of Kinabalu Park is none other than the magnificent Mount Kinabalu. At a towering height of 4101 meters (13,455 feet), Mount Kinabalu is the highest mountain between the Himalayas and the snow-capped mountains of New Guinea (UNESCO, 2013). Standing proud and tall, Mount Kinabalu is visible even from a distance. Its spectacular, jagged peaks sometimes loom above the clouds, providing it with an aura of imposing proportions. It is a young mountain that is still developing at the rate of 5 millimeters a year (Kitingan et al., 1988). In addition to conventional mountain climbing, Mount Kinabalu has also magnetized thousands of climbers from across the globe to partake in the challenge of the annual Mount Kinabalu International Climbathon. Adding to the list of activities is the fairly recently introduced Mountain Torq, which is the world's highest and Asia's first Via Ferrata or 'iron road' at 3200 meters to 3800 meters above sea level. Furthermore, the phenomenal number of flora and fauna species to be discovered on Mount Kinabalu has continually attracted, enthralled, and at times even perplexed botanists and zoologists (Hoebel, 1984).

THE LEGENDS AND FOLKLORE

Mount Kinabalu Creation

There are two commonly heard stories related to the creation of Mount Kinabalu namely the Supreme Deities of Kinabalu and the Giant King of Gayo Nakan.

Kinohiringan and Umunsumundu Deities

According to Regis (1996), the KadazanDusun people believe in the existence of two supreme deities named Kinohiringan and his wife Umunsumundu. They were deemed to be the creators of the universe. Umunsumundu shaped the earth while Kinohiringan created the sky, cloud and everything that was above the earth. One day, an eagle called Kondiu was sent to examine all that Kinohiringan and Umunsumundu had made. Alas, Kondiu reported that the size of the cloud was too small in comparison with the earth. This report was a huge blow to Kinohiringan's pride. He told his wife that he was mortified that he had created the cloud smaller than the earth and hence, wanted to create a new one. Understanding how her husband was feeling, Umunsumundu decided to re-create the earth instead to make it equal in size to the cloud. She created a mountain which she called Kinabalu or Kinorungoi. This mountain was to be the center of the world.

Gayo Nakan Giant

'Once upon a time there was a giant living... at the foot of Mount Kinabalu.'

Ansow Gunsalam, 1983 (Jacobson, 1996).

Another legend (Daud, 2013) holds that there was once lived a giant king named Gayo Nakan which translates into 'big eater'. He resided at the base of the mountain. His people were drained of energy in an effort to satisfy his enormous appetite and, thus, were hard pressed to feed him. Hearing their complaints, the king told them to bury him alive at the top of the mountain. Bringing all their tools, his people labored to no avail, until the king uttered magic words and sank into the rock up to his shoulders. He then told his people that, as a result of their limited patience, drought and famine would afflict them, though he promised to help them in times of war. Apprehensive and remorseful, the king's people performed their first sacrificial offerings at the wishing pool below the summit that was the king's grave.

Origins of the Name Kinabalu

Until today, the name Kinabalu remains a mystery. There are two most frequently cited theories concerning the derivation of the name Kinabalu: 1) *Aki Nabal*- the Revered Place of the Dead; and 2) *Kina Balu*- the Chinese Widow.

Aki Nabal (Revered Place of the Dead)

This theory holds that the name Kinabalu has its roots in the KadazanDusun words *Aki Nabal* which translates into 'the revered place of the dead'. *Aki* denotes 'ancestors' while *Nabal* refers to a name for the mountain in the KadazanDusun language. The majority of the KadazanDusun people believe that the spirits of their ancestors dwell on the top of Mount Kinabalu. It has been told that among the bare rocks of the summit, moss grows to provide nourishment for the ancestral spirits. Due to this view, Mount Kinabalu is treated with respect and awe (Daud, 2013; Hoebel, 1984; Tang, 1992; Jacobson, 1996; Kitingan et al., 1988; Chang, 1996). Sebastian (1989) adds that when a person passes away, the soul of the deceased is carried by the spirits of Mount Kinabalu to the mountain. That explains when a person dies, the relatives and friends of the deceased would advise him or her to walk straight ahead to Mount Kinabalu as that is where the dead reside in.

Regis (1996) reports that in interviews conducted with the elderly from Kampung Kiau (Kiau Village) and Bundu Tuhan on the slopes of Kinabalu, the word *nabal* is defined, in classical Dusun, as 'any big boulder' associated with spirits. *Ki* is translated into 'the occurrence of boulders'. Because the mountain comprises many boulders, it is thus called *Kinabalu*. In the bygone days, it was believed that big rocks were dwelled by spirits.

Since Mount Kinabalu is honored as the sacred resting place of the dead, captivating religious ceremonies are performed by the KadazanDusun guides upon reaching the summit. The purpose of conducting such ceremonies is to placate the spirit of Mount Kinabalu as well as the ancestral spirits. The religious ceremonies are understood to be a means of seeking the spirit's sanction and soliciting their protection during a climb (Tang, 1992). The first such ceremonies were recorded by Sir Hugh Low, the British Colonial Secretary on Labuan who made the first attempt to climb Mount Kinabalu in 1858. He recorded that his guide carried a mixture of charms, pieces of wood, human teeth and other paraphernalia weighing three kilograms up to the mountain top. John Whitehead, who was the first person to successfully scale the highest peak with his fearless KadazanDusun porters in 1888, recorded the slaughter of a white chicken. By 1924, the ceremony expanded to entail the sacrifice of seven eggs and seven chickens, accompanied by loud prayers and gunshots. After the ceremony, the chickens served as a hearty meal for the guides and porters. Today, a similar sacrificial ceremony is conducted every year by the Park's KadazanDusun guides (Jacobson, 1996).

Kina Balu (Chinese Widow) and the Dragon's Gem

There are numerous variations of the legend that insists that the name Kinabalu is derived from two words namely *Kina* meaning 'China' and *Balu* meaning 'widow'. In the version pointed out by Regis (1996), it was believed that a long time ago, a dragon resided in the summit of Mount Kinabalu. This ferocious creature possessed a magical jewel. Many had embarked on a seemingly impossible mission to get hold of that treasure, including a large number of Chinese soldiers. Unfortunately, many died in the attempt. As a result of that fatal pursuit, many Chinese women became widows. Hence, the name Kinabalu was created, meaning Chinese Widow.

Another version (Jacobson, 1996) tells the story of a Chinese prince ascending Mount Kinabalu in search of an enormous pearl on the mountain top. It was vigilantly guarded by a vicious dragon. The Chinese prince succeeded in killing the dragon and seizing the pearl. Later, he married a Kadazan woman. Alas, he deserted her after a while and returned to China. Heartbroken, his wife wandered to the mountain to grieve. There she was turned to stone. Hoebel (1984) also advocates this account, adding that the Kadazan wife of the Chinese prince went to the spirit of the mountain to mourn her loss and thus, was turned to stone.

A slightly different version of this theory is told by Kitingan et al. (1988), who report the tale of a local Kadazan maiden who fell in love with a Chinese prince. After some time, her lover left for his home in China but promised to return. This maiden was determined to wait for the return of her lover; therefore, she went to the highest point in Sabah with her son who was born out of the relationship with the prince to keep a lookout. Sadly, the prince never did return as promised. Eventually, both the mother and the child turned to stone waiting in vain. Thus, Mount Kinabalu is known as the Chinese Widow at times.

A comparable version is documented by Tang (1992) by quoting the folklore and legends of Mount Kinabalu furnished by Daily Express. Like the other accounts, this version also reports the existence of a dragon on Mount Kinabalu watching over a precious pearl. It was believed that Pakka Cave was the home of the dragon. A prince, who aspired to win the heart of a local Kadazan beauty, thought of the pearl as a dowry. After much effort, he succeeded in slaying the dragon, getting hold of the pearl and marrying the Kadazan beauty. Alas, the prince was asked to return to China by the Chinese Emperor. Having no other option, he was forced to abandon his wife. Days passed, and she waited nervously on Mount Kinabalu for the return of her husband. Eventually, she passed away and turned into a rock. Local legend insists that St. John's Peak was the stone that her body was turned into.

Dumbong (2005) tells a story connected with the dragon and the Chinese prince but which makes no mention of the relationship or marriage between the prince and a local Kadazan girl. His story reports that a dragon once lived in the summit of Mount Kinabalu. It was believed to possess a 'Butiza' which was a luminous jewel. The story about this dragon and his jewel spread as far as China. Upon hearing this, the Chinese Emperor was determined to get hold of that treasure. He sent away his best warriors to accomplish that mission but all in vain. Finally, he decided to send his two sons, Wong Wang Kang and his younger brother Wong Song Ping. When the two brothers arrived on Mount Kinabalu, they realized it was such a difficult task that they were sent to accomplish. The elder brother gave up eventually but his younger brother was absolutely determined to take the jewel. He created a colorful lantern and lighted a candle inside, making it glow like the dragon's luminous jewel. He then made a kite with light string but the strongest cords. Upon learning that the dragon was out in search of food, Wong Song Ping mounted himself on the kite carrying the lantern with him and ordered his men to hold the ropes and launch the kite. The kite arose till it arrived at the mouth of the cave in which the dragon was believed to be living. Wong Song Ping quickly seized the gem and replaced it with his lighted lantern. Afterwards, his kite was hauled back and he was back into his ship. Upon discovering its jewel was stolen, the dragon chased after Wong Song Ping

and his men, but the group managed to defeat the dragon by flinging burning cannon balls which the dragon swallowed one when it opened his mouth. Just before reaching China, the eldest brother of Wong Song Ping, who was consumed with jealousy of his brother's success, snatched the jewel away from Wong Song Ping reasoning that being the eldest, he should be the one to have and present the jewel to their father. However, the Chinese Emperor was a wise man and he could guess what was actually happening between his sons. Feeling sorry for Wong Song Ping, he instructed his jeweller to manufacture a replica of the gem. Unfortunately, Wong Song Ping knew it was not the original gem, and feeling disappointed and wanting to avoid a further conflict with his brother, decided to leave China. He and his men set sail and ended up arriving at the river mouth on the coast of Brunei. Upon hearing the arrival of Wong Song Ping, the Sultan of Brunei (Halah Batatar) sent his brother to welcome the young prince. Wong Song Ping decided to stay in Brunei and as time went by, his friendship with the Sultan deepened and eventually he married the Sultan's daughter. Wong Song Ping had accomplished many wise and courageous things, and because of this, the Sultan became very fond of him and decided to make Wong Song Ping his successor after his death.

Regis (1996), quoting a novelette, *'The Dragon of Kinabalu'*, written by Owen Rutter in 1999, records a comparable story. This version tells of the Emperor of China who decided to send off his three sons on a mission to steal a great pink pearl which was guarded by a huge dragon on the summit of Mount Kinabalu. This mission was a test for his sons to see who would best succeed him on the throne. The first two sons failed in the mission, and because they were too ashamed to return to their father, they decided to settle in the lowlands and became rice farmers. After a long time, the youngest son named Kong Wang eventually arrived in Borneo. He was in quest not only of the pearl but of his missing brothers. He piled iron cauldrons up until they reached, as steps, to the mountain top. After a horrific battle with the dragon, Kong Wang succeeded in getting away with the jewel. He then joined his brothers, who treated him with treachery and trickery. One of them was Sun Wang who eventually went to Brunei and established a dynasty there. Finally, Kong Wang returned to China and replaced his father as the Emperor.

DISCUSSION

Indeed, Mount Kinabalu was a natural wonder wreathed in enthralling local legends and folklore. Since the stories of Mount Kinabalu had been told and retold over the years from one generation to the next, there existed a host of versions of them. Several of these stories overlapped and, at times, contradicted with one another. This situation resulted in confusion and difficulty in verifying the versions that were the most accurate and acceptable. One story that raised a range of questions was that of the dragon and the Chinese widow as there were a number of local variations attached to it. One such question was precisely which son of the Emperor actually succeeded in stealing the jewel from the dragon? Regis (1996) mentioned that it was the youngest brother named Kong Wang, and the brother who treated him with treachery and trickery was Sun Wang. Dumbong (2005), on the other hand, reported that it was the younger brother named Wong Song Ping who got away with the jewel, and his evil brother was actually Wong Wang Kang. Another question was what exactly happened to the son who got away with the jewel? Both Regis (1996) and Dumbong (2005) made no mention of the marriage between the son and a local Kadazan girl, as reported by other sources including Hoebel (1984), Kitingan et al. (1988) and Jacobson (1996). Regis (1996) stated that the prince returned to China and became the next Emperor while Dumbong (2005) pointed out that the prince eventually went to Brunei, married the daughter of the Sultan of Brunei and eventually replaced his father-in-law as a ruler. Nevertheless, the existence of these variations was comprehensible considering the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu were passed on from generation to generation through word-of-mouth. There seemed to be an absence of a systematic effort for the gathering and preservation of the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu.

From a local perspective, these stories helped the local residents, specifically the KadazanDusun people, define their relationship with the natural environment. The belief in the stories of spirits helped them maintain a sense of awe and respect for Mount Kinabalu and the surrounding environment as well as to restrain them from destroying the nature. Additionally, the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu in a large part gave visitors and local residents alike insights into local history and beliefs. People got a sense of where they (KadazanDusun people) came from and where they belonged from these stories. The tales behind Mount Kinabalu's name helped people understand the history of the mountain even though the truth of legends and folklore might be questionable. In a broader sense, educating visitors about the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu would be vital to 'sensitize' them so they would behave in manner that would be more respectful of the sacredness of Mount Kinabalu.

Despite the lack of evidence, there was definitely nothing intrinsically ludicrous about the legends and folklore surrounding Mount Kinabalu. In our viewpoint, they were mystifying, enthralling and captivating and could stimulate a sense of curiosity, mystery, fascination and romance. When told in the right setting at the right time, they might be capable of stirring such emotions as sad romance and empathy as represented by the story of the Kadazan wife waiting for the return of her Chinese husband; sacredness and inquisitiveness about life after death as represented by the sanctified dwelling of the ancestral spirits on the mountain top; hilarity, kindness and compassion as represented by the story of the giant king.

Furthermore, the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu could be capitalized on to develop a secondary or supporting attraction of Mount Kinabalu. These stories might not possess any pulling power of their own to initiate a trip to Mount Kinabalu. None the less, they could be seen as a supplementary attraction that would be able to deepen and diversify visitor experiences by providing an important addition to the primary attraction namely Mount Kinabalu. Furthermore, these legends and folklore could positively boost the destination image of Mount Kinabalu. Functionally, they could add a cultural dimension, that is, unique culture or intangible heritage to the mountain, in addition to the physical activities of traditional mountain climbing, Mount Kinabalu International Climbathon and Mountain Torq. Symbolically, these legends and folklore could be used to enhance the personality of Mount Kinabalu, that is, mystifying, sacred, romantic, ghostly, ancient in addition to proud and tall, adventurous, challenging, adrenaline pumping.

The legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu would remain as meager stories if they were not transformed into a consumable cultural tourism product. Therefore, it would be absolutely imperative to make visitors aware of these stories for they could elevate Mount Kinabalu from a mere physical wonder to an extraordinary tourist attraction that combined both natural and cultural appeals. They could be used to mythologize or promote the 'otherness' of Mount Kinabalu i.e. cultural/spiritual side, to make it come alive, to show a direct link from the past to the present, to make it triumphant, spectacle, fantasy, fun, light and entertaining.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of methods can possibly be adopted to preserve and promote the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu. Inspired by several methods offered by Dorji (2009), one probable method would be to take advantage of the current digital technology in recording each of the stories in the format of text, video or audio. Preferably, concerted efforts should be invested in representing each story at least in the form of both text and audio/video. The language used in archiving the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu can be in either Malay or English. Nevertheless, it will be equally essential that the language in which these stories were originally narrated, namely KadazanDusun language, be used in an attempt to help ensure that the original impact and flavor of the legends

and folklore of Mount Kinabalu will be sustainable. It may be practical to publish more high-quality story books and picture books based on the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu. To the best of our knowledge, there has been the publication of very few story books that do make a mention of tales surrounding Mount Kinabalu such as those by Marsh (1988) and Sebastian (1989). Unfortunately, they do not relate these legends and folklore in-depth. In other words, they utilize only a small fraction of Mount Kinabalu's legends and folklore to pave the way for other stories. These story books and picture books can be sold in bookstores or distributed to schools where school children are encouraged to read them. The narration of local legends and folklore will be expected to be more effective in inculcating traditional values compared to stories of foreign origin, which seem to be more popular.

The legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu can also be assembled and recorded in the format of a booklet, copies of which can be distributed to all visitors of Kinabalu Park as well as tourism organizations on a complimentary basis. Perhaps an awe-inspiring, curiosity-piquing title can be assigned to each of the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu. Tourism Malaysia Promotion Board New York (2013) recorded the story of the dragon as *'The Kinabalu Dragon's Gem'* whereas Rutter (1999) titled his story as *'The Dragon of Kinabalu'*. Consider such titles as *'The Supreme Deities of Kinabalu'*, *'The Merciful Giant of Mount Kinabalu'*, *'Mount Kinabalu- Revered Place of the Dead'*, *'Love with No Return'*, and so forth.

Furthermore, it may be practical to capture Mount Kinabalu's legends and folklore in documentary film which can be shown in a local television channel and in the visitor center of Kinabalu Park as well as distributed to tourism organizations such as national, state and local tourism offices, tour operators, travel agencies, and the like. Producing a movie based on these legends and folklore can be another way of preserving and promoting the intangible facet of Mount Kinabalu. There is a host of globally-renowned movies produced based on legends and folklore such as *Excalibur* (1981) that retells the legend of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, *Clash of the Titans* (2010) based on the legends surrounding Ancient Greece, *Robin Hood* (1991) that tells of a heroic outlaw in English folklore and so forth. Perhaps a sad romantic movie can be made out of Mount Kinabalu's legend of the Kinabalu's dragon and its gem, the Chinese prince, his KadazanDusun wife and her everlasting love.

Local guides also play a vital role in preserving and promoting the legends and folklore of Mount Kinabalu. In addition to imparting knowledge on the biological diversity of Kinabalu Park and Mount Kinabalu, they should be advised and even encouraged to take pride in educating visitors about the stories revolving around Mount Kinabalu in a fashion that will be captivating enough that it literally brings Mount Kinabalu to life. It is hoped that this sort of informal education can help visitors build personal capacity to understand and appreciate the cultural and spiritual side of Mount Kinabalu. There are certain parts of Mount Kinabalu that are particularly entrenched in legends and folklore such as St. John's Peak and the wishing pool below Low's Peak. Perhaps the interpretation of the related legends and folklore will be made more deep and meaningful if it is conducted at these spots.

CONCLUSION

Mount Kinabalu abounds with beautiful legends and folklore related to the creation of the mountain and the derivation of the mountain's name. This paper has delineated the significance of creating awareness of these legends and folklore. It has also underlined the significance of preserving and promoting these stories, which are brittle and face the danger of extinction if a timely action is not taken to preserve and promote them. This paper has analyzed the possibility of capitalizing on Mount Kinabalu's legends and folklore to create a supplementary attraction of Mount Kinabalu, and

thus elevating the destination image of the mountain and promoting its otherness. Efforts should be made to preserve and promote Mount Kinabalu's legends and folklore such as recording them in the format of text, audio or video and including them in the interpretation of Mount Kinabalu and Kinabalu Park as a whole.

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