

APPENDIX A

MASSACRE AT ULU KENYOR, BIDOR (Williams-Hunt, 1990:11-13)

"One morning, at about ten o'clock, my father (Yok Nieley), his elder brother (Yok Terhool) and I were collecting *perah* (an oily fruit) and *warl* nuts in the forest close to our village when three Chinese communists and a Semai headman approached us. They had come from another Semai village called Rantau Panjang in Ulu Bikam and were on their way back to Penghulu Gemok's village in Ulu Kenyor.

"Sensing trouble, my father considered running away. But he realised that the communists had already seen us. Moreover, my uncle had a bad sore on one of his legs which would prevent him from moving fast.

"When the communists were close enough to us, they sat down and almost immediately offered us some tobacco. My father and uncle accepted it. Then the communist with the shotgun asked my uncle to go with him for a meeting at Penghulu Gemok's village. My uncle refused, saying that if he went for the meeting there would be no one to look after his two young daughters at home. His wife, he explained, had left them and followed her lover to another village.

"The communists then became furious. They immediately grabbed him and tied his hands with a parachute string. Pointing their guns at us, they then forced us to follow them.

"After travelling for several hours, mostly walking uphill, we met with scores of communists who were put on guard on the path leading to Penghulu Gemok's village. These communists, who were fully armed, then walked with us to the village, which was actually just one longhouse.

“We got into the house. In it, we saw several communists tying the hands of the villagers. The children and women were tied together while the men were tied individually. I do not know how many people were there in the house; but in those days, a longhouse would hold about ten families or about 50 persons.

“Several other communists were also confiscating the villagers’ belongings like parangs and sarungs. When the villagers protested and asked the communists why they were doing this to them, the communists asked the villagers to keep quiet. They also threatened to beat them up.

“Everyone had their hands tied except myself. We were then taken to a place not far from the longhouse. There, again except for me, all the captives were tied standing up against trees around the place. The children and women were tied together, and the men individually.

“Then, one by one, the men were taken away to a spot not far away for interrogation. This took only a short while after which they were brought back and tied to the trees again. The question asked by the communists, I was later informed, was whether the villagers supported them or the government.

“While the interrogation was being carried out, we suddenly heard cries of pain from the longhouse. We learned later from other survivors that the cries came from an old lady who was hung upside down from a high beam in the house and beaten with gunbutts until she died.

“Not long after this, there were sounds of gunshots coming from the direction of the longhouse. On hearing this, the communists who were with us, untied the villagers and almost immediately fired at them at point blank. What followed were cries of pain and for help. Within seconds bodies covered with blood were lying all over the place.

“The sight was horrifying and a strong smell of blood filled the air. My father was hit in the thighs. As I approached him he asked me to look for my uncle. I looked around and saw my uncle some distance away. He was lying face down and was covered in blood. He was hit in the stomach and was in great pain, judging from the groans he made. I asked him to stand up and run away, But he refused to do it. Instead, he asked me to leave him there and said faintly that he felt that he was going to die.

“I then ran back to my father told him about my uncle. With my father struggling, we then ran away. The communists saw us and fired a few shots. Fortunately, none hit us.

“We ran towards the Malay village of Kampung Poh, my father falling down several times along the way. It was six in the evening when we reached this village. We were immediately given help by the villagers. My father was treated for his wound which was still bleeding. After that, we were taken to the army unit stationed at the village. Later, they sent us to the hospital in Tapah where we remained until my father recovered from his wound.

“We later learned that the gunshots we heard while the villagers were being interrogated were from the security forces who made contact with the communists stationed at the longhouse. When the communists came to the longhouse the day before, two villagers sneaked out at night and went to Bidor to report the communist presence to the army. They suspected the communists had bad intentions because these were the same communists who had earlier killed a Semai village headman in Sungkai.”

Besides Yok Serungkop and his father, three others survived the massacre. They were an old man and his wife, and another man who was hiding under a heap of rattan placed under the longhouse. They escaped unhurt, but terribly shaken.

APPENDIX B

CASE STUDY REFLECTING CURRENT LAND INHERITANCE PATTERN IN KAMPUNG CHANG

This case revolves around Wak Bong, aged 77. Wak Bong recently inherited her deceased husband's ten acres of rubber and orchard land. She has an only surviving son called Bah Mat, two daughters (Wak Maina and Wak Lis) and a widowed daughter-in-law (Wak Neh) who reside in the village with their families. Bah Mat has seven sons and two daughters - five sons and one daughter were married and two sons and one daughter were still single. Wak Bong's elder daughter, Wak Maina married an outsider and they have six unmarried daughters, a married daughter and two unmarried sons. The younger daughter named Wak Lis married within the village with two married daughters and an unmarried daughter and son. The widowed daughter-in-law, Wak Neh has six daughters, three of whom are unmarried and two sons, one of whom is unmarried.

However, Wak Bong has allowed only Bah Mat and his sons to take over much of the land, without allocating any to her two daughters or daughter-in-law and their families. An example of this was Bah Mat's eldest son appropriating Wak Bong's large orchard at a hill, which is located above the *Lubuk Degung*. In accordance to the new inheritance pattern of the time, the elder daughter, Wak Maina (who married an outsider) and deceased son's family (via Wak Neh, his widow) should get a share of the inheritance. Some villagers mentioned that this should especially be so since these families have many unmarried daughters in their twenties, thirties and forties. These women were deemed to need provisions for their future, especially if they never got married, which was a likelihood for a number of them. Yet, Wak Bong favoured her son whose family

consisted of mostly sons, to her daughter and daughter-in-law's families, which were mainly made up of daughters. This was the case even when Wak Bong's husband was still alive in the nineties. In fact, Wak Bong and her husband did not bequeath any land to their daughter-in-law. Instead, they divided most of the land among Bah Mat's sons.

When Wak Bong's's grand daughter (Wak Neh's daughter) requested her for some land for her sister who wanted to move back to the village from Kuala Lumpur, she refused. The same was true when a brother needed some land to build his home in the past. Although this grand daughter had land under her name, this was not suitable for the purpose as it was rather far away from the main settlement. Such was the case even when Wak Bong and her husband were constantly depending on this family for their daily food. When Bah Mat heard of his niece's intentions, he quickly asked that land for himself and his sons to extend his farm where he planted long beans as a cash crop. Wak Bong gave it to them and they immediately cleared it so that no one else could lay claim to it. This reflects the opinions of villagers mentioned above, who said that parents were increasingly favouring sons over daughters in the inheritance of rubber and orchard land. Nonetheless, the grand daughter of Wak Bong has expressed her hope that Bah Mat would share the land in the event of Wak Bong's death.

Bah Mat meanwhile has divided his rubber smallholding among his many sons and two daughters. Here, one daughter was married to an outsider and the other daughter was still single, though of marriageable age. Therefore, we can see that Bah Mat has not favoured sons over daughters but has provided for both of them. His provision for the younger unmarried daughter was most likely done in preparation for the event that she

married an outsider in the future. These actions were very much in accordance with the confused inheritance system of that time.

(*Note:* The names used in this appendix are fictional to protect the identities of the villagers concerned)

APPENDIX C

THE *PENGHULU'S* LETTER OF COMPLAINT REGARDING ENCROACHMENT INTO VILLAGERS' LAND (Source: Memorandum, 1994:9)

Daripada:

Bandok s/o Renjok
Penghulu Orang Asli
Kampung Chang Sg. Gepai
35500 Bidor
Perak Darul Ridzuan

Kepada:

Pengarah JHEOA Tapah
Daerah Batang Padang

24 Ogos, 1994

Tuan,

Per: Aduan Tentang Masalah Tanah Dicerobohi

Dengan segala hormatnya, merujuk pada perkara di atas, saya selaku penghulu di Kampung Sungai Gepai ingin membuat aduan kepada pihak tuan tentang tanah yang menjadi hak kami turun-temurun. Masalahnya tanah kami telah dicerobohi oleh orang luar di beberapa bahagian di dalam kawasan kampung kami yang telah disukat oleh pihak tuan untuk kami secara rasmi.

2) Aktiviti yang dilakukan oleh orang luar di dalam kawasan ini ialah menanam kelapa sawit dan membuat kebun jambu. Selain daripada itu, terdapat juga pencerobohan orang luar di atas tanah saka kami. Walaupun tanah saka ini tidak digazet atau disahkan sebagai hak kami secara rasmi oleh pihak tuan atau pihak-pihak yang berhubung dengan tanah dan hutan, kami masih menganggap tanah (kawasan) itu saka nenek moyang kami.

3) Aktiviti-aktiviti yang dilakukan di sini ialah menternak lembu. Banyak bukit-bukit di kawasan tanah saka ini juga ditolak hingga menjadi gondol. Durian serta petai dan buah-buahan lain yang ditanam oleh anak buah saya musnah. Tradisi membuat ladang juga terpaksa dihentikan sebab pencerobohan ini. Sejak kebelakangan ini pun kami mendapat tahu bahawa pembalakan akan dimulakan dan selepas itu akan dibuat projek penanaman kelapa sawit sekali lagi di hutan tanah saka kami di mana kami mempunyai dusun-dusun petai dan durian yang menjadi sumber rezeki anak buah saya.

4) Hampir setiap pencerobohan yang dinyatakan di atas sebenarnya sudah lama berlaku, tetapi saya selaku penghulu di sini, tidak buat apa-apa aduan kepada pihak tuan, kerana memikirkan ini semua mungkin sementara saja. Tetapi semenjak akhir-akhir ini, anak-anak buah saya sering bertembung dengan orang-orang luar yang datang ke kawasan kampung dan kawasan tanah saka kami untuk cari tapak projek mereka.

5) Yang menjadi kebimbangan kami ialah orang-orang tersebut tidak pernah meminta atau berbincang dengan kami, tetapi mereka sering datang dengan orang luar yang menjadi penunjuk tanah kepada mereka. Kami hanya sering terserempak dengan mereka di tengah jalan dan bertanya tujuan mereka datang lalu dapat tahu tujuan mereka dengan

begitu saja. Kami juga bimbang jikalau pencerobohan tanah terus berlaku. Masa depan nanti kami tidak cukup tanah. Dan jikalau pembalakan dan projek menanam kelapa sawit diteruskan kemungkinan besar dusun kami di hutan, sumber air tercemar dan sumber rezeki kami yang bergantung dari hutan juga akan hilang dan musnah.

6) Di sini, saya selaku penghulu yang bertanggungjawab melindungi kehidupan anak buah saya amat berharap dan berbesar hati supaya pihak tuan dapat mengambil langkah tertentu supaya pencerobohan ke atas kawasan-kawasan tanah kami dihentikan. Tambahan juga, saya berharap pihak-pihak luar yang ingin mengusaha atau membuat sebarang aktiviti/projek ke atas tanah yang kami anggap hak kami, berbincang dengan kami terlebih dahulu.

7) Jasa baik dan bantuan pihak tuan saya amat harapkan dan saya mengucapkan setinggi-tinggi terima kasih. Sekian terima kasih.

Saya yang menjalankan tugas,

.....

- s.k.
1. Ketua Pegawai Daerah, Pejabat Tanah dan Daerah, Tapah
 2. Pengarah Hal Ehwal Orang Asli Perak/Kedah, JHEOA Perak/Kedah, Bangunan Persatuan, Jalan Panglima Bukit Gantang Wahab, 30000 Ipoh, Perak.
 3. Ketua Pengarah JHEOA Malaysia
Tingkat 17, Bangunan Tabung Haji, Jalan Tun Razak, 50584 Kuala Lumpur.

APPENDIX D

THE PENGHULU'S LETTER OF APPLICATION TO GAZETTE VILLAGERS' LAND AS AN OA RESERVE AND FOR A COMMUNAL GRANT (Source: Memorandum, 1994)

Penghulu Bandok s/o Renjok

Ketua AJK Permohonan Tanah Saka

Kampung Orang Asli Chang Lama Sg. Gepai

35500 Bidor

PERAK DARUL RIDZUAN

Pentadbir Tanah Daerah

Daerah Batang Padang

35000 Tapah

Tuan,

**PERMOHONAN UNTUK MEWARTAKAN TANAH SEBAGAI KAWASAN
SIMPANAN ORANG ASLI DAN MENDAPAT HAKMILIK SECARA
BERKELOMPOK DI KAWASAN ORANG ASLI CHANG LAMA SUNGAI
GEPAI DI MUKIMN BIDOR, DAERAH BATANG PADANG.**

Dengan segala hormatnya merujuk kepada perkara tersebut di atas. Dimaklumkan bahawa kami telahpun menduduki dan menetap di kawasan ini sejak turun-temurun iaitu sejak abad ke 16 dan sehingga kini masih lagi belum memiliki sebarang status pemilikan tanah.

2. Justeru itu kami ingin memohon tanah tersebut secara berkelompok untuk mendapat warta sebagai Kawasan Simpanan Orang Asli dan pemilikan secara suratan hakmilik (geran). Ini adalah kerana kami merasakan pemilikan tanah secara geran lebih selamat dan menguntungkan untuk jangka masa panjang untuk semua penduduk kampung.

3. Sukacitanya bersama-sama ini dilampirkan Memorandum yang mengandungi senarai pemohon berserta pelan menunjukkan kedudukan tanah yang dipohon serta sebab-sebab permohonan untuk rujukan dan tindakan pihak tuan.

4. Kerjasama dan pertimbangan yang sewajarnya terhadap permohonan di atas amatlah dialu-alukan, bagi membolehkan kami mempunyai hak ke atas tanah kami dengan lebih terjamin dalam menuju Wawasan 2020 dan tidaklah umpama menumpang di tanahair sendiri. Sekian, terima kasih.

Saya yang benar,

.....

(Penghulu Bandok s/o Renjok)

s.k.

1. Y.B. Ahli Parlimen, Kawasan Tanjung Malim – sokongan Y.B./Tuan adalah dialu-alukan.
2. Y.B. ADUN, Kawasan Batang Padang – sokongan Y.B./Tuan adalah dialu-alukan.
3. Pengarah Tanah dan Galian Perak – sokongan Y.B./Tuan adalah dialu-alukan.

4. Pengarah JHEOA Perak – sokongan Y.B./Tuan adalah dialu-alukan.
5. Pengerusi POASM Perak – sokongan Y.B./Tuan adalah dialu-alukan.
6. Pegawai Hal Ehwal Orang Asli, Daerah Batang Padang – sokongan Y.B./Tuan adalah dialu-alukan.
7. Penghulu Mukim Bidor – sokongan Y.B./Tuan adalah dialu-alukan.

APPENDIX E

THE CANDIDATE OF THE LOCAL CONSTITUENCY'S LETTER OF
SUPPORT FOR KAMPUNG CHANG'S APPLICATION TO
GAZETTE VILLAGERS' LAND AS AN OA RESERVE

JAMINAN CALON

Saya, S Veerasingham dari parti
B.N
MTC yang bertanding di kawasan pilihan-
raya SUNGKAI, dengan ini
bersetuju dengan gambaran tentang kebim-
bangan penduduk Kg. Chang lama dan
kesemua tuntutan mereka yang disebutkan
di atas.

Maka, saya berjanji untuk berjuang dan
mewakili kepentingan penduduk Kg. Chang lama
dalam usaha mencapai tuntutan-tuntutan di atas.

Yang ikhlas,

S Veerasingham
Tandatangan Calon

No. K.P: 2950192

Tarikh: 20.4.95

APPENDIX F

NEWSPAPER CUTTING MENTIONING THE PRESENTATION OF THE
KAMPUNG CHANG MEMORANDUM TO THE SUNGKAI
SEAT *BARISAN NASIONAL* CANDIDATE

Focus
SUNDAY EMB April 23 1995
Concerns of the orang asli voter

There were 33,173 orang asli registered voters in Peninsular Malaysia in the 1990 electoral roll, but how involved is the community in the voting process? CHAN YUEN-LI and IVY SOON visited Kampung Chang Lama in Bidor, Perak, to gauge the significance of the elections to the people there.

THE orang asli of Kampung Chany Lama find it difficult — indeed, almost impossible — not to vote on every polling day that has come around since 1959.

"I don't mind going to vote if it is a rainy day. But if it is a sunny day I will feel very restless when I have to line up to vote, because I would rather be working in my kitchen," said Bob Blandon, 65, a taxpayer who has voted in every general election since 1970.

He further explained that on polling day, cars would be waiting in front of their houses to take them to the polling station, some six miles away in Bidor.

"We feel compelled to go. They are very persistent — they will even wait for us when we bathe," added Tjiah Yuh Chupit, 25, another villager.

Some students complained that in their elections, the villagers had to wait from sunrise till night to get their votes. However, they were not fed up and went back to their homes. The next day, the students were called back to the polling station and were asked to register their names. "We have a checklist on it so anyone who is registered has to come back to cast their vote. They would not come looking for us," the students told confidently.

Some older folk chipped in that they were going after the morning's work. The students then went to the school and they waited to see first. They were told that there would be a list of food at the polling station, but we only got bread, "they laughed in retrospect.

As truth, many of the villagers are not even aware of the significance of elections, and its role in the process of democracy. "We can never explained to us why we must vote. They only taught us to put a cross in one of the boxes," said Tishu. The reasons for their submissive attitude to anyone who appears in authority are very complex. Tishu, one of the only three villagers to have attended Farm Five and regarded as an intelligent man, explained as follows: "I think that this is, consequently, because that this is a poor country, comes from their history of servitude."

Many have an ingrained fear of drawing attention to themselves. Coming from slave-hunting days and the emergency when they were caught between the British and the communists, according to Tijah, the orang asli community is still reluctant to speak up for themselves.

This has repercussions in their ability to lobby for their traditional land, which is central to their existence, to be gazetted as Orang Asli Reserve Land. However, because this land is so close to their heads, they have managed to overcome their inhibitions and make it a focal point for the community during this election.

The village, totalling 400 residents, has spent 11 months preparing a memorandum to help them put forward this issue effectively. They presented this to Sungai state

STATING THEIR CASE ... [i]n explaining the memorandum which is done in pictorial form to enable the mostly illiterate villagers to understand it.

UNEASY FUTURE ... the villagers' easy smiles hide their insecurity over the encroachment of their land

east Barisan Nasional candidate S. Veerasingam in a ceremony held at the village on Thursday. It was an opportunity for the village to lend a reason upon the candidate the urgency and magnitude of their

"The land title, which will be sold collectively and which cannot be sold by any one of us, will assure our livelihood and the continuance of our culture," said Tijah as spokesman for the village.

"We have a subsistence economy. We trap and hunt for small animals, fish, and tend to our kumru fish. To get more income, we collect penaeid, decapod, reptile, bamboo

Every child in this village, when they come of age, is taken by the village elders ~~and~~ through the jungle and shown the boundaries of our village with orang asli villages. We regard the land as ours. Our ancestors named the rivers and the hills.

RESEARCH

DILEMMA ... Kampung Chang Lama, an orang asli village faces an uncertain future as the land government plans to build a new road.

The villagers are realistic enough to recognize that their hold over the land is tenuous. They have been hitless against expropriation of their land by the state (the state has no expropriation licenses) farmers, and large development projects like Felda and schemes.

"We are not against development. We want development but all the projects that have gone up are against the interests of the people involved us. Even if we find work in the oil palm plantations or factories, we will be losing our land."

The village only has 700, stands on the land that their houses and rubber smallholdings occupy. They have been waiting since 1969 for their land to be gazetted as Orang Asli Reserve Land, which they will hold in trust as a community.

This recognition of their land rights is the stipular request they are making to the government. And now there's a glimmer of hope when Frederickson put his name in support of the memorandum.

He said: "I cannot promise to give 20 acres of land to the people, but I will promise to be serious (campaign) for them."

APPENDIX G

MYSTICAL TALES OF *LUBUK DEGUNG* WHICH HAVE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN PRESERVING ITS SACREDNESS

TALE 1: RETOLD BY IJAH

The first tale which villagers persisted truly occurred in the early twentieth century, was told to Ijah by an elderly female villager who was also a *halak* or shaman:

"One night, there were two brothers fishing using the method called "hi penggap" where they use the rod and line and fish by feeling the bite of the fish on the bait and jerking the fish out. While they were thus occupied, the line of the elder was pulled as if by a fish but when he brought it up, the bait was still there and there was no fish. Suddenly, he saw something that looked like a doll that seemed to be coming up his line. He tried pulling the line up but felt it to be too heavy and he himself was pulled downwards instead. He asked his brother to help and they tried as hard as they could but could not pull up the line. Finally, they had to let go of the line and rod, which fell into the river, and they ran for home. The event caused the elder brother to fall ill soon after. Many halaks came to try healing him but he could not get well. He grew increasingly thin and eventually looked like a living corpse.

*One night the younger brother dreamt of an old man who told him that his brother was ill with *beruai*, which means he has lost his soul spirit. According to the old man, it was taken by a bad spirit called *marak jak nyeng* who lived in*

*He was then shown to the chicken coop and found that the chicken was actually a fish, for in that world of the **mai ngenrik**, their poultry were fish. He looked into its mouth and saw his hook stuck there. He retrieved it, bringing it to the king as a proof that his "chicken" would be well. The king was very grateful and asked him what his wish was. The brother told of his true reason for coming which was to find his brother who was believed to have been kidnapped by **jak nyeng**. The king then told him where he lived and told him to be careful for this spirit was a bad spirit. The king accompanied him to meet **jak nyeng**, accompanied by his officials. When they reached his home, they saw his brother hung up and tied with a chain around his body. He looked exactly as his brother did at home, thin and without any will left. However, this was just his spirit or **ruai**. The king then persuaded and eventually ordered **jak nyeng** to let him go, which he did. The two brothers then quickly excused themselves from the king with all their thanks. Before leaving the place, the king advised them that the waterfall and surrounding area was his land and he did not like anyone to make too much noise or do anything which would sully his place, physically or morally. They were asked to pass the message to his grandchildren when they went home. With that they returned home.*

*After reaching the surface, he changed his brother's spirit into a flower and after praying he went home. He immediately went to his brother and put the flower magically into his head and in doing so returned his **ruai** into his body. From the next day onwards, his brother got better."*

TALE 2: RECOUNTED BY BAH RINTANG

This tale is about a former *Penghulu* in the early twentieth century by the name of *Atuk Mawai* who nearly became a strong *keramat* or guardian spirit of *Lubuk Degung*. He had the king of the *mai ngenrik*, the dragon, as a *gunig* (familiar spirit). In fact, he was the first person to meet with this powerful guardian spirit. This was how it happened.

He was panning tin at a stream near *Lubuk Degung* one day when he saw a small snake looking at him. Soon he saw another. That night he dreamt of an old man, who approached him and said, "Today, I saw you and what you were doing. I am not the guardian spirit of *Lubuk Degung*, but I will help you. The snake you saw was the lorry, the river was the road." The next day he went to the same place to pan for tin and saw a small snake entering a hole in the earth and some water was trickling out of it. He dug the soil and found a vein of tin ore, which was as thick as a man's forearm. He cut off only a small piece as it was not considered good to be greedy or take everything for that was against *adat* and if one did so, bad things might befall him. He sold the tin ore in town. Everyday he would cut off a bit more and sell it. Around this time, he started holding a religious ritual called the *sewang* daily near the spot where he saw the snakes. Many people from the town would come to witness it. Up to this day, villagers could show the bamboo tree that grew out of the *sangkak* (bamboo ritual pole) that *Atuk Mawai* placed there as part of the religious ritual. It was around this time that the dragon spirit approached *Atuk Mawai* in his dreams and said he would be his *gunig*. However, soon news got around that *Atuk Mawai* had found a rich vein of tin ore and many wanted to appropriate it but when they tried to dig it up, there was nothing left.

Before *Atuk Mawai* passed away, he asked to be left by the river at *Lubuk Degung* so that the dragon spirit could come to collect him. He would then be a *keramat* or guardian spirit of the place and become the dragon spirit's right hand man. However, his family did not want to leave his body in the open and so they buried him. The night of his death, the Gepai River heavily flooded over and there was a loud whistling noise that came from upstream and went all the way downstream. Yet, there was no wind and rain in the village or higher up the hills. The villagers said it was the dragon spirit who came to collect *Atuk Mawai*. His body would certainly have been swept away by the current if it had been placed by the river.

From that time onwards, the *halaks* have had prayer rituals at *Lubuk Degung* for the sick or in request for help. They called upon the *kelog* (human spirit) of *Atuk Mawai*, after calling upon God or *Nyenang*. It was only after calling upon *Atuk Mawai* that the *halaks* called upon other spirit beings.

After *Atuk Mawai*'s death, his nephew, *Atuk Skuleng* took over as special friend to the dragon spirit. When a young Malay girl drowned at *Lubuk Degung* during *Atuk Skuleng*'s time, her body could not be found in spite of the police and divers having looked for it for a week. Even the Malay and Thai *bomohs* (medicine men) called in to search for the body failed to do so. *Atuk Skuleng* who was also a *halak* (shaman) wanted to assist the family of the girl. He soon dreamt that the dragon spirit came to him in the form of an old man and said that he would let the Malay girl go for he was keeping her. However, she had no life left. *Ijah* then dreamt that her body had been washed up at a certain bank along the river. The next day she got villagers to go there and it was there that the body was found.

TALE 3: RECOUNTED BY BAH RINTANG

This tale reflects that common folks who were not *halak* could also call upon the dragon spirit for help. However, they did not do so for trivial reasons for he was considered a king, but they insisted he would help if there was an emergency. This final case concerns Bah Seli and his son, Ridzuan. When Ridzuan was a small child, the lad was very ill and was close to death. So much so, even the doctors in the Tapah Hospital said he did not have long to live. Bah Seli, however, prayed to the dragon spirit and asked for his help in healing his son. Soon after that, Ridzuan became better and was eventually cured. Bah Seli then decided to *putus ubat* or have a closure to the healing process and got the help of a *halak* to do it. One night, Bah Seli dreamt of the dragon spirit in the form of an old man who said he wanted to meet him. While cycling to cut wood with a friend the next day, they met a big black snake in the middle of the road with its head reared high. After a long while, it backed off and slid away. The villagers believed this was the dragon spirit, which took the form of its cousin, the snake. Soon after that, Bah Seli did the *putus ubat* ritual with the *halak*.

APPENDIX H

WATER PROBLEMS ACCREDITED TO THE DISRESPECT OF THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT OF THE WATERS: RECOUNTED BY IJAH

This involves the water project introduced by the Health Ministry to channel stream water from the hills into the village via PVC pipes. As the water source was a distance away from the village, villagers had to pass through hills, bushes, rocky banks and the river to work on the job. Eventually, after almost half a year, the project was completed and JHEOA and the Health Department organised a feast to celebrate it. During the feast, the officials requested that all the villagers closed up their pipes at home so that the home where the feast and the opening ceremony were held would have water. This was the case as the water pressure was not high enough to bring water into all the homes. Villagers were asked to pretend that there was enough water when there was actually very little! Although they complained among themselves, the villagers did not dare say anything to the officials.

A week went by and there was still very little water at the pipes. The villagers felt it badly as they had put much energy and effort into the project and nothing had come out of it. They were thus forced to go and examine what was causing the problem and see if the dam had collapsed or the pipe leaked. However, they could not find any problems and even the two officials became very concerned with the situation. This went on for a few months.

Finally, a villager dreamt that an ancestor spirit told him that there was little water as the spirit of the stream from where they took the water has withheld it for the villagers did

not first seek its permission. The ancestor spirit then advised what could be done to redeem the situation. A *halak* was to leave seven *melur* flowers in the dam that they built, for the guardian spirit of the stream, the eagle spirit who took the form of a princess. The blossoms were there to trade for the water that was to be taken. As soon as this was done, water flowed freely into the village.

However, after a few days, the water once more stopped flowing. This time, a few *halaks* did the *cepcep sangkak* ritual (a prayer ritual) to the guardian spirit of the stream involved, the dragon spirit and their ancestor spirits. A *halak* soon dreamt that the dragon spirit, in the form of a snake came looking for his wife who was killed by a villager. The dragon spirit had withheld the water from flowing into the village as a sign of anger. The *halaks* then did a prayer ritual to appease him, apologised and requested that he allowed the water to flow once again into the village. After the ritual was done, there was a constant flow of water, though small, except during a drought or when the pipes or dam were broken by heavy currents or fallen logs during storms.

APPENDIX I

LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF *BERITA HARIAN* REGARDING
"PETAI TAXES" (DATED 29 OCTOBER 1996)**Cukai hasil hutan
bebankan Orang Asli**

SAYA ingin mengambil kesempatan ini untuk membawa perhatian pihak Jabatan Hutan Daerah Betang Padang mengenai kutipan cukai yang dijalankan ke atas hasil hutan kami kaum Orang Asli, terutama sekali petai dan jering.

Perkara ini menimbulkan beban kepada sumber ekonomi orang kampung yang bergantung hidup kepada hasil hutan. Walaupun cukai yang dikutip itu dari orang tengah, tetapi orang kampung jadi mangsa kerana

mereka (orang tengah) akan beli petai dan jering dengan harga yang murah.

Orang kampung tidak pasti adakah kutipan cukai itu sah atau tidak kerana tidak ada perbincangan yang dibuat oleh pihak jabatan dengan penduduk secara rasmi.

Saya rasa tidak sepatutnya diminta cukai kerana hasil hutan yang mereka pungut tidak banyak dan tidak cukup.

**ORANG KAMPUNG
Bidor, Perak**

BH 29/10/96

APPENDIX J

SEMAI FOLK TALES

Han Luid and the Tiger 1

Once upon a time, there were seven sisters and they had reached a time when they felt they wanted to get married. The youngest, Han Luid, was not pretty as she had a skin condition called *penyakit puru*. One day, the sisters decided to go into the forest and live there in order to search for *mengkuang* leaves. They hoped that while they were in the forest, they would meet with some young men. Before going, Han Luid, told her sisters, “When we enter the forest, do not say anything out of sorts. If you hear any sound, do not say something like ‘If only they could become men...’ or anything to that effect. Do not chi-ai at anything.” The sisters answered, “No, no, we won’t.”

So they went and made a home in the forest. On the second day while at home, the sisters heard some *ngek-ngek* birds sounding in the forest. This bird was believed to be closely related to the tiger and was not supposed to be disturbed or teased. But one of the older sisters said, “Le...le... how nice it would be if the *ngek-ngek* bird becomes a male youth. We then can make him our husband.”

Not long after that was said, the sisters heard a young man close by trying to catch their attention by coughing. He was carrying a wild boar. This man was actually a tiger in human form. His tail made a sound as it swept against the branches, “Tang, tang, tang...”. But he made belief that it was actually his blowpipe hitting against the twigs. When they heard him, the sisters looked out of the door at the approaching stranger. The

man's body was striped with *panau*, a skin fungus. This is a skin condition that changes the colour of the skin. People of that time considered a person with *panau* very attractive.

The girls exclaimed, "Eh, there is someone coming." They were very happy for a handsome man in striped clothing was approaching them ...they were truly excited. They greeted him excitedly, "Eh, come up, come up. Where are you going?" They were full of laughter ... they were so thrilled, for in those days it was not a problem for a few women, especially sisters to share a husband.

They then took the meat he brought and cut it up and cooked it. They then cooked some wild fruits and served it with the meat. However, Han Luid was not involved in all the excitement. She sat near the hearth. She had magical knowledge and knew at first glance that the man was not human but pretending to be so.

Soon, they started playing with the man. Hugging him and joking. When it was night and time for sleep, they placed him in their midst and he slept with them. The girls slept around him. But Han Luid kept out of all this dallying. She slept near the hearth. She kept awake secretly throughout the night.

In the middle of the night, she saw the tiger licking the heads of her sisters. This went on for seven nights. By the last night Han Luid was getting very worried over their fate. That night she dreamt that her familiar spirit came to her and told her that the man who was living with them was actually a tiger and wanted to eat them up soon.

After seven days, the man told them that he was going out to hunt. When he had left, the sisters were talking excitedly among themselves, happy in anticipation of having meat for their meals. Han Luid told them, "Eh, you are all so excited that you don't know that your heads have all been licked." When they touched their heads, they were aware it was true. "Yes, you would not listen to me when I ask you not to say unnecessary things in the forest. Now the man-tiger plans to eat you up," said Han Luid. The sisters exclaimed, "Luid, help us. What shall we do? We don't want to be eaten!"

"We must make a strong and sturdy house which is high from the ground. The walls must be made of wood, no longer from leaves. Everything must be made from solid wood," replied Han Luid. So, they went to look for wood and built the house as specified by Han Luid. So, they went to look for wood and built the house as specified by Han Luid. When it was finished they climbed the stairs and went inside. They pulled up the ladder and tied the door shut tightly. Then, they waited in silence while Han Luid heated her spear at the fire.

That night the tiger came back and greeted them. But no one replied. He went around the house and said, "Open the door, is there anyone in?" But still no one answered. He then knew that they were hiding from him. Angrily, he went around the house growling like a tiger. He said, "What a waste – my meat has got away. I should have eaten them earlier." He started scratching at the door and the walls. When he was close to the entrance, Han Luid opened the door and threw the spear at his chest and killed him. When it was all over, Han Luid turned to her sisters and said, "Next time, don't say anything in the forest without thinking. Even if you wanted that man, be patient. Don't do that again."

After that, the *ngek-ngek* birds started sounding again. Not one, but many, all sounding in chorus. Han Luid then said aloud, "If there are men, if there are a few men who are here, come, you can accompany us home, for we are afraid to go home through the forest." As soon as she said that, the birds suddenly went silent. Immediately, there arrived seven handsome young men. All were with their blowpipes and game, which they had caught and they came to the sisters. They said, "Do not worry, we are human beings."

Yok Luid went with Han Luid and they all returned to the sisters' home, with the game and *mengkuang* leaves. When they arrived, Han Luid's father exclaimed, "Whom did you bring back? Whose sons have you stolen?" They replied jokingly, "No-lah. We met someone's sons back in the forest, they were lost." They ate and after the meal, Han Luid told her parents the whole story. Her father said, "Good heavens that none of you were hurt or killed."

Han Luid and the Tiger 2

A long time ago, there was a man who had two wives who were sisters. The younger was called Han Luid. Han Luid's elder sister and co-wife had a young baby. One night, their husband wanted to catch some fish and frogs at the river. The two wives did not want to follow him, as they wanted to weave their mats. As they were weaving away, the baby who was sitting near the door started laughing with glee every now and then. A tiger was constantly putting his paw through the door, trying to get at the child. However, the child was not aware of the danger but was amused by the movements instead. Every time the wives turned round to see why the baby was laughing, the tiger would quickly snatch its paws away.

The wives then decided to pretend weaving but were in actual fact spying on the baby. They soon caught sight of the tiger's paw trying to reach the baby. They then planned to kill the tiger by pretending that they were to let the baby defecate by opening the floor bamboo slats and placing the baby above it, all the time speaking aloud that the baby wanted to defecate.

In the meantime, they heated up a large fruit called the *kundor* till it became red-hot. The wives then opened up the hole on the floor and pretended to put the baby above it. Very soon after, the mother shouted, "Oh, my baby has fallen through! My baby has fallen through the floor!" Then they let drop the *kundor* fruit whilst the tiger was waiting below with his mouth wide open to eat the baby. The tiger thought the fruit was the baby and swallowed it whole and writhed in agony and pain and died soon after.

Han Luid and the Python

Once upon a time, there were two sisters. One day, the youngest of them, Han Luid was walking past a *machang* tree. Just as she was walking past, a large *machang* fruit fell at her feet and started rolling away. Han Luid chased after it, hoping to have some of the fruit but it rolled right into a hole in the ground. Han Luid tried to put her hand into the hole to retrieve the fruit but something caught hold of her hand. It was a large python. Han Luid cried out in astonishment and fright. But the python said, "Do not fear, I will not harm you. I am a good person." The python came out and transformed itself into a handsome youth. They were immediately attracted to one another.

Among the Orang Asli in those days, there was no case of *pinang-meminang* (engagement). When a woman met a man she liked, she brought him home. And so, the

python-man followed Han Luid home. “Eh,” Han Luid’s mother said, “Han Luid has brought a man home. Whose son is it?” Han Luid replied, “Eh, whatever it is, it doesn’t matter, mother. This man likes me.” The python-man turned out to be very rich and was magical for whatever he wished for was fulfilled.

Eventually, Han Luid’s sister wanted to have a husband and asked Han Luid’s husband to find her one. He told her, “I have brothers of my kind but they are all evil. They will not make good husbands. They are not like me.” But the sister insisted that he found one for her. Eventually, he found someone for her, a friend of his. He was a cobra snake who had taken on human form. So, the cobra-man and Han Luid’s sister got married.

On the wedding night, the new groom ate up his wife – swallowed her whole! He then disappeared. When her family found out that she and her new husband were missing the next morning, her parents begged Han Luid’s husband to look for her and bring her back. He said, “Where am I to find her? Didn’t I tell you before that this man was bad. He did not really want to take a wife. But my sister-in-law was stubborn and wanted me to get her a husband. Both of you pestered me to look for a husband for her.”

However, he went in search of his sister-in-law. He returned to his python form and looked for the home of the cobra-man. When he reached there, he found the cobra-man ill in bed with a huge distended stomach. The cobra-man’s wife told him that he had been in pain like that since he got back a few days ago. The python-man knew that it was due to overeating. The wife then asked him to heal her husband. He asked her to take some lime water and a chicken egg. He chanted over it and asked the wife to give it to her husband. Soon, the cobra-man started throwing up and out came Han Luid’s sister

but she was not alive. The python-man quickly grabbed her and brought her home and brought her back to life.

Meanwhile, the cobra vowed vengeance and later had a big fight with the python where the cobra managed to steal the python's venom. In those days, it was the python that was venomous and not the cobra. However, since that day when they fought, the cobra took the python's venom for himself and the python has lost its venom. Since that day, both the cobra and the python were sworn enemies.

Cuckoo Bird

A long time ago, there was a couple who had two daughters. The youngest was a baby who had not yet learnt to walk and the elder child was around ten years old. Now, the older child had very badly wanted to follow her parents into the forest to open a swidden, as the season to do so had already arrived and her parents had already chosen a spot to work upon. The girl asked her parents, "Mom, dad, can I follow you to the swidden? I want to see the place you have chosen." They replied, "No you cannot follow us. You have to take care of your sister at home. Wait till we start clearing the undergrowth, then you can come with us." But when it was time to clear the undergrowth and the daughter wanted to follow them, they told her to wait till they started chopping down the trees. When the parents began chopping down the trees, and their daughter pleaded to be brought along as they had promised to do so, they told her she could not go for fear of being hurt by the falling logs and asked her to wait till the time they started torching the logs and undergrowth. However, when it was time to do so the parents gave other reasons to prevent her from going and promised that she could follow them while they were planting the seeds. While waiting to plant, the mother

prepared her seeds and her daughter also prepared her seeds, both keeping them in one corner of the house. When it was time to plant the seeds and the daughter was all anxious to follow her parents to the fields, they again gave excuse that she could not follow them as she had to take care of her sister and once again promised that she could follow them when it was time for weeding.

Finally, the daughter realised that her parents would never allow her to follow them and she grew very sad as her heart desperately longed to see the swidden. She said to herself, "I have pleaded with mom and dad to let me see how beautiful our fields are through all these stages of planting but till now I still have not seen them." While she was thinking thus, a cuckoo bird alighted close to her home. Upon seeing the bird, the child said to herself with much longing, "How nice if I could be a bird, I could fly and follow my parents and see our fields for a while."

In those days, when one made a genuine wish, it could come true. At the moment the child said that, the bird went onto the window and spoke to her, "Do you really want to be a bird like me?" She answered, "I do if I could but how can I become like you? I am human, you are a bird." The bird answered, "That can be done, if you want it. You could use my bird cloak." And so the bird took off his feathered cloak and put it on the child. He then said, "Now that you can fly, let's go and look for your parents in the field." And so they flew off together.

Before she went, the child took off her silver ring and put it onto the ring finger of her baby sister who was sleeping in the sarong cradle. Then she left, constantly looking behind at her sister, as she was also sad to leave her sister behind.

When she reached the fields and saw her parents working there, she flew lower and said, "Cuckoo, cuckoo, left baby in the cradle, a ring on her finger." And she repeated that again and again. Her mother who was close to her cocked her head and said to the husband, "Did you hear that? Did you hear what the bird was saying? It was as if she was trying to tell us something." Her husband dismissed it but the mother's heart grew uneasy. The daughter flew lower and closer to her mother and repeated what she said again, "Cuckoo, cuckoo, left baby in the cradle, a ring on her finger." The mother turned around to the father and said, "Did you hear that again? The bird is trying to speak to us!" But the father said, "It is just a bird. How can a bird speak? You must be imagining things." They then went back to their work, the mother very anxious as she was aware that she had promised her daughter many times that she would take her to the swiddens but did not do so. Finally, the bird went really close to her and spoke the same phrase. This time, the mother could no longer ignore it, packed her things and got the father to follow her home.

When they reached home, they found their elder daughter missing, while their youngest was lying in the cradle with a ring on her finger. It was the sister's ring. When the mother saw this, she realised what had happened and burst out into tears. Then she saw the cuckoo bird that was her daughter and spoke to her, "How did you get to be like this? Oh, don't be angry with us. Return back to us in your normal form. Then we can go to the swiddens together." The daughter replied, "No, mother, I can't do that. Both of you have already lied to me so many times. Even if I wanted to, I cannot take this feathered cloak off. I don't know how to. But it's okay. As a bird, I can go to the fields as and when I like."

But her parents continuously cried and pleaded with her with much sorrow and regret. They hurled themselves onto the floor and cried terribly. But the girl sadly said again and again that it was beyond her to do anything. Soon, her parents died of sorrow. When that happened, she flew down with much sadness and kissed both her parents, saying, "If what I say could happen, I wish for mother to be the *benbakoh* bird and father to be the *leh* bird. So I can look after the fields with mom and dad. And I wish for my younger sister to be the *penyeh* bird."

That is why nowadays, when people are opening their swiddens, there is the sound of the *beruleh* bird just close to them when they are cutting down the trees. Its sound goes like this: "*klok klek kor git prut cet*" where "*klok klek*" is the sound of people chopping down the trees, and "*kor git prut cet*" means "clear, chop, torch and burn". Till today, the sounds of the bird remains as such. The mother who had become the *benbakoh* bird is present during the harvesting season and it goes "*keng-keng kok benbahol*" which means "she has come home from harvesting, carrying a basket". Whilst her younger sister, the *penyeh* bird comes when the paddy starts to fruit and she will fly here and there close to its stalks. She goes "*penyeh, penyeh*" and she is very small as she was just a baby when she became a bird. Finally, the cuckoo bird will always be present when there is a swidden and she will be at the edges, perched on the tree stumps, looking after the swidden.

Dog-man

Once upon a time, there was an Orang Asli girl staying alone in the forest. She worked for the king, and went to his palace every day to pound rice. At the end of the day, when she had finished her work, the head servant would give her a bamboo cup of fine and

broken rice which no one wanted. This was her wages for in those days they did not use money.

One day, she was suddenly discovered to be expecting a baby for her stomach was getting bigger and bigger. When the king asked her about it, she said she did not know how she got to be in such a condition as she has not been with any man. The king then asked his royal guards in the palace if they had anything to do with it but every one denied it.

When the girl reached the late stages of pregnancy, she stopped working at the palace and rested at home. And there, she delivered her baby alone. However, she did not give birth to a human baby but a puppy. When the king did not see the girl for a long while, he grew worried and eventually got his guards to check on the girl to see if she was all right. But they saw that she had given birth to a puppy though it cried like a male child.

When the child grew a bit older, the mother went back to pound rice at the king's palace. But she would give her child milk before she left him at home while she went to work. That was how they lived their lives everyday. Eventually, the child grew into a fine dog.

One day, the dog-youth told his mother, "Mother, please go and meet the king and on my behalf, ask his permission for the hand of the youngest daughter in marriage." Now the king had seven daughters. The mother replied, "Even the sons of kings from all over the kingdom have not been successful in seeking the hands of the princesses in marriage and here you are, a dog-youth wanting to marry the youngest of them!" But the dog-

youth persisted with much confidence that his wish would be achieved. In the end, the mother gave in and went to approach the king and told him of her son's wish. The king replied, "I cannot make a decision. Why don't you ask the princesses and see if any of them wants to marry your son." So she approached each of the princesses in turn but each looked at her with disgust, and with much ridicule said, "Cis, I don't want to marry your dog-son." But the youngest daughter agreed to the mother's proposition – she agreed to marry her son.

The dog-youth was not present whilst the wedding preparations were going on but he was there just in time for the wedding ceremony. His companions were humans but he remained a dog. After the marriage, he did not spend the nights with his wife or slept with her. He would return to his mother's house.

One night, the bride decided to spy on him and followed him to his mother's house. This princess had magical powers for she was *halak*, and knew that her husband was actually a handsome prince disguising as a dog and that was why she agreed to marry him in the first place. When she arrived at her mother-in-law's house, she found her husband sleeping, with his dog-coat outside. She quickly built a fire and burnt his dog-coat and started shouting immediately, "Hot, hot! My body is hot!" Then she took a *cenau penoleh* or ritual whisk and started chanting. Her husband then became a normal person. She went back with her husband to the palace and had another wedding ceremony with her now human husband. Eventually her husband became the king and a very prosperous one. Meanwhile the other princesses, her sisters, all married men with disabilities, some were blind, some deaf, some had big genitals and all sorts of other disabilities, because they were cursed for being judgmental.

Deer Penali'

A long time ago, there were two sisters and they were called *Ubai Baleh*, which means "those two girls". They lived with their parents in a place called *Teow Goll* or the Goll River that is now known as the Batang Padang River. One day, their neighbour had gone hunting and brought back a deer. He divided the meat and gave portions to those who lived close to him, including the family of *Ubai Baleh* who got the deer thigh. The neighbour told the father, "This is the deer thigh which I got for your family. Cook it." But the family had already cooked and eaten their meal for the day so the father answered his neighbour, "We have just eaten. Why don't you place the thigh on the tree stump at the junction near our home over there. I will cook it in the evening." But when evening came, the father forgot all about the meat and cooked some other dishes. The two girls reminded their father about the meat, saying that it might go bad the next day. The father acknowledged them and said, "Oh yes, we have forgotten. Never mind, I will cook it for our afternoon meal." But he forgot about that as well. This went on for a few days till in the end, they totally forgot about the meat. One week passed. On the seventh day, the girls' parents went into the forest and told the girls before they left, "Why don't the both of you stay at home while we go into the forest to look for food." They both agreed.

As soon as the parents were gone, 'hot rain' came down. The two girls were resting at home, looking for lice on one another's heads. Suddenly they heard some funny sounding footsteps right at their doorstep and the source of it started coughing to catch their attention. It said, "Is there any one at home?" They replied in the affirmative and looked out through the holes in the bamboo walls. They saw that the person talking to them was the thigh of the deer that was left on the tree stump and which had turned into

a monster called the Deer *Penali*'. This had happened because in the Orang Asli beliefs, it is taboo to leave meat behind without quickly cooking it. The consequence of not following such a practice would be that piece of meat turning into a monster. The girls saw that the deer thigh was full of maggots and smelt terribly rotten. It had no eyes or mouth but it could speak. Then it asked them again, "What are you both doing?" "We are looking for lice," they replied. Then it said, "Look for the lice on my head as well," referring to the maggots in it as lice. The girls answered, "Grandfather, why don't you sit here first while we go and have our bath. When we come back we will look for the lice on your head." The monster replied, "Okay." The girls quickly took whatever they needed for their bath and brought their dirty clothes, pots and plates to be washed at the river. When they reached the river and started washing their clothes, they saw that the monster was already upstream. One sister said to the other, "Let us go further upstream. This place isn't good." But when they reached that place, the monster was even further upstream. This went on several times for the monster wanted the girls to bathe in its filth and rottenness.

When they saw that their effort was futile they decided to run away. They ran and ran but the monster went after them, hopping on its one leg. As they ran, they reached a grassy field and they pleaded with the grass, "Grass, grass, help us." "What is wrong?" asked the grass, "Why are you running?" "The monster of the Deer *Penali*' is after us. Please detain him while we run," answered the girls, panting. So the grass grew long and tried to trip the monster up. But it got away. Then the girls arrived at some pieces of wood. "Wood, wood, help us. We are being hunted down by the Deer *Penali*'." So the wood took pity on them and enlarged itself to bar the monster from reaching them. But

it managed to get over the obstacle. The same thing happened when they reached some stones. But they were of no challenge to the monster.

They crossed the Wahr River, Bidor River and Gepai River till they reached *Lubuk Degung*. There they asked the guardian of the waterfalls to help and protect them.. But he couldn't help them and urged them to run some more. Finally they reached the source of the Sungkai River. They crossed many streams and at each stream they asked the spirit of the water to protect them but they were all unable to do so as they were not strong enough. Finally at Sungkai, they reached a house where people were having the *kebut* ceremony or sing-sing. They collapsed at the stairs. When the people there asked what was wrong, they told them and asked for help, "The monster Deer *Penali*' wants to eat us because we did not eat it when we were supposed to." The two *halaks* inside said, "Come in. Don't worry. We will take care of the matter." Then they started chanting and praying. After that, they took a piece of bamboo, sharpened it and heated it at the fire, and made it into a spear. When the monster arrived, it asked, "Where is my meat? Where is it? I can smell it." They said, "They are not here." But it replied, "They are here." So the *halaks* invited him up to see for itself and so it attempted to go up the house. As soon as it did so, the *halaks* killed it with their bamboo spear.

Meanwhile the two girls felt that there were too many challenges in life and were not able to take it any more so they chanted and prayed and eventually became two hills which are now called *Lout Ubai Baleh* or the Hill of the Two Girls. It is situated in between Sungkai and Bikam.

Brass Tale (Cerita Tembikar)

In the old days the brass metal had special magical powers. Once upon a time, there was an Orang Asli man who stayed with his wife and young daughter. They were poor. They exchanged rattan and *damar* to a Malay trader to get salt and tobacco and they would get their food from the forest. One day the asli man went to the forest to look for these goods to repay the trader for some tobacco and salt, which he took. But he could not find any. The Malay man meanwhile said that he would come by in two days and if he did not have the rattan and *damar* owed to him, he would take his child for his own. So, the parents became very worried. The next night, the asli man had a dream. A handsome young man came to him and told him not to worry. He was golden in colour and wearing lots of gold and jewels. He was the guardian of the brass metal and was closely related to the dragon snake. The asli man replied, "How am I not to worry. I owe the trader *damar* and rattan and I can't repay him. Tomorrow the trader will come and take my daughter. That is why my wife and I are worried."

The man in his dreams said, "Don't worry. I will help you. Tomorrow you must wait for me by the side of the road, close to the forest. Cut a piece of *bertam* shoot and place the leaf across the middle of the road. My followers and I will be going there, on our way to the sea. Tomorrow, you will see me for I will walk ahead. I will take the form of a walking brass pot laden with riches and jewels. When I stop, open a piece of white cloth and take all the gold, coins and silver. Take everything and put it onto your piece of cloth. After that, take some dried leaves and put them in the pot and close back the lid."

The next day, the husband woke up early and went into the forest to wait for the brass-man. He did exactly as he was told. Not long after, he heard a sound of distant rumbling,

“Ro..no..ro..no..” It was actually the sound of brass clanging against one another as they were walking. “Teng-teng...teng-teng...” they sounded as they approached closer. He hid by the side of the road. The biggest brass pot walked ahead, full of jewels, gold and silver. The man thought that this must surely be the man who appeared in his dreams. When the pot arrived at the *bertam* leaf across the road, it stopped and the asli man went up to him. The pot encouraged him to take anything he wanted from it. The man took everything and placed it onto his white cloth and covered up the pot with dried leaves as requested. The pot then said, “Take these riches and pay up your debts to the Malay trader.”

Before he returned home, he hid most of the treasure in the forest and brought a little home to pay his debt. When he went back, his wife was very upset because he did not bring any rattan or *damar*. She thought the Malay trader would now surely take away their daughter and she urged her husband to run away with them. But he refused. Later that day, the trader came with his friends to ask for the *damar* and rattan owed to him but the asli man said he had none. As the trader was about to take their daughter away, the asli man brought out the gold and riches and paid the trader. The trader was totally surprised and asked the man how he got his riches. The asli man said that he sold his *damar* and rattan to another trader and that was the outcome of it.

The trader then went back with his friends. On their way home in their sampan, while they were in the middle of the river, a huge storm arrived. Soon, many brass pots emerged from the waters and came up onto the boat and sank it. This was done as retribution to the Malay trader for his cruelty to the Orang Asli, for the Orang Asli did

not have the power to take action in the face of oppression. The close relationship between the Orang Asli and the spirits enabled the spirits to assist them in times of need.

The Wife and the Tiger

A long time ago, there was a couple with their little baby. One day the husband went to hunt for a few days. The wife asked him to return soon so they could go to her father's house, which was a distance away for the sing-sing ritual. However, while spending his time hunting, the husband met another woman and fell in love with her. He married her and stayed in her village.

Meanwhile, the wife was waiting day and night for her husband to return. After a long while, she decided to leave for her father's house for the ritual ceremony. She took her child, a bush knife and left home. On her long journey she had to spend a night in the forest. When it got dark, she used some rattan to climb high up onto a tree and rolled the rattan to rest her head on a broad branch, while holding on to her baby.

Around ten o'clock at night, she heard the footsteps of a tiger and it sounded happy as though it knew that food was not far away. The tiger started climbing the tree and was about to reach the woman and her baby when she slashed at its paw so that it was nearly severed from its leg. The tiger fell off the tree and cried out in pain. It begged her to come down and tend to his paw. But the wife said that if she were to come down, it would eat her up. The tiger pleaded with her again and again and promised not to eat her. After a while, the wife believed it and she came down and attended to his paw and wrapped it up with some herbal leaves.

After she was done, the tiger asked her where she was going and why she was alone in the forest. She told him her story. The tiger replied, "Never mind, you can sleep beside me now. I will protect you from other wild animals. Tomorrow you can walk ahead and I'll follow behind. I'll wait for your husband. But how could he leave you alone like this." So the wife walked on ahead till she reached her father's rice swidden, with the tiger close behind. The tiger then told her, "Go ahead, I will wait for your husband here." In actuality, he wanted to eat up the husband for being unfaithful to the wife and leaving her to fend for herself and the baby. He knew all this because he was actually a tiger-spirit.

When the husband eventually back to his home, he found that his wife was not there. He guessed that she might have gone to her father's home and thus followed her trail. When he reached her father's swidden, it was already the night that the ritual was about to start. There he met the tiger that had befriended his wife and while the ritual was going on, the tiger ate the husband up. It then transformed itself into a tiger spirit and became the wife's familiar spirit during the ritual and thereafter.

The Seven Children and the Tiger

A couple had seven children, the eldest of whom was around thirteen years old. One day, the couple was out of food supply and went to get some tapioca roots far away in the forest. To keep their children safe from tigers, the couple put their seven children into a big basket and attached it from the house flooring, dangling right below it. As the house was high on stilts, the children were hanging high above the ground so the tiger could not get to them. The eldest girl was holding on to a blunt *parang* in an attempt to defend themselves if there was any danger.

As soon as the parents left, a tiger came by and tried to get to them but it could not as the basket was beyond its reach. It then came up with an idea – it went up the house, pushed open the door and went in. It put its tail through the bamboo slats and tried to wrap its tails around a child to pull it up through the flooring. The eldest sister got all her siblings to grab on to the tail while she stabbed the tiger in the rear till it bled all over them. When the girl stabbed it through the navel the tiger fell over and died.

When their parents came home, they knew that something was terribly wrong, as there was blood all over the ground under the house. They called out to their children but they kept silent as they thought it might be the tiger disguising as their parents for in those days, tigers had magical powers. After a long while of calling out, the children were finally assured it was really their parents calling them and they answered. They were thus reunited.

The Palei Youth (Jejaka Palei)

Once upon a time, there were two sisters. The younger sister was around a year old and still breast feeding while the elder was around ten. Early every morning before the sisters woke up, their parents would leave for the swidden to work it and returned late in the evening. When the two girls woke up each morning, they would eat whatever their parents left behind for them. However, because the parents came back so late and the food they left behind was often not enough, the two girls would normally go to the river to catch some prawns and cook and eat it. Each day, when the parents came home in the evenings, the girls would still be at the river. This routine went on everyday for a long while.

One day, the father got fed up and said angrily, "The girls are always not home when we are back. Let us leave them here – that will teach them a lesson." The mother replied, "How can we do that? How can we leave our children behind? They are still very young. What will they eat?" The father answered angrily, "What do I care. If you don't follow me, I will slash you with my bush-knife." So, the wife was forced to go with him.

However, before she left, and without the knowledge of her husband, she roasted some wild tubers for her children and covered it in the ashes to keep them warm. Then she kept some glowing coals in the hearth so her children could easily start a fire when they were gone. Then she expressed out some of her milk into a bamboo container and left it for the baby. She also left behind an old knife for her elder daughter, which was already blunt and had no handle. This she did with much sadness. Then she left with her husband.

When the children returned home, they were surprised to find that no one was there. They waited for a long while but their parents did not come back. Then they went to the hearth and there they found the glowing coals and roasted tubers in the ashes. The elder sister saw the knife her mother left behind and with it, removed the ashes from the tubers. Then she roasted some prawns, which they had caught and fed herself and her sister. She then spotted the container of milk and fed that to her sister later that night, using a folded leaf as a teat. They thus stayed at home until their food supply was finished, for they were still hoping that their parents would return.

Finally, the elder sister decided that they would look for their parents. So they wandered in the forest and they wandered for many years and they grew bigger and bigger, surviving on the fruits of the forest. Finally, they reached a spot where there was a big *palei* tree, a palm tree, surrounded by its seedlings. The younger sister asked her sibling if they could stay there, as she liked the *palei* trees very much. The sister agreed. Every day the younger sister would clear the weeds around the *palei* trees while the elder sister looked for food. They thus grew to be young maidens in that place.

One night, while they were sleeping beneath the *palei* tree, the younger sister dreamt of an old man who asked her to chop seven pieces of wood the next day and plant them around the *palei* tree. She was then to build a door. On that night they were both not to make any sounds if they heard any strange noises. The next day she did exactly as she was told.

The day after that, when they got up in the morning, they saw that the seven pieces of wood, which were planted on the ground had become a beautiful house, and in the house was prepared a sumptuous meal. When the elder sister saw this she fainted with surprise. When she came to, her sister explained what had happened and invited her to eat with her. After having eaten, a young man stepped up into the house. It was the *palei* youth and his skin was fair like the shoot of the *palei* tree and his hair was light brown in colour. The younger sister looked down in shyness when she saw the youth but he said, "Why are you shy? This is our home." So they lived together in one house and eventually became married, the *palei* youth and the two sisters. The youth was hard working and opened up many swiddens and reared chicken with his wives.

Meanwhile, the parents of the girls had gone back to their home village after leaving their daughters behind in the forest. The villagers were surprised to find that their daughters were not with them and asked what had happened to them. The father lied and said, "Oh, don't ask me about them. Those two useless daughters of ours do not love us, they did not want us. That is why we came back alone. They did not want to return with us." The mother was very sad to hear all these lies but did not dare say anything. After many years of staying in their home village, the parents began to feel lonely. They wanted to go and look for their two girls, to see if they were alive. So they left their village and went into the jungle to look for them. They returned to their own home in the jungle where they stayed with their daughters before, but it had been abandoned for a long time.

The next morning, they decided to look further in the forest. As they were walking deep in the jungle, they came upon some wide swiddens. That night they stayed in the little hut that was found in the swidden. Each day for seven days, they moved from one swidden to another, one hill to another and stayed in one swidden hut after another. Finally they saw a real house and saw that it was occupied as there was smoke coming out of the rafters. They went to the house and saw the two sisters.

The sisters did not recognise their parents. They were very happy to have someone at their home, as they have not seen any other person apart from their husband for a very long time. So they happily invited them in and cooked a fine meal for them. The father took everything for granted – he ate, and after filling his stomach sat close to the window in an arrogant manner. They stayed there for a few days. At that time, the *palei* youth was not there as he had gone into the forest to hunt.

One day the mother told them the story of her two daughters they had left behind and lamented the fact that only now does the husband want to look for them. She ended her story saying, "It has been so many years now. How can we ever hope to find them?" The elder sister grew more and more silent as the woman went on with her story and as she realized that it was really her mother sitting in front of her. In the end, she finally disclosed her own story of how she and her sister were left behind to fend for themselves in the forest. The mother listened in surprise and finally exclaimed, "Why, both of you must be the daughters we've been looking for!" The sisters replied hesitatingly, "We don't know..." The mother excitedly said, "Open your mouths wide, I want to express my milk. If you really are my daughters my milk will leap into your mouths!" So the two girls opened their mouths while their mother expressed her milk and true enough it went straight into their mouths. They hugged one another in relief and joy.

Meanwhile, the father who was observing all this from the window said, "Oh, if you really are our daughters, we don't have to go anywhere else. We can stay here then." As they were talking, the *palei* youth came back bringing much meat home. He left it in the front compound, as was the custom. The father immediately said, "Oh our son-in-law is back" even without knowing if they were married or not. He went down and made a fire, took the game and singed off the fur, skinned it and cut the meat up. They then cooked and ate it together. While they were sitting down together, the father wanted to test the magical knowledge of the *palei* youth. So he said, "Eh, wouldn't it be nice if we had the *kebut* sing-sing ceremony, play around." So they went to look for the things needed for the ceremony and started the rituals. They began the ritual but the father was surprised to find that the *palei* youth was not singing, only he was the one singing all the

while. He constantly invited his son-in-law to take part in the singing but he said he was not good at it and declined. On the last night of the ceremony he urged his son-in-law to sing. Before the ceremony began the youngest daughter warned her mother not to *chi-ai* when the *palei* youth started singing in the ceremony. She was not to say anything such as, "Le...le... how nice is the voice of so and so." The mother promised not to say that.

However, when the ceremony started and the *palei* youth got up to dance and sing with much beauty and grace, the mother could not restrain herself from saying, "Le...le...how graceful is my son-in-law. How lovely is his voice. Look at him dance, as smooth as the movements of the *palei* leaves." As soon as she said that the *palei* youth turned into the *palei* tree, right in the middle of the house. Upon seeing this, his wives fell at his feet and begged him to return to his former form. But the *palei* youth could not do anything about it. The younger wife in agony then cursed her mother, hoping that this would bring her husband back to her. She cursed her to the *pog* bird. And that is why till now, whenever you find the *pog* bird, there would be *palei* trees nearby. But this could not bring her husband back to them. They cried day and night, not eating, not resting till they eventually died. When they died, the spell was broken and the *palei* youth could come out of the tree. Sadly, he kissed his two wives lovingly. Then he said, "Elder sister and wife, I wish for you to be the *ngat* beetle and younger sister and wife, I wish for you to be the *ngop* grub." He said this so that his wives would always remain with him as the *ngat* beetle and the *ngop* grub live within the *palei* tree itself.

GLOSSARY

<i>adat</i>	customary law
<i>balei</i> or <i>balai</i>	spirit houses used in rituals
<i>baq nyam</i>	first paddy
<i>belanja adat</i>	customary expenses paid to the <i>Penghulu</i> for holding a marriage under his jurisdiction
<i>belanja dapur</i>	expenses for the wedding feast
<i>belau</i>	blowpipe
<i>beliung</i>	axe
<i>berias</i>	skilled in hunting, fishing or trapping; usually applies to males
<i>berjulak</i>	the singing of a <i>nyenulak</i>
<i>bicara'</i>	a village moot
<i>cak halui</i>	eating/using a particular resource in an individual manner
<i>cak samak</i>	eating/using a particular resource together in a communal manner
<i>ceag</i>	a type of fish trap
<i>chemtaa</i>	a species of bird
<i>ci-ai</i>	a taboo whereby a person responds directly and verbally to certain noises in the forest
<i>Darat Baruh</i>	the plains south of Bidor town
<i>gepog</i>	a large container used to store rice
<i>gunig</i>	familiar spirit or spirit guide
<i>halak</i>	shaman
<i>hi weg</i>	a method of catching fish using fish traps called the <i>ceag</i>
<i>Jaq Bidat</i> <i>kabom</i>	Grandmother Midwife; a supernatural being a type of fish trap

<i>kak-rok</i>	a method of fishing whereby a group of people stuns the fish using natural poisons before catching them
<i>karug</i>	sack, usually used to store paddy
<i>kebut or sewang gelap</i>	a spiritual ritual used to heal or entertain whereby familiar spirits are called to assist; done in total darkness
<i>keramat</i>	guardian spirit of a particular area or natural entity (i.e. tree, rock, cave, etc.)
<i>krag</i>	a parasitic plant
<i>langkah mendul</i>	the price paid by the bridegroom for crossing the threshold of the bride's home
<i>le-ap</i>	cool
<i>mai</i>	people; usually referring to other people
<i>mai ngenrik</i>	supernatural beings
<i>mai numpong</i>	the OA who have married into the land owning group
<i>mai pasak</i>	the founders of the <i>nenggrik pasak</i> or the land owning group
<i>Mairaknak</i>	communal leaders
<i>Mairaknak Darat</i>	communal leaders overseeing the hamlets in the interior
<i>manjat tubuh</i>	bride price
<i>mareg</i>	a method of catching fish whereby bamboo sticks are set at the sides of the river to trap the fish
<i>menghar</i>	generous
<i>menuba</i>	a method of catching fish by stunning them with poison
<i>neasik or sewang terang</i>	a spiritual ritual used to heal or entertain whereby familiar spirits are called to assist; done in a lighted space
<i>nenggrik numpong</i>	the land in which the OA who have married into the land owning group have only partial rights; the <i>nenggrik pasak</i> of a spouse when the spouse is not of the same village
<i>nenggrik pasak</i>	customary land of the original people or land owning group

<i>nenggrik</i>	customary land
<i>neradag</i>	work which is unfixed and unpredictable, depending on the luck for the day
<i>ngek-ngek</i>	a species of bird
<i>ngenhaa'</i>	an act committed when a person ceases to share with another person with whom s/he has an on-going reciprocal relationship (Gomes, 1991:184)
<i>Nyenang</i>	the Semai God
<i>nyenuk</i>	natural substance used to stun fish
<i>nyenulak</i>	spirit song given by the <i>gunig</i> to a <i>halak</i>
<i>palei</i>	a type of palm tree
<i>pelek kenrok</i>	natural substance used to stun fish
<i>penalik</i>	a food taboo whereby game meat or fish is to be eaten by itself without mixing with other food types
<i>Penghulu</i>	Headman
<i>puhunan</i>	the state of being in want of something
<i>raga</i>	back basket used to carry things on a journey
<i>ruai baq</i>	spirit of the paddy
<i>sekoog</i>	compensation money to the spirits
<i>selai baq</i>	paddy swidden
<i>Setin</i>	Assistant Headman
<i>sumpit perempuan</i>	a woven basket used to present de-husked rice to a woman's mother-in-law
<i>tanda</i>	a kerchief holding objects given as a sign of one's consent and desire to be married; a sarong for a woman and a shirt for a man
<i>tanggung</i>	the practice of supporting or assisting the family of one's intended in marriage
<i>tarog</i>	spear

<i>ten-naid kerawog</i>	sacred woven headband
<i>ten-naid</i>	weave or woven material
<i>teow</i>	water or river
<i>terlaid</i>	untoward incidents which will occur when certain taboos are broken, such as flash floods and massive storms
<i>wali</i>	paternal uncles
<i>waris</i>	maternal male relatives of the mother's generation or older
<i>waris mas</i>	maternal uncles
<i>Yenang</i>	assistant to the <i>Mairaknak</i>

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