

CHEWONG MODES OF THOUGHT

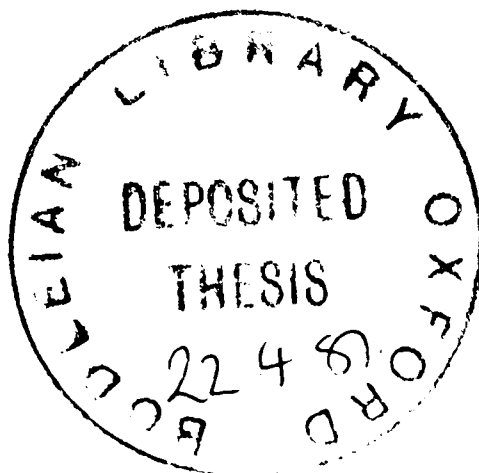
by

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ABSTRACT

PREFACE

This is a study of the principles which govern the way the Chewong act, based on their understanding of themselves, each other, their environment, and the supernatural. I was forced to approach my theme in a slightly unusual way because Chewong society lacks the structural features that anthropologists usually focus upon in their discussions of the collective representations of a group of people. Thus there are no lineages, no alliances, no hierarchies or other political organisation, and few elaborate rituals and ceremonies. This meant that I had to look elsewhere for "pegs" upon which to hang my analysis and interpretation.

This absence of features commonly adduced by anthropologists in their ethnographies led me to experience some depression, firstly in the field and again in the initial stages of organizing my material. When starting to write, however, I decided to regard the situation as a challenge rather than an impediment. I made up my mind that the absence of these features was in itself extraordinary and worthy of study, and I decided to regard this as a positive and significant feature of the society.

My attention was first brought to the Malay aboriginals by Professor Rodney Needham, who suggested that the Chewong in particular would prove interesting, since little was known about them. Before going to the field, I wrote an M. Litt. thesis based on all published material available on the Malay aboriginals, and made a comparative study of their religious systems (Howell 1977).

It was in the general areas of religion and symbolism that I wished to concentrate my investigations in the field.

Between September 1977 and June 1979 I spent a total of seventeen months with the Chewong of Central Pahang in the Malay Peninsula. The first twelve months were interrupted only by brief trips out to Temerloh to renew my permit to live in the Krau Game Reserve, and to restock my supplies. These excursions were sometimes accompanied by a couple of days in Kuala Lumpur. After the first year I returned to England for three months. This allowed me to write up and review all my notes, and to identify specific lacunae in my data, and areas which would merit further investigation, before embarking upon the second trip.

The Chewong consist of two separate groups of people, each numbering about 130 individuals. Although each group knows about the other, they have virtually no contact. I spent most of my time with those who live in the east, inside the Krau Game Reserve, in five different settlements, and after two months I began to live as a member of a family at the settlement of Gambir, but visiting the other four settlements fairly frequently. I spent one month, towards the end of my field work, with the second branch of the Chewong, in the west, who live in three settlements near Raub. Broadly speaking, both groups share similar notions, but not always in the same combinations. I encountered the same phenomenon pertaining to all the aboriginal groups when working on my M. Litt. thesis, as a result of which I suggested that the religions of the various groups share many

ingredients, but that these are combined in different ways.

The Chewong had not been subjected to an anthropological study before I went to live with them. A British game warden who first contacted them in 1938 wrote three articles about their way of life (Ogilvie 1940, 1948, 1949). Needham met two members of the group outside their own territory and wrote two articles based on conversations within the space of two days (Needham 1956, 1974). Ogilvie also included a wordlist of the Chewong language and I took with me a copy of this. Unfortunately, however, I found it of limited use as Ogilvie's rendering (he did not speak the language) often made my attempts at pronunciation incomprehensible to the Chewong; and as I began to learn the language a number of faults emerged. I therefore soon abandoned any reference to it.

I had learnt a little Malay before entering the field and with this knowledge, supplemented by a Malay dictionary, I began to pick up vocabulary. Although most older men spoke a fairly fluent Malay, their vocabulary was rather basic. They did not understand the Malay for more abstract concepts, and I had to work out the Chewong words for myself. After I had been with them for about six months I understood enough to make sense out of a myth that I was told, and by the time I left I had collected about eighty myths. Some of these are included in Appendix 1. Only those which are referred to in the main text are rendered in full. Despite my being able to record myths and songs and participate in ordinary conversation, I will by no means claim a fluency in their language.

The Chewong are extremely shy of strangers and are unusually reserved in their dealings with one another. This did not facilitate my investigations. Since there is so little ceremony and ritual, I had to reach an understanding of their values and beliefs more from talking than from observing. Once I understood something of their modes of thought, I was able to see actual practices in a new light. This meant that every activity which appeared "normal" had to be acutely observed and questioned. I soon came to realize that Chewong behaviour was far from devoid of ritual, but symbolic significance had to be looked for in the mundane activities of cooking, eating, attitude to, and treatment of, animals and plants, as well as daily behaviour in the forest. I found that there were few acts or movements which were not in some way prescribed, with accompanying notions of repercussions from transgressions.

It was only by living in very close contact with the Chewong that I was able to discern what these rules were and how they fitted in with Chewong notions about the supernatural world, cosmology, and superhuman beings. When I finally lived in a house as a member of a family, doing my full share of the daily chores and, as a result, being given my equal share of all food, I was able to understand how these seemingly unimportant activities in fact constituted the main manifestation of the complex set of beliefs which governed the Chewong. By constantly being questioned about ways of doing the most ordinary task, the Chewong with whom I lived came to be aware of what they took for granted, and eventually began to take pleasure in pointing out to me how and why they did

something which I had not as yet witnessed. This does not mean that I found people who could provide native exegesis of their own acts and practices. Far from it. Exegesis was rarely forthcoming. But a few people began to focus upon their own practices in a new way.

Arising out of my comments so far, I wish to suggest that in order to understand Chewong modes of thought, one must focus upon the way they act in the world rather than the way they think about it. Furthermore, it could be said that there is a correspondence between the social and the metaphysical which is mediated through the rules.

Although what I shall be presenting to a certain extent represents an amalgam of what I was told by numerous different people, I should stress that there was a remarkable conformity in the answers that different people gave to the same questions, and in the way they explained their actions. In such small groups where everyone knows everyone else, knowledge is freely available and constantly exchanged among all members of the group. This may explain why contradictory information was received by me much less frequently than by anthropologists in other societies. Also, because there were so few Chewong, I managed to know every individual personally and I worked alongside all of them at some time or another. Throughout this thesis I try to let the Chewong speak for themselves. Whenever possible I refer to their own interpretations or justifications.

A few words must be said about methodology, both in the field and in writing up the thesis. Although my earlier statements

may give the impression that I went to the field with a clear expectation of what I would find, this is true only so far as I did expect some "system" to emerge. I had no preconceived ideas of what form this "system" would take. I was acutely aware of the danger of imposing my own theoretical ideas on practices and utterances, and I tried throughout my stay with the Chewong to keep an open mind and not impose interpretations prematurely, or without asking the Chewong themselves. What one "hears" may not always be the same as what is "said", and it may well be that my attempts to conquer this problem did not always succeed. At any rate, I tried to remain unbiased and to let the people speak for themselves.

In writing up, I again let the material dictate my approach. Guided by what struck me as significant about Chewong social interaction and ideas, I have chosen to present my interpretation, after a general introduction, in three main parts. Each part takes as its starting point a concept which appeared to offer a significant insight into the Chewong modes of thought: relations, consciousness, and rules. Part 1 is concerned with a whole range of relations: between human beings on the social level, between men and women, between humans and superhumans, and between the various kinds of superhuman beings. In discussing these different relationships, the basic tenet of my investigation is that the underlying notion in all Chewong relationships is a fundamental non-hierarchical ordering. Relative status as well as competition in achievement is absent from Chewong institutions and from their symbolic representations. I also introduce the Chewong tendency

to see the world in relativistic terms; thus they explain and even excuse the behaviour of the superhuman beings with respect to humans by equating it with the behaviour of humans with respect to other species. In Part 2 I explore the concept of relativity further by examining in some detail the Chewong notion of consciousness, how they conceive of the human self and person, and the implications of their ideas in these respects for their views of other beings, both superhuman and animate non-human. In Part 3 I investigate the implications of the numerous rules which govern Chewong behaviour, both individually and socially. Finally, I include a discussion on Chewong symbolic classification, attempting to reconcile the apparent lack of common principles among the various symbolic categories or classes in the realm of the superhuman beings, as well as the numerous objects singled out as symbolic vehicles for thought.

It became apparent as I proceeded with an interpretation of my data from the three perspectives just outlined that these were more closely interlinked theoretically than I had at first anticipated. The concept of relations is present in the discussion on consciousness, where the major part of the examination is an attempt to discern Chewong attitudes towards themselves in terms of their attitudes towards the rest of nature and supernature. It is also a major consideration in the discussion on rules, since these highlight Chewong notions of causality in their relationships with each other and the superhuman beings. Also, the lack of hierarchy on the social level is found to coincide with a non-hierarchical classification.

The research, including field work expenses, was financed by the Social Science Research Council. I would like to take this opportunity to thank them for this assistance. I also wish to thank my college, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, for partial exemption from fees for my last term after the S. S. R. C. grant had expired, and for financial aid towards the preparation of this thesis.

I am indebted to a great number of institutions and individuals in Malaysia, but can name only a few here. The Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Jabatan Orang Asli, (abbreviated to J. O. A. throughout this thesis) supported my application to carry out research with the Chewong and gave me much help throughout my stay. I particularly wish to thank Dr. Baharon Azhar Raffie'i (the Director General) who put his resources at my disposal. The medical staff at Gambak, the hospital for Orang Asli outside Kuala Lumpur, generously kept me supplied with medicines both for my own purpose as well as for dispensing among the Chewong. Staff at the regional J. O. A. offices at Raub and Temerloh facilitated my initial entries to the Chewong in these two areas. Hassan bin Hussein, the Director of the Pahang Game Department, made every effort to ensure speedy renewals of my permit to enter the Krau Game Reserve, and the police at Temerloh similarly gave their co-operation.

Dr. Hood Mohamad Salleh and his wife Maherani Mohamad Ishak were most generous and kind when I first arrived in Malaysia and helped my research application to come through. I am extremely grateful to them both and wish to thank them for their generosity.

I benefited from their experiences of living with Orang Asli, both from a practical as well as an intellectual point of view. Nick Hornsby allowed me to use his flat whenever I was in Kuala Lumpur. Dato Howard Biles, former Protector of Aborigines in Pahang, found time to receive me in Kota Baru. Dr Kirk Endicott gave me much useful information about conditions in Malaysia before I embarked upon my field work.

I am more indebted than I can ever say to the Chewong themselves, who came to accept me and treat me as one of themselves. They put up with my clumsiness and inadequacies and did everything they could to protect me from accidents and misadventure of all kind. Among them I wish to single out Modn, who appointed herself my mother and who patiently repeated her extensive knowledge again and again so that I began to understand their concepts and ideas. I also wish to thank her husband Beng, her daughter Nyom, her son Laneg, her son-in-law Kwe, all of whom answered my questions, which I have no doubt they often found foolish, and began to take an interest in, and even derive pleasure from, my quest for knowledge about their customs and beliefs. Patong, Taloi, Lah, Sabod, Mod and all the children at Gambir also receive my thanks. The Chewong of Kg. Yol, and Kg. S. Riong are also remembered with gratitude. I hope that this thesis may one day prove of interest to literate generations of Chewong as a record of their past.

The computer analysis discussed in Chapter IX was undertaken by the M.R.C. Service for Analysing Repertory Grids, Oxford University, under Dr. P. Slater. I am grateful to Dr. Peter Collett for his aid in setting up the programme and in analysing the results.

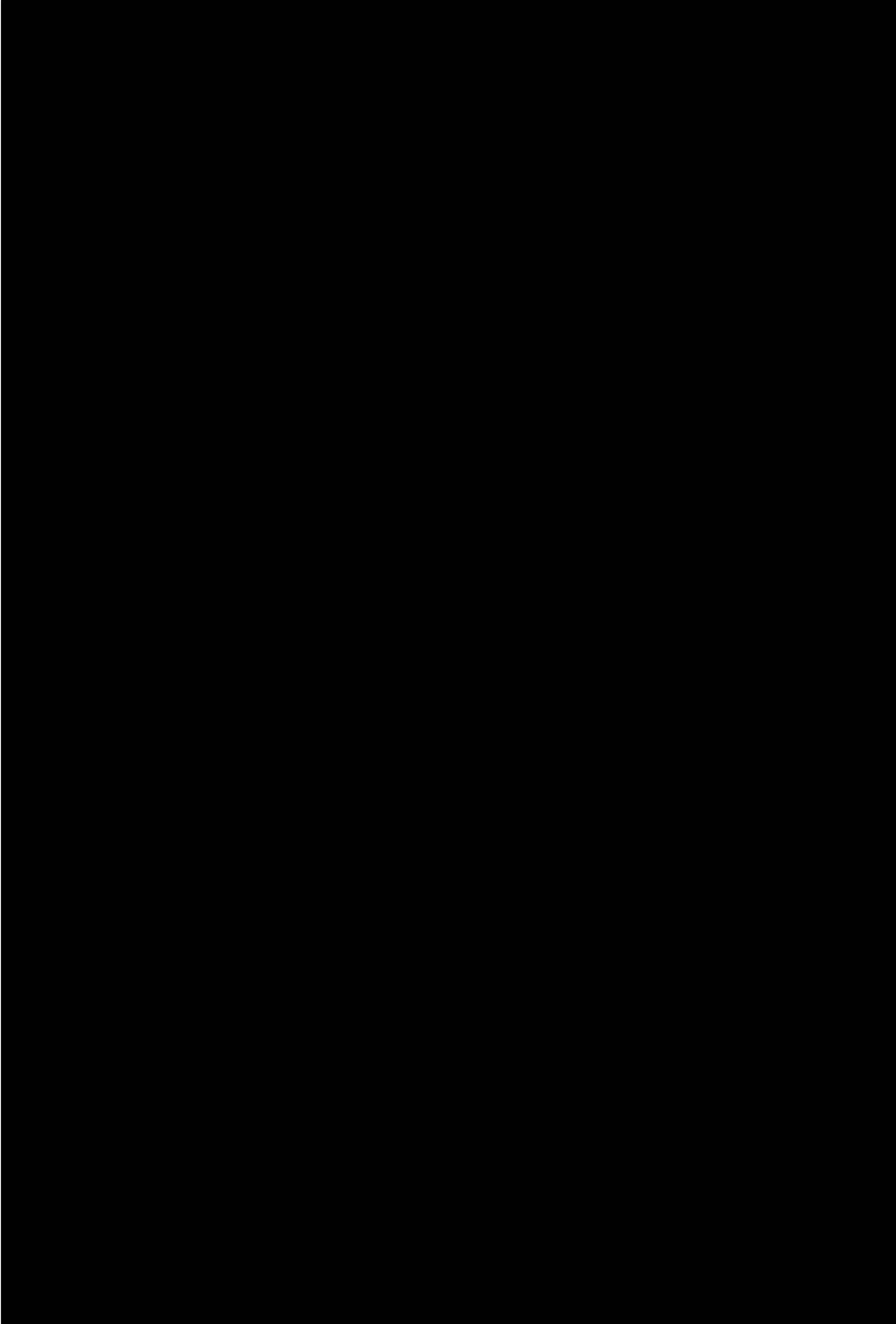
Professor Rodney Needham, who initially encouraged me to carry out ethnographic research among the Chewong, was a constant support while I was in the field and during the period of writing. His comments were always pertinent and stimulating. My intellectual debt to him will be apparent in this thesis. Finally, I wish to thank Desmond McNeill for his unfailing emotional support throughout this period, and for the many discussions on methodology which helped to clarify my ideas.

ORTHOGRAPHY

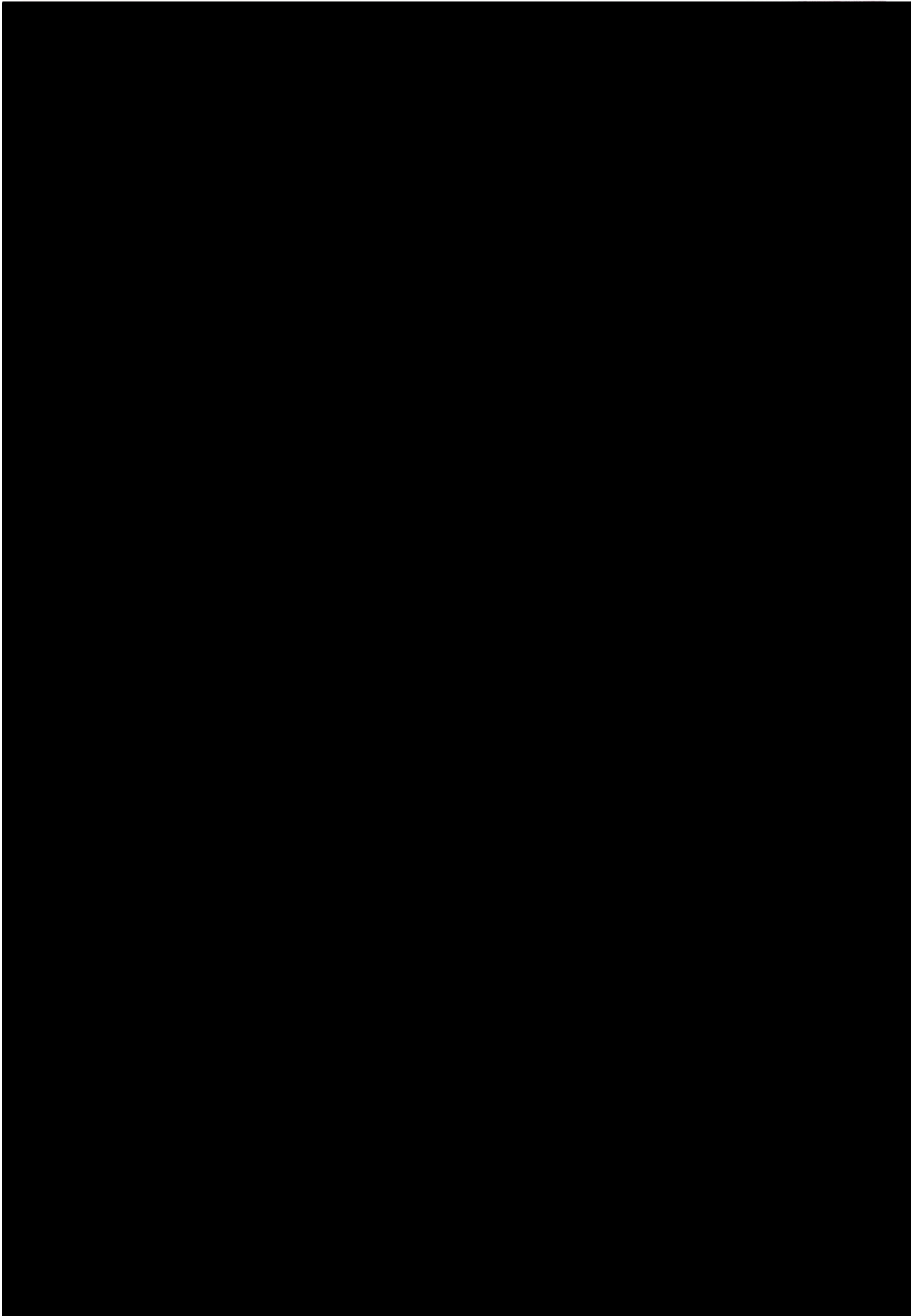
In the spelling system used in this thesis each symbol represents one phoneme. The following list gives the nearest English equivalent to the letter and symbols used.

- a pronounced like "a" in "flask"
- ae pronounced like "a" in "gas"
- ai pronounced like "y" in "my"
- e pronounced like "e" in "bed"
- i pronounced like "ie" in "piece"
- kh pronounced like "ch" in German "ach" or Scottish "loch"
- o pronounced like "o" in "woman"
- ò pronounced like "o" in "hot"
- u pronounced like "o" in "who"
- ö pronounced like "ô" in German "öffnen"
- ch pronounced like "ch" in "chop"

An apostrophe after a vowel indicates a glottal stop. An accute accent over an "e" indicates a stress on the syllable, and one over a final "i" indicates a stress on this letter.



General view of the forest (from the foothills of Mount Benom)



Modn in traditional costume

Kwe with the day's catch (rhinoceros hornbill)

PART 1

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE

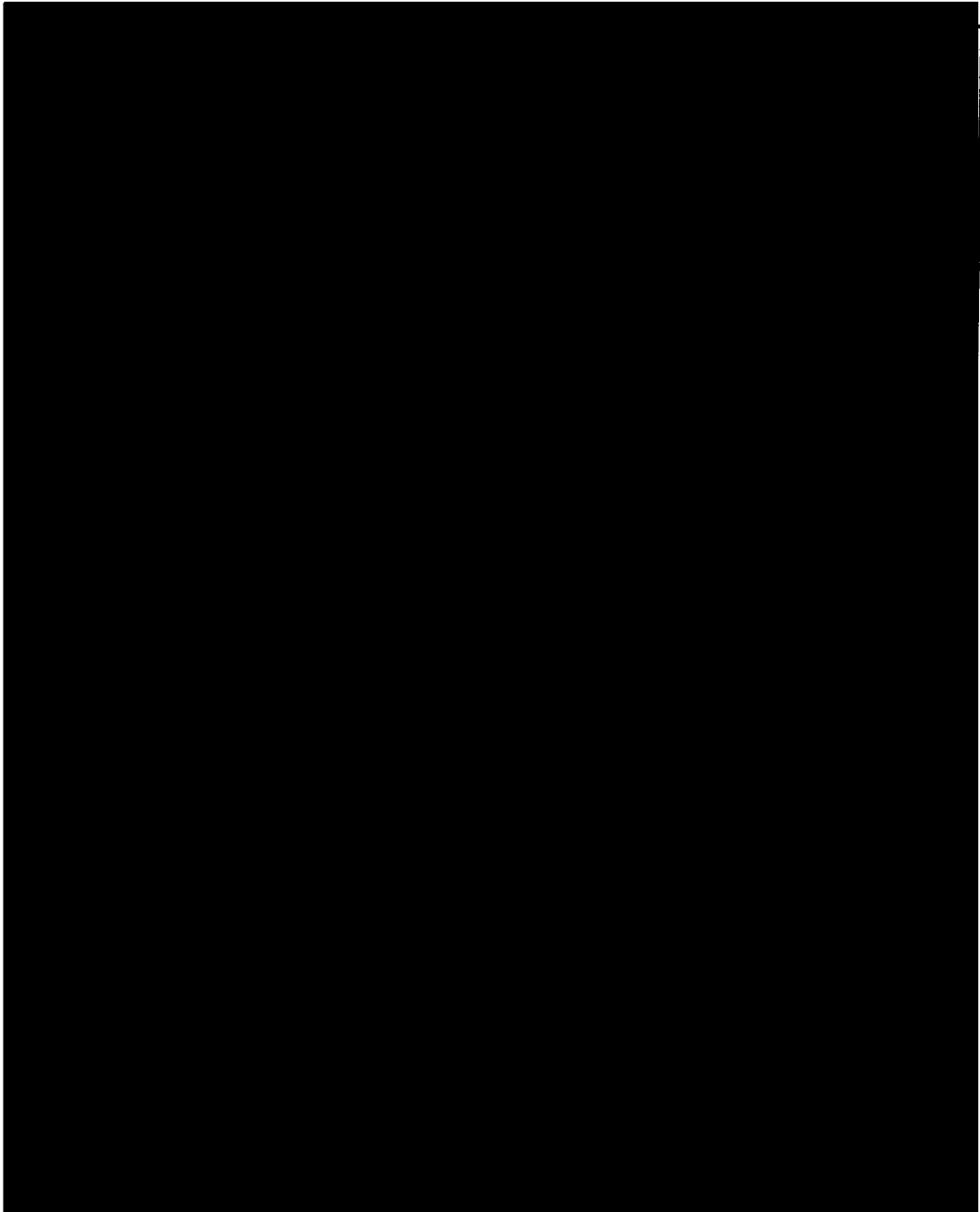
This is a study of a small group of aboriginal people in the Malay Peninsula whom I shall be calling the Chewong (see discussion below on the problem of the group's name). First I wish to show how the Chewong relate to the rest of the Malay aborigines. According to current official Malaysian practice I will use the term Orang Asli for the group of aboriginals as a whole, a designation which simply means "original people". The 1969 census shows there to be 53,000 Orang Asli in the Peninsula distributed throughout all eleven states with the exception of Perlis and Penang. (See Table I and Map I for numbers and distribution). The traditional way of discussing the Orang Asli in the literature has been to divide them into three main groups based on ethnic and cultural grounds. Thus we have the woolly-haired Negritos, the wavy-haired Senoi, and the straight-haired Proto-Malays. Whereas the former two speak languages belonging to the Mon-Khmer sub-family of the Austro-Asiatic group of languages, the Proto-Malays are Austro-nesian speakers. The Senoi and the Negritos came from the North, the Proto-Malays from the South. There are many problems in this classification in that several groups appear to be hybrids. Thus there are groups which are linguistically classed under one branch whilst displaying racial or social characteristics normally associated with another linguistic branch. (See Skeat and Blagden 1906; Wilkinson 1910; Evans 1923, 1937; William-Hunt 1952; Carey 1976 on the problems of classification).

TABLE 1

The Orang Asli Population in 1969

State	Negritos	Senoi	Proto- Malays	Total
Kedah	100	–	–	100
Perak	900	15. 800	–	16. 700
Kelantan	650	4. 100	–	4. 750
Trengganu	20	180	–	200
Pahang	150	9. 000	10. 350	19. 500
Selangor	–	1. 270	3. 290	4. 560
Negri Sembilan	–	–	3. 120	3. 120
Melaka	–	–	400	400
Johor	–	–	3. 670	3. 670
Total	1. 820	30. 370	20. 830	53. 000

Source: Department for Aboriginal Affairs, 1969 Census
(Carey 1976:11)



Map I: Malay Peninsula: Distribution
of Aslian Languages (Approximate)

(Benjamin 1976)

Language and Prehistory

In recent years advances have been made in the linguistic study of the Mon-Khmer speaking Orang Asli.

Thus Diffloth divides them into three groups: the Jahaic branch, the Senoic branch, and the Semelaic branch (1974: 482). Benjamin in a much more detailed study, and using "entirely newly gathered data" (1976: 43) confirms Diffloth's classification, but chooses to use the term "Aslian" for the Austro-Asiatic languages of the Malay Peninsula including the immediately related languages of the Negritos of southern Thailand" (43). The Aslian speakers are further sub-divided in the following manner:

"Northern Aslian: Kensiu, Kintaq Bong, Jehai, Mendriq, Bateg Deq, Mintil, Bateg Nong, and Che' Wong; Central Aslian: Semnan, Sabum, Lanoh Jengjeng, Lanoh Yir, Temiar, Semai 1 and 11, and Jah Hut; Southern Aslian: Mah Meri, Semaq Beri, Semelai, and Temoq" (57).

The Northern Aslian speakers correspond to the Negrito ethnic type, with the exception of the Che' Wong (my Chewong), and the Central and Southern Aslian speakers to the Senoi physical type, with the exception of Semnan, Sabum, Lanoh Jengjeng, and Lanoh Yir, all of whom are Negritos. Benjamin arrived at his classification scheme through a "cognacy percentage matrix of vocabulary". The Northern Aslian language group,

of which the Che' Wong is a member, proves more recalcitrant to sub-grouping on this basis than do the Central and Southern ones, and Benjamin warns that "only limited conclusions can be drawn from simple inspection" (60). Benjamin is puzzled by the Che' Wong whom he finds to be more closely related to the Kensiu, who live more than 200 miles away, than they are to their immediate neighbours, and concludes that close physical proximity does not necessarily result in contiguous languages (61). Later in the same paper he says:

The Che' Wong language shows a puzzling loan rate of 4% with Kensiu despite the distance which separates them. Assuming this figure to be correct, it could mean that during the early stages of Proto-Northern Aslian, Che' Wong could then have retained contact with Kensiu for long enough to cause a low but noticeable loan rate between them. Perhaps it was the return north of Jehai that spurred Che' Wong to move away eastwards. Che' Wong shows high loan rates with all Southern Aslian languages except Mah Meri, which suggests that its ancestors came into contact with Proto-Southern Aslian speakers (Semaq Beri - Semelai - Temoq) before the latter split apart but after Mah Meri had split away (78).

It must be mentioned, however, that the wordlist upon which Benjamin based his analysis of the Che' Wong language was

obtained through interviewing a man by the name of Yasih from Sungei Pasu, north of Raub, Pahang, whom he met at Gombak, the hospital for Orang Asli near Kuala Lumpur. Benjamin includes the vocabulary thus obtained. This man came from a village which is some distance from the traditional Chewong habitat, and is one in which many Temuan and Jah Hut live and intermarry with the Chewong. It is one of three villages which constitute what I shall term, for the sake of convenience, the Western Chewong. I found when I went there that their vocabulary is in many respects different from that of the Eastern Chewong among whom I spent most of my time. They have also adopted many more Malay words into their language.

To return to Benjamin's wordlist, I found that out of a total of 142 words listed, only 84 corresponded more or less to the words I learnt in the field among the Eastern Chewong. In many cases I would have spelt them differently. Thirty words did not correspond at all and there are about 28 words of which I am uncertain. In view of this, I think that one must regard Benjamin's interpretations of the Chewong language and its development with some caution.

Regarding the origin and early history of the Aslian peoples, we still know very little. This is partly due to lack of historical records within the societies themselves, and partly to lack of examples of material culture. Archaeological findings in this area are few, although recent excavations on the mainland of Southeast Asia have brought to light extremely ancient remains of civilisation, including decorated pottery as well as bronze

artifacts some five thousand years old (Diffloth 1978: 13).

We do not know who made these, however, and we have no archaeological artifacts identified as Aslian. They have been hunters and gatherers, or shifting cultivators, for centuries and have not in recent times made any metal works or pottery. Their traditional utensils were, and still are in some groups, chiefly made out of organic forest produce. Even if there had been more durable goods, physical circumstances would render excavations virtually impossible. Their habitat is the primary tropical rain forest.

Failing to find any of the traditional tools used for dating the prehistory of peoples, Benjamin makes tentative suggestions regarding the timing and chronology of the arrival and dispersal of the Aslians in the Malay Peninsula, based on glottochronological calculations performed on the cognacy rates. He suggests that originally all Proto-Aslians were hunters and gatherers, and that "their language was almost certainly heterogeneous even before they entered the Peninsula" (83). He postulates that they arrived from Yunnan, Vietnam and Cambodia through Thailand, and that whereas the Northern people remained nomads, the Central and Southern ones started practicing a rudimentary form of agriculture "sometime between 6610 and 6410 B (efore) P (resent)"; and that by 5970 B.P. northerners and southerners were speaking distinct dialects while the central people retained linguistic continuity with their neighbours both to the North and to the South (83). Finally he suggests that as far as the Che' Wong are concerned, the "Proto-Northern Aslians divided into blocks

so that Proto-Che' Wong began to separate off to the east some time after 3900 B.P." (84).

According to Benjamin's analysis, the Che' Wong appear to be the "odd man out". They are the only non-Negrito Orang Asli who speak a language belonging to the Northern Aslian branch, which (from census figures) account for the languages of eighty-five per cent of the total Negrito population. Maybe a more correct sample of their vocabulary would help in the analysis. I am not qualified to conduct a comparative linguistic analysis, so for the moment we have to leave the "Che' Wong" as something of an enigma as regards their proper place on the linguistic and ethnic map of the Peninsula.

Earlier Sources

Very little was known about the Chewong before I went to live with them. References were made by Schebesta and Evans to aborigines living near Gunong Benom¹ and on Sungei Lompat², in central Pahang, but neither of them managed to contact these people. (See below for further discussion). It was not until Mr. C. S. Ogilvie, a British game warden, went on an inspection tour of the Krau Game Reserve in 1938 that the group later known as the Che Wông was contacted – or rather that part of the Chewong speakers who live in the Krau Game Reserve, and who for present purposes will be referred to as the Eastern Chewong. The Krau Game Reserve was established by the British in 1926, and it covers the area extending between, roughly, from Bukit Tapah³ in the south to Gunong Tungku in the north, and from Gunong Benom in

the west to where the Krau and Lompat rivers meet in the east. (See Map 11). The southern half of this area is the traditional habitat of the Eastern Chewong, whereas the northern half is the habitat of the Jah Hut. The Western Chewong live in the Ulu Dong area and just north and south of Kampong Dong⁴, between Raub and Kuala Lipis. Ogilvie came to know some of the Eastern Chewong quite well over the next fifteen years and he wrote three brief articles about them (Ogilvie 1940, 1948 and 1949) including a rudimentary wordlist. According to the Chewong who knew him best, Ogilvie never learnt their language, and always conversed with them in Malay. Because his tours of duty were necessarily brief, and he was always accompanied by Malays, Ogilvie never saw the Chewong sing and drum, nor did he witness any of their ritual acts or hear any of their myths or stories. This is clear from his articles which have virtually no information on their religious system. But he is remembered with much affection by those who had most to do with him, particularly by Beng and Patong, who are still alive today.

Needham met Beng and Patong in 1955 at Kuala Tahan on the Tembeling River where they had gone to work for Ogilvie for a couple of years, and wrote an article about Chewong society based on a two days' interview (Needham 1956). Diffloth spent one night at Gandah, the southernmost settlement of the Game Reserve in 1968 or 1969 in order to obtain his own wordlist. Finally, Benjamin interviewed the man from Sungei Pasu as already described, but he never went to a Chewong settlement. These four encounters constitute the total dealings that the Chewong have had

with outsiders with ethnographic interests. During the Emergency (1948–60) they had brief contacts with British soldiers and officials.

Name of the Group

At this point it is necessary to include a discussion on the group name, as this has been the subject of some uncertainty. The people are referred to in the literature by the following names: Maroi, Jo-Ben or Cho-Ben, Kleb, Nyeg, Che Wông, Che' Wong, and Siwang. I will deal with each of these in turn. Evans, on descending from G. Benom in 1923, visited some people who lived along the Kerau River whom he calls "the Kerau River Sakai-Jakun" (1927: 37). These would be the people today known as the Jah Hut. The Jah Hut told him stories about what he took to be two groups of aborigines living on the Lompat River:

The first, the Maroi, are said to be similar in appearance to the Kerau pagans, but to speak a different dialect: they make houses and clearings. The second, the So-Ben (Jo-Ben and Cho-Ben of my previous informants) are very wild, live in shelters and do not cultivate the soil. They are said to use stone knives, cutting and splitting wood with them. Stones of suitable shape are chosen from the bed of some river (Evans 1927: 42).

In 1925 Evans paid a short visit to Kuala Lompat (where it runs into the Kerau) in order to try to find the Jo-Ben. A Jah Hut

who was supposed to know the Lompat area well said that no one there had ever seen them, but that the other people who lived there told stories about them. The man offered to bring some members of this other group, apparently Negritos, for Evans to meet. Evans, however, was unable to wait, so he had to leave after an abortive attempt.

The first name, Maroi, is easily dealt with. Maroi was the name of Beng's and Patong's father. Ogilvie, who met him before the war, said that he was a very old man, and "their leader" (1949: 12). When Ogilvie returned to the jungle after the war, Maroi had died. He probably had acted as spokesman whenever they emerged from the forest to trade their produce or tried to earn a little cash, and the group became known as "Maroi's people" Orang Maroi by the Malays with whom they came in contact.

Jo-Ben is slightly more problematic. At the present time there is no other group of Orang Asli living in the vicinity of the Lompat River. However, Ogilvie gives the following account.

Stories have been told of a strange people whom nobody ever saw. They were variously referred to as So-ben, and Cho-ben. They were supposed to have their wild being in Ulu Lompat, and it was also told that they used stone implements. I first enquired about these people from the Che Wông in 1939, and was then informed that they had never heard of them. They told me that no people other than themselves had lived in that area during their

occupation which had gone on for untold ages.

Now, January 1949, when these people have got to know, and trust me, Beng gives me the following:- "Long, long ago when the Malays first came into Pahang, our neighbours the Beri Nyeg lived at Mempati on the River Semantin, and on the River Klau; while we Che Wông lived about Kuala Rangit, a tributary of the Teris which flows into the Semantin. We lived no great distance from them. The Malays started to hunt the Beri Nyeg and ourselves. Then our people ran away from them to Mount Palas, while the Beri Nyeg ran away to the southern slopes of Benom. From this time the Beri Nyeg became known as Jelbeng. With them, when they left Mempati and the Klau they took fire sticks, puntong os, only. They had no time to take anything else. Later, as they had no sort of implements they took to making and using sharpened stones. The Malays drove them higher, and this time they had to leave so hurriedly that they could take no fire. They cut rattan strips, seg sega, and by drawing this seg sega seven times across "meranti" wood, jehu beranti, held in contact with fluffy tinder, muel, started fire again. Still the Malays continued to hunt them. They were forced very high on to Benom itself, where they could find no seg sega with which to

start fire again. Eventually, they were able to start fire by striking two stones together.

Long, long after this they ventured down again to the Ulu Lompat. By this time the Che Wông had moved from Palas into this area, and one day Maroi met four families of these Jelbeng. This meeting between Maroi and Jelbeng took place when Maroi was a very young man. His first wife had just had her first baby. The meeting took place about half way between Lata Tujoh and Kuala Kusa on the Teris River. Maroi gave these Jelbeng a piece of steel to make fire, two knives of steel, one iron digging-stick, tahral, and offered them some salt. They refused the salt as, they said, it would cause them to swell. Maroi told me that the Jelbeng had sharpened stones with them which they used in place of steel implements. After this encounter the Jelbeng left for the heights of Benom and have never been heard of since. (Ogilvie 1949: 17).

Ogilvie then goes on to say that "some of their kind known as Beri Nyeg are still to be found on the rivers Klau and Bilut," and that he has seen some of them and that they are of mixed blood. The general story about the Jelbeng corresponds to what I was told, but there are certain important differences. According to Beng and his son-in-law Kwe, the Beri, or Bi, (both words mean people or human) Nyeg are not the same as the Jelbeng. The

Jelbeng are those people who fled from the Malays up to the top of G. Benom. They had no knives, fire, clothes or salt and lived as Ogilvie tells us. They still live up in the mountains, but no one has seen them since Maroi did. They are very, very frightened and rather than expose themselves to the dangers of communicating with outsiders they prefer to live without those goods. Without tools they cannot make clearings and plant, so they are always searching for wild tubers. They do have blow-pipes, but no fire. Kwe said that on one occasion, many years ago, some white people came looking for the Jelbeng, but although they searched all around G. Benom they never found them. They came across some foot-prints, however, so the Jelbeng are still alive.

The Bi Nyeg are the original inhabitants of the area around Latah Tujoh. A very long time ago the Chewong had not yet moved into this part of the forest. When they fled from the Malays from the Semantan area they went to G. Pallas. One day a man (Kwe said this was Maroi, but Beng denied this, insisting it was much further back in time) was out hunting. He strayed further than usual and came to the head waters of S. Lompat, where he met the people who lived there. They were the Bi Nyeg. They spoke "half like us, and half differently". They were very friendly, and told the man the names of all the rivers and mountains, and showed him where the best fruit trees were. When the man returned to Pallas and told the people there what he had seen, many of them wanted to go and have a look. Some of them decided to stay on and made clearings near the fruit trees. The Bi Nyeg

no longer exist. No one knows where they went. They just finished, hadeitn, according to Kwe. He knows that they did not go to Krau (the Jah Hut) for there are none of them there today. But they are not to be confused with the Bi Nyep, who still exist and are the Temuan on the S. Semantan and S. Klau. The similiarity of the names is clearly confusing. I checked the point and was specifically told that they are not the same.

Rather than take the story of the Jelbeng literally, one should regard it as a symbolic representation of non-human humans. The Jelbeng do not possess fire or clothing, the two most pertinent aspects that separate humans from the rest of nature. Though not a true inversion, the image of human beings who lack certain essential features of "humanness" is commonly encountered among people all over the world, and is a means by which one group of people confirm themselves as true humans. It is also a means by which a group's identity is reinforced.

I think that the stories about the Jelbeng and the Bi Nyeg have quite possibly become confused. I am far from certain that my version is the "correct" one. It could be that it was the Bi Nyeg who fled from the Malays and were met by Maroi, (or another man much earlier), and that they inter-married with the people from Pallas. The stories could relate to an exchange that took place possibly hundreds of years ago; the people from Pallas (or just the newcomers) giving knives, axe-heads and fire-making implements in return for a share in the produce of the area, and possibly marriage partners by the original inhabitants. If this happened hundreds, or even thousands, of years ago rather than a

few generations, it might constitute a clue as to why a people of predominantly Senoi physical type speak a language which belongs to a language group otherwise spoken by only Negritos. In my version of the story there is an emphasis on language, with the insistence that it was half of one and half of another. This would seem to indicate a mingling of the two groups, one of whom might have been Negrito, rather than the mysterious disappearance of one.

If I am right, we are here dealing with two stories very different in kind. The ingredients need to be taken apart and reshuffled. We then have, on the one hand, a story which is of a "primordial character" (Needham 1979) representing beings – outsiders – who lack certain essential human characteristics. On the other hand we have a story of quasi-historical character, accounting for the mixing of two different groups.

Beng, on a very different occasion when I asked him about the original name of the Chewong (see below), said that they were Bi Nyed (or possibly Bi Nyeg). Unfortunately I did not link this name at the time with the stories just discussed and did not pursue my enquiries, except to ask other members of the group whether this was a name they used for themselves. No one else knew of it.

Schebesta in his first book about the Negritos mentions some groups who are separated from the main stock. These are "the Batek, Nogn, Kleb, Temo (about 100) in central and eastern Pahang" (1974: 16). He has nothing to say about the Kleb and the Temo, he never visited either group, but on the map where he

gives the locations of all the Negrito groups, we find that the Kleb can be found in two separate areas: south and northeast of Raub. This is very close to where we find the two groups of Chewong today, and when we realise that the Chewong of Kg. Yol in the Ulu Dong district are referred to as Bi Kled, it seems likely that these are the Kleb of Schebesta. The remaining Western Chewong, however, denied that they were Bi Kled, saying that Kled was an area near G. Pallas where the people at Yol, but not themselves, used to live a long time before. This was confirmed by the Eastern Chewong upon my return to them. They knew of the area known as Kled, but said that they were not Bi Kled. This point cannot be taken any further, since Schebesta does not say who told him about the Kleb, but one must assume that whoever did so knew that the people living in these two areas spoke the same language. As far as I know, the connection between the Kleb of Schebesta and the Chewong has not been made before. It is interesting to speculate why he is so certain that they are Negritos.

We now turn to the question of Che Wông or Siwang. Ogilvie writes in his first article on them of "the Che Wông, for it is such they style themselves" (1940: 22; 1949: 12). Needham disagrees with this, and relates that Beng said "that the name was not 'Che Wong' and repeatedly gave it in a way that I can best render as 'Siwang'" (Needham 1956: 50). The Department for Aboriginal Affairs refer to them in their statistics as Che Wong. For a long time after my arrival I was unhappy about the group name, having received affirmative answers to both renderings.

Finally Beng told me the following story: When Ogilvie was working for the Pahang Game Department, he was due to make his first visit to the Krau Game Reserve. At the time there was a Malay ranger living at Kuala Gandah just inside the southern boundary of the Reserve, about six miles northwest of Kampong Bolok (the last Malay village). Kuala Gandah was also an Orang Asli settlement. Ogilvie, knowing about the Orang Asli, asked a Malay (an employee of the Game Department at Temerloh) what the name of this group was. Apparently the man misunderstood the question, and thinking that Ogilvie wanted to know the name of the ranger, told him this was Siwang. Ogilvie, who was slightly deaf, took this to be Che Wông, and upon first meeting the Orang Asli in question referred to them as such. The people themselves, though at first puzzled, were much too polite to correct him, preferring to interpret Ogilvie's usage of "Che Wông" as a desire on his part to avoid calling them Sakai⁵, a term that they were fully aware had derogatory connotations in common Malay usage. At first I found this story hard to believe, but after checking with the Game Department at Temerloh I was told that there was indeed a Siwang bin Ahmat who had worked as a ranger at Kuala Gandah before the war. Having also met his widow who lives at Kg. Bolok, I feel that the problem is finally solved.

Today nobody except Beng remembers the story of the origin of their name, though several of the older people told me that the name was given them by "white people" (bi puteh). No one could tell me what their original or real name is or was. Beng

showed uncertainty on the matter. At first he told me that they were the Bi Langat (or Lanit, I wrote both), and this leads one to think that this must be the Rangit in Ogilvie's account of how the Chewong used to live at Kuala Rangit before they were driven up country by the Malays. On another occasion, he said that they were the Bi Nyed (or Nyeg), but none of these names were acknowledged by the rest of the Chewong. "We are forest people", they would always reply whenever I tried to probe beyond the Chewong name. Alternatively, they would say that they were "digging people", bi bai, thus opposing themselves to the Malays who cultivate rice. Digging here could refer to wild tubers as well as to tapioca.

Whenever referring to themselves, as opposed to other Orang Asli, they would never use a name for their own group, but simply say "us", he, or "people us", bi he. After I had lived with them for some time and had begun to get some command of their language, adults would tell children who were frightened of me, "but she is not gob, (Malay), she is one of us, bi he, she is a forest woman, kokn brete." Gob is a term used by all the Orang Asli to refer either to people who are not Orang Asli, regardless of what they are, or more specifically to Malays only.

The common language and customs, together with kin relationships, form the boundary of the group, and "us" is sufficient distinction from "them", the outsiders. In small groups where everyone knows everyone else, and is indeed related to everyone,

there is no need for a group name for the members. Outsiders on the other hand are of different kinds and therefore need to be named – as are individual members of the group itself. Thus Malays are known as gob, Chinese as bi cina, and all the other Orang Asli in general as bi brete, or bi bai. Orang Asli who are different from themselves are then given individual group names. These names are not necessarily the name by which the group in question identifies itself to the outside world. The neighbouring Temuan for instance, are known to the Chewong as bi Nyep.

Names of other Orang Asli groups have also caused a lot of confusion in the past, and I suspect that many of these were allocated due to misunderstandings on the part of outsiders, often British travellers and anthropologists. I do not regard it as unlikely that most of the groups had no proper group name for themselves. In the case of the Batek, we are told that this word simply means "person of our group", and that the addition of te or de means "this" (Endicott 1979: 3). Similarly, with reference to the Semaq Beri, the word semaq means "person". Whether beri here means "person" also, as it does with the Chewong, or whether it means "jungle" as it does in Semelai (Hood, personal communication) I do not know.

Today, all members of the people that I studied, both those living in the Krau Game Reserve and those in the Raub district, refer to themselves as Chewong or Chewang when dealing with outsiders. Since anthropologists need to fix names to different groups of people in order to be able to discuss their cultures, I am proposing to adopt the name Chewong – spelt as one word as there is no reason

to make it into two – since this is the one most commonly encountered. It must be stressed once more that this name is never used by the people among themselves.

A final point needs to be made in this connection. The Chewong sometimes apply blanket terms to members of their own group. This is when they refer as a whole to the people of a different settlement. Thus those from the Gambir settlement might say that the Sentao people, bi Sentao, have not yet started clearing a new swidden, or that the Gandah people, bi Gandah, sell a lot of rattan. This usage might lead the casual observer erroneously to conclude that the peoples referred to would not be other settlements of the same group, but totally different groups with separate linguistic and cultural identities.

Physical Type

The Chewong belong to the so-called Senoi physical type. The word "senoi" is taken from the Temiar language, and it merely means "people", or "mankind" (Carey 1976: 17). The Senoi differ from the Negritos in so far as their skin is lighter – a warm, dark brown – and their hair wavy rather than frizzy. (See Skeat and Blagden 1906 and Williams-Hunt 1948 for further information.) Clearly not all members of a tribe are typical in appearance, and among the Chewong some people have virtually straight hair, others almost frizzy, but the majority have wavy, or curly hair. Their features are clear-cut and regular, with high cheekbones, and their eyes do not have the mongoloid slit.

By Western standards they are short, the women rarely exceeding 150 cm. and the men 160 cm. They are, however, slightly taller than the Negritos (Skeat and Blagden 1906: 35). Their bodies are slim and supple and, unlike their Malay neighbours, never run to fat. In spite of their small stature they are extremely strong. Both men and women can carry heavy loads for many hours while trekking through the forest. Although they insist that they do not inter-marry with the Negritos, (Needham 1956:62), a few of the Chewong show traces of what I take to be Negrito characteristics. I was told by the people at Kg. Yol that a Batek man had married one of their women and lived with them for many years until he died about ten years ago, and I do not regard it as unlikely that the same happened to the Eastern Chewong.

Location and Habitat

During my stay with the Eastern Chewong, they were distributed in six different settlements. The actual numbers and locations of settlements may vary, but they appear to clear fields in the same general areas. At present there are settlements at Ngang 1, Ngang 11, (Kuala) Gandah, (Kuala) Sentao, Gambir and Pyapez. After I had lived with the people of Gambir for about a year, they began to clear a new field at Kenem, one hour's walk away. Settlements usually take their name from the nearby river, but in the case of Pyapez it is from a fruit tree. There are several other areas where the Chewong had settlements in the past, and to which they may well return in the future. The most commonly

mentioned are Patong, Chinles, one near the headwater of S. Pian, and another north of Pyapez. (See Map 11 for locations of past and present settlements).

The Western Chewong today live in three settlements in the area between Raub and Kuala Lipis, viz., Kampong Yol, Kampong Sungei Riong, and Kampong Susup. (See Map 11.) Those at S. Riong insist that this same area has been inhabited by them since a long time ago (yamen dui). Due to illness I did not manage to visit those at Susup, but I was told that they are an offshoot of Kg. S. Riong. The people at Kg. Yol, while assuring me that they had lived on the same spot for several generations, said that they used to live at Kleb near G. Pallas. All these settlements are today less than an hour's walk from a built-up road, and Malay farms are very close. The Western Chewong are much more mixed than the Eastern ones, marriages having taken place with Temuan and Jah Hut for some time. The common language used by all permanent inhabitants was Chewong.

The Eastern and Western groups know about each other, but whereas there is constant social intercourse among all members of each area there is virtually none between the separate areas. Beng visited the Dong people with Ogilvie just after the war and told me that the people there were "close" i.e., related. For instance he had met a younger brother of his father, and a younger sister of his mother-in-law. Apart from Beng the only other Eastern Chewong to have visited the Western is Al, who was married to a woman from Kg. Yol for some years. He returned alone to Sentao during my stay and had no plans ever to go back. The ex-wife had

once been with her husband to Gandah, and one man from Kg. Yol had gone to Gandah and Sentao when he was still a boy. Neither group appears to want to know much about the other, and though a shortage of marriageable women exists at present in the East, the young men regard going to the Western Chewong in search of wives as no more desirable than marriage to the neighbouring Temuan or Jah Hut.

The Eastern Chewong used to have settlements in a larger area than they do today. They cleared fields high up on G. Pallas and on the Kelau Kechil river. When Chinese and Malays began to make plantations in that district, however, the Chewong left. Beng was born near G. Pallas, and according to Ogilvie there were still Chewong there in the 1940's (Ogilvie 1949: 16). It would appear then, that the split between the Eastern and Western Chewong is of fairly recent origin, and that in the not too distant past the movements of people were in this larger area. Whereas the Western Chewong were content to live in close proximity to Chinese and Malays, the Eastern ones did what the Orang Asli have always done when more powerful outsiders encroach upon their territory – they withdrew deeper into the forest.

During the early part of the Emergency (1948–60), the Eastern Chewong were moved by the newly established Department for Aboriginal Affairs to a settlement at Bt. Rumpit just north of where Kg. Bolok is today. This was part of the security measures undertaken by the British in the central forest area of the Peninsula to prevent the Orang Asli from giving support

in the form of food to the Communist insurgents hiding in the forest. In about 1953, the Chewong were moved and were given much aid by the Department in the form of rice, tobacco, cloth, sugar etc., and they cleared fields and planted tapioca. Despite their obvious delight at receiving all these presents, the Chewong were not happy living at Bt. Rumpit and by about 1956 they had all returned to the deep forest. (Biles personal communication). They told me that they found it frightening to live so close to gob. Dato F. H. Biles, who was the Protector of Aborigines of Pahang at the time, told me that as far as he could remember no babies were born to the Chewong during this period and no pregnant women were to be seen – a possible indication of their state of mind.

Kg. Bolok is the last Malay village before the forest begins, and it is from here that one enters Chewong territory. Kg. Bolok lies about six miles north of Lanchang which is on the main Kuala Lumpur to Kuantan road. A dirt road was built in 1962 to Kg. Bolok and a shared "taxi" service operates between it and Lanchang. It is ^{at} Lanchang where the Chewong sell their cane and where they spend their money. It consists of a few small shops along both sides of the main road.

Ecology and Economy

The Eastern Chewong live deep inside the tropical rain forest that covers north-central Malaya. In their own parlance they are forest people (bi brete), and it is only once they have put a large expanse of primary forest between themselves

and the rest of the world that they feel happy and secure. Because they live in a game reserve no one may enter without a special permit from the Game Department. Logging has not affected them as it has the lives of many other Orang Asli groups. They do not seek employment in the outside world, and rely for cash exclusively upon the sale of cane. In the old days they also sold other forest produce to Malay peasants, such as plaited attap leaves for use as roofs, backbaskets made out of cane, and woven trays used for winnowing. They might also help in the rice harvest in return for a little rice or some plantains. Today three men, all living at Gandah, are employed as labourers by the Game Department, but this work does not take them out of the forest except for a very occasional visit to Temerloh. The Game Department maintains a hut at Gandah for their employees in their rare tours of duty. The Chewong labourers' job is to look after the hut and the surrounding land, and to act as guides.

Although aware of the hospital for Orang Asli at Gomak, the Chewong are unwilling to go there. Only one woman still living has ever been, but two men apparently went there in the past. They are frightened of the outside world and do not want to leave their own kind even if it means suffering and death. Thus the Chewong carry on their traditional way of life largely untouched by outside influences. The forest and their own labour within it provides them with virtually all their necessities.

The tropical rain forest of the Malay Peninsula is characterised by enormous trees, in many cases reaching a height of 160 feet, and often with large buttresses. The tree tops form a

canopy that cuts out all direct sunlight on the ground. Although the trees are so large and powerful, their roots tend to be shallow and they are easily toppled over in heavy storms. The Orang Asli are extremely frightened of being hit by falling trees and always take account of surrounding trees whenever they are making a camp in the forest. Existing paths frequently have to be changed owing to trees falling across them.

The undergrowth on the whole is fairly dense. Numerous species of plants and creepers have spikes and thorns which make progress difficult. Paths have to be cut through the growth and continually kept open, as growth is rapid. The whole area is criss-crossed by rivers, none of which is too large to cross either by wading or by balancing on a tree trunk. Except for times when the weather has been dry for an extended period of time, the forest bed is damp and exudes a smell of decaying plant matter. Following a heavy downpour, the rivers flood, the paths become slippery, and leeches abound.

The Chewong do not usually travel on the rivers, although they know how to tie together ... trunks of bamboo in order to make a raft. These are mostly used for playing with, or occasionally, for crossing a river. While I was there, they built rafts on two occasions to travel down the Lompat river to Kuala Lompat, and on to Kuala Krau, to ferry large quantities of unprepared canes (seg manao) which was too heavy to carry such a distance.

This is a far from ideal way of travelling, however. On one occasion the Lompat river was very shallow and it took them two weeks to punt, having to pull the raft behind them in many places.

On the second occasion the river flooded and they had great difficulty in manoeuvring. Generally, the Chewong mode of transport is walking. The main paths between the settlements are kept clear by fairly frequent travelling. To walk from Kg. Bolok to Ngang I takes about two and a half hours, with a further half hour to Gandah. Gandah and Ngang II are about twenty minutes apart, and visits between these two settlements take place several times a day. It takes between four and six hours to reach Sentao from Gandah. The trip to Gambir involves spending a night in the forest. This is always done in the same spot, where lean-tos are maintained permanently. On the way to Gambir one usually sleeps at Senel or Selur. The same applies to travels between Pyapez and Gandah. Pyapez lies about half an hour's hard climb up from Gambir. These two settlements are usually referred to as Latah Tujuh (seven waterfalls), after the large waterfall in the Lompat river of that name half an hour away. There is also a path from Latah Tujuh to Sentao, and this takes about six hours.

When setting out on a long trip, the Chewong always leave after breakfast at around seven a.m. They walk until early afternoon when they stop and make camp. This means finding all materials needed to erect lean-tos: attap leaves for the roof, saplings for the main platform and roof supports, and bamboos to split and place across the floor beams. Alternatively, very large leaves may be used instead of attap for the roof, and bark instead of the split bamboo floor. Everybody takes part in the collecting and construction. Each couple builds one for themselves

and their small children, and the adolescents of each sex build for themselves. The men then go off with their blow-pipes. in search of the evening meal, and the women try their luck at fishing. They also gather firewood, carry water, and search for wild tubers. The camp is always made next to a river.

It rarely rains for a whole day in the forest, and showers are usually brief occurring mainly in the afternoon. During my stay, the winter – which is the main monsoon time in the Peninsula – was no wetter, or drier, than the rest of the year. In fact there is no noticeable change in the climate in this part of the forest. The Chewong do not divide the year into rainy and dry season, but they are aware of the fact that there is a certain time when the fruit trees blossom (mainly in March and April) and when the fruits are ripe (July, August and September) There is, as far as I could ascertain, no special time of the year which is set aside for clearing a new field or planting.

The fauna of the forest is very rich. The larger mammals are tigers, leopards, elephants, bears, tapirs, seladang, deer of various sorts, and wildpigs. Of these, only deer and pigs are hunted. There are three species of leaf monkeys, stump- and long-tailed macaques, gibbons and siamang, numerous species of squirrels, birds, bats, as well as the flying lemur, squirrel, and fox, and the binturong. All the tree dwellers are hunted by blow-pipe and poisoned darts. Several species of monitor lizards, porcupines, forest rats, and tortoises are hunted with dogs and spears; as are the pigs and deer. Pigs and porcupines, both of which are attracted by the tapioca in the fields, are also killed by

traps placed around the circumference of the field. These traps are made of a very hard type of bamboo which is fashioned into a sharp point, tied with cane on a spring principle, so that when released the bamboo spears the flank of the animal. String, or loop, traps are also placed in the forest for guinea fowl.

Fishing is done by hook and line, home-made spear guns, and traps made out of cane. Apart from fish there are also large turtles in the rivers and these are dug out and killed. During my stay at Latah Tujuh some form of meat was brought to the settlement on average every three days. Hardly a day went by without some fish being caught.

Apart from hunting, the Chewong forage for numerous edible tubers, wild mushroom, and various vegetables, nuts, and fruits. Today they are also shifting cultivators. Tapioca is the staple, and this they cultivate by the slash and burn method, moving field and habitat once every three to five years. A new small field may be cleared annually as an extension to the existing one, but once this reaches a certain size they prefer to move altogether and start afresh, rather than having to go a long distance to collect their crop. Although the main effort of cultivation goes into the planting of tapioca, which is grated and baked in bamboo cylinders into a sort of bread, the Chewong also plant some plantains and bananas, some sweet potatoes, papayas, sugar cane, and chillies. When a new field is first cleared they also plant hill-rice and maize among the tapioca plants, but the yield is very small and consumed immediately upon harvesting. Tobacco is planted in clearings caused by the collapse of a large tree.

According to Ogilvie, the Chewong would not survive if they did not spend a large proportion of their time in foraging, and he tells us about "their more nomadic days" (1949: 14). This is no longer the case. The tapioca fields are large enough to support the inhabitants of the settlements, except in the case of Gandah where the people sell enough cane to enable them to eat rice as their chief staple. This is a very recent phenomenon, however. From the accounts of older people, the Chewong were not as sedentary even fifty years ago as they are now. Everybody still knows how to look for the various wild tubers. This is not an easy task as the thin stems that indicate their presence look to the outsider identical to others that can be seen everywhere. They do still go in search of them, but it is done more in order to have some variety in the diet than because it is needed for survival. They are, however, proud of their ability to survive from the forest alone, and I was told many times how it would not matter to them if another war should come about and shop goods were no longer available, nor the large fields for planting. During the last war the Chewong did not go to the shops for cloth, rice and salt, and they made bark cloth (Ogilvie 1949: 13). They told me that due to the heavy bombing of the deep forest areas both during the war and the Emergency, they had to abandon their clearings as these were prime targets. At such time they depended exclusively on hunting and gathering, taking to a nomadic way of life. "We know how to dig and hunt, we will never die from a hungry stomach" they kept telling me, usually adding that this was not the case with their Jah Hut neighbours who "are just like gob". The Jah Hut have

in fact been settled farmers for a long time, and pride themselves on this fact, (Couillard, personal communication).

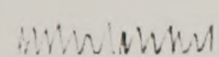
During the fruit season many people still leave their settlements in order to move closer to a large durian (towaeng), or payong⁶ tree; the fruits of both become the staple. Lean-tos are erected nearby and they live there as long as the fruit lasts.

There are no domestic animals except dogs which are used for hunting. In the last few years they have also been keeping a few chickens originally given them by the J.O.A. These, however, are reared exclusively for selling, and for this reason eggs are not eaten, but are left to hatch.

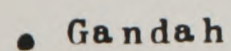
In order to obtain goods from the shops, the Chewong gather and sell cane. The cash is wanted in order to buy bush knives, axe heads, spear heads, salt, cloth, kerosene for their lamps, and, whenever some is left over, tobacco, rice, and torches.

The Western Chewong on the other hand present a very different picture. They have abandoned this traditional way of life, and have become settled, farming the same piece of land and keeping goats and cows given them by the J.O.A. They do not go into the forest in search of fruit or tubers, and the only blow-pipe I saw was completely broken. A couple of the men have guns, however, and the occasional pig and monkey or monitor lizard is shot with this. The people, and especially the women, protest a deep fear of entering the forest. Most of the children go to school at least for a few years, and the adults go out to work for local Chinese or Malays, clearing new fields, harvesting, or rubber tapping, whenever they need some cash. A large proportion of the food they eat is bought,

Map II: The Chewong area



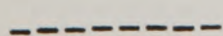
boundary of the Krau Game Reserve



Gandah existing settlements



common locations for settlements in the past



notional boundary between Chewong and Jah Hut

Scale: one inch to four miles

Source: "Pahang" by Director of National Mapping, Malaysia.

and when I was there most of the land lay fallow. The diet of the Western Chewong was noticeably inferior to that of the Eastern ones.

Dress, Artifacts, and Housing

The traditional Chewong clothing consists of loin-cloths, wed, made out of the bark of two different species of trees, dòg (*Antiaris toxicaria*) and poal (*Artocarpus elastica*), both of which are poisonous and are also used to prepare the dart poison. The bark is hammered out on a tree trunk with a specially made wooden club into a long, narrow piece. It is then soaked in the river for several days to make it supple and to remove the poison. The women keep it in place with twisted black string, tali gal, which is wound six times around the hips. The bark cloth is folded over at the back, brought between the legs, under the string in front and then either pulled back over the hip along the string, or left to fall down to cover the front as a skirt before being pulled back. The men do not have the strings. They tie the cloth around the waist, between the legs and always leave the end hanging down in front. Today they do not make the bark-cloth, but wear cotton cloth and sarongs bought in the shops. The men still wear the cloth in the traditional manner (they also wear shorts), and the women use an old piece of a sarong to make the loincloth. This is what they wear when they bathe and do heavy physical work. The sarong is worn on top of the loincloth and the strings. Bark cloth was formerly used as a sling for carrying babies in, tied either

on the front or on the back of the parent; and for blankets. Today they both carry their babies and sleep in sarongs.

Women wear a long piece of cane called sega which is wound around their waists six to eight times and then tied together. It has several designs incised upon it representing butterflies, snakes, worms, and leaves which are used in healing rites and childbirth. It is protective against attack by non-human beings. Some people also wear rings about their necks and wrists of a polished black fungus "rhizomorph" (Ogilvie 1949: 14). This is said to protect against dangers inherent in thunderstorms. Small children wear a piece of wild ginger, bunglei, tied to a string around their necks. The smell of this is said to be offensive to certain species of superhuman beings, bas, who might otherwise cause disease in small children.

In the old days all adult men always wore a head band, chin koyī, made of leaves; and a bandolier, samaden, also made of leaves, which crossed their chests and backs and was tied around their waists. These days only the shaman wears these during a healing seance. Women would always keep various kinds of leaves in their loincloths, and flowers in their hair because of their sweet smelling properties. They still do so, but not all the time. They do not tattoo themselves, but they print patterns on to their face and body by covering leaves with the sap of the pre tree and pressing these on to the skin leaving a dark brown design. Finally, all the women have pierced ears into which they put flowers and pieces of wood. According to

Ogilvie, ear piercing was not practiced (14), but I was told that they have always done so, and old women insisted that they had^{had} their ears pierced while small girls. The women wear their hair in a bun at the back, the men leave it hanging loose. Unlike the Negritos, the Chewong do not make or wear combs in the hair.

Apart from the artifacts just mentioned, the Chewong make back baskets of plaited cane, lugn, a basket for pressing out the moisture of the grated tapioca also made out of cane, kampe, sleeping mats, nöz, and tobacco pouches, sarong macau, and other small containers of pandanus leaves, hak ke. These are all plain and functional.

Bamboo cylinders were formerly used for carrying water and for cooking. These they still use when travelling, but today they have saucepans. The tapioca bread is always baked in bamboo, and at ritual occasions bamboo only may be used for all purposes. Various paraphernalia will be described later in connection with the ritual concerned, here I just wish to note that on important, and possibly dangerous, occasions, a return is made to traditional materials.

The blow-pipes, blau, are about eight feet long and consist of two cylinders of bamboo, one inside the other, of about one inch in diameter. They may be of one piece each, or they may be spliced together. The mouth piece is of carved wood, and the tip is reinforced by thin lengths of cane entwined round it for about four or five inches and secured by melted wax. The quiver, lug, is a bamboo cylinder with a domed cap of woven cane.

The dart, tenlaig, is kept in individual narrow bamboo containers inside the quiver. The darts are approximately twelve inches long, with a small notch at the pointed end which then breaks off when an animal is hit. The other end has a cone of light wood.

Traditionally, Chewong houses are the lean-tos already described, although they are building more solid structures now. These stand on poles about four to six feet off the ground, and have pointed roofs which are covered by thick hatch made out of attap leaves. Usually the roof meets the floor, but some people are beginning to make walls out of large pieces of bark. All beams and joints are tied together with cane. There is a ladder leading to the entrance which is a simple opening. The fireplace is built by heaping sand onto large leaves on the split bamboo floor, and is sometimes situated on a lower level from the main house. Some people are constantly adding to and changing their houses, whereas others are satisfied to live in simple lean-tos.

Demography

In the Krau Game Reserve there are at present (June 1979) one hundred and twenty-nine people. The distribution according to settlement is shown in Table II overleaf.

Table II

Distribution of Houses and Population

Name of Settlement	No. of Houses	No. of Couples ⁽²⁾	No. of Adults ⁽³⁾	No. of Children
Gambir	2	2	6	9
Gandah	6	6	13	14
Ngang I ⁽¹⁾	4	4	4	4
Ngang II	8	5	12	14
Pyapez	3	3	7	7
Sentao	8	6	17	22
Total	31	26	59	70

(1) Ngang I is outside the Krau Game Reserve on the main path from Kg. Bolok to Gandah. It was cleared by a Temuan man and his half Temuan, half Chewong wife. I am counting her as Chewong for the purposes of my tables. All her four children are married to Chewong. These I exclude, but I include their children.

(2) There are five single-parent families not included as couples.

(3) I have counted as adult those adolescents who are married, and the young men who are thought of as adult but who, due to a shortage of suitable women, are still living alone.

In addition to the total of one hundred and twenty-nine in Table 11, there must be added another couple consisting of one man, his wife, and two children. They ran away to the mountains several years ago following an encounter with a Malay solidier and were not heard of again until some people from Sentao came across them towards the end of my stay.

The Chewong do not reckon their own age, nor do they add up the years for any other purpose. For the age - sex distribution shown in Table III, I therefore had to guess, using a few standard indicators such as the great flood of 1926, the Japanese invasion of 1942, their time at Bukit Rumpit in the early 1950's, and the building of the road from Lanchang to Kg. Bolok. For other dating purposes I would use small children as comparative indicators of the speaker's age at the time of an event.

Table III

<u>Age - Sex Distribution</u>								
Age	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	Total
Male	28	21	9	7	6	5	1	77
Female	19	11	8	4	4	2	4	52
Total	47	32	17	11	10	7	5	129

The population of the three settlements in the Raub district is much less pure Chewong than that of the Krau Game Reserve. The people here have been, and still are, marrying members of other groups, mainly Jah Hut and Temuan. They are also much more mobile, moving away for varying lengths of time in order to visit relatives among other groups and to take up employment elsewhere. It is therefore difficult to state their number exactly, but I have counted as Chewong all those who lived permanently in a predominantly Chewong-speaking settlement at the time of my visit and who speak that language fluently. This means that I have included people whose parents are either fully of a different group or partially so. One must assume, however, that a similar number of those born as Chewong are lost to neighbouring groups.

Table 1V

Population Distribution at Dong

Name	Total Population	No. of Houses
Kampong Yol	53	7
Sungei Ruyong	50	7
Sungei Susup	11	2
Total	114	16

It is interesting to compare my figures with those of Ogilvie, based on his census in 1947 (1948: 27), when he found a total of 51 persons. He amends this figure a year later, saying

that there was one more family consisting of one man, one woman, and one child. He was also told that another five families "were living to the south-west of Ulu Dong in the Raub district of Pahang" (1949: 13). On the basis of this information, Ogilvie puts the "grand total of the Che Wông in the neighbourhood of eighty souls" (ibid). I think the discrepancy between this and my own figures is due to Ogilvie still not having met all the Chewong speakers, rather than a sudden growth in the birth rate or fall in the death rate. He says that he was told that about two-thirds of their number were killed in the influenza epidemic that swept across the whole world in 1918. No one ever mentioned this to me, but then there was not anybody alive who would have been more than a small child at the time. They did, however, frequently comment rather sadly upon the fact that there were so few of "us" compared to the Jah Hut or the Temuan, and they insisted that this had not always been the case. I do not think, however, that one can place much reliance upon such remarks.

Kinship and Marriage

It is not my intention in this thesis to discuss the Chewong kinship system in any detail. I shall confine myself to giving an outline of the main principles involved.

Among the Chewong, kin relationship is reckoned cognatically with a bilateral classificatory terminology. This is common to all the Senoi groups. (See eg. Benjamin 1967). Needham, who has subjected his data to a much more detailed scrutiny than I have done, confirms this, but he found that "degrees of kinship is reckoned patrilineally in the first instance unless advantage derives

otherwise" (1956: 61), and he goes on to say that,

It is recognised that alternative degrees of kinship are possible according as one reckons through the father or through the mother, and according to the individual genealogical links chosen. Which of the reckonings is adopted will depend on circumstances, but normally when a precise degree of kinship is requested and no advantages are at stake, the patrilineal status is given (Needham 1956: 61).

Whereas I would agree with the bulk of his analysis I could not, however, find any evidence to substantiate his claim for a preference for the patrilineal reckoning. It must be remembered that all the Chewong are closely related. Few people are further apart in kin status than second cousin, or in an aunt (uncle) to niece (nephew) relationship. There are often, as Needham points out, several ways of reckoning the degree of kinship, but it is my experience that the Chewong will always emphasise that link which is closest, regardless of it being patrilineal or matrilineal. The only time when this is not the case is when through marriage a person changes his or her status in relation to another. In these instances the affinal status is reckoned rather than the consanguinal one. A final point needs to be considered in this respect. When the Chewong were moved during the Emergency, they were all issued with identity cards by the British who, following Malay practice of patronyms, insisted on identifying each person by their own name plus son (daughter) of the father's name.

Many Chewong are aware of this Malay practice, and whenever pressed to give their complete name, those who know of it will do so in this manner. Most will not, however, and I suspect that any patrilineal tendency discerned by Needham was due to Beng and Patong fitting their information into the known Malay model.

Chewong rules regarding marriage are few. The only categories expressively forbidden are marriage between siblings and between parent and child. To break this rule is known as tanko, and will lead to death. The concept of tanko is not a very rigid one, however, and can be applied to other categories if it is felt, for whatever reason, that a particular marriage ought not to take place. In all instances, the Chewong reckon according to actual genealogical distance rather than by category. Needham was told that a man might not marry "his mother, father's sister, mother's sister, sister, sibling's daughter, or any first cousin. Marriage with a second cousin is also severely disapproved Marriage is specifically asserted to be permitted with an aunt, niece, or even granddaughter of appropriate age, so long as the relationship is at the second or more distant remove" (Needham 1974: 87, 88). I, on the other hand, was told that for a man to marry his aunt would be tanko, but that first cousins may (and in fact frequently do) marry each other. I think that this contradiction stems from the fact that forbidden categories beyond the most basic ones, are (as are other symbolic classes in the Chewong thought system) dependent upon contingent circumstances. (See the last chapter

for a further discussion on this question).

Relative age (see Needham 1974) is in practice more important than category. Thus when a man of about fifty started to co-habit openly with a prepubescent orphaned girl, the union was at first said to be tanko on the basis of the great difference in their ages. As neither party suffered serious disease, or died, it was later stated that it was not tanko after all, "They are both still alive", I was told. This example demonstrates firstly, that in assigning the marriage as tanko, relative age and not status was focused upon, and secondly, that the concept of tanko is fluid.

During the time I spent with the Chewong all marriages were monogamous. However, polygamy may be practiced. Ogilvie tells of several men with more than one wife, and the Chewong freely admitted that this is possible. I was told that it only happens when there is a surplus of women, but the data obtained does not corroborate this. There would appear to be other factors involved. Similarly, I was first told that women may not have more than one husband at any given time, but further investigations revealed that polyandry had also been practiced in the not very distant past. It would appear that it is less frequent than polygamy.

Divorce is a common phenomenon among the Chewong. It is a personal affair between the couple themselves, and usually seems to take place because one of the parties has found another spouse. Children may accompany either parent in the case of divorce. Normally a small child would not be separated from its mother, but older children can choose which parent they wish to

live with. Whatever their choice, they are likely to spend time with both parents. Divorce is not regarded as a calamitous event.

The Chewong are normally endogamous, though marriages have sometimes taken place with members of other groups. In the case of the Eastern Chewong endogamy ideally applies to marriage among themselves, i. e. excluding the Western Chewong. Needham found the same: "they have their own women", he was told by Beng (1956: 62). The Western Chewong take a broader view and regard their marriage group as all Orang Asli who live nearby. Possibly they also exchange marriage partners with those settlements – Temuan and Jah Hut – with whom they exchange invitations for feasts.

At present there is a shortage of marriageable women among the Eastern Chewong, and from an inspection of the age–sex distribution shown in Table III, it appears that this situation is not going to change in the near future. Three Chewong men have therefore married out in the last five years. They all married daughters of a Temuan man and his half Temuan, half Chewong wife. This couple and their married children with families constitute the population of Ngang I. The remaining unmarried men were unwilling to look for wives among other Temuan families.

In-law avoidance is practiced on a cross–sexual basis. Thus it is forbidden to call one's parents–in–law and children–in–law of either sex by their real name, chò lòi. Their nickname chò punlao, has to be used in all circumstances. If someone does not have a nickname, (not everybody does), then they have to be addressed or referred to as "mother/wife/father/husband of so–and–so".

Similarly they may not be addressed with the familiar thou, möh, but with the formal you, gitn. The same rule applies to brothers and sisters of one's spouse. Not to observe these rules is to show disrespect, tolah, and the offender will get severe swellings at the hips. I will be returning to the questions of marriage, incest and in-law avoidance in more detail later.

PART I

NOTES

- 1 Gunong is the Malay for mountain. Usual abbreviation G.
- 2 Sungei is the Malay for river. Usual abbreviation S.
- 3 Bukit is Malay for hill. Usual abbreviation Bt.
- 4 Kampong is the Malay for village. Usual abbreviation Kg.
I shall be using the Malay designations whenever referring to geographical locations.
- 5 Sakai was the term commonly used by the Malays and the British until it was replaced by orang asli. It means "slave or dependent", and in the case of the Malays was used (and in some cases still is) as a term of abuse.
- 6 The payong tree (*pangium edule*) bears fruit the size of a large coconut. The yellow flesh is boiled and eaten, and the twenty to thirty nuts the size of Brazil nuts, are peeled, soaked in the river to shed the poison (see Gimlette 1971) and eaten either grated or whole. It is often mixed in a meat stew.

PART 2

RELATIONSHIPS

INTRODUCTION

In my M. Litt. thesis I suggested a redefinition of Malay aboriginal animism based on the reading of all available literature:

If the supernatural beings are imbued with the same vital principle or essence as are disembodied spirits and the souls taking abode in objects and non-human as well as human beings, then one may extend the definition of animism – in the Malay context – into a system of belief in which there is an 'essential' unity of nature (including human beings) and supernature (including supernatural beings) (Howell 1977: 59).

My fieldwork with the Chewong bears out this hypothesis, but I came to realise that this concept of non-differentiation is more pervasive, as well as more complex, than I had anticipated. It permeates Chewong modes of thought and is expressed in relationships at all levels. To make my point clear and because I am suggesting that this basic unity and lack of hierarchical values between all classes of beings is essential for an understanding of Chewong rationality, I shall discuss each type of relationship in turn. In Chapter 11 I shall consider the values determining the social and symbolic intercourse between individuals as a group, taking as my starting point the remarkable absence of aggression and competition found to permeate all Chewong social relations.

In Chapter III I examine the relationships between men and women on the model of egalitarian values, and find that it prevails here as well. I also include a discussion on "couvade" and suggest that in so far as this can be said to be practised among the Chewong, it emphasizes the complementarity of the sexes in the creative process. In this context I introduce the concept of ruwai (soul or vital principle) which will be elaborated upon in subsequent chapters.

Chapter IV discusses the superhuman beings and their relationship between each other as well as with humans. Again I find that what must by now be regarded to be fundamental egalitarian principles govern these types of relationships as well. Thus no individual superhuman being, nor any one class of these, is in any way envisaged as superior to the rest. Notions such as status, power, or punishment do not enter into Chewong conceptions about them, any more than they do on the strictly social level. *Viz à viz* humans, the superhuman beings are always presented as "people like us".

Several theoretical issues arise out of the Chewong pantheon. From the point of view of symbolic classification, the most striking is that there appear to be few, if any, common or regular attributes which link the members of the various categories, and this issue is taken up at the end of the chapter, to be returned to in detail in my last chapter.

CHAPTER 11

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

Non-violence and Non-competitiveness

Before I start my discussion on the various relationships I wish to give some idea of the general atmosphere of Chewong society. It is sufficiently unusual to warrant elaboration. The Chewong display no aggression, nor are they competitive in matters of achievement. This peaceful way in which they live and conduct their affairs is not unique to the Chewong, but can be found among other Orang Asli groups, and has been commented upon by other anthropologists. Dentan was so struck by it that he subtitled his book "a non-violent people of Malaya" (1968). He does not develop the theme however, but returns to it later in a paper entitled "Childhood in a nonviolent context" (1978), in which he suggests that enculturation is the major factor in developing non-aggressive behaviour. It is a little difficult to understand from his paper exactly what he means by this, since his summary is vague enough to apply to a large number of different societies, few of which are noticeably peaceful.

The new child is the focus of much emotional, cognitive, and ritual attention, which stems from affection and concern. Its fragility is linked to its alleged timidity, epitomized by the supposed timidity of the soul. Its whims

are indulged, and it is not rebuked, because,
being unable to talk, 'it cannot understand'
(Dentan 1978: 125)

Focusing, as I have done elsewhere (Howell in print), upon the predominance of two emotions: fear and embarrassment, he suggests that there is an emphasis in Semai childrearing practices upon avoidance rather than confrontation, and he links this with their historical and ecological situation.

Robarchek has also done fieldwork among the Semai, and he discusses the non-violence in psychological terms within the "frustration-aggression hypothesis" (1978). Apart from these two writers, none of the other anthropologists of the area have done more than make comments to the effect that the Orang Asli are remarkably non-violent. It has never to my knowledge been regarded as a fundamental premise of their modes of thought, without which other manifestations of their collective representations cannot be understood.

It could be argued that to devote a whole chapter to show that certain features commonly found in human societies such as hierarchy, status, aggression, violence and competition, do not exist among a group of people is a gross waste of time. Two points need to be considered in this context, however. First, that the absence of these phenomena is in itself sufficiently interesting to warrant further discussion. Second, that in the Chewong situation it is not so much an absence of these phenomena as the presence of something else, much more difficult to define. It is a limitation of

the English language that makes the examination of what there is so difficult. Merely to negate the terms and talk about non-hierarchy, non-aggression, non-violence, and non-competitiveness does not give an impression of a situation which is in fact a very positive one. Surely it is a reflection on us, not the Chewong, that we cannot adequately describe the situation. Though these terms are imprecise, egalitarian and peaceful will have to stand for the moment as the best description of Chewong society.

The fact that the Chewong themselves do not use words to express their situation does not help my case. But value judgements regarding situations and emotions are not verbally differentiated to any great extent among them; these are on the whole either good, baig, or bad, yabud. As I have shown elsewhere (Howell in print), the Chewong language is poor when it comes to express emotional or inner states.

None of the Orang Asli have any history of warfare, either recorded by the outside world or represented in myths and legends. The Chewong language has no indigenous words for war, fight, quarrel, aggression, attack, crime, or punishment. Their reaction to encountered violence in the past has been to run away from it. When referring to the marauding Malays of the nineteenth century and earlier, they describe the attacks by using descriptive verbs which they apply in their daily life to their own activities. Thus the Malays shot, hapud, at them, they cut at them with knives, chang bi wang, they hit them, tapad, they took the women and children, ankid, etc. When I asked why they had not shot at the Malays with their poisoned darts or built traps around their homes,

the Chewong always replied that it had not occurred to them. "We were very frightened and ran away and hid" they always told me, but usually added that this was stupid and they would shoot at them were they to come today. This was empty boasting however, for I have on several occasions seen people pack up their belongings and children and flee at the approach of strangers. They are living in constant fear of attack from the outside world, and stories about alleged atrocities committed against Orang Asli by Malays are always circulating. Children are brought up to fear the very word gob. Yet they make no preparation for counter attack or defence. The following two incidents will serve to illustrate Chewong reaction to encounter violence.

When I first arrived there was still a settlement near Bukit Patong on the Western boundary of the Krau Game Reserve. The Game Department has a hut there, and one man – Adoi – was employed by them to live there. He lived in the official hut with his wife and three children. His married son, with wife, and her father's young^{er} brother – who is also Adoi's first wife's younger brother – a widower with two children, had built a hut together nearby as had the parents of the son's wife and their three children. They had cleared fields together for several years and were in the process of planting a new field when some Chinese who had banana and orange plantations nearby accused Adoi of having stolen some of their things and threatened to beat him up. The Chewong were so terrified by this (they claimed to be innocent) that all of them packed together their belongings immediately and set off on the six hours walk to Sentao in the middle of the night, never to return.

The man already mentioned who had a confrontation with a Malay soldier near Lanchang some years ago in which the soldier threatened violence, left Gandah with his family to clear fields high up on G. Benom. He has never been back, he is much too frightened, but the people from Sentao who met him once while out hunting reported that he had no salt and his knives were almost worn out (note similarities with the Jelbeng story on page 12.)

One of the most striking features of Chewong life is the lack of emotional displays among adults. All the time I was there I never witnessed a quarrel, nor an outburst of anger, except among small children. In this they differ from the Semai, who indulge in serious quarrels "in which voices are raised and threats of physical violence are at least alleged, if not actually made", and "At least two murders have been committed between 1955 and 1977, and there is gossip about a couple of others" (Dentan 1978: 98). The Chewong do gossip about each other's behaviour, but this is chiefly in order to keep track with what is going on, not to pass moral judgement. The only time I witnessed condemnation of someone's behaviour was the case of the old man who married the prepubescent girl. This did not lead to an open confrontation, however, as far as I could ascertain, nobody actually referred to it with the man concerned. Among themselves it was discussed in terms of probable supernatural repercussions that the act would entail. (See below for further implications of this act).

One is often told in the literature (see e. g. Coon 1976

and Friedl 1975) that in hunting societies the best hunters have a high status within the society and that an element of competition can be discerned among the hunters in the amount of meat they bring home. This is not the case with the Chewong. There is a total lack of inter-personal competitiveness. No value is placed on being better than the rest at something. In fact whenever someone does distinguish him- or herself in some activity this is ignored and they become uncomfortable when it is commented upon by an outsider. The ideal is that everyone is equally good at all tasks. By the time adulthood is reached all boys and girls are expected to be competent in all the tasks of an adult of their own sex. The tasks of course are relatively few, and unless someone has a physical or mental handicap, they are all able to perform satisfactorily. However, some people are clearly stronger than others, or harder working, or more successful with the blow-pipe, but whenever such superior abilities are manifested these are never commented upon, nor do they give the person in question any special status within the community.

No rivalry is ever displayed in connection with performance. Children's games have no element of competitiveness. Top-spinning, for instance, which is fiercely competitive among the Malays, is played a lot by Chewong children, but it never seems to occur to anyone to turn it into a competition. Neither do they race each other in any way. Women usually go together into the tapioca field to dig a basketful of tubers for making the bread. They all work separately at digging and peeling, but keep asking

each other how they are getting on. Usually one woman is quicker than the rest, but this never produces any resentment. As they finish they will wait for the rest to catch up and they all bring the tapioca together to the river where it is left to soak.

Although they do not compete, they do not help each other either. The ideology of non-interference that permeates Chewong life, on some levels could be described as non-involvement, a more negative way of regarding it. Individuals are expected to, and on the whole do, carry out their business on their own. It is very rare to witness someone asking someone else for assistance. Similarly, offers of assistance are also rare. I have many times watched strong young men lying about all day while old, and sometimes ill, people toil with heavy work without asking for or receiving any help.

Behaviour at Meetings and Partings

It should be clear by now that the Chewong are a non-demonstrative group of people. This is particularly striking to the outsider at times of meetings and departures, and I shall describe the rituals involved on such occasions in some detail as this will help to throw light upon the principles underlying Chewong social intercourse.

The Chewong have no words of greeting. When visitors from other settlements arrive, they walk briskly up to whichever house they are going to be sleeping in (this is dependent upon kin status), put down their blow-pipes without looking left or right or acknowledging any persons present, then they enter the house and

hang up their backbaskets on a beam. They sit down close together and the occupiers of the house also enter. Tobacco is exchanged, all the adults in the house rolling one or two cigarettes which they give to all the visitors in turn, usually offering the senior (that is older) people first, then the adolescents, and finally the children. Children are rarely given more than one cigarette, whereas the oldest person may be given three as a mark of respect. If they do not have any leaves for rolling, a handful of loose tobacco is given instead. If the giver has very little tobacco, he may give just one cigarette to everybody, but he will excuse this by saying to each one "it is only one", tungal. The guests then reciprocate, matching the number of cigarettes to each individual giver. This general exchange is carried out without any conversation. People may take the leaf of a cigarette given and use this for rolling one to give back, but they always use their own tobacco.

Any meat, fish or fruit obtained on the journey is then handed over to the woman of the house. She immediately starts to prepare a meal for the visitors of her own food. The received food will be cooked and shared out among visitors and inhabitants at a later stage.

Then slowly the other members of the settlement come over to see the visitors and tobacco, information and news are exchanged in a quiet and subdued manner. The first topics to be brought up once the itinerary of the guest's journey has been ascertained, is usually that of disease. Who has been ill, what was the cause, and what sort of cures were attempted, and how

they are getting on, is reported by both sides. In any serious cases this information is immediately passed on to others as they enter the house, but no one displays worry or seems to be upset about their relatives' misfortunes.

This behaviour cannot be accounted for by lack of acquaintance. All Chewong know each other intimately from birth. They have all lived together at some time. People move frequently throughout their lives, changing settlements and clearing fields with different families. Residence groups are forming and reforming constantly. Apart from actually resettling, individuals and whole families go on visits to other settlements for months on end. And yet each encounter is conducted with such reserve and formality that the casual observer would conclude the parties had never met before. I once watched someone's adopted child, a man in his forties, arrive after an absence of about five years. His arrival was completely unexpected, yet I could observe no manifestations of any emotions on the part of his "parents", not even surprise. Later they told me that they were very happy to see him.

Husbands and wives look at each other expressionlessly after a time apart; he walks straight past her and enters the house. Small children never run up to greet their father when he returns home. Members of the same settlement, and household, also go through the ritual tobacco exchange whenever they return after just one night's absence, and when neighbours drop in for a chat in the evening, they are given cigarettes by their hosts. In these cases the visitors do not reciprocate, however. The same thing

is done when encountering someone while out in the forest.

Departures on the other hand are much more demonstrative. A couple of days before visitors are going home, and if the journey involves spending one night or more in the forest, tapioca is dug and made into bread for them to eat on the way. Everyone is talking about the impending departure, saying to the visitors "you are leaving tomorrow". On the actual morning the whole settlement will turn out to watch, and the visitors will say in loud voices to everyone present, "I'm going home" (ing weg) to which the reply is "I'll be seeing you" (endagn). Often gifts are given by the hosts. These may be a roll of the string women use to keep their loincloths in place, and a container of dart poison for the men. Short term visitors also call out "ing weg", even ^{after} ~~on~~ an hour's stay.

Van Gennep has suggested that arrivals and departures display the three stages discerned by him in rites of passage in general: separation, transition, and incorporation. All crossings of boundaries or movement from one state or category to another are marked by people everywhere in this manner. Although the procedure is always the same, the actual length and intricacy of each stage vary according to different rituals and different peoples (1960: 28). The Chewong situation just described clearly conforms to his model of rite of passage, but an interesting point to note in the Chewong material is that in the two events, the outstanding features in each are inversed. I will summarise these to make the point clear. Arrival rituals stress the incorporation stage of the passage, and departure rituals stress the separation stage.

Arrivals are distinguished by no emotional expressions. No acknowledgement is made by, or of, the visitors until they are inside the house. No words are exchanged, no looks. Once inside, however, the visitors give any food they may have brought, and tobacco is exchanged between all visitors and all inhabitants. Then news are exchanged, and a meal is given. The visitors have now been incorporated into the group. When we examine departures, we see that these are animated rather than subdued. After a last meal inside the house gifts are given by the hosts to the visitors, and verbal exchange rather than tobacco exchange is participated in by all present. The actual point of departure is stressed whereas the point of arrival was ignored.

In most discussions of rites of passage in the ethnographic literature, arrivals and departures are usually ignored and concentration focused on the so-called "life-crises" such as birth, initiation, marriage and death. In Chewong society however, where so little formalized ritual behaviour is practised, it is very striking to observe the solemnity with which they greet one another.

Political Organisation and Leadership

Unlike some Orang Asli groups (see e. g. Hood 1974 on the Semelai) but similar to others, e. g. the Negritos (see Endicott 1975) the Chewong do not have any political hierarchy. There are no leaders or headmen, though often an older man will act as a representative in their dealings with outsiders, e. g. in the case of Maroi discussed on page 11. He will only do so because he speaks Malay better and is less timid. He has no status within the society at

any other times. This point needs some discussion since Needham was told of three political offices among them; the to menteri, to pelima, and the to jinang, which form a hierarchical order and supervise important agreements, legal cases, conduct divorce and marriages, and settle disputes (Needham 1956: 58, 64). None of these exist any more, though I was also told that they did in the past, having now been replaced by the J. O. A. appointed Batin, but from my observation of the workings of Chewong social order I very much doubt whether they ever did exist except in name. The Chewong have not been living in complete isolation from the world around them. They are aware that the Malays have institutions and political offices ranging from the raja (prince) to the village headman. They know about police and soldiers, and the titles listed by Needham are in fact variations on Malay titles. I suggest that these were made up to parallel Malay institutions, possibly in reaction to enquiries from outsiders. That they had no meaning in real terms can be deduced from an informant's statement that the Chewong are very different from Malays. "They (the Malays) are very frightened of their prince, raja, headmen, penghulu, and chief of soldiers, ketua askar. They do whatever they tell them to do. We Chewong are not like that. We are not frightened of our own people," they told me. The officially appointed Batin does not regard himself, nor is he regarded by the rest of the community, as having any authority over the rest. They can see no reason why he should receive his annual stipend. It was the practice of the British to appoint one Batin of each Orang Asli group. They channelled their information and gifts via this person

in the hope of receiving news about guerrilla activities in the forest, but the selection was often done arbitrarily. If they met an older man who seemed co-operative and intelligent, he would be appointed (Biles, personal communication).

The first Chewong Batin was Teng, known as Raja Teng, and three of his sons have held the position since his death. The current holder, Bak, does so because his two brothers died and the J.O.A. assumed that the title should stay within the lineage of Teng. None of the other brothers had sons old enough to be granted this position. Bak is very frightened of Malays and did not want to be Batin at all, but he never dared say so when the J.O.A. insisted that he took over. The shaman does not fulfil any political role within the society, as is often the case in societies with little or no specific political hierarchy.

The Chewong, then, do not acknowledge any form of institutionalised authority. Old people, due to their wider experience and knowledge are, however, accorded a fair amount of respect, but this does not mean that they can assert any form of authority over the rest. There are certain expectations of assistance linked to specific roles, such as ^{those of} husband and wife, and that of son-in-law, but in neither of these relationships does the notion of power or relative status enter. Rather, the expectations are just part of the general behavioural expectations put upon every individual within the society. Retribution for failing to behave in the appropriate manner is in all cases supernatural, not human.

Needham was told by Beng about the existence of various fines for specific offences. Theft, adultery, seduction, rape and

murder are listed by him as warranting payment in various quantities of spears and plates by the offender. When checking this with Beng, Needham's informant, I was told the same, but none of the other members of the group knew anything about such a system. When I asked for examples of these fines having been paid, Beng could not give me any. Whenever I was told about adultery in the past (a fairly frequent occurrence) I always asked how many spears and/or plates the man had paid to the woman's husband and was always told none. "That is not our way," they would reply. The same applies to theft. It occurred on one occasion during my stay that someone stole some rice and tobacco. I asked if the thief had been punished and was told that he had not, but that his wife had been very angry with him. This hardly counts as a formal punishment.

Seduction occurred once. This was the case of the old man and the young girl already referred to twice. Once he realized that public opinion was against the affair – not only because it was felt that the age difference was excessive, but also because he had not notified the girl's older brother about his intentions – he took his new wife and his children from the previous marriage away from the settlement where they lived and started to clear a new field some distance away. Later it was stated by several people that this union was tanko, but although he was ^{not} formally told about this view, he apparently knew what was being said. However, no one made any attempts to prevent the marriage from continuing, or imposed any restrictions upon his movements, nor, as far as I could tell, behaved towards him in any way different from what they had before. The important point to note is that the Chewong have no legal or political

machinery which comes into operation to cope with situations in which people step out of line, nor does any headman stand forward to pass judgement or impose punishment. By removing himself physically, the man in question acknowledged that he had acted in such a way as to offend accepted ideas about good behaviour. It is likely that the seriousness of an offence determines the distance a person moves. I was told that if ever one member of the group were to kill another, he would move far away, being much too ashamed to continue living amongst friends and relatives.

The following account by Evans about the "Krau River Sakai-Jakun" (the Jah Hut) may throw some light upon the question of fines for specific trespasses:

"Plates and spears are the media in which tribal fines are paid. the fine for murder was sixty-six spears, while incest in the worst degree is said to have been punishable by a fine of one hundred and sixty spears. Other minor fines were – for stealing crops, one spear and one plate; unfaithfulness on a woman's part, six spears and two plates. Payment by a suitor to a father for the hand of a virgin daughter is sixty spears, but actually only from three to six are paid" (Evans 1927: 38).

Beng knows the Jah Hut well and probably copied their practices when interviewed by Needham.

CHAPTER III

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES

The concept of status found to be lacking on a general political level is also absent from the relationship between men and women. The Chewong creation myth is interesting in this context, as it expresses their basic attitude on this question. I will render the whole myth and discuss it at a later stage, but here I will just give a brief summary of the pertinent point.

A superhuman being, known variously as Tohan¹ or Allah Ta' Allah told his Nabi² to make human beings, beri. He told him to make one couple, kelamin, one man and one woman, and to fashion them out of earth. This the Nabi did, and he was given breath, njug, from Tohan in order to animate the mannikins.

These two beings married each other, but when the woman became pregnant and went into labour, neither of them knew what was happening, so the husband cut open his wife's stomach and found a baby inside. The baby lived, but the woman died. The father did not know what to do, but his wife's ghost told him in a dream to suckle the child from his elbow. When he did this milk appeared and the child survived.

The two points I wish to stress for the moment are: firstly, that both sexes were created simultaneously and in an identical manner; and secondly, that both parents shared in the child rearing: the wife by telling her husband how he would be able to feed the child thereby showing her concern, and the husband by actually being the source of the milk. It is interesting to note how the two functions normally associated with parenthood are inversed, by which the Chewong are ascribing to the event of creation a special significance. Yet although the sexual functions are inversed, the myth emphasises the point that childrearing is a shared responsibility.

The notions of sharing, exchange and reciprocity play a large part in Chewong conception of marriage, as indeed they do in all their relationships both human and superhuman. In the case of a married couple, certain activities are chiefly associated with the role of being a husband, others with that of being a wife. Although these can be seen to be complementary, the boundaries between them are not rigid, and there is nothing in their symbolic structures that prevents overlap. I shall later be arguing that the boundaries between body and soul are similarly fluid.

If we look at Myths 1 and 2, my point about complementarity is further brought out and enhanced. The theme of vagina dentata is a common one in mythology, but I have not come across the same ideas applied to men. In Myth 1, women suffer from a man having thorns on his penis, and in Myth 2, men similarly suffer from a woman having thorns in her vagina. In both cases the word gile is

used to indicate thorns. Several interesting conclusions may be drawn from these myths, but here I shall limit myself to suggest firstly, that among the Chewong both men and women not only tell myths, but that they also create them; and secondly that female sexuality is no more, or less, threatening to men than is male sexuality to women.

Marriage and Sex Roles

Marriage is primarily a co-operative union in which the husband and wife team form a self-sufficient economic unit. Together they can accomplish all the jobs necessary for survival: clearing and planting new fields, hunting, fishing, gathering, housebuilding, cooking, and child-rearing. Even where more than one family lives in a settlement – and this is the majority of cases – the married couples each perform these tasks separately though often alongside each other. Of these, hunting is the one that most signifies the male domain, and child-rearing the female one. The men spend at least half their time in work connected with hunting or fishing. When not actually out on a hunting or fishing trip they work at home preparing darts, repairing (or more correctly servicing) their blow-pipes, making poison, as well as building, repairing, and inspecting the pig and porcupine traps in the fields. Apart from hunting with the blow-pipe they also go hunting with dogs and spear. Blow-pipe hunting is usually a solitary occupation, but sometimes young boys accompany an older man in order to learn the craft. Once the first child is born women rarely accompany their husbands on hunting trips of just one day's duration, but when he goes on a longer one and

this involves spending a few nights away from the settlement the wife and children will also go.

The women give birth approximately once every eighteen months to two years. Although the infant mortality rate is about fifty percent, women are kept busy looking after babies and infants. Babies are suckled until the next one arrives, and a mother will never leave her baby by itself and rarely with other women. This means that most of her time she has to carry out her work with a baby strapped to her front or back.

However, these activities can be and are participated in by both sexes. Women often make darts for their husbands and are always on the lookout for the species of bamboo used for this purpose when they are in the forest. No woman had her own blowpipe while I was in the field, but I often saw women take one of their husband's and go in search of a squirrel or some other arboreal animal that was observed in the vicinity. I was told that in the recent past several women were adept with the blowpipe and would go hunting successfully on their own. In one case a woman went hunting every day when her husband was sick for a long period of time. Both men and women fish and go in search of the giant turtles that inhabit the rivers. Women also inspect the traps in the fields, and whenever they come across a monitor lizard or a tortoise while out in the forest they will chase it.

Although the produce of the field is primarily a female responsibility, men often participate in planting, harvesting, and preparation of the food. If the wife is sick, heavily pregnant, or

newly delivered, the husband does most of the household chores including cooking and preparing tapioca bread. The responsibility to help is his rather than the woman's mother or other female relatives.

Clearing a new field is work shared by the couple, usually alongside other couples. The man does the heavy work such as cutting down the trees and the initial clearing of the undergrowth and fallen branches. The women clear at a later stage and help in burning it off. On the whole planting is done by women.

Two tasks can be said to symbolize maleness and femaleness respectively, and children of both sexes learn how to accomplish them from older members of their own sex. The boys learn how to find good bamboo for a blowpipe and how to fashion one; and the girls where to look for pandanus leaves used for making mats and bags of various kinds and how to plait them. The Chewong see these two tasks as analogous and complementary. They are talked about in similar terms. Thus I was told that the men measure the correct length of a dart by holding it against their lower arm. It should reach from the elbow to the tip of the little finger. The women measure the correct length of a leaf for a mat by holding it from one extended hand across the chest to the other extended hand.

Ideally a girl is not ready to marry until she has mastered the art of mat making, or a boy until he has proved his proficiency at blowpipe hunting. Other conditions also should be fulfilled. A girl is not old enough to be married until her breasts are fully developed, but I saw two cases where younger girls were married. The procedure for getting a spouse is very simple. A boy will ask, through an

intermediary, a man for his daughter. There is thus a bias towards male initiative. The Chewong will say that so and so "would not give his daughter" to someone, but I have also heard the same said about a mother. Clearly the matter is discussed between the parents, who also consult the wishes of the girl. In fact I very much doubt that any girl would be married against her will. The Chewong acknowledge attraction between the sexes, and are willing to let that be the guiding factor. The Chewong talk about being engaged and having a fiancé, tuneng, and sometime during this period the girl has to make a tobacco pouch for her intended husband. She also plaits a sleeping mat which can accomodate two persons. He gives a sarong to his prospective father-in-law, via the same intermediary, and possibly a knife and some money. These (with the exception of the money) are handed over to the girl. If a wedding ceremony is to take place, it has to wait until the couple has had sexual intercourse in the forest. Once this has occurred, the intermediary decides the day. I suspect that the practice of having a wedding, nika, is not an indigenous practice, but ^{one} copied from the Malays. The older people told me that they had not had one. "In the old days there was no problem," they would say "we just slept together." In fact their term for marriage, or married, is just "sleep together," abnnai. This was confirmed by the older people in the Dong area where wedding ceremonies are very elaborate, due to Malay and Temuan influences. When Patong's and Taloi's daughter was engaged, everybody expected a big feast to be given by them because he is the richest of all the men, having worked for the Game Department for many years, and she is

very energetic when it comes to collecting and selling cane. Patong himself talked about all the food he would buy and how people from all the settlements would come. Yet the event took place with no invitations being issued, so no-one knew about it until afterwards, and Patong did not buy anything special. No-one commented adversely upon this, however, and I suspect that they did not really expect it to happen.

The one wedding that I observed took on some aspects of a feast, but I think this was mainly due to the fact that I had offered to buy rice, brown sugar, and flour. Only the people from Pyapez and Gandah were present. There was, however, a small ceremony in which the couple sat next to each other for the first time. They fed each other out of the same bowl, drank out of the same cup, and shared a cigarette. They were then addressed separately by an old man and an old woman who reminded them of their duties as husband and wife. In the case of the husband, he was told by the old man not to be lazy, but to keep his wife provided with a steady supply of game. "You now have a wife, you must be energetic," he was told. Similarly, the girl was told that she had to be vigilant in her cultivation and preparation of tapioca. "You now have a husband. You must always have staple food ready for him." I think that some exchange must have taken place in the old days even if the feast did not. If the man has not given his wife the sarong, he is not her "true" husband, tehlòi, and he may not defend her against the Malays or any other man, I was told. (The concept of lòi will be discussed in more detail later). I also suspect that the injunction that requires sexual intercourse in the

forest before they can be regarded as husband and wife, is a reference to how marriages used to take place. The couple would meet secretly for brief sexual encounters in the forest over a period of time before they began publically to cohabit.

Once two people are recognized as a couple, they live together in the girl's parents' house where they are given their own corner. They go on living here in a joint household, but with separate hearths, until the first child is born. Some time after this they will build their own house. It is acknowledged that their chief responsibilities are to each other and no longer to their parents.

The married couple spend a lot of time together. The house is the focal point of activity when work does not take them away to the forest or the fields. If one of a couple is already at home, the other prefers being with him or her rather than joining another group. When they go visiting they usually do so together. This mutual reliance and co-operation manifests itself most strikingly to the outsider at the time of a birth. It is the husband who acts as midwife rather than the girl's mother or other female relatives. These may assist the husband, but he is the chief officiant.

What we find among the Chewong is that no one labour or task carries any special status³. Hunting is no more prestigious than is childrearing, gathering, planting, or cooking. There is some division of labour along sexual lines whereby all men will perform those tasks better suited to their superior physical strength. But it is not better to be physically strong, it is just a fact of life.

Another physiological fact is that only women are able to carry and suckle children, but again this does not give them any special status. To sum up, the Chewong recognise the differences between men and women and their different physical and biological capabilities, but they do not apply any value judgement to these differences.

Patterns of Sexual Relations

Of course, men and women relate to each other in a wider social context than that of the conjugal family. The pattern of male-female relations can be seen to fall into four distinct stages during a person's life span.

Infants and small children of both sexes are known as wòng. They spend most of their time in the company of their mother, accompanying her in her daily tasks.

Although adults are very conscious of the sex of the child, often pointing playfully to the sexual organ and pronouncing its name; leh in the case of girls, lah for boys, they do not impose gender associated behaviour upon children. Boys and girls are playmates and all children play the same games and make the same toys. At night they share the sleeping mat of their parents.

At the age between six and eight, children begin to move away from their parents and their playmates of the opposite sex, finally to join a peer group of older children of the same sex. This move is slow and intermittent, but when finally accomplished the youngsters spend most of their time together with the peer-group, sleeping with these in a special corner of the house and having virtually nothing to do with children of the opposite sex. This is also the time

when they start to wear loin-cloths, allegedly because they have become "shy" (or ashamed), lidya. From now until they are married the girls are referred to as "maidens", kòkn kòdah, and the boys as "bachelors", bujaegn.

Following marriage, the focal point of the social life for a couple is spouse and children. They are now "man", tungkal, and "woman", kòkn – in other words they have become adults with all the responsibilities that this entails. They are of course also "husband", teh, and "wife", jeh, but only in relation to each other. As far as the rest of the community is concerned, they are men and women. Marriage entails a virtual full-time intense relationship with one member of the opposite sex. Outside the conjugal situation, however, adult women and men tend to seek the company of members of their own sex. There are no behaviour patterns which might be termed a joking relationship, however, and the rules governing behaviour towards affines make no distinction between the sexes.

Finally, when a couple become old, they cease sleeping together, and although they still fulfil their economic and social obligations to each other as well as they can, they no longer spend much time in each other's company, but prefer that of their own sex. They are now known as "old people", bi badòdn.

There is no symbolic association with gender. Although sleeping quarters within a house are delineated so that the married couple sleep in one corner, the bachelors in another, the maidens in a third, and visiting couples in a fourth, it is of no significance which corner is allocated to each group. In other words, there is no symbolic link between gender and left and right, nor with any of

the four cardinal points. It is only prescriptive (tanko) to keep the various categories apart. How this is done is unimportant.

In ordinary daytime social intercourse we find that the same patterning of location is repeated, but it is not prescribed. Members of opposite sex may sit next to each other, and they may all eat together. Furthermore, there is no order of precedence determining who is served their food first, except when there are visitors, in which case they are always served first. There are no activities from which either sex is excluded.

The Chewong do not have any explicit initiation rites, and as I have already shown, their marriage ceremony is extremely simple and may not even have taken place at all in the past. Nevertheless, I would like to suggest that there are specific categories which everybody enters and exits at roughly the same stages of their lives. These categories correspond to the four stages discerned in the relationship between the sexes, and they may be referred to as childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and old age. Several further factors may be isolated with respect to these.

Firstly, the passage from one category to another is largely dependent upon the individual concerned and it does not take place suddenly and all at once. Rather, it is a sporadic and drawn-out process. Thus the passage from childhood to adolescence is marked by the child oscillating between parents and peer-group. Similarly, that between adolescence and adulthood is also intermittent, with clandestine sexual encounters culminating in public co-habitation. The passage from adulthood to old age is less discernible. Nevertheless, it is expressed by the gradual movement away from spouse to

peer-group of the same sex.

Secondly, these transitions from category to category conform to what we have come to expect from a rite of passage, albeit that they are accomplished implicitly rather than explicitly.

Thirdly, the change in status is marked semantically rather than by ritual or ceremony. When an individual has been incorporated into a new group, he or she is labelled differently. Thus people earlier referred to as wòng become either kòkn kǒdah or bujaegn as members of the adolescent group. Kòkn kǒdah then becomes kòkn and bujaegn becomes tungkal when their adult status is accepted; and finally, these two categories are merged as they turn into bī badòden.

Fourthly, semantic differentiation based on gender only occurs in the case of two categories; those of adolescence and adulthood. There is no one word for these categories, they are only identified as male and female, the exact term dependent upon social status. A person is a member of these two categories at that time in his or her life when they are regarded as sexually active. By contrast, children and old people who are regarded as sexually impotent are referred to by neuter terms.

Symbolic Implications of Birth

In what follows I am only going to discuss those aspects of conception and birth which highlight the relationship between husband and wife. Other issues connected with birth will be examined in subsequent chapters.

The Chewong are fully aware of the link between sexual

intercourse and conception. According to them, the man's semen mixes with the blood in the woman's womb (they actually say stomach, aig, having no separate word for womb) and this fusion develops into the foetus and child. Unless sexual intercourse is practised regularly, preferably every night, over an extended period, this fusion and growth will not take place. In fact a regular supply of semen is required throughout the pregnancy, and couples continue to have sexual intercourse right up to the time of birth.

When a woman goes into labour her husband gathers the various roots and leaves required for medicine. He prepares them and gives them to his wife at the appropriate moments. Only if he is away will someone else act as midwife, usually the girl's mother or sister. He also prepares the special water which is used for washing the mother and child in. It is kept in a bamboo, no modern receptacle may be used on this occasion. If he does not know the spells required for this and for the medicines, someone who does know them officiates.

The woman places herself next to the fireplace. She lies on her back and her husband presses her stomach at frequent intervals to aid the baby's movement. They insist that the baby cannot be delivered on its own. When the baby emerges, the husband pulls it gently out and cuts the umbilical cord with a sharpened piece of bamboo. As was the case with the water container, the cord may not be cut by a metal (or non-indigenous) knife. The navel string is tied with a piece of cane, the baby washed and handed to its mother. The rest of the umbilical cord and the placenta are carefully wrapped

in an old mat or some large leaves, and the husband places it in the branches of a tree outside the boundary of the field. Having thus disposed of the afterbirth, the father covers all the blood which has fallen to the ground underneath the house with ashes.

Throughout the pregnancy both parents are subject to dietary restrictions and these are identical for both parents. To eat any of the forbidden foods would affect the foetus detrimentally or it might lead to a difficult labour. The reason given for including the father in these prohibitions is that he "sleeps with" his wife, a euphemism for sexual intercourse. After the birth the mother still has to observe dietary and other ritual restrictions, whereas the father no longer does. I suggest that in the Chewong context, the father's direct participation in the creation and growth of the baby through his continued deposit of semen which is then incorporated into the foetus, is the major reason for his having to avoid the foods that will damage the development of the child or lead to a difficult birth. As far as they are concerned, both parents are equally part of the creative process, and any forbidden food eaten by the father is mystically associated with his semen and as such would contaminate. This complementarity corresponds to ideas of mutuality discerned in their creation myth, whereby both parents were responsible for the nurturing of the new born child.

The participation of the father raises the question of couvade. At first sight Chewong practices can be seen to conform to what has come to be regarded as couvade as found in many parts

of the world. Rivière, however suggests that couvade is not a useful category which can be applied on a universal scale, and he states that "couvade is not something in its own right, but rather an aspect of something else (it is) one among many diverse institutions that address themselves to the same problem, one of almost universal proportions, that of man's duality" (1975: 434). He is in effect proposing that the various rituals that the parents go through in connection with birth are as much to do with the child's spiritual wellbeing as its physical one. "For birth to be successful, so to speak, there must be a spiritual as well as a physical creation" (431).

To make his point clear he compares couvade with the Catholic institution of compadrazgo which is concerned with the sponsorship of an individual's spiritual aspect. But whereas the model for the compadrazgo is a social one, in the couvade the model is physiological; all or part of the process of pregnancy, parturition and nurture serve as a model for the spiritual creation (433).

I now wish to examine the Chewong material in the light of the above suggestions. The Chewong claim that they do not know where the soul, ruwai, of a new human being comes from. They have no perception of a "soul reservoir" from which a soul goes to a newborn child and to which it returns after its death, as is found among many peoples including the Batek (Endicott 1979: 92). They insist that it is not given by any supernatural being. In the myth that we began with, Tohan gave breath to the first couple, and in this context "breath" implies "soul", but this was a once-only

act and has never been repeated by him. One might argue that once humanity had been activated all aspects of a human being are recreated automatically once the process had been ignited. On this level there is no real split between body and soul, the two are intrinsically part of each other. When the Chewong speak of the foetus and the newborn infant they do not separate these two concepts, the child is referred to only as one entity. In other contexts, however, they clearly do think of there being a duality. They will refer to the ruwai as being the "true" person, bi lòi, and the body only the "cloak", bajo, of the ruwai. Thus in dreams and shamanistic seances it is said that the ruwai leaves its "cloak" and travels freely and independently about. Similarly at death, the "cloak" becomes earth, whereas some other aspect of the person becomes a ghost, ynlugen. The most dangerous form of disease is when an individual has lost his ruwai. Unless it is found and replaced in the body, the person dies. I never met anybody who could tell at what point the ruwai is present in a baby, but most people would reply when pressed that it was not in the mother's stomach but appeared on its own after the child had been born. A stillborn child does not receive any mortuary rites, nor does one who dies within the first two days. It is not regarded as human yet, only when it has been sucking the milk and "the mother has held it", i. e. held it in a true mother and child relationship of feeding, is the child a social being and its ruwai present. If it dies at this point all the death rituals are carried out. These examples would seem to indicate that the father's ritual behaviour before the birth has nothing to do with the child's spiritual birth, only its

physiological one. I am classing both the parents together rather than discussing the father's role as something separate and different from that of the mother, as it should be clear by now that this distinction is not made by the Chewong, nor is it of importance in view of the model of the practices being to do with the spiritual birth of a child.

There are however, indications that there is something present in the foetus which is extra to the physical being. This something may not be the fully formed ruwai, but as the foetus grows into a human body, so this embryo ruwai is also nurtured into the personage (see Chapter V) of the human being. But whereas the physical form is complete upon birth, the child's ruwai is not. Small children's ruwai are very weak and especially vulnerable to attacks by various supernatural beings.

Since the Chewong are adamant that there is no ruwai in the womb, I will not use that term. The concept of ruwai is a very complex one and will be discussed in detail later, so here I will confine myself to suggesting that at some levels it is synonymous with life. According to the Chewong anything that is alive has ruwai. In this sense ruwai can be said to stand for vital principle. It is this vital principle that is present in the foetus. Indeed, when a mother feels the child she is carrying move, she will say that it is alive. Since being alive implies by definition the presence of a vital principle, one must assume that this is present inside the foetus. The Chewong say that the ruwai is weak immediately following birth, and that until the ruwai is fully developed and properly fixed in the body, it is prone to attack by non-human beings and forces as well as being lost on its own accord.

We can also deduce that it is vulnerable while still in the womb as the following examples show.

A pregnant woman may not look upon a corpse. If she does so the foetus will be damaged either physically or spiritually. There were two boys both of whom were born defective. One had severe physical handicaps, but his mental faculties were normal. The other was so seriously mentally deficient that he could not really communicate in any meaningful way. I was told that in both cases their mothers had looked upon a corpse during their pregnancies, and this was why the children were born abnormal. In other words, the correct development of the foetus had somehow been stunted by the mother perceiving death while she was in the process of creating life. In the case of the mentally handicapped boy, it was his vital principle that had been affected, and his ruwai never developed fully. He was not regarded by the rest of the community as a full member in a social sense, although his parents loved him and cared for him, whereas the physically handicapped boy participated in social and ritual activities, there being nothing the matter with his mental faculties.

I once overheard some people talking about a woman not present at the time who was heavily pregnant, saying that she would have a difficult birth. When I enquired why, I was told that she was known to "eat alone", the cardinal "sin" as far as the Chewong are concerned. They said that the child in the stomach could watch its mother's ungenerous behaviour and would not want to come out to be looked after by such a mean person.

Another case shows the father's mystical link with the

prenatal growth of his child. Although the macaque, bawaeg, is not prohibited food for prospective parents in general, it is a tolaeg animal (see below) in some cases. If someone suffers from epilepsy, òh, this is because the yinlugen of the macaque has taken the ruwai of the sufferer and carried it to its own land up in the clouds. These people must never eat macaque meat, or an attack will immediately follow. One man, E, suffers from epilepsy. Once, however, when his wife was pregnant, he did not heed his prohibition and ate some macaque. He had a fit. His son never touches the meat having been told about the incident. It is assumed that were he to do so, he would also have an epileptic fit.

By now I should have established the presence of a vital principle in the womb. I have also shown that it (as well as the physical part of the foetus) is vulnerable and may be effected by both parents during the pregnancy. The influence may effect either the physiological or the spiritual aspect of the child, and any one act may affect either. So, although the Chewong recognise the two parts of a human being, they do not see these as necessarily independent entities. In the light of the discussion so far, I would suggest that the ritual restrictions on the part of the parents during a pregnancy are a means by which both the physiological and the spiritual aspects of the child are strengthened and developed. They signify the mystical link between parents and the growth of the child in both its aspects.

As the two categories ruwai and bajo are not structurally opposed, the analogue with the categories man and woman become

apparent. The boundaries between both are not static. Although the Chewong recognise the biological differences between the two sexes, no special value is associated with the attributes of either. Rather, they are treated in some cases as complementary, in others as interchangeable. Both empirically and symbolically the similarities and mutual inter-dependence are emphasized rather than differences and oppositions.

CHAPTER IV

HUMANS AND SUPERHUMANS

I shall now turn to the question of Chewong religion. This I shall discuss from the point of view that, to them, religion is mainly a matter of interaction between human beings and the numerous superhuman beings who inhabit their universe. By examining the relationship of the Chewong with the supernatural I also wish to test my general thesis that equality and lack of status constitute underlying notions of Chewong modes of thought.

Because I describe in some detail the various superhuman beings, and try to interpret the implications of my data as I go along, this chapter has turned out to be exceptionally long. There is, however, no way that I could usefully divide it. I begin by considering the Chewong cosmology, since without an understanding of this, it is not possible to make sense of Chewong attitudes towards the superhuman beings.

COSMOLOGY

The Chewong do not have a clearly thought-out and fully consistent view of the cosmos. Only those aspects that are of special interest, or are related to specific explanations and interpretations, are differentiated and highlighted. What I shall be presenting is the result of hundreds of unconnected bits of information collected throughout the period of my fieldwork, which I choose to gather together under the general heading of cosmology.

Conceptually the Chewong cosmos is centred upon Earth. It is in relation to this that all other earths and spheres are visualised and allocated their places. Earth, i.e. the tropical rain forest and humans, animals, trees, and plants on it are the yardstick by which alternative worlds are described. The Chewong cosmos has much in common with those of other Orang Asli groups. It is conceived of as consisting of several layers, both above and below this Earth. Each layer is complete in itself and the underside of each forms the sky, langit, of the one immediately below. In the case of this earth, known as Earth Seven, Te Tujuh, its sky is the underside of Earth Six, Te Enam. It is made out of stone and touches Earth Seven at two points: where the sun rises and sets. These two points are called the sky's feet, chan langit. The Chewong say that the sun has a path across the sky and that it walks across this once a day. It goes below Earth at night where it forms the sun for the earth immediately below, Earth Eight, Te Lapan. When it is below, however, the sun is cool, becoming hot again upon rising on Earth Seven. Daytime on Earth Seven is night on Earth Eight and vice versa. At first sight one might accept this simply as a logical explanation. The presence or absence of the sun means light or darkness and if it is absent on this earth and present on the one below, it is fair to assume that reverse conditions prevail. I do not think that this is the full explanation however. All the various worlds both above and below, as well as those on Earth Seven itself, have night when we have day and vice versa. Rather, through employing the technique of inversion, the Chewong mark off their own world as being a different type of world from all those that cannot be perceived

by the ordinary man or woman.

To name these worlds by numbers is a curious phenomenon in so far as numbers are otherwise unimportant in Chewong intellectual constructions. None can say straight off how many children he or she has without counting on the fingers. In fact only one to four are indigenous Chewong words. Beyond four they employ Malay numerals, and I suspect that these were adopted quite recently when they started to sell cane and to handle money. This numbering of the various layers of the cosmos is, I feel, therefore due to outside influence, both from other Orang Asli groups (see Dentan 1968 and Endicott 1979) and the Muslim Malays where the numeral seven is of high ritual importance. In fact the Chewong do not number the rest of the earths, although one informant insisted that there are earths one, two, three, four and five above Earth Six. He was unable to give any information about the first four, except that they are uninhabited, very small, and covered in mist.

The first earth to be individualised is number five, known as Timoh awan (gibbon clouds). This is the land of certain gibbon ghosts, yinlugen timoh who are immortal and who take the ruwai of small children if they eat gibbon flesh. They take the ruwai up to Timoh awan and the child becomes very sick as a result.

Earth Six, Te Enam is more frequently referred to as Moso Awan, Sosong, or Pulao Plò (fruit island). In many ways Earth Six epitomizes the Chewong view of the ideal world. It is pleasantly cool here all the time. They have a different sun from the one we have, and theirs is a cool one. This means that it is very good for fruit growing. In fact the fruit trees here bear all the year round. The

people who live here eat only fruit. One piece of the fruit from Earth Six is enough to satisfy a whole family. The beings are known as the original people, bi asal⁴. They are of both sexes, and "people like us", bi he, say the Chewong, only they have cool blood and cool eyes. (See below .) They do not get sick or die. When they become very old they metamorphose into infants. There is an opening in Earth Six known as Pinto Lancob, which allows access to and from Earth Seven, but these days several large boulders roll around the opening so that only great shamans are able to enter.

As already mentioned, the underside of Earth Six forms the firmament of Earth Seven. Underneath the langit are clouds, al, and some of these – those which under certain atmospheric circumstances have a golden rim around them – are the homes of two personified superhuman beings, Tanko and his wife Ya' Sobang. These two make thunder and lightning on Earth.

Also between Earth Seven and the firmament is Plantor, the home of two other superhuman beings known as Bajaegn (male) and Ponjur (female). They take the ruwai of those involved in accidents that include the shedding of blood. Plantor can be seen sometimes as bright red clouds at dusk. Red streaks across the sky at such times are said to be the blood of a newly dead person, or that of a pig. A different type of red clouds called Plantor Birai seen occasionally at sunrise or sunset are the homes of certain macaque ghosts, yinlugen bawaig, who may cause disease if someone has eaten macaque meat.

Earth Seven is surrounded by ocean on all sides. All the rivers run into this ocean. The Chewong have never seen the ocean but

their mythology and songs are full of references to it. Although Earth Seven is the home of ordinary humans, it also contains on it numerous other worlds invisible to the ordinary human eye. These worlds are inhabited by many different kinds of superhuman beings. In all cases our day is their night and vice versa. Mount Benom, Cheba Benem, the tallest mountain in the area, is particularly densely populated by various original people, bi asal . But river-sources, water-falls, large stones, other hills and mountains, trees etc. , may all be worlds inhabited by different species of non-human beings.

Underneath Earth Seven there are several other worlds, but these are not visualised as forming distinct separate layers. The Chewong would become confused whenever I tried to get them to pinpoint where each different world was in relation to the others. These are not questions that are of any importance to them. It is sufficient to separate them conceptually. They are possibly visualised in less detail because there are no natural phenomena which can be seen below Earth and which may serve as foci for the imagination. Whatever the reason, one can distinguish three separate worlds below Earth Seven. Firstly there is the afterworld, Pulao Klam (fog island), also known as Pulao Nihod, Pulao Rangagn, Bapan Goleg, or Yinlugen Kael. It is situated underneath Earth Seven in the West. A corpse is always placed in the grave along an east-west axis with the head facing east. Only the ghosts, yinlugen, of ordinary mortals go to Pulao Klam. The shamans, putao, are not buried, but are placed in a tree hut, and their ruwai go to live on a mountain on Earth Seven.

Various personified superhuman beings also live below Earth Seven, but not on Pulau Klam. The chief among these is the Original Snake, talòden asal, who causes the taladen storms when anyone has committed taladen by laughing at animals. This snake is huge, and is often referred to as talòden naga. Taloden asal is a woman and she lives in the water underneath Earth Seven. Whenever she moves, and this she does only when someone has committed taladen, water wells up and drowns all the offenders whom she then swallows. Ya' Rud is another of Tanko's wives. She lives below as well, and is a friend of the Original Snake.

Finally there is Earth Eight, Te Lapan, where many old people, bi badòden, of both sexes live. These are also bi asal, but not a lot is known about them apart from the myth in which they gave several important things to early mankind (See page 103.)

All these different worlds are envisaged as separate entities with their own firmament, moon, sun, and stars, rivers, water, mountains, plants etc. Earth Seven, as human beings know it, alone among all these different worlds suffers from having a hot sun. This was even more so a long time ago. The Chewong tell the story of the sun and the moon, the chief ingredients of which are found among many of the Orang Asli groups:

Both the sun and the moon are women. They are sisters, and the sun is the elder. The stars are the moon's children. A long time ago, the sun also had children. Many little suns were in the sky during^{the}/daytime, and it was very hot on Earth Seven. One day the moon took all her children and hid them

in the knot of hair that she wore at the nape of her neck. "Where are your children?" asked the sun when she saw her. "I have swallowed them all," replied the moon, "why don't you eat yours as well?" she told her elder sister. So the sun did, but when the last one had been swallowed, the moon opened up her hair and let all her children fall out. The sun realised that she had been tricked. She became very angry. She quarrelled with the moon who ran away. The sun ran after her, but she could not catch up with her. She is still chasing her younger sister across the sky and below the Earth. But people were very glad, for it was no longer so very hot on this earth.

The sun is still much too hot for the Chewong's liking, however, and they blame much of their disease and misfortune of the hot sun. I was asked many times if the sun in England was a cool one. "You have a different sun over there, do you?" they always inquired when commenting upon how rarely I became ill.

The spatial orientation of the Chewong cosmos is very simple. There is an above-below axis, and, to a lesser extent, an east-west one, but these do not seem to form a nucleus for a further set of dichotomies. The worlds above, below, and parallel are all inhabited by superhuman beings, but there are males and females in all spheres. Some of the

superhumans from each are helpful to humans, others are not.

The putao can travel to all the different worlds during sleep or trance. The various beings cannot visit each other; they can, however, visit Earth Seven. Whenever the putao flies off to some other world this does not involve danger for anyone but himself. Whenever a superhuman being leaves his own world and comes to Earth Seven, on the other hand, this usually means calamity of some sort. For instance, when the Original Snake moves as a result of taladen, the water from below Earth will wipe out everything and everybody on Earth. If the bi asal from Earth Six should decide to come to have a look at Earth Seven to see how the fruit trees that they planted long ago are faring, they descend as heavy rain and wind and this may damage people and their property. If humans inadvertently enter a ruwai-trap set by a bas for pigs they get sick, etc., etc. There are numerous examples to the effect that the continued equilibrium on Earth Seven is dependent upon the continued separation of the various worlds and their elements. The balance of good order is upset whenever the boundaries are crossed. The only time when this does not apply is during certain ritual situations such as the healing seance, nöpo, when all the various helpers from other worlds are asked to descend.

THE SUPERHUMAN BEINGS

I now wish to discuss in detail the various superhuman beings in order to determine how they are conceived of in relation

to humans as well as to each other. There are several ways of approaching my material, all of which have advantages and disadvantages. The first point I wish to make is that unlike other writers, see e.g. Endicott and Schebesta, I choose to avoid the term "god" or "deity" and prefer to use the term superhuman beings. These beings are not conceptually differentiated in any way which would indicate that there is an hierarchical ordering of them.

The Chewong do, however, distinguish several categories of superhuman beings, namely "original people", bi asal; "ghosts", yinlugen; "hidden people", bi inhar; and "disease-causing people", bas. I shall follow their classification. Since each category includes beings who do not display similar attributes, and since moreover there is a considerable overlap of these, this approach immediately leads one into a problem of definition, one that Endicott solved by treating each category of deity as a polythetic class of attributes. He was led to do this because of the numerous inconsistencies in the information he was given about them, and he concluded that to the Batek:

The way the deity concepts are used suggests that their main importance is as part of the conventional description of how the world works. They are the concepts in terms of which certain 'natural' processes and events are described and explained -- What I am calling the deities of the Negritos are, I suggest, ideas built up

out of imagined actions, corporeal images, and names – – named deities normally consist of combinations of image–role sets and (that) there are more ways to combine components of a set of (more than two) elements in the set (1979: 199, 201).

I used and expanded these ideas in my M. Litt thesis (Howell 1976) whereby I conducted a comparative analysis of the religious systems of all the Orang Asli groups. Each phenomenon that they needed to explain in supernatural terms, such as creation, thunderstorms, disease etc., I called a "theme"; the action by which a supernatural being was supposed to carry out its imagined action I called its "mode", and what the being was supposed to look like I, following Endicott in this instance, called its "image". The problem of confusing and contradictory information was thereby solved in so far as any explanation could be regarded as a (theme–mode–image) set in which no one attribute was regarded as necessary for definitional purposes.

The Chewong material, however, presents different problems. The information about the various superhuman beings and their activities was always consistent among the various informants. So although there is agreement on the attributes, these are not easily analysed in terms of accepted notions of what constitutes a category or a class. The indigenous classification of superhuman beings therefore presents the anthropologist with several problems. There is an overlap of attributes between different sub-classes within one category, and the attributes of beings within one class

can be diametrically opposed. For instance, within each category there are some beings who are helpful to humans and others who are harmful. Some attributes are found scattered seemingly haphazardly throughout the categories, and it is impossible to analyse them in structural terms. (See Table V for a summary.) Despite these difficulties from the analytical point of view, I have chosen to follow as closely as possible the Chewong's own divisions, since by doing so I maintain that we shall learn most about their modes of thought. The question of the indigenous classification will be discussed in detail in my last chapter, so here I shall limit myself to pointing out the "inconsistencies" in each category as I come across them, while the main body of the discussion will be concerned with the relationship between members of each category of superhuman beings and between these and humanity.

BI ASAL

The original people, bi asal⁴, are beings who have existed always. They were there before Earth Seven was made, before plants, animals, and humans. Some of them were instrumental in the creation and formation of human culture and can therefore best be regarded as culture heroes. Others are individuals and have specific myths attached to their names, still others are referred to collectively. Some live on earths above this one, some on earths below, and some live on Earth Seven itself, but in different worlds from that of humans. I shall consider each in turn.

Culture Heroes

The Chewong have no myths regarding the creation of the universe or that of Earth. They can offer no interpretation on how it all came about. They do, however, have a rather curious belief that every so often Earth Seven is turned upside down. Everything on it is drowned and destroyed, and the flat new surface of its earlier underside is made again into mountains, valleys etc. New trees are planted, and new humans made. It is Tohan who causes this to happen whenever he feels it has become too dirty, kama, on this earth. Dirt in this context means too many people, too many deaths, too much blood from killing animals, and too much urine and faeces. When this is about to happen Tohan warns all the Orang Asli who then turn into flower buds and fly up to Earth Six. The rest of mankind dies.

Tohan is the creator of the first human\$. He is a man and he lives on Earth Seven near the sea. He also, together with the bi asal from Earth Six planted all the fruit trees in the forest. They took seed from Earth Six and brought it down and sowed and planted. They planted tapioca and lived on Earth Seven for a long time. Eventually they found it too hot, and dirty (this was after the advent of human beings) so all except Tohan returned to Earth Six where they have been ever since.

Nor do the Chewong have any stories that account for the creation of animals. They do, however, have accounts of how the first humans were made and the sort of life they led. Ogilvie was told a myth by Beng which corresponds very closely with the

ones I was told by several different people on various occasion, and I will recount it in full (as I myself was told it). An abbreviated version has already appeared on page 65.

A long, long time ago there were no people on Earth Seven. Allah Ta' Allah (sometimes Tohan) told his Nabi to make people out of earth. The Nabi did not know what people were supposed to look like, so he first made the shape of an elephant. When Allah Ta' Allah saw it he said, "That is not people, beri, that is an elephant." So the Nabi tried again and this time he made the shape of a human being. He made two shapes, one man and one woman, (in Ogilvie's version he made just one, sex unspecified) but they were not alive. So he went to Allah Ta' Allah and told him that the figures had no breath, njug. Allah Ta' Allah blew into his clenched fist and passed the breath into Nabi's hands. He had one breath in each hand. He started back to the two earth figures, but on the way he wanted to see what breath looked like, so he opened both fists. He could see nothing, however, and breath disappeared. Nabi returned to Allah Ta' Allah who gave him two new breaths. He went to the figures without looking at the breath, and he placed his fist on the fontanelle of each figure in turn and blew through it. Then he hit their big toes. The two

figures stood up. They were alive. They were the first human couple. They did not know what to do in order to have children. The Nabi did not know either. He tried putting a piece of firewood up the anus of the woman, but that was no good. (He tried various other methods which I did not understand, all to no avail). The couple had sexual intercourse, but they did not know what this would lead to. They were stupid. The woman became pregnant, but they did not know, and when she began to have terrible stomach pains they did not understand that she was about to give birth. They did not know what to do, so the man cut open the woman's stomach and took out the child inside. The child lived, but the woman died. This is how the early people delivered their babies. There were no women in those days. When their first child was born their husbands cut open their stomachs and the women died. The husband did not know what to do with the child, but his wife's ghost, yinlugen, came to him in a dream and told him to let the child suck at his elbow. The man did this, and milk appeared which the child drank. This was how all babies were kept alive after their mothers had died.

This creation myth has much in common with the Batek one (see Endicott 1979: 83), and it may in some respects be influenced by them, especially since there seems to be no reason why in the Chewong version the Nabi should bring two lots of breath to the earth figures. In the Batek version Allah (the person who plays the role of the Chewong Nabi) first is given water life-soul from Tohan, but this he loses on the way. When he returns for more, Tohan gives him some wind life-soul from the banana plant. Endicott comments on these two souls that, "The notion that there were two life-souls, one of which was dropped, is a constant feature of all versions of the story, though the names of the two souls vary The importance of these two life-souls is that the first one which was lost, would have made man immortal, whereas the one that human beings eventually received is merely borrowed and thus provides only temporary life" (84-85). The Chewong have no such rationale for their story, and this suggests that the notion is a borrowed one, (but see another version of the myth on page 153.)

The details about the lack of knowledge concerning sexual intercourse and childbirth are, however, as far as I know unique to the Chewong, and stress the still uncultured states of humans. They have several myths about these early days, when people were "stupid", panir, and did not know how to behave the way proper human beings should. The following story about maro, the rule that forbids eating alone which today is the primary "sin" to the Chewong, again stresses the state of ignorance and the role of the bi asal - in this case one from Earth Seven - as culture heroes.

In the old, old days people did not know about maro; that one may not eat alone but always be generous and share one's food. One day Bujaegn Yed went hunting. He shot a binturong. He prepared it and cooked it in the jungle on his own. In those days people lived by the maxim "whatever I catch I eat, whatever you catch you eat." That was how it was in the old days. While Bujaegn Yed was eating his catch of the day, Yinlugh^e_^ Bud (ghost of tree trunk) came by. He is an original "ghost" who was around before the first humans. Bud asked Yed what he was doing. "I am eating my binturong," replied Yed. "If you eat alone and don't share, you maro (putting oneself in a state of ritual danger that can lead to death). You must always share your food with others. Human beings must never eat alone," Bud told him. When he heard this Yed took his binturong meat and went home. He gave the meat to his wife who was pregnant. She ate and was no longer hungry. She was about to give birth. She had had pains in her stomach. Yed took out his knife and prepared to cut open her stomach. Yinlugh Bud who had

followed Yed back to his house asked him what he was doing. "I am going to cut open my wife's stomach so that the child can get out," said Yed. "No, no," said Bud. "Don't do that. There is an opening." He showed Yed how to press on the stomach of the pregnant woman, and when the baby came out, Bud showed Yed how to cut the navel string with a piece of bamboo and tie it with a piece of cane. Then he showed him how to wrap the afterbirth in leaves and place it in a tree, and how to cover the blood with ashes. Yed then started to feed the child from his elbow, which was how the men used to feed their babies after their wives had died from having their stomach cut open. "What are you doing?" asked Bud, "there is milk in the mother's breasts." Then Bud taught the birth spells, and the various leaves to be used for medicines after the birth. He showed him which species of tree fibres to boil and give the mother to drink, and which leaves to warm up and put on her stomach. He also told him all the pantang (rules) connected with birth: the woman must sleep next to the fire, she cannot go out except to relieve herself, nor can she eat meat until all bleeding has ceased. Having taught Yed all practices connected with childbirth,

Yinlugn Bud returned to his own land.
 From then on women did not die in child-
 birth and people did not eat alone any
 more, but always brought back their game
 and shared it with everybody.

This myth is known by every adult Chewong. They take a lot of pleasure in telling it, commenting continually upon the stupidity of those early people. It is always told as one story, the theme of eating alone leading into the faulty childbirth procedures, with Yinlugen Bud putting them right in both cases. Yinlugen Bud never appears in any other myths. He is known by all, but only as the culture hero in these two instances. He is still alive, but "has returned to his own land", ka weg ke mona' punye. As we shall see later, food, and the symbolism in connection with the handling and sharing of it, form a major part in Chewong collective representations. It is used as a major idiom for ordering their social life as well as their universe. It is therefore of interest to note that one of the first things the early humans were taught, even before they had learnt how to procreate properly, was to share their food. Man is by definition a social being, but in the Chewong case food, not marriage, is the idiom for stating this.

I also wish to draw attention to the fact that in the myth regarding the first humans, two rules are given them, namely maro and pantang. I shall be returning to the place of rules in Chewong modes of thought in a later chapter.

To continue the discussion on the bi asal as culture heroes,

I now include their myth about how they learnt other practices, the knowledge of which places them firmly in the realm of culture as opposed to that of nature. In this case they are taught by bi asal from the earth below.

A long, long time ago there was no night on this earth – Earth Seven. The people slept during the day. They did not have fire either. If they wanted to cook tapioca they just put it on the ground. The moon was just another star (?). One day a boy lost his knife through a hole in the ground. He followed after it and fell down on Earth Eight which was very close to Earth Seven in those days. Very old people lived down there. Ya' Rud was there and other people who are still alive today. They gave him some food to eat. Then it became very dark and the boy was frightened. "What is this?" he wanted to know. "This is night," they told him. "We do not have night in my world," said the boy. The people then lighted resin torches. "What is that?" asked the boy. "Those are resin torches," they told him. The people on Earth Eight had fire and they made a big one. The boy was very frightened. "What is that?" he asked. "That is fire," they explained. "We do not have fire in my world," the boy said. The people told the boy that if there was no night all the tubers would die, so they gave

him night. They put night in a bamboo for him to take with him to Earth Seven. They also gave him fire, resin torches, and tobacco, and showed him how to cook food. The boy returned to this earth. When he poured out night from the bamboo and it became dark the people here became very frightened. The boy explained to them that it was night and that if they did not have night their tubers would die. He then gave them the resin torches and the fire so that they could cook their food. When he smoked the tobacco and the people saw the smoke coming out of his mouth they became very frightened, but the boy told them that it tasted good.

The bi asal on Earth Eight no longer have any contact with the Chewong. They are still there, but do not impinge upon their life. The putao does not visit Earth Eight during seances, and there are, as far as I could tell, no references to them in the songs. They do not become spirit-guides. They are therefore of less importance than those of Earth Six who are still responsible for giving the annual fruits. They do not come to visit Earth Seven on any occasions. They share the same attributes as the bi asal of Earth Six in so far as they have cool blood and are therefore immortal. Their sun is also cool.

Bi Asal of Earth Six

The people who live above on Earth Six are also referred to as bi asal, or in general conversation just as "them", gödn, accompanied by a head movement pointing upwards. Although they gave the first fruit trees to humanity and can in this respect be regarded as culture heroes, they are different from the ones just discussed in so far as there is still a continuing relationship between them and human beings. In the early days, after the creation, they lived on Earth Seven as well as on Earth Six. At that time ordinary humans could also travel between the two earths. Eventually the bi asal found Earth Seven too hot for their liking and they returned to Earth Six where they have lived ever since.

They rarely visit Earth Seven these days. They are frightened of the heat and the dirt. Very occasionally, however, they decide to have a look at how things are going down here, what the people are up to and how the fruit trees are doing. Then they travel down through Pinto Lancob on strong winds and rains. Some people told me that the bi asal actually were the rain and the wind, others that these were their paths. The Chewong are extremely frightened by heavy storms. Ordinary wind and rain that occur almost daily is not commented upon, but strong and heavy rain and wind always signify superhuman activity of some sort. One possibility, i. e. interpretation, of a storm is the descent of bi asal from Earth Six or from Mount Benom. Such storms can cause havoc to settlements and forest alike, destroying houses and killing people. If bi asal is thought to be the cause, a person, usually a man with some esoteric knowledge, will run out into the rain and shout to them to go away. "It is we

who are here, your grand children. We are very shy/timid, lidya. Don't come so close!" they shout upwards into the storm. Others will be busily preparing a special pot of incense for blowing smoke in several directions away from themselves. The smoke forms alternative paths for the bi asal to travel along. But although the Chewong are very frightened by the sudden advent of the bi asal they do not attribute to them any malevolent intentions. Rather, the bi asal do not seem to realize their own powers of destruction. They come quite peacefully wanting only to look, but because they are so strong and powerful, they may destroy people in the process. It is because of this that they are told not to come too close.

The following story about Earth Six and the inhabitants there was told me by a man at Dong. The various elements in it were also known by the Krau Chewong, but they did not present these in one sequence.

The people who live on Earth Six above do not defecate or urinate. Their children are metamorphosed flowers. (One man said children are born from the forehead on Earth Six above, and from the calf⁵ from Earth Six below). Above Earth Six is Timoh Maro, where gibbon (timoh) people live. Above Timoh Maro there are no people, though there are earths. Klarei (species of cicada) live also on Earth Six. There used to be a rope connecting Earth Seven with Earth Six above, tali reba. Once a man did a nöpoh (seance)

and he started to climb the rope, but he was not ^(shaman)putao and he fell down and broke his thigh bone. His son-in-law was putao. He did a nōpoh also and started to climb up the rope. His body climbed, not just his ruwai as is the case with putao today. When he reached Earth Six he saw all the fruit trees, and he took durian, rambutan, and other fruits and placed them all on a straw mat and wanted to bring them back with him. The people up there would not let him take any of the fruits away. They told him that the earth where he came from was called Earth Seven and that it was a dirty place because the people there defecated and urinated and shed blood. So the man went down again empty-handed. When he reached Earth Seven, he told his father-in-law what had happened and what he had been told by the people up on Earth Six. The people up there had also told him that they would not descend to Earth Seven because of the dirty state it was in.

The next day the man did another nōpoh and again he went up to Earth Six. This time he took just a small piece of durian, but when the people saw this they ran after him to take it back.

He ran all over the place, but they followed, wanting to expel him. Finally he fell off and crashed down to Earth Seven where he died from the impact. When the other people from his settlement went to look at the corpse, they found the small piece of the durian skin in his clenched fist. This they took and cut into very many small pieces and planted them in various places. The pieces became durian trees, rambutan trees and all the other fruit trees.

The rope that had linked the two earths fell into the fire and was burnt. From then on people could not climb up to Earth Six. Only the ruwai of great putao can travel there these days.

A few points in this myth need elaboration. Firstly that the children on Earth Six are metamorphosed flowers. The Chewong of Krau say the the people there become very old and then turn into babies again. It is the bi hali (see below) who procreate in this manner. Secondly, we here have an alternate version of how fruit trees originated on Earth Seven, namely by theft. The Krau Chewong told me both versions without worrying about the inconsistency; the different myths are told in different contexts. They are, however, always very insistent that the bi asal guard their fruits very jealously, and there are several stories about putao from Earth Seven ascending to

Earth Six and trying to trick the people up there to let him bring some fruit back with him. Today it is the sign of a great putao, if he cannot only reach Earth Six, but also bring with him a small piece of the skin of a fruit from there.

In the same way that Earth Six is the ideal world as far as the Chewong are concerned, so the bi asal who live there symbolize their notions about ideal beings. It is to these that they compare themselves, and through this comparison that they realise their own shortcomings. In the days when all men still had free access to Earth Six there was no disease or death. If they fell sick, they would just climb (others say fly) up there and the cool environment would ensure speedy recovery. Spells always work when it is cool enough, they say, and often a whole family with one sick member will leave the settlement where it is hot and the spells do not "catch", chab⁶, to sleep on the ground, abn ka te. This means building a shelter in the forest where it is cool. To be cool is to be healthy and inviolable, sadly a difficult state to achieve on Earth Seven. It is not just the environment which is cool on Earth Six, the bi asal have cool bodies in virtue of their cool, white blood. They are frightened of humans coming up there because of their hot blood. The culmination of a shaman's training and initiation is for him to manage to fly through the Pinto Lancob to Earth Six. By so doing he has proved himself worthy of the bi asal who make him one of them. They slash at his wrists and let all the hot red blood run out. Then they give him cool white blood like their own. He is now a "dew shaman", putao modn, which means that he can change himself into dew, thus facilitating his entry through Pinto Lancob. His body is cool like theirs and people

told me of the great putao of the past who could hold burning embers in their hands without feeling pain, or work in the sun all day without perspiring. Thus a big putao does not die like the rest on humanity, he only changes his body or "cloak," bajo, as they put it. His ruwai is immortal. After death it joins all the other putao of the past who have gone to a mountain on Earth Seven. Strangely enough they do not go to join the bi asal on Earth Six.

Despite what I have just said, the Chewong do not regard the bi asal of Earth Six as superior to themselves. They are both different and the same. Again and again I was told by someone describing them to me that they are "our people", or "people just like us", bi he. They are not fundamentally different from the ordinary humans, only some of their attributes are. But these very attributes can be obtained by those humans who wish to acquire them. Anyone, man or woman, may become putao should they so wish. It is a matter of not being lazy in studying with existing putao. When a person has studied enough, he or she meets spirit guides in dreams and eventually with the help of these and the acquired knowledge, the putao can fly up to Earth Six to become a putao modn.

According to the Chewong view, then, the bi asal of Earth Six constitute a model for an ideal state of being. There is nothing, however, that prevents them from attaining the same ideal conditions for themselves. They are all potential immortal and inviolable beings, and it is up to the individual to choose to attain such a state or not.

These bi asal do not impinge upon daily life, they are not the creators, they never become spirit guides, and they do not descend during singing sessions, nōpoh. They gave the first fruits to man, however, whether this was by design or through theft, and man is dependent for his annual fruit season upon their goodwill. Therefore the Chewong will conduct many nōpoh for the sole purpose of pleasing the bi asal when they see that the blossom season is approaching. The putao modn, or putao plo (fruit) as he is also called (it is likely that there is an association between fruit and water or dew), will fly up to Earth Six bringing with him the various paraphernalia made out of leaves necessary for the nōpoh to give to them. They cherish them very much, as these kinds of leaves do not grow on Earth Six, and when on Earth Six they turn into blossoms and fruits. In return the bi asal give an abundant fruit season. They do this by throwing down flowers from the fruit trees through Pinto Lancob. The direct exchange between humans and the bi asal is in this instance one of identical goods. Otherwise, they do not cause disease, nor aid in their cure.

Fruit is the ideal form of sustenance to the Chewong. They have several stories of how in the past they lived on nothing else through the intervention of their putao. (See Myths 3 and 4). Here they would seem to be making a direct comparison between themselves and the bi asal. But today they do not have fruit all the year round, and they are forced to look elsewhere for their food. Also the fruit on Earth Seven is not as potent as that on Earth Six, so if they were to eat only that they would die. "We need to eat meat,"

they say, "if we don't eat meat we die." They are in fact extremely fond of meat and will start complaining if more than two or three meatless days have gone by. It is, however, through their own activities of killing animals and shedding their blood that their own world becomes dirty, and by eating the meat that their bodies become hot. There is therefore an inherent paradox embedded in their conceptions. On the one hand they postulate the ideal state of cleanliness and coolness with its consequent state of health, yet through their desire for meat they willingly pollute themselves, all the while bemoaning their own state of pollution.

The big putao are said not only to eat very little of anything, but more specifically, rarely to touch meat of any kind. The putao is clearly classed with the bi asal of above. He displays the same attributes and qualities as they do. As such he is not only a mediator between ordinary humanity and these superhuman beings, but as one of them he symbolizes the unity between the two, and the possibility of fusion.

The "Poison Maidens"

Another class of culture heroes is a group of maidens who live on Mount Benom. They gave the dart poison to the Chewong. One man once went higher on Benom than anyone had been before. He met a group of maidens who were completely naked. He was wearing his loincloth made of bark cloth. When they saw his loincloth they wanted to learn how to make it. He showed them how to take the bark from the ipoh tree, dog, and hammer it out with a

wooden hammer until it became very soft. In return the maidens showed him how to make poison from the same tree and how to put it on his dart heads so that animals would die quickly. The maidens wanted to marry him, but he found that he could not have sexual intercourse with them, they were too poisonous, bōl. They are still living on Benom, and keep trying to become men's spirit guides and marry them, but because they are so poisonous men do not want them.

Here we have a slightly different type of culture hero. First of all they are exclusively female, whereas those on Earths Six and Eight are of both sexes, and Tohan, Nabi, and Yinlu^ē_h Bud are all males. Moreover, there is an inversion of normal practice to be discerned. Dart-poison, as an integral part of blow-pipe hunting, the quintessential male occupation, is given by women; whereas creation, knowledge about birth and food practices, the quintessential female occupations, are initiated by men. This I suggest demonstrates the Chewong view of complementarity and interdependence already discerned in the relations between the sexes. Inversion emphasizes the importance of these events.

Secondly, unlike the other culture heroes who gave existence and knowledge to humans without receiving anything in return, the "poison maidens" exchanged the poison for clothing. Thus in a sense as the maidens were culture heroes to humans, so humans played the same role in their relationship with the maidens.

Thirdly, these maidens are different from the rest of the culture heroes in so far as they want to continue to have relationships with humans. In this they differ from the rest who once their

task had been performed retired into an immobile existence with no further contact with humans. The other exceptions in this respect are the people of Earth Six, who initiate putao and are the source of the annual fruit production. Whereas the maidens wish to have contact with people but are prevented from doing so because of the contagious nature of their poisonous bodies, humans wish to have contact with the bi asal of Earth Six, but are prevented from achieving this because of the contagious nature of their own hot bodies.

Other Bi Asal

The fear of thunder, lightning, heavy winds and the accompanying catastrophe of flooding is prominent among many Orang Asli groups.

Intimately bound to this fear is the belief that somehow these phenomena are the results of conscious acts on the part of various superhuman beings as a direct consequence of certain human transgressions. This aspect of Orang Asli religion has caught the attention of most observers and commentators, due to the rather curious belief that laughing at animals causes these superhuman beings to send the storms; and the blood sacrifice said by many Orang Asli to be the only way to stop these storms from annihilating the whole world. I shall ignore some of the problems connected with this belief such as that of the identity of the often called "thundergod" (for a detailed discussion of the issues involved see Howell 1977). I shall be concerned only with the Chewong conceptions, and try to fit these into their general attitude towards the supernatural world.

Like the Negritos (see e.g. Schebesta 1928; Endicott 1979), and the Semai (Dentan 1968), the Chewong associate certain types of thunderstorm with the transgression of certain rules. The rules and their structural implications will be discussed in detail later; here I want to concentrate upon the relationship between the superhuman beings in question and human beings. Whenever there is the sound of thunder, the Chewong say "karei!" This word is found among the Batek (Endicott 1979: 3), Jahai (Schebesta 1928: 185), Kintak (220), Mendriq (Evans 1937: 157), Temiar (Benjamin 1966: 35). In most of these cases this word is said to stand for the verb to thunder as well as the name of the being who causes the thunder. Endicott suggests that it is Negrito rather than Senoi in origin, being found also among Negritos of the Philippines, and "that the association of that name with at least some of the features of the Malayan Negrito thunder-god is very ancient. The name 'Karei' seems to be pre-Mon-Khmer in origin" (1976: 180).

I have shown elsewhere (Howell 1976) that the Orang Asli "thunder-god" must not be regarded as a being with an easily defined identity, either among just one group or on a comparative level. Rather he appears as a composite of various attributes according to context and locality. If one accepts the "thundergod" as a polythetic concept, the problem of identity vanishes. In accordance to this view, the Chewong concept fits in as yet another combination of attributes.

Although they associate the word karei with thunder, this is not a name of any being who causes the thunder to happen. It is referred to the phenomenon of thunder alone. In view of the above,

it would seem likely that they have imported the word from their Negrito neighbours. Thunder is, however, caused by one super-human being known as Tanko (Cf. the Semai Enku (Dentan 1968: 20), the "Sakai of Behang River", Ungku (Evans 1918: 195), and the Malay Tunku, Engku, tengku, a title of high rank, in some states a royal title more or less the same as king). Tanko lives in his house in the clouds. He causes all types of thunder, but these fall into two separate categories. Firstly there is the sort of thunder that occurs almost daily at certain times of the year and is nothing to worry about. It is distant and brief, and is caused by Tanko enjoying himself by playing with a loop of cane which he sends rolling over the floor of his house. The other kind, known as taladen, is very different. It is caused by someone having transgressed the taladen rule of laughing at an animal and this type of thunder means that the offender stands in mortal danger. Taladen thunder is the sound of Tanko's laughter at the human predicament. Similarly, there are two kinds of lightning. The ordinary lightning accompanying the harmless thunder called kilad (Cf. Malay kilat, lightning) is said to be the reflections of Ya' Subang's⁷ ear rings when she shakes her head. Ya' Subang is one of Tanko's wives. She also lives in the clouds. The lightning in a taladen situation is known as Tanko's fire, òz Tanko, and is said to be thunderbolts thrown by Tanko down to Earth. If these hit the offender he is killed. Tanko also sends his thunderbolts into the hip and knee joints of those who commit incest, known simply as tanko. This will give the offenders severe pain, and if the offence is a serious one, that is if the persons concerned persist in their liaison, they will die. The Chewong can

give me no explanation of Tanko's role in this matter. He is, however, closely associated with sex. He is portrayed as highly sexed and on the constant look-out for new wives. In daily life he much prefers girls to boys, and when a baby is born, he gives ordinary white rice to a new-born boy to eat, but sweet, yellow rice to new-born girls. He then starts to have sexual intercourse with the baby girl. With very little girls he does this by placing his penis between their toes. Then as they start to grow older he moves up their legs until at puberty he has reached the vagina (Cf. Myth 2.) This is marked by the onset of the menses, and from then on, until a woman becomes "too old and ugly" for him to want, Tanko has sexual intercourse regularly with all females, both human and animals. The monthly blood is said to be the blood accompanying the birth of Tanko's children, wòng Tanko, and this in fact is one of the euphemisms for menstruation. Needless to say, girls and women are unaware of this regular interference by Tanko. It is likely that there is some association between the yellow (or red, the Chewong do not distinguish between these two colours, which are both called sowòd) of the rice given to girls and the menstrual blood.

But Tanko is a rather complex character. He is not to be trusted, as the following story shows.

A long time ago everybody went to plant hill rice in a newly cleared swidden. Only a young girl and her aunt, baha, were at home. They were picking lice out of each others' hair.

Tanko came down from his house in the sky. He went up to an old man and greeted him. He saw the girl at a distance. "That is a very pretty girl," he said "I want to have a better look at her." He walked up to the house. "Your niece is very pretty," he said to the aunt, "I want to sleep with her." "Well that is up to the girl herself," replied the aunt. "I don't want to," said the girl. "Come with me into the jungle and we'll sleep together," insisted Tanko. But the girl refused. "I will come back and then we will get married," said Tanko. He went into the swidden and told the old man that he was going home but that he would return in seven days and marry the girl. Then he went up to his own house.

Seven days later Tanko let down a long stick with which he picked up the girl and her aunt. He pulled them up into his house in the sky. First he took the aunt, laid her over a piece of wood, hit her over the head and threw her to his dogs, which ate her. Then he picked up the girl, laid her across a piece of wood and hit her on the head. Having done this he threw her to the dogs as well. He had lied about wanting

to marry the girl. He only wanted meat
for his dogs.

In this story Tanko uses his well-known proclivity
for young girls to trick them. There are several other stories
to the same effect.

Tanko can, and does, become a spirit-guide to a putao.
There is a song entitled "Tanko" which is still sung by the young
men. But he is an unreliable helper. Firstly, he can never enter
the house where a seance, nöpoh, is going on, he is too hot and
has to sit on a nearby mountain top. If he were to descend fully,
everything would catch fire. The association here is probably
with thunderbolts, but it is interesting to notice one superhuman
being associated with heat. Secondly, and more importantly, he
cannot be trusted actually to help his "father" i. e. the person whose
spirit-guide he is. I was told about one old woman who was very ill,
and asked her son, who had Tanko as one of his spirit-guides, to
call upon him to help cure her. If Tanko does help, his aid is very
powerful. So the man sang his Tanko song, his ruwai went up to
meet Tanko, whom he asked to help cure his mother. Tanko said
he would, but in fact he took her ruwai and gave it to his dogs to
eat, and the woman died.

The Chewong have no view of what Tanko is supposed to
look like. The comparison to a siamang, commonly found among the
Negritos, is not encountered among them. The notion that he is evil
or malevolent (see e. g. Benjamin and Endicott) is not one that the
Chewong express. His sexual activities are always talked about

with laughter. His tricking people, and giving them to his dogs is rather more difficult to accept, but the Chewong say that you have to be careful in your dealings with him. This is intensified when it comes to taladen. But in this respect they do not say that he is evil, or bad, yabud. He never instigates the taladen storms etc. unless someone has broken the taladen rule and laughed at some animal. This is very clearly understood by the Chewong. If we do not commit taladen, then Tanko does not make taladen, they say.

In one of his aspects, that of punisher of taladen offences, Tanko is closely associated with another personified superhuman being, the Original Snake, talòden asal, also known as naga⁸, or talòden naga. This snake is a woman and she lives below the Earth. When the Chewong talk about taladen they normally have in mind the Original Snake rather than Tanko. Children are told off for laughing at animals by reference to the Snake and the accompanying threat that she will come and swallow them. The special signs to look for in identifying a particular storm as being taladen is not so much the thunder and lightning, but a special kind of wind that is said to blow along the ground. This is the Snake's breath when someone has committed taladen. This wind will blow down houses and cause large trees to fall upon the people. Another sign is the upwelling of water from the ground. This is caused by the Snake moving, thus allowing the waters which surround the Earth to penetrate the crust and to flood everybody and everything away down to the Snake, who then eats the people. Whenever the Chewong fear that a particular storm might be of this taladen variety they take

steps to try and appease the Snake and Tanko. They will always say that it is the Snake who has to be appeased, but when I asked about Tanko, they would reply that it was the same thing. They first carry out a similar smoke-blowing ritual to that when the bi asal are thought to be descending, but in this case it is meant to appease. They blow it upwards to Tanko and downwards to the Snake. If this does not help, they will cut some hair from the temple and the armpit of the person who admits to, or is suspected of, having laughed at some animal. If the hair is taken from the right temple they take hair from the left armpit and vice versa. This they put on a piece of ember from the fireplace and throw it out on the ground shouting "we are ashamed, lidya, we have laughed at such and such an animal. We pay, bayar." If a child has laughed, they will add that it was a small child who did not know about the taladen rule properly. There is no prescribed way to say this. The temple hair is known as "hair for paying Tanko", sòg bayar Tanko. A more powerful hair to burn and throw is pubic hair, but this is only done in extreme cases. If this does not make the storm abate, and if they observe water starting to well up, they will cut themselves on the inside of the right lower arm, and utter the same words while holding the arm out in the rain letting the blood fall on the ground. This is supposed to go down to the Snake who then accepts the sacrifice. Unlike many other Orang Asli groups who throw the blood upwards and downwards in order to appease beings in both spheres, the Chewong only throw it, as well as the hair (but not the smoke) down on the ground. This would seem to indicate a predominant importance of the Snake.

Whereas I never witnessed the blood sacrifice, I was told that they do carry it out in severe cases; the last time it was done was about fifteen years ago; I observed the hair-cutting ritual on several occasions.

Having experienced several heavy thunderstorms I can understand the Orang Asli's fear of them. They spring up quickly with very little warning. Because the soil is very shallow, the roots of huge trees are not able to grow deeply into the earth; they are therefore easily toppled over, and following a severe storm, dozens of enormous trees are scattered on the ground. About four years before my arrival, three people had been killed and three badly injured while sleeping in the forest when such a storm broke out. Their fear is therefore highly justifiable. Their interpretation of such storms is less easy to understand. To attribute natural catastrophies to super-human beings is not unusual, but to specify laughing at animals as the cause is puzzling. Unlike the other Orang Asli groups, the Chewong do not single out just a few animals as members of the prohibited class taladen. No animal whatsoever may be teased or laughed at. They even extend this to meat being cooked and eaten, and to the saucepans in which meat is cooked. I suggest that it is an injunction on showing disrespect to all living things, thus acknowledging the close relationship between man and animal. In the next chapters I shall be discussing man's relationship to the animal world in more detail, trying to highlight this question. It is also a manifestation of the more general injunction on the suppression of emotions to be discerned in the Chewong rules governing behaviour. This will be discussed in Chapter VIII. In the last chapter I shall be considering the implications their attitudes have on symbolic classification. Here I am concentrating upon man's relationship to superhuman beings.

Tanko and the Original Snake personify environmental calamities of the highest order that can befall the Chewong. Their existence makes some sort of comprehensible order out of otherwise senseless destruction. They are symbolized by one male and one female being, one from above and one from below, one from the element of air the other from that of water. They are abstract symbols for nature par excellence. The forces are outside man's control in the ordinary run of things, but by linking the calamities with man's actions, indeed positing them as a direct result of transgression, humans manage to bring the phenomena within their own control to a certain extent. So neither Tanko nor the Original Snake is considered by the Chewong as evil or unpredictably capricious. They insist that taladen catastrophes occur only as a direct result of their own behaviour. These two beings, therefore, cannot be said to have any special power which they can exercise willy-nilly over human beings. Furthermore, they are not regarded as superior to man in any way. Nor are they superior to any other superhuman beings. Like the bi asal, their power is limited to the specific spheres allocated them. They do not interact with each other in any way. It would not occur to the Chewong to say, for example, that Tohan is bigger or more important than Tanko. They are not compared to each other.

The Original Snake herself does not become the spirit-guide of humans, though her younger sister, Bòngso talòden, of whom there are several, often do.

It is possible that Tanko has come to represent several different and not interlinked "themes" (See above page 94) in Chewong

modes of thought. Tanko as the thunder-maker during taladen storms and Tanko the punisher of incest and the seducer of women do not seem to have a lot in common. Since the other superhuman beings of the Chewong cosmos do not display such Janus-like qualities, but are always one-dimensional in their characterisation and attributes, I suggest the possibility that a merging in themes has taken place, and that previously two separate superhuman beings were responsible for thunder on the one hand and incest, sexual activities, and menstruation on the other.

Other personified superhuman beings referred to by the Chewong are Tanko's wives, Ya Subang already mentioned, and Ya Rud who lives below Earth Seven, "near the Original Snake". Rainbows are said by some to be the path Tanko follows when he goes to visit Ya' Rud. Others say that the rainbow is the shadow of the Snake, bayang talòden. No more information is available on either of these two wives of Tanko. They do not seem to have any dealings with, or influences upon, human beings.

Bajaegen and Ponjur are two beings who live at Plantor. Plantor is an earth between Earths Six and Seven which can be seen sometimes at sunset as a brilliant red cloud. When it appears, the Chewong are worried and, if at all possible, they hurry indoors and wait for it to pass. Bajaegen and Ponjur are male and female respectively. They are strongly associated with blood. Like Tanko, they have a seemingly insatiable sexual appetite and are constantly on the look-out for a new spouse. Whenever someone is killed, or involved in an accident, and blood is spilled, it is one of these two beings who has caused it; Bajaegen causing women to have such an accident, and

Ponjur men. When blood is shed they can take the ruwai of the person and bring it up to Plantor where they marry it. But again, they do not cause such accidents to happen haphazardly. It is only through committing specific transgressions, mali, that they are activated and may cause the mishap. Once a person has died in such an accident, his or her ruwai goes on living on Plantor. It does not become a yinlugen as do the rest of mankind. But on Plantor the ruwai forgets all about his or her previous life on Earth Seven. The Chewong say that these people have "died alive", kabus gòz. By this they mean that the death was sudden, and not caused by bas eating the ruwai. This is probably why the ruwai is visualised as continuing to live. In this instance only the body dies.

I have no specific evidence for what I am about to suggest, but in view of the close association of blood and sex with Bajaegen and Ponjur, it is possible that the aspect of Tanko which is associated with these topics could in fact have been transferred from Bajaegen and Ponjur. It would certainly be much more in keeping with their respective attributes. It would also be consistent with the general emphasis of complementarity of the sexes so far discerned in Chewong collective representations.

YINLUGEN

Another class of superhuman beings are referred to as "ghosts", yinlugen. As with bi asal there are several sub-categories, but in this case they have very little in common beyond the fact that they cause harm to human beings. I am not going to include human

ghosts in this discussion as this will be done in a later chapter on the concept of the human self, so here I will confine myself to superhuman beings only. Although the Chewong employ the word yinlugen which is also used to describe that aspect of the human psyche which exists after death, and as such is best translated with the English word "ghost", the word does not seem to cover the same meaning when they talk about yinlugen as a class of beings. Then it means just certain beings which cause harm to humans. Unlike the bi asal, yinlugen are never said to be "people like us".

Yinlugen asal

There are several original ghosts, and they all take the human ruwai if given an opportunity. The opportunity in these cases comes about when people do not take proper preventive ritual measures at times when these are known to be called for. The Original Earth Ghost yinlugen te' asal is a woman who lives in the earth. Her name is said by some to be Dayong. She is particularly interested in the ruwai of new-born and very small babies, as well as in that of the mother. At time of childbirth she is attracted by the smell of blood which falls to the ground underneath the house during labour, which is why a husband must cover this with ashes immediately the baby is born. Then when the Earth Ghost arrives and sees the ashes she sees them as water and she is unable to cross it and returns to the depths of the earth. Were she to eat the blood, the association between it and the mother and child is so intimate that they would fall ill and possibly die.

Small children may not bathe in the river lest their ruwai be taken by the Original River Ghost, yinlugen tam asal, also known as Ya'Katyer. They are therefore washed in heated water inside the house. If this is ever done after dark, then some glowing embers must be thrown on to the area below the house where the water falls. The smell of the water in which the baby has been washed again attracts the Earth Ghost. The burning ember looks to her like huge boulders, however, and she is unable to pass these. (The question of relativistic perception which this raises will be discussed later.)

No one may bathe in the river when rain and sunshine occur simultaneously. This is a time when the River Ghost emerges. Similarly one must not bathe after dusk and before dawn for the same reason. Moreover, if a small child falls accidentally into a river, someone must throw a piece of wood into the water after it. The River Ghost otherwise thinks that the child is a gift for her, but when she sees the wood, she takes that instead.

These two yinlugen asal, like the bi asal, were in existence before the creation of human beings. They are intimately associated with their own elements of earth and water, and if one makes contact with these at specifically dangerous times without taking ritual precautions, they are able to attack and cause disease and possible death.

I classed the Yinlugen Bud with the culture heroes (see page 100), but he is fact a yinlugen asal. As such he differs from the rest in so far as he is helpful to humans having made them into social beings. The Chewong could not offer any explanation as to why

he is a yinlugen. His inclusion in this category is another illustration of the overlap of attributes within one category.

Tolaeg

The remaining class of yinlugen are not as far as I could ascertain, yinlugen asal. They are mystically linked to certain specific species of animals, and in certain circumstances when the flesh of the animal concerned is eaten, the yinlugen will take the ruwai of the offender.

The word tolaeg is applied to the animals in question, to the actual prohibition itself, and to the repercussion, which is ruwai loss. In ordinary parlance tolaeg means to walk from one place to another. In this case it is used metaphorically to indicate the removal of the ruwai to the land of the yinlugen. The prohibition only affects small children. It is their ruwai which is removed if the flesh of gibbon, timoh; the water monitor lizard, geriang; the mountain tortoise, kokh gading; the otter, manang; the flying lemur, keo; the slow loris, tuwò; and in the case of a few people only, the macaque, baweig, are eaten by them. The prohibition also applies to pregnant and suckling women. Their own ruwai are not in danger, but the foetus or suckling baby would be affected through the mother.

Whenever the carcass of any of these animals is brought back to the settlement, there are loud shouts of "tolaeg! tolaeg!" and the children are told to keep away. The animals should have their fur burnt off in the forest, lest the smell from this is breathed by the children.

If a child does eat the meat of any of these animals its ruwai

is taken to the world of the respective yinlugen. These are all in different places. That of the gibbons is above Earth Six, and is known as Timoh Awan, gibbon clouds. The mountain tortoise brings the ruwai to its land on top of a very high mountain, the otter to the underground headwaters of a river, the water monitor lizard to the sea, and the macaque, and some say the flying lemur, to its land up in the clouds, known as Plantor Biray. Thus the different worlds of the yinlugen of the tolaeg animals are directly associated with the abodes of the species on Earth Seven. The arboreal gibbon, macaque, and flying lemur, are envisaged to have their yinlugen counterparts up above Earth, whereas the riverine otter is thought to inhabit subterranean river sources. The location of the tortoise yinlugen world on a mountain is consistent with the particular species living on hillsides; and the lizards which are often found beside rivers take the ruwai to the ocean. (All rivers are said to run into the sea.) If we examine the worlds of these various yinlugen in purely spatial terms, we find that they are oriented along the same above-below and east-west axes as is the orientation of the cosmos. The sea where the home of the lizard yinlugen is situated is always pointed out to be in the east, and the mountain of the tortoise is by most informants pointed out in a north-western direction.

Macaque is a tolaeg animal, but ^{it} is of a slightly different order. Only some people are susceptible to have their ruwai taken, and the effect of a macaque taking the ruwai is an epileptic fit, òh. Those that are prone to this never eat macaque meat even when they are adults, as was exemplified by the case of Eh discussed on page 82. The slow loris is, as will become apparent, of a different kind to the rest.

It must be pointed out that it is not the ghost of the actual animal killed that takes the ruwai. Rather, there seems to be a separate group of beings called gibbon ghost, yinlugen timoh, lizard ghost, yinlugen geriang etc. each of which could be said to be the alter ego of the ordinary gibbon, lizard, etc.

BI INHAR

We next turn to a category of superhuman beings known collectively as bi inhar, or possibly bi itn har. Bi, of course, means people, or person, but the second part of this name is more difficult to translate. When Beng first told me about these beings, he hid an object under a piece of cloth and used the Malay word for to hide, sembunyi, to explain it. From this one may deduce that the correct appellation would be "hidden people". The usual word for to hide, however, is podol, and the other possibility which might have been conveyed by Beng's action, namely that they are invisible, would have been expressed by primop. Needham was told that dead putao "had become a hidden person, bi edn hare" (dia jadi orang sembunyi). Bi means 'a person, man'; edn, 'far'; and hare is 'hidden', but adds "perhaps Beng was trying to say 'invisible' and did not know the Malay" (1956: 68). My own inquiries did not produce identical replies, but the Chewong did not like to talk about these people by that name, so my probings would just meet with affirmations to whatever I asked in this connection. Whereas idn means "over there", hare was not a word I came across in any connection, and as far as I could tell they used the one word inhar for these beings. But whatever their correct name, in view of the

above it seems likely that "hidden people" or something very similar is being conveyed.

As a class the bi inhar is rather puzzling. I kept being given contradictory information about them all through my field work. The term is sometimes used very loosely to cover anybody with the power to take on human shape, but also with the added quality of cool eyes, thus rendering them different from ordinary humans. At other times I was told that all bi inhar had at some time been human. Whereas I am certain that the latter explanation is not the case, I also disregard the former, but with less certainty. Using the term spirit-guide very loosely it appears from my questionings and observations that bi inhar are all those beings who are actual or potential spirit-guides. What they all have in common is that they live somewhere on Earth Seven, but not in the world visible to ordinary human eyes. Furthermore each different type has its own world, mona.

The various beings referred to as bi inhar display vastly different characteristics and attributes, and some are consciously helpful to man, others consciously or unconsciously harmful. They are all beings who have an intimate, and in some cases regular, relationship with humans. As such they differ from the bi asal. Knowledge about them is revealed to an individual and then passed on to the rest of the community, whereas knowledge about the bi asal is received knowledge from a long long time ago from those Chewong who lived together with them on Earth Seven. They were there before humans, and will be there after the total destruction envisaged to take place some time in the future. The bi inhar, on the other hand,

come and go. As long as one particular type reveals himself or herself in a dream or trance to someone, they in a sense exist only as long as that individual does, or his song about them is sung after his death. New and different ones are constantly appearing, though of course in the case of the best-known spirit-guides, these tend to be passed on from one person to another. The point I wish to emphasize is that the bi inhar with the exception of bas discussed below, stand in a constant relationship to one or more person and that this relationship is one of reciprocity and exchange. I will now describe the various types who were in existence at the time of my visit.

Dead putao

I have already said that unlike the ruwai of ordinary human beings, the ruwai of the putao does not die when his body does. He sheds his "cloak", bajo⁹, and goes to join the ruwai of other putao of the past. These great putao who become bi inhar are referred to by many different names in the songs as Suleyman, Malim, Balogn, Salitn, and Praman. Only the very big putao become bi inhar. Strictly speaking only those putao become bi inhar who upon death are not buried as ordinary humans are, but are placed in a specially built tree house, sanrugn. Ogilvie gives a description of the "sanrung" of Maroi, the last Chewong putao to be thus disposed of.

On his death he was not buried in the earth,
but placed in a sanrung, a sanrung being a house
specially built for the dead. This is completely

enclosed by walls having no doors and no windows. His was built about twenty feet from the ground in four conveniently growing trees. The roof was thatched with palm leaves, the walls were of 'kepong' bark, and the floor also of this bark, katuq, overlying timbers. With him were placed in the sanrung his personal belongings and some food for his spirit, jenlung (1949: 12).

Ogilvie did not see the sanrugn himself, but was given a description of it fairly shortly after the event. The description tallies with the ones I was given, but other details are not correct. He thinks that all old men are thus disposed of, but in fact only the great putao were placed in a sanrugn. It is possible however, that in the past all oldmen were putao, there are certainly indications that this may have been so. Maroi died towards the end of the war. Due partly to the resettlement of the Chewong near Kg. Bolok during the early days of the Emergency where they were apprehensive of treating their dead putao in such a way, and partly to the continuing fear of Malay repercussions should they find a corpse exposed in a tree house, the Chewong have since been burying all their dead. The inversion of normal funeral practices in the case of the putao emphasizes the special nature of these persons. Furthermore, by placing them in the tree tops, above the ground as opposed to in the ground, they symbolically express the association of the putao with the bi asal of Earth Six. Also, the afterworld of the putao is on a mountain top, that of ordinary humans below Earth Seven.

The putao bi inhar keep a close surveillance over the daily activities of the Chewong. "They know everything we do and what happens to us," I was told. "They look after, jaga¹⁰, us." This they do in two ways. Firstly they are always called upon in songs during healing seances, nöpoh. They are asked to help the putao in his search of the lost ruwai. They are also asked to descend to the house in which the nöpoh is taking place as this protects the people there from any invading unfriendly spirits. Their presence is also seen as having a general beneficial effect. Secondly, they are in daily communication with the people through the intermediary of one or more persons who at dusk every day performs something very akin to our prayer. I will describe this in detail since I have not come across a mention of similar activities in the literature on other Orang Asli groups. When I went to visit a Jah Hut settlement on Sungei Krau I observed that they performed a ceremony reminiscent of the Chewong one and was told that this was in fact the same thing. Since I could not understand the Jah Hut language, nor do I know much about their religious system as very little has been published, I am in no position to say whether the Jah Hut "prayer" is of the same order as that of the Chewong. I only watched four different people, all men, conduct it among the Chewong, three of these were residing at Gambir, the fourth at Sentao. The rest say that they do not know how to do it. It seems that the practice is of ancient origin; old people told me that their fathers and grandfathers had done it, and that it is part of their "traditional knowledge", paham duidui or haratenkra noh.

When the sun has just set, a bowl of embers is placed in a corner of the room and wood chippings, òz taba, that have a pleasant – the Chewong say "good" – scent is laid on top of the smouldering embers. This is kept going all through the performance, with new incense being put on it at intervals. It must never be left to go out as the communication would then be interrupted. (This is the same kind of wood chippings used in redirecting descending bi asal, or in atonement to Tanko and the Original Snake. It is also used in some healing rituals, and during nöpoh. Another name is òzniye.)

The person squats in front of the bowl, facing the wall. He takes some of the smoke from the incense in his right fist, puts this to his mouth, and blows it upwards in four directions. This is a similar procedure to that of redirecting descending bi asal or diverting thunderstorms. Then he makes a handshake movement in the four cardinal directions, by extending the right hand and clasping it just above the wrist with the left. Having done this he says "Salam aleeikom, aleeikom assalam, minta maaf;" "peace upon you, upon you peace (Arabic), excuse me" (Malay). The smoke carries the words to the bi inhar. The speaker then embarks upon a very fast recitation rendered in a sing-song voice which always reminded me of a Hail Mary. He hardly stops to breathe during the entire prayer, which lasts from forty minutes to an hour. It is very difficult to understand what is being said as many Malay words are interjected, and the general development of the prayer seems to the uninitiated to leap from unfinished topic to unfinished topic. Like their songs, so much of what is expressed is unstated. A single word often serves as a reference to quite a

complex idea. The speaker and the rest of the community know the short-hand system of communication and to them no further elaborations are needed. The Chewong are extremely reticent about these prayers, and it was not until I had been with them for many months that I witnessed the first one. Even then they were reluctant to talk about it and persistently refused permission for me to tape it, on the grounds that the cassette might fall into the hands of the Malays. Since one of the purposes of the prayer is to ask the bi inhar to protect them against the Malays and prevent them from entering the forest, one can understand their fear.

Having made the preparations for contact with the bi inhar, the speaker then goes on to disparage himself; "I know very little, I have not studied enough" and this is repeated at regular intervals as is the listing of the people to whom he is talking. "You my grand-fathers, my grandmothers, my uncles, my aunts it is I who speak." Then the beings are asked to protect the Chewong against the Malays, gob, the attacks of various superhuman beings, such as bas and yinlugh^e_A, and against communist guerillas, bi komunis. The names of all settlements are mentioned several times, as are the names of all the individuals in the settlement from which the performer is speaking; but not those of other settlements. If there has been a lot of disease recently this is mentioned, as are any important ventures about to be undertaken, e. g. , "my father Beng, and his nephew Tog, and myself are going to take cane down to Lanchang tomorrow. We are sleeping at Selur and at Gandah on the way. Please look after us. Don't let gob attack us. My mother Baha, my sister Nyom, my brother-in-law and their children will be here at Gambir while we are gone." Whereas

the incidentals are different each night, the invocations and the regular requests and information are identical and repeated many times throughout the "prayer". I witnessed one young man, Lamait, starting to practice praying. He had been taught the words while he was still young, by his now dead father but since he was not yet a putao, though he was studying, he was very self-deprecatory. "I have not met any of you" he would say, "but I have been told about you by my father, Jong, I hope that one day I may meet you, my grandfathers, my grandmothers, my uncles, my aunts." Later he did meet some of them in a vision, (see below page 214), and his prayer became much more confident. He would then refer to the meeting and request their co-operation.

As already mentioned, this nightly prayer is conducted on behalf of the whole community. On any given night only one person performs it. A shortened version is also undertaken at times when the threat of a major thunderstorm or high wind is imminent. Someone who has some esoteric knowledge will make the same kind of fire in the pot, blow the smoke in four directions and ask the putao bi inhar to watch over the people who have not yet returned from the forest. I was shown how to do this if I were ever alone at home when a storm was brewing. This kind of "prayer" does not have to conform to a specific verbal programme. It is much more impromptu. I was told to blow the smoke so that my words would reach the bi inhar and just tell them the names of all the people who were still in the forest.

In view of the above, the putao bi inhar may be regarded as ancestor guardian spirits. They and the living stand in a relationship of exchange and reciprocity. The incense smoke that carries the words

to them is also their food. They are therefore dependent upon humans conducting the nightly prayer. In return for this they give protection and help.

These bi inhar take an active interest in any child, usually a boy, who wants to become a great putao. If the boy takes his esoteric studies seriously and avoids flirting with young girls, they will visit him in dreams and, slowly over a long period, initiate him. They give him spells so that eventually a proper spirit-guide, wòng hien will come to him and become part of him. Such an apprentice may not marry until he has found his wong hien. Once the apprentice putao become sufficiently adept, he can go to visit the putao bi inhar who will teach him spells. That is, his ruwai can go. After he has had his blood exchanged on Earth Six, his eyes also become cool and he is one of the bi inhar, and after his death his ruwai goes to live amongst them. It is in this sense that the Chewong say of a dead putao that he has "gone home to the mountain", ka weg ka cheba. But it must be made clear that not all those who know how to say the "prayer" or who have even met some of the dead putao or other bi inhar in a dream are regarded as great putao who will go to the mountain after their death. They are only a little putao.

Bi Hali and Other Spirit-Guides

Although the dead putao bi inhar take an active interest in the training of putao and appear at healing nòpoh, they do not become a person's spirit-guide. Other types of bi inhar take on this role. The most common ones, and most adult men have at least one such, are the leaf people, bi hali. These are all female and since they cement

their relationship with humans through marriage it follows that women do not meet them. They appear in all the songs, and in fact they give a song to their "husbands", teh, when they meet in dreams. The rest of the community knows when a young man has got such a "wife", jeh when he first sings his own song at a nöpoh.

The bi hali are very beautiful, say the Chewong. Their bodies are completely covered in designs made by taking certain types of leaves which when dipped in a white creamy juice from the pre tree and printed on to the skin leave a dark brown design. They wear headbands, chin koyi, plaited of sweet-smelling leaves, and have bundles of sweet-smelling leaves tucked into their loin-cloths, hanging over their hips, known as bodn. They also have flowers in their hair. These decorations are all used by the Chewong themselves at times of a nöpoh, or whenever they feel like it. In the past of course, all women made the same decorations on their bodies as do the bi hali, and they always wore bodn. The headband however, is male attire, and in the not so distant past all adult males wore headbands every day. By dressing in the identical manner to the bi hali, the Chewong are not only stressing the conceptual closeness between themselves and the bi hali, but they are also making a statement about how beautiful they are. When women decorate themselves as described, they are said to be very beautiful. Today men only wear the headbands during nöpoh.

The bi hali women are very gay and cheerful people. They dance and sing a lot, and whenever their "husbands", during a nöpoh, sing the songs that they learnt from them, they arrive at the house and

sit and swing in the riding, loops made out of leaves and attached to the headband and to the tali ruwai, the string of plaited leaves that is hung across the house from one wall to another. It is along this string that the putao's ruwai travels when it leaves his body. When many different bi hali are present, the house is filled with a lovely scent, and often the women cry because it is so beautiful, I was told. The scent of the bi hali is highly coveted, but only the putao can see them. They themselves say in the songs how special it is, and they stress that it is very difficult to find. The putao are searching for plants that give the special desirable scent because when they have it, they please the bi hali. One can only do so with the help of the bi hali wife. I was told of one man who has been looking for it for "five years". Another putao, now dead, had a large piece of a bark that was regarded as particularly potent. He would chip off small pieces and exchange it for dart poison, blow-pipes, and other goods. The association of these leaf people with scent is a direct one. They live in flowers and leaves, many of which are known to possess scents.

Any species of tree or plant may reveal itself as having ruwai, and thus bi hali. They come from their plant worlds and return to these when the nōpoh is over: "the lemon-grass people return to the lemon-grass, the cucumber people to the cucumber" etc, bi siwei weg ke siwei, bi tomon weg ke timon. The bi hali do not eat or drink, they do not urinate or defecate. Their food, like that of the putao bi inhar, is the smoke from the incense burnt during nōpoh.

I here include one song which was given by a bi inhar, in this case Bōngso from Mount Ninyaed. Bōngso is the Malay for younger

sibling, but in the Chewong context is used only to indicate that someone is a putao. All the songs follow similar patterns, but only the person whose song it is may sing it during a nòpoh. Others may sing the songs on other occasions, or in the evening before going to sleep. During a nòpoh the women sit in a group and provide the percussion accompaniment by drumming bamboo of varying lengths on pieces of wood. They have one bamboo in each hand, and the act is known as tòl lao. Each song has its own rhythmic pattern. The men take it in turn to sing, and the women chorus each line. Under no circumstances must the drumming be allowed to cease for the putao's ruwai would be lost. It follows the sound of the drumming when it wants to return. All lights are extinguished. The bi inhar are frightened by lights because they cannot then see anything. Only bowls of burning incense are kept going throughout. The putao has a whisk made out of leaves with which he claps from time to time.

I can not guarantee the word for word accuracy of the translation. I recorded the songs, and then tried to write them out from the cassette, asking all the while for explanations. The Chewong insist that only the person whose song it is knows what it is all about, but in fact I discovered, after having worked on several, that they are very similar, and that there is a considerable degree of overlap of vocabulary and constructions. Many words are not used in ordinary language, and many are Malay. The Chewong say that the bi inhar have a different language, klugn masign, from humans. Many of the words are just lists of flowers and plants, but they evoke to the Chewong specific bi inhar, and specific actions. Despite any errors in vocabulary, I nevertheless am confident that the general outline of what is conveyed in the song

is correct. When I asked what one particular word meant I was often told the reason why the word was used, what was actually implied by it as much as what it means on its own.

I have included notes on the meaning of the song immediately following the translation in order to facilitate the reading of it.

Bongso Gunong Ninyaed

Amòì ! La Bòngso pralaw
 Mayin löpang, nanti ingat jaga juga Bòngso
 Masuk balai.
 Ha tatyah kaming chinor
 Ser^emdom kotom chinor padang
 Ser^emdom di padang kuling.
 Henang henaw, kiri kanan le tog löem
 Riding sabogn.
 Tog löem la riding Bòngso,
 Ah Bòngso Kampong Pinang.
 Sö^{*}leraw kiri kanan
 Kenel la buang
 Bukan la mudah.
 Tapi Bòngso ingat jaga dalam balai,
 Sö["]reta jadi
 Jangan lö["]nkob lö["]nkab
 Lo koy[̃]i lö["]nkai dara chinchong.
 Yolang Nonsong, yolang panai,
 Berelig sö["]reta Plantor,

Berelig Plantor Saji,
 Berelig Plantor Bamang.
 Bukan mudah.
 Hei Bòngso.
 Bòngso, Bòngso, masuk balai
 Jangan malu keming Bòngso, sama kita la yaman duhulu.
 Bukan lang lain.
 Keming Bongso halagn kita jaga
 Mabog lawar, mabog malan
 Lögogn pinang lögogn
 Tapi Bòngso dinobog malan
 Tönale letag bilang
 Tönale letag yampi.
 La Bòngso di antar kami
 Antar kami keming.
 La Gunong Benem serögleg ikut papaden
 Lönkob lönkab. Amòi!
 Sampai la Gunong Benem.
 Ah Bòngso tontang kolig kirir sölenod galögn lö bom
 Bukan la mudah
 Baderam debo di kawan ramai
 Söleraw sönon lögogn.
 Amòi! La Gunong Bimar.
 Söleraw sönon Nintjar.
 Ah, kamul sönon la med
 Chachag kenel chinur.
 Serenig rinye kami mani planchor,

Salener kami mani,
 Silo planchor siko
 Lepas mani kami siap limai
 Owangi di minyeg wangian gunung
 Bresigka kenel rilau
 Serupa di moni chinkoyi,
 Pakai chinkoyi owangi rayang gunung.
 Chachag la meming chinor di Bongso jojong Benem,
 Chachag keming chinor.
 Padang lompod padang
 He jaga keming chinchor palinog Gunung Benem
 Bresig la riam.
 Bukan mudah Bôngso.
 Sabanya di Bôngso komagn hijau
 Chachag chinor diam Gunung Benem.
 Jadi diam kawan ramai
 Bukan la mudah.
 Ba sỗsong kabod yaman
 Sỗsong di kabod hijau
 Sỗsong di kabod puteh
 Bukan mudah la Bôngso.
 Ingat jaga sòm̃era jadi
 Ingat jaga, Bôngso.
 Jadi komagn bẽaderam ba ninget,
 Sampai la balai
 Nijo di popadn hijau
 Kita mayin sỏreta la boĩ komagn

Mayin ṣōreta la boī j̄ijogn
 Laut boī laut
 Posare boī posare.
 Berelig kiri kanan
 Bòngso suka kenel
 Suka kenel buang
 Tapi bukan lamad la Bòngso dalam balai.
 Idang lilu akan keming lompat lingit pochog serödang gading.
 Planchor pochog serödang gading,
 Kirai, kirai la pochog serödang.
 Bongsokomagn payong palas
 Tredo dilidom
 Tredo dilidom serödang bayang
 Dolinan serödang modn.
 Sudah la lilu.
 Sudah lilu dalam balai la Bòngso
 Sudah lilu lamad la Bòngso.
 Jadi Bòngso lippad polang,
 Komero balig Kampong Pinang.
 He lippad polang.
 Pralaw planchor lopang,
 Pralaw planchor lamodn,
 Beremodn bajo.
 Amoi! ah, Bòngso.
 Likat Gunong Dabogn.

Bongso from Mount Ninyaed¹

Amõy! Bõngso² flourish the whisk, the drums are speaking.

Wait, remember to be watchful also Bõngso.

Enter the house.

We³ (wear) chinor flowers in the hair

Serodom buds (from the) field

Serodom (flowers), kulig (flowers) (from the) field

Hey ho. Left, right (goes the) tog (leaf) whisk

Riding of sabogn leaves

Tog (leaf) whisk, riding, Bõngso

Ah, Bõngso! Kampong Betelnut⁴

Sõleraw (leaf) whisk, left (and) right

See the throwing off⁵

Not easy

But Bõngso, remember to watch over us in the house

Follow (and) become

Don't make noise (trampling over the floor)

The head swings to and fro⁶, chinchong maidens

Flies to Nonsong,⁷ flies nicely

Turns over, follows (to) Plantor⁸

Turns over (towards) Plantor white

Turns over (towards) Plantor red

Not easy

We two Bõngso

Bõngso, Bõngso enter the house.

Don't be shy of me, Bõngso, (be) together with us from a long
time ago⁹

Not now different

I, Bòngso, now look after us.

Poisoned, eyes are rolling, poisoned, dizzy

Lögogn (leaves), betelnut, Lögogn (leaves)¹⁰

But Bòngso removes the dizziness

(He) washes the eyes with magical water

(He) washed the eyes with potent water

Bongso heals us.

From Mount Benom a ladder path, followed by a tree bridge.

Noise of walking feet. Amoy!

(They) arrive from Mount Benom¹¹

"Ah, Bòngso!" (they) see (to the) left a path obstructed by
people¹²

Not easy.

All the ramaei (fruit) friends go

Söleraw (whisk), söno (leaves) (from) Nintjar¹³

Ah, mist (like) söno (leaves) in the eyes

Chachag (flowers on the body), see the chinur (flowers in
the hair)¹⁴

We bathe under the waterfall, bathe under the spray

We bathe under the waterfall.

Walk about in the spray, walk about.

When we have bathed we put on our "flying cloaks"

Scent of oil, scent from the mountain is carried by the wind.

See the samaden¹⁵

All like the scent of the headbands,

wearing headbands, dizzying scent from the mountain.

Chachag (flowers on the body), chinor (flowers in the hair),

from Bòngso of Mount Benom

Chachag (flowers on the body), chinor (flowers in the hair)

(The) field, lompod (flowers) (from the) field

We guard chinor and palinog (trees) (on) Mount Benom

Samaden from far away.

Not easy, Bòngso

Many green Bongsos bumblebees¹⁶

Chachag (and) chinor (flowers), and diam (leaves) from Mount

Benom

(The) ramaei (fruit) friends become diam

Not easy

Mist¹⁷ from long ago (descends) from Sòsong¹⁸

Green mist (descends) from Sòsong

White mist (descends) from Sòsong

Not easy, Bòngso.

Remember to protect us from the mist that has become

(He) becomes bumblebee. They all¹⁹ go to the tree top

Arrive from the house

Green popadn leaves.

We play the drums, the bumblebee follows (the sound) to the

waves.

The sound of the drums follow the sound of the waves

Ocean waves, ocean

Whirlpool waves, whirlpool.

Turns over (to the) right (and) left

Bòngso likes to watch²⁰

Likes to watch the throwing.

But not late, Bôngso, in the house

Not yet finished. I jump to the tree top, the buds of the

serödang (tree) are (like) spikes

Shoots (of the) serödang tree top are (like) spikes

Fly, fly from the serödang tree top.

Bongso bumblebee, payong (and) palas (trees).

Cool mist makes it dark,

Cool mist (in the) shadow (of the) serödang tree

Hiding (the) serödang (tree) dew²¹

Already finished in the house, Bôngso

Already finished late, Bôngso

Bongso rolls up, wraps up

(The) wind returns to Kampong Betelnut.

We roll up, wrap up.

(When the) whisk is flourished (there is) spray of water,

Flourished, sprays of water (and) dew

Dew cloak

Amoy! Ah, Bôngso.

Back to Mount Dabogn²²

Notes on the Song

- 1) A mountain on Earth Seven where many bi inhar live
- 2) Bongso here means the particular bi inhar in question.
This is an invocation on the part of the singer to make the bi inhar enter the house.
- 3) The bi hali are speaking
- 4) This is the name of the world of some other bi inhar.
- 5) This refers to the putao's ruwai leaving his body to travel.
- 6) The putao is in a trance, i. e. his ruwai has left his body
- 7) The bi hali fly to Earth Six
- 8) The putao always goes to Plantor during a seance. They look for the ruwai of the ill person there.
- 9) This is the putao bi inhar speaking. The dead shamans.
- 10) The poison which causes the sickness is from the lögogn leaf
- 11) Various bi asal or bi inhar
- 12) Malays. When they see them the bi asal do not want to proceed.
- 13) Mount Benom
- 14) Bi hali are speaking again. They describe what they are wearing and what they are doing. Water symbolises their cool (healing) properties.
- 15) Bandolier worn by the putao. When the beings who have taken the ruwai see this they become frightened and give it up.
- 16) The putao often turns himself into a bumblebee.
- 17) This means that bas are on their way
- 18) The land of some bas.

- 19) The putao and the bi inhar
- 20) The bi inhar laugh when they see the ruwai of the sick person being tossed about in the foam
- 21) They hide the dew (which heals) from the bas
- 22) Mount Benom

But not only bi hali become spirit-guides. Animals often do; in fact any animate or inanimate being or object may reveal itself as a spirit-guide. This was brought home to me when I heard a referent to "Japanese aeroplane", kapal yapodn in one of the songs. I enquired about the meaning of this, and was told that one man had met in a dream the ruwai of a Japanese aeroplane during the invasion. It became the man's spirit-guide and gave him a song.

The relationship between a person and his spirit-guide involves many meetings, and if the person has studied to become a putao the spirit-guide enters the body of the putao and becomes one with him. It lives in his chest and is known as wòng hien. Wòng means child; I do not know what hien means. A really big putao has one or more wòng hien, and in the case of animals he will never eat the flesh of the animal whose ruwai has become part of his own being. Many people who have established relationships with one or more bi hali or another personage (see next chapter) will say that they have a ruwai, but will deny that they have a wòng hien. But the fact that the words are used in ordinary conversation interchangeably makes it difficult to understand the conceptual difference. (In Part 3 of this thesis I shall be examining these different concepts in detail.)

The putao who have animal wòng hien may transform themselves into these animals. That is they may put on the particular animal "cloak". Their ruwai remains the same, but their "cloak" changes. I asked if their own body was inside the animal one, but was told that this was not the case. "The foot becomes a tiger's foot, and the head becomes a tiger's head" and so on, I was told. As among most other Orang Asli groups, the tiger is the most feared animal, and the putao who has a tiger ruwai or wòng hien is a very powerful putao. Modn told me that her father, Yareng, had a tiger wòng hien. He was able to become a tiger at will. These are different from ordinary tigers, however. They never harm human beings, and whenever they go hunting, they bring some of the meat to a settlement for the people there to eat. So even when a member of the community has changed his body into that of an animal, his social obligation not to eat alone is still valid. Furthermore, when Yareng sang during a nòpoh many tigers would approach the house and lie underneath it. Yareng always told the people not to leave the house while he was singing because the tigers would attack them as they only respected him. He himself would sometimes go down and talk to them during a nòpoh. Yareng also once wanted to initiate his son Adoi into the mysteries of how to become a tiger. It is possible for these putao to do so if the person approached shows no fear in the tiger's presence. One day when he lay asleep, his ruwai went and became a tiger. Adòi was out fishing on his own, and his father in the shape of a tiger waited for him on the path home. When Adòi saw the tiger he became terrified and ran away as fast as he could. Because he had shown his fear, he did not learn how to become a tiger.

Similarly when a putao has died and his body has been placed in the sanrugn, one of his children, preferably the oldest son, should go the next day alone to the place where his father was placed. His father, in the shape of a tiger, will wait for him, and impart much mystical knowledge if the son is not fearful. When Maroi died, Beng was supposed to go to his sanrugn, but he was much too frightened and did not do it. He went with some others a few days later, but the body of Maroi had vanished, only the straw mat which the corpse had been wrapped in was left behind. Maroi had "gone home to the mountain" and become a bi inhar.

BAS

There is another class of beings, known as bas, who under certain circumstances cause harm and disease to humans. Bas is a generic term for a lot of different beings who live on Earth Seven and who cause disease. Some bas are also bi inhar but others are not, so I have chosen to treat them all as a separate category. The concept itself is intimately linked to that of humanity. If we examine the following version of the creation myth, told not as part of it, but as an explanation of how bas came into being, we can see more clearly what I mean.

Original bas, bas asal, were made by Tohan also, but by mistake. When Tohan told Nabi to fashion people, beri, out of earth, Nabi made two figures. He went to Tohan for breath, njug, Tohan placed njug in Nabi's fist by blowing into it, but Nabi carried it wrongly, that is he wanted to have a

look at njug, but when he opened his fist it escaped. Nabi returned to Tohan and told him that njug had not reached the two figures. "Oh, they have become bas then!" exclaimed Tohan. And he was right. The two earth figures became bas. They had different eyes, and they want to eat our (true human's) ruwai. So Nabi made two more figures and when Tohan gave him the njug he carried it correctly and brought it to the two figures who became true human beings, beri loi.

This story shows that bas are humans manqués, or humans gone wrong. The fact that bas have different eyes means that they perceive reality differently. They cause disease to humans by either taking their ruwai, or by attacking their bodies. In both instances, however, the bas do not see human beings as such, they only see meat. This constitutes an interpretation of how it is that bas attack and want to eat humans, an important factor when bas and humans are conceptually so close. One wonders whether there are myths now forgotten which describe how all the various other beings came into existence. However that may be, bas are usually referred to with shudders and fear. "They want to eat us," the Chewong say. There are stories about the awfulness of bas. They are very large and their bodies, both male and female, are covered in hair. Their eyes are at the back of their heads and they do not behave as good humans do. One man who met a couple of bas in a dream repeatedly tells about the encounter to equally delighted and

horror-struck people. The bas woman suckled her baby from a breast covered in long hairs. But she soon got fed up with this and threw the child away. "You take it," she said to her husband. "No, i don't want it," replied he.

Here again we have an inversion of normal attributes in order to emphasise that the bas though "like us" are really quite different as well. Otherwise it would not be possible to explain how it is that they eat human ruwai "as we eat meat".

Other myths also stress the close link between humans and bas; and many people insist that all bas were human beings at some time. Whereas the evidence does not substantiate the claim, there are several bas who are metamorphosed people. The most frequently quoted myth is the following:

Once a man and his father-in-law were out hunting. It began to rain while the sun was also shining, and the two men took shelter near a tangoi tree. After a while the rain ceased. "It has stopped raining," said the man to his father-in-law. There was no answer. "It has stopped raining, we can go home now," he said more loudly. There was still no answer. He looked around, and saw that his father-in-law had turned into bas. He was covered in long hairs. When he saw this, the man ran away as fast as he could.

Like the bi asal and bi hali as well as human beings, the bas need to eat. Their food, however, is ruwai, be it human or animal.

Their preferred meat is ruwai of pig, and they set spear traps all over the forest to catch pig ruwai. These spear traps operate on the same principle as do those placed by people around their fields, but they are invisible to the ordinary human eye, so sometimes a human ruwai becomes trapped in it. The faulty vision referred to in the myth means two things. Firstly, a bas cannot tell the difference between a pig ruwai and a human one, so when it catches a human ruwai it will eat it, thinking that it is in fact that of a pig. Secondly, when bas look at any ruwai they see these as meat. There is a conceptual parallel between humans and bas rooted in the creation myth. They both hunt the same animal, pig, in an identical manner. The difference is that human beings eat the "cloak" of the pig whereas the bas only eat their ruwai. As far as bas are concerned, however, they are also eating pig meat. So in this respect they differ from the bi asal and other bi inhar, most of whom eat not meat, but fruit or smoke.

Although people are frightened of bas, they do not conceive of them as evil in any absolute sense. Whenever they catch a human ruwai they do so inadvertently and not by design. They do not set their traps near human habitation, and those areas in the forest where bas are known to frequent, humans will avoid. One man told me that bas do not want to eat human ruwai because to do so is dirty, kama. When we consider that the reason given for not practising cannibalism is also that to do so is kama, we have yet another piece of evidence for the perceived similarity between bas and humans. The following story brings out these points, it was told by Mòdn about her grandfather.

Mòdn's grandfather was a big putao. One day when he returned from the hunt it rained while

the sun was shining (sabn tiregn). A bas had built a spear trap across the path that led back to the grandfather's house. The trap was released and hit the grandfather though he did not see it. When he reached home he was sick. But since he was putao he realized what had happened. He told all the people present that he had been hit by a bas' spear trap. His ruwai went in search of the bas and when he found him, the grandfather said to him angrily, "You erected spear traps on our path, and one of them hit me." "Oh," said the bas, "I thought it was the path of wild pigs." "No, it was my path. The path of people," said Modn's grandfather. When bas look at humans they see pigs. When the bas was told that he had made a mistake and erected traps for people he was sorry. Modn's grandfather soon recovered from his fever.

There are several other examples to show that although bas go hunting for ruwai, they do not hunt the human variety. Firstly, bas go about at night when people are at home and asleep. Secondly, the smoke from the fire in the house informs bas of the presence of human beings and they therefore do not come close. The occurrence of one particular atmospheric condition, however, means that bas are

are awake and active in the day time. This is the simultaneous rain and sunshine known as sabn tiregn which is also regarded as dangerous by other Orang Asli as well as by the Malays. As the myth on page 155 shows, it was during such a time that the man metamorphosed into a bas. Whenever all outdoor activities are abandoned due to sabn tiregn, everybody runs inside the house or takes shelter. If caught by sabn tiregn while out in the forest, and especially if there are children present, people immediately stop and make a fire. When bas smell the smoke they realise that they are human, and they set their traps elsewhere. Whenever people are working or resting in the forest, they usually build a fire anyway, so that bas and other superhuman beings shall know that people are about. Smoke of course also frightens away wild animals, but this is never given as the rationale for the act.

I said earlier that bas is a generic term for many different and individualised superhuman beings. What they all have in common is that they are potentially harmful to human beings in so far as they may take their ruwai and either eat it or destroy it in some other fashion, and whenever the ruwai is lost the person in question becomes ill and may die if it is not retrieved. Most of the bas can only attack humans if these have transgressed specific rules, but there are some who will intentionally attack people and eat their body rather than their ruwai. Otherwise people are attacked by bas by accidentally being caught in one of their traps.

The following is a description of all the different species of bas that I was told about.

(i) Eng banka. This means "dog (that) hits". They are a species of supernatural dogs. Some say they are the ghosts, yinlugh^e_^, of dead dogs, others that they are just bas. They tend to inhabit swampy areas, and the Chewong are very fearful whenever they have to go through such places. Eng banka attack indiscriminately anyone who crosses their path. They take the ruwai of the person and bring it to their own house in the swamp. To be attacked by an eng banka is serious, and unless the ruwai is retrieved within a couple of days, the person will die. Cause of death is frequently attributed to eng banka. When someone falls ill suddenly and dies within a short period of time the chances are that an eng banka is to blame. There is said to be a lot of these round Kampong Ngang I, as many people died there a few years ago. Only very knowledgeable putao are able to confront eng banka.

(ii) Ta' Jijogn live underneath large fallen trees. These often lie across a path and people have to walk underneath them in order to proceed. Unless one spits on the tree trunk, Ta' Jijogn shoots his blow-pipe at one and his dart will stick in some part of the body and cause a lot of pain. Sharp sudden pains are often attributed to Ta' Jijogn and spells are tried to get rid of the pain. If this does not work, then a putao who knows how to extract the dart is summoned. He rubs the patient on the painful spot with some leaves. Then he places the leaf in a bowl of water, and when the leaf is examined, a fishbone, or the spikes of some plant is found inside. This is the dart of Ta' Jijogn. The reason why the Chewong spit on the tree trunk is that this is regarded as dirty kama, and the Ta' Jijogn inside his house will run away at such dirty behaviour.

(iii) Matdetn. This is bas which live in wild pandanus plants. They do not inhabit cultivated pandanus. The pandanus is their homeland, mona'. The madetn have only one hand and one leg, and their bodies are large, "like that of a dog". They eat human bodies, slowly and from the inside, until the person dies. Madetn attack only when someone cuts the pandanus leaves either very early in the morning or in the late evening.

(iv) Mawes (cf. Needham 1956: 56). The mawes live high up on Mount Benom. In the old days there were many hundreds of them, but now there are very few left. Their noses are upside down and they are frightened of rain since this would run into their nostrils. They take a leaf and use it as an umbrella. The bones of their lower arms are sharp like knives and whenever people meet them they run because they are frightened of being cut to pieces by these arms. When in the past they sometimes shot at mawes with blow-pipes, they could not use the bones as knives, for they would rot away.

According to another informant, mawes are not really bas. They are quite harmless and were human a long time ago. They do not harm humans, but run away from them whenever they happen to meet. They are very shy. The people at Dong call creatures with the same attributes brai, and they are frightened of them.

(v) Ta' Boli live in trees. One may not go out to chop firewood after dusk as Ta' Boli does not want that to be done. If this prohibition is broken, he takes the ruwai of the wood cutter who then falls ill.

(vi) Ta' Nomòì lives in the jungle, but not in any one part of it. One is susceptible to attack from him whenever one spends a night in the jungle. There is a bird, however, which speaks whenever Ta' Nonoì is approaching, and then one can say spells, tankal, to divert him.

(vii) Hablis. Hablis are frequently diagnosed as having caused a particular disease. They live at the "true headwaters of rivers" koyī loj tam, usually referred to as pinto gahogn. The "true" headwaters of rivers are believed to be underneath the earth. Hablis also take humans' ruwai and eat them. When this happens, putao will go to the pinto gahogn (I am not sure whether there is one source for all the rivers or several different ones) and say his spells, tankal, there. Hablis are then obliged to give up the ruwai. Hablis were human in the past but their eyes became cool, their bodies, however, remained hot, so they die.

(viii) Porcupine Spikes When a porcupine is killed – usually in a spear trap – the long quills at the back turn into bas who have long hair on their bodies but othersiwe look like human beings. In fact the Chewong always pull out these spikes when they find a porcupine. I failed to ask why they did this and if they treated them in any special manner, but I would suppose that there is some link with the belief that they turn into bas. Some people refuse to eat porcupine meat because of their connection with bas.

(ix) Chihaw bird. This is a species of bird sometimes heard singing. It is bas. The Chewong will say "bas!" whenever they hear its song, but I was unable to obtain any details regarding it.

(x) Somologn. This is a bas who causes swellings of the ankles and thighs whenever someone has been bathing at full moon.

(xi) Tika. The Chewong are very frightened of tika. The word is used both for the bas in question as well as for the disease that is a result of their activities. Tika are beings with very long claw-like fingers who enter the stomach of people who have mixed certain types of food, chiefly sweet foods like fruits with meat, and claw at their stomach and intestines until the person dies. There is no remedy for tika and it is frequently given as the cause of deaths.

(xii) Krabo are a milder version of tika. They attack the stomach also and give severe stomach upsets and diarrhoea, but there are spells as well as herbal medicines for krabo. The people at Dong did not know about tika, but described krabo as having the same characteristics as the former, although they are not activated by the same behaviour.

(xiii) Monedn. They live in the forest and are the size of slow lorises. They are a kind of bas who eat our body rather than our ruwai. If one meets one in the jungle, one must cut a piece of liana, spit on it and put it on the path between the monedn and oneself. This stops monedn from getting close. It does not want to cross the liana as the spittle has made this dirty, kama.

(xiv) Kwako or Choka. This is a bas that lives in the river. One must never go to collect water or bathe when the rain falls while the sun is shining (sabn tiregn) or they will take one's ruwai.

(xv) Blug These are bas who live in fog, and when fog descends blug may enter humans' bodies and make them ill. Whenever there is fog or mist, the Chewong burn oz taba to redirect the bas away from themselves.

(xvi) Ta' Tyo! This is a male bas who lives in the tops of tangòì and badong trees. Sometimes overcast weather and drizzle means that he is coming. He attacks only women or children by forcing their ruwai to follow after him to his house in the tangòì tree. Whenever this happens, the person becomes mad, gila (cf. Malay). The ruwai spins and spins when it follows Ta' Tyo!, and the person becomes dizzy, todmed, and cannot stop crying. Once the ruwai has followed Ta' Tyo! the person has an attack of gila every night. Also, he does not remember anything about it the next morning. To be gila means that one's vision is impaired. Everything looks upside down and one is constantly dizzy. The cure in this case is applied to the eyes. Rotten hòdj fruit can be smeared on while spells are said, or the incense smoke of the tebogn tree can be blown across the eyes while spells are muttered. Ta' Tyo! is frightened of the smell of the tobogn, it is a bad smell, and he runs away and lets the ruwai return.

(xvii) Keòì. Keòì is a slightly different type of bas. It is also known as flying lemur, keo, due to Myth 16. Keòì are among those bas who eat humans, that is they eat their bodies and not their ruwai. The ruwai of a person who has been eaten by a keòì turns into a keòì also and forgets about his past as human and tries to trick people so that he can eat them. They look just like ordinary human beings, but their eyes are different, and they see only potential meat when they look at ordinary

humans, therefore they contrive to kill and eat them by pretending that they are not keòì. They particularly like the blood and the stomach contents of their victims.

(xviii) Nab are similar to keòì in that they also look human and want to eat human flesh (see Myth 23). But people who are eaten by nab do not become nab themselves. They just die. Their ghost, yinlugen, unlike that of those eaten by keòì, is released and goes to Pulao Klam.

The above list of various types of bas concludes the information I managed to obtain about them. Some people would also include Bajaegn and Ponjur when asked to enumerate all the types of bas they knew about, but most would disagree. "They are different" they would say. Bas, like the other bi inhar, is not a finite group of beings or types. New ones may appear at any time. The putao may encounter a new type when in search of a lost ruwai. On the whole the Chewong are not frightened by bas in the abstract. Fear of them does not inhibit their daily activities. It is only when someone has become ill as the result of an attack that they preoccupy themselves with worrying about them. There are, however, a few rules, the breaking of which leads to direct repercussions in the form of an attack by bas, and they are scrupulous in avoiding breaches of these. They also avoid going near places which bas are known to frequent, and avoid placing themselves in the way of bas during the unusual atmospheric conditions described above, and at dawn and dusk, all of which are times when bas may attack.

Bas is not an absolute term however. Humans are also bas as far as animals are concerned. This was brought home to me one day

when I was sitting outside the house with Mòdn and we heard a leaf-monkey, tobowad, calling nearby. "It is telling its wife that there are bas nearby," said Mòdn. When I enquired what she meant, she replied that to the leaf-monkey human beings are bas. "We shoot the monkeys with our blow-pipes in order to eat them," she said, "so to them we are bas. We eat their bodies, their ruwai we do not eat. But bas eat our ruwai, it is their meat." This event illustrates my earlier point about bas not being regarded as evil. In the same way that humans have to hunt and kill in order to stay alive, so bas have to have ruwai. In the case of bas, moreover, there is the extenuating feature that they do not as a whole want to eat the ruwai of humans anyway.

Leeches, mosquitoes, various other types of insects that bite, as well as a type of ringworm known as korap are all said to be bas. (Others say that they are yinlugh^e). "They eat our blood, so they are bas," I was told.

Although by bas the Chewong mean beings who can and do harm them either by taking their ruwai, shooting arrows into them that give pain, or eat the actual body, bas can also become spirit-guides and help their "spouse" in the same way that the bi hali or animal ruwai do. These are never mentioned as potentially harmful beings. It was not until I asked for the explanations of some songs that I realised that they included references to bas spirit-guides. If a person meets a bas in a dream and manages to establish a friendly relationship with it, the bas offers to become his spirit-guide and, after giving his new spouse a song, the bas will come whenever the song is sung and help the person. It will never harm its spouse, although other types of bas still may.

This would again seem to indicate that the concept of bas is not basically inimical to humans. The attacks only take place when humans are careless in their behaviour.

The piece of wild ginger, bunglei, that I said earlier is worn by small children around their necks, exudes a smell which bas find very unpleasant. This is therefore an amulet against bas.

Implications Regarding Classification

In this chapter I have been discussing the relationship between human and superhuman beings. I have arranged my material in conformity with the Chewong classification into four main categories of superhuman beings, namely bi asal, yinlugu^e_A, bi inhar and bas.

In the case of the Chewong the task is peculiarly difficult because there is a considerable overlap among the four categories. Thus, some bas are bi inhar, and some bi inhar are bas. Some bi asal are bas, and some bas are bi asal. Some bi asal are yinlugen, and some yinlugen are bi asal.

The lack of rigidity becomes even more evident when one attempts to establish sub-classes within the categories, as I have done in presenting the data. It must be stressed however, that these sub-classes are to some extent imposed by myself. The Chewong do not make such a clear-cut division as is presented in Table V.

Table V Superhuman Attributes

Category	Sub-Class	Helpful/Harmful ⁽ⁱ⁾	Earth	Can be Spirit-guide	"People like us"
I <u>Bi Asal</u>	Culture heroes	N (ex G)	6, 7, 8	No	Yes
	<u>Bi asal</u> of Earth 6	G	6	No	Yes
	Poison maidens	N (ex G)	7	No (but offered)	?
	Other <u>bi asal</u>	B, G	7+, 7- ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾	Yes, No	No
II <u>Yinlugen</u>	<u>Yinlugen asal</u>	B (ex G)	7	No	No, Yes
	<u>Tolaeg</u>	B	5, 7+, 7	Yes	No
III <u>Bi Inhan</u>	Dead <u>putao</u>	G	7	Yes?	Yes
	<u>Bi hali</u>	G	7	Yes	Yes
	Other Spirit-Guides	G	7, 7+	Yes	Yes
	(<u>Bas</u>)	(G, B)	(7)	(Yes, No)	(Yes, No)
IV <u>Bas</u>		B (unless spirit-guide)	7	No, Yes	Yes, No

(i) G = helpful (good), B = harmful (bad), N = Neutral

(ii) 7+ is a separate world between Earths Seven and Six

7- is a separate world between Earths Seven and Eight

Table VI

Helpful/Harmful Superhumans

Sub-Class		Earth		"People like us"
<u>Helpful</u>	<u>Bi asal</u> of Earth 6	(I) [*]	6	Yes
	Culture heroes	(I)	6, 7, 8	Yes
	Poison Maidens	(I)	7	?
	<u>Yinlugh asal</u>	(II)	7	?
	Dead <u>putao</u>	(III)	7	Yes
	Other spirit-guides	(I, III, IV)	7, 7+, 7-	Yes
	<u>Bas</u>	(IV)	7	Yes, No
<u>Harmful</u>	Other <u>bi asal</u>	(I)	7+, 7-	No
	<u>Yinlugh^e asal</u> ^	(II)	7-	No
	<u>Tolaeg</u>	(II)	5, 7+ 7, 7-	No
	<u>Bi inhar</u>	(III)	7	Yes
	<u>Bas</u>	(IV)	7	No, Yes

* The Roman numerals in brackets refer to the main categories used in Table V.

The purpose of Table V is not only to summarise the sub-classes, but also to attempt to establish patterns by classifying the sub-classes according to their main attributes. It emerges from the table that no simple patterns can be discerned. Indeed, in many cases there is not even a one-to-one relationship between sub-class and attribute. Thus, for example, yinlugh^e_A may be helpful or harmful, and culture heroes may inhabit Earths Six, Seven, or Eight.

Of the four types of attributes chosen (which appear to be common to all superhuman beings, and regarded as significant by the Chewong) perhaps the most important in a discussion of relations between humans and superhumans, is the helpful/harmful dichotomy. In Table VI I have therefore presented the material according to this method of categorisation. Certainly the Chewong themselves place most emphasis upon this distinction.

It is evident from Table VI that there is no correlation between the attributes of helpful/harmful and the four categories of superhuman beings, or the Earth that they inhabit. But there is a high degree of fit with the "people like us" attribute. That is to say that the Chewong generally regard the superhuman beings who are helpful as "people like us", and vice versa. This, however, is the maximum extent to which any pattern emerges.

The general conclusion from the data, as summarised in Table V, is that there is a marked lack of rigidity in the Chewong classification of superhuman beings. Despite the one correlation between helpful/harmful and "people like us" which could have been made the main distinction for approaching the discussion on superhuman beings, I still

suggest that, for purposes of clarity, the approach chosen, based as it is on the loose Chewong classification, is the most suitable.

I shall be returning to the question of the Chewong symbolic classification system in my last chapter.

PART 2

NOTES

- 1 Tuhan is the Malay word for God. I have spelled it in the Chewong context as it is pronounced. Allah Ta' Allah is from the Arabic Allah Taala meaning God Most High.
- 2 Nabi is the Malay for Prophet. It usually refers to Mohammad.
- . Clearly all these three names are taken directly from the Malays. I was told that the Chewong Tohan was not the same as the Malay. "We also have a Tohan, but he is different. He only helps the forest people, not the Malays," I was told. It is most likely that the Chewong have consciously copied Malay usage. It must not be assumed that their notion of Tohan bears any relation to the Islamic God.
- 3 After I had written this whole section I was lent Karen Endicott's thesis on Batek Negrto Sex Roles (1979) in which she challenges the commonly held view that "hunting seen as a predominantly male activity, inevitably leads to higher status for men, implying that even in hunter and gatherer societies sexual asymmetry is inescapable" (171) She also claims for the Batek a complete absence of inter-personal as well as intersexual notions of hierarchy and status.
- 4 Asal is from the Arabic and means origin or original. It is the root of the same word which makes asli in Orang Asli. I can offer no explanation why it has been absorbed into the

Chewong language, but it is used again and again to indicate the meaning of original. I could not discover an indigenous word for this concept.

- 5 The image of birth taking place in the calf is not unknown among other orang asli. The Temiar say that in "prehistoric times women gave birth from their left calf" (Stewart 1949: 65); and according to the Benua-Jakun the first human woman conceived and gave birth in her calf (Skeat 1906 vol II: 185). See also Myth 1.
- 6 The best explanation of this word is conveyed by its use in connection with a tape recorder. When I thought I had recorded some songs, I found that the batteries had run out, and the songs had not been recorded. The Chewong said that the tape had not chab, it had not caught or fixed the songs.
- 7 Ya' means grandmother. Subang is Malay for ear studs.
- 8 Naga is Sanskrit for a dragon or snake of supernatural size and as such is part of Hindu mythology. We find references to the naga all over south-east Asia.
- 9 The Malay word baju is of Persian origin and means an outer garment, a coat, jacket or tunic (Baru 1976). The Chewong use this word for all types of shirts, blouses, and dresses. Such garments are not indigenous to them and are not worn except when they descend to the Malay village to sell their rattan. It is likely, however, that they have observed the Malays and Chinese wearing such garments for some time.
- 10 The word ta' means grandfather, but it is often prefixed to names of old men in the same way that ya' (grandmother) is

prefixed to names of old women. The various bas which are thus named; Ta' Boli, Ta' Nomoy, and Ta' Tyo' are written as if they were personal names of one being. From the way they are talked about it is difficult to judge whether there really is just one of each, or whether it is a generic name.

- 11 Jaga as used in Malay is of Sanskrit derivation and means to be awake, or to be watchful. The Chewong use it as meaning protect, or watch over.

PART 3

CONSCIOUSNESS AND RELATIVITY

INTRODUCTION

In Part 3 I shall be examining Chewong conceptions of being and consciousness. In order to establish their ideas, I begin with a discussion of their concept of ruwai which I have already referred to on several occasions, saying that it may be translated as soul, vital principle, or essence. It is, however, a complex and difficult concept to understand. No one term in English can be employed which covers all the shades, and indeed differences, in meaning that this word is used to convey. It must therefore be examined in terms of context. Three main interpretations emerge. Firstly, ruwai can be broadly translated as "vital principle". Secondly, it may be translated as "personage" by which I mean the manifestation of consciousness as rationality which is present in certain animals and plants as well as in all human and superhuman beings. Thirdly, ruwai refers to one type of spirit-guide.

In order to understand the role of the ruwai of the individual, I proceed, in Chapter VI, to narrow the discussion to humans alone and investigate other aspects of consciousness: the body, the ghost, the smell, the liver, and the name. I begin with the body and its relationship with the ruwai, demonstrating that they are affectively inter-linked. I then extend my discussion into the more general area of how the Chewong separate their notions about humanity from those of other non-human conscious beings, and conclude that in the final instance consciousness is species-bound.

In Chapter VII I turn my attention to Chewong ideas regarding perception in order to see if these confirm my thesis of species-bound

consciousness. I begin with the distinction made between hot and cool eyes – the former associated with humans, the latter with superhumans. I then consider the concept of "different eyes" the means by which the Chewong explain the different perceptions of the various species of conscious beings.

After a brief consideration of the implications of the term med (eyes) I discuss how the Chewong utilize symbolically the two states of hot and cool, as well as the phenomena of flames and smoke.

I shall be attempting throughout this part to throw light upon the way the Chewong conceptualize their world, their relationships with one another, and with the natural and supernatural worlds. Thereby the concepts implicit in the previous parts on relationships are highlighted.

Throughout, I shall use Chewong myths to validate the points that I am making. This is particularly appropriate in the Chewong context since they themselves are constantly referring to the myths for explanations of behaviour and received ideas.

CHAPTER V

RUWAI

The word ruwai is found among many of the Orang Asli Mon-Khmer speakers, and is usually translated as "soul". Thus the Temiar word for "head-soul" is reway (Benjamin 1966: 136); the Semai word for "soul" is ruai (Dentan 1968: 82); the Jah Hut word for "soul" is ruai (Couillard 1977: 5); and one of the Mendriq words for "soul" is reway (Endicott 1979: 96). The Batek, while calling the "life-soul" nawa (Cf. Malay nyawa, soul, spirit), employ the word reway for a serious disease caused by breaking their rules for "irreverent rhyming" (Endicott 1979: 80). Curiously enough, Blagden lists only the Negritos of S. Plus as referring to the "soul" as ro-wai (Skeat and Blagden 1906 vol. 2: 720).

The word "soul" is a complicated one in the English language and, as a scanning of the Oxford English Dictionary tells us, covers a wide variety of meanings. Two which come closest to what I take it the writers had in mind when they translated ruwai as soul are the following:

Soul. 1. The principle of life in man or animals; animate existence. 2. The principle of thought and action in man, commonly regarded as an entity distinct from the body; the spiritual part of man in contrast to the purely physical. Also occ., an analogous principle in animals.

(Shorter Oxford English Dictionary 1975)

But the Chewong concept of ruwai is at the same time both narrower and wider than these definitions imply. It is a concept that I struggled to understand throughout the period of my fieldwork, and I have decided that for the sake of clarity I will divide my discussion of it into three parts. While this is artificial, since the Chewong never said that there are three kinds of ruwai, I would claim that such a distinction is implicit in the way they use the word.

RUWAI AS VITAL PRINCIPLE

In its most generalised usage, ruwai may be interpreted to mean vital-principle. Everything that lives (see below) such as plants, trees, animals, humans and superhumans is attributed with ruwai. As long as a tree is growing, a fruit is ripening, an animal or human pursuing their normal activities, it is taken for granted that they are alive, gòz, and that they have ruwai. As such, it is extra to the physical entity, and its presence or absence is proof of life or death.

In the case of trees and plants, manifestation of the vital-principle is seen in their sap, tam (which also means water). When a fallen tree has dried up, the Chewong will say that the ruwai is finished, hadeitn ruwai, and that the tree has died, ka kabus. When the tree in question originally fell, its ruwai left and moved to a seed of the same species. It removes itself slowly, however. This was explained to me by reference to tapioca cultivation. When the Chewong plant tapioca, they use the stems of existing plants by cutting these into pieces each about six inches long. These sticks are placed in

the ground and new stems, as well as the tubers, grow from them. Although the original stems were cut up, ruwai was still sufficiently present for new growth to take place. If, on the other hand, the sticks are left for a few days they dry up, okriden, and may not be planted. In our terms, there is no more vital principle in them.

This association between sap (or water, or juice, the word tam is used for all of them), and life, is at its most graphic when applied to rivers. Rivers are also talked of in terms of whether they are alive or dead. A dead river is a dry river, but the concept of dryness is also applied metaphorically to human beings. Old people are said to "dry out like fruit". As a fruit falls to the ground when it is ripe and proceeds to rot, so a person dries out in old age until he shrivels up and dies, they say.

But in the case of human beings, another manifestation of vital principle is also present, namely breath, njug. If we consider their creation myth, we remember how Tohan told his Nabi to make humans out of earth. This the Nabi did, but the figures were not alive. Tohan gave him breath to be blown into the mannikins, and upon receiving this they stood up and were alive. Conversely, someone is declared dead when his or her breath has ceased. Breath rather than blood is associated with the pulse, both on the wrist njug tyaz (breath of the hand), and on the neck, njug tangkòg (breath of the neck). The same applies to animals. There is, however, an identification between njug and ruwai in certain circumstances. When asked who gave them ruwai, the Chewong will say that Tohan did, and then proceed to tell the creation myth. But they are also adamant in their protestations that Tohan has nothing to do with the perpetration of ruwai. He only initiated the process

of human life.

To sum up my discussion so far: to the Chewong, ruwai in this most general usage is a prerequisite for life; in a sense it is life, and its manifestations are breath and/or sap (water), and by extension, movement and growth. The reverse is death, whose manifestations are lack of breath, dryness, immobility, and decay.

RUWAI AS CONSCIOUSNESS

Ruwai is often used to indicate something much more specific than vital principle as discussed above. So whereas on one level all humans, animals, trees, and plants have ruwai, on another all humans, but only some animals and plants, have what if examined in detail is a different property, also called ruwai. In this limited sense, ruwai may be translated as consciousness.

For a further discussion of what this means, I wish to take as my starting point a passage from Maurice Leenhardt's book on the Canaque of Melanesia, because as I hope to demonstrate, there are many parallels between their ideas and those of the Chewong. In a chapter entitled "The structure of the person in the Melanesian world" Leenhardt says;

The Melanesian knows the being we glimpse in the word only in its human form. He calls it kamo, 'the living one'. We translate it by 'personage' and the term is as applicable to mythic beings as to human beings. The two are always situated in a social or socioreligious ensemble where they play their roles. For example, a lizard sits on the head

of the chief of Kone. The chief's wife seeing her husband bent under the burden of the totemic monster, exclaims, Ne pa kamo, that is 'ensemble of personages'. She does not distinguish the mythic personage from the human personage. Together they form an ensemble imbued with humanity.

The kamo is thus poorly delineated in the eyes of others. He¹ usually takes the human form and is man in his generality, but he may be any other being invested with humanity. The kamo's body appears as the costume of a personage (Leenhardt 1979: 153).

Leenhardt's term personage may be aptly applied to this second more specific sense of ruwai. When the Chewong say that certain animals or plants are (or were) "people", beri, they mean, as we shall see, that they possess this special type of ruwai which indicates the presence of consciousness. As conscious beings they are personages, regardless of their exterior form, be this human, siamang, porcupine, lemon-grass, or whatever. Furthermore, consciousness is "humancentric". By attributing ruwai to any non-human species, the Chewong expect from it behaviour which is rational in human terms. As I shall show in the next chapter, however, such behaviour is relative to the species concerned, and may therefore result in deviances from the human norm in the expression of rational behaviour.

Animals and Plants

Not all species of animals and plants are conscious beings in the sense described above. By using Medway (1978) and Harrison (1966) both of which include numerous pictures of the mammals of the Malay Peninsula, as well as by asking the name of all animals, birds, and fish either caught or seen, I built up a large vocabulary of the animal world. I also enquired regarding each whether it had ruwai or not, whether it was "people", beri, in the past or not, what rules pertained to eating and cooking it, what other rules were associated with it, its habits and habitat etc. I accumulated a large dossier on Chewong attitudes to the animate world surrounding them. (See Chapter IX for a discussion on these.) In the case of trees and plants I was much less diligent mainly due to my own extremely limited botanical knowledge. Only those species which were brought to my attention as being personages or having specific rules associated with them, have been listed by me.

I found that the Chewong would refer to their myths and stories, as well as their songs, in deciding which animal or plant had ruwai. Whenever in doubt, the informant would pause for a moment, consider and say, "no, there is no myth," or alternatively, "yes, there is such and such a story about this animal" and then proceed to tell it. The criterion for deciding whether it had ruwai or not was in all cases whether the animal or plant in question had shown evidence of consciousness by acting in a rational manner. Thus for example, I was told: "yes, bats have ruwai, they carried Bòngso to the sea" (see Myth 4). In this, as in most myths, only one member of the bat species actually helped Bòngso. Nevertheless the whole species is attributed with ruwai.

In other words, "bat-hood" has ruwai, or, all bats are personages.

The other two animals which also helped Bongso in the myth, the flying lemur and the flying squirrel, are also said to have ruwai.

Apart from the animals which demonstrated their ruwai in the myths, those animals which are known to affect humans, such as the tolaeg animals and those which pregnant women and their husbands may not eat, are all said to have ruwai. As such, they are personages and are expected by humans to be able to think, judge, and act. Usually, they do not impinge upon the daily life of humans. Only when a person contravenes one of the rules which specify behaviour, is one member of a specific species given the mystical opportunity to act in a damaging way to one or more members of the human species.

With regard to the botanical world, the Chewong say that all trees had ruwai, in the sense of consciousness, in the distant past. As evidence for this they told me that trees could once speak. They would also cry out in pain whenever they were cut down, so no one would do this. One man gave this as the reason why the Chewong did not clear fields in the past, but only foraged. Here one can trace a direct link between speech and consciousness.

There are still some trees which have ruwai and are conscious beings. These are the gol tree and the tangòì tree. They are among the tallest trees in the forest, and they frequently feature in the myths. The two trees from which the Chewong used to make cloth, and from which they still concoct their dart poison, the poal and dòg trees, also have ruwai, and the poison itself has very strong ruwai which has to be protected lest it be lost or killed. (See chapter VIII for details).

The bamboo which is used for making blow-pipes, and another species which is used for making quivers, also have ruwai. In these cases they are attributed with gender: that of the blow-pipe is masculine, and that of the quiver is feminine. The dart itself has ruwai (sex unspecified) as does the species of bamboo used for drums during a nòpoh. In all these instances the ruwai remains with the plants after they have been cut and made into the objects.

All those leaves, roots, plants, and trees which are used for medicinal purposes also have ruwai in this more specialised sense, as do those with which certain rules are associated. Furthermore, all the different wild tubers that constituted the Chewong staple before they started to plant tapioca have ruwai. It appears that all plants which are somehow useful for humans are attributed with consciousness. "They want to help us" (tologr) it is said. This is brought out most clearly in the case of the durian and payòng trees, which are still eaten as the main staple in the fruit season. Groups of people migrate to large trees at such times. The durian season is in June and July and the payòng become ripe in September through November. According to the Chewong it is no accident that they ripen at different times. If there is a bad durian harvest one year, then the ruwai payòng see this and make sure that there is a large payòng season, and vice versa. These two species of fruit do not want people to be hungry, and so act accordingly.

Other trees, or possibly parts of them, become imbued with ruwai only at certain times of the year. This applies to those trees which bear edible fruits and nuts during the blossoming and fruit ripening season. At such times the ruwai of the fruits and blossoms on Earth Six descend to Earth Seven so that humans may eat some fruit. The fruit

ruwai do not like it on Earth Seven, they regard it as much too hot and therefore do not want to stay here for very long at any one time. Indeed they have to be persuaded to come by singing and drumming in a nōpoh. The more pleased they are with the singing, and the more frequently this is done, the more likely they are to descend in large numbers. So, when the flowering season is about to begin, the Chewong conduct nightly nōpoh for the express purpose of pleasing the fruit ruwai of Earth Six. The singing also pleases the bi asal of Earth Six, who are said to throw blossoms down to Earth Seven. The dew putao will go up there during the seance to talk to them.

But the fruit trees do not have their own inherent ruwai, they are not conscious at other times of the year, rather they become imbued with ruwai from their counterparts on Earth Six for a limited period only. The reason the fruit seasons have been bad lately is blamed on the laziness of the Chewong in carrying out their nōpoh.

Thus ruwai can also mean something more specific than vital principle. Anything that is alive is imbued with vital principle, ruwai, but some of these are further imbued with consciousness, ruwai, and therefore act according to rational principles.

Humans

The breath given by Tohan to the first human couple, sometimes referred to as ruwai is, I argued above, to be understood in the general sense of vital principle. Having considered animals and plants, I now wish to discuss the human ruwai as consciousness, in other words, the human personage. Since the Chewong are "humancentric" in their elaborations, by understanding their representations of the human ruwai, we

may learn, by extension, more about the ruwai of animals and plants, and indeed about superhuman beings.

Each individual person has his or her ruwai which is intimately linked with his or her body. In order to understand the concept of ruwai, one cannot discuss it in isolation from that of the body.

An obvious point to note is that in the first instance an individual is identified in terms of his or her body, bi, (the various meanings of bi will be examined later). The new-born baby is manifesting itself as a physical object with certain expected attributes. Immediately following a birth the Chewong check that the body conforms to expectations of normality. Any deviations are attributed to superhuman intervention, and/or failure by the parents to observe a ritual regulation during the pregnancy. Details of this were given in Chapter III. If the baby moves its limbs and cries, then it is alive, its vital principle is present; it has ruwai. Ruwai in the sense of personage, while embryonically present in the womb, as demonstrated in my examination of couvade practices, is not fully developed nor fixed in the body until the body has finished growing. In other words, when an individual is fully grown, and is able to carry out all adult functions, the underlying assumption in Chewong thought is that the personage is also fully developed in the sense that the social responsibilities of the individual may be counted upon. From now on the body and the ruwai are intrinsically part of each other, and ruwai loss occurs mostly when the individual has broken one of the numerous rules that govern their behaviour, the infringement of which allow superhuman beings to attack. These rules and their implications will be examined in a later chapter. Here I just wish to stress that the person as a social being does not come into his or her

own until the body and the ruwai are fully developed and merged. This corresponds to the time when they marry.

Throughout infancy and childhood the unformed personage is marked by frequent loss of ruwai. The instability of the personal ruwai of the small child is seen by the Chewong as a reason for the many illnesses that children are prone to suffer. There are therefore the special ritual precautions already mentioned that the parents must observe with regard to the child.

But the ruwai of small children may be lost even when no rules are broken. It may just flow away with the water when an older child is bathing, or the wind may blow it away. Moreover, a child's ruwai may fail to find its way back to the body during a dream.

As long as the child is fully dependent upon its parents for survival, the ruwai is, I suggest, in its most unstable form. As the child grows up and becomes more and more able to fend for itself, and learns all the rules necessary for interacting with the environment, so the ruwai becomes fixed in the body, and the individual slowly develops into a fully conscious and socially responsible human being.

The examples given of necessary precautions regarding children pertain mostly to the development of the ruwai. Unfortunately I failed to make specific enquiries whether any ritual behaviour has to be observed to ensure the growth of the body. I can recall just one example that refers explicitly to the body. The reason offered for why children's hair is shaved regularly is that if this is not done, their hair will not grow, but remain the thin fluff of babies.

Having established that the fixed ruwai is essential for one to operate as a full human being, we still do not understand what this

ruwai is . The Chewong say that it is the real person, bi lòi², and that the body is the ruwai's cloak, bajo ruwai. This is, as was explained earlier, a metaphorical usage to indicate the notion of integument. When the ruwai is absent from the body during dreams and trance states, the body is "as if it were dead" the Chewong say. It is not really dead, however, as can be deduced from the fact that it still breathes; but the personage has gone and is alive elsewhere. When the ruwai leaves to travel, it does so in the form of a physical presence also referred to as bi. This bi is a miniature version of the actual body left behind. If ruwai did not have bi when out travelling, other ruwai would not be able to see it. So when a person is asleep and dreaming that he is meeting other people, it is the dreamer's ruwai that meets the ruwai of other dreamers, and they recognise one another because the ruwai look just like the individuals concerned.

In this context the individualized ruwai of animals and plants become significant. All those who are attributed with ruwai, including animals and plants, may be met in dreams, when the body of their ruwai is that of a human being rather than that of the animal or plant whose ruwai they are. This gives meaning to the Chewong's assertion that they do not eat the flesh of their spirit guides because they are people, (beri). They have met their ruwai in the shape of a human being. There is however, always something about these ruwai bodies that tells the human dreamer that he is not meeting merely another human being. Either they are wearing something that denotes their true status, or there is some other indication. The following story will elucidate the point. One man, now dead, once came across a large snake while out hunting. He shot several darts at it³ and the snake vanished. The following night

he dreamt that he met a woman whom he did not know. She said to him that she wanted to be his wife. When he looked more closely at her he saw that there were several darts protruding from her body, and he realised that she was the ruwai of the snake he had met the previous day. So when the Chewong say that the body is "only the ruwai's cloak", bajo ruwai nai, the actual situation is not as simple as this statement would imply. The relationship between the two is affectively interlinked. The ruwai takes on attributes of the body, both permanent and temporary ones, and when the ruwai is lost or caught by superhuman beings, the body suffers.

Similarly, the hair and nail-parings of a child, but not those of an adult, are linked with the non-physical aspect of the individual. They must never be casually thrown away, but always wrapped carefully in some leaf and left in the roof of the house. Some aspect of the personage is supposed to be attached to these biological parts, and were these scattered around, the ruwai of the child would be affected; and when the ruwai is affected, so may the body be.

The word for body is bi. Bi is also used to mean person or people, but not humanity as a whole, which is beri. Beri is the emphatic form used to separate human beings from other creatures. Thus they say that Tohan made beri, or that certain animals were beri in the past, or that some still are beri as evinced from a dream encounter. Bi on the other hand are sub-groups of humanity. The Chewong refer to themselves as forest people, bi brete, as opposed to English people, bi ingris. Furthermore, bi brete are sub-divided into our people, bi he, the Jah Hut, bi jah, Batek Nong, bi nong, etc.

Bi does not refer exclusively to the physical aspect of things, however. It can also mean power, or energy. For instance, I was told that there is no point in trying to cure someone with spells and incantations during lightning, because the spells then have no "body", it has returned to the forest, hò bi. Ka oweg kò brete. The dart poison may lose its bi, in which case the animals struck do not die. The Chewong have various armbands and amulets made by their putao and by those of the Jah Hut which are to protect against bullets from the Malays and the communists, bi kommunis, as well as from dangerous animals. If these are allowed to fall on the ground or are worn on prohibited occasions, then they lose their bi. It can be restored by infusing them over òz taba. A final example, from Western technology, is the batteries used for torch lamps which are finding their way into Chewong life. Whenever these batteries have run out, the Chewong say that their bi is finished.

In view of what we have learnt about their concept of ruwai it would seem more consistent for them to have used this word rather than bi in the examples just cited. In one context the word denotes substance; in another, essence. Yet if one examines the concept of substance one finds that these two opposed meanings are contained within it,

Substance being, essence, material property.

Essential nature, essence That of which a

physical being consists A solid or real

thing. What is embodied in a statement

. . . . That which gives a thing its character,

that which constitutes the essence of a thing

. . . Possessions, goods, estate, means, wealth.

(Shorter Oxford English Dictionary)

Of course the Chewong do not use the word figuratively when talking about the actual body of an individual. Similarly when they say that a newly planted tapioca does not yet have bi they mean the physical tuber. In view of this one may translate bi loi as the true substance of an individual, a rendering which makes more sense if we consider that the ruwai does have bi when it travels. It is not just amorphous.

The relationship between the body and the ruwai of an individual is such that they are mutually dependent and one ruwai will not 'fit' another's body. Thus, during a nōpoh when several ruwai of various putao are moving about outside their bodies, there is a danger of them entering the wrong body upon their return. The Chewong regard this as enough of a possibility to warn against it in their songs when they sing "do not enter a different body", hō masuk bajo masign, la rugn⁴ lain. If the ruwai of one individual were to enter the body of another, both would most likely die. To activate the ruwai to leave the incorrect bodies would require a very powerful putao. The personages themselves would not be able to manage this on their own, the implication being that the ruwai needs its own body to be able to depart and return. The "cloak" of the Chewong is not therefore directly equivalent to the "costume" of the Melanesians since it is not irrelevant which cloak the ruwai finds itself in at any given time. The two take on attributes of each other and affect each other throughout the life of an individual, a point to which I will return later.

When a person loses his or her ruwai, he or she becomes sick, dōdn. Loss of ruwai of adults may come about in several ways. Straightforward ruwai loss in a dream is often resolved by the putao blowing the smoke of òz taba in the four cardinal directions. The scent

of the incense attracts the ruwai which then follows the path of the smoke back to its body. The ruwai may also return of its own accord, being blown back by the wind. In such cases only minor illness is suffered by the individual. If the ruwai has gone to a very pleasant place such as an island in the ocean where it sits and plays with beautiful and sweet-smelling flowers it may not want to return, but has to be persuaded to do so by a putao who finds it during a nö'poh. Another, and more serious, type of ruwai loss may occur when it is taken by a superhuman being who brings it to "its own house", hya' punyah. When this happens, the putao goes to the house and exchanges the ruwai with his headband, or his bandolier. Once the ruwai has returned to the body, the person recovers. If days go by without the putao locating the ruwai, or if it has been eaten by a superhuman being, the sick person dies.

RUWAI AS SPIRIT-GUIDE

Yet another, and even more specialised meaning is also conveyed by the term ruwai, namely that of spirit-guide, or familiar.

One animal or plant of a species which is said to have ruwai can also establish a special relationship as a spirit-guide with an individual Chewong. But also an animal or plant of other species, as well as any object, may reveal itself to an individual as being imbued with ruwai. In such cases the knowledge is personal, and although the rest of the Chewong know about the relationship through the appearance of a new song, this knowledge is not extended and absorbed into the general collective representations regarding the species as a whole. In other words, outside the context of the relationship, the species in question is not

attributed with ruwai.

I was puzzled for a long time by being asked if I had ruwai, and the amusement ^{that} of my affirmative answer always provoked. I thought that it meant "soul" or some vague equivalent, so when I returned the question and asked individuals if they had ruwai, I was even more surprised to hear their denials. It became apparent that the Chewong meant not that they did not possess⁵ a soul – this was taken for granted – but that they did not possess a spirit-guide. More specifically, that they had not met the ruwai of a non-human animate or inanimate being in a dream or trance with whom they had established a relationship cemented by the gift of a song which, when sung in the ritual situation of a nöpoh, would bring the ruwai to the scene and enlist its support in the healing process.

In return for help, a person gives the smoke from òz taba which the ruwai eats. The ruwai also need humans to sing their songs. When the song is no longer sung because the person to whom it was given has died, the ruwai also, in a sense, dies. Its manifestation as personage ceases unless it establishes a new relationship with someone else.

Ruwai in the sense of spirit-guide can be anything non-human, but usually it is animal or plant. When a person has met such a ruwai his or her attitude to that particular species as a whole alters. He or she will refuse to eat any member of it, knowing that they are "people", beri. This is accepted by everyone, but unless others have a similar encounter they do not act upon the knowledge, beyond whatever restrictions already operate in relation to the particular species in question. It is an idiosyncratic restriction. The extent to which any object may thus reveal itself as being a personage can be appreciated from the example cited

earlier of the man who met the ruwai of the Japanese aeroplane.

The bi hali discussed in the previous chapter are in fact the ruwai of the leaves and flowers of certain trees and plants who have revealed themselves to individual humans as personages. When their songs are sung during a nòpoh they arrive in large numbers to place themselves in the riding, filling the house with their sweet-smelling scents. Although bi hali is the generic term for them, they are usually referred to simply as ruwai. In a myth (not listed) we are told about the "wives" of Bòngso who sing during a nòpoh. Their song is so lovely that everyone listens with pleasure, but only Bòngso⁶ can see them. These wives are in fact bi hali with whom Bòngso has this special relationship and whom he requests during a nòpoh to come. During a nòpoh the Chewong say that they are waiting for the ruwai (meaning bi hali) to arrive, and that when dawn arrives the ruwai return to their own lands in the leaves.

By saying that the spirit-guides, as well as those non-human animate and inanimate objects attributed with ruwai, are "people", the Chewong are saying no more than that they are personages, in the sense outlined by Leenhardt. I wish to draw attention to the point so as to link it with the other Chewong statement that the bi asal and bi inhar are "people like us" discussed in the previous chapter.

There are however, two types of spirit-guides, the wòng hien already mentioned in the previous chapter, and the ruwai. In general conversation the two terms are used loosely and interchangeably, but there is in fact a qualitative difference between them. Whereas most older men, and some women, will admit to having one or more ruwai, only two men confirmed to me that they had a wòng hien. The rest rejected any possibility of having a wòng hien by pointing at their chests and saying

that nobody was living inside. "We have only met ruwai in our dreams," they would say, "we do not have any inside our body." A wòng hien, also called just hien, merges with the individual and lives permanently in his body. When a putao sends out his ruwai during a nòpoh, he is in fact sending out the ruwai and the hien together. The two are one. If the hien is caught by a bas or a yinlugh^u, then the individual dies.

Moreover, the difference between the two kinds of spirit-guide is further stressed by the type of relationship envisaged as pertaining between the individual and the spirit-guide. The putao and his wòng hien are perceived as standing in a parent-child relationship. The ruwai is a spouse, and the relationship is of a much less stable nature. The ruwai does not merge with the personage of the individual as does the hien. An individual refers to his or her ruwai as his husband or wife, and the relationship is one of continuing reciprocity and exchange. The two may also quarrel and sever the relationship. The metaphors are therefore significant. Whereas husband and wife may, and often do, divorce, a parent-child relationship cannot be terminated institutionally in any way.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER ASPECTS OF CONSCIOUSNESS

In the previous chapter, the discussion of ruwai as consciousness was applied to human and other species, and I noted the intimate link between the body and the ruwai. In this chapter I will begin by exploring this relationship in more detail, and then turn to other aspects of consciousness: the ghost, the smell, the liver, and the name. In this instance, discussion will be mainly focused upon humans, but, as noted earlier, we may learn by extension about the other species of conscious beings.

Body and the Concept of Species

I said earlier that the ruwai of one human individual may not enter the body of another. The ruwai of a human being may, however, enter the body of an animal or a plant. In the past this was often done, and there are many myths to this effect. (See Myths 5, 6, 11). Today only the big putao, the putao salitn, are able to do this. Similarly, the ruwai of some animals might don the bajo of humans. (See Myths 7, 8, 9). These myths demonstrate that there is something fundamentally human on the one hand, and fundamentally porcupine, frog, or bayaez fruit on the other. In the first types of myths we have men who had obtained various animal bajo which they wore in order to pretend to other humans that they were the animals in question. When they were found out, and their animal bajo destroyed, they reverted to being human only. In the other types of myths we have

cases of various animals and trees donning human bajo and pretending to be human. In the final instance all these beings return to their own true state.

It is interesting to note in passing that in all the myths I collected which deal with these topics, we find that in the ones where humans wear animal bajo, the individual in question is always a male, and that he fools everybody including his wife. It is the wife, however, who discovers what can only be described as a fraud, and who destroys the bajo, thereby forcing her husband to live exclusively within the domain of humanity. By contrast, the animals who don human bajo are in all cases female. It is their husbands who know what they really are, whereas the rest are deceived. It is their mothers-in-law who, by innocently comparing them to the species that they actually are, force the women to return to their true states.

In another myth (Myth 10) we are told of a girl who is lent a squirrel bajo by a squirrel. She wears this, and a man, taking her for a real squirrel, shoots her with a poisoned dart whereupon she dies. In death, however, she reverts to her true form, and the hunter finds a human corpse rather than that of a squirrel.

The Chewong language has no word for animal as an all-inclusive group of non-human creatures. Rather, each species has its own name, largely arrived at in an enumerative instead of a classificatory manner. The implications of this for their classification system will be discussed in my last chapter. Here I wish to raise the point only in so far as it bears a relation to their concept of humanity. The Malay word binatang (animal) is understood by the Chewong, and they will use this when talking to outsiders, but it is never employed when talking among

themselves. Sometimes the word for meat, ai, is used to convey the general meaning of animal, as when they say that ai have eaten all the durian fruit. Generally speaking, however, they refer to the specific animal concerned. There are generic terms for birds, kawaw; fish, kiel; and snakes, talòden, but the remainder of animals and insects are named individually. I think that this lack of a conceptual all-embracing class of non-human animate beings supports my theory that to the Chewong human beings are only one species among many different kinds of animate creatures. The fact that it is possible to slide in and out of the various classes of beings, donning the bajo of the non-human being in question, further strengthens my point. When we also consider that this is a two-way process, one that goes from human to animal (plant) as well as from animal (plant) to human, I think I have established that the Chewong do not divide the world into human versus the rest of nature and supernature. Rather they distinguish between those beings or objects who are person-ages, (have ruwai), and those who are not. Among the former may be non-animate beings. Despite the possibility of exchanging bajo, there is nevertheless some aspect of the personage which is immutable, something which remains itself no matter what kind of bajo it is wearing.

Yet despite what I have just been saying, it is possible to change permanently; one personage becoming another. If we examine the myths about people as animals, and animals as people, we see that in all cases the emphasis, as well as the point of reference, is upon humanity. Thus the animals as people behave, while in their human bajo, just like humans; that is they work, enter into the kinship system and systems of reciprocity and exchange of people. They also observe all the various rules governing human social behaviour. Whenever their credibility as

humans is being challenged, albeit inadvertently as in the myths just quoted, they decide when to abandon their human status and return to that of their true nature. They may also revert to their true nature while pretending to be human, as is the case of the dog man of Myth 24 who could not prevent himself from eating the blood and the stomach contents of the game that he and real humans hunted. When he was found out, he was destroyed by his human affines.

The people as animals, on the other hand, are expected to continue to behave according to human standards and values rather than those of whose bajo they are wearing. It is only when they are found out, and the bajo destroyed, that they cease being able to change into animals, and have to remain human only. But sometimes the characteristics of the animal whose bajo they are wearing begin to replace the human characteristics, as can be seen in Myth 11. Here we meet the people as cockroaches. They are humans who put on cockroach bajo when visitors arrive. One day they are prompted by a child, also wearing the cockroach bajo, to attack the human visitor and eat him. This alarming breach of decorum results in the people losing their humanity altogether and a final metamorphosis into cockroaches. They cease to be humans altogether. In Myth 15 there is a man who changes into a real tiger after having eaten an abnormal fruit. There are several other examples in the myths to this effect, but I have not included them here.

However, even though the bajo and the ruwai do affect each other mutually, it is nevertheless possible to agree with the Chewong assertion that the ruwai is the true person. In those myths where humans put on animal bajo they are still acting according to their human collective representations, even though they often pretend otherwise. The mere

fact that they are able to pretend, shows that the human personage is directing the animal bajo. Whenever the wearing of the bajo affects the personage inside it to the extent that he is unable to control it, the individual ceases to be the personage he originally was, and metamorphoses into the personage of the animal in question. But, as we have seen, it is in rare cases that this happens. Normally the bajo does not affect the personage, but the personage the bajo. The bajo is activated by whatever personage is inhabiting it. It is only when the correct ruwai is in the correct bajo that it becomes uncertain which of the two is the "true person".

The Chewong concept of personage, of whatever species, may be likened to that of an actor. While performing in a play the actor dons the costume relevant to the part, and acts accordingly. Once off the stage, in his own clothes and environment, he is "himself". The roles may vary but, within the parameters of the present argument, the actor always reverts to the same "self". So the personages of the Chewong world change bajo, but in most cases, they revert to their own true being whenever the correct ruwai is in the correct bajo. And as Myth 10 demonstrates, if death occurs while someone is wearing an inappropriate bajo, then in death there is a return to the correct shape.

Ghost

The Chewong acknowledge that death is natural for all beings who live on Earth Seven. They attribute death to these beings having hot blood. The only natural death, however, is that which occurs in old age. The ruwai shrivels up and becomes like fruit which falls to the ground ripe, they say. The body shows similar physical deterioration;

teeth rot, hair falls out, and the body weakens and becomes unable to carry out heavy work. Finally the ruwai ceases to exist, hadeitn ruwai. There is nothing a putao can do when an old person becomes very sick. In such cases there is no ruwai which is lost and can be returned. Rather, the ruwai and the body have run out, as it were, and the person in both his aspects stops functioning. Upon death the body starts to rot and disintegrate. This is why the Chewong bury their corpses. Tohan made the first humans from earth, and they are returned to it.

When the person dies, some aspect of him, the ynlugen is activated. The Chewong are very clear that the ynlugen is not a part of the ruwai, nor is it the ruwai in a new form. Some indication of what it is may be found in the birth practices. When the father of a new-born child wraps the afterbirth and umbilical cord in an old mat and places this in the fork of a tree, it becomes the child's older sibling, tòh, and goes to the afterworld, Pulao Klam, where it lives without bothering anyone until the person whose counterpart, i. e., whose tòh it is, dies. When the corpse has been placed in the grave and the mourners have gone home, this tòh comes from Pulao Klam to the grave, where it asks the newly dead, "where is your tòh?" The corpse must then answer, "You. You are my tòh." Then the tòh, who is now known as Ta' Sranre, spits on the grave. His spittle is blood. From then on until they are expelled on the sixth night Ta' Sranre and an aspect of the person which, when merged with Ta' Sranre, is known as ynlugen, roam the settlement and the forest, frightening the living.

Until the expulsion, the ynlugen goes on living in the grave, and sleeping during the day and wandering about at night; the world for

the yinlugen being the reverse of that of ordinary humans. Only the loincloth may be worn by the corpse; nothing of metal may be placed in the grave. An armband made out of the same leaves as are used for riding is twined round the left wrist of the corpse and a smudge of soot is made on its left cheek. During the expulsion ceremony the living make a smiliar bracelet, but put it on their right wrist, and they make a sooty smudge on their right cheek. The deceased and the living are by these acts both united and separated; united in the sense that their common humanity is stressed by identical adornments, separated by reversing the application. I was told that what the living call left (yal), the dead call right (t'òben) and vice versa. They have thus been relegated to a world whose members have different denotations from those of ordinary living humans.

Food is placed on the grave for the first five days after death, but there is some disagreement among the Chewong as to whether the yinlugen eats this or not. Whoever brings the food says, as he or she puts it down, "we two have finished meeting one another." The liminal stage bewteen death and expulsion is implicitly acknowledged. The dead is neither human nor yet a proper yinlugen. It still misses its life in so far as it wants the ruwai of spouse and children. It moves at night and sleeps during the day, and it is slowly made accustomed to its new state by being bid goodbye by the living.

On the sixth night the whole community conduct an expulsion ceremony. Members from all the Chewong settlements come to participate, and food is gathered and prepared as for a feast. They drum and sing as in a nòpoh, but this funeral seance is known as bremón. (See Appendix II for a funeral song.) During a bremón the Chewong also dance. This is

the only occasion when they do so. They also shake their bodies while sitting down. These movements are meant to frighten the yinlugen-Ta' Sranre-tòh into thinking that the people he is observing cannot be his family because they are behaving in such an unusual manner. The bamboo which is burnt on the path between the grave and the settlement and which "sounds like a gun" also frightens him, and the combination of these two events induces him to abandon the grave and the forest and go to Pulao Klam. The putao's ruwai will guide him on his way to Pulao Klam where he lives thenceforth. Once expelled, the yinlugen does not return to Earth Seven to bother the living. The Chewong do not abandon their settlement once a death has occurred, but they do destroy the house where a death took place and build a new one. The reason I was given for this act was purely sentimental, "we do not want to live where our mother (or whoever) has died," they say, "our livers (see below) are not good."

The above procedure applies to all except the great putao who, as I have already mentioned, do not die, but only shed their bajo when this becomes old or deficient, exchange it for a new one, and go to live on the mountain with all the other great putao of earlier times. In these cases the body dies, but the ruwai does not, which is consistent with the Chewong assertion that the ruwai is the true person. Unlike the yinlugen who is something different from the personage when he was alive, and who forgets about his relatives once on Pulao Klam, the dead putao are not really dead. They remove themselves from this life, but they continue being the same personages that they were while alive on Earth Seven. They do not forget the living but keep a watchful eye on all that befalls them, and contrive to help them in times of danger and

distress. As I have already said, the putao bi inhar, as these are called, are in daily contact with the living through the medium of incense and prayer.

Another name for these putao is putao salitn. Salitn means to take off a covering and put on another, and is mainly used in the dressing of sores and wounds. When they apply the term to putao the Chewong are explicit that it refers to peeling off, as it were, the old body and putting on a new one, both in life, during trance, and upon death. But the term also refers to these putao having had their blood exchanged with cool blood from Earth Six. No living putao is referred to as a putao salitn. Whenever one dies, the people still carry out a bremon on the sixth night (and even did so in the days when they left his body in a sanrugn), but a living putao, rather than accompanying the yinlugen to Pulao Klam, goes instead to the mountain of the "dead" putao of the past and searches there for the recently dead one. If he finds him, he returns and informs the rest of the community that the individual has become a bi inhar. He will also be referred to from now on as a putao salitn.

By creating the separate category of putao, the Chewong are defining the concept of personage as applied to the ordinary human. As was found to be the case in their attitudes towards the superhuman beings of Earths Six and Seven, that their different attributes are compared and contrasted to those of the ordinary mortals, so the Chewong clarify their notions regarding themselves by comparing their own attributes with those of the putao. By focusing upon those aspects which they regard as ideal – coolness, absence of disease and immortality – the conclusions they tend to draw regarding themselves are that they do

not measure up to the superhuman beings nor to the putao. It is only in this sense that it might be argued that they regard themselves as inferior. As I have been stressing throughout this work, the Chewong emphasise similarity rather than differences among the various beings. Inferiority regarding themselves is only implicit in this one sense.

Smell

There is another aspect of the person which I have not yet mentioned, and this is smell, moni, which is as intimately a part of the individual as is the ruwai, but in a slightly different way. One may lose one's smell as one does one's ruwai. When this happens one becomes sick, but most people seemed to think that it is less serious than losing the ruwai. One may lose one's smell while bathing, when it flows away with the river until it reaches the ocean. In such cases it requires a putao to retrieve it, and these are indeed the most serious cases of smell loss. If the smell is lost while out in the forest, it either returns of its own accord, or one may go in search of it. Finally, one may leave one's smell behind at home when one goes visiting. The symptoms of this are restlessness and a yearning to return. Once one is back in one's own house one is united with one's smell and all is well. Smell differs from the ruwai in that the latter has substance, bi, and the former does not. Secondly, ruwai is more important because loss of it may lead to death. Thirdly, ruwai is more of an independent entity in so far as it has substance and can act consciously by going off of its own accord in dreams and trances, whereas the smell only gets lost inadvertently.

I have not yet solved the question of which of the various

aspects of an individual forms its yinlugen. The Chewong were unable to tell me what it actually is except that "ruwai is different, yinlugen is different," The Chewong at Dong told me that it is the shadow, bayang, of a person which becomes its sotn (they used this word rather than yinlugen) after death. I was told the same by several Temuan near the Eastern Chewong, but the Chewong themselves denied any such notion. The shadow of a person is not imbued with any symbolic significance among them. Although I have no direct evidence for what I am about to suggest, it struck me from the way people used to discuss corpses, graves, and yinlugen, that smell may be that aspect of an individual which forms one part of the yinlugen; the other part being the tòh from the afterbirth. Furthermore I suggest that the smell constitutes the essence of the yinlugen and the tòh/Ta' Sranre its substance. The boundaries between them are not absolute however. When talking about a person who had recently died, the Chewong always include a mention of the bad smell that accompanies not only the corpse, but also the yinlugen. Smell is of course the one aspect of the individual that not only does not cease to exist upon death, but actually increases.

The Chewong also stress the smell of the afterbirth and I was told that the slow loris into which the afterbirth (or some aspect of it) also metamorphoses, smells badly. One of the reasons given for not eating this animal is that, "when we smell it, we are reminded of what it is." What I am suggesting then, is that an individual's life is marked by a physical beginning and a physical end, both events being characterised by smell. The yinlugen which signifies that all is not extinguished upon death, also smells, being a fusion of the smell of birth (the tòh) and the smell of death (the corpse).

Chewong vocabulary in connection with smells is rather limited. A thing either smells good, baig, or sweet, gihed; or it smells bad, yabod, or haod. They distinguish between the noun, moni and the verb, òin. We have heard how the bi hali are chiefly described in terms of their smell, and how humans covet the sweet scents of the bi hali. But beyond the examples already cited, I could find no evidence that smell forms an important symbolic part of their representations as is the case among the Batek (see Endicott 1979)

Liver

So far I have been discussing the individual in terms of his body, his ruwai, his yinlugen, and his smell. I have as yet not touched upon the person as a psychological being, nor do I wish to do so, except in terms of the collective representations concerning the self. Elsewhere (Howell in press) I have discussed the limited psychological vocabulary of the Chewong and have tried to explain this in terms of the way their numerous rules governing behaviour demand a suppression of emotionality. Chapter VIII takes up some of these questions. Here I merely wish to elaborate upon their notion of the liver, rus, as being the seat of thoughts and feelings. This may seem strange in view of what I have been claiming for the ruwai as personage. However, the Chewong rarely refer to their ruwai in general daily conversation and when they do, it is only mentioned in terms of whether it is present or not. Psychological and mental states are never referred to it. It is the liver that is the seat for these, and any changes in them are expressed via the liver, much as

we express emotional changes by reference to the heart when we say for instance, "my heart is broken". But whereas we distinguish between thoughts and emotions, the Chewong make no such conceptual separation. There is no word for either thought or feeling. Both are verbally expressed through the medium of the liver.

Thus they will say, "my liver forgot", han mud rus ing; or my liver was tiny (very ashamed), rus ing kanin; or my liver is good (I am feeling fine) rus ing sedap.⁷ I was told that the only way I could hope to learn the Chewong songs would be to "follow them in the liver", odiaz lam rus, while they were being sung. The English language equivalent is of course, to repeat the words in one's head, or to learn the songs off by heart. This particular example is rather curious in so far as the usual dichotomisation in Western thought between the intellect and the emotions commonly symbolised by the head and the heart respectively is here fused by expressions referring to the same activity taking place in both organs. However that may be, the Chewong do not endow either the head or the heart with any symbolic significance; the liver is the only organ thus endowed.

Other beings attributed with ruwai are also assumed to possess liver in this figurative sense. Thus when someone breaks a certain rule (see Chapter VIII) the retribution of which is an attack by a tiger, the tiger sees the offence in its liver, endagn lam rus, and hence knows who and where to attack.

The liver is not prone to loss as are the ruwai and the smell of an individual. Unlike these, the liver is an actual physiological organ. As such it nevertheless has super-physiological attributes, being the seat of individual consciousness, and the medium via which emotional and

mental states are expressed.

Name

Unlike another Mon-Khmer speaking aboriginal group in the Malay Peninsula, the Temiar (see Benjamin 1968), the individual Chewong does not mark by a change of name his passing through the various life-crises. Nevertheless human beings are individualised by name, each person being given one shortly after birth. The name chosen may be that of a tree, flower, animal, river, or mountain. There is no object which is thought of as more suitable for a girl or a boy to be named after, and the Chewong do not appear to use the same names for different people, nor call children after relatives or ancestors. "There are plenty of names", I was told when I enquired if people used the same name; meaning, I take it, that there are lots of objects in nature from which a person may take his or her name. As soon as a child has been named, he or she is then referred to and called by that name by everyone. This is the real name, chò lòi, of an individual. At some later stage a nick-name, cho punlao⁸ is also given to most people. There is no prescription upon this, however. There were a few people who did not have a nick-name, but I was unable to find out why this was so.

Nick-names may also be derived from natural objects and animals, but they often refer to a particular instance in the person's life, frequently one that was thought amusing. One man whose real name was Gadogn (a species of fruit) is known by all as Chalag (monitor lizard). This refers to an occasion when as a young man he was chasing a monitor lizard, trying unsuccessfully to kill it by hitting it with a stick. In some

cases one person may have several nick-names, either because different settlements associate them with different events, or because a new and important event may precipitate a new name. The only example of this I came across was one of Patong's nick-names, Pinto. Pinto is the Malay word for door or entrance and is used as such by the Chewong as well. In this instance, it refers to the fact that Patong entered pinto gahogn, the headwaters of rivers, where certain bi inhar live. This, of course, closely resembles the Temiar practice of changing a personal name upon an important event. The difference is that whereas the Temiar cease to employ the previous name, the Chewong just add the new one to the existing list. Patong's other names are Ta' Gajah, (grandfather elephant), which may refer to his powers as a putao and is the name he is usually known by, and Maning (a flower).

Members of certain affinal categories may not refer to each other by the real name, but always employ the nick-name, or a teknonym. The persons thus constrained are parents- and children-in-law of either sex, and spouse's siblings of either sex. In all cases they represent actual genealogical links, not classificatory categories. In practice, however, people tend to address each other by the nick-name. The real name is always given to outsiders, and is the one that features on their identity cards when they have them. They regard their nick-names with some embarrassment, which would seem to indicate that these are ritually more important, but I could find no other evidence for this.

They rarely refer to each other by relative kin term. The only exception being when ritual restrictions forbid one to use the real name. For instance, a man may refer to his son-in-law as his daughter's

husband. This may take place in an actual encounter as for example when Beng calls out, "Nyom's husband do you have some poison to give me?".

CHAPTER VII

RELATIVITY IN PERCEPTION

In the preceeding two chapters I have been discussing the various aspects of the conscious individual, or personage as I have also termed him, whether he be in human, animal, plant, or some other form. Because most of my data relate to the human personage, and because the Chewong are "humancentric" in their attributions to other species, I have mainly concentrated on their concepts regarding humans, but pointed out parallels and differences whenever possible. In my conclusion I suggested that each personage is species-bound, that is to say that there is something unique to each species of personage, manifested not only in their different bodies, but also in the collective representations of the species. I now wish to extend this discussion into the field of perception as the beliefs of the Chewong in this area are illuminating and provide further evidence for my general thesis. In effect I shall be arguing that all the various species of personage have different ways of perceiving reality, and that these differences are explained in terms of the eyes. Different conscious beings have, as a species, different eyes, med masign.

My presentation begins with the Chewong concept of hot and cool eyes, by which they make one boundary between human and super-human beings (others are blood and smell). I then proceed to a discussion of beings with different rather than cool eyes, and conclude that eyes and perception are intrinsically species-bound. The chapter concludes with a consideration of hot and cool as symbolic agents for thinking about humans versus superhumans.

Hot and Cool Eyes

I have already mentioned on several occasions that one way of distinguishing the superhuman beings from ordinary humans is to attribute cool eyes, med sedeig to the superhumans, and hot eyes, med abod, to humans. In what follows I wish to elaborate upon this distinction, particularly with reference to the putao, who, despite their humanity, are attributed with cool eyes. In fact they are often referred to simply as "people who have cool eyes," bi wo med sedeig. This is also a common way to refer to the bi inhar. Strictly speaking, only those putao who have dew as their spirit-guide, and whose hot blood has been exchanged for cool blood by the bi asal of Earth Six, are so described. In practice, however, any of the more knowledgeable putao may be included. In the human context a number of abilities are associated with cool eyes. Not only can the possessor see the superhuman beings, but he can also discern the "true" (lòi) nature of things, beings, and states, thus allowing deceptions to be unveiled and illnesses to be diagnosed and cured.

Ordinary people do not see the superhuman beings. "Our eyes do not meet them," med he han yao, they say. During a nöpoh only those who have cool eyes are able to find the lost ruwai of the patient. The rest cannot see it. Nor would they be able to see the bas, yinlugen, or whoever had taken the ruwai. In the situation of a nöpoh all those who have a spirit-guide (and here I refer to ruwai rather than wòng hien) are able to watch the progress of the putao's journey. The rest of the people present are unable to see any of this or the bi hali who arrive at the house, but they can smell their sweet scent. Nor can they see any other superhuman beings who might arrive, but they are told

about who is there by the putao in his singing.

The great putao are able not only to see a superhuman being, but also to summon them during a nöpoh and a dream. To do so outside the context of a nöpoh, with its singing and drumming and various other paraphernalia, is regarded as a superior way of making contact.

I witnessed on such encounter when Al was asked by Beng to come to Gambir. There had been a lot of minor illnesses at the Latah Tujuh settlements, and Beng felt that a contact with some friendly superhuman beings might alleviate the situation. All members from the two settlements were summoned, and some people accompanied Al from Sentao and Gandah. A lot of excitement preceded the event, with the women preparing for a feast and the men providing the game to be eaten, since the encounter would be followed by a "big eat", cha manung. Like a nöpoh, this ceremony could take place only after dark, as no superhuman beings may be contacted during daylight. Towards the afternoon, Al, Lamait, Laneg, Beng, Kwe, and several of the adolescent boys went up to the waterfall at Latah Tujuh to bathe. They wanted to make their bodies cool, bi sedeig, for the ceremony. When they returned, Al started preparing several bowls with the special wood chippings, òz taba, and lit these in all corners of the house some time before everyone gathered inside. Al took fistfuls of the incense smoke and blew it in the four cardinal directions. No special order seemed to be observed. This was done to attract the attention of the bi inhar he wanted to come. Finally night fell. Everyone went inside. Al, Beng, Kwe, Lamait, and Laneg sat apart on a lower extension to the main part of the house. Al and Beng in turn blew the incense and uttered an abbreviated version of the nightly

"prayer". Then all lights were extinguished and everybody was told to be quiet. Total silence reigned for about fifteen minutes, after which Al sighed and said, "I want to sleep." Beng then gave instructions for the lights to be lit. "They have all gone home now," he said. The only activity I could ascertain being carried out during the period of silence was the constant tending of the òz taba bowls, which under no circumstances should be allowed to go out.

During this time eight female bi inhar had arrived at the platform where the men were sitting. Al, who was responsible for summoning them, expressed the great effort this involved by saying how exhausted he was. Apart from him, only Lamait, who had not previously encountered any superhuman beings, saw the bi inhar. This event was important since as far as the rest of the Chewong were concerned, it established Lamait as a "person with cool eyes". One of the bi inhar women, who were from the source of a nearby river, and "very beautiful", became his wife on this occasion. The other three men just said, with disappointment, that their eyes were hot and that they had not seen the bi inhar.

Cool eyes are of significance in another respect. They enable the possessor to see objects and deeds invisible to other people, and, for example, to see through outward deceptions such as when a human being is wearing an animal cloak.

There are many myths that deal either explicitly or just in passing with the ability of the putao to see the "real" or "true" (lòi) personage of the being, be it human, animal, plant, or superhuman, or the actual state of affairs. Often the putao pretends to stupidity or incompetence, whereas in fact because of cool eyes as well as powerful

spirit-guides he or she can see what is happening anywhere and who it is who is acting. In Myth 14, for instance, Bòngso knew that his brothers were trying to rescue the girl from the elephants and how they cheated their aunt by pretending to have killed them. This was why he also went to the aunt's house and made his own preparations for attacking the elephants. In Myth 15 Bòngso knew that the howaw fruit without thorns was really a tiger so he refrained from eating it when the fruit was offered to him. In Myth 12 the yinlugen of the dead girl looked horrible only to Bòngso's brothers; Bòngso himself could see what the real body of the girl was like. And in Myth 13 Bòngso could see that the woman who offered presents was really a totn fruit who had unfriendly designs upon her.

The ability of those with cool eyes to see how things "really" are is not limited to the unveiling of deceptions (of which there are numerous other examples in the mythology). For instance, Aeh's father was by all accounts a great putao. To illustrate this man's mystical powers I was told the following story. One day he was up on Mount Benom with a group of other men when they saw a siamang. Nobody had brought their blow-pipes with them, but some bi inhar gave a blow-pipe to Aeh's father. The others could not see this. He shot at the siamang and it fell. When the others saw the ape fall they became very frightened. They thought that it had been killed by bas, but Aeh's father told them to go and fetch it. Despite their reluctance he insisted, and when they came to the fallen siamang, they saw that a dart was protruding from its side. Aeh's father could thus not only see the blow-pipe and use it, but could also make the previously invisible dart visible.

Cool eyes are also essential in healing. Ideally a putao

should be able to see the cause of any ailment. He should see who has attacked the patient, what the attack consists of, and how to effect the cure. In the same way that to contact the superhuman beings without the aid of a nöpoh is superior, so it also displays a putao's great healing powers if he can do this without conducting a nöpoh. The great putao of the past disdained to conduct nöpoh, and to employ all the paraphernalia of these. There was no problem for them. "No need to sing and drum, no need to wear headbands and bandolier" people used to say. What these putao did instead was bla med. Bla (cf. Malay belah, cut open) normally means to cut something in half, but in this instance they bla med by cooling their eyes in the incense smoke of an òz taba bowl and saying powerful spells. Then they were able to see the cause of a disease as well as curing it.

I have already shown how various superhuman beings may attack and cause disease in humans, and how these attacks may manifest themselves as ruwai loss or in bodily pain. A bas for instance sets up traps all over the forest to catch pig ruwai. A human being may be caught inadvertently in one, and injured, although he is unable to see this for himself. The cause being invisible to the ordinary hot eye, the result is also invisible, and it may manifest itself in symptoms such as sharp pains in the body, a sore throat, or a fever. A great putao may be able to see what the problem is, and furthermore, he may be able to make it manifest and for all to see.

I observed this on three occasions. The putao in all cases was Ceī, deftly assisted by his wife Gòl. Ceī started by cooling his eyes, face, hands, and torso in the smoke from the òz taba, all the while muttering spells. Gòl similarly cooled herself, but less demonstratively.

She did not as far as I could see make invocations. The patient sat in front of Ceī, and the house was full of people watching expectantly. Ceī appeared to be completely absorbed and unaware of his surroundings. He blew smoke through his right fist all over the patient's body, concentrating on the painful spot. He then infused some leaves over the bowl, muttered spells over them, and with these held in his right hand, rubbed the painful spot while blowing smoke on it through his left hand. Finally he removed the leaves and placed them in a bowl prepared for the purpose. This he handed over to another man who concentrated very hard on the bowl with the leaves (having already cooled himself in the smoke). He muttered spells, took the leaves out of the water, placed them on another leaf on the floor and unwrapped them. On each of the three occasions I witnessed there was something inside. Once it was an animal tooth; this indicated that a bas had bitten the patient. On the second occasion it was a fish bone; this indicated that a bas had thrown his spear at the sick person. The third time it was a piece of wood which was the dart from the blow-pipe of a bas.

In each of these instances the injury suffered by the human patient was inflicted by a bas attacking in a manner similar to that employed by humans in hunting. The difference lay in the weapon used. But to a bas a fish bone is a spear, a piece of wood is a dart etc. When a bas is confronted by a fish bone, he sees a spear. This brings us to another distinction made by the Chewong in their concept of seeing, namely that all species of conscious beings have different eyes, and in the Chewong modes of thought, a different way of perceiving reality.

Different Eyes

The behaviour of non-human conscious personages is explained by the Chewong in terms of each species having different eyes, not only from each other, but also from humans. To my question "why do bas eat ruwai?" I was always told that bas have different (masign) eyes and that when they look upon a ruwai what they see is meat, (ai). This of course conforms to my earlier assertion that the Chewong do not accuse the superhuman beings who attack them of malevolent intentions, since they are only carrying out their necessary activities, just as humans do; but ^{that they} perceive the objects required as food differently.

Similar examples occur in the case of animals attributed with ruwai in the sense of consciousness. It was explained to me that dogs, for example, which eat human faeces (generally that of babies within the house or the settlement) only do this because when they look at a faeces they see a banana. As far as humans are concerned, to eat faeces is dirty, kama. The Chewong were ambivalent in their attitude to dogs, and they were always eager to proffer this explanation to me, thereby as it were absolving the dogs from an otherwise unacceptable act.

The story about the man who became a tiger and then pursued his human family in order to eat them is also illuminating (Myth 15). Towards the end of the story when the tiger has been killed by Bôngso, Bôngso revives him briefly by blowing smoke from òz taba over him in order to ask him why he wanted to attack them. The tiger replied, "I do not remember. All I wanted was meat. When I looked at you (plural) all I saw was meat." In other words, the brother had changed into a real

tiger and looked at the world around him with the eyes of a tiger. Consequently, to him humans were nothing more than potential meat, just as monkeys are to humans, I was told by the storyteller.

This story also provides further evidence for my earlier conclusion about personages being species-bound. Bòngso had killed his metamorphosed brother, and the view might be held that he had in effect killed his brother. The tiger-brother had, however, ceased altogether being human. This is not a case of someone changing his cloak temporarily, it is a total metamorphosis. The point is brought out by Bòngso posing his question – a question important enough to necessitate revivifying the tiger – since the answer absolves Bòngso of any suspicion of fratricide. Bòngso was entitled to kill him since his brother had entered wholly into the world of tigers, and by so doing had adopted the collective representations of the tigers' social world.

The same point is illustrated by Myth 16 in which a father changes into a keoi (the sort of bas who eat human bodies rather than their ruwai). Again the transformation is complete, and it was caused by the man licking his knife in order to alleviate his hunger. That this is a metamorphosis rather than the possession of an alien personage must be emphasised. The Chewong are quite clear on this point. There is a complete transformation of the human personage into a tiger personage in one case and into keoi personage on the other. In both myths it is stated that the eyes of the main characters changed, and that following this change the personage viewed the external world in a different manner, and according to different values, than do human personages. They became, or turned into, tiger; ka yedi kle⁹, or keòì; ka yedi keòì. In neither of these myths is it possible to revert the metamorphosis. Only

death can put a stop to the activities of these beings. In the myth about the man who turns into a tiger, his body changes as well as his eyes (and personage), and it is obvious for all to see what has happened. In the case of the man who becomes keòi, it is only his eyes (and his personage) that change, whereas his body remains the same. It is not possible for people to know that he is a keòi, although I was told that if a person with cool eyes had been present, he or she would have seen the true state of affairs.

As Myth 16 demonstrates (as does Myth 23 about nab, said to be very similar to keòi) as well as other other myths not included, it is in the "nature" of keòi to pretend to be human. The keòi know that if they can hope to obtain human flesh, or that which they covet even more, human blood and stomach contents, they must pretend to be ordinary humans. But the point that must be emphasised yet again is that the Chewong explain the behaviour of keòi in terms of their having different eyes. There is never any intimation that they are regarded as malevolent, or evil in any abstract sense. They only behave according to their "nature", as it were. So whereas humans must be on their guard against them, and are entitled to kill them should they ever be attacked by one, they do not represent an evil force opposed to other forces which are inherently good.

There are numerous examples of how the Chewong envisage the animate conscious world around them (i. e. those species with ruwai in the sense of personage) as perceiving reality differently from both humans and other species of personages. The story that perhaps sums this up most succinctly is Myth 16 about Bòngso in the elephants land.

Elephants have ruwai and are personages. In their own land,

which even has a name, Moödn, they appear as human beings, beri. Bongso's spear in the elephant's flank ceases to look like a spear once the elephant returns to Moödn and becomes a man. Then its presence is manifested by a severe illness. The other elephant people cannot see it, but Bòngso can – presumably because it is of his own world – and he removes it thereby curing the elephant-man. The analogy with conceptions about attack by bas on humans is obvious. When bas shoot their darts or spears at human beings, these cannot be seen, but they do cause illness. The putao can, through the aid of the smoke and spells, both see and extract these weapons. The same applies to the elephants. Although they appear in human form, they are not really human personages, otherwise they would perceive reality in the same way.

There are numerous other examples that may be quoted in support of my argument, but I will restrict myself to just a few more regarding different sorts of beings. When there is a taladen storm, one way to appease the Original Snake is for the putao to take a piece of bamboo and fly down and give this to her. When she looks upon the bamboo she sees a bushknife, and since she cannot obtain these in her own world she accepts this as sufficient recompense, and the storm ceases.

When someone has died, the yinlugen roams the settlement seeking to abduct the ruwai of the living. At night the putao sits at the opening of the house and waves an attap leaf in the air. When the yinlugen sees this it is frightened and runs away. This is because it sees the leaf as a spear.

The final example concerns a change in the collective ideas

regarding the non-human world. I was told that the canes known as Malacca cane, seg manao, have ruwai and "are people" and this was the reason given for not cutting them down and selling them despite the high prices offered. One day some young boys could not resist the temptation any longer and sold a few lengths. The resulting radios, biscuits, and other consumer goods seduced the rest of the Chewong, and within three weeks it was general practice despite the earlier protestations to the contrary. They were, however, extremely uneasy about their behaviour, fearing that disease would ensue. Then one night Al had a dream in which he met some bi inhar. They told him that they were angry with the Chewong for taking all their "sweet potatoes". It turned out that the Chewong had been mistaken in their assumption that the canes were people who should not be killed. Instead they were the sweet potatoes of some bi inhar. The offence was still there, certainly, but its severity had been reduced. It was explained to me that when the bi inhar saw humans cutting down the cane, they saw porcupines digging their sweet potatoes. It was therefore to be expected that they would erect their traps around the cane, just as people would if porcupines were eating their crops. Therefore whenever someone was planning to go in search of the cane he would make a special invocation the night before to the bi inhar in question and offer them the smoke instead of the cane. Apologies for the act were made.

Conclusion

I have been extending my discussion of the idea of personages into the area of perception, and I have shown that each species of personage has eyes which are different from those of other species. What this means

is that they all perceive reality differently. There is therefore a uniquely human way of seeing the world, a siamang way, a tiger way, a keòì way, a bas way, a bi asal way, etc. Whether the totality of objects and beings is perceived differently by the various species is unimportant. As far as the Chewong are concerned the principle is established, and can be drawn upon to accomodate whatever may arise out of specific circumstances. As such the principle of differential perception provides the Chewong with an interpretation of acts and events which are otherwise inexplicable. It forms one aspect of their theory of causation. Another, and a related one, is the principle of rule-governed behaviour to be discussed in my next chapter. The examples that occur chiefly relate to food and disease, concerns with which the Chewong themselves are preoccupied, and also where they most frequently encounter non-human and superhuman personages.

In view of the above, one may suggest that Chewong posit a relativistic view of reality. As far as members of a particular species are concerned, the world that they view is the true one. Indeed, if this were not the case they would be unable to act. What is interesting, however, is that implicit in the Chewong conception is a basic belief in the "psychic unity" of all personages regardless of their being human, animal, plant, or superhuman. The Chewong do however, display a distinctly "humancentric" view of other species in so far as they posit the same wants, needs, and modes of rationalising for all personages. What differs between them is their ideas regarding what constitutes food, weapons, and other objects, both cultural and natural. So whereas one object looks like a piece of bamboo to me, and I treat it according to

the function I attribute to bamboo, the Original Snake when looking at the identical piece of bamboo sees a knife and uses it as such. What I see as smoke from a bowl of òz taba, the bi hali see as their staple, and so on.

We have also seen how the eyes are really part of the identity of ^apersonage. When someone dons the body of another species, he or she continues to see and act according to the mode of the original species. If a man puts on a tiger cloak, for instance, he continues to see the world as would a human being. Similarly, when a keòì appears in human shape he continues to see the world as a keòì, although he may, when in contact with humans, pretend otherwise, as does the human in tiger body when encountering true tigers. It is only when a complete metamorphosis has taken place, as when the personage changes from a human to that of a keòì or a tiger, that the vision also changes.

Human beings have hot eyes. Only the putao who, in some contexts is classed with the superhuman beings, has cool eyes. The human putao is unique in being the only personage able to see, when in the different non-human and superhuman "worlds", in the same way as members of those worlds see their reality, without losing his ability to see as a human being at the same time. It is through the medium of the putao that the rest of the Chewong obtain their knowledge about the non-human and superhuman worlds.

Other meanings of med

In view of the significance of the eye, med, in the preceeding discussion, it may be useful, before continuing, to consider issues raised

by Barnes in an examination of the Austronesian word mata, one meaning of which is eye, and which is probably related to the Mon mot (eye, cutting edge) and the Vietnamese mat (eye, link of a net) (Barnes 1977: 303) and to which the Chewong med must be assumed to be related. The semantic range of the word mata is extremely wide throughout the Austronesian languages. Among these are: eye, focus, centre, orifice, numerical coefficient for things numbered by orifices such as rungs of a ladder or the meshes of a net, cutting edge, point, source, fountainhead, desire (303–304). Barnes, rejecting a single or original meaning explanation, suggests that one must "regard mata as corresponding to a significantly interrelated family of concepts" and that as such it "shows persistent connections with the idea of transition", and that on the psychological level there may be a "cultural use of the eye as a natural symbol" (302).

Since I did not read his article until after I had completed the field work, I am unable to compare his examples of mata to the Chewong med in detail, but my impression is that med does not appear in as many different contexts as does mata. Rather than med, the word for head, koyī, is employed to indicate source, point, and circular objects. Thus the source of a river is koyī tam, a nipple is koyī boh, the crown of a tree is koyī yiho, and the pointed end of a dart is koyi tenlaig, the round lid of the quiver is koyī lug, a saucepan lid is koyī priyog, etc. etc.

Whereas I was struck by the widespread and varied use of koyī, the Chewong use of med did not similarly bring itself to my attention. My notes reveal only three instances beyond that of eye. Firstly, med katò means "eye" of the day (i. e. the sun). Secondly, the tiny dots

used as design on blow-pipes and women's cane girdles are also called med. In these cases the word is followed by the name of an animal (e.g. the worm or caterpillar, med komai) and I always assumed that this was a representation of the animal's eye; but it may be that it is the shape that is referred to. Thirdly, they have an expression tot med which means "dizzy". I do not know what tot means, but in this instance (unlike med katò and med komai) med is here in a grammatical position of a qualifier which would indicate that something is happening to the eyes. To be tot med, however, is described as seeing the world upside down, and this may be caused by spinning round and round. It can also be caused by the glance of Ta' Tyo (see page 163), and persistent tot med means that the person is "mad" gila (cf. Malay gila, mad, insane). It is interesting to note that a definition of madness relates specifically to perception and the eyes. Interestingly enough, Barnes points out that "the Proto-Austronesian 'ulu' (head, beginning) is as widespread as mata and shares with it many similar references." The same applies to puhun (trunk, base, origin, and he suggests that "mata cannot be elucidated without concomitant study of terms like 'ulu' and puhun to which it is sometimes linked" (310). But whereas in the Austronesian languages these two terms do not take on as varied meanings as does mata, in the Chewong context the opposite appears from my unsystematic data to be the case.

The linguistic link between the eye and the sun may very possibly be a conceptual link as well. According to Barnes "the association between objects in the heavens with eyes goes well beyond Asia Extensive examples and references have been given for the representation of the sun, moon, planets, and stars as eye in traditions of Europe,

Africa, Asia, the Americas, and in modern poetry" (313). In the Chewong case the analogy is specific. Consider that the sun, med katò, on Earth Seven is hot, whereas the suns on Earths Six, Eight, and the various non-human worlds on Earth Seven are cool. Consider then that all the superhuman beings who inhabit the various worlds with cool suns are all attributed with cool eyes, whereas human beings who live under a hot sun have hot eyes. Finally, the combination cool sun, cool eyes means immortality; and that of hot sun, hot eyes means mortality. The putao, the mediator between humans and superhumans, has cool eyes but he lives under a hot sun.

Hot and Cool as Symbolic Categories

I have on several occasions noted the Chewong distinction between the two states associated with temperature: hot and cool. I have suggested that the concepts are used symbolically as a means for distinguishing categories. I now wish to examine these concepts in more detail since they appear to be of extreme importance in Chewong symbolic classification, and in so far as the Chewong have values incorporated in their modes of thought, this is one place where it may be said to exist since coolness is invariably superior to heat. I now want to examine the significance of the opposition.

The first and obvious contrast in the Chewong use of the concepts is that established between human beings and their world on the one hand, and superhuman beings and their worlds on the other. At the simplest level of analysis everything human is hot and everything superhuman is cool. Earth Seven as it belongs to humans, plants and animals, whether conscious personages or otherwise, is hot. Earths

Five, Six, and Eight, Pulao Klam, Plantor as well as the habitats of the various personified bi asal on Earth Seven and elsewhere, and the different worlds of the bi inhar on Earth Seven, are all cool. What does this distinction signify?

Cool indicates health, immortality, and fertility. It is because of its cool sun that it is cool on Earth Six and the fruit trees up there bear all the year round. It is because the various superhuman beings have cool blood that they do not fall ill and die. Conversely it is because human blood (and bodies) are hot that we suffer illness and death, and it is because the sun of Earth Seven is hot that the fruit season is so short and at such long intervals. This has all been stated before, where I suggested that the Chewong are in a dilemma regarding their own state because theoretically they have the means to dispel the heat of their own bodies, although not that of their habitat, yet they will not do so. The bi asal and the bi inhar are frightened by the heat on Earth Seven and have to be induced to come here, and even then they will stay only for short periods.

So far I have been using the words "hot" and "cool" as if they were self-explanatory. I will now pause for a moment in order to consider what they mean in the Chewong context. Abod (hot) is used to describe the feeling of heat in the body. If one sits or works outside in the sun, one seeks shelter because one is abod. The eyes and blood and bodies of ordinary humans are abod. The body of a person with a high temperature is abod (it may also be said to be hale). The area close to the fire is abod, but the fire itself and food including boiling water and saucepans just removed from it are loig. Similarly, although the sun on Earth Seven is abod, I suspect that it is its effect on humans which is abod,

and were the Chewong ever to come very close to the sun they would say that it was loig. Hot weather as opposed to overcast, rainy etc., is known as pòr.

Tokad (cold) is the opposite extreme to abod. Few states or things in the Chewong environment warrant the application of this word, but there are sufficient examples of usage to give a gloss on it. Whereas unheated water is usually known as cool water, tam sedeig, the waterfall at Latah Tujuh is tokad, and when they jump into it they shout "tokad!" Children having spent a long time bathing come up shivering, saying they are tokad. Whenever someone is shivering with cold in a fever (probably malaria) they are said to be tokad. The two states of tokad and abod are therefore seen as equally undesirable. They are both associated with disease, they are both actively avoided, and they are classed together as opposed to the desirable state of coolness, sedeig. Sedeig is of course the state of the superhuman beings, with whom the Chewong contrast themselves. A quick bath makes the body sedeig, the forest is sedeig, ordinary unboiled water is sedeig, and smoke from òz taba is sedeig.

If human beings want to communicate with those superhuman beings regarded as helpful, they must induce a state of coolness in order to facilitate the contact. The best mediator is the dew putao who has had his blood exchanged with the cool blood of the superhumans and who has dew as one of his spirit-guides. In these ritual contexts he is classified with the superhuman beings. The dew putao can travel to the worlds of the various superhuman beings, and up to Earth Six. When people talk about the dew putao they always emphasise their coolness. They are said to be able to work in the hot sun without perspiring, they can

hold hot embers in their hands without being burnt, and, as discussed in the previous chapter, they are able to see the superhuman beings and non-ordinary realities because their eyes are cool.

The emphasis on coolness in connection with adeptness in esoteric matters is found among other Orang Asli groups also. The Batek for instance say of a shaman, hala' te' that he can "be recognised by his having the clear, colourless blood of the hala' asal. Also he would not sleep near the fire like ordinary Batek" (Endicott 1979: 129); and the Temiar, though not employing the same metaphors, can nevertheless be seen to associate coolness with shamanistic behaviour. The spirit-guides are also related to water. According to Benjamin the spirit-guides "make their appearance as the watery emanation aspect of the upper-body soul of their everyday form" (1967: 246). And again, "the spirit-guide appearing to the shaman as a 'rain-like object' – he (the shaman) holds out his hand to meet them, and they collapse into his palm, liquifying into the watery state of kahyak" (247).

Putao who are not dew putao but are nevertheless able to conduct a healing nōpoh need to make themselves cool before contact may be made with the superhuman world. We have already seen how Al went to bathe in cold water before he summoned the bi inhar. He did this explicitly because he wanted a cool body, bi sedeig. We have also seen how Ceĩ cooled his face and body in the smoke from òz taba. The reason was made explicit. At first when I observed this action I was reminded of someone washing with smoke instead of water. It was therefore tempting to think in terms of pollution and of the smoke as a means to achieve a state of ritual cleanliness. This is not, however, the correct interpretation of the Chewong behaviour. This assertion is further substantiated when we

consider the Chewong prohibition on sexual intercourse before and during a series of healing seances. This prohibition is encountered in many other cultures, but it is usually interpreted as preventing the pollution of the participant for his encounter with the "sacred". I would like to suggest that this may be an ethnocentric interpretation by the Western ethnographers. In the Chewong context, at least, the notion of pollution does not enter into the consideration of why a putao must not indulge in sexual intercourse at such times. Rather, it is the heat that is seen as ensuing from such an act that must be avoided, since the heat would preclude the bi inhar from descending to help the putao in conducting a successful healing operation.

It is not just the putao's responsibility, but that of the whole community, to ensure that a successful interaction with the superhuman world takes place. I was told that there had been times in the past when they held nöpoñ and the bi inhar and other spirit-guides refused to come because of the immense heat that had been generated by the enthusiastic love-making of the entire adult population.

The smoke from the òz taba is cooling. The putao employs it not only to cool himself, but also to cool the patient by blowing the smoke all over him in the manner already described. When one is sick one is said to be either hot, abod, or cold, tokad, and many of the healing activities consist in making the body cool. These two states can therefore be seen as classed together for the purposes of defining disease. There is an implicit opposition between hot and cold on the one hand and cool on the other. By placing the body of the patient in a symbolically cool state this can be interpreted as an attempt to place him in an ideal state contrasted to these two extremes. He is also thereby brought closer to the superhuman

beings.

The dew putao always brings back some dew from Earth Six in which he bathes the patient. This is the most powerful cooling agent. Lesser putao who are unable to enter Earth Six, are given dew by various bi inhar, especially those who are already associated with cool places, such as those who live in the underwater pools which are the sources of the rivers, or those who live high up on Mount Benom.

When someone is being cured by spells rather than by a full-scale nöpoh, the smoke is again utilised. But we often find that the spells do not "take", chab, in hot places, which is why people will sometimes leave their houses and the settlement in order to "sleep on the ground", abn ka te, having made several unsuccessful attempts to cure with spells and smoke. They go to the forest and spend some days in a lean-to. The forest is cool, and the ground is cool, so they expect the spells to take effect there.

The above discussion may be summarised by the following series of analogues:

Cool : hot :: forest : field :: smoke : fire :: ground : house :: health : sickness :: superhuman + putao : ordinary human :: immortal : mortal :: seeing : not seeing :: nature : culture :: ratn : ai

Chewong ideas regarding hot and cool may be interpreted in terms of a nature/culture dichotomy. On the ideological level, as cool is preferred to hot, so nature is preferred to culture. We have seen how the house and the field, both of which may be said to constitute "culture" are hot and unhealthy, whereas the forest, the epitomy of "nature", is cool and healthy.

Foods are classed implicitly according to whether

they are hot and cool. The Chewong do not explicitly state that certain foods are hot and that others are cool, but I think that the following may constitute sufficient evidence for me to make the connection. The Chewong are unambiguous in their assertion that human beings have hot bodies (and blood) as a direct result of them eating meat, and the bi asal on Earth Six have cool bodies (and blood) because they eat only fruit. The helpful bi inhar also have cool bodies (blood is unspecified) because they eat only the smoke from the òz taba. Furthermore, the Chewong make a linguistic distinction between the two types of food. Meat and fish of all kinds are called ai, whereas all types of staple vegetable foods and fruits are known as ratn. The Chewong say that when bas and yinlugen eat ruwai, the ruwai is their ai. When they look upon a ruwai, they see ai; when they go hunting for ruwai, they are in their own terms hunting for ai. Concomitantly, they assert that the fruit of the bi asal and the smoke of the bi inhar are their ratn. When we further consider that those who eat ai are hot, contract disease, and die, and those who eat ratn are cool, healthy, and immortal, I think one may posit the thesis that implicit in Chewong modes of thought is the assumption that ai is hot and ratn is cool.

In view of the above discussion the inclusion of the last set of pairs in my list of analogues ai : ratn, should by now be justified.

Despite what I have just been saying, there is one occasion when the elements under discussion are inverted. A new-born baby cannot leave the house, its head must be covered at all times, and it must be bathed in warmed water only. Both it and the mother spend all their time lying next to the hearth. The explanation for an inversion of normal attitudes can be found, I suggest, in the inherent attributes of a new-born human.

It is not yet incorporated into the society as a human being. It needs to be culturised. It is deliberately exposed to everything that symbolises human society: the swidden, the house, clothing, transformed (that is, heated) water, and fire. Conversely, contact with nature, that is the forest, the ground (outside the house), untreated water, nakedness, and coolness must be avoided.

At times of ^{other} life-crises we find a symbolic dis-association from what one may for present purposes call culture, imprecise though this term is. During healing processes^{es}, menstruation, and death a state of symbolic coolness has to be induced in order to facilitate the passage from one state to another. Coolness is the antithesis to the human condition.

Apart from being directly cooled with smoke and dew, the patient himself must take active steps to maintain this induced cool state by refraining from eating any of the foods which would make his body hot again. He must not eat meat, ai, of any kind because he would be eating blood, and blood as we have seen is hot. He must only eat vegetable matter, ratn, which, being cool, maintains his state of coolness. Moreover, the ratn cannot be cooked with any condiments, such as salt, chillies, lemon-grass, and oil, which, if eaten, would render his body hot. These condiments are not in themselves said to be hot, and I suggest that the reason for their prohibition is that they represent a sophisticated cooking method, cooking being quintessentially human. None of these prohibitions has to be observed if no ritual curing has taken place, even if a person is sick. This leads me to suggest that they are all directed at maintaining the cool state induced by the healing methods. Any breach of the sickness pantang (see next chapter) would reverse the healing process.

According to the Chewong, human beings will die if they do not eat meat and salt, so the enforced abstention from these foods is in effect a symbolic classing of themselves with the superhuman world. The healing person is placed outside of culture, where it is assumed that the healing may be effected. This is substantiated by the temporary abandonment of house and settlement for the forest which I have already said occurs when the spells do not take effect, and the ritual cooling methods are not sufficient.

So, to return to the set of analogies, the same relationship that obtains between hot and cool, also obtains between humans and superhumans, and between nature and culture. It is in this loose sense that I am employing the last two terms.

Menstruation, with its prolonged show of blood, may be said to place the menstruating woman in a state of heat. By denying herself meat, she is protecting her body from increased heat, from the blood in the flesh. I think this is what underlies the Chewong assertion that "blood must not be mixed with blood". The same applies to a woman following childbirth, when meat must not be eaten until the post partum bleeding has ceased.

Fire and Smoke as Agents of Transformation

It is an anthropological commonplace to say that fire is quintessentially the means of converting natural substances to human use. Cookery is the most obvious example, but it is in the Chewong context also true about their swiddens. Fire is a destroyer, but it is also a transformer, and I suggest that to the Chewong it is the heat of the fire rather than the flame that is significant in its role as transformer.

When talking about a fire generally, it is the heat aspect of it that is emphasised. I never heard its colour or the movement of the flames being referred to. The concept of heat is also (possibly because of this) used metaphorically to indicate transitions of less mundane kinds.

In several of the myths there occur persons who change irrevocably from one species of personage to another, signalling this change through sudden and inexplicable heat. All attempts at alleviating this sensation fail. Bathing in cold water does not help. In Myth 15 we see how the man who ate the howaw fruit began the transformation into a tiger when he became unbearably hot. In another myth (see Myth 25) the star that came to earth and married Bongso became unquenchably hot after eating the maggots; she then ceased being human and returned to the sky.

In the same way that fire (heat) transforms raw food into cooked food, and jungle into field, so heat symbolically transforms physical beings from one species to another. Fire (and heat) are associated with the transformation of actual physical objects, or individuals.

Coolness, which in the Chewong context is the antithesis to heat, can correspondingly be seen to stand for the transformation of states effected through the medium of smoke. We have seen how smoke is used as an agent whereby disease is transformed into health. Similarly, by referring to the myths, we see again and again how Bongso revives his dead siblings by blowing smoke over their bones. Here we are dealing with a transformation of the state of death into the state of life. Of course not all smoke serves this function. It is only the smoke from òz taba used

by a putao who knows all the right spells which is sufficiently potent to ensure the transformation. As fire is seen in terms of heat, smoke is seen in terms of coolness. Smoke is used metaphorically to stand for coolness. When an amulet has lost its power due to one of the restrictions connected with its use being broken, the power can only be restored by symbolically cooling it in the smoke from an òz taba. The change effected in this case is one from inefficacy to efficacy. By the same token, batteries used in radios are given a similar treatment when they begin to run down, or "become hot" as the Chewong would say.

One might ask why two aspects of a single phenomenon, the heat and smoke of the fire, are used to symbolise both heat and coolness, states usually thought of as antithetical. I think the answer may be found in the nature of fire itself. Burning can be seen as a self-generating perpetual transforming action of flames into smoke. The flames are hot, the smoke is cool. Furthermore there is a transformation of colour: flames are red, sowòd¹⁰, smoke is white, puteh. The dichotomy is contained not only within the same phenomenon, fire, but also, and more importantly, within the same process.

Smoke is used as a symbolic vehicle for several unrelated significations apart from coolness. We have seen that it is blown in the four cardinal directions at times of impending storms in order to provide alternative paths for the descending bi asal. Sweet-smelling smoke is blown to the helpful bi inhar in exchange for their help. In these cases the smoke is their food. Bad-smelling smoke is blown out in order to frighten bas when atmospheric conditions indicate their presence. (Whether smoke is good or bad depends on the incense from wood

chippings which is put in the òz taba bowl. The Chewong told me that some incense smells good, and other bad.) Smoke is also used to signify the presence of human beings, when these want to alert bas to the fact that they, rather than animals, are present. It can be used to cool an ant or a sick person, thus acting as agent for metamorphosis.

These examples serve to demonstrate again that one object or phenomenon may, within the same society, be made to stand for different and often unrelated ideas. In this case, smoke among the Chewong is a multifaceted vehicle for symbolic thought.

PART 3

NOTES

- 1 Strictly speaking the personal pronoun describing kamo should be "it", since in the French edition Leenhardt says that the term is applied without gender.
- 2 Lòi is usually translated by the Malay betul, correct, true. This is the most common meaning, and exclamations of lòi! can be heard when someone expresses disbelief at some information. It is also a value-loaded term when discussing similar objects, one of which is said to be the true one. Examples are numerous, e. g. step-children are called wòng gòi (child who is carried), whereas a biological child is a wòng lòi. Lòi is also used to emphasise something, as when one wants something very much, imeh lòi, or the weather is very hot, abud lòi.
- 3 There is no significance in shooting darts at the snake, though this is not usually done. Snakes are attacked with bushknives whenever they are encountered in the forest.
- 4 Rugn is another word for body encountered only in songs. It is possible that this was used in common speech in the old days before bajo became common usage. According to Blagden, derivations of the word brokn meaning body are found among Senoi of the Ulu Pahang area and in Perak (Skeat and Blagden 1906 vol. 2: 541).
- 5 To possess, or to have something, is always expressed in Chewong

by the prefix wò. Thus "I have a knife" is ing wò wang.

The word is also used to indicate a presence of something, as in "are there bananas in the house?" wò tiòg lam hyak? to which an affirmative answer would simply be "wò".

- 6 Bongsu in Malay means the youngest born. It is used in the Chewong myths as a personal name to indicate the youngest child of either sex. According to Chewong beliefs, all persons who are the youngest are also putao. A mythical character named Bongsu is therefore necessarily a putao and expected to accomplish extraordinary feats.
- 7 Sedap is Malay for pleasant, nice, agreeable. It has been assimilated into common Chewong usage to mean the same.
- 8 Chò also means "what", as in "what is that?" or more specifically "name it", chò noh? I do not know what punlao means, it did not appear in any other context.
- 9 The word yedi is probably taken from the Malay jadi, coming into existence, becoming, accomplishing its purpose. The Chewong use yedi in all myths when they describe the change from one state to another. They also just say "have", ka, as when they say "he had (got, obtained) different eyes", ka med masign.
- 10 Chewong colour classification is simple. They do not distinguish between red and yellow, both of which are called sowòd, or green and blue which are known as bolowòden; brown, black or any very dark colour is called se'eng; and white or any pale or shining colour is called puteh (cf. Malay puteh, white). They have a word for colour, however, namely ragi. None of these words or close approximations are listed by Blagden.

PART 4

RULES AND CLASSIFICATION

INTRODUCTION

In this fourth, and final, part I turn my attention to questions which, though separate, are connected in terms of my exposition; namely the rules which constitute the dominant restraint upon Chewong behaviour, and the problem of symbolic classification in Chewong modes of thought. The chapter which deals with the rules, though in part analytical, is mainly descriptive, and the data form the major basis for my discussion of the Chewong symbolic system which follows.

Chapter VIII thus describes in detail the numerous rules which govern Chewong behaviour; both the kind of acts that are forbidden, and the repercussions which will follow. There are three propositions which underlie my examination: firstly, that these rules constitute an important part of the Chewong moral universe, since they, together with the myths and the received knowledge about the superhuman beings, form the body of Chewong knowledge about their environment, their society, and their culture, i. e. the interaction between individual and society, and between society (including individuals) and nature and super-nature. The fact that the consequences of all breaches of the rules are administered by superhuman or non-human beings, and that some of these impinge not upon the offender, but upon the one(s) offended against, may account in part for the absence of a legal/political machinery among the Chewong. The rules thus inform the individual how to conduct himself or herself in order to pass through life in harmony.

Secondly, the rules constitute a theory of causation regarding

disease and mishaps of most kinds. Ideally, such mishaps do not occur unless a specific transgression has been committed, and the Chewong therefore conduct post facto investigations of behaviour in order to establish a diagnosis of a particular disease or accident, or an unusual natural phenomenon.

Thirdly, a close examination of the sorts of behaviour prohibited in the rules, reveals a remarkable emphasis upon control of the emotions. With the exception of those rules which are directly concerned with food, the rules prohibit most kinds of extravagant behaviour. But whereas most emotions are required by the rules to be suppressed, those of fear and shyness are positively encouraged. This question is taken up at the end of the chapter.

Chapter IX attempts to test the suggestion made at the end of Chapter IV, where I found that no underlying patterns could be discerned in the Chewong system of categorising superhuman beings. Attributes were scattered throughout the different nominal classes, the only binding factor appearing to be the names attributed to them. This finding was sufficiently unusual to prompt me to examine other areas of Chewong thought where categories could be seen to exist, the most obvious being the rules discussed in Chapter VIII, and I have therefore submitted these to a very close scrutiny.

While I was in the field, I realised that the rules were not immediately accessible to systemisation, and in view of this I tried to elicit as much information as possible about the kinds of acts which were forbidden, the objects involved, and the repercussions, with a view to subjecting these data to more rigorous analysis.

As a starting point I presented much of the material obtained in tabular form, but was even then unable to discern implicit principles

of organisation, and could establish none of significance. Wishing to test these findings further, I submitted my data to a principal components analysis with the use of a computer. The result differed from that usually obtained from similar analysis (in psychology for instance) in that it suggested an absence of any significant pattern in the classification under study. In view of my own findings, and those of the computer, I have suggested a redefinition of what may be said to constitute a class (in the sense of a multiplicity of elements united by a single name), namely that no other factor may be common among members of an assigned class beyond their membership of it, the criteria of membership being contingent.

CHAPTER VIII

RULES GOVERNING BEHAVIOUR

In this chapter I shall be discussing in detail the various rules which govern Chewong behaviour. Some of these rules have names which correspond to Malay words which mean "forbidden", "prohibited", or "taboo". What is prohibited in Malay folk tradition, as well as the kinds of repercussions envisaged, differ quite considerably from the Chewong rules and repercussions, and I do not regard it as unlikely that the names have been adopted from Malay usage at some time, but that the content has remained the same. We also find that several of the names are employed for similar rules among other Orang Asli groups, and brief mentions of these are made under each heading. For instance the Chewong rule of taladen whereby laughing at animals leads to thunderstorms, is found among all the Senoi and Negrito groups in very similar form. Others, such as maro and mali seem to be unique to the Chewong. But even where similarities exist, the Chewong place different emphasis and interpretation upon their prohibitions so that the body of the rules can be seen to be an expression of the Chewong world view and moral and social values. They certainly regard them as uniquely their own, different in significance, though maybe not superficially, to rules and practices known to exist among neighbouring Orang Asli. To the Chewong, the rules constitute part of their traditional knowledge, and they are the chief means whereby children are socialized. Since the rules encompass most daily activities, children soon learn their names, and the various activities associated

with them and the results of specific transgressions.

The rules to be discussed are taladen, punén, pantang, maro, tolah, tolaeg, tika, and tanko, and I shall deal with each in turn.

Taladen

What is clearly the same word is found among the Negritos, used in approximately the same way as by the Chewong. Thus Schebesta writes of the Kenta-Bogn of Kedah that, "A transgression of one of Kaei (sic) laws is called telaiddn The result of a telaiddn is called dos (Malay, dusa), guilt" (1928: 222). He also found the same word among the Kensiou of Kedah (253, 255), and among the Batek of Pahang. (276). Endicott reports the use of the word talán among the Batek Nong to mean "ordinary offences against the thunder-maker and the earth-snake" (1979: 155). Evans came across the term with the Batek Hapen who said that "Lai-oid lives under the earth. She makes talain. . . . if we laugh at, or play with ants, talain comes" (1937: 146). According to Dentan, the Semai use the word tarlaid to mean "to act in a way that might bring on a natural calamity" (1968: 23).

Among the Chewong there are two types of taladen, snake (or wind) taladen, and tiger taladen, and these are differentiated both by the cause that makes them happen and by the ensuing effect. Thus wind taladen (taladen hòng) also known as snake taladen (taladen talòden) is caused by laughing at animals, and is punished by the Original Snake beneath Earth Seven. By breathing heavily through her nostrils she produces a special kind of wind on Earth Seven. It blows along the ground only, and when it occurs during a thunderstorm, the Chewong know that someone has committed taladen and is about to be swallowed

by the Snake. There is also an accompanying upwelling of water. I already have described (page 121) the conciliatory measures which may be entered into to persuade the Snake to cease. Although the Chewong always stress that the Snake will swallow (ogòd) one if one commits taladen, no one could give any examples of this having ever occurred except in mythical times. The following legend was told me as an example of how the Chewong know about taladen and the repercussions of committing it.

Once there was a man who killed a large snake [they would always say that it was a boa constrictor]. He brought it home and cooked it. There was lots of good fat, and the man, his wife, and the other people ate it. It tasted very good. His son-in-law would not eat it and he told his wife not to do so. Nobody knew about taladen in those days. When they had eaten the snake, a strong wind blew up, it blew along the ground, and water began to well up from the earth. Water flooded everywhere and everybody climbed tall trees. After seven days the wind ceased. The people climbed down, all except the couple who had not eaten the snake. The houses had fallen down into holes in the earth. The Snake was waiting for them, and all the people fell down the holes and were gobbled up by the Snake. Only the couple who had not eaten snake meat

were safe. Since that day the Chewong have been frightened of eating snake, even though the meat has lots of fat.

The above is the version from the Chewong in the Krau Game Reserve. I was told the following version at Kg. Yol.

A long time ago some people killed a large snake, naga. They cooked it and ate the fat. There is a lot of nice fat on snakes. They did not cook the head, however. This they cut off and put on a nearby tree stump. All the people partook of the snake fat. When they had eaten, it began to rain and storm. Water welled up from the ground and the people climbed up a tall tree. The snake head which they had left became a real snake and when the people climbed down from the tree the snake swallowed them all. One couple only managed to escape. They ran towards a tall mountain. The snake followed, but they did not realise this. When they had built a small house, the wife, who was pregnant, went to bathe in a nearby river. After she had bathed, she sat down to comb her hair. She chose to sit on what she thought was a tree trunk, but it was the snake's head. She did not know this. The next day she was no longer pregnant. Her husband looked at her stomach and asked, "where is the

child in your stomach?" The wife did not know what had happened. Not only had she lost her unborn child, from then on she was barren. Once the snake had eaten all the people and made the woman barren, it became a bi inhar and moved to the sea which is its real homeland.

Though the details vary, these two myths tell virtually the same story, namely that to eat snake meat will be punished by the Original Snake who causes storms, winds and upwelling of subterranean water, and then gobbles up the offenders. In the Dong version there are no innocent by-standers who escape the waters, but the theme of a fleeing couple is there, although in this case they were not innocent, and the woman was duly punished by miscarriage and later barrenness – a different form of death. What is curious about these myths is that they make no reference to laughing at animals, the common cause given today for taladen talòden, yet whenever I asked for some explanation of why the Snake eats people I was always told the above myth, and people will refuse to eat snake meat, saying that to do so is taladen.

They are always explicit that it is taladen to laugh at animals, whether alive or dead, and that this will be punished in the way just described. The terms taladen talòden and taladen hòng are used interchangeably for either offence (eating snake meat and laughing at animals). When children are found teasing some animal, or playing noisily near a carcass, or meat being cooked or eaten, they are sharply told off, "Taladen! The Snake will gobble you up," taladen ogòd talòden.

Although most people recount the myth about eating snake meat, I was also told the following short account of what happened when someone laughed at an animal. This is different from the numerous stories of the "when I was a small boy" variety, and seems to belong in the realm of legends.

A man and his fiancée caught a live squirrel.

They took it home with them. They placed the squirrel in a baby sling which was suspended from the ceiling, and rocking it to and fro they chanted "bowei, bowei" just as they would a baby. It rained and stormed and water welled up from below. The house and the people were flooded out and gobbled up by the Snake. To do what they had done was very much taladen.

In this case the people concerned did not actually laugh at the animal, but they could be said to be teasing it. The story parallels one told by Evans about dressing up a monkey in human clothing which also resulted in thunderstorm and destruction (Evans 1923: 203). It is possible that the underlying reason for prohibition is that one should not submit other species to activities which mimic human behaviour. To "marry" a cat with a dog is taladen, further suggesting that boundaries between classes of beings must be upheld.

Although I was told about numerous incidents in which taladen storms had occurred as a direct result of someone having laughed at an animal, and observed several myself, I was never told a myth which

displayed the same causal link. Yet the Chewong are very specific about the restriction of laughter. They say that it is taladen to laugh, oglug, and made noises like "ha, ha" when they told me about it. In the following chapter about classification I shall be examining the attributes of the animals involved in the snake taladen rule. Here I wish to stress how strongly the Chewong adhere to it, and how diligently children are told off for laughing at, or near, animals of any kind. Expressions of levity must not occur in connection with such beings.

The second type of taladen is known as tiger taladen, (taladen kle) and does not concern emotions or inner states at all. It is invoked by mixing certain types of meat with certain other types, or with specific vegetables or fruits. The foods in question may not be eaten together at the same meal, cooked over the same fire, or even carried together in the same backbasket. If this is done, a tiger will attack and kill the offender. The Chewong have several legends that expound the dangers of tiger taladen. (See Myths 18 and 19.) Furthermore to eat elephant meat is elephant taladen, taladen gadja, and would lead to being attacked and killed by an elephant. Myth 19 is interesting in so far as it shows someone purposefully exploiting her knowledge of the taladen rule in order to attract the tiger.

The word taladen thus includes two very different concepts, namely that to laugh at animals leads to fatal thunderstorms, and that to mix certain types of foods leads to being attacked and killed by a tiger. With the exception of snake meat, the former rule refers exclusively to the matter of laughter, and the latter to eating. Modn once tried to explain the word to me. She took a leaf and said, "There are two different taladen,

one side is taladen talòden (and she indicated one half of the leaf whose central stem was clearly marked) and the other side is taladen kle (and she indicated the other half of the leaf).

From this one might deduce that it means nothing more than "prohibition" or "forbidden", and that it might stand for "taboo" as this word has come to be used. This would be a false interpretation, however, as is demonstrated by the fact that there are a number of other rules, in addition to taladen, which are applied in various contexts. The Chewong language makes no distinction between what we may call the name of the rule, e. g. taladen, the act that will lead to a punitive reaction, and the punitive reaction itself. In other words they do not distinguish between cause and effect in these particular instances. One may ask what an adult actually means when she calls out "taladen!" to a child who is laughing at or near an animal. Does she just mean 'forbidden', by which the child is expected to cease whatever it is it is doing? This is clearly not sufficient. The act of the child leads the adult to choose which particular word to admonish him with. Thus had he not been sharing his food, she would have called out "punén!" etc. So the act and the repercussions are united in the Chewong mind, and it is not possible to say which the word in specific cases actually is referring to. There is an added difficulty, namely that several of the rules encompass different causes and effects, viz. snake taladen and tiger taladen discussed above. In all these cases, however, the offending act identifies the repercussions to be expected. It is therefore not necessary to state what kind of taladen is being committed when admonishing someone, the offender knows by his act whether it is wind taladen or tiger taladen and it is necessary only to call out "taladen!".

An interesting aspect of the laughter taladen is that it does not apply only to human beings, it is equally taladen for non-human beings to laugh at members of other species. Thus I was told that to go up on Benom is always fraught with danger because taladen may be caused by the superhuman beings who live up there and whose bodies are green. Whenever they see human beings, they cannot refrain from laughing at the sight. They find us ugly because our bodies are black. But by laughing at us they provoke a taladen storm, in which the humans might be hurt by falling trees, although they would not be swallowed by the Snake.

This example is yet another piece of evidence for my submission that the Chewong do not distinguishing conceptually between human and superhuman beings, and indeed attribute to other species of personages similar values and constraints. In this particular instance, the identical rule is operational in both worlds, and the repercussions are also the same.

Punén

The Malay kempunan means "a calamity, misfortune, owing to not having satisfied an urgent desire to eat some particular thing" (Baru 1976). Similar concepts are used by various groups of Orang Asli. The Semai for instance, employ the word punan to mean "a sort of 'taboo' that keeps people from breaking the rules of food distribution" (Dentan 1968: 55). Elsewhere he defines it as "1) A frustrated desire that makes one sick or accident prone. 2) An action which produces such a mental condition, for example hurting someone's feelings. 3) The rule against committing such actions. 4) More generally, taboo at all times.

5) The sickness or accident-proneness resulting from punan acts " (107). The Semelai use the term penon to describe injunction on the consumption of certain types of food as well as "to describe a certain state of psychological vulnerability which someone is put into if he or she fails to consume certain categories of food at certain times" (Hood 1978: 110).

Among the Chewong there are several kinds of punén, most of which are concerned directly with the suppression of emotions. Transgressions are in all cases punished by attack by a tiger, snake, or poisonous millipede. The actual animal may bite, or its ruwai may do so, and in either case the result will be an actual wound on one's body or some form of disease.

The first type of punén to be discussed has social ramifications in so far as transgression does not affect the offender but whoever is offended against. Implicit in this punén is that not to share is antisocial. The Chewong do not put it like this; they say that one must not nurture desires which are not easily fulfilled. In the Chewong context desires are most likely to occur upon seeing someone eating. If one is not immediately invited to share the food, the unfulfilled desire which would ensue puts one in a state¹ of punen. To "eat alone", cha tod, is the ultimate "sin" in Chewong eyes, and there are several myths testifying to this. (See Myth 20)

The Chewong take all possible precautions against provoking punén. All food caught in the forest must be brought back and publicly revealed immediately. It is then shared out equally among all the households. The women cook it and then share the food in equal portions among all the members of their own household. As soon as a carcase

is brought back, and before it has been divided up, someone of the hunter's family touches it with his finger and makes a round touching everyone in the settlement, each time saying "punén". They usually touch with their right index finger on to the hand, lower arm, or ankle. This is another way of announcing that the food will soon be theirs, and to refrain from desiring it yet awhile. Similarly, when it is being cooked, the woman responsible will call out to those present, "It is very slow in cooking, but it will soon be ready," thereby again ensuring that no one need fear that he or she is not going to receive their full share. If guests arrive while the hosts are in the middle of a meal, they are immediately offered a share. If they refuse, saying they have just eaten, they are touched with a finger dipped in the food, while the person touching says "punen".

Once a desire has been voiced, the person who can satisfy it must immediately do so. If he refrains, the person refused will suffer the consequences of punén. But even unvoiced desires are as liable to provoke the same repercussions. In fact people hardly ever make overt requests for anything, and the fear of punén may easily have prevented people from requesting gifts from me. I can recall only one instance when I was solicited to give. An old woman, Mag, asked me to give her a whet stone, which I duly did. The rest of the Chewong, when they heard what Mag had done, commented unfavourably upon her behaviour. Of course, if I had refused, it would have been because of my failing to satisfy her desire that Mag would have been bitten by a tiger, snake, or whatever.

Whereas all food must be shared out under penalty of punén, only certain non-foodstuffs are subject to the same injunctions. These

are objects brought from afar, tyotn. Thus bamboo for baking the tapioca bread must be shared equally among all households if the gatherer had to go very far to obtain them. If the bamboo grows close to the settlement, he (or she) may collect for himself (or herself) only. They will express the differences as bamboo far away, lao tyòtn, or bamboo nearby, lao duah. If the nearby river dries out and water has to be carried some distance, it again has to be shared, but daily water collection from the usual source does not. I suggest that a possible explanation for this is that daily requirements which are easily satisfied are not thought to provoke any desires in others whenever these are observed to be satisfied, but if special efforts are necessary to meet ordinary needs, then desire for such objects might easily arise in those who had not bothered to collect some for themselves, and hence punén is invoked on such occasions.

Even if one does not want something that has been brought back, one has to be made publicly and specifically aware of the existence of the thing, by touch if not by the receipt of an actual share. The following example exemplifies this. I had once gone with a group of people for a visit to Pyapez where everyone chewed nuts from a betel-nut tree which grows nearby. No one offered me any, knowing full well that I would decline. Shortly afterwards I was walking into the forest on my own and was much frightened by a sudden encounter with a large snake. When they heard about it, everyone immediately stretched out their betel nuts for me to touch, all the while exclaiming "punén! punén!". When I suggested that it could not be punén since I did not want any betel nut, they insisted that maybe I wanted some just

a little bit.

I have said that the consequences of placing someone in a state of punén is that that person will be bitten by a tiger, a snake, or a poisonous millipede. In these cases the Chewong do not distinguish between the actual animal and its ruwai. I have several times heard people say, "If it is not a tiger that bites, then it is a snake; if not a snake then a millepede; if not a real tiger etc., then its ruwai." The attack may manifest itself as an injury or as some disease. Kwe once came home saying that he had been bitten by a snake on his big toe. He had not seen the snake, but he had a sharp pain in the toe. He had dug around in it to see if it could have been a splinter but had found nothing, so he assumed it was caused by a snake. It began to swell, and became more and more painful as the days went by, and people began to think back to locate the cause. They soon realised that when a few days earlier some of the men had brought back from Mount Benom an ingredient for making poison, they had not given Kwe any. It was assumed that he did not need any and Kwe claimed not to have wanted it at the time. But it now was realised that punén had in fact been committed, and Kwe was certain that he had been bitten by the ruwai of a snake rather than by the snake itself.

Punén can also be self-imposed by not fulfilling a desire which it is within one's power to satisfy. For instance, if one wants to smoke, one must stop whatever one is doing in order to gratify this wish. In these two aspects of punén the emphasis is upon not only the suppression of the expression of the emotion, but, more importantly, upon the suppression of the emotion itself. In one case the rule is directed towards social behaviour and responsibilities, in the other the

responsibility is only towards oneself. In both cases the repercussion is attack by a tiger, snake, or millipede.

The next two varieties of punén have the same consequences of being attacked by the animals mentioned, but the causes are quite different. Furthermore, in both cases it is the actual animals, never their ruwai, that attack. They are both invoked by "speaking badly", klugn yabud. One form of speaking badly is to shout out in the event of personal misfortune. The words krid, mas and gibed are associated with this sort of act, but I am unable to give any gloss. Whether they are the actual swear-words that may not be uttered, or whether they mean the equivalent of "to swear" I cannot state with certainty. My impression is that they are probably both. The sort of misfortunes envisaged whereby one might speak badly are times when one falls and hurts oneself, or when one discovers that one has lost something.

If one discovers that one has lost an article, or left it behind in the forest, not only is it punén to shout out at the discovery, it is also punén to state what it is one has lost or forgotten. A substitution word has to be used. Similarly, many other objects, when gathered or collected from afar, cannot be referred to by their real name, but euphemisms must be employed, or what I here call "punén names". For instance, if a person is going to gather some tobacco leaves from plants some distance away, they must use the punén name. If they are cutting leaves from a tobacco plant in the field, then the word for tobacco may be used. To use the real name in the former instance is punén, and if one sets off after having spoken badly in this sense a tiger will wait for one on the path and attack (see Myth 22). Table VII is a list of these punén names. It constitutes the totality of the ones I was given by various informants. In most cases each informant listed all of them. The paraphrasing was

TABLE VII PUNĒN NAMES

Object	Punĕn Name	Meaning
* <u>Beras</u> (uncooked rice)	ai beseng med	little eyes
<u>Bladen</u> (pig spear trap)	ai taloden	snake
* <u>Dòg</u> (dart poison)	ai le ag	<u>ruwai</u> of blood
* <u>Dòg</u> (dart poison)	ai mahum	blood
* <u>Galeh</u> (tapioca)	ai manung bi	large body (root)
* <u>Gol</u> , <u>tangòì</u> (sp. trees)	njug kle	tiger's breath
<u>Kiaei</u> (sp. wild tuber)	ai le Ta' Toi	Man by this name who did not want share <u>kiaei</u>
* <u>Macaw</u> (tobacco)	ai chinhòi	a clearing (in the forest)
* <u>Plo tanyog</u> (sp. fruit)	ai mahum	blood
<u>Plo tyotn</u> (fruit afar)	ai sòg	hair
<u>Sarign</u> (fish trap)	ai le yinhagn	biting
	ai le tabod	difficult to eat
* <u>Saròng</u> (sheath)	ai le hò	skin
<u>Silah</u> (sweet potato)	ai le selor	tiger will sneak up
<u>Tagad</u> (sp. wild tuber)	ai chinbugn ⁺	spider
* <u>Ta m</u> (water)	ai harej	sweat
* <u>Tenlaig</u> (dart)	ai tatinyogn ["]	quills on porcupine
<u>Tiòg</u> (plantains, bananas)	ai le Ya' rud	?
* <u>Tuwang</u> (durian)	ai le gils	thorn
* <u>Wang</u> (knife)	ai lòka	claws
<u>Yagogn</u> (maize)	ai le wegn	?

+ punĕn spider " punĕn bear

* indicates "sympathetic signature". This will be discussed in the text.

identical in all cases.

Three main points emerge from the list of punén names. Firstly, punén names are only applied to non-meat foodstuffs and inedible objects. The Chewong have no restriction on calling animals by their real names. The food and objects which have punén names are the very common ones, things which are eaten or used virtually every day and, in the case of food, not normally subject to the sharing restriction imposed by the punén rule. It is thus only when something becomes significant which under normal circumstances has little importance that special precautions are imposed.

Secondly, it will be noticed that all the punén names start with the word ai. Ai means meat. In certain circumstances it is used figuratively to denote "animal" (see page above). In the punén names the word ai actually refers to the tiger. The Chewong are explicit on this point. It must be remembered that to speak the real names of the things provided with punén names is tiger punén and that if one transgresses, a tiger will lie in wait for one and kill one. Furthermore, most of the punén names are direct references to different parts of a tiger's body.

Thirdly, and arising out of the second point, all the punén names marked with an asterisk denote the presence of "sympathetic signatures". By this I mean that there is a correspondence between the properties of the actual object and the part of the tiger's body which is used as its punén name. In other words there is a conceptual resemblance between the object symbolised and the symbol itself. So when the punén name for knife is "tiger's claws" we can readily understand the perceived resemblance between knife and claws. Or, the red juice

of the tanyog fruit as well as the red dart poison, are both associated with blood because of their red colour and are therefore known as "tiger's blood", or "ruwai of tiger's blood". There was some disagreement among informants about whether the punén name referred to the ruwai of the body in question or to the actual part itself. I shall be returning to the question of sympathetic signatures and the place this mechanism has in Chewong symbolic thought.

It is not just the oral expression of a thing's real name which is prohibited; one may not even think it, or in their term: "say it in the liver", bad lam rus. When a young man, Beng was once asked to collect some special herbs for his mother's delivery. It is punén to mention the name of this particular herb when going to collect it, but while Beng was searching for it he kept thinking about its real name, and sure enough he came across a tiger. Luckily it was asleep, and Beng managed to escape. The important point to note is that thinking and the expression of a thought are not distinguished. They both have to be suppressed in specific circumstances, just as the punén on unfulfilled desire is both on the expression of a wish, and also on the actual feeling itself.

Another type of punén is yet another form of "speaking badly". In this case it concerns the anticipation of a pleasurable event. Again we find that it is not just the expression of the anticipation which is to be suppressed, but the actual emotion itself. Myth 21 is about this sort of punén. Here a boy (who incidentally is old enough to be expected to know the rules and behave accordingly) is anticipating a meal consisting of payòng nuts and monkey meat, a combination much liked by all the Chewong.

He knew that the people back home were preparing payòng, and when he saw the monkey his father shot fall dead to the ground, he said that they would be eating monkey and payòng that night. There was no doubt that both the monkey and the payòng were there, nevertheless such a pleasurable fact must not be referred to, nor must it be anticipated. In other words, to express the emotion of anticipation is to speak badly.

There is yet another type of punēn, which bears no resemblance to the others, and to the outsider it would appear more suitably as a type of pantang (see below) than one of punēn. Nevertheless, all the Chewong insist on calling it punēn, and its specific name is corpse punēn, punēn bankai. It refers to pregnant women, who must under no circumstances look upon a dead body. Were they to do so, the foetus would be damaged, either physically, mentally or both. I have already given examples of this having occurred (see page 82).

There are thus several different kinds of punēn, some of which may be said to forbid the expression of emotions, others which are less directly concerned with this. Among the first we have the prohibition on wanting something which cannot immediately be gratified, and the constraint upon people not to provoke such desires in others. Then, there is the rule which forbids one to express one's dismay in face of pain and misfortune, and the one that forbids one to express anticipation of certain pleasurable events. The punēn names which have to be employed when goods are collected from afar might be said to be linked to the prohibition associated with anticipation. Wanted goods should not be named until they are actually within one's grasp. Not

naming lost goods is another way of repressing any emotion that this event might produce.

Pantang

In Malay, the word pantang means "forbidden" or "prohibited". (Baru 1976). Most of the pantang prohibitions are invoked during and following major life-crises such as pregnancy, birth, marriage, disease, and death. They also apply during menstruation, and there are several people who have individual pantang, restricting their diet in specific ways. The pantang rules are unlike most of the other rules which are all preventive; that is they specify that behaviour which if indulged in, will lead to specific repercussions. The pantang rules on the other hand are mainly protective. They specify restrictions on behaviour once certain events outside the control of humans come about. They ensure a safe passage from one stage in a person's life to another, whether it be from non-life to life, disease to health, or whatever. For the sake of convenience of exposition, I will discuss the pantang in connection with these various stages. They are largely concerned with restrictions on the individual's diet and movement.

Birth

The pantang associated with birth were discussed to some extent in Chapter III where I suggested that the pantang restricting both parents of a child could be interpreted as a couvade, whereby the parents' behaviour affects the body or the ruwai of the foetus. Here I shall reiterate the main points of the birth pantang in order to show their relationship with the other pantang.

Expecting parents may not eat fruit bats, horseshoe bats, flying fox, bamboo rat, one species of tortoise, or the scaly anteater. In addition, many informants told me that the slow loris and the otter may not be eaten either, but these two animals are part of the tolaeg animals, none of which expecting parents may eat since the yinlugen of the species concerned will take the ruwai of the unborn baby. The rule of tolaeg will be discussed in a later section of this chapter. The reason that the other animals may not be eaten is that this would lead to a slow and difficult birth, otugò wòng, because all animals in question are said to have an unusually strong clasp. This is therefore another example of use of sympathetic signatures in Chewong symbolic thought.

Pregnant women, but not their husbands, are forbidden to drink the water of coconuts and bamboo. The connection which immediately leaps to mind is the possible analogue between these white juices and the mother's milk, and in fact some people said that were a woman to drink coconut or bamboo water, her milk would dry up. Linguistically there is no link. The two juices are known as the water, ta m, of their respective sources, whereas mother's milk, the breast, and to suckle are all known by the one word bo.

During the birth itself the mother does not give much vent to her labour pains. She may shout out "adi!" (a Malay interjection) but whereas louder and more uncontrolled behaviour is not actually restricted by a pantang or some other rule, I was told that, "We do not cry and shout much." Since, however, women often talked about the pains of childbirth, and expressed fear at the prospect, the reason they behave in such a restrained manner at such times cannot be attributed to the benefits

of so-called "natural childbirth" methods, but must be seen in the wider social context of subdued behaviour in the face of emotional crises.

The umbilical cord must be cut by a sharpened bamboo. To use a metal knife is pantang. No reason for this was given (but see below on pantang connected with funeral practices). It is pantang for the mother and the new-born child to leave the house for the first few days following the birth. They have to spend the whole time lying next to the fire with their heads covered. Whenever the woman has to go outside for reasons of personal hygiene, she must keep her head covered. Were she not to do so her head would burst open and she would die. Both mother and child must wash in heated water only inside the house. Whereas this particular pantang holds for the baby until it can walk, the mother may bathe in the river once she starts her ordinary occupations again. Throughout the main pantang period when mother and child are confined to the house, nobody from another settlement may enter.

Finally, certain foodstuffs are pantang for the mother for the period while she is still bleeding after the birth. She may not eat any meat, fish, salt, chillies, oil, or any bought goods. She can only eat tapioca, wild tubers, rice, and fruits. In fact she must abstain from ai and confine herself to ratn which I suggested in the last chapter may be interpreted as a means for keeping her body cool during this liminal stage before she is re-incorporated into the society as a whole.

Menstruation

Menstruating women, like newly delivered women, may not

eat meat, fish, salt, chillies, oil etc. , but only ratn without additives. The reason is the same as for lying-in women, namely that "blood cannot be eaten with blood".

It is the consumption of meat that is pantang, not all contact with it. Thus menstruating women handle, cook, and share out all meat given them either by their husbands or by women of other households. In Chewong society, unlike many others, menstruating women are not regarded as polluting. They accompany men on hunting expeditions, handle blow-pipes, quivers, darts, as well as dart poison. They mix freely with members of both sexes, and they bathe in the rivers with the rest and may do so upstream as well. It is only in respect to their own health that pantang prohibitions have to be observed. It is significant, in view of this, to note that the most common colloquial expression for menstruation is "I don't want meat." Other terms for the condition is "moon children", wòng keche; "moon blood", mahum keche; or "Tanko's children", wòng Tanko (see page 117).

Were they to eat the pantang foods their bleeding would increase, and one woman told me that a tiger would attack and they would bleed to death. For interpretation on these pantang I refer to my earlier discussion on the symbolic implications of hot and cool.

Marriage

Marriage among the Chewong is not focussed upon as a great ritual event. In effect, the lack of prohibitions is implicit evidence that it is not a particularly dangerous occasion during which the participants have to protect themselves against superhuman

influence. As already noted in my discussion about the procedure and ceremony, there are a few regulations which have to be observed. The young couple must consummate their union in the forest and in secret before the ceremony can take place. The only named rule invoked in connection with the wedding, is that it is pantang for the couple to leave the house and go into the forest on the day following the nuptial. Were they to do so, they would be attacked by a tiger.

Marriage is preeminently a social event. The confinement of the couple to the house is therefore a way of marking their incorporation into the social system in a new status. As such it parallels the exposure of the new-born child to cultural objects and values. Moreover, it must be remembered that the Chewong practice matrilineal residence. For the groom the marriage night also means the first night in which he sleeps in his in-law's house. By keeping him there for the first day he is incorporated into that household which will be his for the years to come.

Sickness

As has been stated on many occasions by now, diseases to the Chewong are all caused by superhuman beings in one way or another. Sometimes the cause is transgression of one of the rules, sometimes it is an accidental encounter with a non-human being who regards ruwai as their ai. Disease means a loss of the equilibrium of the personage, and steps are taken to redress the balance. This is done by the putao, and in the Chewong case cure is rarely effected through the taking of medicines. It is invariably done by spells, incantations, and

the full shamanistic seance. Whenever any of these have been carried out on a sick person, he or she is bound by various pantang rules. After a full nōpoh, meat may not be eaten for three days, nor may anything which the Chewong say is "spicy" or "hot", pesed; this includes salt, chillies, and sugar. Following a less elaborate curing ritual, only the spicy foods are to be avoided. In other words, there is a distinct emphasis on neutralising the things which are consumed by a person in a liminal state between disease and health.

It is also pantang to leave the house for one to three days after a curing ceremony of any kind, and, as was the case for post partum women (but not menstruating ones), bathing in the river is pantang. Heated water inside the house must be used for washing.

It must be pointed out that if no curing has been attempted, no pantang need be observed. Only when disease is publically acknowledged, and made socially manifest through curing techniques is the individual placed in the liminal state between disease and health, and must special precautions be observed.

Death

I never witnessed a death nor the funeral rites. What follows is therefore based on what I was told, which, to judge by other events which were described to me before I actually witnessed them, may entail some omissions. Certain of their practices have already been described; here I wish to concentrate on those designated as pantang.

Once someone has died, it is pantang for those who were in the same house with the dead to leave the house until the "expulsion

of the ghost", halao yinlugen, takes place on the sixth night. If they do leave, the yinlugen of the recently deceased will take their ruwai. They may only go out quickly to perform the necessary bodily functions, and while doing so they must cover their head and not speak or make any rash gestures or movements lest the yinlugen catch sight of them. Conversely, it is pantang for anyone else to enter the house.

During the singing session known as bremon which takes place on the sixth night, it is not actually pantang for people to show their grief too overtly; "we cry a little, but not much," I was told. This would appear to parallel the situation in childbirth when the woman is not forbidden to cry out, but nevertheless refrains from doing so. In this instance the Chewong reason is that the dead person misses his family, and if these show that they are unhappy by his death, he may not want to go to Pulau Klam. Since the acts on the sixth night are designed specifically to frighten the yinlugen away, loud lamentations at the same time might be regarded as detracting from this main purpose.

The Chewong frighten the yinlugen in two ways: they burn bamboo on the path between the grave and the settlement, and they dance. The fire makes a loud crackling noise which "sounds like gun-fire", and this terrifies the yinlugen, who then wants to run away. The dancing, from descriptions and demonstrations², is fairly extravagant. The people sit either on the floor or on the ground, and sway their bodies to and from, or they dance around in a jerky, but rhythmic, fashion. They do not, as far as I could ascertain, swing their arms about. The songs which are sung on these occasions (see

Appendix II for an example) are much less varied in their content and imagery than are the songs given by spirit-guides. They repeat again and again the theme of moving and shaking the body. When the yinlugen sees the people behaving in this way it becomes very frightened indeed. The two acts carried out during the funeral ritual are done in order to make the dead person leave the human beings and retreat to the afterworld.

One may consider that what amounts to an "inversion" of normal Chewong behaviour is indulged in during the funeral ritual just described. Usually restrained in their behaviour and dealings with each other, on this occasion alone do they engage in energetic dancing. Whether they are emotionally abandoned on these occasions is impossible for me to say, but even if they are not, they are still behaving as if they were. By contrasting this to everyday mores, the Chewong must be said to display non-human characteristics on these occasions. It could be argued that by adopting this "uncivilized" stance, they are alienating the yinlugen, who thereby does not recognise them as his family and friends, does not understand what is going on, and in true Chewong fashion, runs away from the unfamiliar and the threatening.

Miscellaneous

Finally there are a number of other prohibitions, all of which are also designated as pantang. They differ from the ones discussed so far in two main respects. Firstly, they are, unlike the rest of the pantang rules, preventive rather than protective; and secondly, they are not part of any life-crises or rite of passage.

Idiosyncratic pantang are often encountered among the Chewong and are linked to individual revelation. I came across examples of these only in connection with dietary restrictions, but I believe they might occur as behavioural restrictions as well. Such pantang may be connected with the relationship with ones wònghien or ruwai spirit-guide. Thus Ceĩ would not eat siamang meat because his wòng hien was a siamang. But it may also happen that a person encounters in a dream the ruwai of a particular species of animal or plant who does not become his spirit-guide, but who asserts that henceforth it is pantang for the person to eat members of the species, and that if he or she does so disease will ensue. This encounter may take place before any disease has struck, or after, or as part of the healing. Thus Yareng would not eat the leaves of the tapioca plant because he had once met tapioca ruwai in a dream and it had told him not to. Beng had a similar experience. Once when he was ill he met in a dream the ruwai of a monitor lizard who told him that he was ill because of the monitor lizard he had eaten just before taking sick. This meat is poison (böi) to Beng.

Certain diseases are directly linked with particular pantang. People who are known to suffer from convulsions may not eat eggs, including fish roe, as this will bring on an attack. They express their refusal of eggs by saying "there is pantang", wò pantang.

There are also several situational pantang. The preparation of dart poison is not subject to any rules, but on the day that poison has been prepared, it is pantang to throw the washing-up water on to the ground underneath the floor if one has been eating any meat shot by a poisoned dart. The bones of two animals; squirrel and rhinoceros

hornbill – both of which are killed by poisoned darts – must not be thrown on the ground under the house, but are/must be placed in the thatch of the roof. This again is expressed in terms of pantang; failure to observe it would lead to loss of potency in the poison.

These two examples of pantang appear to prohibit a mixing of elements from two different spheres, namely air and ground, or off-the-ground and on-the-ground. Both the Temiar (Benjamin 1967) and the Semai (Dentan 1967) have strict rules to maintain the boundaries between the ground and the off-ground, and at first sight it would appear that the Chewong harbour similar symbolic notions. However, these two instances are the only such examples among the Chewong and they are not part of a symbolic classification based on such concepts and divisions. Whether they are remnants of a larger system now forgotten is difficult to say, but in view of my conclusions regarding Chewong principles of classification discussed in the next chapter, I regard this as unlikely.

Once a settlement has been left in favour of a new one, it is pantang to return to the identical spot in order to cultivate the land until secondary growth has completely covered the fields and the trees have grown tall. If one does so, then either (according to some informants) one will die, or (according to others) everything that is planted there will die. While inhabiting a settlement which still has viable fields and is therefore not to be abandoned for some time, one may however, clear and replant a patch of a field where all the tapioca has been dug up.

At specific times of the moon's cycle, it is pantang to undertake certain kinds of work. At full moon and eclipse (when the moon is about to give birth and when she dies) one may not cut trees, clear a new swidden, plant, or give birth. The pantang lasts for three days on

both occasions, and were one to break it the moon would become sick and nothing planted in the new field would grow.

I think that these two periods of pantang correspond to those observed when humans give birth and die. It is also pantang to engage in any of the above activities (with the possible exception of childbirth) after a night of heavy rain and thunder. Again the plants will not grow. The reason given in this instance is that bas abound on such nights.

As regards a woman giving birth at such times, it is said that were she to do so, she would suffer heavy bleeding. The menstrual cycle, it will be remembered, is associated with the moon's cycle, one of the names for menstruations being "moon children".

Finally, the amulets already described, which are made and sold by the putao for protection against gob, communists, wild animals, etc., have power to protect because of the spells incanted over them while infused by the smoke from òz taba. The various kinds protect against different dangers, and are also linked with different pantang. The most powerful, and incidentally the most expensive, is that which has least pantang restrictions. Examples of these pantang are: one must not wear such an amulet outside the house, or in the forest, or one may not urinate or defecate while wearing it. In no circumstances must the amulet be allowed to fall on the ground. If the pantang associated with a particular amulet is contravened, it loses its power to protect.

Maro

I have been unable to find any correspondence to the Chewong

concepts of maro among the Malays or other Orang Asli groups. There are two kinds of maro: one brings disaster upon oneself, the other upon others. Firstly, whenever a visitor arrives from another settlement, he must immediately be given some food. Not to do so is to maro oneself³; one becomes ill, and if one persists in this stinginess, kenjed, the ultimate consequence is death.

The second type of maro is invoked by failure to inform the whole tribe that one of its members has died. If this is not done on the day following the death, or as soon after as is possible, those left in ignorance have been maro by the relatives of the deceased. The yinlugen of the newly dead roams around all the places where it has been while alive, and it goes to see all its friends and relatives. If some of these are not informed of its existence, the yinlugen will eat the ruwai of all the game, fish, fruit, and tubers in the vicinity of that settlement. As a result its inhabitants will be unsuccessful in their search for food, and if they remain uninformed they will finally die of starvation. Even were they to shoot some animal, this would taste so horrible as to be inedible. It will taste rotten, an indication that it is dying, its ruwai having been eaten. Another sign of maro is that the yinlugen may enter the body of an animal recently shot. In such cases the animal moves some limb after it has been proclaimed dead and is about to be thrown on the fire to have its fur burnt off. The meat cannot be eaten in such cases, but must be abandoned immediately. Also, all tubers, wild and cultivated, rot and cannot be eaten. As soon as the people are informed of the death, the yinlugen no longer eats the ruwai of their food.

Both types of maro stress the social unity of the tribe. It is when the bonds that keep them together as one group of people, as opposed to all other groups, are in danger of being broken, that maro is invoked. Firstly, the laws of hospitality only extend to members of the group. It is maro not to feed all visitors whom are acknowledged as bi he, "our people". Visiting members of neighbouring groups may or may not be fed, depending on the closeness of their relationship and the degree of fear and shyness of their hosts, but it is not maro or any other rule that compels hospitality.

Modn told me a very illuminating story about the time when she and Beng accompanied Ogilvie to Kuala Tahan where they lived for about one year as his guide and bearer. This was Modn's first encounter with Malays and Malay ways of life. Needless to say she was terrified. "I knew nothing then," she told me, "I did not understand when they spoke to me (she is the only Chewong woman who today can speak Malay) I did not know I had to give them food, or tell them to enter my house." She was referring to her encounter with not only Malay women, but also other Orang Asli, chiefly Batek Nong. Today she knows the ways of the world, and does offer all visitors food, but she is unique in this respect.

Secondly, the disruption that a death entails to such a small group of people is severe. The concept of maro ensures that the cohesion of the group is maintained. Whereas gossip travels around all settlements and people hear about births, sickness, activities etc. in the course of time, death must be notified immediately; at the latest before the sixth night, so that everybody can be present at the expulsion of the yinlugen. At this event the tribe reaffirms its

solidarity and group identity. With no leaders or institutionalised exchanges, the thread that binds the Chewong together and gives them a sense of group identity is very tenuous. Maro more than any of the other rules stress the group identity, and as such help to ensure a continuous cohesion despite the far-flung settlements.

Tolah

The concept of tolah among the Malays means "a calamity consequent upon sacrilege or extreme presumption" (Baru 1976). The Batek use the word tolah to refer to "a large number of socially disruptive and disrespectful acts, especially those that are directed towards older people" (Endicott 1979: 81). In the case of tolah, the Chewong meaning follows closely the two just quoted. It means to show disrespect either towards certain categories of persons, or towards certain types of non-meat foodstuffs. The former specifies that in-laws of either sex must always refer to each other by nick-name and the polite "you", gitn, as opposed to the more familiar "thou", mö. Otherwise, people in such relationships should behave in all their dealings with each other with circumspection. Not to do so is tolah, and the offender will suffer severe swellings of the hips and lower abdomen. It is also tolah to laugh or play near ratn. The repercussions are the same as for tolah in regard to affines.

Both forms of tolah prescribe restrained behaviour, one towards an identified set of individuals, the other towards a category of food. In the second case there is of course a direct parallel between tolah and taladen, both of which refer to a suppression of laughter in the vicinity of food. In the case of taladen the prohibition concerns

meat, ai, and in the case of tolah it concerns staple vegetable foods, ratn. The conceptual complementarity already discerned between these two categories of food is here further enhanced.

Mali

The Malay pemali means "forbidden" (Baru 1976). The Batek Teh say that the prohibitions on cooking certain foods together are known as pemali (Endicott 1979: 80), and similarly, the Semaï rule that "mixing together types of food that should be kept separate; and the calamity such mix produces" is called panali (Dentan 1968: 107).

There are several, seemingly unrelated, kinds of mali among the Chewong. Firstly, two which are directly and explicitly concerned with the suppression of expressions of emotion: to whistle, and to swing one's feet in an abandoned manner are both mali, but the consequences differ. Whistling alerts the attention of Bajaegen and Ponjur (see page 124). These two who are always on the lookout for new spouses take the whistling as a sign that the person wishes to marry them. In the case of a woman whistler, Bajaegen will cause her to have an accident that involves the spilling of blood so that he can take her ruwai and bring it up to Plantor and marry her. In the case of the whistler being a man, Ponjur does the same to him. Swinging one's legs, on the other hand, alerts the attention of the Original Earth Ghost, and she will take, according to some informants, the ruwai of the transgressor, according to others the ruwai of his or her mother. The Chewong say that as long as one's mother is still alive one may not swing one's feet. The presence in the early morning of a certain kind of red cloud is said to mean that "bas are nearby". In fact

it is Bajaegen and Ponjur who are near. Their earth, Plantor, is red, the association almost certainly being made between its red colour and blood. If Plantor is observed, a person whose mother has died may take some ashes from the house-fire, put it on the tip of the bush-knife and throw it up in the air. If someone whose mother is still alive does this, it is mali, and her ruwai will be taken by Bajaegen.

Again, it is mali for someone who still has a mother to throw out after dark the washing-up water from a meal in which one has eaten any animal shot by a blow-pipe on to the area underneath the house. It must be kept until the following day and then be thrown away from the house. I am at a loss to explain the significance of the role of the mother in these instances of mali. The restriction concerning throwing the washing-up water on the ground is very similar, and in parts identical, to the pantang which has to be observed in connection with the dart poison. In the case of mali, all daytime animals shot with the blow-pipe are thus included, whereas the pantang singles out just two.

Tolaeg

The remaining two rules to be discussed both concern eating habits, and not the expression of emotions. The first of these, tolaeg, has already been discussed in the chapter on the superhuman beings, so I shall confine myself to restating the pertinent points. No child may eat any of the following animals: gibbon, water monitor lizard, otter, mountain tortoise, slow loris, flying lemur, and, in some cases only, the macaque. Were they to do so, the yinlugen of the species concerned would take their

ruwai and bring it to the land of the particular yinlugen. Unless a putao manages to find and retrieve the ruwai, the child dies. Pregnant and suckling women may not eat these animals either, because they would pass the effect on to the foetus or child. They themselves would not suffer.

As already described (see page 83), those who suffer from epilepsy may not eat macaque, as this means that the macaque yinlugen have a special relationship with the sufferer. In such cases the prohibition applies throughout the individual's life, although the condition is still referred to as tolaeg.

The Chewong display much circumspection in their handling of the tolaeg animals. Usually the fur or skin is burned off in the forest with the explicit rationalisation that this minimizes the danger to the children. The meal is prepared outside the house, on the ground near the outskirts of the settlement. Children are told not to go near it, nor touch the carcass as they tend to do other animals brought home. Even the adults who eat any of the tolaeg animals display extra care while eating. That is, they do not laugh or talk, they eat it very hurriedly, and bring their plates to the river to wash afterwards, rather than washing it in the house and letting the water fall on the ground underneath. So although the prohibition is only on small children, adults clearly feel that it is prudent to behave in a restrained way while partaking of meals that include tolaeg animals. Children up to the age of about nine or ten cannot eat this meat; in other words while they are still largely dependent upon their parents rather than the peer group. Once they start roving, and leading fairly independent lives, they may eat the meat.

Tika

In Malay the word cika means "colic" (Baru 1976). Otherwise I have found a reference to it only among the Batek where it is prohibited to make humorous word-plays on names of foods, "because this will cause anyone who eats that particular food that day to contract 'cika', severe stomach or intestinal pain" (Endicott 1979: 80). The Chewong rule of tika also has as repercussion severe stomach pain, but this is produced by certain beings (bas) who enter the stomach of the sufferer and claw away at it until the person dies. The condition is caused by the mixing of certain kinds of food in the stomach, or in the cooking process. Unlike the foods which are tiger taladen and are prohibited only in specific combinations, the tika foods may not be mixed with anything else, except ratn. Of those animals which may not be cooked together, those which are not taladen are almost certain to be tika. But the worst kind of tika is to mix meat with something sweet, usually fruit, and several examples of recent deaths were attributed to this kind of tika. One woman died because she was eating some monkey meat off a plate where papaya had been kept a short while before, and the plate had not been properly washed.

It is also tika to smoke immediately after eating pig or monitor lizard. This is known as "tika of the mouth", tika hain, and is not deadly, but very unpleasant stomach ache will ensue. Finally, it is tika to eat a carcass found in the forest. Only meat killed by man may be eaten. Symbolic implications of the rules regarding food will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Tanko

I discussed in Chapter III the personified superhuman being called Tanko, and said that he punishes "incest" which is also known as tanko. If someone commits incest, Tanko sends a thunderbolt into the hip and knee joints of the offenders, rendering these stiff and painful. If the case is very serious, i. e. persistently indulged in, the persons concerned will die.

The Chewong do not appear to regard incest as a particularly serious offence. Strictly speaking sexual intercourse is only forbidden between siblings and "those who have drunk at the same breast", and between parents and children. But tanko is not a bounded category, but may be applied in cases of undesirable matches. As I showed in the case of the old man who married the young girl, the application of tanko to this union was dropped once neither the man nor the girl showed evidence of stiff joints, or illness of any kind.

It is also tanko for parents and children of opposite sex to sleep close together after the children have become "maidens" or "bachelors", and for siblings who are no longer children to sleep next to each other.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the various rules observed by the Chewong. I now wish to draw together the different points which were mentioned in the introduction to Part 4 and which were raised in the discussion of each rule whenever relevant, in order to establish what may be concluded from them in regard to Chewong modes of thought.

I first wish to examine the rules from the point of view that they constitute the Chewong moral universe. The Chewong have no legal system; there are no specified crimes. In Chapter II, I showed that fines and other punishments for transgression appear to be non-existent. In addition, none of the rules relate to the kinds of things which, in other societies, are thought of as needing control. Thus they do not forbid murder, violence, or theft. In fact aggression which is notably absent among the Chewong is not specifically forbidden, nor do they have any notions of what kinds of repercussions would occur were someone to behave aggressively. Although an extremely interesting aspect of Chewong society, this is not one that I feel confident in elaborating upon at present. More fieldwork concentrating on this issue would be required.

An analysis of the rules reveals that four contain what might be termed moral injunctions. These are maro (one kind), punén (one kind), tolah, and tanko. In the case of tanko there is some doubt whether it ought to be included, since to infringe the rule that certain categories of people may not marry each other is not morally wrong. It is not "bad" for a father to marry his daughter, but forbidden, on peril of death. In the case of maro and punén, on the other hand, the emphasis

is upon sharing and giving, and what I can only term moral indignation was indeed expressed by the Chewong whenever discussing transgressions of these.

The Chewong insist that not to share one's food is bad (yabud). Those who eat alone are mean, kenjed, whereas the ideal is to be generous, mudah. There are numerous stories of how people were mean and the consequences suffered. In so far as the Chewong have any notion of "sin", this would be to eat alone. Social disapproval is unequivocal. Disrespect towards in-laws could also be regarded as bad and in this respect tolah is a moral rule. On the other hand, disrespect towards old people is not specified as bad conduct, yet no one would dream of showing it. Similarly, as was found in the case of non-aggressive, non-competitive behaviour, there are no specific rules regarding courtesy. So, we are left with sharing and respect to in-laws as the major Chewong moral dictums; the fact that in the case of one kind of punen whereby one excites desire in another person and does not satisfy it, the person actually punished is not the offender but him who is offended against, reinforces the notion of responsibility that each individual has towards each other. Furthermore, another rule not usually regarded as having moral implications, is the taladen incurred by laughing at animals. A whole settlement suffers from the act of an individual who has committed taladen. Even though the myths recounted on page 246 above show that those who did not offend and eat the snake meat were not swallowed by the Original Snake, in actual fact everyone who finds themselves in the midst of a taladen storm is terrified of being hit by a falling tree or drowning in the floods. At such times it is of paramount importance to identify the

offender so that he or she may enter into the conciliatory acts and save the rest of the community. In view of this, laughing at animals can be said to be an antisocial act.

But much more important than the moral connotations of the rules, is the way that the rules constitute a major means by which the Chewong can conceive of order. Whereas I was unable to discover any one word which could be seen to denote "order", I will nevertheless argue that such a concept is indeed implicit. Disease and mishaps of various kinds are the two chief disruptions of smooth growth and development. The need to provide some explanation for these phenomena is present among the Chewong as in other societies. Where the Chewong differ from most, is that disease and mishaps are attributed to supernatural causes. They have no concept of sorcery or witchcraft. But, on the whole, the superhuman beings who cause misfortune do not move in mysterious ways. In general, they are only activated when human beings transgress one of the rules, allowing the being in question to attack. The superhuman, or non-human, beings cannot act upon humans unless a human being breaks a rule. The rules are thus a structured means by which the Chewong order their universe. Adherence to them provides people with a means to prevent chaotic and idiosyncratic events taking place, and they therefore constitute the chief method for making a diagnosis of an unfortunate event. The rules are an idiom for explaining disease or "bad luck", and the consequences of transgressions are justified through, and administered by, supernatural agencies. The rules cannot be thought about without also thinking about the superhuman beings associated with them.

The rules must not be interpreted as forming a straight-jacket on Chewong behaviour. This is far from the case. Whereas the Chewong appear to the outsider to be timid, self-effacing, and undemonstrative, they are also extremely confident in their relationship with their environment. The rules define the boundaries of their mobility. By knowing what will cause disease and mishap, they also know how to avoid incurring them. Knowledge about them provides the individual with a certain amount of freedom. Every adult knows all the rules and the repercussions of transgression, and by acting upon this knowledge they can be said to control their own destinies to a large extent.

Other rules also exist, which are not discussed here, but in Chapter IV in connection with the superhuman beings, which guide the Chewong in their daily lives and help them to avoid illness and accidents. Each is directly linked to the superhuman being in question, and may for instance involve nothing more than avoiding certain areas known to be inhabited by bas or taking shelter at times of unusual atmospheric conditions. These rules are more difficult to observe, however, since hitherto unknown places may become inhabited by superhuman beings, or one may not always be able to take shelter. It is also possible ... fall inadvertently into a trap set by a bas for pig ruwai. All these are contingencies for diagnosing disease where all known rules and prohibitions appear not to have been transgressed. They are thus an alternative means of explaining causation.

Finally, I have proposed that the rules restrict, and even prohibit the expression of inner states. I have suggested elsewhere

that one manifestation of the suppression of emotions is the limited psychological vocabulary of the Chewong language (Howell, in press). I will not elaborate upon this aspect here, but will repeat my argument, which is that the rules suppress the emotions, that they are an externalised idiom which both acknowledges that they do experience psychological states, and controls and suppresses these. We have seen how uproarious laughter in the vicinity of, or at, animals of all kinds (taladen) or at staple foods (tolah), is forbidden; how wishes of all kinds must be gratified immediately or suppressed (punēn); how whistling and swinging one's feet in an extravagant way must be avoided (mali); how grief or pleasure is not expressed at times of crises (pantang); and how pleasurable events must not be expressed (punēn), or even be thought about; and anger or pain must not be displayed in times of accidents (punēn). Altogether, most emotions commonly acknowledged in the West are suppressed by the Chewong. That they experience them or at any rate are aware of their existence, must be assumed because of their being specifically forbidden. By contrast, there are two emotions which are openly acknowledged by them; namely fear (hōntugen) and shyness (lidya). Whereas children are daily admonished for extravagant behaviour by shouts of "taladen!", "punēn!", "mali!", or "tolah!" and soon learn to control the expression of their emotional states, they are encouraged to develop fear and shyness. Parents constantly taunt their children by telling them that a gob or a tiger is waiting to catch them, and they laugh rather proudly when terror-stricken children scream, saying that they are very fearful. Similarly, a parent would

appear pleased at the timidity of a child confronted by me in the early days of my fieldwork, saying that he was extremely shy. Adults are reserved when meeting each other, as I have already described, and guests openly admit that "we are very shy in other people's houses." In view of all this, it may be said that emotions are subject to socialisation procedures whereby fear and shyness are encouraged, while pleasure, anger, frustration, anticipation, exuberance, and grief are suppressed.⁴

CHAPTER IX

SYMBOLIC CLASSIFICATION

Since the days of the Année Sociologique, anthropologists have been aware of the immense importance of classificatory principles in human societies. Although Durkheim and Mauss's essay De quelques Formes primitives de Classification was published in 1903, it was not translated into English until sixty years later, and the detailed lines of their arguments were not available in English to the British anthropologists until then. The general ideas put forth in the treatise were, however, included in Durkheim's Les Formes elementaires de la Vie religieuse, published in France in 1912, and in an English translation in 1915, whereby they reached a much wider audience.

In Primitive Classification, the title of the English translation from which I shall be quoting, the authors distinguish between scientific and symbolic classifications, but they nevertheless assert that:

However different they [symbolic classifications] may be in certain respects from the latter [scientific classifications] they nevertheless have all their essential characteristics They are systems of hierarchical notions. Things are not simply arranged by them in the form of isolated groups, but these groups stand in fixed relationships to each other and together form a single whole Their object is not

to facilitate action but to advance understanding,
to make intelligible the relations which exist
between things ... Such classifications are
thus intended above all to connect ideas, to
unify knowledge (1963: 81).

To Durkheim and Mauss the origin of all classifications is social; hence they postulate their famous dictum that "the first logical categories were social categories, the first classes of things were classes of men, into which these things were integrated" (82). The actual development of their argument is not accepted today, but the general notion that there is a link between the social and the conceptual is still part of anthropological thinking and methodology. Levi-Strauss goes even further when he suggests that the various classificatory schemes of "primitive" societies form as it were a conceptual whole. He says,

The societies which we call primitive do not
have any conception of a sharp division between
the various levels of classification ... commonly
zoological and botanical classifications do not
constitute separate domains but form an integral
part of an all-embracing dynamic taxonomy,
the unity of which is assured by the perfect
homogeneity of its structure (1966: 138).

These beliefs have been widely accepted by anthropologists, and from my reading of numerous ethnographies in which it was shown that the people under study did indeed display analogous principles of classification in

their attitudes to the natural environment as well as to their metaphysical universe, I went to the field fully expecting to discover similar principles in the modes of thought of the Chewong.

I was dismayed to discover that not only was I unable to discern the Chewong "masterplan" of interlinking taxonomic systems, but, more importantly, I could not discern any taxonomies at all, or indeed establish what were their classificatory principles. Their ordering of their environment appeared largely to be based simply on naming and enumeration rather than on traditional principles of classification. On the symbolic level also, I was unable to reveal any meaningful patterns in their construction of categories. The first point need not worry one too much. It is not a totally new phenomenon. Indeed, Needham in his introduction to Primitive Classification says:

Recent investigations make it appear that in cognatic societies the relation of symbolic to social order may be insignificant or minimal, that in simple lineal descent systems the relationship may be discerned in a range of particulars or in isolated institutions but not usually in any comprehensive manner, and that in systems of prescriptive alliance there is such a concordance between the symbolic forms and social organisation that these two orders of facts may be regarded as aspects of one conceptual order, one mode of classification (Needham 1963: xxxvii).

Before embarking upon a consideration of the second point: that Chewong symbolic ordering is not based upon identifiable principles, it is important to clarify my terminology. In much anthropological literature the terms classification, taxonomy, categorisation, and nomenclature are not clearly distinguished. It is not my intention to enter into a debate of definitions, but merely to state how I shall be using the terms throughout this chapter. I might equally well have used abstract symbols, or called them Type A, Type B, and Type C, corresponding to the three types of classification that I am isolating.

Classification may be said to be the all-embracing general term used to denote a consistent method of ordering. Classification locates a thing in a conceptual frame or map, and in doing so it relates it to every other thing on the map.

I propose to separate three different types of classification, which it is important to distinguish, by using the terms categorisation, taxonomy, and nomenclature.

In a system of categorisation, the members of a class are identified as such by virtue of possessing one or more of certain properties. To take a simple example: animals may be categorised according to whether they live in trees or not, have consciousness or not, can fly or not, and so on. A system of categorisation could be quite complex, and may be polythetic rather than monothetic, but it must involve explicit or implicit resemblances, so that some underlying correlations can be discerned.

A taxonomy I take to be a special case of categorisation in which the concept of hierarchy is also present. Thus a genus does not

stand alone; it implies a position in a hierarchical structure. Above are the phyla, orders, and families; below are species and varieties; alongside are other genera.

Nomenclature, according to my use of the term, consists simply in assigning a common name to all the members of a class. It is based neither on hierarchical principles nor on shared attributes, but may nevertheless be regarded as a type of classification because, by virtue of the consistency of its application, it does locate a thing in a conceptual frame. However, the search for common attributes underlying such a system would reveal that members of a class had nothing more in common than their being named as such. On the basis of my study of the Chewong I shall attempt to show that it is largely a system of nomenclature that is to be found in their society, and I shall try to justify my claim that this may properly be regarded as a level of classification distinct from categorisation and taxonomy.

Thus the concepts of Durkheim and Mauss, as well as Levi-Strauss, as to what constitutes a classification, will be found to be too limiting, since neither hierarchy nor underlying principles are necessary attributes of what I shall be calling a class.

In order to substantiate my claim that the Chewong do not classify according to identifiable principles (i. e. they have merely a nomenclature) it is not sufficient to demonstrate that the concept of hierarchy is lacking. I must go further and rule out categorisation also, by proving a lack of any discernible pattern, either explicit or implicit, in their classification.

The Chewong certainly order the world around them, as well as their metaphysical universe, but they do this by naming and

enumeration rather than by conceptual clusters of correlated attributes. Thus we have the bi asal, bi inhar, etc. where actual linguistic glosses are applied to various kinds of superhuman beings; but, as I demonstrated in Chapter IV, the attributes of these beings do not form any meaningful patterns, and indeed they overlap. Similarly, the rules are categories of thought, but as I shall be showing, there are no correlations among the attributes of each. It is therefore right, according to my definition of classification, to posit that the Chewong do classify, but that they do not do so on the basis of any identifiable principles, explicit or implicit.

Previous responses to the problems of classification among the Orang Asli

I am not the first to have faced this seeming perplexity that what is usually thought of as classificatory principles are absent from the collective representational systems of the Orang Asli. Both Endicott, in his work among the Batek, and Benjamin with the Temiar, have had to cope with similar difficulties. To varying degrees they are reluctant to accept the possibility that such principles are absent among these peoples, and they attempt to establish that classification schemes do, to some extent, exist, despite the difficulty of discerning meaningful patterns. In effect, they attempt to establish what I have called categorisation. Both of them focus their discussion on symbolic classification and do not say whether taxonomies of natural species occur.

Benjamin's position is somewhat ambivalent. Towards the end of a lengthy section on the role of animals as symbolic vehicles for thought, he concludes: "It has not been part of the present discussion

to wonder why certain species and not others are drawn into the thorough-going system of ritual categorisation" (1967: 117). Earlier on, however, he tries to do this, though with little success. He moves between premises of common sense and structural analysis, but neither premise helps him establish the existence of what he would call a classificatory system. Starting with an examination of those animals involved in taboos, he asks, "What meaning lies behind the ideas and observances?" and claims that "The question can best be answered by examining the structural implications of the full 'ideal type' constellation of features" (92). Whereas he admits that "it is hard to detect any regular patterning" (95), he nevertheless persists in trying to do so, and finally comes up with the suggestion that there is "an incipient patterning involving the variables of culture, genha? [type of taboo animals], myth, and tameability" (95). But empirically this argument holds true for only a few of the species, and many are not important in the mythology. Later he explains how certain acts may not be performed because "these are more or less out-of-the-ordinary. The normal place for their performance would be within an inhabited house" (111). But this is an inadequate explanation, especially since there is no explicit native statement to this effect, and it is therefore fair to ask why it is "normal" to have sexual intercourse inside the house, or to keep new bamboo there.

Benjamin further suggests that the institution of misik (the rule that forbids laughter at certain animals lest thunderstorms occur) serves not so much to avoid the intervention of Karey (the "thunder deity") as to "keep the very thought of him alive in the mind of every

Temiar" (112). Benjamin's reason for why Karey needs to be thus kept alive in the minds of every Temiar is that, according to him, Karey represents evil, a concept which he claims to be fundamental to Temiar thoughts, and which must be kept at bay. I think that one has to be careful not to impose notions of good and evil as clearly conceptualised categories in alien societies. Hocart warned about this when he said, "In fact, among most peoples, the idea of evil, pure evil, is completely lacking" (1954: 93). Certainly, in view of what I have shown to be the case among the Chewong, no concept of evil can be attributed to them. As an explanation for a difficult phenomenon such as misik, I therefore consider the concept of evil as unsatisfactory. It was, I think, simply because Karey – and the assumed accompanying concept of evil – was the only common element in the misik beliefs and observances, that Benjamin regards it as the focal point.

This very brief survey of Benjamin's argument, is necessarily schematic and leaves out much thoughtful discussion. The reason for my including it at all is to highlight the fact that it is extremely difficult for anthropologists to abandon the notion that common principles must link members of a class, and that failure to establish such principles implies that the fieldworker just did not manage to obtain the pertinent data. It is this assumption that I hope to call into question.

Endicott faces similar problems to Benjamin in his attempts at interpreting the Batek acts known as lawac, all of which are punished by thunderstorms and the upwelling of subterranean waters. As such they can be seen to be equivalent to Chewong taladen and Temiar misik. The prohibited acts include laughing at animals, cooking certain

combinations of food over the same fire, pouring certain kinds of blood into the river, improper sexual behaviour, and several others (1979: 70). Failing to identify any common regular features in the various lawac, Endicott concludes that the term lawac "is like our term 'illegal' which covers numerous acts, from murder to parking violations" and that the unity underlying all of them is that "they all serve, in their very different ways, to affirm the order of the world as the Batek conceive it" (1979: 70). Later he concludes:

Thus the Batek seem to believe that there is a natural order to the world which is manifested, among other ways, in the divisions of the plant and animal kingdoms. To a large extent, the Batek way of life is considered part of the natural order as well. Because this order was established by the hala' [the Batek equivalent to the bi asal of Earth Six] it should be respected by human beings. The lawac prohibitions seem intended to prevent man from violating or ridiculing this order (79).

In summary, therefore, Endicott claims that there is an order in the Batek way of life, despite the difficulty of establishing its underlying structural principles, and suggests that in the last analysis it is part of the natural order established by supernatural beings. But within each symbolic class he nevertheless searches for underlying principles. I shall be returning to the question of attributes of what is forbidden by the misik, lawac, and taladen rules later in the

chapter.

Endicott has the added difficulty, in his work among the Batek, that information regarding the lawac prohibitions, as well as the superhuman beings, was inconsistent as reported by different informants.

Other problems of indigenous classification

Before I embark upon the detailed examination of Chewong symbolic classification, I wish to distinguish very clearly the kind of problem that I am faced with from others, more commonly encountered by anthropologists, and about which more is written. These other problems are all couched in terms of the difficulty of discerning a consistent classification. Yet if we examine them closely, bearing in mind the three types I distinguished at the beginning of this chapter, we find that there are in fact a number of different problems. To illustrate my point, I will discuss a few relevant papers.

Thus Morris in an article on the Hill Pandaram of Kerala, says that these people are unconcerned not only with classification, but also with naming.

They seem to have an unsystematic and incomplete knowledge of the natural environment in which they live But though this knowledge [of the forest environment] is detailed it is gained mainly by personal experience and this means that not only are their taxonomic systems limited in scope but they have a relative unconcern with systemisation (Morris 1976: 544).

His subsequent data do not really bear out the above statement.

To ascertain the names of common animals and plants is "a frustrating business. For either the Hill Pandaram claim that the plant or animal has no name, or he gives the ethnographer what is essentially a descriptive, or generic term, such as parai chedi (rock plant). And it seems, even on careful questioning, that he is unable to provide a more discriminating taxonomic term" (545). Morris "lost count" of the number of different plants which were subsumed under this taxon. But he established two other primary taxa in connection with plants, namely "tree plant" and "creeper" which, together with the first, provided the three taxa into which all plants were divided. Furthermore, he also isolated several intermediate taxa such as "palm-like trees," or "ginger plants" and he says, "there are in fact many intermediate taxa which unite two or three closely associated species" but there is "no systematic taxonomic hierarchy" (547). In view of this it would be incorrect to say that the Hill Pandaram do not classify their plant world, and that they do not categorise according to common attributes. Admitted, they appear fairly unsophisticated in their classification system, but that principles of categorisation exist appears from Morris's data to be indisputable. I would claim further that theirs is also a taxonomic system, but that it is a shallow one. What so far appears to be "deficient" in their attitude to the botanical world around them is not systemisation, but naming, or enumeration, or, in Hampshire's terminology one may say they have an undeveloped system of individuation (1959: 12).

Despite his earlier assertions to the contrary, Morris later

states: "I am highly sceptical of the notion that some societies lack names for different species of animals and plants" (553). Thus his earlier claims that systematic classification is not done among the Hill Pandaram and that they do not assign names to individual species, are, on his own evidence, not correct. He concludes by saying that it is not so much that they do not actually classify natural species, rather that these various classificatory systems are not linked together into a conceptual scheme, and that the Hill Pandaram do not have any "systematic elaboration of culture" (556). So we end up with a different problem altogether, and one that he himself admits takes us back to Levi-Strauss.

The reason that I have included such a detailed discussion of Morris's article is that it exemplifies certain problems often encountered in anthropological writings on indigenous classification. The levels that I have distinguished are not seen as separate, and consequently the argument may become confused. The type of classification which is somehow seen as deficient is not conceptualised. Is it that the people under study do not construct taxonomies, or is there an absence of categorisation? Could a solution be found in a looser definition of what constitutes a class, along the lines I have suggested? Or is it quite a different problem, namely that what actually constitutes a class is uncertain? Do different informants give different and conflicting information regarding classes? Or is it an issue arising out of the proposition by Levi-Strauss that all primitive classification forms a totality? Is there a lack of individuation? Is one talking about symbolic or scientific classification?

In order to advance the complex topic of primitive classification, it is important to distinguish exactly the nature of the problem in question.

One problem not touched upon by Morris, but which commonly arises, is that of variability in what constitutes a class, either according to different informants or according to context. I will refer briefly to two recent examples. I have already mentioned Endicott's failure to obtain consistent data regarding the lawac prohibitions, as well as the attributes regarding Batek deities, because of variability between informants. Ellen, in his study of animal classification among the Nualu, isolates different causes of variability namely: differences in individual informant's experience of animals due to varying degrees of knowledge and social differentiation; according to context; and, to some extent, due to characteristics of the animals themselves. He concludes by questioning whether homogeneity of knowledge is necessary, or indeed possible, and suggests that, "Variability is what we must expect, diversity is part of the system" (1979: 357).

Both Endicott and Morris suggest that one useful way of dealing with these sorts of situation is to treat the classes polythetically.

The problem in the Chewong context

The problem of variability did not occur among the Chewong. My informants always gave me the same answers when asked for names of animals and plants. Once I had gained their confidence, I found that the same applied to all areas of knowledge which I chose to investigate.

There was little hesitation, and few variations in the answers. This was surprising as I had gone to the field fully expecting the opposite to be the case, in view of the fact that I knew the Orang Asli to have little formal organisation in the fields of politics and religion, and that theirs were societies in which much knowledge was acquired through personal revelation. Individual idiosyncratic knowledge was therefore to be expected.

The problem which I did encounter, however, was a lack of pattern underlying Chewong symbolic classification, despite the consistency of their replies to my questions regarding, for example, which species were included in the various rules.

As I have already commented, though much knowledge is revealed by superhuman beings to the individual, this is often incorporated into the collective body of knowledge, and is therefore shared by everybody. Although this is unlikely to happen in the case of naming natural species, it could easily be so in the case of symbolic classification. Indeed I shall make this claim, although it is unfortunately one which is difficult to establish with conviction since it requires me to prove a lack of any underlying pattern. In order to substantiate it I have chosen to follow the path of Benjamin and Endicott, and to search for common attributes. This I shall do as thoroughly as possible, first by presenting the data in tables and attempting to identify patterns by observation, and then using a computer to conduct a principal-components analysis on animals and their attributes.

Whereas I compiled in the field long tables of all animals, fruit, and staples I came across or was told about, together with all locally attributed features as well as my own imposed ones for each

one, I have for the present purposes extracted only those animals, fruit, and staples which are significant in the present discussion, i. e. those which have a link with the various rules examined in the previous chapter. A longer list of animals and attributes was subjected to the computer analysis, and this can be found in Appendix III. The tables following are arranged according to species included in specific rules. Attributes considered vary between the tables, both because of limitations of space and ease of comprehension, but I have singled out those which either are pertinent, or might conceivably be so. In my original complete table of all species, each was tested for attributes.

Interpretation of the Tables

If we look at Tables VIII and IX we see which animals are focused upon as particularly dangerous to eat for people who, in different ways, are not "normal". In the one case, children, who as yet are not fully developed social beings with fixed ruwai; in the other, pregnant women and their husbands both of whom are involved in the creation process. Both these categories of humanity have to protect themselves in various ways, one of which is to abstain from eating certain meats. From an examination of the attributes of the tolaeg animals no common factor can be established beyond the trivial one that all tolaeg animals have yinlugen counterparts. Since it is the yinlugen of a forbidden animal species which takes the ruwai of any child who eats its flesh, it is a tautology to say that all tolaeg animals have yinlugen.

Table VIII

Tolaeg Animals

Name	<u>Ruwai</u>	<u>Yinlugen</u>	Mixed Habitat	Cook in House	Blow- piped
<u>Geriang</u> (water monitor lizard)	x	x	x		
<u>Keo</u> (flying lemur)	x	x	x		x
<u>Kokh gading</u> (sp. land tortoise)	x	x			
<u>Manai</u> (otter)	?	x			
<u>Timoh</u> (gibbon)	x	x		x	x
<u>Tuwo</u> (slow loris)	?	x			x
<u>Bawaeg</u> (macaque)	x	x	x	x	x

Table IX

Pantang animals: pregnant women and their husbands

Name	<u>Ruwai</u>	People in past	Blow- piped	Cook in house	Mixed Habitat	Sympathetic signature
<u>Bantoai</u> (anteater)	x	x			x	x
<u>Dekan</u> (Bamboo rat)	x	x				
<u>Kawad</u> (fruit bat)	x		x		x	x
* <u>Kokh gading</u> (sp. land tortoise)	x					
* <u>Manai</u> (otter)	?				x	
<u>Pelig</u> (horseshoe bat)			x		x	
<u>Rangsal</u> (flying fox)			x		x	x
* <u>Tuwo</u> (slow loris)	?		x			x

* overlap with tolaeg animals

Table X

Food that may be cooked together

Animal	Blow- piped	<u>Ruwai</u>	People in past	Special prohib.	<u>Tika</u>	<u>Taladen</u>
<u>Bawaeig</u> (pig-tailed macaque)	x	x	x	x	x	
<u>Boweig</u> (banded - leaf monkey)	x	x	x		x	
<u>Siameng</u> (siamang)	x	x	x	x		x
<u>Tayog</u> (long-tailed macaque)	x	x	x			x
<u>Tobowad</u> (dusty leaf-monkey)	x	x	x			x
<u>Timoh</u> (gibbon)	x	x	x	x		x
<u>Topai</u> (squirrels)	x	x			x	
Birds (with some exceptions)	x	x*		x	x	x
Fish (with some exceptions)						

* Some birds have ruwai, others do not. The distinction is not limited to whether they are treated in different ways, as when those with red/yellow patches have to be cooked separately.

Table XI

Vegetables and fruits which may be eaten with meat

Name	Ruwai	Habitat			Other prohibitions
		In ground	On ground	Tree	
<u>Galaeh</u> (tapioca)	x	x			
<u>Hoj</u>	x			x	
<u>Howaw</u>	x	x			
<u>Kiaei</u>	x	x			
<u>Payong</u>	x			x	if kept raw next to sleeping place: <u>Tolaeg</u>
<u>Pre</u>	?			x	
<u>Rante</u>	x	x			
<u>Silah</u> (sweet potato)	x	x			
<u>Siwai</u> (lemon-grass)	x		x		it is tiger <u>taladen</u> to cook with animals killed by blow-pipe + tortoise
<u>Takad</u>	x	x			
<u>Tiog</u> (plantain)				x	
(wild plantain)				x	
<u>Toka</u>	?	x			
<u>Twoaeng</u> (durian)	x			x	

Table XII

Animals and plants with special prohibitions

Animal	Prohibition	Result
Binturong	Not mix with siamang or <u>boweig</u> monkey.	Tiger <u>taladen</u>
Eggs	if found, must not eat	Becomes snake
Hornbill and Squirrels	Bones must not be thrown on ground. Placed in roof.	Poison loses its potency.
<u>Kedogn</u> (giant rat)	Only women can hunt. If no husband women cannot eat.	?
<u>Sipud</u> (sp. water snail)	Must not be put on the ground alive.	Storm <u>taladen</u>
Pig and Monitor lizard	Not smoke after having eaten	Tika
All monkeys	Can not eat with oil	Tiger <u>taladen</u>
Hornbill and Squirrel	Cannot eat with oil	Darts become slippery
Hornbill and Squirrel	Washing-up water must not be thrown on ground under house after dark.	One's mother will die
Elephant and Tapir	Can not eat without special spells being said.	Body becomes so heavy, unable to walk

continued

Plant	Prohibition	Result
<u>Siwai</u> (lemon grass)	Can not eat with all blow- piped animals and tortoise	Tiger <u>taladen</u>
<u>Kongrid</u> root	Can not eat with <u>boweig</u> monkey, hornbill, siamang	Tiger <u>taladen</u>
<u>Klawogen</u> leaf	Can not wrap siamang, squirrel or binturong	Tiger <u>taladen</u>
<u>Yangler</u> leaf	Can not wrap any meat in it	Spider <u>taladen</u> . Itches in stomach
<u>Porau</u> fruit	Cannot carry on shoulder	<u>Yinlugen</u> binturong takes <u>ruwai</u>
<u>Tiri</u> root	Can not be put in bamboo	Tiger <u>taladen</u>

Table XIII

Prohibition explicitly linked to "sympathetic signature"

Name	Who	Reason
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A Animals

<u>Keo</u> (flying lemur)	Women of child-bearing age	Red on ears: bleeding
<u>Kinaw chinhai</u> (red giant flying squirrel)	Women of child-bearing age	Red fur: bleeding
<u>Bantoai</u> (anteater)	Pregnant women and husbands	Strength in clasp: baby stuck
<u>Pelig</u> (horseshoe bats)	Pregnant women and husbands	Strength in clasp: baby stuck
<u>Kawad</u> (fruit bats)	Pregnant women and husbands	Strength in clasp: baby stuck
<u>Rangsai</u> (flying fox)	Pregnant women and husbands	Strength in clasp: baby stuck
<u>Tuwo</u> (slow loris)	Pregnant women and husbands	Slow movement: slow birth
<u>Titchub</u> (sp. bird)	Everybody	Red spots: blood in stomach
All fish with red spots	Everybody	Red spots: blood in stomach
Hornbill and <u>topay</u>	Everybody	If eaten with oil, darts become slippery

B Plants and leaves

<u>Hali yangler</u> (sp. stinging leaf)	Everybody	<u>Tika</u> to wrap meat: itchy stomach
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Although most of the tolaeg animals have ruwai, people were uncertain about the otter and the slow loris. This is interesting because it demonstrates that no necessary link is envisaged between what must be regarded as a conscious act of taking a child's ruwai because it has transgressed the prohibition, and the possession of ruwai.

There is an overlap of three animals between the two classes of tolaeg and pantang. These are one species of land tortoise, otter, and slow loris. These animals were not mentioned by everyone as being pantang for pregnant women and their husbands to eat, although everyone agreed that no tolaeg animal might be eaten by them as the yinlugen would take the ruwai of the foetus. This could be the reason that some people listed the otter, the tortoise, and the slow loris as pantang animals. The slow loris, as I have already said, may not be eaten by anyone because of the association it has with the individual as the metamorphosed afterbirth, so it is difficult to understand why it is included at all.

There is thus no feature that the tolaeg animals have in common, and there is no apparent reason that they should be singled out. In the case of the pregnancy-pantang animals no pattern appears either, except that four out of eight exhibit sympathetic signatures. That is, the Chewong themselves explicitly point to the biological features of the animals, specifying the link between them and the envisaged effect. In all instances, birth would be slow because the animal itself is unusually slow, or because its grasp is exceptionally strong (the assumption being that the baby would be held back in the womb). But again, many other animals display similar characteristics yet these are not forbidden.

Table XIII lists other foods which are governed by specific regulations because of attributes seen to constitute "sympathetic signatures". There may be many more examples of these, but unless they were brought to my attention, I would not know about them.

The two lists in Tables VIII and IX contain twelve animals altogether. Out of these, the flying lemur, the anteater, the fruit and horseshoe bats, the flying fox, and the slow loris are all animals that to the Western layman present problems of classification; one that zoologists have solved by the creation of the primary taxon "mammal". The Chewong, while not having this taxon, nor indeed one for animal, have no word for land animals as opposed to birds or fish, both of which however are conceptualised as separate classes. According to them, birds (kawaw) have wings and can fly. But flying lemurs, foxes, squirrels, and bats are not kawaw, though they have wings and can fly. When I asked if they were kawaw I was always told, "no they are different" (masign) yet no one could identify wherein the difference lay. A linguistic examination does not help, for whereas none of these animals is kawaw, both kawaw and the bats "fly", okipoi, the remainder "glide", boloa.

Although there is no prohibition on the rest of the community against eating these animals, they do not in practice seem eager to do so. It would be relatively easy to shoot bats, for instance, yet no one does. I met only a few people who said that they had ever eaten them. Similarly, people do not eat anteaters. One night an anteater climbed into Kwe's house. This caused a lot of commotion and they killed it – mainly in order to show it to me, since I had complained about not having seen one.

I asked if they were going to eat it, but they refused with what I can only describe as signs of disgust. At first Modn said that it was bas, by which she meant that no true anteater would ever enter human habitat, hence the one that did must have been a bas in an anteater bajo. But later she said that she had never eaten anteater, and never would. She would be frightened to throw it on the fire and cut it up. None of the other animals was ever killed, although we often saw them flying, or rather gliding, from tree to tree at dusk. There is no pattern beyond this coincidence of distaste between ourselves and the Chewong when encountering these animals.

Since there are no "ideal" types of what constitutes an animal, nor genera, either by semantic glosses or by implicit categorisations, some being singled out cannot be explained in terms of anomalies. Despite the fact that there are words for the classes of bird (kawaw) and fish (kiehl), there are none for the rest of the animal kingdom, nor for sub-groups of it. Furthermore, since there is no conceptual grouping based on common attributes, as is borne out of my tables, there is nothing with which individual animals may be compared in order to determine where they belong on a conceptual map. That an animal is neither bird nor fish does not automatically make it anomalies. Were this so all animals not classified as bird or fish among the Chewong would then be anomalies, an untenable proposition. There are no other criteria by which to measure any one animal. It is simply itself, named as an individual, and attitudes towards it are not based on anything inherent in its make-up.

Regarding Table X, two features immediately stand out, namely that, except for fish, all those animals that can be cooked in the

same fire and eaten together at the same meal are hunted with the blow-pipe; and that they all, again with the exception of fish, have ruwai. Most of them were also people in the past, except fish, and squirrel which the Chewong say have only been "pets", botn. Here we encounter another category, namely botn. Unfortunately I failed to enquire if there are any animals which may not become botn. In the myths, squirrels, monkeys, dogs, and tigers are botn. In the case of tigers they are always the botn of a Bongso, and are euphemistically known as their dogs.

To return to the animals which may be eaten together, I think that a sociological explanation may partly account for it, although a structural one eludes one. The blow-pipe is the prime hunting weapon and therefore symbolises the adult male. It also symbolizes them as forest people. Meats most frequently brought in from the forest are animals killed by the blow-pipe. These meats are also the favoured ones. When a Chewong complains that he has not eaten meat, ai, for a long time, he is thinking of monkey or ape.

But the blow-pipe is not an overriding consideration determining in all cases where meat may be cooked. Many other animals also killed by the blow-pipe have to be cooked and eaten separately. The bats, the flying lemur, squirrel, fox, and the binturong all of which are shot by the blow-pipe, and most of which, moreover, have ruwai cannot be mixed either with each other or with any other animals. Upon persistent questioning, I was provided with an answer, namely that these animals "go about during the night and sleep during the day". They are therefore seen to exhibit behavioural traits opposite to those of other animals killed by the same method. The day/night opposition is not absolute,

however, since many commonly eaten animals are not nocturnal, yet have to be eaten and cooked separately. There is even one instance of one day-time animal which is killed by the blow-pipe, the banded leaf-monkey, which may be cooked and eaten together with pig, a nocturnal animal caught in traps.

Furthermore, fish is a rather recent addition to the group. According to Modn, in the days of her mother's childhood, fish had to be treated as a separate category. This leads me to suspect that in the more distant times no two meats of different animals could be cooked and eaten together.

There are certain exceptions among fish and birds which have to be treated separately. If they have noticeable spots of red or yellow, colours which are associated with blood, (and both of which are called sowod), they must not be mixed with any other meat.

The issue is further complicated when we consider that some, but by no means all, vegetables, fruit, and nuts may be cooked and/or eaten together with meat. Table XI shows these. The only point of convergence is that most of them have ruwai, but upon further consideration, one realizes that they all (with the exception of lemon-grass which is a condiment, not a food) belong to the category of staple, ratn, and, as I said earlier, all ratn are attributed with ruwai. In the days before the Chewong became cultivators, all their staple foodstuffs had to be found in the forest. The wild tubers are available all the year round, whereas the nuts and fruits are seasonal. The ^{wild} tubers have today been largely replaced by tapioca, but they are still eaten. Of what we would call fruit, only the durian would qualify from the list, the remaining fruit is either tika or tiger taladen to eat together with meat. The

Chewong invoke ratn as an explanation for this, the rest of the fruits are not ratn. They do, however, include all nuts, wild vegetables, as well as fruits into the one class of "fruit", plo. The tubers are not plo, the only generic term for them was ratn, but ratn as we have seen can also be plo. Rice may also be ratn. The only factor common to all members of the plo class would appear to be their seasonal appearance.

The Chewong cannot conceive of eating meat or fish on its own; these have to be complemented by ratn. There is no injunction to this effect, but no meal is ever served without one form of staple accompanying the meat or fish. The reverse of course often happens, but in such cases excuses are always made for the deficiency. The ideal meal consists of one type of meat and one type of staple. I suspect that rather than search for common attributes, symbolic or natural or social, in the various types of foodstuffs, one should consider the possibility that, ideally speaking, no two foods of any kinds, beyond the complementary ai and ratn, should ever be cooked or eaten together. One might speculate that in the nomadic days, with only one, two, or three families travelling together, the chances of more than one animal being caught in any one day were fairly small. Certainly today it is rare for one man to shoot more than one animal during a day's hunting unless there are several birds of the same species, or a mother and baby monkey or squirrel. Similarly, on most days not more than one staple will be collected, or, to judge from present day practices, not more than one at any given outing. It must be remembered that whenever a hunter, fisherman, or tuber- or fruit-gatherer returns to the settlement, whatever

is brought back is shared out and eaten immediately. It is not punén to fail to save food for anyone not yet back from the day's labour. So even if another hunter or gatherer should return with different food, the chances are that he would do so at a different time from anyone else and, consequently, whatever food which already had been brought home would have been consumed. It is therefore possible that the norm was to eat one type of ai with one type of ratn at any given meal. To have a choice of either would be unusual and therefore not common practice.

These sorts of pseudo-historical reconstructions of origins of practices are of course to be avoided. Nevertheless, I think there is some justification in my doing so in the present context since there is empirical evidence of sorts. This is especially so since I was told that until recently fish had to be eaten and cooked separately. Similarly, the most commonly shot monkey, the banded leaf-monkey, boweig, is today eaten together with the wild pig, gau. Again I was told that it is only recently that one might do so without invoking taladen, as is still the case if pig should be eaten together with any of the other monkeys. It seems to me therefore that there is a tendency towards a loosening of restrictions on the mixing of foods, and that for the sake of convenience, the ideal of keeping every species separate is being relaxed. When I went to visit the Chewong of the Dong area I found that nobody observed any restrictions of keeping different foods apart, an indication that these rules are abandoned upon contact with cultures who do not observe them.

Another point to note in this connection, namely why the various foodstuffs must be kept separate, is that unlike the Batek who

object to the simultaneous cooking of some meats because the mixing of smells of the different species is "offensive to Gobar" (the "thunder deity") (Endicott 1979: 74), the Chewong make no such connection. To them the pertinent point is that no two different species of foodstuffs, beyond one example of ai and one of ratn should be together in the stomach at the same time. Nothing happens if the foods are just cooked together; it is when they are consumed together that it becomes significant. Therefore, everything must be cooked in different pots, over different fires, and consumed at different times. A prolonged period of time must be allowed to elapse before some other kind of food can be eaten. This is not all, however. The actual fire in which pork, for instance, has been roasted is said to contain pieces of meat, fat, or juices. So even if the pork was cooked several days previously, and no visible remnant is to be detected, there is nevertheless a lingering "pigness" in that spot, and therefore no other meat may be cooked there. I have just mentioned that the banded leaf monkey and pig can be eaten together. This means that the monkey may be cooked there; but the pig may not be cooked in the main housefire where the monkey is usually cooked, because all the other monkeys etc. are also cooked there. The presence of pig in this fire would therefore lead to tiger taladen when the pig was eaten. It would also invalidate the fire for other cooking purposes.

All the other vegetables and fruits which are not ratn may not be cooked together with any meat, or with each other. I have watched people preparing to cook some animal make a fire in a spot different from where the same species had been cooked on previous occasions, for the reason that in the interim a lot of fruit had been eaten and that

peel and stones had been discarded on the ground where the fire had been. To cook another category of food on the same spot would mean mixing. Similarly, I was told of a case when a woman died of tika after eating some hornbill from a plate on which papaya had been kept, and which apparently had not been properly washed. At Gambir, where I spent most of my time, we had two fires inside the house, on which all ratn was cooked, all fish except those with red markings, and those animals permitted to be cooked together. There was one covered fire on the ground where we always cooked wild pig. This place was also used for baking the tapioca bread, as well as cooking any other ratn when this was needed, or just convenient. There was one spot always used for building a fire to cook both species of porcupine: another for both species of monitor lizard, and a third for all species of tortoises. Various species of wild vegetables were cooked in their own separate spots. Whenever rarely caught animals or vegetables were brought back, a place was chosen to make the fire where no food had been cooked before. The same applied to food bought in the shops, with the exception of rice, which is ratn. Tea or coffee could not be drunk together with anything except ratn. If it was raining very badly, or if one just wanted to heat up a small piece of some food which could not be put in the household fire, one could build a small fire inside the house next to the main one and cook it on that. There is thus no ritual spatial division such as that which Benjamin reports of the Temiar of off-the-ground, and on-the-ground cooking. Nor is there one along lines of house/field (or culture/nature). More difficult to understand is why there is no injunction on where the firewood comes from. Thus, a new fire may be lit by taking a burning log from the household fire.

No one was able to explain this to me. The reason might be traced to the property of fire discussed in Chapter VII whereby it is regarded as not only the destroyer, but also the transformer. Any "mystical association" between what has been cooked on a spot is not seen to be lingering about a burning piece of wood.

So, the main principle of the Chewong food prohibitions is that no food except for one type of ai and one type of ratn must be mixed together at the same time in a person's stomach. It does not matter whether the food is cooked or not, but if it is cooked, care must be taken that it is cooked in a different spot from all other foods.

We now turn to why some mixings are governed by different rules. The food itself is the carrier of the prohibition/repercussion. Most forbidden foods are said to be tika, but some are taladen. Of the taladen ones there are some which are tiger taladen, and others which are elephant taladen, and this means that if the food in question is mixed with other forbidden foods, a tiger or an elephant will attack the eater. I am unable to discern any patterns regarding which foods are (elephant or tiger) taladen and which are tika.

In addition to the prohibition on mixing in the stomach, we find that some animals and plants have special restrictions associated with them. These are set out in Table XII. I think that this is far from a complete list. Unless I happened to observe certain food, and someone thought of telling me that a specific rule attached to it, or I actually noticed something unusual in the handling of it, I had no way of knowing. There would have been no systematic way of making this sort of enquiry. Nevertheless, enough instances of special rules regarding edible plants and animals came my way to establish the principle that idiosyncratic

rules exist. Some of these rules exhibit sympathetic signatures. For instance oil⁶ which is slippery, is seen to have a mystical effect on the hunting procedure by making the darts also slippery. But one may ask why only squirrel and hornbill cannot be mixed with oil lest the darts become slippery, and not the monkeys. Some informants told me that siamang and gibbon could not be mixed with oil either, but the penalty in this case was tiger taladen. Why only women can hunt the giant rat I do not know. The pantang of throwing the washing-up water from all monkeys, apes, squirrels and birds on the ground after dark, lest one's mother die, is also difficult to explain. Here at any rate the Chewong are consistent in so far as the animals included are all those which may be cooked and eaten together, or if viewed differently, all those which are shot with the blow-pipe and are not nocturnal. It is possible that we are here faced with an off-the-ground/on-the-ground dichotomy, such as is found among the Temiar and Semai (see Dentan 1967), further reinforced by a dichotomisation of daytime and night-time as represented by the habits of the animals in question. But if this were so one would immediately be puzzled by the rule that says that the bones of squirrels and hornbills, but not those of apes and monkeys, must not be thrown on the ground; they must be put in the thatch of the roof. These rules could mean one of two things. One alternative is that they do operate symbolically a form of categorisation of the natural species, but that the principles have been virtually forgotten and that only a few remnants of what was previously an immense pattern has survived today. The other alternative is that they have adopted bits and pieces of symbolic practices from neighbouring tribes without understanding the underlying

assumptions that governed them in their own setting. In view of the rest of my data on Chewong modes of thought I would tend to favour the latter explanation. There would be no conflict in them doing so, since the principle of idiosyncratic rules was already in existence.

This summarises my rather impressionistic attempt to identify underlying patterns in Chewong classifications. In order to make my analysis more rigorous, and perhaps more readily understood, I also made use of a computer to test whether there existed any patterns more complex than I was able to ascertain.

The computer analysis and implications of the tables

In Appendix IV I summarise the results of the computer analysis. Here I will simply describe what was done and draw certain conclusions from the results.

The variables under consideration consisted of selected animals and possible attributes associated with them. The number of animals (elements) had to be restricted to forty, the maximum that the computer could accommodate. I included all those already singled out as vehicles for symbolic thought and used in my own tables, as well as others which in various ways were significant among the Chewong. The attributes (constructs) were chosen partly according to indigenous concepts, such as ruwai, what rule might be applied etc., as well as my own imposed ones, such as place of habitat, type of skin etc., which although not mentioned spontaneously by the Chewong as significant might nevertheless reveal themselves as such. The total of twenty-five constructs were less than the computer could accommodate (the

maximum would again have been forty), but as far as I could see there were no other possible significant attributes to be taken into consideration. I have listed the elements and the constructs in Appendix III.

The computer subjected these data to a "principal components analysis". This is a method commonly used in psychology to try to determine the underlying structure in the relations between elements and constructs (see Child 1970). With certain limitations, this method of analysis can establish the existence of a "structure" or "pattern" in a set of data which cannot be readily discovered simply by looking at the data.

The results of this analysis (some of which are shown in Appendix IV) are consistent with the idea that there is a lack of structure, or at best a very loose structure, underlying the data. The method of analysis is such that it should be capable of discerning polythetic as well as monothetic principles, but none was found. It is possible that the relationship between the constructs is more complex than that considered in the computer analysis, or that I omitted one or more crucial attributes from the consideration – a possibility I have just dealt with.

My own attempts to establish underlying patterns I found unconvincing. As I have indicated in the previous pages, certain principles may be said to apply, but never in all cases, and the extent to which all attempted generalisations are vitiated by the facts is sufficient to condemn all but the most tautological statements. This view is supported by the computer analysis.

An alternative way of establishing the existence of structural principles is suggested by Whorf's discussion of what he calls a "covert class" (1956: 69). What he means by this is a classification "which has no overt mark actualised along with the words of the class but which operates through an invisible 'central exchange' of linkage bonds in such a way as to determine certain other words which mark the class" (69). Thus "a covert concept like a covert gender is as definable and in its way as definite as a verbal concept like 'female' or feminine, but it is of a very different kind, it is not the analog of a word but of a rapport-system, and an awareness of it has an intuitive quality, we say that it is sensed rather than comprehended" (70). He then goes on to narrow down his discussion by saying that, "a covert linguistic class may not deal with any grand dichotomy of objects, it may have a very subtle meaning, and it may have no overt mark other than certain distinctive 'reactances' with certain overtly marked forms. It is then what I call a CRYPTOTYPE" (70). In other words a concept can exist as a covert category, so that the absence of an overt identification in the form of a word is no proof of its non-existence.

The value of Whorf's contribution is that he demonstrates that such "cryptotypes" may be identifiable by means of linguistic analysis. Thus,

The Navaho so-called 'round' and 'long' nouns are not marked in themselves nor by any pronouns. They are marked only in the use of certain very important verb stems, in that a

different stem is required for a 'round' or a 'long' subject or object. Many other verb stems are indifferent to the distinction. A new object, for which the Navaho has no name, will be put into one or the other class by analogy, not analogy as it would seem to me, but as guided by the contents of the two Navaho complexes (70).

Although I did not submit my data on Chewong language to any rigorous linguistic analysis, I certainly found no such patterning in their use of language. To establish a lack of pattern in language is similar to the problem which I have already been facing. Whereas I can assert that I found no evidence for the existence of any such "cryptotypes", I cannot conclusively rule out the possibility. Indeed, it would be impossible to do so.

But may we not be confronted with what Wittgenstein called "family resemblances" in his discussion on games (1953; sections 66 - 7), and which principle has proved so useful to some of the anthropologists discussed earlier in this chapter? This is an important alternative to be considered. Is it the case that the system underlying the apparently unpatterned classification is polythetic?

I would make two objections to this suggestion. Firstly, the computer analysis fails to support such a claim. Secondly, the situation is, in the case of the Chewong, somewhat different. It is not that they always have clear-cut distinctions between groups of

elements without any apparent features in common between the elements. In many cases they fail to make clear-cut distinctions between the groups (as for example in the case of superhuman beings discussed in Chapter IV). If there is not only an overlap in the defining features, but also an overlap between the classes which the features serve to distinguish, the situation is one of such complexity that alternative theories enter the realm of pure speculation. Ultimately, polythetic classification cannot be sharply contrasted with lack of principles in a class. One shades off into the other. No threshold can be identified beyond which it can be claimed without risk of contradiction that no underlying pattern of a polythetic nature exists. I believe that the Chewong represent a position very far along the spectrum from rigorous monothetic classification – but it is almost arbitrary whether this is called a very loose polythetic system or a simple enumerative system.

In the following section I shall consider an alternative for the inclusion of a member in a class, namely the principle of contingency.

Laughing at animals

I now wish to consider a question which has preoccupied anthropologists of Malay aborigines since the days of Skeat, namely that laughing at certain animals leads to thunderstorms, since this can be seen to have particular relevance in the present context.

It appears from the literature that the various Orang Asli groups have a finite number of animals which may not be laughed at

or teased. So far the writers have concentrated upon the lists of animals included in what is assumed to be a special category of animals which are somehow linked according to some principle. Common features among the animals have therefore been searched for. Schebesta suggests that the animals thus singled out fall into two main groups. First, domestic or captive animals must not be ridiculed because they cannot defend themselves, whereas it "is not a sin to laugh at a human being who can avenge himself" (1928: 190). Second, some of the animals are specifically said to be companions or servants of Karei (190).

Benjamin proposes that the "ideal type of action" that leads to a state of misik (thunderstorms) is to mock those animals which are Karei's familiars (1977: 107), but there are several exceptions to this rule.

Endicott gives a list of nineteen animals which is the maximum that the Batek may not laugh at. These are both captive as well as free animals, thereby destroying Schebesta's thesis. He found that seven of the animals seems to form the "core of the class", namely pig-tailed macaques, long-tailed macaques, land leeches, water leeches, dogs, cats, snakes (1979: 71). Furthermore, the Batek say that "as a general rule one can laugh at any animal one can eat and cannot laugh at any animal one cannot eat" (71). His explanation of this statement is that all animals and plants were created by the superhuman beings. Some of them are useful to humans, others are not. Therefore to laugh at the useless ones would seem to be "ridiculing the hala' themselves" and, "what is prohibited then, is laughing at the very existence of the animal, at the order of things as

established by the *hala!*" (73). But, as Endicott points out, this rule is not clear cut since even in the core group we find animals which can be eaten, namely the two species of macaques. His justification for their inclusion, that they have an "uncanny resemblance to human beings" (73) does not seem satisfactory. There are also several animals not eaten which may be laughed at, and others such as the tiger and the elephants which "would not be laughed at anyway because, as the Batek say, people would be afraid to laugh at them" (73).

Other writers do not provide any detailed discussion on the subject of which animals may not be laughed at and why, beyond that of mentioning the prohibitions.

I now wish to turn to the Chewong material to see how it fits in with the previous hypotheses. Having read and pondered upon the curious belief of the Orang Asli before going to the field, I started soon after my arrival to collect a list of those animals which the Chewong appeared to associate with laughter and thunderstorms, and which were said to be taladen. The easiest way to do this was, in the first instance, to note whenever children were told off for laughing uproariously near animals by adults calling out "taladen!" I would then follow this up by asking whether it was taladen to laugh at a dog, leech, house-mouse or whatever the animal in question was and I always received an affirmative reply. As my list began to grow, and to include animals which none of the other writers had mentioned, I started to ask about all the animals I knew the names of. Much to my amazement I never once received a negative answer. It appeared that it was taladen to laugh at all animals. But sometimes an informant

would say that one particular animal was especially dangerous, or "very much taladen", taladen lòi. I also found that whenever I put my question differently and asked which are the taladen animals there was a noticeable correspondence between those spontaneously listed and those which in other contexts had been said to be taladen loi. For the record, the animals most frequently mentioned during my stay were: snake (taloden), poisonous millipedes (keéb) worms and caterpillars (komai and kaching), leeches (lawoi), wild pig (gau), monitor lizard (challag), and the banded leaf-monkey (boweig).

In the case of the banded leaf-monkey, it is particularly taladen to put one in a baby sling and rock it to and fro while singing a lullaby. This makes people laugh a lot, I was told. The added restriction here is probably one of treating a non-human being as if it were human, a transgression of species-bound behaviour.

When I enquired why the above-mentioned animals were taladen loi, invariably I was informed that someone had laughed at that particular animal in the past and how a bad thunderstorm had ensued. In each case the incident had happened within living memory or during the life-time of grandparents at the most. In view of this, I would like to suggest that no logical links are to be sought when attempting to "explain" the prohibition on certain animals and not on others. As far as the Chewong are concerned the key concept is that no animal may be laughed at or teased. The prohibition applies also to flesh being transformed, that is cooked into food, as well as to receptacles used for cooking meat and from which it is eaten. This is thus an extension of the Chewong attitude to their environment since we have

seen how it is tolah to laugh and play near non-meat foodstuffs.

I now return to the question of why a relatively small number of animals are said to be taladen lòi. When the Chewong diagnose a particular disease, they examine the recent behaviour of the patient, or members of the community with whom he has recently had contact, to elicit any breach of a rule which might account for the disease. In just the same way they examine their own behaviour in relation to the animate non-human world whenever a severe thunderstorm is raging in order to detect who amongst them has laughed at what animal. I have observed this attempt at diagnosis going on while the storm raged, and it is usually resolved by someone admitting to having laughed at an animal in the recent past. If no one is forthcoming, then it is assumed that one of the small children must have done so, and conciliatory actions are then entered into on behalf of all the children. Later the grown-ups will explain that children do not know what they are doing and that they are always laughing at one animal or other.

The animal most frequently mentioned as taladen lòi is the worm (kaching). The reason for this is that about four or five years before my arrival, a sudden terrible storm arose during which a tree fell, killing three people and seriously injuring two others. In the diagnosis of the event, those surviving said that earth worms had been laughed at by the people who were killed. Millipedes are usually mentioned next, justified by a story about Jong who nearly died from a falling tree after having laughed at one, and so on.

What I suggest is that as each such event recedes into history and others occur, the actual species which are said to be taladen lòi

are gradually undergoing change. Each new event will tend to replace (or possibly, of course, reinforce) the association previously made, and the consequent identification of a specific animal as taladen loi.

This argument applies also to my earlier discussion regarding those species focused on for other special restrictions with regard to pregnancy, childhood, and so on. To see resemblance is then, I would argue, futile. The selection of the actual species to which, at any given time, the rules apply is contingent upon events. It is the existence of classes as named concepts which is important, not the members of each class. Thus we have the rules such as pantang, tolaeg, taladen etc. which were all discussed in the last chapter, and the superhuman beings, such as bi asal, bi inhar, bas, etc. discussed in Chapter IV. The labels exist, the contents in many cases change, following particular circumstances and events.

A topical analogy will elucidate the point. The class of carcinogens contains all substances known to encourage the growth of cancer. Although events, under suitably rigorous experimental conditions, can identify some substance as a carcinogen, researchers have until now failed to find any underlying principle that unites the many different carcinogens. In effect, scientists are calling any cancer-causing agent a carcinogen, much as the Chewong say, for instance, that any animal known to have been eaten by a pregnant woman shortly before a miscarriage is henceforth pantang for pregnant women. To conclude, I would maintain that certainly the Chewong thought is ordered in a way which can justifiably be regarded as classification, but, as I have argued throughout this chapter, this concept does not necessarily imply either a hierarchy of notions or the existence of underlying structural principles.

PART 4

NOTES

- 1 Punén may be used as a verb. Thus they may say that someone has "punened" his parents-in-law, no ka punénklòg, or one "punéns" oneself, ka punén punyeh. It is in this sense that I feel justified in using the expression "puts one in a state of punén"
- 2 Demonstrations of the dances were very half-hearted, and very short, done just to give me an idea of what they were like. The Chewong may not perform these or the special songs outside the context of a real expulsion of the yinlugen ceremony. Were they to do so, they will die. Knowing how much I wished to record the funeral song, Kwe on my very last night at Gambir, sang two of them amongst much nervous laughter by himself and the rest. I spent the afternoon and evening on the overnight stop in the forest on my last journey down transcribing the songs from my tape and having them explained to me by Laneg and Mòdn.
- 3 Following on from the above/^{note 1} maro, may similarly be used verbally, as when it was said that the people from Sentao had "marod" their friends at Gambir by not informing them that Mag had died, "they marod us" ka gödn maro he.
- 4 In a paper (to appear in The Individual and the Social in Cognitive Development eds. G. Butterworth and P. Light, Harvester Press), P.L. Harris and T. Olthof comparing my data (from Rules not Words) with those on the Ilongot as discussed by M. Rosaldo

(Knowledge and Passion, Cambridge 1980) conclude that:
 "While children may have a universally similar conception of emotion in general, its articulation with respect to particular emotions may show a variable path when examined cross-culturally, depending upon the particular display rules of the culture in question".

- 5 The Chewong use the word jampor (cf. Malay champon, to mix) whenever they talk about mixing something together. They will not use it in the context of explaining the rules forbidding mixing different foods together, however. Then they just say "cannot eat gibbon with pig", timoh bi gauhan kom cha, or "to carry siamang and binturong in the same basket is tiger taladen", siamang bi kintoa lam nai lugn, o taladen kle.
- 6 Oil is extracted by the Chewong from one species of nut only, (hodj) and they regard it as extremely delicious. Fats of all kinds are the best parts of the meat. Commercial cooking oil is not bought by them, but when I bought some in, the restriction was immediately extended to it.

APPENDIX I : MYTHSMyth 1Ta' Tahala

Ta' Tahala, whose nickname was Ta' Totyor, wanted a wife. The problem was that his penis was extremely pointed and sharp, and there were thorns on it. He placed necklaces, sarongs, bracelets, and rings inside a very large cane fishtrap. After some days a bird spoke to him, "Ta' Totyor, Ta' Totyor, there are fish corpses in your trap." Ta' Totyor went with his dog (which was really a tiger) to investigate. Two young girls were inside the trap. He let them out and they went with him to his house where he cooked rice and gave them to eat. In the evening they slept next to each other, and the two girls became his wives, but they did not have sexual intercourse. After three or four nights the girls said to him, "Ta' Totyor?" "What?" asked he. "Ta' Totyor, we want to have children." So Ta' Totyor had intercourse with them by placing his penis between their toes.

After a while the girls became pregnant in their calves. Several months went by until one day the girls said, "Ta' Totyor." "What is it?" asked he. "Our children have grown large and the birth is close. It is time you went and found some bark so that we can make bark cloth for baby slings," they said. The following morning Ta' Totyor got out two large bags of rice and gave them to his wives, saying, "this rice is good and you may eat it. This other bag of rice is poisonous and you must not

eat it." Having said this he and his dog set off. The two wives at home cooked some of the good rice which they ate. Then they decided to pretend to have eaten the poisonous rice and they cooked some of this as well but left it aside. They went to sleep to pretend that they had died. Meanwhile Ta' Totyor and his dog had arrived at the dog tree and started cutting off the bark, when a bird called, "Ta' Totyor, Ta' Totyor, the two women at home have died." "Oh, but I told them that one bag of rice was poisonous and one was good," lamented Ta' Totyor. "Come on, Master, we'll go home, the two women have died," said the dog. When they reached the house Ta' Totyor looked at his two wives. They were asleep, but he thought they were dead. He saw the rice in the saucepan and tried a little. It tasted very bad and he vomited. He looked at his wives swollen calves and said sadly, "They were so pregnant too." "What shall we do, Master, shall we bury them?" asked the dog. "No," said Ta' Totyor, "we'll make a bamboo raft and send them down the river to where they came from." So they carried the two corpses and put them on some leaves while they built the raft. When it was ready Ta' Totyor went up to the two women and looked at them. No, they were truly dead he decided, and he put them on the raft together with all the things he had given them, and went home. After a while the girls arrived at their own settlement and they told everybody what they had done. The people there said they had been very clever.

Ta' Totyor built another large fishtrap and put sarongs, necklaces, rings and bracelets inside. Two other girls

wanted the things and they entered the fishtrap. "Ta' Totyor, Ta' Totyor, there are fish corpses in your trap," called out the bird. "Come let us go and have a look," said Ta' Totyor to his dog. When he saw the two girls inside he asked his dog - who was really a tiger - "What do you say. Is that meat for you?" "No," said the dog, so Ta' Totyor let the girls out and they went with him home. After a few days they said to him, "Ta' Totyor." "What?" he asked. "Ta' Totyor, we want to make children," they said, so Ta' Totyor had sexual intercourse with them, but this time he did it properly in their vaginas. But the thorns on his penis scraped their vaginas, and they cried out with pain. After a while they got pregnant. This time the wives were properly (loi) pregnant, in their stomachs. As the time for delivery drew near, they said to their husband, "Ta' Totyor." "What?" asked he. "Ta' Totyor, our babies are getting large. You must go and get some bark so that we can make bark cloth for baby slings." The next morning, Ta' Totyor showed his wives two bags of rice. "This rice is sweet and you may eat it. This rice is poisonous and you must not eat it." Having said this, he and the dog set off to find the bark. The girls cooked the good rice and ate. Then they cooked the poisonous one and left it so that Ta' Totyor would think they had eaten it and died. They lay down to sleep.

Ta' Totyor was busily hacking at the bark of a dog tree. The bird called out to him, "Ta' Totyor, Ta' Totyor," but he did not hear. The bird called again, this time louder, "Ta' Totyor, Ta' Totyor." "What?" said he. "The two women at home have died," said the bird. "Oh but I told them which rice was good and which

was poisonous," exclaimed Ta' Totyor. So he and the dog went home. Ta' Totyor was very sad. He looked at his two wives and their big stomachs. "And they were so close to give birth," he lamented. "Well, what shall we do?" he asked the dog. "Are they meat for you?" "No, no," said the dog, "we'll build a raft as we did last time," he added. They carried the girls to the river and put them on some leaves together with the things they had been given. Ta' Totyor kept looking at them. They were truly dead. "We'll leave them here to be eaten by wild animals," he said to the dog, "let us go home." When the girls heard this they were frightened, "No, No", they cried, "we have lied and pretended to be dead. When Ta' Totyor heard this he told his dog to bite them. "They lied to me," he said. The dog (which was really a tiger) bit them and this time they died properly. Their corpses fell into the river and drifted down to the settlement. When the people there saw them they said that they had been less clever than the other two. No more girls dared go to Ta' Totyor's fishtrap, and he went up to Earth Six.

Myth 2

The pandanus woman

Once there was a pandanus plant woman. She very much wanted a baby, but no man would sleep with her for her vagina was full of thorns; her vagina teeth. So she slept with her legs wide open in order for the wind to enter her vagina. After about one year she became pregnant and in due course she gave birth to a girl. The pandanus woman wanted more children. Many men came to have sexual intercourse with her, but the sharp thorns in her

vagina cut off their pebebis and they died.

After a while Bôngso went to have a look at the pendanus woman. All his elder brothers had died from having slept with her and Bongso was curious. He saw all the thorns and made himself into a tiny being so that he could enter the woman's stomach without being torn to shreds by the thorns. He wanted to enter her, but not to die in the process. The woman thought she was pregnant when Bôngso was inside her. He grew inside her stomach until the day came when she started her labour pains. The woman told her daughter by the wind, "Take great care at this birth of your younger sibling. It is a boy." Bôngso was born and the pandamus-leaf woman thought that he was a real baby. She would chew the tapioca herself before putting it inside his mouth as one does to babies, but he spat it out. He was no baby, but a man who had made himself very small and entered her stomach. So the woman gave him proper rice and tapioca and this he ate. He grew very fast. After seven days he could walk. When he was a little bigger the mother told her "wind daughter" to take him with her into the forest to search for edible roots. She gave them a knife each, but Bongso hid his knife and when he returned home he told the pandamus woman that he had lost it. "Never mind," said she, "I have lots of knives ."The next day they went into the forest again, and when they had finished digging, Bôngso hid his knife on the ground telling his mother that he had lost it. "Oh never mind, there is no shortage of knives," she replied. The same thing happened each time Bôngso went into the forest, but the woman did not mind losing all the knives. Bôngso kept the

lives for use later.

Time passed and Bòngso grew up. When his sister was quite big, she had grown breasts, Bongso said to her one day, "I am not really your brother. I made myself very small in order to enter your mother's stomach. I knew how many men had died from having their penises cut off while having intercourse with her. All my elder brothers were also killed in this way. Are you very fond of your mother?" he asked her, "No," she said. "No, I am not very fond of her." "Truly?" he insisted. "No, truly I am not fond of her," she replied. "Well if you are not, then I will destroy her," said Bòngso. The girl again said that she was not fond of her mother.

Then Bòngso went to the pandanus woman's house. He took the bones of his brothers which she kept inside. He set light to her house and shouted out, "Become pandanus leaf. Become a true pandanus plant." From then on she was never able to be human.

Bongso took all the bones of his brothers and laid them out on the ground. He washed them and put them in the right places. Then he blew magical smoke òz taba over them. They became alive again. "Oh, what happened?" they exclaimed upon awakening. "Your penises got cut off by the pandanus woman and you died," said Bongso. "Oh, where is she now?" they wanted to know. "I have destroyed her with fire", he told them. Then the brothers saw the "wind girl" and asked who she was. "That is my wife," said Bòngso. So Bòngso blew more magical smoke over his brothers and in the night he and the "wind girl" slept together. After a few days

the brothers were strong enough to walk, so Bòngso collected all the knives he had been hiding and they set off to their mother's house. "Is that your wife, Bòngso?" the mother asked when she saw them. "It is my wife," he replied. "Where have you all been for so long?" the mother further wanted to know. "Oh, my brothers had their penises cut off by the pandanus woman's vagina and died," said Bòngso. "Oh, and where is she now?" "I destroyed her with fire. She has become a true pandanus plant," said Bòngso.

Myth 3

Bòngso who went to Earth Six for fruit

Once upon a time people were very hungry. They did not yet know how to make swiddens and grow tapioca. They only went digging wild roots and tubers. One family consisted of mother, father and two brothers. The younger, Bòngso, was not very strong. His mother scolded him for not being any good at digging and carrying roots. They all wanted to eat fruit very much, but there was not any on Earth Seven. There was fruit on Earth Six only. They were becoming more and more hungry as they could not find enough to eat. They decided to nöpoh. They made riding, headbands and ruwai string, and they built a special house in the jungle for them to nöpoh in. First the older brother sang. But he was not putao, he could not travel up to Earth Six. Then Bòngso began to sing. His ruwai became a large bumble bee and it flew up to Pinto Lancob. This is the entrance to Earth Six and only big putao - dew putao - can enter for the door consists of several huge stones that roll to and fro. When the people saw Bòngso

they asked, "Who are you? Are you a dew putao?" "No," replied Bôngso, but as he said that he became a dew putao and was able to enter Pinto Lancob. The people up there looked at him as he flew from flower to flower. They did not want him to take any fruit with him down. They ran after him trying to push him off. He flew hither and thither, but they pursued him until they managed to expel him. It is very hot on Earth Seven, but Earth Six is cool, which is why the fruit trees bear all the year round, and the people who live there are very frightened of the heat, and will under no circumstances let any of their fruit be taken down there. But Bongso had managed to bring with him one piece of durian skin. This he put over magical smoke, and then he gave it to his mother to eat. When she was full, she passed it on to her husband who ate, When he was full he gave it to his older son who ate and then passed it to his wife and so on. Everyone could eat from the same piece of fruit and be satisfied.

The next night they nöpoh again and Bôngso flew up through Pinto Lancob with no problems this time. He had become dew putao as well as fruit putao. He could bring fruit. This time he took one durian fruit with him down, and after having put it over magical smoke, everybody ate until they were satisfied from that one fruit. He then dug a hole in the ground and planted the durian skin. It grew into a huge tree with lots of fruit. Everybody climbed up and picked as much fruit as they wanted. "Don't eat it all, keep some," Bôngso told them. The people did not listen to him. They picked all the fruit and filled their

houses with it. They smoked it so that it would not go rotten. Then they just ate and ate. They no longer bothered to go searching for roots and wild tubers. When Bôngso saw this he moved all the fruit up to Earth Six. Then in the evening they nöpoh ., and Bôngso carried his parents and his brother and sister-in-law up to Earth Six with him. They still live up there eating fruit. The rest of the people down on Earth Seven had no more fruit. If they had not given up digging, then they would still have some fruit. But they became lazy and depended on Bôngso for feeding them.

Myth 4

The Bats

Bôngso was out hunting one day. He came across a binturong which he shot. The corpse fell, but the runai of the binturong did not die, it became pongkal (pongkal is a species of bas. They eat human beings) and entered the body of the binturong. Bôngso did not know this. He went to gather fire wood so that he could cook the binturong. When he returned he saw a slight movement of the body. He realized that it had become pongkal and he decided to run away, but he pretended that he was going for water. He met a flying-lemur. "I shot at a binturong, but did not hit it," lied Bôngso. "Now I want to go home. Will you help me get to my house by the sea?" The flying-lemur agreed, and Bôngso climbed on to its back. The flying-lemur climbed up to the top of a tree, then it jumped and glided to the ground. Then it climbed up another tree, jumped and glided to the ground. Meanwhile the pongkal was waiting

for Bongso to return. When he did not do so, the pongkal said to himself, "Where is my meat? He must have known," so he set off in pursuit of Bongso. He saw Bongso being carried off by the flying-lemur. The binturong pongkal climbed up a tree, but since it could not glide it had to jump to a tree very close and work its way along the branches. Meanwhile the flying-lemur climbed, jumped, and glided; climbed jumped and glided. The binturong never lost sight of it, but could not catch up with it either. After a while the flying-lemur became very tired. He took Bongso to the house of the flying-squirrel. Bongso told him how he was fleeing from the binturong pongkal. The flying-squirrel told him to sit on his back, and he climbed up to the very top of a tree, then jumped off and glided to another tree some distance away. Then he climbed up to the top again, jumped and glided. The binturong pongkal saw Bongso being carried by a flying-squirrel. "Oh, my food, my meat," he exclaimed. "There are two of them," He climbed up a tree and tried to jump off and glide as he saw the flying-squirrel do, but he did not know how, and fell to the ground. Still he pursued as hard as he could. He tried to hit out at them, but he did not reach. The flying-squirrel came to a tree full of sleeping fruit bats. They were all hanging upside down asleep. The whole tree was covered in bats. The flying-squirrel moved towards the tree. Bongso told him that he wanted to sit on a bat and be flown by him, so the flying-squirrel looked at the tree that was full of bats. Only one bat was awake. All the others were fast asleep. Bongso asked the bat if he would carry him to his house by the sea. The bat looked at him. "Well, Bongso," he said, "do you happen to have any

fishing hooks?" "I do" replied Bôngso, "I do have fishing hooks." "I will carry you if you give them to me," said the bat. Bôngso agreed, and he climbed up on the bat's back. The binturong pongkal watched from a distance. The bat took off. He circled around the tree several times. Up and down he went all around the tree. This woke up the other bats, and they all flew up, covering the whole sky. The pongkal could not see where the bat carrying Bôngso went, there were so many bats flying hither and thither. So the pongkal had to give up his pursuit of Bôngso. The bat carried Bôngso for a long time towards the coast. When they caught sight of Bôngso's house by the sea the bat flew there and landed next to the house. Then Bôngso gave him the fishing hooks. That was how the bats came to have claws* that look just like fishing hooks.

Myth 5

The mango man

Once there was a young woman, Bôngso, who lived alone with her squirrel pet in a house on its own. One day she and the squirrel went out into the jungle. She found one mango fruit lying on the ground by itself. "Oh, look, a mango," she said, and bending down she picked it up and put it in her sling. When she got home she placed the mango in a basket for it was not yet ripe enough to be eaten. She cooked some rice and some vegetables and ate. There was still some left in the saucepan. Then she went to sleep. In the night the mango, which was really a man who had put on a mango "cloak", got out of the basket. He took off the mango cloak and put it aside. Then he finished up the rice and the vegetables that the girl had left

* "Members of this family (fruit bats) are distinguished from all other Malayan bats by the possession of a claw on the second digit of the wing" (Medway 1969: 9).

in the saucepan. Having eaten, he smoked her tobacco and ate her betel nuts. Then he lay down next to the girl and went to sleep. In the early morning before the sun was up, the man arose and, putting on his mango cloak he returned to the basket. When she woke, the girl thought she would finish off the left-overs from the night before. She went to get them but when she opened the lid they had all gone. She could not understand what had happened, but she cooked herself some more before going out fishing.

In the evening she returned and having prepared and cooked the fish and some rice she went to sleep. There were left-overs of her meal which she planned to eat the following morning. When he saw that she was fast asleep, the mango man came out of his basket, took off his mango cloak and ate, smoked, and ate betel nuts as he had the night before. Then he lay down next to his wife and went to sleep until just before daybreak, when he put on the mango cloak and returned to the basket. In the morning the girl found the empty saucepans; "are people about?" she asked herself when she saw this. She was baffled, but cooked some more and went out fishing again. She remembered the mango she had found and said to her squirrel, "I have forgotten about the mango we found. I must remember to eat it. It should be ripe by now." But when she got home in the evening with her day's catch she forgot all about the mango. She cooked and ate as she had on the previous nights, and when she was asleep the mango man emerged from his basket and ate the rest of the food. The same thing happened the following day and the day after. Then the girl decided to find out who was eating her food in the night. She went into the jungle and found pangogn leaves which resemble the sirih leaves eaten

with betel nuts but are poisonous. She then found some hibol fruit which look just like the betel nuts, but are also poisonous. She substituted these for the real leaves and betel nuts in the pouch in which she kept them, and having eaten she lay down pretending to go to sleep. After a while, the mango man emerged from the basket. He took off his mango cloak and placed it on the floor, then he went over to the saucepans. The girl watched what he was doing. "The mango I forgot all about!" she said to herself. Then she crept up and took the mango cloak and destroyed it. When the man had eaten and smoked he took the betel nut pouch and ate the leaves and the fruit inside. No sooner did he chew it before he yelled out in pain, "I have been poisoned!" He ran over to get his mango cloak, but could find it nowhere. "My cloak, where is my cloak?" he exclaimed. Then the girl stood up and said, "I have taken it. I don't a mango man." Then she blew magical smoke over him and said spells so that the effect of the poison was neutralised. The man became well again, and Bôngso gave him a real shirt instead of the mango one that she had destroyed. Then they slept together and became husband and wife.

Myth 6

The spider man

A spider man (a man who had a spider "cloak") lived with his aunt (older than parent). One day he gave his aunt some bracelets, earrings and sarongs saying that he wanted a wife. "Aunt, take these things over to the house there and offer them to the unmarried girls." The aunt went. She arrived at the house and the people were at home. "Step inside, auntie," they told her. She was given tobacco and betel nut. Then the wife of the house cooked rice. When they had eaten the aunt extended her hand to the mother of the girls. "What is it, auntie?"

the mother wanted to know. The aunt gave her the things and said that her spider nephew wanted a wife. The girls did not want to marry a spider so the aunt went home. "Well, aunt?" enquired the nephew. "They did not want to marry a spider," said the aunt. So they went to sleep. The spider slept on the ladder which led from the cooking platform to the main part of the house.

The next morning the spider told his aunt, "Aunt, take these things and go to the house over there." "I don't think that they will want to marry you," said the aunt. "Go aunt!" commanded the spider, so the aunt went. She entered the house and sat down. The people there gave her tobacco and betel nut. Then they cooked rice. When they had finished eating the aunt extended her hand to the old woman. "What is it, auntie?" she wanted to know. The aunt gave the things and said that her nephew wanted a wife. "We don't want to, we don't want to," said the girls, "it will be so difficult to sleep together." So the aunt went home. "Well, aunt?" the nephew asked. "They did not want to. Said it would be difficult to sleep together." said the aunt. They went to sleep.

The next morning the nephew said, "Aunt." "What?" said the aunt. "Take these things and go over to the house over there." "No I don't want to go. The girls do not want a spider for a husband," the aunt replied. "Go, aunt!" the spider insisted. So the aunt went. When the aunt arrived at the house she was given tobacco and betel nut and then a meal of rice. After the meal the aunt extended her hand to the mother. "What is it, aunt?" asked the mother. The aunt explained how her nephew wanted a wife.

"There are lots of male dogs on the ground underneath the house if that is what we are after," the girls said. The aunt returned and told her nephew. They went to sleep. The nephew never ate rice or tapioca in his aunt's house. If he had she would have realized that he could become a human being.

The next day the same thing happened again. While the aunt was away the young girls from the houses she had already been to came to have a look at the spider. He sat on the ladder and looked back at them. None of them wanted him as husband.

The following day the aunt was sent on her errand again. When she arrived at the swidden, they had just finished making tapioca "bread". The mother was a very old woman and she had two unmarried daughters. These were sitting picking lice out of each other's hair when the aunt arrived. "Enter the house, aunt," the old woman insisted. The aunt was given tobacco and betel nuts and a meal of freshly baked tapioca "bread". When they had eaten, the aunt extended her hand to the mother and laid out the things explaining that her nephew wanted a wife. The two girls looked at the things. They wanted them and told the aunt that they would go back to house with the aunt. When they arrived the nephew said, "Well, aunt?" "These two girls have come to be your wives," said the aunt. The women cooked rice, and soup and then ate betel nut. The spider did not eat. When the women had finished eating there was still some food left in the saucepans. The wives went to sleep on their mat, the spider sat on the ladder up to the next level. When the girls were fast asleep, the spider took off his spider "cloak" and became a real man. He ate the rest of the ,

rice and vegetable stew. Then he smoked tobacco and ate betel nut. He looked at his two wives. They were fast asleep. He lay down between them and made love to each one in turn. Then he went to sleep. When it began to get light he put on his spider cloak and settled down on the ladder. The wives woke up. "There is still some food left over from last night," they said. They went over to look. "No, it is finished. Who has eaten it?" The aunt said she did not know, she had been asleep all night.

The wives wanted to go for a swim. The spider went as well. He walked between them. When the girls had finished bathing, the husband said that he wanted to bathe as well, but that he wanted to do so alone, and he told the wives to go home alone. When they had disappeared he took off his spider cloak and put it on a stone. Then he went fishing. He caught lots and lots of fish and left it all by the riverside. Then he bathed, put on his spider cloak and returned home telling his wives that a friend of his had given him much fish and left it by the river. "Go and fetch it," he told them. They did and cooked a large fish stew which they ate, leaving some in the pan, and then went to sleep. The spider waited until they were fast asleep. Then he took off his spider 'cloak' and ate the rest of the fish stew, smoked tobacco and ate betel nut. Then, as he had done the night before, he lay down between the two wives made love to them, and fell asleep. In the morning before it was light he put on his spider cloak again and settled on the ladder. In the morning the wives wanted to finish the stew from the evening before. They went to get it. "Oh, it is finished," they exclaimed; "who has eaten it?" The aunt did not know.

Later that day people came to have a look at the spider and his wives. "Has he slept with you yet?" they wanted to know. "No, we sleep separately," the wives replied. The wives cooked rice and the rest of the fish caught the day before and when the visitors had eaten they went home. The wives wanted to go bathing again so the husband went with them. When they had finished the spider told his wives to go home for he wanted to bathe on his own. He took off his cloak, went fishing, left the fish on the bank, put his spider cloak back on again, and went home to tell his wives that a friend had given him lots of fish for them to fetch. This they did. They then cooked a stew, ate and went to sleep. The spider took off his cloak finished off the meal, slept with his wives and returned to his spider cloak in time not to be discovered. This happened every night until one day all the fish had been eaten. The wives said to their husband, "There is no more fish." They all went to the river to bathe, and as he had done before, the spider told his wives to go home on their own as he wanted to bathe alone. But instead of going home as they had been told to do, the wives hid behind a tree and watched the spider. They saw how he took off his spider cloak and became a real man. When he went to the river to fish they ran forward and took the spider cloak between their fingers and crimped it up and scattered the pieces. When the husband returned after having placed a lot of fish on the river bank he could not find his spider cloak anywhere. "Where is my cloak. My original spider's cloak?" he cried out. On hearing this the two wives leaped out from behind the tree and grabbed hold of his arms. They held one arm each. "I want my cloak, where have

you put it?" he demanded. "No, we cannot sleep together when you have your spider cloak," the wives said. So the husband went back to the house as a real man and they all sat down together to have a big meal. After they had eaten they smoked tobacco and ate betel nut. In the night the husband lay down between his two wives.

Myth 7

The porcupine woman

Porcupines were eating Bôngso's cassava. Every night they would come and dig up the tubers. Bôngso therefore made porcupine spear traps and set them up in his field. The next morning he went to inspect his traps. They had all been dismantled. Not one had hit a porcupine. Yet the animals had been digging more of his cassava. When Bôngso saw this he made new traps and repaired the old ones. The next morning he went to inspect them. But no, not one had hit a porcupine. They were all broken and more cassava had been taken. Bôngso repaired them and then he went hunting. He shot one leaf monkey, and returned home in the evening. When he had prepared the meat he boiled cassava and ate. Then he went to sleep. In the night a porcupine woman went to his house. She lay down next to him on his mat. Bôngso opened his eyes and saw somebody was there. When she knew Bôngso was awake, the porcupine woman said to him, "It was I who have been taking your cassava and breaking your traps." "Oh, it is you who have done that?" said Bôngso. "Yes, I and my mother. Your traps don't hit us. But I want a husband so I have come to you," she continued. "Oh," said Bôngso when he heard this. So Bôngso and the porcupine woman

became husband and wife.

Time passed and one day a child was born to them. Bongso then went to see his mother who lived in a different settlement. "I have got a wife now," he told her. "Oh, where did you meet her?" the mother wanted to know. "Oh, she is a woman of the forest also," he lied, "and we have one small child."

Bongso and the porcupine woman continued to live together, and they had more children. Then one day Bongso's mother decided to go and live with them. She wanted to live with her grandchildren. One day when Bongso was out hunting the children found some ground fruits which they cooked in their grandmother's saucepan. When the grandmother wanted her saucepan she saw that it was covered in the solidified remains of the fruit. She became very angry. "My saucepan, it is ruined," she exclaimed, "you porcupine children you!" The fruit that they had cooked was a fruit that human beings do not eat, but one that is much favoured by porcupines who always dig for it. When the children heard that they ran over to their mother and told her that their grandmother had called them porcupine children because they had boiled the fruit in her saucepan. When the mother heard this, she would not continue to live with her mother-in-law, so she and the children returned to her house among the boulders.

When Bongso returned in the evening from the hunt, he asked where his wife and children were. "Oh they have probably gone to fetch firewood to have ready for your return," replied his mother. But as the evening wore on and they still had not returned, Bongso asked his mother if anything had happened that day. "No,

only that your children ruined my saucepan by boiling ground fruit in it. I called them porcupine children when I saw what they had done," she told him. "What!" exclaimed Bòngso, "you knew that my wife was a porcupine woman?" "No, I did not know," said the mother. Bòngso ran after his wife and children and came to their house among the boulders. When she saw him, his wife let him enter her stone house. Bòngso went to live with the porcupines because his wife and children had become true porcupines by this act, and he himself became a porcupine also.

Myth 8

The Bayaez*woman

Once Bòngso went hunting. He caught a monitor lizard. He also found some bayaez fruit. He returned home with his catch and cooked the monitor lizard. The bayaez fruit, however, he placed on the shelf above the fire on the ground. He ate the monitor lizard but forgot all about the fruit. The next day he went hunting again. Suddenly he remembered the bayaez fruit he had found the day before. "What did I do with the bayaez fruit?" he asked himself. "Oh yes, I remember, I put it on the shelf above the fire." But he was going on a long hunting trip and he did not return home to his house for more than a month. Finally one day he did go home. He cooked the meat he had caught and then lay down and went to sleep. When he woke the next morning he saw a woman lying next to him on the mat. "Who are you?" he asked her. "I am the bayaez fruit you left on the shelf above the fire some time ago," she replied. Bòngso and

* Bayaez is a form of palm heart.

the bayaez woman became husband and wife and lived together.

Bòngso lived alone some distance from his parents. One day his mother decided to visit him. She walked to his house, but Bongso had gone hunting. She sat on the ladder leading up to the house and looked inside. Then she returned to her own house and told her husband, "Our child has got a wife." She had seen a woman's loin-cloth inside Bòngso's house. The next day she returned to Bòngso's house. She went very early in the morning and Bongso and his wife were still asleep when she arrived. She placed herself on the ladder and said to her son, "You have a wife, Bòngso?" "No, I live on my own," lied Bòngso. "I came here yesterday and saw a woman's loin-cloth inside your house," insisted the mother. So Bongso admitted that he did in fact have a wife. "Where did you meet her?" the mother wanted to know. "Oh, I just met her in the jungle," replied Bòngso. He did not want his mother to know that his wife was a bayaez fruit woman. The mother returned to her husband, but after a while she went to live with Bongso and her daughter-in-law.

One day Bòngso was out hunting. The daughter-in-law was picking lice out of her mother-in-law's hair. When she had finished, the mother-in-law wanted to pick the lice out the hair of her daughter-in-law. "I don't want you to," she said. The mother-in-law insisted, however, saying, "You have picked my lice, now it is my turn to pick yours." So the girl let her do it. While she was doing it she came across several thorns at the back of the other's neck. "You have some thorns on your neck," she said to her daughter-in-law, "I'll pull them out." "No, no, don't do it." But the mother-in-law took no notice of the girl's protestations and

pulled them out. Immediately she had done so her daughter-in-law turned into a true bayaez fruit. She could no longer be a woman.

When Bòngso returned in the evening he had not caught any game. "Where is my wife?" he asked his mother. She told him, "When I was picking lice out of her hair I came across some thorns which I wanted to pull out. She would not let me do it, but I did it anyway, and then she turned into that bayaez tree over there." When Bòngso heard this he turned into a jòg tree (another fruit tree).

The mother returned to her husband. If she had not gone against her daughter-in-law's wishes her son would not have turned into a jòg tree nor her daughter-in-law into a bayaez tree.

Myth 9

The frog woman

Bòngso lived alone. He was clearing a new swidden. One day he was working very hard cutting down trees and he became very thirsty. He picked up a bamboo and set off to the river to bring some water. There was a frog woman in the river. Accidentally Bòngso caught her in his bamboo. She leapt out of it and became a woman. She was, however, completely naked, and this made her very shy. She stood with both hands covering her pubic area. "Give me your sarong so that I can make a loincloth," she said to Bòngso. He was carrying his sarong on his head, so he took it off and threw it to her. The frog woman returned to her house among the stones in the river and Bòngso went home. Next day she went to Bòngso's house and they slept together and she became his wife.

They planted hill-rice on the new field that Bongso had been clearing, and when it was ripe Bongso harvested it. One day Bongso was going hunting and he told his wife to thresh the rice while he was away. She did this by rubbing the rice against her thighs. When Bôngso came home in the evening he asked her where the rice was. "I have threshed it all," she replied. It was very good quality rice, and Bongso wanted to take some to his mother. She lived some distance away and he walked over to her house. She looked at the rice. "You know how to thresh rice, Bôngso?" she enquired. "I know," he lied. When the mother had eaten all the rice she went to Bôngso's house. She went in the evening and when she arrived, she heard that he was eating inside the house, but he was not alone, so the mother went home again. "I think Bôngso has got a wife," she told her husband. The next day she went again to Bôngso's house, but this time she went early in the morning and she arrived while they were still asleep. She sat on the ladder and waited. When Bongso came out he saw her sitting there. "Oh, it is you, Mother," he said. "It is I," she replied, "I came last night as well and I heard that there were two of you inside." "No, there is just me here," lied Bôngso. "Truly, Bôngso, I sat here on this ladder and I heard that there were two people inside. You have a wife, Bongso." Bôngso admitted that he did, and his wife came out to meet her mother-in-law. "Where did you meet her Bôngso?" his mother wanted to know. "Oh, she is a jungle woman also," he lied. The wife cooked rice which they all ate. Then they smoked tobacco and ate betel nut, and when they had finished the mother went home again.

Time passed and Bôngso and the frog-woman had two

children - one boy and one girl. As they became a little older, Bôngso's mother decided that she wanted to live with her grandchildren. "Let us move to our grandchildren," she told her husband. They went and settled down with Bôngso and his family.

One day when Bôngso had gone hunting, his mother and her two grandchildren went to the river to bathe. The river was flooded and dirty, but the two children jumped in and swam and frolicked about in the water. Their grandmother became angry when she saw their behaviour, "Naughty children," she scolded, "you are truly frog-children." When the children heard her say this they became upset, and they were very sullen as they walked home. When they reached the house, their mother said that she needed to fetch some water and the children went with her. "Why are you so sullen?" she asked her children. "Oh, we went bathing with grandmother today and she was angry with us and called us frog-children," they told her. When she heard this the mother did not want to return home. She and the children became frogs and went back to her previous house among the boulders in the river.

In the evening Bôngso returned from the hunt. "Where are my wife and my children?" he asked his mother. "I don't know," she replied. "What have you been telling them?" "Nothing. All I said was that the children were frog-children," said she. "What! You know that my wife is a frog-woman!" exclaimed Bôngso. "No, I did not know that," replied his mother, but Bôngso ran down to the river where the stone house was. He was very fond of his wife and his children, so he turned himself into a frog and entered their house.

The next day Bôngso's father went to the river to

bathe. The children saw him. They were fond of him, he had always been good and did not get angry with them. "Come into our house, grandfather," they called out to him. "Where are you my grandchildren, I cannot see you," he replied. "Over here, grandfather," said they, stretching out their hands to guide him. But the grandfather could not enter the house among the stones. He was not a putao. Only Bôngso could turn himself into a frog.

Myth 10

The girl who had a squirrel cloak

Once there was a young girl who went into the jungle to look for sirih leaves. A very large caterpillar was eating the leaves. It jumped onto the girl's shoulder. She ran home, the caterpillar could not be shaken off. When her mother and father saw the huge caterpillar on their daughter's shoulder, they picked up a large stone each and started running. The girl ran as well. They ran hither and thither, all the time not letting go of their stones. Finally both parents died. They were old, and running with the stones proved too much for them. They were not strong. So the girl ran on alone. After a while she came to a lamer fruit tree. The caterpillar told her to get some of the fruit. He descended from her shoulder so that she could climb the tree. There was a squirrel up in the tree. Indicating the fruit, he said "This is my meat," when he saw the girl. "What are you doing here anyway?" he wanted to know. The girl told him how the huge caterpillar had settled on her shoulder and how she and her parents had been running, and how they had died. The squirrel said he would help

her. First he gave her a squirrel "cloak". "Put this on dene. (aunt younger than parent) he told her. Then he took a liana that was growing on the tree, gnawed at the part where it was attached to the tree and threw it down to the ground. "Climb up on this liana!" he called to the caterpillar waiting on the ground, "there is lots of fruit here." The caterpillar thought it was the girl speaking and he began to climb. When he was halfway up, the liana broke and the caterpillar fell into the river where it was eaten by fish.

The girl, wearing her squirrel cloak followed her squirrel . . . nephew, aneg, through the trees. They travelled for many days. Then they came to a settlement. It was the settlement of the girl's relatives. Her aunt, baha, (older than parent) had a house there. It was evening. The girl climbed down from her tree and took off her squirrel cloak. The real squirrel went on his own way. The girl went to the river to bathe and then she went up to the house. There were people inside. Bongso went down on the ground. He saw the girl, but did not speak to her or ask her to enter the house, so she went away again, put on her squirrel cloak and went to sleep in the field. When Bongso had eaten, he suddenly remembered the girl. "There were people here today," he said, "where is she?" He went back down on the ground to have a look for the girl, but he could find her nowhere.

The next day the girl, still wearing her squirrel cloak, climbed a gahogn tree to eat the fruit. Bongso was out hunting. He saw the squirrel up in the tree and he shot at her. He hit her in the thigh. The squirrel ran off. She was feeling sick.

She went to a hollow in a tree. She laid down inside, and here she died. Meanwhile Bôngso was looking for the squirrel that he had shot. He came across the tree hollow and saw the girl's corpse. He realized what had happened, and he carried the girl back to his own house. Here he lay her down and blew magical smoke onto her. She became alive again. They slept together. In the morning Bôngso's older sister went to see her brother. He and his new wife were still asleep. "There are two people in there," said the sister to herself, and she went to her mother's house and told her that there were two people in Bôngso's house. "Maybe he has got a wife," the mother wondered. She went over to investigate. "Is that you, Mother?" asked Bôngso. "It is I," replied she. "What do you want?" asked Bôngso. "Oh, your sister said that there are two people here," said his mother. "No, there is just me," lied Bôngso. "No, there are two of you," insisted his mother, so she met her daughter-in-law. Later everyone in the settlement went to look at their new sister-in-law, niece, aunt or whatever. "You must come to my house and eat," said the sister who had first discovered the wife.

A few days later the girl went into the forest. She met the squirrel who had given her the squirrel cloak. "Oh, it is you . . . nephew," said the girl. "You remember me? You gave me a squirrel cloak when I was running with the caterpillar on my shoulder. I have a husband now, so I no longer want the cloak."

Myth 11

The cockroach people

A man (an elder brother) went hunting. He came across

a large house in the jungle. There were no people about. The people who lived in the house were cockroach people, and they were all sitting underneath the house wearing their cockroach "cloaks". The man did not know this so he entered the house. He put down his quiver on the floor and after a while he fell asleep. A cockroach child saw him lying there. "Mother, mother, there is some meat," she said. All the cockroaches entered the house and started biting at the man. They ate his flesh.

The next day another brother went hunting. He also wanted to find his older brother. He came across the path that the brother had taken the day before. This he followed until he arrived at the same large house in the jungle. There was nobody about, so this brother entered the house as well. He saw his older brother's quiver lying on the floor. He took off his own quiver and placed it next to that of his brother's and sat down to wait for him. After a while he fell asleep. The same cockroach child who had discovered the older brother the day before also saw this man and told her mother "Mother, mother, there is some meat." So all the cockroaches entered the house and started biting at the man. They ate his flesh.

The next day another brother set off looking for his two brothers and the same thing happened to him. The day after that a fourth brother suffered the same fate.

The following day Bôngso went as well. He was putao. He knew. He found the path that his brothers had taken and followed it until he reached the house. There were nobody about. He entered the house where he saw the quivers of all his brothers were lying .

on the floor. Bôngso went to the river to wash. Then he found the bones of all his brothers and placed them next to each other on the ground. He blew magical smoke on the bones. They became corpses. But there was still no breath njug, so he blew smoke yet again and all the brothers came alive.

They set fire to the house and all the cockroach people died. They became only ghosts. From then on there were no more cockroach people. There were true cockroaches only.

Myth 12

The ghost under the rambutan tree

Once upon a time a young girl died. Her family buried her. On top of the grave they planted a rambutan fruit. The fruit took roots and became a tree. The tree flourished and after several years it had become a large fruit tree with lots of fruit.

One day Bôngso was out walking. He came across the rambutan tree. He climbed up and ate much fruit. The house of the ghost of the young girl was in the grave. Bôngso picked enough fruit to fill his backbasket. This he brought home to his mother and father and older brothers and sisters to eat. "Mmmm, delicious fruit," they all said, "we'll go tomorrow and fetch lots more." "There is a large wasps' nest in the tree," said Bôngso. "Oh, I am frightened of climbing the tree in that case," said some of the brothers. "I am not frightened," said another brother, "tomorrow I will go and smoke out the wasps."

In the morning he went to the rambutan tree. He put his back-basket, blowpipe and quiver on the ground and carefully

started climbing the tree. "Where is the wasps' nest?" he wondered, but as he could not see one anywhere, he ate of the fruit until he was full. Then he got out his knife and was about to cut off a few branches to take home with him. Suddenly he heard a voice from below saying, "leave some for us." He looked down and saw the eyes of the ghost staring up at him from the grave. They were horrible. They popped out of the head on long stalks and the eyelashes were even longer. He became cold all over and the hairs on his body stood on end for fright. He climbed down from the tree as fast as he could and ran home. The ghost took his back-basket, blowpipe and quiver and put them inside her house. "I did not manage to climb the tree," lied the brother when he reached home empty handed, "there were too many wasps". "I'm not afraid," said another brother, "I'll go tomorrow and smoke the wasps out."

The following morning he set off. When he reached the rambutan tree, he left his back-basket, blowpipe and quiver on the ground and climbed up. "Where is the wasps' nest?" he wondered, but as he could not see it anywhere he ate fruit until he was full. Then he got out his knife and as he was about to cut off some branches to take home with him, he heard a voice from below. "Leave some for us," it said. He looked down and saw the eyes of the ghost looking up at him from the grave. They were horrible. They popped out of the head on long stalks, and the eye lashes were even longer. He also became cold all over and the hairs on his body stood on end for fright. He climbed down as fast as he could and ran home. The ghost took his back-basket, blowpipe and quiver and put them inside her house with those of the brother from the day before. When the

man reached home, he lied to the rest of the family saying that he had not managed to climb the tree because there were too many wasps. A third brother then declared that he was not frightened and that he would go the following day to smoke out the wasps. The same thing occurred to him while he was up in the tree and he lied as well when he returned empty handed. Two other brothers suffered the same fate.

Then Bôngso decided to go back to the rambutan tree. He entered the house of the ghost. Bôngso was putao, he knew that the ghost lived in the grave under the tree. He had seen her the first time he went there, but he did not want to tell his brothers. The ghost was not ugly when Bôngso looked at her, only when the brothers did. She was very beautiful with long hair and clear skin. She gave Bôngso a good meal of rice and they ate together. When they had finished eating Bôngso saw all the back baskets, blowpipes and quivers. "Oh, those belong to my brothers," he said. He then climbed the tree and filled all the baskets with fruit and brought them home with the other things. "I found these on the ground," he told them. "Did you see the ghost?" asked the brothers. "Ghost? What ghost?" asked Bôngso.

The next day all the brothers refused to go to the rambutan tree. They were all frightened of the ghost. So Bôngso went again. He entered the ghost's house (the grave). The girl-ghost gave him tapioca and meat. She had no difficulties in obtaining meat. It came by itself to her. After he had eaten, Bôngso climbed the tree and took a lot of fruit. Then he and the ghost slept together. She became his wife. The next day they returned together to Bôngso's house. When they arrived they had a meal

together and then the wife entered the house. One of the brothers came over to Bongso's house to borrow some poison for his darts. He saw that two people had eaten. "Are you a couple, Bôngso?" he asked. "No, there is just me," replied Bôngso. "You have not got a wife?" "No," said Bôngso. The wife was inside the house so the brother could not see her. When he returned to his mother's house, he told her, "I think Bôngso has a wife, I saw that two people had eaten together." "Where did he meet her?" the mother wanted to know. "I don't know," said the brother. The next day the mother went over to Bôngso's house and she met her new daughter-in-law, but Bôngso would not tell his mother where he had met his wife.

The following day Bôngso went hunting. His sister wanted to see her new sister-in-law so she went visiting. The two women talked together. "Oh, I am so hot here, sister-in-law," said the wife. She ran away. She went up to Moso Awan (Earth Six) for it is cool up there. Bongso followed after her, but he could not find her anywhere. She had gone to the house of Ta' Hala. In the evening Bongso and his friends in Moso Awan Conducted a nõpoh. Bôngso was singing. His ruwai went here and there, but he could find his wife nowhere. The wife was in fact sitting right next to him all the time he was singing, but he did not think to look there and the others did not tell him. When the nõpoh was over the wife returned to Ta' Hala before Bongso could see her. During the day Bôngso continued his search. He arrived at Ta' Hala's house, but the wife had run into the fields when she saw him coming. So he returned to the others and in the evening they nõpoh again. Bôngso sang. His ruwai went here and there but he still could not find his wife. She was sitting right next to him as she had the night before, but his

ruwai never looked there. When the nöpoh was over, the wife returned to Ta' Hala's house before Bongso could see her.

The next day Bôngso again went searching for his wife and he could not find her anywhere. When he came to Ta' Hala's house the wife ran and hid so that he did not see her. In the evening they nöpoh again. This time Bôngso looked next to him and he saw his wife sitting there.

The following morning Bôngso went to Earth Seven where he collected his mother and brought her to Earth Six. Here they all lived from now on. It was nice and cool there and they could eat fruit all the time.

Myth 13

Totn* fruit woman

Once there was a girl - Bôngso - who lived far away in the jungle all alone. One day she wanted to bathe so she went to a river. She found seven totn fruit on a string which she ate. If there are seven totn fruit on a string and we eat them, then we die. On her way home she met a totn woman. She gave a shirt and a sarong to Bôngso. Then Bôngso went home. A few days later, she had seen that the woman who gave them to her was not truly human. Bôngso was putao, so she knew.

Her sister went in search of the woman who had given Bongso the clothes and when they met, the totn woman gave her a bundle of clothes, inside which she had placed all sorts of different animals that bite us. Bees, wasps, mosquitoes, leaches etc. When the sister opened the bundle, all these insects flew out and

* The ghost of totn fruit can move into the body of women through the vagina. This only happens at full moon and if a woman spreads her legs.

bit her. They bit her everywhere and she died.

Bôngso knew what had happened. She went to the totn woman's house, "Come in, Bôngso," said she when she saw her, "I'll go and get some rice for you." When she had gone, Bôngso gathered all the clothes which contained the stinging animals and set fire to them. As the house caught fire and the totn woman's ghost was burned, Bôngso cried out, "Become true totn!"

Bôngso then went to the corpse of her older sister and blew magical smoke over it. She became alive again.

Myth 14

The elephant who abducted a girl

Once upon a time there was an elephant woman who asked an ordinary human woman for her baby daughter. The woman gave the girl to the elephant, but when the elephant carried the baby away the baby cried and cried. The mother wanted her baby back, but the elephant woman would not return her. She carried the baby to the mountains where she lived. Here she gave her sweet things to eat as well as rice and meat. The elephant woman became the girl's mother. The years went by and the baby grew into a girl. Her real mother missed her very much.

One day the real mother's nephews came to visit her. "Why are you so sad, auntie?" they wanted to know. "I miss my daughter," replied the aunt. She told the nephews how the elephant had taken the girl and said, "If you bring her back, I will give her to you as a wife." The nephews said that they would go and look for her.

The next day the nephews sharpened their spears. The aunts gave them a large meal and they set off towards the mountain where the elephants lived. When they got close to the mountain they climbed a tanòy tree (a very tall tree) and from the top they could see the girl at a distance. A bird had seen the boys getting ready and had warned the elephant mother that they were on their way to take the girl away. The girl was very beautiful. She had white skin and long hair. The boys shouted to her, "Come here, come here, your mother is missing you!" But she was frightened because the elephant was there and she dared not leave. The boys waited in the tree all day, but towards evening they became very hungry so they climbed down. They cut a rante tree trunk with their spears and smeared the red sap from it onto the spear heads. Then they went back to their aunt's house and told her that there were many elephants watching over the girl and that they had only managed to kill a few. They showed the aunt their spears and said that the sap from the rante tree was the blood of the elephants they had killed. The aunt was very pleased and she gave her nephews a large meal of rice and after they had eaten she gave them tobacco and betel nuts. When they had eaten and smoked they went to sleep.

The next day they sharpened their spears, and after having been given a meal by their aunt they set off again. When they arrived at the tanòy tree they climbed it. The bird had warned the elephants that they were coming and they could see that there were lots of elephants guarding the girl. The elephants sat in a circle around her. The boys shouted to the girl, "Come here, come here, your mother is missing you!" But the girl was frightened of

the elephants and dared not move. The boys waited in the tree all day, but towards evening they became very hungry so they climbed down and cut the rante tree and dipped their spears in the red sap as they had done the previous evening, and set off back to the aunt's house. When they arrived, they told the aunt that there were still twenty elephants left, but that they would go back the next day to kill some more. The aunt was very happy and she gave them a large meal of rice and afterwards she gave them tobacco and betel nut. Then they all went to sleep.

The same thing happened the following day when the boys said there were still twelve elephants left. And the next day when they told their aunt that there were eight elephants left. The day after they said there were four or five elephants still alive. The day after that they said that they did not want to kill any elephants that day. They wanted to go hunting instead. They caught fish, river turtle and tortoise.

The youngest brother, Bôngso, had not gone with his brothers to the aunt's house. He was still at home in his own swidden. He was not good-looking. He was ugly. He was also very dirty because he always slept close to the fireplace. On the day that his older brothers went hunting Bôngso went to his aunt's house. She did not know that he had arrived. Bôngso did not enter the house. He took a piece of wood and blew "magical" smoke on to it. In the evening he went towards the elephant woman's house. On the way he met the bird which had warned the elephants before, and he hit it with the piece of wood which turned into a knife. The bird fell dead to the ground. Then Bôngso went to the house. All the

elephants were fast asleep lying in a circle around the girl. Bôngso killed all the elephants with his magical knife. The girl told him how his brothers had come every day to the tanòy tree and shouted at her "Come here, come here!" and how they had pretended that the sap from the rante tree was blood. The girl looked at Bôngso and saw that he was very ugly, but she made a head band*for him and they slept together. In the morning they went to the aunt's house, but when they reached the swidden, Bôngso told the girl (who was now his wife) to climb a banana palm and wait there. He went alone to the aunt's house, pretending he had just arrived from his own house, and told her, "Aunt go and check the banana palm over there, the bananas are ripe." "No, I have been to look at them today," replied the aunt. "Go, they are ripe," insisted Bôngso. So the aunt went and when she arrived at the palm she looked up. The girl threw down a banana and the woman saw her daughter. The girl climbed down and told her mother everything that had happened.

The same evening the older brothers arrived back from their hunting expedition. When they saw the girl they said that they had finished off the elephants and that the girl must have walked home on her own. They had brought with them meat and fish from the hunt and told the aunt that the wedding would be the following day.

The next morning the brothers put on their best clothes. They pulled at their waists to make them slim. Then they went over to the aunt's house to claim the girl in marriage. "It was not you who killed the elephants, it was Bôngso," said the aunt. They were angry when they realized that they had been found out. "But Bôngso is so ugly," they said, Bôngso meanwhile had gone to wash in the

* A symbol of marriage.

river. He became very handsome. He went over to the aunt's house and there was a wedding party for Bôngso and the girl. The older brothers were very angry and they turned into mosquitoes.

Myth 15

The man who ate tiger-howaw

A man went hunting. He met a tobowad monkey and shot it. It fell to the ground. As it fell, a fruit, howaw, also fell down. It did not have any thorns however. The man put the tobowad and the howaw in his back-basket and went home. When he reached home he handed the meat over to his wife and told her how the fruit had also fallen from the tree. The wife cooked the tobowad and they ate it. When they had finished eating, the man offered the howaw to his youngest brother, Bôngso. Bôngso did not want it so the man ate it himself. His body became very hot. He went down on the ground and ran around to try to cool off. The wife became very annoyed with him and hit him with some cooking tongs. The husband turned into a tiger and ran into the jungle. A tiger ruwai had entered the howaw fruit and this was why the fruit had no thorns.

They all went to sleep. In the middle of the night a sinjae (a species of cricket) spoke to Bôngso in his dream: "The tiger, the tiger. It is coming, but it is still far away." The next day they all left the house and ran away. In the evening they built a lean-to on the ground and ate the food they had brought with them. After they had eaten they went to sleep. In the night the sinjae again spoke to Bôngso; "The tiger, the tiger. It is coming, but it is still far away." Later in the night the sinjae said, "It is near, it is near." Bôngso woke the rest who got up, wrapped a burning log in leaves so that they could see in the dark and started running. When

it became day they stopped and built another lean-to (the tiger sleeps in the day-time). They went digging for various edible roots and after having eaten these they went to sleep. In the middle of the night the sinjae spoke again to Bôngso, "The tiger, the tiger. It is still far away," so they continued their sleep. But later it spoke urgently, "It is near, it is near." They got up quickly, wrapped a burning log in leaves as well as pieces of resin they had found, and started running. They arrived at the house of the mother and father of the man who had eaten the howaw. Here they stopped and told them what had happened.

They were given meat and cassava to eat and then everyone went to sleep. In the night the sinjae said to Bôngso, "The tiger is still far away." Later in the night it said, "It is near, it is near," so Bôngso woke everyone, and they made torches and started to run into the jungle. When it became day they stopped and built lean-tos. They dug roots in the forest, ate, and in the evening they went to sleep. In the night the sinjae again warned Bôngso in his dreams; "The tiger, the tiger, it is still far away," but later it told him "It is near, it is near." Everyone got up, made torches and ran. In the morning they arrived at the swidden of friends . They were given meat and cassava to eat and told their friends what had happened. They slept at the house of the friends and in the night the sinjae said, "The tiger is still far away." Later in the night he spoke again saying, "It is near, it is near." Everybody got up, made torches and run away into the jungle. When it became day they stopped, built lean-tos, went searching for jungle roots which they ate together with the cassava they had brought with them and in the evening they went to sleep. In the night the sinjae spoke to Bôngso, "The tiger is still far away." Later it spoke again, "It is near, it is near." They got up, made torches and ran. The same thing happened the next day and the day after.

Then Bongso returned to the place where they had last slept. Here he built a trap with double sets of spears on each side. The tiger came and went straight into the trap. All the four spears hit him and he died. Bòngso turned himself into a gibbon and carried the tiger back to the swidden. Then he returned to the others. They did not know that Bòngso had been away. In the early part of the night they heard the sinjae saying that the tiger was still far off, but after that they heard nothing. In the morning they said that since they had heard no warning from the sinjae that the tiger was near, they would return home. They were hungry and it was difficult to find wild roots. Bòngso did not tell them what he had done in the night. When they arrived at the swidden they saw the corpse of the tiger. They all sat down around the corpse and looked at it. Bongso took some incense and blew the smoke at the head of the tiger. The head lifted slightly. Bòngso asked why he had wanted to eat them. "I don't remember", said the tiger, "all I wanted was meat. When I looked at you I only saw meat." Then the head fell back. Bòngso blew once more. The head lifted. "Why did you want to eat us?" asked Bòngso. "I don't remember," answered the tiger head, "all I wanted was meat. When I looked at you I only saw meat." Then the head fell down and he was dead.

The people all returned to their own swiddens where they ate a lot of cassava, plantains, and hill rice.

Myth 16

Ta' Tatrahòi

Once there was a child who wanted the moon to play

with. The father cut a long bamboo and dug it into the ground. Then he started to climb. He climbed for three months, but was still a long way away from the moon. He climbed for six, seven months, but was still far away from the sky. It is very far away, our sky. After one year he finally reached the sky. He waited for the evening. It became dark and a full moon arrived. She saw the man. "What do you want?" she asked him. "Oh, I want you," said the man, "my child wants you for a pet." "Disrespect!" (tolah) exclaimed the moon and she kicked at the bamboo stalk so that it and the man fell to the ground. He fell down in a land far away. As he fell on soil which had been newly turned over, for the people who lived there had just been digging tapioca, he did not get killed. The people were "original people" (bi asal). They looked at him. "What has happened?" they inquired. "Oh, I fell from the sky. My child wanted the moon for a pet and the moon kicked me," he said. The people gave him meat and tapioca to eat and when he had finished eating they said, "So, you have a child?" "Yes, I have children and I have a wife," he replied and he wanted to start for home. He would follow the bamboo. The people tied a long string to one of his ankles so that he could return to them should he want to. They also gave him a basket full of meat. When he had finished all the meat he became very hungry and so he had to return to the people by following the string tied to his ankle. "What do you want?" they asked him when they saw him. "My meat is all eaten," he said. "What have you been eating since?" they wanted to know. "I have been licking at my knife" he replied. They gave him more meat and he set off again. He had become, however, a keñi (bas that eat peoples' bodies). If he had not licked at his knife he would

not have become a keòì.

As he came close to his own settlement, his meat again was finished, so he was hungry. When he reached his own house, his wife was cooking plantains. He wanted to put a plantain inside his wife's vagina and eat it from there. "No, that is dirty," (kama) objected his wife angrily. He really wanted to eat his wife's vulva. His eyes had become different. When he looked at human beings he only saw them as potential food.

They went to sleep and in the morning he told his wife that he wanted to go into the jungle to dig for takad (an edible tuber) and that he wanted his oldest child to accompany him. The two set off and when they reached a spot where he knew there was takad, he stopped and told his daughter to make a big fire so that they could cook the takad after he had dug it up. "Bring lots of water also," he told her, "I shall be very thirsty when I have finished digging." She did as he told her and he went looking for takad. When he had collected enough, he cooked it and gave his daughter to eat. "Eat well, I want to eat lots of stomach content later," he told her. "What did you say Father?" she asked. "No, no, I said that you must eat fast and well. I want to go home to fondle your mother," he quickly corrected himself. When she had finished eating, he looked over her shoulder into the distance behind her. "What are you looking at, Father?" she asked. "I think there are some people coming," he replied, As she turned round to have a look, he pushed her over and stabbed her with the digging stick used for digging out the takad. "Ouch, ouch, ouch, Father," she cried, but she soon died and he drank all her blood. He took off her sega, bracelets and necklace and hung them up on a branch a little way off. Then he cut

her open and ate the content of her stomach and ^{her} intestines. The flesh he cut into small pieces and boiled in bamboo. When he had finished eating he plaited riding and hung them on branches nearby. Towards evening he wrapped the rest of the meat in leaves and put it in his back-basket. He also wrapped the rest of the takad separately, put them in his basket as well, and set off for home. "Where is the child?" asked his wife when he came home alone. "We met grandmother in the forest and the girl went home with her to spend a few days in her settlement," he lied. He then gave her the wrapped takad telling her to eat it all saying that he had already eaten a lot and was full. "This", he said indicating the wrapped meat, "is some herbal roots which I am going to take for my toothache." After the wife had eaten they went to bed, and as soon as the wife was fast asleep he got up and ate the rest of the meat.

The next morning he told his wife that he wanted to go and dig for more takad. He took with him another of his children. When they reached the spot where he had eaten his daughter the day before, he pointed to the riding and told the child, "These your grandmother and aunt made yesterday. They said they might return today, so you had better go and make a big fire and collect a lot of water so that we can give them cooked takad to eat and water to drink when they arrive." She did as he told her and he brought a lot of takad which he gave her to cook. After a while she said, "The takad is cooked, Father. When is Grandmother coming?" He looked behind her. "What are you looking at Father. Is that Grandmother coming?" She turned round to have a look. He pushed her over and stabbed her with the digging stick. He drank the blood. Then he took her sega, her bracelets and necklace and hung them up with those of the other daughter.

He cut her up and ate the stomach and the intestines raw. The rest of the body he cooked in bamboo. Then he plaited riding as he had the previous day and threw away the old ones which were beginning to wither, and hung the newly made ones up instead. He wrapped the meat and the takad as he had the day before and set off for home.

"Where is the child?" asked his wife when she saw him returning without her. "Oh, we met Aunt in the forest and the girl wanted to go back with her as her sister had done," he lied. He gave her the takad saying that his parcel contained medicine for toothache, and after the wife had gone to sleep he ate the rest of his daughter.

The following days he killed all his remaining children, each night telling his wife that they had gone after their brothers and sisters to the grandmother's settlement. When he came home after the seventh and last child had been consumed, his wife gave birth in the night. He took the afterbirth with the navel string attached and told his wife that he would wrap it in a mat and leave it out in a tree as is the practice, but instead he took it outside and ate it all. Then he went to the area underneath the house and licked all the blood which had fallen down through the split bamboo floor. The next day the wife said she wanted to go to her mother's and see all her children. Her husband pretended to want to do the same. "You go on ahead," he told her. "No, I don't know the way," she objected. "Yes you do, just follow the path over there," he insisted. So she started off. When she reached the spot where he had killed and eaten all their children, she discovered the sega, bracelets and necklaces of her daughters, and she knew that he had eaten them. She ran and hid in a tree, but in her hurry she forgot her baby. When the husband arrived and saw the baby abandoned he realized that his wife had

guessed. He took the baby, put it on a skewer and roasted it in the fire. After having eaten it he went looking for his wife. He discovered her sitting up in a tree. "Ah, I'll go and fetch my blow-pipe," he said to himself. He brought the blow-pipe and shot at his wife, but he did not hit her. Then he made a large fire at the stem of the tree in order to smoke her out. He climbed up to get her, but as he was very near she threw her knife at him and he lost his balance and fell into the fire where he was burned to death. The wife called out, "Become flying-lemur! You who eat humans!" He became a flying-lemur ghost.

Myth 17

Bòngso and the elephant woman

Once an elephant arrived at Bongso's fields. The elephant ate his bananas. When Bòngso saw him he threw his spear at him and it hit him in the flank. The elephant ran away with the spear still stuck in his body. Bòngso did not want to lose his spear so he followed after the elephant. He followed the trail of blood that the elephant left behind. He went for several days, walking during the day and sleeping in the jungle at night. In those days there was still a path to the land of the elephants. Their land is called Moðden. After three days and nights he arrived at Moðden. He came to a house which he entered. It was not the house of the elephant which he had speared, but that of other elephants. In their own land the elephants take off their elephant "cloaks" and become people. The elephants gave Bòngso food, and in the evening they sat about chatting. The elephants told Bòngso about Ta', an old man, who was very sick. He just wanted to die, but no one could understand what was the matter with him. The elephants wanted to go to

Ta's house to see how he was getting on. Bongso also went. He saw his spear in the old man's flank and ^{there was} a deep wound. The elephants could not see the spear, the wound, or the blood. Only Bôngso saw it. It is the same way with us when a bas has thrown its spear at us. We cannot see it, we only feel very ill. Bôngso said healing spells. He only threw away the poison from the wound. The next day he went and found a long piece of bamboo, the same length as the spear in the elephant's side. In the evening he returned to Ta's house bringing the bamboo with him. He entered the house and said his spells. Then he placed the bamboo over the spear and pulled it out keeping it inside the bamboo so that nobody could see it. He took the spear in the bamboo and put it on the ground hidden in the undergrowth. For Bôngso just to look at the wound was sufficient for it to start to heal. Ta' quickly recovered. When the three days of pantang following the healing rite was over, he asked what had happened. The people told him that Bôngso had cured him. When he heard that, Ta' wanted to meet Bôngso, and the people went to collect him from the house where he was staying. Bôngso told Ta' how he had thrown a spear at him, and how he had taken it out again. "You are a good man," said Ta', "I want to give you my two daughters for wives." Bôngso accepted and there was a big wedding feast. After a while, however, Bôngso became home sick, and he set out for his own settlement. His two wives accompanied him. On the way they slept in the jungle underneath a very large tree. The wives were frightened that it might break and fall on them. "No, no, it won't fall," said Bôngso, but the wives would not listen. They gathered together their belongings, put on their elephant cloaks and returned to their own land. Bôngso went to his mother's house, "I have got wives,

mother" he told her, "but they have returned home." "Oh", said his mother.

When the two girls came back to their father's house, he was very angry with them for leaving their husband. "But we were frightened that the tree would break," they told him.

After a while Bôngso missed his wives very much and he set out with his mother to go to Modden. When he arrived back, the wives were glad to see him and they gave him an elephant cloak for wearing outside. Whenever we meet an elephant that is not frightened of humans, it is Bôngso we have met.

Myth 18

Tiger taladen

A man went hunting with his blow pipe. He shot a bowaeig monkey, a siamang and a binturing. He put all three animals in his back basket and went home. On the way he saw a tiger. When he arrived at the swidden he gave the meat to his wife to cook. They ate all the three meats, but his uncle (older than parent) who was a putao would not eat the binturong together with the siamang. He was afraid of tiger taladen. In the night they all climbed trees to sleep. They were frightened that the tiger might come.

The nephew brought his blow-pipe with him up into his tree. During the night he kicked it and it fell to the ground. "I am going down for my blow-pipe," he told his wife. "Oh, but what about the tiger?" said she. He took notice of this and climbed down. Just before he reached the ground he felt something scratch his legs. "Hey, there are lots of thorns here," he shouted to his wife, but it was the

claws of the tiger waiting for him at the bottom of the tree. The tiger bit him in the throat and the man died. "I'll sleep in the house over there for the rest of the night," called out the tiger to the wife, pretending to be the husband. The tiger ate the body and the blood of the man, but he did not eat the head. He then tried to climb the tree in which the uncle was sleeping, but he could not do so for the uncle had placed a knife in the trunk, and said spells over it so that the tiger could not pass.

The next day the uncle went hunting. He shot bowaeig monkey, tayog monkey, and squirrel. The head of his nephew's ghost followed him all the way. It wanted to his uncle's ruwai, but he could not take it for the uncle had said spells.

In the evening the uncle went home. The head of his nephew's ghost followed him. The uncle plaited headbands and riding. They made n8poh for seven nights. They wanted to expell the ghost. After seven nights the ghost vanished.

Myth 19

Tiger taladen

Two sisters went to catch long-tailed giant rats in the jungle. (Only women can catch these). The younger sister caught one. She wrapped it in klawògen leaf. To do so is tiger taladen. Having done this they returned to their house in the hollow of a tall tree. The younger girl cut long strips of rattan and built spear-traps around the tree and carried the extension of each trap into the house. They waited. In the evening a tiger came. They waited until it came very close and was underneath one of the traps, when the younger sister cut

the rattan and the spear fell down piercing the tiger. The girls climbed down and they looked at the corpse. They cut off the tail. This they would eat. In those days people still ate tigers. Then they went to sleep. The next morning they went to their mother's house. "There is some 'binturong' meat," they told her. The mother knew that they meant tiger, and as she liked eating tiger very much she went off with her back-basket to collect the carcass. The girls only wanted the tail, the rest of the body they left for their mother.

The two sisters went hunting long-tailed giant rats again. Having caught one they wrapped it in klawogen leaf and went home to their tree house. They collected rattan and made traps all around the tree. This time they did not use spears, but made loop traps. In the evening the tiger came. They waited until it was right underneath one of the traps, then they cut the line and the loop fell over the tiger's head and strangled it. They climbed down and cut off the tail which was all they wanted to have. They cooked the tail, ate it and went to sleep. The next morning they went to their mother's house. "There is 'binturong' meat today also," they told her. The mother was very pleased. She went to collect the carcass.

The next day they went to collect tiri, a root which if applied to the body makes one itch very badly. They found some and put it in a bamboo. To do so is also taladen tiger. Then they went home to their real house, not the one in the tree. They made traps all around the house and another one just by the ladder to the house. The ends of all the traps they brought into the house. Then they waited. In the evening the tiger came. By chance it avoided all the outlying traps and it reached the house. It put its front paws on the ladder and was about

to enter the house when the girls cut the rattan for the trap by the ladder, and the loop fell over the tiger's front legs. The girls then took the tiri and wiped it thickly over the tiger's hind parts. The older sister rubbed tiri and the younger sister rubbed tiri, and finally the tiger died from itching. The girls cut off the tail for themselves and gave the rest to their mother.

The next day after having told their mother about the meat they said to everybody "We are going 'binturong' hunting today." They set off and gathered some more tiri which again they put in the bamboo. This time they went to the tree house, but the younger sister was feeling lazy about making rattan traps and instead made a hole in the door to the entrance of the tree house. This they suspended above the entrance, then they climbed higher and sat waiting on a branch. In the evening the tiger came. He climbed up to their house and entered. They let the door fall down and the tiger was caught inside with its tail protruding through the hole. The girls pulled at the tail and rubbed it with tiri. The older sister took tiri out of the bamboo and rubbed it the whole length of the tail, and the younger sister did the same. Finally the tiger died from the itching, They then cut off the tail and ate it.

(The rest of the story was not known.)

Myth 20

Tiger punén

A man went hunting with his blow pipe. He shot a tobowad monkey which he placed in his back-basket. Then he found some pre fruit. These he put in his tobacco pouch and pushed this down the front

of the loincloth. He returned home to the swidden where he gave the tobowad to his two wives (sisters) and his parents-in-law, but he did not tell them that he had found any pre fruit. They all ate the meat with tapioca and rice and the parents-in-law went to sleep immediately afterwards. The man shared his fruit with his wives and the three of them ate it alone. Not ^{to} share fruit in punén tiger.

The next day he went hunting again. He returned to the same spot where he had shot the tobowad monkey the day before. Here he shot another one. Then he went to the pre fruit tree and made lots fall down with a long stick. Again he put the fruit in his tobacco pouch which he put down the front of his loincloth. He went home, gave the tobowad to his wives and mother-in-law and told them "I cannot find any pre fruit." The women cooked the meat which they all ate. The parents-in-law went to sleep and the man shared his pre fruit with his wives only.

A few days later the man and the two wives went on a hunting expedition. They made a lean-to on the ground, and were going to spend a few nights in the jungle. The husband went off with his blow-pipe while the wives stayed behind. He shot a squirrel. It fell to the ground and he wrapped it with leaves, hali klawògen, (to wrap a squirrel in hali klawògen is taladen tiger). As he bent over to place the wrapped meat in his back-basket a tiger came upon him from behind and bit him in the neck.

The tiger took the man's tobacco pouch and went to the lean-to where the wives were waiting for their husband to return. The tiger threw the tobacco pouch from a distance. There was some blood on it. "What is this blood?" asked the wives. "It is some blood from a

bowaeig monkey," replied the tiger. The wives could not see the tiger, they thought it was their husband speaking. Then the tiger went and collected the man's blow-pipe and quiver. He threw the blow-pipe to the wives. It broke. He also threw the quiver which split open. There was some blood on the quiver. "What is this blood?" asked the wives. "That is blood from a bowaeig monkey," replied the tiger. The tiger went to the dead man and bit off his penis, brought it back to the wives and threw it to them from a distance. "Whose penis is that?" the wives wanted to know. "That is the bowaeig monkey's penis," replied the tiger. He went and tore out the man's stomach and threw that as well. The wives now realized that a tiger had killed their husband and they ran over to a tall tree and climbed up it.

In the morning the wives heard siam ng chatter in the distance. They also heard gibbons and bowaeig monkeys. "I am going hunting" said the tiger, "I'll be back in the evening." The tiger went off in the direction of where they heard the siamang, gibbon and bowaeig monkey. The wives climbed down from the tree and ran as fast as they could towards the swidden. They stumbled and fell. When the older sister fell the younger one stepped over her, and when the younger sister fell the elder stepped over her. When they reached the swidden they told their mother "A tiger has killed our husband." They explained how they had committed punēn by not sharing the pre fruit. They all ate and then went to sleep.

The next day the father-in-law built a spear-trap on the path to the swidden. In the night the tiger came but the spears did not hit him. He killed a domestic pig, but he only ate the blood. The following day the father-in-law built a trap right next to the ladder leading up to the house. He dug a hole in the ground and placed many spears at the

bottom of the pit with the pointed ends upwards. He covered it with leaves. In the night the tiger came carrying the corpse of the husband in his mouth. He carried him by the neck where he had first bitten him. The tiger fell into the prepared trap, on top of all the spears, and the father-in-law came out of the house where he had been waiting, and finished him off.

The next day they buried the two corpses. The tiger was buried on one side of a tree and the husband on the other. (There must be a division between the two graves).

Myth 21

Tiger punén

A man went hunting with his son, Hadd. The people back at the settlement were preparing payong nuts. They came across a tobowad monkey and the father shot at it. It fell to the ground. Later he shot two more. Hadd meanwhile was digging for takad tubers. When he saw the tobowad he said to his father, "We'll be eating meat with payòng this evening." "Watch what you are saying," said the father angrily, "it is punén tiger to say that. It is to speak badly." The father then climbed a tree to get firewood so that they could burn off the tobowad's fur before bringing it home. There was lots of firewood on the ground, but he wanted to collect it from the tree tops. Hadd saw something move in the undergrowth. "There is something moving over there," he shouted to his father who climbed down to have a look. It was a tiger, but when it saw the father it moved away and he could not see anything. "Maybe it is a tiger," he said to Hadd. "Oh, no," said Hadd, so the father climbed up again for more firewood. The tiger moved closer. "Father,

there is something moving around here!" shouted Hadd, and the father climbed down to have a look, but he could see nothing. After they had burned off the three monkeys they set off for home. The father walked in front carrying the tobowad in his back-basket, and Hadd followed carrying the takkad roots in his basket. A bird spoke in the distance. "Maybe that is a tiger" said the father as a joke. The tiger, however, was following behind Hadd. They reached a river. The father crossed it, but as Hadd was about to do so, the tiger leaped out and bit him at the back of the neck. The father turned back quickly and caught Hadd as he was falling, and when the tiger saw this it ran away. The father carried Hadd on his back and the tiger followed the trail of blood. They came to another river. When he had crossed it, the father hid behind some bushes and waited. When the tiger arrived, the father shot ten poisoned darts at it, then he picked up Hadd and ran home. He did not wait to see if the tiger was killed by the poison. When he reached home, Hadd's sisters who had been preparing the payòng nuts asked what had happened. "Oh, he spoke badly," said the father, "and the tiger came and bit him." In the evening Hadd died. A man from the settlement went to see if the darts that the father had shot had hit the tiger. When he came to the river he found the corpse of the tiger lying there.

Myth 22

The goll-tree ghost

A man made a small clearing in the jungle in order to plant tobacco there. To do so he had to burn down a very large goll-tree. This tobacco field was some distance from his own settlement. After some days he told everyone "I am going to get some of the tobacco leaves from my new field." To say that one is going to collect tobacco

from a distant field is punén.

When he reached the field he saw that the goll-tree was still smouldering. He looked closely and in the smoke he saw the ghost of the goll-tree. This ghost became a deer. The man took to his heels. After he had run for a while he came to a different settlement. The people there were clearing a new field. "What's up?" they enquired when they saw him. "I am running away from the goll-tree ghost which has turned itself into a deer," he told them. He sat down to rest a little, when the deer came after him. The people tried to kill it with their bushknives, but although they cut at it this did not hurt it, so the man got up and ran away. After a while he came to another settlement. Here the people were clearing up an old field in order to plant afresh. "What's the matter?" they asked when they saw him. "I am running away from the goll-tree ghost. I spoke badly and said I was going to get tobacco, and now the goll-tree ghost which has become a deer is after me," explained the man. The people there gave him a loin cloth for the old one had been torn off in his flight. They also gave him some food. While they were eating, the deer arrived. The people tried to kill it with spears, but it had no effect, and the man ran on. After a while he came to yet another settlement. The people were burning off a new field. "What's up?" they asked when they saw him. "Oh, I am running away from the goll-tree ghost which is after me. There is punén. The ghost has turned itself into a deer," he said. The people gave him a pair of shorts, for the loin cloth he had been given earlier had been torn into shreds on his flight. They all sat down to smoke when the deer arrived. The people tried to kill it with their knives and spears, but it did not die and the man ran on. After a while he arrived at Bòngso's settlement. "What is the matter with you?" asked Bòngso when he saw him. The man told

him what had happened; and when the deer arrived, Bongso poured water over it and extinguished it. Bòngso knew that the only way to kill the goll-tree ghost was to pour water over it.

Myth 23

Ya' Popag

Ya' Popag, who was a nab (bas who eat people's bodies as opposed to their ruwai) lived alone in her house in a large field where she had planted lots of rice. A man from another settlement went out hunting one day when he passed Ya' Popag's house. "Come over here, grandchild, rest a little," she called out to him. He entered her house. Ya' Popag gave him some betel nuts to eat. These betel nuts, however, were poisonous and the man fell asleep. He lay flat out on his back. Ya' Popag went up to him and asked, "are you asleep, grandchild?" He did not reply. She then took her knife and slit his throat. She drank his blood and ate his body. Then she took his blowpipe, his quiver, and the bones, and brought them over to the house of a young girl nearby. Ya' Popag had already eaten the girl's mother, but the girl herself - she was Bòngso (and therefore putao)-made herself very, very small so that Ya' Popag did not want to eat her. She thought there would be no blood in her and no meat on her bones. The girl was tiny only in the day-time when she might be visited by Ya' Popag. In the evening she became normal again.

The man's brother went hunting as well. He also came across Ya' Popag's house, and she called out to him to enter her house and have a rest. When they had eaten she gave him some of the poisonous betel nut, and when he fell asleep, she cut his throat, drank his blood and ate his body. Then she placed his blowpipe, quiver, and bones in the young

girl's house. After a few days yet another brother came to Ya' Popag's house, and the same thing happened. The following ^{day} Bôngso went out looking for his brothers. He arrived at the house of the young girl. There he saw his brothers' blowpipes and quivers. "Ya' Popag has eaten all your brothers," the girl told him. He then walked over to Ya' Popag's house. "Is that you, my grandchild?" she called out when she saw him. "It is I, Granny," he replied. "Come in and rest a little and have something to eat" she said. "No, I am staying over there," he replied, pointing towards the girl's house. He did not want to eat human flesh. To do so would be dirty, kama. The following morning he returned to Ya' Popag's house. "Let us go and harvest your rice, Granny," he said, "I can see that it is ripe." "Not today, grandchild, it is too hot. Come inside the house for a bit," she answered. "No, come on," he insisted, "grandmother and grandchild working together won't notice the heat." So they went. As the sun got higher in the sky, Ya' Popag complained of the heat. "Let us go home, grandchild," she said. "No, no, Granny, when grandmother and her grandchild work together they don't notice the heat," he replied. They worked on and it was very hot. Every so often Ya' Popag wanted to go home, but Bôngso would not let her. She did not want to oppose him as she intended to kill and eat him later. When the sun began to set, Bôngso said, "Let us go bathing, Granny." They went to the river, but by this time it was almost evening, and Ya' Popag said, "it is too cold to bathe now, grandchild." "No, it is not. In you go," he told her. She jumped in. "Oh, it is cold" she exclaimed and wanted to get out straight away. "No, not yet Granny," said Bôngso, "stay in a bit longer. You will feel very good afterwards." When Ya' Popag finally was allowed to get out of the water she was shivering with cold. "I'll

run on ahead and build you a fire so that you can warm yourself," Bongso told her. He made a large fire on the ground underneath the ladder leading up to Ya' Popag's house, and when she arrived she leant against the ladder to warm herself. She was shivering. After a while Bongso told her to enter the house. She started climbing up the ladder. She had to do it on all fours. She was so exhausted after the day's work and her trials. When she was halfway up, the ladder collapsed into the fire and Ya' Popag was burned to death. (The only way to kill keòj is to use fire).

Bòngso then went over to the girl's house. He took the bones of his three brothers and washed them. Then he laid them out on the ground and blew magical smoke over them and on top of their heads. Three times he did this and they became alive again. "Oh, dear, we have been sleeping in the day time they exclaimed, "it was very nice." "Nice indeed!" replied Bòngso, "you have been killed and eaten by Ya' Popag . He then told them all that had happened. In the night Bòngso and the girl slept together and they became husband and wife. The next day they all returned to their mother's house. "You have been out hunting for a long time," said she when she saw them. "No, they were killed and eaten by Ya' Popag," said Bòngso, "I took their bones and made them alive again." "Oh", said the mother, "~~where~~ is Ya' Popag now?" "I have killed her with fire Bòngso told her. After a few days, when the three brothers were strong again, they all returned to Ya' Popag's field. They did not want all the rice that was still there to be abandoned. They threw away the roof, floor, and beams of her house and built a new one for themselves to live in.

Myth 24The dog man

A long, long time ago there were still dog people. A man (dog man) and his brother-in-law went hunting with their blowpipes. They came across a bowaeig monkey and shot it. It fell dead to the ground. They left it on a stone and went further. They found a tobowad monkey which they also shot. This they took back to the place where they had left the bowaeig monkey, and they made a fire in order to eat some of the meat. The man took out the stomachs of the animals and placed them on a leaf. He then wiped the meat with some leaves. "Do you want to eat it, brother-in-law?" asked the other. "No, that's dirty," replied the man. They cooked and ate a little of the meat, put the rest in their back-baskets and set off home. Half way, the man said "Oh, brother-in-law." "What, brother-in-law?" asked the other. "I have forgotten my knife," said the man. Before he said this he hid the knife in his loincloth. "Go back and get it, brother-in-law," said the other. Meanwhile he brought the monkeys home and gave them to his wife to cook. She cooked the meat and she cooked tapioca. "Brother-in-law is very late," she said. Finally the man turned up saying that he had not found his knife at first, it was lying underneath some leaves. Everybody ate and then went to sleep.

For the next four days the same thing happened except that each time the man gave a different reason for being late back. He said that his knife had fallen underneath a stone, that there were lots of mosquitoes which made searching very difficult, that the stone had fallen into the river, and that he had forgotten where he had left it.

On the seventh day the younger brother of the brother-in-law joined the two men on the hunt. When the man said that he had forgotten

his knife and went back to look for it, the other man told his brother, "You go home with the meat. I want to follow brother-in-law to see what he does." He went after the man and saw that he returned to where they had gutted the animals. Here he ate the stomachs and licked the blood off the leaves. The other man went home and told everyone what he had seen. When the man arrived home his wife was angry with him for being late. "I met a tiger which was eating a pig it had killed, and it followed after me," lied the man. The wife told him what her brother had seen. The husband and wife quarrelled. The man hit his wife and killed her. He then bit off a piece of her flesh and ate it.

The next day the wife's father came to the house. He knew what had happened. He was a great putao. He took the corpse of his daughter and touched her on the shin, toes, and head. Then he blew "magical" smoke through his right hand onto the corpse seven times. She became alive. He then took his spear and hit his son-in-law in the chest. The son-in-law died. The father placed the corpse inside the house and set fire to it. The corpse of the son-in-law burned up and became ashes. This was the end of dog people. From now on they were true dogs only.

Myth 25

The star that married Bôngso

Once a star came down from the sky. She went to Bôngso's house. They slept together and became man and wife. The next day Bôngso went hunting. His wife wanted binturong. He shot one and brought it home, where the wife cooked and ate it. The following day he went hunting again and this time his wife accompanied him. They passed a rotten tree full of maggots. The wife asked Bôngso to kill the maggots, but he said that to eat maggots is dirty, kama, and he would not touch them. The wife

caught the maggots, built a fire, and roasted them. Then she ate the maggot fat. Bôngso would not eat any. In the evening they returned home, and went to sleep. In the night the wife became very hot. She went to sit in the doorway. "Oh my body is so hot," she complained. She went down on the ground and ran around. Bôngso followed her. "You must ^{burn} down the house," she told Bôngso. Since he wanted to help her, he set fire to his house. The wife went into the smoke. He could see her above the house in the smoke, "I do not want you, and you do not want me," she said to Bôngso, and then she returned home to the sky using the smoke as her path.

APPENDIX II : FUNERAL SONG

Raw raw, di raw
 Chabogn di cabogn
 Kisare, berelig, kisare
 Kisare nilagen chabogn
 Berelig, chib daí, kisare
 Pampong blihai laga pampòng laga
 Laga bayang
 Laga di mandi
 Laga di ranchogn
 Bukan saja di mayin
 Kisare di la rugn la bajo
 Kisare di la rugn la porung
 Linga di bowang
 Kawan ramai
 Ohalowai !
 Rioh, rioh
 Sama rioh rinchaw, niniow
 Di balai niniow di ninen
 Ninen a balai
 Hoawhowai !
 Le bog morelogn
 Saja bremon, saja kawan
 Kawan guru kenell buwang la bajo
 Kisare la bajo la rung
 Hankad

Pull hard, pull hard

(at the) chabogn tree

Shake, turn over

Shake one side of the chabogn tree

Turn over, come here, shake

Pampong fruit split open, water

Water shadow

Water bathing

Water splash about

Not just make a noise

Shake the body, the cloak

Shake the body, the frame

Linger (in the house) the throwing off¹

Ramai fruit friends²

Hey, ho !

Noise, noise

Together noise of much talking

In the house much talking, rowdiness

Rowdiness in the house³

Hey, ho !

The (small) container is full (but it is nice to bathe)⁴

Just drum and say the expelling spells, just friend

Friend teacher⁵, watch the throwing off of the cloak

Shake the body, shake the cloak

Move.

NOTES ON THE FUNERAL SONG

- 1 This refers to the putao sending out his ruwai and "throwing off" his body when he goes in a trance to accompany the ynlugen to Pulao Klam.
- 2 One type of bi hali who have come to witness and help.
- 3 The rowdiness of dancing and shaking. This is unusual Chewong behaviour, in fact only indulged in at times of funeral to frighten the ynlugen to abandon the living.
- 4 This refers to the putao's container of dew obtained from his spirit-guides.
- 5 The dead putao of the past (bi inhar) also come to watch the event. They are often referred to in the songs as guru, Malay for teacher (from the Sanskrit).

APPENDIX III

List of 40 Elements used in the Computer Analysis

- 1 Horseshoe bat
- 2 Flying fox
- 3 Fruit bat
- 4 Scaly anteater
- 5 Binturong
- 6 Squirrel
- 7 Banded leaf monkey
- 8 Monitor lizard (water)
- 9 Monitor lizard (land)
- 10 Pig
- 11 Tortoise
- 12 Mountain tortoise
- 13 Gibbon
- 14 Hornbill
- 15 River turtle
- 16 Fish
- 17 Siamang
- 18 Flying lemur
- 19 Otter
- 20 Pig-tailed macaque
- 21 Bamboo rat
- 22 Frog
- 23 Wild fowl

- 24 Long-tailed porcupine
- 25 Common porcupine
- 26 Dusty leaf-monkey
- 27 Long-tailed macaque
- 28 Flying squirrel
- 29 Slow loris
- 30 Small mouse deer
- 31 Barking deer
- 32 Sambar deer
- 33 Tichub bird
- 34 Tiger
- 35 Mouse
- 36 Toad
- 37 Elephant
- 38 Shrews
- 39 Leech
- 40 Worms

List of 25 Constructs used in the Computer Analysis

- 1 Ruwai
- 2 People in the past
- 3 Yinlugen
- 4 Domestic fire
- 5 Tika
- 6 Taladen (tiger)
- 7 Taladen (elephant)
- 8 Tolaeg
- 9 Pantang (pregnancy)

- 10 Idiosyncratic rules
- 11 Sympathetic signatures
- 12 Habitat: trees
- 13 Habitat: air
- 14 Habitat: land
- 15 Habitat: Water
- 16 Habitat: mixed
- 17 Blow-piped
- 18 Fur
- 19 Feather
- 20 Scales
- 21 Other
- 22 "Mammals"
- 23 Nocturnal
- 24 Edible
- 25 Day + night movement

APPENDIX IV

Percentage of total variance accounted for by
principal components

The component space is limited to 25 dimensions

Component	Root	As per cent
1	5.2552	21.02
2	3.9719	15.89
3	2.9257	11.70
4	2.2645	9.06
5	1.9063	7.63
6	1.5467	6.19
7	1.2575	5.03
8	1.0655	4.26
9	0.9014	3.61
10	0.7226	2.89
11	0.7082	2.83
12	0.5440	2.18
13	0.4637	1.85
14	0.3318	1.33
15	0.2592	1.04
16	0.2408	0.96
17	0.1853	0.74
18	0.1428	0.57
19	0.1038	0.42
20	0.0757	0.30

Component	Root	As per cent
21	0.0574	0.23
22	0.0384	0.15
23	0.0264	0.11
24	0.0052	0.02
25	0.0000	0.00

Conculsions from the analysis

- 1 Of the 25 components, no fewer than 23 were identified as significant on the basis of the Bartlett test.
- 2 The first principal component accounted for only 21.02% of the total variance, and the first three principal components for only 58.61%.

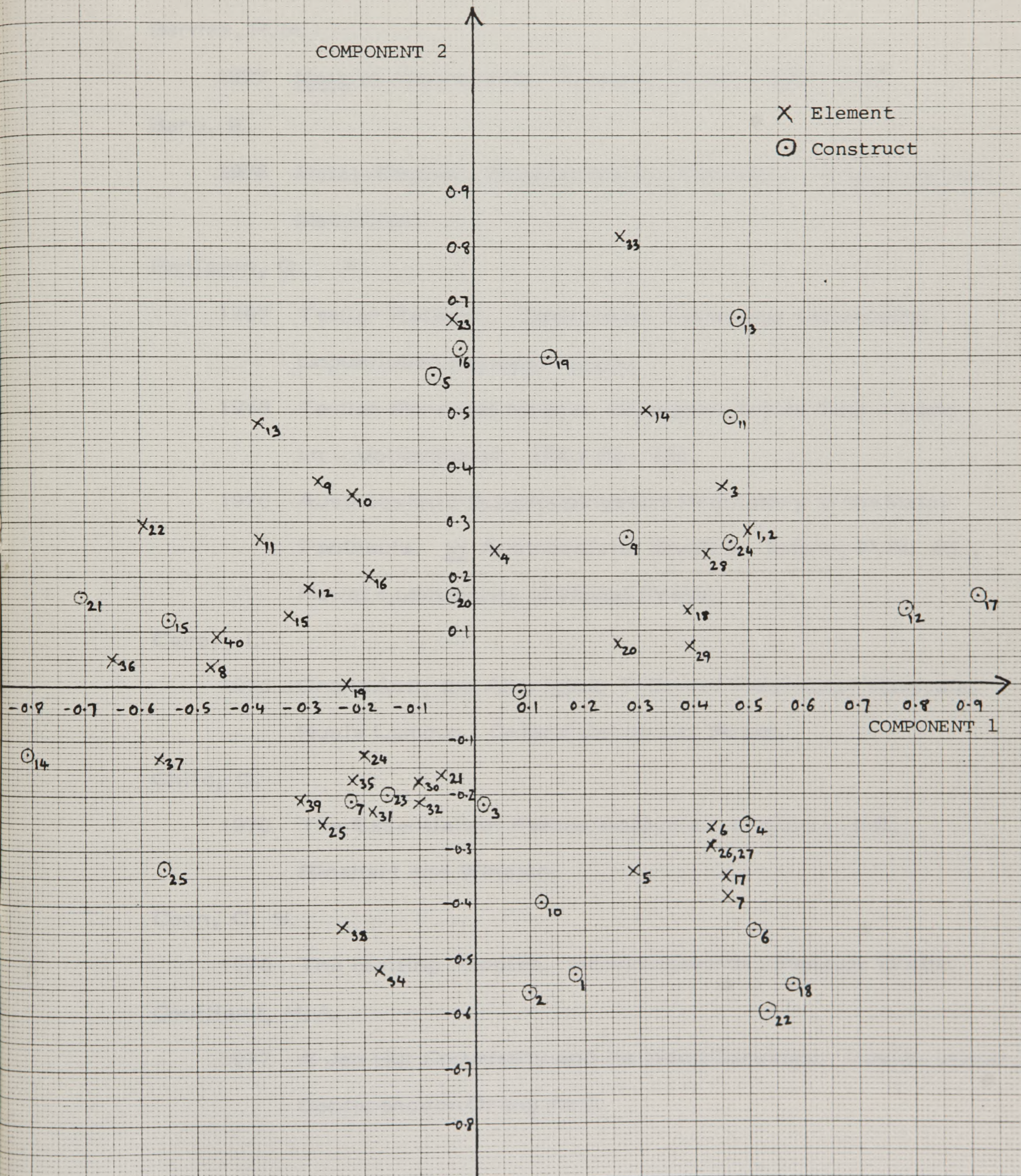
Child (1970), one of the authorities of Principal Components analysis and Factor analysis, would regard this figure of 58% as being rather low. Typically in an analysis of the kind we have performed one would expect a greater proportion of percentage of the variance to be explained by the first three components and, correspondingly, one would expect fewer significant components. The fact that in this analysis we find both a low percentage variance accounted for by the first three components, as well as a large number of significant components, shows that the correlations – in other words, the relationships – between the attributes is extremely weak, from which we may conclude either 1) that there is no overall strucutre in the domain, 2) that there is overall structure but not in relation to these attributes, 3) there is a structure within sub-sets of the domain, but

not overall. We may dismiss the second of these conclusions on the basis of there being no other attributes to consider, and the third conclusion because my own analysis by hand showed this not to be the case.

Percentage of Total Variance Accounted for by Principal Components



Loadings of Elements (Animals) and Constructs (Attributes) - Components 1 and 2



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Chewong Modes of Thought

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Doctor of Philosophy, Michaelmas Term 1980

This is an ethnographic study of the Chewong, a small group of aboriginal people who live in the tropical rain forest of peninsular Malaysia. They are shifting cultivators, hunters and gatherers.

After an introductory chapter in which language, history, ecology, economy, demography, and kinship are briefly examined, the main body of the thesis is presented in three parts.

In Part Two, "Relationships", I suggest that a lack of hierarchy on the political level is only one manifestation of a fundamental egalitarian value system permeating Chewong beliefs and practices. Not only are no humans imbued with a higher status than any other, but also the numerous superhuman beings who inhabit the Chewong universe are not regarded as superior to human beings, nor to one another.

In Part Three, "Consciousness and Relativity", the discussion focuses upon Chewong conceptions of what it means to be human. This includes an evaluation of their concepts of soul, its relationship to the body, and other aspects of the individual. These concepts are then contrasted with Chewong ideas about the rest of nature as well as the superhuman beings. The suggested conclusion is that although there is an envisaged unity of nature (including human beings) and supernature, consciousness is nevertheless species-bound.

Part Four, "Rules and Classification" first examines the implications of the numerous rules which govern Chewong behaviour. These are seen to constitute their moral universe and to form a theory of causality. The issue of symbolic classification is then addressed. Taking those rules which refer to animals, an attempt is made to determine explicit or implicit principles which might account for the allocation of specific animals to specific rules. The data are also subjected to a Principal Components Analysis. No underlying principles were found. In view of this it is concluded that membership of a class is due only to contingent circumstances.

