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MALAY HUMOROUS TALES:
PERFORMANCE, CORPUS OF ORAL TEXTS
AND ITS STUDY

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SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

2000
MALAY HUMOROUS TALES:
PERFORMANCE, CORPUS OF ORAL TEXTS
AND ITS STUDY

A Thesis Submitted by
SHAIFUL BAHRI BIN MD. RADZI

In Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
In Malay Literature

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

2000
Abstract

Like other societies, the Malays enjoy stories which make them laugh. Numerous stories appear and are transmitted by word of mouth when people are gathered at leisure. They bring laughter and joy to teller and audience. The stories usually portray the characters’ clumsiness, slow-wittedness, or cunning in their escapades. Up to the present, the subject matter of these stories has never been fully examined. Further studies have mainly focused on the traditional type of humorous tales, their classification, and functions and have based these examinations solely on written texts.

This study seeks to investigate the current practice of the performance of humorous tales in Malay society. It will focus on the roles played by the narrator and audience in order to enliven the performance. In this connection, it is essential to look at the background of the storytelling tradition; the whole corpus of the Malay humorous tales: traditional, modern and contemporary type of tales; also other aspects related to the performance: techniques of delivery, setting, the audience’s reception, and the narrator’s background (status in the community; personality; level of education; and the way in which they acquired their fund of stories).

The introduction of four different types of classification systems - based on themes, heroes, modes of creation; and plots, - shows that the tales consist of a variety of themes; heroes; tales, and actions performed by the heroes respectively. The thematic
classification in particular will give an alternative classification scheme which could fit numerous tales that exist in oral form. It also shows why the Malay are fascinated by this kind of tales; who are the butt of humour, why they are targeted; and what laughable actions they perform.

The poetic values of Malay humorous tales are evident through their linguistic and literary features. In linguistic terms, the storytellers use colloquial Malay, classical Malay, Malay dialects and some foreign language to execute their repertoire. Literary features take the form of storytelling techniques, which include repetitions, insertion of poetic verses, and shortening phrases. The combination of these linguistic and literary features, reveals that even such colloquial presentation also possesses its own stylized forms of delivery. Discussion of poetics also includes an analysis of the tales' devices of humour and their functions. On the basis of the classification schemes, especially the classification of heroes and plots, it appears that incongruity, ambiguity, absurdity, surprise and a combination of several such elements are the devices of humour that provoke Malays to laughter. Such stories are used to express elements of didacticism in negative terms; for socializing purposes; to represent a form of social and political criticism; to enhance self-respect and arouse a sense of national awareness and integrity.
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List of Abbreviations

Ar  Arabic

*BKI (BTLV)*  *Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, published by the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden.

(Ch.)  Chinese

(coll.)  Colloquial

C.O.P.  Classification of Plots

DBP  Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka

E  Ethnic

Eng  English

Isl  Islam

*JMBRAS*  *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

*JSBRAS*  *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

(Jv.)  Javanese

(Kel.)  Kelantan

M  Modern

(Mi.)  Minangkabau - ethnic commonly in Negeri Sembilan

Mis  Miscellaneous

O  Occupational

Q  Human Quality

Qam  Ambivalent
Qc  Cunning
Qhy  Hypocrisy
Qn   Numskull
S    Sex
T    Traditional
UIA  Universiti Islam Antarabangsa
UKM  Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
UM   Universiti Malaya
UMNO The United Malays National Organization
USM  Universiti Sains Malaysia
Acknowledgements

Many thanks are especially due to both my supervisors, Professor Vladimir I. Braginsky and Dr. Nigel G. Phillips (retired October, 1999) for their constant guidance, advice, suggestions and helpful criticisms in completing this work. Their commitment and supervision have been a great moral boost to me throughout these three hard years to accomplish my goal. To them I am indebted for a great deal of my knowledge and understanding of the study. I also would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. E. Ulrich Kratz for his encouragement and moral support in my work ever since I set foot on English soil.

During the fieldwork, many people assisted me in many ways. First and foremost, I would like to thank all my informants for their performances, especially Tokcik, Cikgu Radi, Haji Manan, Abu Zarim, Azizi, Hamzah, Mohd. Nor, Nazari, Cikgu Senin, Aji and others. My thanks are also due to Bang Din, Din Kilat, Daud, Randok, Yusop Cina, Mail and Romzi for introducing me to the informants; also to Salmiah, Izzah and also to the staffs of the Pusat Dokumentasi Melayu, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, who provided assistance in the copying of recorded materials. I am very grateful for their assistance and supportive cooperation which helped to make this study possible.

Above all, I am extremely grateful to the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) for offering a place and scholarship which enabled me to further my study at SOAS.
Without such a grant it would have been impossible to accomplish this study and fulfil my dream. To my colleagues, namely Mohd. Fauzi, Shahlan, Ungku Maimunah, Che Abdullah, my former lecturers and the general staffs of Jabatan Persuratan Melayu, UKM, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for their support, encouragement and assistance during the entire period of my research. Last but not least, I wish to thank Muhammad Haji Salleh who is responsible in diverting my attention to the field of Malay oral literature.

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Finally, I wish to thank all my family members (father, mother, brothers, and sisters); father and mother-in-law; Pak Itam and his family members and especially my wife and children for their prayers, patience, understanding, and encouragement during the writing of this thesis.
Map 1
Peninsular Malaysia
Map 2
The State of Selangor

Source: Population and Housing Census. Department of Statistics Malaysia, 1992
Map 3
The State of Melaka

Source: Population and Housing Census, Department of Statistics Malaysia, 1992
Introduction

Scope

This study is oral-orientated, fully based on oral data, i.e., the Malay humorous tales told by ordinary people on a non-professional basis. It will consider the whole corpus of Malay humorous tales of traditional, modern and contemporary types with both human and non-human characters. Before this thesis, a number of studies on this subject matter had been conducted, but mostly in a form of short articles. Usually, these studies confined their scope to traditional tales, especially those on the five well-known heroes,¹ and utilized written texts. To this extent, the topic can be considered a neglected one.

Examination of Malay humorous stories, especially from the perspective of their performance by ordinary people and considering all kinds of stories that contain elements of laughter, has yet to be carried out. Besides, the existing classification schemes,² may be considered inadequate as they consist of only three main categories and are restricted to only human heroes. However, there exists a variety of themes from a large storehouse of humorous tales depicting human and non-human characters. Furthermore, the poetic qualities that give aesthetic impact to the genre are usually overlooked, a fact which has been previously ignored by many scholars. Therefore, this study aims to examine the performance of humorous tales by the ordinary people termed “the amateur storytellers;”

¹ Pak Pandir, Pak Belalang, Pak Kadok, Si Luncai and Lebai Malang.
² Based on thematic ground.
to introduce an alternative classification system which could fit all the potential tales; and to reveal and analyse their poetics.

The discussion of the performance of Malay humorous tales aims to describe and analyse the current interest in the practice of storytelling, particularly of the humorous kind in Malay society in Malaysia. Such stories are performed exclusively by non-professionals.\(^3\) It is essential to analyse their status in their communities; their personalities; level of education; the way in which they acquired their repertoire of stories; and so forth, in order to outline a clear picture of the cultural context of the storytelling performance.

The delivery of the repertoire will be described in term of performance. In this respect, the examination will concentrate on how the performances were arranged; their setting; and the interactions between the performer and the audience. On the part of the performers, their attitude towards the delivery - willingness, hesitation, confidence, competence etc.; their style and idiosyncrasies; the verbal and non-verbal aspects; opening and closing formulas, all these will be examined. In contrast, the perceptions of the audience will be analysed as well. This will include the way they experience the stories, i.e. their reactions; and their interaction with the storyteller before, during and after the storytelling event. By looking from both angles, it will be possible to show what

\(^3\) This group of people formed the other half of the storytellers who were usually neglected by previous studies of Malay oral literature. However, in this respect, Sweeney's study (1976) is an exception. He focused only on 'Pak Pandir' tales collected throughout Peninsular Malaysia told by a similar type of performers to those with which this study is concerned, the amateur storytellers.
took place during the performance - their different contributions; the roles they played; factors in creating lively atmosphere; and to judge the success of the event.

This study also intends to introduce four different types of classification system: thematic classification; classification of heroes; classification according to mode of creation; and classification of the plots. Through such classifications, it will show the variety of themes characteristic of humorous stories; types of heroes they revolve around; types of tales; and types of actions performed by the heroes. Furthermore, the classifications suggested will help one to understand why the Malay are fascinated by this kind of tales; who are the butt of their humour; against whom the stories are targeted; and what are their functions.

As for the poetics of the tales, this aspect will be examined through two features: linguistic and literary. By doing so, the beauty of the colloquial presentation will become evident. In linguistic terms, it makes it possible to show how the narrators use their linguistic abilities in presenting their repertoire. On the other hand, the literary features will reveal various types of storytelling techniques employed by the narrators. These include repetition, insertion of verses (pantun), and shortening phrases. In this way, it will be shown that non-professional presentation, too possesses some elements of stylized form in delivery. The analysis of the poetics will also include the tales’ devices of humour and their functions. In the case of humorous devices, the classifications of heroes and plots will be used to discover what provokes Malays to laughter.
In a way, this thesis hopes to form a complementary examination (since previous studies of Malay oral literature have focused on professional artists), in order to make a contribution to the understanding of the sphere of Malay oral literature as a whole.

To achieve the aims formulated above, this study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One focuses on the context of the storytelling tradition of the Malay society in Malaysia. It will discuss the past and the current interest in storytelling performances, particularly the telling of humorous tales. It is important to give a brief sketch of the changes of interest in storytelling and types of tales, which are due to the vast growth of modern developments. This chapter will also focus on discussing the narrators' personalities; their status in their communities; their level of education; and the ways in which they acquired their repertoire of stories.

Chapter Two looks at delivery from the perspective of "performance" in order to give a clear picture of this aspect. It will describe the event in terms of the atmosphere created during the narration of such tales, which includes observations on the actions and reactions of the storyteller and the audience. It deals with the narrator's style and idiosyncrasies; audience's interventions; and various factors that determine the success of such events.

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5 It is one of the three elements of context other than the scene of performance and social or cultural environment, as pointed out by Okpewho (1992: 105 - 106).
Chapter Three focuses on the presentation of the collected material. It will be quoted in its original form in order to preserve its oral flavour and to show its colloquial nature. Thus, the transcription will takes into consideration what was actually said by the narrator, and it will also include the audience’s remarks either related or unrelated to the story.

Chapter Four will be specifically devoted to classifying the tales. The tales are identified and grouped on the basis of their themes, types of hero, mode of creation, and types of plots. The principal aim of this chapter is to establish what types of tale provoke Malays to laughter, who are the butt of humour and why they are targeted.

Chapter Five examines the poetics of the tales. The inquiry covers the discussion of linguistic and literary features. The former shows how the narrator utilized his linguistic skills to give an aesthetic impact to the delivery. This section also serves to show how the narrator uses various storytelling techniques in the delivery, and it includes a discussion of devices of humour, and of the functions of the tales.

The findings of this study, which emerge through the investigations and discussions in all five chapters, will be summed up in the final section, the Conclusion.
**Field Work**

Information for this study was mostly gathered during three months of field research during the period of September to December 1997. It was drawn mainly from Kuala Langat, Selangor; Merlimau, Melaka; and two districts in Johor, those of Muar and Kluang. Several days were spent at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, where several tapes on the subject matter are kept. Methods employed to gather materials were observation, interviews and personal participation.

In an examination of the repertoire, it was first necessary to record as many samples as possible from the informants approached. The informants were either known to me (i.e., family members, friends, peers and colleagues) or recommended by friends. In my preliminary investigations, various people were asked for their views on other people whom they knew and who could tell stories; their opinions on the current interest in storytelling; and other details related to the subject matter. Special attention was given to elderly people, usually the storytellers themselves and members of the audience present, in order to elicit memories of storytelling sessions during their childhood and youth - in terms of types of humorous tales; the way they are delivered; and other matters related to storytelling.

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6 The Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP) is Malaysia's language planning agency; See *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* (1989).
Of 22 informants approached, 13 were from Kuala Langat; 4 from Merlimau and Muar; and 5 from Kluang (see Fig. 1). These 22 informants contributed 196 of the 216 stories gathered, ranging from traditional to modern; including human and animal subjects; and well-known and unknown stories. Of the 22 storytellers only one is a woman. The recordings were transcribed and later codified for reference purposes. On several occasions, I employed the trick of requesting the informants to repeat certain stories, pleading that the earlier recording had been accidentally erased. This enabled me to verify how fixed were the form and the content of the recorded stories. However, 26 of 216 stories were recorded earlier, in June 1995. They were solely gathered from the district of Kuala Langat, Selangor.

Three stories were copied from the recorded documents kept in Pusat Dokumentasi Melayu (Centre of Malay Documentation), Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. First is the tale ‘Kulup Kecil Kulup Besar’ (Small Kulup Big Kulup - PR 94) by Ismail bin Gonyek from Kampung Ghalib, Sungai Jelutong, Negeri Sembilan, recorded in 1967. The other two stories were narrated by Khatijah binti Nordin from Muar, Johor in 1971. Her stories were ‘Si Buta, Si Pekak, Si Bodek’ (The Blind, The Deaf, and The Hernia - PR110b) and ‘Pak Pandir’ (PR 110d).

The rest of the 17 samples are labeled as “anonymous” in this study. Some of the stories are in my own repertoire. They were acquired during my teaching career.

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7 For a brief account of the centre’s functions and successes, see Wan Yusof Haji Wan Hassan (1997).
8 All the tale numbers were written down according to DBP’s listing of recorded materials. For a full account of the DBP’s recorded materials, see Wan Yusof Haji Wan Hassan (1997).
particularly in Kluang, Johor and some just recently. These “anonymous” materials also include several stories narrated by friends who did not want to be identified. Both these two groups of stories (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka and the “anonymous”), comprising 20 stories, will be used as supplementary material to the ones collected from the focus areas.

**Figure 1.**
**Sources of Stories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Area / Source of Stories</th>
<th>Tale</th>
<th>Tale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kuala Langat - 1995</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kuala Langat - 1997</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Melaka / Muar</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kluang</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>216</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Earlier Studies**

The interest in Malay oral literature started during the end of 19th and the early 20th century. During these early stages interest was mostly devoted to the collection, translation and publication of tales of various genres. William Maxwell, R.J. Wilkinson, Walter Skeat, G.M. Laidlaw, A.J. Sturrock, Richard O. Winstedt, Snouck Hurgronje, H.C. Klinkert, and C.A. Mees were amongst those who initiated studies in the field of Malay oral literature. As far as humorous tales are concerned, their contributions on the subject are limited compared to other genres. Most of these studies were in the form of

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Among the editions of humorous tales published at this stage were “Pak Senik” (1906), “Mat Janin” and “Pa’ Pandir” (1907) edited by G.M. Laidlaw. In 1908 Winstedt edited “Musang Berjangan Gut” and *Cherita Jenaka* (consisting of “Pak Pandir,” “Pak Belalang,” “Pak Kadok,” “Lebai Malang,” and “Si Luncai”) together with A.J. Sturrock.
short articles; passing comments in wider studies of traditional literature; scattered notes; and compilations, translations and publications of such tales.

The earliest study of the humorous tale is a commentary by Snouck Hurgronje (1906: 69-73) on the comic characters of the Archipelago in his famous work, *The Achehnese*. He showed that the comic character in the folk literature of the Achehnese was Si Meuseukin, who resembled Si Kabayan of the Sundanese; Pa’ Pandir of the Malays; and the Javanese Jaka Bodo. Hurgronje further suggested that these comic characters had some similarity with the German Till Eulenspiegel and the Arab-Turkish Juha or Chójah Naṣr ad-dīn.

R.O. Winstedt (1907: 1 and 20-28), in his commentary on Malay literature, shared Hurgronje’s view on comic characters of the Malays. He stated that there is a repertory of short tales, Malay only in their appearance, including humorous tales of foreign origin imported from India, Arabia, Persia and Egypt. As an example he quoted part of a Burmese tale, “The Adventures of Saw Kay,” in *The Triumph of Love*, which resembles Si Luncai. Winstedt classified the Malay humorous tale under the label “farcical tale.”

Later, in another article, Winstedt (1920a: 15-21) discussed two versions of the *Hikayat Abu Nawas*, manuscripts of which were kept in Singapore. He claimed that these

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10 In the article, Winstedt gave a translation of ‘Pa Bélalang’ and several synopses - those of ‘Pa Kadok,’ ‘Lébai Malang,’ ‘Mat Janin,’ ‘Pa Bélalang,’ ‘Si Lunchai,’ and ‘Musang Bérjanggut.’
versions were identical in subject matter but differed slightly in plot, and further summarized both versions for comparison. In another article "The Indian Origin of Malay Folk-Tales" (1920b : 119 - 126), Winstedt stressed again how indebted the Malays were to India for their folk tales, language, religion, customs, literature and general culture. In the same article, he pointed out that the plots of such Malay humorous tales as 'Pak Belalang,' 'Mat Jenin' and 'Si Luncai' were very similar to those of Kartha Sarit Sagara, Jataka Tales, Hitopadesa and other great South Asian works, while tales such as Abu Nawas and Musang Berjanggut were borrowed from the Arabian Nights and other works of the Arab world.

In his famous work, A History of Classical Malay Literature, Winstedt expressed the view that the Malays knew only three comic types embodied in five characters. The first type was that of the simpleton, such as Pak Kadok and Lebai Malang. The second, the Malay Handy Andy (numskull), Pak Pandir; and the third, the cunning type represented by Pak Belalang and Si Luncai. Besides these personages, he also mentioned Abu Nawas and Maskhu'ilhakk. Winstedt also held that the only genuine indigenous Malay characters were Pak Pandir, Pak Kadok and Lebai Malang, while the rest were of foreign origin, either Indian or Arab (Winstedt, 1939 : 12 - 18). In the preface of the work he emphasised their supposed foreign origin thus: "Malay folklore,

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11 The first and second publications were published in the Journal of Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1939 and 1958 respectively. When the Malay Studies Department was established at the University of Malaya in 1953, the work became the core reading material and created such a demand that it needed to be reprinted, see Ismail Hussein (1974 : 1) and Liaw Yock Fang (1975 : ii).
even, is borrowed, most of it, from the vast store-house of Indian legend, an early crop garnered in the Hindu period, a later in the Islamic.”

M.G. Emeis (1949: 159 - 164) contributed an anthology of Malay literature, entitled *Bunga Rampai Melaju Kuno*. In this work he included two humorous tales, ‘Lebai Malang’ and an episode of *Hikayat Abu Nawas*. However, he did not contribute any comment on the subject. B. Simorangkir Simandjuntak (1952: 26 - 29) stated that the simpleton type tales such as ‘Lebai Malang,’ ‘Si Mamora’ and ‘Pak Pandir’ reflected the sense of humour of the Indonesians and were circulated all over the Archipelago. Abdul Samad Ahmad’s (1960) interpretation was based on Winsteadt’s viewpoint particularly stressing the alien origin.

A further study of humorous tales is an article by Benedict Sandin (1960). He introduced a well-known foolish character of the Iban (Sea Dayak) known as Apai Salui. The article encompassed five episodes of Apai Salui’s escapades. Abdullah Sanusi Ahmad (1960: 311 - 314) focused on a different angle. He emphasized the functions of such tales; for example, as a medium of escapism through listening to funny stories, and also as a form of negative didactism.

Like Emeis, C. Hooykaas (1963: 113 - 115) also contributed an anthology of Malay literature. Amongst the examples in the work he included one humorous tale, ‘Pak

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12 He stated that the tales were extracted from the editions of Von Dewall and N.St. Iskandar respectively.
13 Simandjuntak summarised *Hikayat Abu Nawas* and ‘Si Luncai’ in the work.
14 The work is intended as a school text book and was first published in 1957.
Senile.’ In addition, I Gusti Ngurah Bagus (1964: 269 - 271) outlined and classified Balinese humorous tales into three types; the numskull, such as ‘I Blog,’ ‘Nang Bangsing Teken I Blog,’ ‘I Blog Panggung,’ and ‘Pan Blog;’ the cunning type, such as ‘Pan Mandir,’ ‘I Tjelempung,’ ‘I Djero Matra Teken I Tjai Mantu’ and ‘Pan Brengkak;’ and finally, the third type, which possessed the ambivalent features of either numskull or cunning such as ‘Pan Angklung Gadang.’ Winstedt’s ideas on the subject reappeared again in the writing of Arifin Nur (1964), Mohd. Taib Osman (1965), Yahya Ismail (1975: 15 -17), Abu Bakar Hamid (1976) and Ismail Hamid (1986).

Wan Shamsuddin (1966) in his edition of *Abu Nawas* stated that he based the work on two Egyptian texts. He further gave short accounts of the tale’s literary history and the actual life history of the personage. The work consisted of 21 episodes. However, according to the editor, Nur Sutan Iskandar (1968: 5), *Abu Nawas* was initially serialised in *Seri Pustaka* in 1922. In 1928 it was first published in book form by Balai Pustaka based on the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen text. Owing to its popularity the tale was republished thirteen times from 1929 to 1968. It

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15 The work is intended for higher secondary school and teacher trainee.
16 It is in the preface of the new edition of *Cherita Jenaka* (1965: vii - xii) which was first published in 1963.
17 This work is also intended for supplementary reading materials for higher secondary school.
18 Viz., there are only three comic types and Pak Pandir, Pak Kadok and Lebai Malang are the only genuine indigenous Malay personages while the rest are of alien origin.
19 Another edition was by Jaladin Sanusi in Jawi script but the year of publication is not mentioned.
21 A magazine published by Balai Pustaka.
22 Government Bureau of Popular Literature set up in 1908 by the Dutch government with the primary task of collecting and publishing traditional, popular literature which abounded in Indonesia (A. Teeuw, 1967: 13 - 14).
consisted of twenty episodes. The work also included a brief account of Abu Nawas’ life history.

In 1970, Jumsari Jusuf in her article, “Tjerita2 Djenaka (Farcical Tales),” admitted that most Malay humorous tales were of foreign origin except those of ‘Pak Kadok’ and ‘Lebai Malang.’ In the work she summarised six popular tales. These tales are of ‘Pak Kadok,’ ‘Pak Pandir,’ ‘Mashhudulhakk,’ ‘Si Luntjai,’ ‘Mat Djanin’ and ‘Musang Berdjanggut.’ In this article, she also romanized and published the tales of ‘Baba Belalang’ and ‘Lebe Malang’ from manuscripts kept at the Museum Pusat, Jakarta. According to Ramlan (1972 : 356 - 362), besides the stories about five personages Pak Pandir, Pak Belalang, Pak Kadok, Lebai Malang and Si Luncai, which are popular amongst the Malays in Peninsular Malaysia, humorous tales are widely spread throughout the whole Archipelago. Each ethnic group has its own comic characters, for instance, the Minangkabaus are proud of their Si Pandiè; amongst the Sundanese are Si Kabayan, Bapa Puchung, Nujum Sangsara, Ahli Nujum, Aki Bolong and Si Butatuli; while the Bataks have their Ama ni Pandir, Si Jonaha, Si Andingkir, Si Manora na Oto, Si Lahap and Si Bilalong; and the Balinese have their Pan Brayut, Dadang-dudang, Ender, Chupak, I Blog and I Dehe Tuwe, Pan Bongkling and Pan Balangtamak. In addition to this, Ramlan gave two examples of such tales which depicted two different Javanese comic characters; Pak Banjir and Kak Lampo.

23 The manuscript is of Von de Wall’s collection - no. W.212.
24 It is the National Museum of Indonesia, founded in 1778. See, Djakarta Museum : Art Treasures. (n.d.)
A new stage in the study of Malay humorous stories started with the publication of Amin Sweeney’s (1976) famous paper on the subject. Sweeney strongly criticized Winstedt’s view on several points on the basis of his own research. The first criticism concerned Winstedt’s and Sturrock’s way of editing Cherita Jenaka. Sweeney stated that it was meaningless to employ the literary style of a written medium when editing an oral text. It resulted in the loss of the oral nature of the text as so many alterations had been made in the edition. Second, the published text encouraged the mistaken view that the text formed the standard version of such tales. The third, Sweeney argued against the idea that there are only three comic types embodied in five characters. He pointed out that there are hundreds of comic characters that can be represented in more than the three comic types. He then went on to show that some characters may even play more than one role. For example, in the oral form of ‘Pak Pandir’ tales, the figure was not depicted only as a numskull. On certain occasions he might perform as a trickster, who is usually cunning. Sweeney, therefore, concluded that the classification of characters through “type-casting” in Malay folklore, as suggested by Winstedt, is inadequate. Fourth, Sweeney disagreed with Winstedt’s notion of foreign sources. He pointed out that what matters most was how the motifs from various sources had been assembled and remoulded in Malay features and settings.

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25 Sweeney also criticized the trend of using published texts for the study of oral literature.
26 In this respect, Sweeney considered that Winstedt had applied an English yardstick to distinguish between indigenous and foreign tales (i.e., ‘Pak Kadok,’ ‘Lebai Malang,’ and ‘Pak Pandir’ are indigenous, while those of ‘Pak Belalang’ and ‘Si Luncai’ are foreign). To apply such criteria resulted in every Malay tale being foreign because many ‘Pak Pandir’ motifs were also found outside the Malay world (Sweeney, 1976: 16).
Furthermore, in the article, Sweeney focused on the tales of ‘Pak Pandir’ which were collected throughout Peninsular Malaysia with the help of his students. Through his observation, he classified the tales into six categories according to the plots. Among the categories were what he regarded as a typical ‘Pak Pandir’ plot types with its basic elements - an order, and misinterpretation of the order - arranged in the specific framework (see below, Chapter Four). Sweeney’s work was the first study of the subject that based its observation on accurately recorded oral materials.

Ajip Rosidi (1977 : 8 - 9) stated that Si Kabayan was a well-known Sundanese ambivalent comic figure. In his work, Ajip published two episodes of Si Kabayan together with other Sundanese folk tales. The first episode, “Si Kabayan Pergi ke Hutan” (Kebayan Went To The Forest), depicted the protagonist as a numskull, while the second showed him as cunning figure in “Si Kabayan dengan Mertuanya” (Kebayan and His Father-in-law). Although limited in number, these episodes provide us with a much better idea of Si Kabayan stories than the earlier publication by Achdiat K. Mihardja. Another examination of humorous tales is by Maria Indra Rukmi (1978) on ‘Pak Belalang’. Rukmi transliterated the text and gave some commentaries. However, her commentaries are by and large patently parallel to Winstedt’s conception that the tale was of Indian origin.

27 33 of 82 ‘Pak Pandir’ tales considered in the analysis formed the typical plot type.
28 It is in the form of 37 digested episodes (Achdiat K. Mihardja, 1963 : 98 - 123). The work is among a series of Indonesian folk tales collected from various ethnic groups throughout the nation under the title Cerita Rakyat.
29 Her study was based on a manuscript No. W. 212, originally owned by Von de Wall.
Later in 1984, Jumsari Jusuf, A. Ibrahim and Nikmah A. Sunardjo analysed four humorous tales in order to get the most complete, accurate and authentic version of each tale. The four tales chosen were ‘Hikayat Bapak Belalang,’ ‘Lebai Malang,’30 ‘Hikayat Abunawas’31 and ‘Hikayat Mahsyud Hak’.32 To achieve the goal they claimed to apply Paul Mass’s theory of comparison of significant plots. The results, the supposedly most complete and accurate version of each tale, were then presented in the work.

In the same year, James Danandjaja (1984 : 117 - 124) classified the humorous tales which he called *lelucon*33 and anecdotes. Based on the collected samples (i.e., contemporary narratives), Danandjaja classified Indonesian humorous tales into seven categories: *lelucon* and anecdotes about religion, sex, race and ethnic groups, politicians, armed forces, professors and lastly, *lelucon* and anecdotes on collective groups. Each of these divisions was further divided into several sub-divisions.34

According to Muhammad Abdul Latiff (1985 : 14 - 15) the people of Brunei also possessed their own simpleton type comic characters such as Si Aloi and Pak Saloi. In their escapades they usually ended up as losers because of their own slow-wittedness and dumbness. H.M.J. Maier (1991) in his article, “The laughter of Kemala al-Arifin: The tale of the bearded civet cat,” analysed the *Cherita Musang Berjanggut*. In his

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30 Manuscript no. W. 212 of Von deWall’s collection, (consisted both tales, ‘Bapak Belalang’ and ‘Lebai Malang’), and Winstedt and Sturrock’s *Cherita Jenaka*.
31 Manuscripts Br. 209 and W. 124.
32 Manuscripts W. 180 and W. 181.
33 *Lelucon* is a Javanese term meaning joke, jest, spoof or farce.
34 He gave various examples according to these divisions. However, they are in the literary style of written works. Further discussion of the matter will be found in Chapter Four.
observations, Maier showed how the narrative challenged the supreme power of the royal court through the protagonist and his wife. The couple made a fool of the king, the prince, the vizier, temenggong\textsuperscript{35} and kadi.\textsuperscript{36} Through laughter, this tale revealed the weakness of those in power.

Further sources were presented in Liaw Yock Fang’s \textit{Sejarah Kesusastraan Melayu Klasik} (1991: 13 - 27), a revised version of his 1975 work. This work is more of a comprehensive encyclopaedia of Malay works, containing summaries of all the major Malay humorous tales that are well-known. In his commentary he stated that all ethnic groups in the region have their own comic figures, as do other races. Fatimah Md. Yassin (1991: 150 - 165) claimed that folktales such as humorous tales are a kind of educational aid in teaching morality.\textsuperscript{37} Fatimah Busu (1992: 20 - 22) stated that Malay humorous tales also contained elements of satire.\textsuperscript{38} Then Jamilah Haji Ahmad (1993: 99)\textsuperscript{39} claimed that the Malays also possessed other light traditional humorous tales such as ‘Kulub Kecil Kulub Besar,’ and ‘Pak Raja Muda’ beside those usually discussed (i.e., ‘Pak Pandir,’ ‘Pak Belalang,’ ‘Pak Kadok,’ and others). These narratives were recorded by the staff of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP), Kuala Lumpur. On closer observation,

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{35} Title of high-ranking feudal Malay enforcement official.
\item\textsuperscript{36} Judge in the Islamic court.
\item\textsuperscript{37} Among the tales she focused on in the article were those of ‘Pak Pandir,’ ‘Lebai Malang,’ ‘Pak Belalang,’ and ‘Si Luncai.’ The article was first published 1990, in Rahmah Bujang (ed.). \textit{Dialog Kesusastraan. Jabatan Pengajian Melayu : Universiti Malaya.}
\item\textsuperscript{38} Among the tales that she mentioned were those of ‘Musang Berjanggut,’ ‘Lebai Malang,’ ‘Pak Kadok,’ ‘Mat Jenin,’ ‘Abu Nawas,’ ‘Sang Kelembai,’ ‘Si Luncai,’ and the series of animal tales that of ‘sang kancil.’
\item\textsuperscript{39} The article first appeared in June 1990 issue of \textit{Dewan Sastera} (85 - 89).
\end{itemize}
however, it was revealed that only four stories in the DBP collection can be classified as humorous.  

The functions of humorous tales were highlighted by Ahmad Samin Siregar (1995: 3 - 16), who added to those functions mentioned by Abdullah Sanusi Ahmad one more, i.e., social criticism, especially the criticism of the manipulation of the lower stratum by the higher strata in the social hierarchy, reflected, for instance, in the tales of ‘Pak Belalang,’ ‘Si Luncai’ and ‘Pak Kadok.’ Normazrina Ma’arof (1995) applied Sigmund Freud’s theory of psychoanalysis to examine the personalities of various characters in Malay humorous tales. She based her study on the five tales in Winstedt’s and Sturrock’s *Cerita Jenaka, Hikayat Musang Berjanggut*, and *Hikayat Abu Nawas*. Aripin Said (1996: 53 - 55) had an opinion similar to that of Fatimah Md. Yassin and Ahmad Samin Siregar, mentioned above, about the functions of humorous tales. He pointed out that, besides the function of entertainment, these tales also served as educational aids and a form of social criticism. In highlighting his views he also used the five well-known humorous tales (i.e., ‘Pak Pandir,’ ‘Pak Kadok,’ ‘Pak Belalang,’ ‘Lebai Malang’ and ‘Si Luncai’). However, on the whole, Aripin’s work is quite close to those of other scholars whose ideas are based on Winstedt’s views. A recent commentary on

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40 However, only 3 stories were considered in this study. The story of ‘Pak Raja Muda’ coded PR133 told by 40 years old Muhammad bin Abdullah from Kampung Beta, Kota Bahru, Kelantan was omitted in this study. The omission was due to my lack of knowledge of Kelantanese dialect. Basically, the story is similar, or may be considered as a variant to, ‘Pak Belalang.’ It was recorded on 1st. May 1968.

41 See page 11.


the subject is by Abdul Wahab Ali (1997). He stated that in recent times modern types of humorous tales were still created and told at leisure for socializing purposes.

Looking through the years, in the studies of Malay humorous tales, a variety of issues has been touched on by various scholars. It began by the introducing of comic figures in various parts of the region by Hurgronje, who tried to trace the foreign origin of each Malay character. The same approach dominated in the works by Winstedt and became the common trend throughout the study of humorous tales. This idea of borrowing from India and the Arab world, coupled with the acknowledgement of only 3 types of comic characters: simpleton; numskull; and cunning, remained unchallenged in the works of ‘Winstedtians’ (see above) for several decades until the publication of Sweeney’s paper in 1976.

The situation in this field began gradually change from the 1960s when Abdullah Sanusi emphasized the functional aspect of such tales - a medium of escapism and a form of negative didactism, and especially in the 1970s when Sweeney applied a structural method in the examination of the plot types of ‘Pak Pandir’ tales. New approaches to the problems of classification and functions of humorous stories are shown in the works of 1980s - 1990s (Danandjaja, Maier, Fatimah Busu, Ahmad Samin Siregar, Aripin Said and Abdul Wahab Ali).
However, until the present time the analysis of humorous stories has mostly been based on written sources in the form of manuscripts and editions, with Winstedt’s and Sturrock’s *Cherita Jenaka* as the most popular object of study. Only on 3 occasions were oral texts used (see Sweeney 1976, Danandjaja 1984, and Abdul Wahab Ali 1997). Besides that, modern humorous stories, though they are very numerous, have very rarely become the object of thorough examination. At present, only tales that portray the human form are classified under the catchword “*Cerita Jenaka,*” humorous tale. Popular tales such as ‘Pak Pandir,’ ‘Pak Belalang,’ ‘Pak Kadok,’ ‘Lebai Malang,’ ‘Si Luncai,’ *Abu Nawas, Musang Berjanggut* and a few others have been published as children’s reading materials. In spite of some achievements, in most of the works, the interpretation and commentary on the subject are still limited and the conclusions ill-grounded. To overcome these shortcomings at least partially is the goal of the present thesis.
Chapter One

Background

The Social Context

Malaysia has achieved rapid economic development through her six successive five-year development plans in the last three decades. The nation currently emerged as one of the fastest growing economies in the ASEAN region (Wan Abdul Manan, 1996: 359). This achievement reflects the government’s ambition to drive the nation towards greater industrialization in the economic transformation process towards the status of a fully-developed economy by the year 2020¹ (Mei Ling Yong and Ng Suew Kiat, 1996: 281).

In 1980 the population of Malaysia was estimated to be 13.7 million people, of whom 11.4 million (83%) were in peninsular Malaysia. Of this 11.4 million multi-racial society, 6.3 million (55%) were Malays, 3.9 million (34%) were Chinese, and 1.2 million (10%) were Indians (George Cho, 1990: 12-16). However, the majority of the Malays (approximately 70%) lived especially in the urban outskirts and rural areas. The economic boom has eventually resulted in gradual changes to the Malays’ traditional cultures and lifestyles. One of the elements that has been affected and threatened by the vast growth of modern development is the oral tradition of yesteryear.

¹ Better known as Vision 2020 (Wawasan 2020), see Ahmad Sarji Abdul Hamid (1993).
The three areas dealt with in this study; Kuala Langat, the southern part of Melaka and Muar, and Kluang, all lie in the western coastal plain of the peninsula (see Map 1, 2, 3 and 4). Kuala Langat is one of the nine districts of the state of Selangor. It is located south-west of the nation’s capital city, Kuala Lumpur. The state of Melaka is situated to the south-east of Kuala Lumpur. Muar is a district in the state of Johor. It lies in the north-western corner of the state on the border with Melaka. Melaka and Muar are approximately 85 miles and 100 miles from the capital respectively. Further down to the south-east of Muar is Kluang, another district in the state of Johor. It is situated in the central part of the state and roughly 160 miles from the capital city. From Kluang, the research area extended to the nearly towns of Ayer Hitam and Yong Peng. Both these towns are in the district of Batu Pahat, Johor.

These three areas are mostly covered by agricultural land planted with oil palm and rubber. Rice-growing areas are found only in the southern part of Melaka especially in Merlimau. Nonetheless, although these areas are dominated by agricultural land, several industrial estates are located in the urban areas such as Muar and Kluang; and also in smaller town areas such as Telok Panglima Garang, Kuala Langat, and Merlimau, Melaka. Most of the industries are involved in manufacturing such things as semiconductors and electronic equipment. In terms of employment the population is mixed, ranging from professionals, businessmen, and civil servants to factory workers, farmers, and the self-employed.
Because of Malaysia's plural society, the population celebrates many different festivals and holidays. This increases the opportunity to mix socially, whether in the streets of their villages, at home, while visiting neighbours or otherwise. While they chat about various matters they also enjoy both practising and listening to various kinds of verbal arts. The Malays may tell jokes or riddles (teka-teki); exchange pantun (one of the Malay traditional forms of verse), especially during weddings; sing Marhaban (songs of praise for the Prophet Muhammad) during religious ceremonies, and tell stories. Whether at festivals or on ordinary occasions, the warm climate of the equator enables people to stay long hours outdoors. Usually in the evening until late at night and especially at weekends, men prefer to be out of the house with their friends. In such gatherings they often talk, joke, and tell stories with much accompanying laughter. Both these factors, the many holidays and the climate, encourage people to socialize.

**Storytelling**

In Malay society there are no special occasions for storytelling sessions. They arise spontaneously when informal groups are gathered together at leisure in a relaxed atmosphere, e.g., during breaks from work or in evening after work; during or after meals or snacks. As regards place, storytelling may either be performed at home or away from home. People may also tell stories during their work, for example during breaks, to pass
the time amongst friends and colleagues. At present, it is rarely that stories are told at home. People much prefer to tell them away from home.

In the past it was common for storytelling sessions to be held in the privacy of the home. The stories were usually told by the older generation in particular, grandparents told stories to their grandchildren; parents to their children and so forth. This was the experience of several of my informants - Syed Yusof, Haji Manan, Tokcik and Cikgu Radi. It was also my own experience in my childhood. Thus storytelling was family-based. Sessions often occurred late in the evening after the evening meal or before bedtime. The setting for storytelling was commonly the main hall (ruang tamu) where there is space for a group of people to sit.

The stories told at home were simple, short, and entertaining. There was a preference for edifying tales which contained moral values suitable for children (Fatimah Md. Yassin, 1991 : 150 -165, and Aripin Said, 1996 : 22 - 28). The type of tales with these features are fables and other tales which deal with animals. The most popular animal tales amongst the Malays are the mousedeer stories (cerita sang kancil). Other types of tales which were commonly told were aetiological tales (cerita asal-usul), such as how the python lost its venom; why the cat buries its excrement; and why the bear has a short tail. Also among the favourites of the narrators were cautionary stories (cerita teladan) (that intend to give advice or warning against bad behaviour), such as Batu
Thus as well as entertainment, the stories may have had a didactic functions - to teach and prepare the young generation to cope with life. However, the most likely tales to be told and those most loved by children were humorous tales. The tales usually delivered were the well-known stories about the comic personages of Pak Pandir, Pak Kadok, Lebai Malang, Abu Nawas, Mat Jenin, and Si Luncai.

In recent times, however, such domestic storytelling sessions have been gradually disappearing owing to the growing popularity of modern means of entertainment such as television, video, and radio. The decline is also due to the fact that nowadays there are decreasing numbers of such narrators, whether men or women, most of whom have died without leaving successors. Aripin Said (1996: 25) lamented the passing of both professional and informal storytelling. He wrote:

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2 An edition of the tale is by Abdul Samad Ahmad (1971). The story depicts a woman who kills herself because she is prevented from eating the egg of tembakul (a kind of fish) as it had been eaten by her son.
3 An edition of the tale is also by Abdul Samad Ahmad (no date). Another edition is in verse form by Alias Rusulun (1962) entitled Sha'er Si-Tenggang Anak Derhaka. The story depicts a rich sea captain who rejected his own mother to avoid embarrassment from his beautiful wife. He is punished by divine intervention and turned, together with his ship and crew, into stone. It is said to have happened at Batu Keb near Kuala Lumpur. For comparison of a similar motif, see 'Malim Kundang,' a folktales from Western Sumatra, (Marian Dakeyne, 1976: 1 - 3); and 'Cerita Nakhoda Manis,' from Brunei (Taha Abdul Kadir, 1985: 34 - 49). These stories are considered legends and provide a kind of "historical truth" to certain a locality. Further detail, see Mohd. Taib Osman (1982: 34 - 35).
4 'Bawang Putih Bawang Merah' is the Malay variant of the Cinderella tale (Izzah Abdul Aziz, 1997).
5 Similar view point is also raised by Mohd. Taib Osman (1982: 3).
Suasana kehidupan masyarakat yang tenar dengan kepetahan serta kebijaksanaan seorang penglipur lara telah lama berakhir. Suasana itu bagaikan satu nostalgia. Apalagi apabila didapati sudah jarang atau sedikit benar daripada kalangan anggota masyarakat masa kini yang sempat menyaksikan suasana tersebut.


The atmosphere of social life which was made warm by the fluency and wisdom of a storyteller has long gone. It is just a memory. Moreover, it is rarely that present members of the society have had the chance to witness it.

If we look back to the past, to the society before us especially in villages, when the well-known folktales were told, it was then in 1950s and early 1960s. At that time, there still existed a grandmother or a mother who used to tell stories or sing rhymes to put their grandchild or child to bed. The elderly still loved to tell stories to the young ones about Batu Belah Batu Bertangkup, Bawang Putih Bawang Merah, Puteri Walinong Sari and so forth.

Aripin Said’s concern is in a way parallel to the comment made by Walter Benjamin (1970 : 87), “[t]he art of storytelling is reaching its end because the epic side of truth, wisdom, is dying out.” In some respects, it is because people no longer tell stories for didactic purposes as it was in the past. Nevertheless, its fundamental role, position and respectability in teaching moral values may also to some extent have been replaced nowadays by school, due to the vast development in the education system. This ancient role is best described by Marian Dakeyne (1976 : vii) on the storytelling tradition in Indonesia. She writes:

“[t]he story-telling tradition in Indonesia is an ancient one, and centuries ago it formed the most basic medium of instruction in village society. This early role of the folk tale as an educational tool...lies in the message or moral embedded like a seed in the story.”

26
Nowadays, stories are frequently told away from home, in such places as coffee-shops (kedai kopi) and food stalls (warung). The latter are much preferred as a setting and have mushroomed because of recent economic growth. These stalls operate during the day and in the evening until the early hours of the morning. Such places provide the space for people to foregather for socializing while enjoying food of various kinds. These places gave a great atmosphere for storytelling sessions as they are patronised particularly by men in the evenings, at weekends, and during holidays of various kinds, both national and religious. Usually men tend to stay longer hours in such places with their peers, friends or colleagues away from children, the opposite sex, and family members. For example, Syed Yusof regularly enjoyed telling stories and riddles at these places with his peers. In such places humorous tales are usually told spontaneously, the only common type being tales with a sexual element and of modern flavour, particularly those depicting current issues. These are the popular tales and have flourished in recent times. However, among these contemporary types of tales, traditional narratives with sexual elements may also be told on such occasions as enjoyed by Syed Yusof. In this respect my experience confirms Sweeney’s observation:

“Examination will reveal that the age, sex, marital and social status of the informant and of his listeners are important factors in determining what tales are told and how they are told. Here, a variety of permutations are possible. For example, grossly erotic tales may be related only among members of the same sex and marital status, or perhaps between two married couples when all four partners are present,” (Sweeney, 1972c : 65).
Malay Humorous Tales

The common view has been that the cream of Malay humorous tales consists solely of the well-known tales of ‘Pak Pandir,’ ‘Pak Belalang,’ ‘Pak Kadok,’ ‘Lebai Malang’ and ‘Si Luncai.’ It was as if they were the only ones that had ever existed. This is a view that may have taken root since the appearance of the first published Malay humorous tales under the title *Cherita Jenaka* in 1908. The protagonist of these tales usually plays either the role of a cunning trickster figure, or a slow-witted fool who arouse laughter in the audience with their escapades.

It can be said that the commonly accepted repertoire of Malay humorous tales was usually restricted only to tales portraying human characters. However, elements of humour can also be found in animal characters, such as the famous escapades of sang kancil (mousedeer) who also plays the role of a trickster (Asdi S. Dipodjojo, 1966; Philip Frick McKean, 1972; and M. Ramlan, 1973). However, the tales were classified under the heading “beast fable,” (Winstedt, 1907 : 8 -19). Therefore, it is unacceptable to

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6 Edited by R.O. Winstedt and A.J. Sturrock. The work consisted all those five popular tales and was written down by Raja Haji Yahya bin Raja Muhammad Ali of Chenderiang, Perak. It was later revised and republished several times by various editors and publishers. In 1933, L.D. Whittfield translated four stories accept that of ‘Pak Belalang’ under the title, *Stories Of Long Ago*. The aims of this work was to provided suitable reading material for Standard Four and Special Malay class II of English and local children respectively.

7 For instance, see Winstedt (1958); Ismail Hamid (1986); and Jamilah Haji Ahmad (1993).

8 Among the published tales of “sang kancil” were *Hikajat Pelandok Djinaka* (H.C. Klinkert, 1893); *Fables and Folk Tales from an Eastern Forest* (W. Skeat, 1901); “Some Mouse-deer Tales” (Winstedt, 1905); “A Pelandok Tale” (G.M. Laidlaw, 1906 and 1907); *Hikayat Pelandok: iaitu Hikayat Sang Kancil, Hikayat Pelandok dengan Anak Memerang, Hikayat Pelandok Jenaka* (O.T. Dussek, 1925); *Tjeritera Kajjil Jang Tjerdik* (N.G. Wirapoestaka, 1934); and *Salam the Mouse-Deer : Wonder Stories of the Malayan Forest* (A. Hillman and W. Skeat, 1938).
restrict humorous tales only to those about human characters. Omitting the non-human characters does not give a complete picture of Malay humorous tales as a whole.

At present, in their original oral form, these traditional tales are at the brink of disappearance. This is due to the fact that popular interest in such tales has faded away especially amongst the younger generation. There is also a smaller number of potential storytellers, who in the past were mainly the elderly. Such tales are no longer told as often as in the past and have been kept alive mostly in the form of printed materials. However, in recent times one of those famous five tales, 'Pak Belalang,' and *Musang Berjanggut* (of Arabic origin) were transformed into audio-visual form due to the advancement of modern technology.9

Nowadays, however, a new type of tales is emerging, generally referred to as modern and contemporary humorous tales (Abdul Wahab Ali, 1997).10 Similar findings were evidenced from Sweeney's surveys in 1971, 1972, and 1973 (Sweeney, 1976: 17).11 Such tales have flourished in great variety, taking modern and contemporary issues as their subject matter. These tales usually comprise short narratives in the form of jokes and anecdotes and may include riddles. These tales use as their subjects:

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9 Both stories were made into films by P. Ramlee and lately into videos. He was the greatest singer, composer, musician, actor, comedian, and film director that Malaysia has ever produced. Further detail, see Abdullah Hussein (1973), and Wan Hamzah Awang (1973).
10 A seminal paper entitled, "Cerita Lucu Masa Kini," (Present Day Humorous Stories). In the work, he showed several examples of his collected oral tales ranging from ethnicity and political figures to foreign stories transformed into Malay. However, there are presented in a literary style of writing.
11 Among 680 tales collected in a 1972 survey were 'Pak Pandir,' 'Pak Belalang,' 'Pak Kadok,' 'Lebai Malang,' 'Si Luncai' and stories about other sorts of characters such as 'Awang Si Golok Besar,' 'Abu Nawas,' and 'Awang Kerdil.' Besides these tales there are scores of tales relating the exploits of the physically defective; ethnic humour; dialect jokes - misunderstanding of a dialect, and so forth.
Westernism (particularly anti-British); ethnicity (Javanese, Indian, Chinese, Arab, Aborigine (orang asli), Sikh etc.); political figures; respectable personages in society, such as imam (prayer leader), tok penghulu (village leader), police, army; disabled people, especially the blind, deaf, limbless and so forth. Such narratives are the most popular kind of Malay humorous tales told today. They are told at moments of leisure especially for socializing purposes. They are much enjoyed and are of great interest to their audiences. The emergence of this new type of tales can be considered the **renaissance** of the Malay humorous tale. This shows that the interest in the telling of humorous tales among Malays is still alive. It is an ongoing process and a living tradition. However, a transformation has occurred in the type of tales performed. From the traditional type of tales enjoyed in the past, it has gradually changed into modern stories and, more recently, to the discussion of contemporary issues as its subject.

### The Setting

The settings of the performances studied in this thesis were the narrator's home, various food stalls, coffee-shops, school canteens, and a school office. These settings and the performances themselves were pre-arranged for recording purposes. This degree of organisation is not normal as storytelling sessions are usually spontaneous events. In most respects, the natural spontaneity of the events was kept. It was only limited to the extent of fixing the time and place of the performances; getting the storytellers and listeners together, and outlining the type of tales to be delivered, i.e., humorous tales.

12 Usually known as *orang putih* or *mat salleh*. 
At first the storytellers were given a brief explanation of the purpose of the undertaking (to make an academic study of humorous tales). Furthermore, they were requested to narrate any sort of stories they knew which contained elements of humour. They were also told that their stories might either be short or long; on human or animal subjects; traditional or modern; and that they were free to tell tales of a sexual nature. Nearly all the storytellers agreed to my request and understood the purpose of the undertaking. Most of the storytellers were pleased to take part and cordially welcomed my presence.

Some of the performances took place without any audience except myself while the rest were enjoyed by other listeners. Usually the audiences ranged between three and eight people in number. Sometimes (usually at home) the audience was the narrator's family members; wife, children, and grandchildren; and at other times (away from home) it consisted of friends, peers, and colleagues - plus on-lookers, especially in coffee-shops and food stalls. The audiences' ages ranged from the eldest of 87, to the youngest of 3 year old.

*The Storytellers*

The quest to find storytellers was a challenging undertaking for me. Although the storytellers exist, the community is often unaware of their existence. In order to identify
them I had to look around, asking for anyone who knew of the existence of such a person. Usually, the outcome was unsuccessful, either because they had died; or because there was no such person in that area. Often suggestions were made for me to switch to other more edifying subjects. A similar situation was experienced by Sweeney (1976: 18) and Derks (1994: 5).

The repertoire - an assortment of more than 200 Malay humorous tales - was collected and recorded during June 1995 and during the period September to December 1997. It was narrated by 22 storytellers from the areas mentioned, i.e., Kuala Langat; the southern part of Melaka; and the districts of Muar and Kluang. A few of these storytellers are known to me either as family members, relatives, local people or friends. These storytellers are especially from Telok Panglima Garang and the neighbouring villages of Kebun Baru and Jenjarom. I had myself listened to them narrating their stories on several occasions before. Former colleagues from my teaching career in the 1980s (especially in Kluang) and friends from university whose ability to tell stories I already knew also contributed to this study. The rest of the storytellers were introduced and recommended to me by friends who knew of their whereabouts and capabilities.

These narrators cannot be said to be storytellers in the professional sense. In this part of the country (i.e., Selangor, Melaka, and Johor), there is no one that can be termed a professional storyteller - a person earning his living (or part of it) from storytelling. There is no doubt that in this respect these areas are distinguishable from the northern

The groups of people studied by those above were actually professional artists who earned they living partly through performing certain kinds of arts. As performers they had to undergo years of apprenticeship and polish their skills regularly in order to master them. They usually performed on invitation before audiences at certain ceremonies. These professional storytellers were rewarded in terms of payment for their services. Furthermore, the performances were presented in a formal manner and needed a special kind of setting. Often such performances were accompanied by musical instruments throughout the event. By and large, the artists possessed a marketable repertoire and made their effort an entrepreneurial one.13

The group with which this treatise is concerned with is in total contrast to the above. These narrators, exclusively men, whom we can term “amateur storytellers,” are ordinary people though with a particular talent. In Malay society they were usually identified as a person who can tell stories (boleh bercerita) or simply as a good storyteller (pandai bercerita). There is no special recognized term for them. In contrast,

13 For further detail, see Sweeney (1973).
professional artists are described with special terms. In Amin Sweeney’s words, the fact can be justified. He stated that:

“A popular term for folk romances and their narrators is penglipur lara...In Kelantan, Patani, Perlis and Kedah, the various genres of story-telling and their performers are usually known by the name of the hero of the most popular story in the repertoire of each genre. Thus, in Kelantan-Patani we find the Tok Selampit who performs the tarik Selampit, Selampit being the hero of the tale of the same name. Similarly, in Perlis and Langkawi there is the Awang Batil or Awang Belanga, and the Selampit (a different genre and tale form that of Kelantan); in Kedah there is the Tukang Jubang, who performs the tale Jubang Linggang...in Pahang...story-tellers are simply referred to as ahli cerita.” (Sweeney, 1973: 6 - 7).

Based on Sweeney’s statement above, Mustafa Mohd. Isa (1987: 5) clearly distinguished the term into three different types. First, the term for the narrator is based on the hero of the tale. Second, it is based on the musical instrument accompanying the performance, i.e., batil or belanga (brass bowl). The third type is referred to by a certain term according to the tale itself such as Tuk Jubang for Jubang Lenggang.

The amateur storytellers dealt with possess an interest in and habit of telling stories; they possess a collection of tales; and have the ability to make their stories come to life in the encouraging presence of an audience. In addition, they do not expect any payment for their effort but do it for the sake of pleasure and fun. The performance is casual and informal. The events normally arise spontaneously in indoor or outdoor gatherings at any time of the day. However spontaneous their storytelling is, this group, together with the professional storytellers, are active bearers of the Malay oral tradition as stated by Sweeney (1976: 18), “[y]et every member of Malay society is a bearer of
oral tradition and a great majority are active bearers of varying degrees...” However, there can be no doubt that the latter are more active and highly artistic bearers.

These 22 storytellers (see Fig. 2, 3 and 4) are all very different personalities. Most of them are well-respected figures in their communities and have reached the highest rank of the local social hierarchy. In addition, they have gained a reputation from various other activities besides that of being oral entertainers. Of the 22 storytellers, nine come from a teaching background, which is a respected status in Malay society. For instance, Haji Md. Radzi, normally known as Cikgu Radi has a very high reputation. He is the person whom people consult on matters such as local customs, culture, history and advice especially regarding education and farming. He was born in 1930 in Telok Panglima Garang. His early education was at Telok Panglima Garang Malay School. After completing his Year-5 education he became a “normal class teacher” (*guru normal*) and served in various schools in Selangor before retiring as a head-teacher in 1985. In his teaching career he had experience of teaching Malay language and literature. In the community, Cikgu Radi held various posts. Among these posts, he was the village mosque treasurer; chairperson of The Parent-Teachers Association (*Persatuan Ibubapa dan Guru-Guru* (PIBG)) of Telok Panglima Garang Primary School; a member of the Area Farmers Organization (*Persatuan Pekebun-Pekebun Kecil* (PPPK)) for several years. Cikgu Radi acquired most of his stories from his grandmother during his childhood. He also acquired some from his mother-in-law, and from friends.
Next, a group of teachers, mostly in their 30s and 40s, represents the “new wave” of storytellers who regularly narrate humorous tales whenever they have the opportunity with a crowd of listeners around them. They are considered jokesters amongst their colleagues. However, their repertoire is limited to jokes about sex which are restricted to the domain of adults. Abu Zarim, Mohd. Noor, Hamzah and Azizi from Kuala Langat are among these narrators. Both of the former are currently primary school head-teachers and Abu Zarim is Azizi’s superior. Abu Zarim is from Negeri Sembilan; Mohd Noor is a Kelantanese and Azizi is Penang-born. All of them were posted to the district after completing their Teacher’s Training courses and they settled down and married local women. However, Hamzah a local man had served several years in Pahang. Kluang-born Haji Shahruddin Basri is another such narrator who teaches in a secondary school. He is usually called as Aji (short for Haji) among his friends. Whereas, Isnain, normally known as Cikgu Senin, from Ayer Hitam is a primary school teacher and currently assistant head-teacher. He has liked storytelling and riddles since his youth. He was invited by the Kluang Council to tell stories to a group of children in several storytelling sessions held at the town library a few years ago. In the community he has held various major posts. Amongst the posts are the deputy-chairperson of PIBG of Seri Bandan Primary School; secretary of Zone Ayer Hitam/Seri Gading Red Crescent (Bulan Sabit Merah); chairperson of the Sport, Culture and Welfare Bureau of his place of residence, Taman Suria. The last two narrators of this group of teachers are Romzi of Muar and Nazari of Ayer Molek, Melaka.

14 A title of address for a person who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.
15 Previously known as Palang Merah (Red Cross).
Of this group of teachers, Abu Zarim and Aji are outstanding. Their repertoires are much larger than the rest of the teachers. In fact, Abu Zarim stated that he had listed his whole collection, which amounts to more than 30 stories. He hopes in the near future to have a chance to print them in book form and sell them privately during seminars. These narrators admitted that they learnt their stories while attending departmental seminars, courses, sports, teachers’ gatherings and so forth. It was on such occasions that they practised, listened, and collected stories amongst themselves. Furthermore, Hamzah and Mohd. Noor explained that they had once competed to see who could deliver the most tales during a departmental sports trip to Kelantan - the latter won by two stories.

A second group of storytellers were non-teachers. They were Amir, Razir, Najib and Zaini and possessed the same type of tales as the teachers above. Amir and Razir, known as Ajis, are from Telok Panglima Garang. The former runs a small-scale construction firm, while Razir is a technician with Klang district council. Razir also revealed that some of the stories he knew were from Abu Zarim. Najib was formerly a structural draftsman with a consultant firm in Kuala Lumpur before deciding to change his career and become a fisherman in Muar. Storytelling is not his favorite verbal art; he prefers riddles. He explained that he liked teasing people with riddles because it made his interlocutors think and afterwards the answers provoked annoyance. Najib’s stories are basically narratives of his personal experience and stories he has learnt from friends. The same is true of Zaini, commonly known as Bob. He owns a small kiosk in Yong Peng, 30
miles from Kluang. He, too, enjoys storytelling. He collected and learnt his stories from friends.

A third group of storytellers were the elderly and pensioners. They were, (a.) Haji Talib; (b.) Mohd. Atan; (c.) Haji Manan; (d.) Syed Yusof; (e.) Mohd. Soud; (f.) Haji Mohd. Sharif; (g.) Mohd. Isa, and Mahran; and (h.) Maimunah. They will be described briefly in the following paragraphs.

(a). Haji Talib is storyteller from Telok Panglima Garang who is another local cultural expert, (like Cikgu Radi). He was born in 1924 and is usually known also as Tokcik. Tokcik received his early education at Telok Panglima Garang Malay School and completed Year-5 education. He joined The United Malays National Organization (UMNO)\(^{16}\) and held various major party positions at his branch. From 8th August 1968 to 20th April 1994, Tokcik was the longest serving village headman (ketua kampung), for 25 years before retiring. However, at present he is still an influential figure in the community. He acquired part of his repertoire from his mother, grandmother and friends during his childhood. At that time storytelling was the only means of entertainment for children. Tokcik also obtained his stories from reading materials published during his childhood, especially fables, humorous tales, and other folktales. Other than storytelling,

\(^{16}\) A Malay political party. Established in 1946 by Onn Jaafar to oppose the imposition of Malayan Union by the British colonial government after the end of the Second World War. Formed a coalition with other political parties (those of The Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA); The Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC); and other smaller parties) to gain independent in 1957 as Perikatan (Alliance). Then the coalition changed its name into Barisan Nasional (The National Front) to rule the country until present time (R.S. Millne, 1967).
Tokcik's specialities include reciting pantun.\textsuperscript{17} In 1966 he represented the state of Selangor in a pantun competition held in Kuala Lumpur.\textsuperscript{18} He also contributed some of his own pantun to Korek Kundi Merah Saga, a collection of Malay pantuns published by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP) in 1987.\textsuperscript{19}

(b). Like Tokcik, Mohd. Atan, who is widely known in Kelanang as Pak Atan, has a similar interest, reciting pantun. He is a disabled person and so the possibilities for making a living are limited. Most of the time he has to do odd jobs which include storekeeper and petition writer. Pak Atan enjoyed storytelling during his childhood. All his stories are from his grandparents and peers. Pak Atan's talent and reputation in reciting pantun only became known lately compared to Tokcik, who started during his youth. Sometimes, Pak Atan received invitations to be a disc jockey (DJ) especially at wedding ceremonies, where he teased the guests and relatives of the host by means of his mocking pantun, making the atmosphere more mirthful. Owing to his reputation as a DJ, Pak Atan was invited to perform during a reception on two important occasions in Kuala Lumpur. On both occasions he was paid RM 250.00 per performance.

\textsuperscript{17} A traditional Malay verse. In its most basic form it is a four-line verse, complete in itself. Each line is composed of eight to twelve syllables (about four or five words). It is in \textit{abab} rhyme scheme. Physically the quatrain in divided into two sections; the first two lines are called \textit{pembayang} (foreshadower), and the second two are known as the \textit{maksud} (meaning). Each section complements the other to combine to become a full poem (Muhammad Haji Salleh, 1991 : 29 - 40), and see Wilkinson and Winstedt (1957), and Braginsky (1998 : 364 - 373).

\textsuperscript{18} See Abdul Wahab Muhammad (1966 : 19).

\textsuperscript{19} Tokcik admitted that some of his contribution were not published in the work as they are considered obscene by the DBP.
(c). In contrast to Tokcik and Cikgu Radi, Haji Manan did not receive any formal education but he is capable of reading and writing either in roman script or jawi. In spite of his lack of formal education, he excels in religious knowledge. He was born in 1919 and is retired as a labourer of the Department of Irrigation and Drainage (Jabatan Parit dan Saliran). In the community, he once served as imam (prayer leader) of the Pulau Carey mosque. He still teaches the Quran today. In his spare time, Haji Manan teaches Marhaban and Bardah (two kinds of praise song for the Prophet Muhammad) to a group of young children and adults; and has received several invitations to perform especially during wedding and circumcision ceremonies, the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday festival (Maulidur Rasul)\(^{20}\) and so forth. During his childhood, Haji Manan enjoyed listening to storytelling whenever he spent a night at his grandmother’s house or during fishing trips. He explained that he was able to narrate a story having heard it once. Many of the stories that he possessed are acquired from his grandmother, mother, uncles and friends. Amongst the friends from whom he collected stories is Syed Yusof.

(d). Syed Yusof’s repertoire is large. He is a retired fire-fighter born in 1928. His early education was interrupted by the Japanese occupation and he only managed to complete Year-3. He has loved listening to storytelling since infancy. As a young boy, his grandmother always told stories after the evening meal while he had to massage her. Her stories were therefore a kind of bribe to ensure that he continued the massage. It was through such occasions that he acquired most of his repertoire since his grandmother was

\(^{20}\) Formerly known as Maulid Nabi.
a good narrator. The rest of his collection is from friends. He explained that when his children were still young he used to tell them stories because at that time there was no television at their home. Other than storytelling, he also likes to pose riddles, like Cikgu Senin and Najib. Sometimes he gave his interlocutors several weeks to solve them. However, the answer may sometimes be debatable. As a retired person he spends a lot of his time in coffee shops with his peers especially in the morning and evening. Often during these encounters he tries out both storytelling and riddles.

(e). Another narrator from Telok Panglima Garang is Mohd. Soud or Pak Soud, a retired policeman. He was born in 1931 and received his early education in Telok Panglima Garang Malay School, similar to Tokcik and Cikgu Radi. He completed his Year-5 education during the Japanese occupation. Like most of the narrators, Pak Soud also obtained his tales from his mother and friends.

(f). Another of Kuala Langat's storytellers is Haji Mohd. Sharif, usually called Sarip Mara, (as the first person in the area to buy a MARA\(^{21}\) house). Born in 1928, he is an ex-army officer. At present, he is the chief of Sungai Arak UMNO branch and also serves as the village imam. Most of his stories are narratives of personal experience particularly depicting his time in the army.

\(^{21}\) MARA - abbreviation of Majlis Amanah Rakyat (The Council of Trust for Indigenous People), established in 1966 under The Ministry of National and Rural Development with the object of promoting economic and social development.
(g). In Parloh, Kluang, I was introduced to Mohd. Isa and Mahran. Both are farmers, working their own plots of land and roughly similar in age. Mohd. Isa is known as Yusop Vespa, (as the first person in the village to own a Vespa scooter) while the latter is known as Wak Maran. Their early education only went up to Year-6 of Malay School. They, too, enjoy hearing and telling stories and collected their stories from friends. They often deliver their stories at coffee shops or while helping the host at wedding ceremonies.

(h). The only female storyteller is Maimunah from Merlimau, Melaka. She is known as Nyonya by the people in her locality. Nyonya is illiterate and never had a chance to go to school except in adult literacy classes. She once opened a coffee shop in Kampung Simpang, Merlimau but had to withdraw due to her old age. Her stories are, by and large, narratives of personal experience.

_The Reaction_

On the whole, these informants can be distinguished into two different groups according to the circumstances of their performance - spontaneous or by appointment. Quite a number of the narrators delivered their repertoire spontaneously during the very first meeting. Najib, Nyonya, Bob, Yusop Vespa, Wak Maran, Aji, Pak Soud, Sarip Mara, Pak Atan, Syed Yusof and Haji Manan form this group of narrators who were “taken by surprise.” They were approached and asked to perform without any prior notice. Only a
quick word of explanation was given, so that these storytellers did not have any time to prepare.

At first, these informants were hesitant and some were even reluctant to take part. However, there were two exceptions, Aji and Bob. Both of them were surprised by my request, because their stocks of stories were entirely about sex and they were unsure about their importance for my research. However, they were pleased to help and proceeded to perform. The rest of the group made a series of apologetic remarks and excuses saying that they were unable to tell such stories and advising me to ask someone else. However, these remarks only showed their humility and shyness, and moreover, their nervousness about telling stories in such an unfamiliar situation. They felt uncomfortable because they considered the situation formal in the sense that there were strangers present (myself and my friends who introduced most of them to me especially in Melaka and Johor), and there was a cassette recorder. In each such situation, whenever a potential storyteller was approached for the first time there was a moment of uncertainty as to whether there would be any performance of storytelling or not. However, after an initial deadlock their potential as storytellers was proved with scores of stories.

22 In Kuala Langat, Bang Din introduced me to Sarip Mara and Pak Atan. Bang Din’s real name is Haji Ibrahim bin Sahamin. He is currently the Telok Panglima Garang mosque caretaker (siak). Daud (Ahmad Kamaruddin bin Othman) who was my colleague during our teachers’ training in Ipoh introduce me to Nyonya in Merlimau, Melaka. Whereas Randok (Suhaimi bin Mahat, who was my friend as a student at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia) and Yusop Cina introduced me to Aji in Kluang.
On several occasions, I had to make the first move and tell stories of my own in order to break the ice. This encouraged those who were hesitant to start telling their stories. As an example, it was only then that Yusop Vespa started delivering his tales one after another. This showed that the right atmosphere had to be created before these storytellers were able to narrate willingly and freely what they had learnt. This fits Rosenberg’s (1991: 31) statement that, “[t]hose items (i.e. oral tradition and in this case the narratives) are heard, stored in memory, and when appropriate, recalled at the moment of subsequent transmission.” When such storytellers were asked to perform for the second time, there no longer existed any hesitation. They were ready with other stories at their disposal, although in some cases the first and the second spells were two years apart.

The second group of storytellers were those with whom various appointments had to be made beforehand either by approaching them personally or by phone. It had to be done because most of them were working or living in different states. For example, Nazari, Romzi, and Cikgu Senin, are teachers by profession and living in the southern part of the country. Nazari is from Melaka, while Romzi and Cikgu Senin are from Johor. Owing to the fact that I had listened to their stories before, I therefore wished to include them in my study, and so they had to be contacted. Their responses were positive. However, the actual proceedings only took place a few weeks later.

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23 The words italic are mine.
On the other hand, those living locally, Hamzah, Abu Zarim, Azizi, Mohd. Noor, and Ajis were also working. They were all suggested by each other. Romzi recommended Hamzah as they were friends before the former transferred back to Johore. Hamzah and Ajis pointed out Abu Zarim, who in turn informed me of Azizi’s talent. Whereas, Mohd. Noor was at the scene during Hamzah’s session. He became interested after the proceedings and had also listened to Abu Zarim’s stories on tape. Various appointments were set up and then cancelled several times. However, success came when I went to their work place. Abu Zarim performed his first session together with Azizi. Ajis I found by chance at the food stall with his friends and he delivered his story on the spot.

Quite similar to the narrators above, Tokcik and Cikgu Radi was also well aware of the undertaking after being approached and informed earlier. These two are my great-uncle and father respectively. Both agreed, but wanted some days before proceeding with the narration. Their request was for time to prepare and recall their repertoire of stories since they rarely narrate them nowadays. Tokcik’s delay was also due to illness. In order to respect their request and not to subject them to pressure, I had to visit frequently. Finally their undertaking became a series of recordings and each time a couple of stories were told. A similar delay happened in the case of Haji Manan’s second session because he was rarely in the neighbourhood. During one of my father’s sessions, my brother Amir was there. He, too, was interested in the project but declined to narrate. This was because his stories contained sexual elements and therefore he avoided telling them while our parents were present. Later he invited me to his house and performed his repertoire.
By and large, these narrators, whether the spontaneous or the pre-arranged group were delighted, excited, and eager to contribute to the undertaking and to help. Tokcik, Cikgu Radi, Haji Manan and Amir reacted positively. They were all very helpful. Ajis came looking for me on several occasions. In fact, Abu Zarim suggested how his performance should be conducted and who should be there. On the whole, all of these narrators were well aware of what the undertaking involved and of the type of tales to be narrated for sometime before the actual recording took place. With ample time they are able to equip themselves with a range of stories. All of their sessions, except Ajis’, turned out to be a marathon of deliveries with each of them producing a string of stories in quick successions. Like those above, several tellers of the spontaneous group were also delighted with the rendering. For instance, Najib, Aji, Wak Maran, Bob, and Sarip Mara also reacted positively as the proceeding progress. They delivered their stories one after another as they received warm encouragement from the audience. In fact, Sarip Mara used the occasion as an opportunity to share his army experiences with his audience as the stories he told were mostly personal narratives.

It is noticeable that the repertoire delivered by the elderly storytellers (i.e., above 60 years old), were mostly traditional stories. These traditional stories were of the popular types of ‘Pak Pandir,’ ‘Abu Nawas,’ ‘Sang kancil’ and other unknown stories with traditional setting.24 Although some of their stories contained sex elements, such as

24 Elaborate later in Chapter Four.
those told by Tokcik, (T21, T23a, T23b, T47, T48, T50, T51, M34, and M81); Haji Manan, (T4 and T31); and Syed Yusof, (T46), yet the traditional narratives were predominant. Their narratives were in total contrast to those of the teacher storytellers and the other storytellers under the age of 50, especially Aji, Abu Zarim, Azizi, and Bob. The stories of these two groups were mainly sex tales and the modern type of stories. In this respect, these elderly narrators such as Tokcik, Haji Manan, Syed Yusof, Cikgu Radi and Pak Atan can be termed “survivors.” They were the few members of their communities who could still manage to deliver the traditional type of stories, showing how the interest in such tales has declined.

Quite interestingly, of all the storytellers studied in this thesis, Yusop Vespa, Sarip Mara and Aji clearly and directly acknowledged that the stories they told were not of their own making. For instance, in Yusop Vespa’s ‘Kacau’ (M86 - Stir), he said:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yusop Vespa</th>
<th>OK lah Cik Mail!26 Kita mulakan.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[OK Mr. Mail! Let’s start.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismail</td>
<td>Dah. Ye?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Is it start. Right?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yusop Vespa</td>
<td>Dah!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Yes!]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An elderly listener</td>
<td>Rakam apa ni?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[What are you recording?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yusop Vespa</td>
<td>Aaa ini cerita, itulah cerita rakyat kan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Aaa this story, that is folktales right?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An elderly listener</td>
<td>Cerita rakyat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Folktales?]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 Refer Chapter Three for full account of all the stories.
26 Cik Mail - an abbreviation of Ismail bin Long, an information officer in Kluang who introduced Yusop Vespa and Wak Maran.
The phrase ‘cerita atas cerita’ is Yusop Vespa’s way of defining folktales when questioned by one of his listeners, 80 year old Jais bin Remin. Literally the phrase means stories passed on and on. Obviously, such storytellers as Yusop Vespa were not concerned about the part they played and the contribution they made in the process of oral tradition. They showed no awareness of oral tradition or of their position as bearers of the tradition. Their main priority was just to proceed with the rendering of the stories.

Similar to Yusop Vespa was Sarip Mara. In the tale ‘Sudah Bayar ke Belum?’ (M84 - Have You Paid or Not?), he made the same statement. He said, “Cerita ini sama ada benar atau tidak waulahuaalam, adalah cerita atas cerita...” (“Whether this story is true or not, only Allah knows, it was stories passed on and on...”). In another example, in Aji’s ‘Tikus dengan Monyet’ (T77 - Mice and Monkey), his statement was slightly different and expressed in a metaphorical way, but in a sense it is similar to both the statements above. He said:

“Tikus! Ini cerita, ini cerita tikus dengan monyet la! Ada yang cerita monyet dengan monyet juga betandingkan. Tapi dengan yang aku dengar, aku terima ijazah yang aku terimalah! Cuma tikus dengan monyet...”

[“Mice! This story, this is a story of mice and monkey! There are also stories of monkey and monkey competing. But with what I heard, I received the degree, that I received! Only mice and monkey...”]
All the three narrators above admitted that they had acquired the tale. It was not of their own creation but they had received it from someone and at that moment they were passing it on themselves. In fact, Aji indicated that the story he was about to tell had other variants. Whether they were aware of the meaning of such a statement is unknown. Nevertheless they had indicated the characteristics of oral tradition as a part of their stories. These three storytellers, (i.e, Yusop Vespa, Sarip Mara and Aji) and the rest of the storytellers studied in this thesis were all elements of the oral tradition. They were all “storytellers” and “bearers of the oral tradition.” Their role was best summarized by Walter Benjamin (1970). On the role of storyteller he wrote, “[e]xperience which is passed on from mouth to mouth is the source from which all storytellers have drawn;” and “[t]he storyteller takes what he tells from experience - his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale,” (1970 : 84 and 87 respectively).

In conclusion, it can be stated that the nation’s economic growth and modern development have brought a rapid change in the Malay storytelling tradition. The most likely type of genre told in storytelling sessions nowadays is the humorous tale. Although traditional type of humorous tales still exist, however, in recent times stories depicting modern and contemporary issues were much more popular. The setting of the performance has shifted from being previously a domestic affair to a setting away from home, especially at food stalls. Such places provide the space for people to forgather for
socializing and also provide a good atmosphere for storytelling sessions. The narrators of these kinds of tales came from diverse educational and economic backgrounds and possessed different personalities. Some of them have achieved the highest rank of their local social hierarchy. They are termed amateur storytellers. Nonetheless, the elderly storytellers (those above 60 years old) were the only members of their communities who were still capable of narrating traditional stories. The younger storytellers told modern stories, especially those containing elements of sex. This shows that the former were the survivors of the tradition of yesteryear, proving that the interest in traditional tales has declined. In the following chapter, the focus will switch to the performance of Malay humorous tales.
Figure 2.
Kuala Langat Storytellers

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Haji Md. Radzi bin Haji Arshad (Cikgu Radi)</td>
<td>Telok Panglima Garang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Ex-teacher</td>
<td>STP (1963)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Haji Talib @ Abdul Mutalib bin Bulat (Tokcik)</td>
<td>Telok Panglima Garang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Ex-village chief</td>
<td>Yr.5 (1934)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Haji Manan bin Putih</td>
<td>Telok Panglima Garang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Syed Yusof bin Syed Hashim</td>
<td>Telok Panglima Garang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Ex-fire fighter</td>
<td>Yr.3 (1945)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Amir Hamzah bin Md. Radzi</td>
<td>Telok Panglima Garang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>B.Sc (1996)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Azizi bin Bakar</td>
<td>Jenjarom</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>SPM (1986)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Abu Zarim bin Abu Hashim</td>
<td>Kebun Baru</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Head-teacher</td>
<td>SPM (1965)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mohd. Soud bin Sampol (Pak Soud)</td>
<td>Telok Panglima Garang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Ex-policeman</td>
<td>Yr.5 (1945)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Haji Mohd. Sharif bin Haji Ali (Sarip Mara)</td>
<td>Bandar / Jugra*</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Ex-army</td>
<td>Yr.5 (1939)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Mohd. Atan bin Abdul Kadir (Pak Atan)</td>
<td>Kelanang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Hamzah bin Hariffin</td>
<td>Telok Panglima Garang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>SPM (1970)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Mohd Noor bin Abdul Hamid</td>
<td>Banting</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Head-teacher</td>
<td>SPM (1969)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Mohamed Razir bin Abdullah (Ajis)</td>
<td>Telok Panglima Garang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Technician</td>
<td>Junior Cambridge (1959)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 26 101 7

*Move - from Sungai Arak, Bandar to Jugra.
Figure 3.
Melaka / Muar Storytellers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Storyteller</th>
<th>Place of Residence</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Y.O.B</th>
<th>Age (1997)</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Tale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total |                                     |                         |     |       |            |            |                   | 27   |


Figure 4.
Kluang Storytellers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Storyteller</th>
<th>Place of Residence</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Y.O.B</th>
<th>Age (1997)</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Tale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Isnain bin Bachik (Cikgu Senin)</td>
<td>Ayer Hitam, Batu Pahat, Johor</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>SPM (1969)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Zaini bin Harun (Bob)</td>
<td>Yong Peng, Batu Pahat, Johor</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>Yr.6 (1969)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mohd. Isa bin Ibrahim (Yusop Vespa)</td>
<td>Parloh, Kluang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Yr.6 (1947)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mahran bin Sidek (Wak Maran)</td>
<td>Parloh, Kluang</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Yr.6 (1945)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|     |                  |                    |     |       |            |                | 42        |      |
Chapter Two

Delivery

Performance

The study of performance has become one of the most exciting and rewarding developments in the study of oral literature in recent years (Isidore Okpewho, 1992 : 42). ‘Performance’ is a usage which fits with the current interest among anthropologists, folklorists, sociolinguists and others in ‘practice’ and ‘processes,’ or in ‘speech acts’ (Ruth Finnegan, 1992 : 92). The basis of this approach is founded on Bronislaw Malinowski’s (1926 : 29) statements in his study of the Trobrianders’ myths when he emphasized that:

“The text, of course, is extremely important, but without the context it remains lifeless. As we have seen, the interest of the story is vastly enhanced and it is given its proper character by the manner in which it is told. The whole nature of the performance, the voice and the mimicry, the stimulus and the response of the audience mean as much to the natives as the text; and the sociologist should take his cue from the natives. The performance, again, has to be placed in its proper time-setting - the hour of the day, and the season, with the background of the sprouting gardens awaiting future work, and slightly influenced by the magic of the fairy tales. We must also bear in mind the sociological context of private ownership, the sociable function and the cultural role of amusing fiction. All these elements are equally relevant; all must be studied as well as the text. The stories live in native life and not on paper, and when a scholar jots them down without being able to evoke the atmosphere in which they flourish he has given us but a mutilated bit of reality.”

Malinowski’s notion was elaborated by William R. Bascom (1965 : 281). He stressed that a series of related facts must be recorded along with the texts. These facts
include: (1) when and where the various forms of folklore are told; (2) who tells them, whether or not they are privately owned, and who composes the audience; (3) dramatic devices employed by the narrator, such as gestures, facial expressions, pantomime, impersonation, or mimicry; (4) audience participation in the form of laughter, assent or other responses, running criticism or encouragement of the narrator, singing or dancing, or acting out parts in a tale; (5) categories of folklore recognized by the people themselves; and (6) attitudes of people toward these categories.

Identical to Bascom’s notions above, Harold Scheub’s (1975: 14) reaction to such study of oral literature is as follows:

“Analysis must encompass all elements of production and, since the performances are not work of literature, should not be based on written texts which are themselves but the shadows of the verbal aspects of a complex form (not to mention the non-verbal aspects which the written texts cannot even hint at).”¹

Nevertheless, Richard Bauman (1977: 11) conceives of performance as follows:

“Thus conceived, performance is a mode of language use, a way of speaking. The implication of such a concept for a theory of verbal art is this: it is no longer necessary to begin with artful texts, identified on independent formal grounds and then reinjected into situations of use, in order to conceptualize verbal art in communicative terms. Rather, in terms of the approach being developed here, performance becomes constitutive of the domain of verbal art as spoken communication.”²

¹ Emphasis is in original.
² Emphasis is also in original.
In contrast, Ruth Finnegan (1992: 92) mentions another use of the term ‘performance’ which is related to Malinowski’s, Bascom’s and Scheub’s views. She stated that as below:

“‘Performance’ is also used to refer to a concrete event in time: another sphere for investigation, which in recent years has extended beyond just a general look at performance attributes and settings to focus more directly on the communicative event itself. Questions for investigation thus include how or where performances take place as actual events; how they are organised and prepared for; who is there, how they behave and what their expectations are; how the performers deliver the specific genre and the audience react to it; how it is framed within and/or separate from the flow of everyday life.”

Thus it is essential to contemplate and analyse Malay humorous storytelling as a performance, keeping in mind the purposes for which it was created. Using both these senses of the word “performance” in this study I propose to show: (a) to what extent Malay humorous storytelling is marked out as “performance” in Bauman’s sense; and (b) also to look into the questions for investigation mentioned by Finnegan. This will include describing the event in terms of the atmosphere created during the narration of such tales by participants. In other words, this study will include observation of the actions and reactions of the teller and audience during the event.

The Markers of Performance

As mentioned earlier, the telling of humorous tales is a Malay pastime which is performed spontaneously and casually and is not organised as in a performance of for instance, the shadow-play (wayang kulit) studied by Sweeney (1969, 1970, 1971, 1972a,
and 1972b), *Sijobang* (Phillips : 1981), or Pak Taslim and Pak Ganti’s narrations of *Panglimo Awang* (Derks : 1994). In addition to the absence of spontaneity, the fundamental element differentiating these kinds of performances from the telling of Malay humorous tales, is that the performers are professional, whereas humorous tales are told by amateur storytellers. Nevertheless, humorous storytelling to a certain extent, can still be differentiated from other kinds of speech and forms a separate and specific kind of performance. It possesses various markers to frame it into the structure of a performance event.

One of the essential features of storytelling is the opening and closing phrases. They are among the definite markers which frame the event into a structured kind of performance and set it apart from ordinary speech. On the one hand, quite often, in amateur storytelling such as this, it is said that the common opening phrases used by the tellers to begin their stories are formulas such as, “*Suatu hari...*” (One day...); “*Pada suatu hari...*” (On one day...); “*Pada zaman dahulu kala...*” (A long time ago...); “*Pada suatu masa dahulu...*” (Once upon a time...); and so forth. Of the 22 storytellers under discussion, only Cikgu Radi and Cikgu Senin employed such opening formulas more regularly than the rest of the narrators. For instance, the former used the common opening formulas twelve times in the fourteen stories he told. This showed his consistency in using the formulas in the narrations. It can be summarized in Fig. 5 below:

---

3 Sweeney (1976 : 21) also highlighted this matter.
Figure 5.
Cikgu Radi Opening Formulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Story</th>
<th>Opening Formula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>‘Hantu Senja’ (T11a - The Dusk Ghost)</td>
<td>Pada zaman dahulu kala...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[A long time ago...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>‘Hantu Senja’ (T11b - The Dusk Ghost)</td>
<td>Pada masa dahulu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[A long time ago...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>‘Yang Sulit dan Yang Berat’ (T12a - The Mysterious and The Heavy Ones)</td>
<td>Zaman dulu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Long ago...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>‘Yang Sulit dan Yang Berat’ (T12b - The Mysterious and The Heavy Ones)</td>
<td>Pada zaman dulu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[A long time ago...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>‘Bola’ (T13 - The Ball)</td>
<td>Pada masa dahulu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[In the past...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>‘Dodol’ (T35)</td>
<td>Pada masa dulu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[In the past...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>‘Tengkah Kentot’ (T36 - Breaking Wind Challenge)</td>
<td>Pada zaman dulu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[A long time ago...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>‘Tandang Lekat Bakar Kikis’ (T67 - The Sticky Visitant and the Stingy Host)</td>
<td>Pada masa zaman dahulu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[A long time ago...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>‘Tak Mendengar Nasihat’ (T68b - Ignoring Advice)</td>
<td>Pada masa dulu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[In the past...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>‘Anjing dengan Bangau’ (T69 - The Dog and the Heron)</td>
<td>Pada masa dulu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[In the past...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>‘Sudah Bayar Ke Belum?’ (M32 - Have You Paid?)</td>
<td>Pada satu hari...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[On one day...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>‘Lancau’ (M102 - Fluent)</td>
<td>Pada masa dulu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[In the past...]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, in reality, it is noticeable that these common formulas mentioned above are rarely employed by most tellers to begin a story. These formulas are

4 Dodol is a traditional Malay sweetmeat made of glutinous rice, sugar, and coconut milk.
used more often in written forms of literature. My findings about the way the storytellers began their stories are very conclusive: of the 216 stories collected in this study, only 36 stories (17%) began with such common opening phrases. The vast majority of narrators began their stories with what may be termed announcement phrases. The announcement phrase is a kind of pre-opening statement, usually in a form of a brief summary of the story that is going to be told. It was used in order to attract the audience’s attention; to signal the start of a new story; and to give a some idea of what was to be expected before the actual story was delivered. Examples of such phrases are the following:

**Figure 6.**
Announcement Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Storyteller / Story</th>
<th>Announcement Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Abu Zarim</td>
<td><em>Ini cerita Ghapar Baba.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Buta Huruf’ (M5 - Illiterate)</td>
<td>[This is a story about Ghapar Baba.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Aji</td>
<td><em>Ini cerita lalat dengan katak la.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Lalat dengan Katak’ (T76 - Housefly and Frog)</td>
<td>[This is a story of a housefly and a frog.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Azizi</td>
<td><em>Orang neraka nak jumpa dengan orang syurga.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Orang Syurga dengan Neraka’ (M44 - Heaven and Hell)</td>
<td>[Hell’s inmates want to meet people in heaven.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bob</td>
<td><em>OK lah! Ini cerita lagi cerita Banja la kan!</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Raja Banjar’ (T79 - The Banjar King)</td>
<td>[Okay! This is another story, a Banjar story isn’t it!]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Hamzah</td>
<td><em>Ini, ini cerita orang Pahang la.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Orang Pahang Juga!’ (M62 - You’re From Pahang Too!)</td>
<td>[This, this is a story of the Pahang people.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Najib</td>
<td><em>Kesahkan satu orang satu pulau la.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Adil’ (M39 - Fair)</td>
<td>[About a man and an island.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Tokcik</td>
<td><em>Ah! Jadi ini cerita Lebai Malang.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Lebai Malang’ (T28 - The Luckless Lebai)</td>
<td>Ah! This is a story of a luckless lebai.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Apart from the supposedly normal opening formulas and the announcement phrases, the teller may also begin the story by giving a few words of information, which may be in the form of explanation of the character, particularly the protagonist; the setting of the tale; certain actions of the character; and certain facts for clarification that will become important later in the tale.\(^5\) This technique is usually practised in order to give a clearer picture of the circumstances to the listener. It is often used in stories which are believed to be unfamiliar to the listener, whereas, in popular tales which are well-known such as ‘Pak Pandir’ tales, the teller will simply start the tale, avoiding any unnecessary explanation. For example, in ‘Tak Mendengar Nasihat’ (T68a - Ignoring Advice) by Cikgu Radi, the information given at the beginning was as follows:


[There was a, a pair of mice, husband and wife who made a lair at the side of a house. At last he managed to steal some food, by entering the people’s house. Every night, they ate, searched for food, and entered the people’s house. At last, the female mouse gave birth. They nursed the offspring until they grew up...]

A comparison of consistency in the use of opening phrases by tellers was given in Fig. 7. Judging by these three techniques, it was without doubt the announcement phrases that were preferred by the tellers to start their stories.

\(^5\) Also highlighted by Sweeney (1976 : 22).
Then, similar to the opening stage, at the end of the narration, the teller will bring the story to a close simply by sealing it with a closing-phrase. The most typical and simplest closing-phrases were such as, "tamar" (the end) and "habis" (finished). Both these closing formulas are also firmly established in written usage. Nonetheless, there was also a variety of other closing formulas employed by the tellers to end their stories. The usual closing-phrases used are shown in Fig. 8 below:

**Figure 7.**
Types of Opening Formulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Opening Formulas</th>
<th>Percentages (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supposedly Normal Opening Phrase</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Announcement Phrase</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 8.**
The Closing Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Storyteller / Story</th>
<th>Closing Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Abu Zarim &quot;Orang Dakwah&quot; (M42 - The Missionary)</td>
<td>Aaa, itu cerita dia. [Aaa, that’s the story.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Aji &quot;Ada Ke Tak Ada?&quot; (M35 - Is it there?)</td>
<td>OK! Itu satu cerita la. [Okay! That’s one story.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teller</td>
<td>Story Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|3. | Amir        | 'Siappo Yang Ludah Den?' (M58 - Who spit on me?) | *Itu le ceritanya.*  
[That's the story.] |
|4. | Hamzah      | 'Wayang' (M78 - Movie)          | *OK! Sampe situ aje.*  
[Okay. Until there only.] |
[Hah! That's how the story goes, a short story. Haa! Haa!]
[That's the story. What's that? When he stood for the post in what? The Supreme Council you know?]
|7. | Cikgu Radi  | 'Hantu Senja' (T11a - The Dusk Ghost) | *Demikianlah cerita hantu senja.*  
[That’s the story of the dusk ghost.] |

Most of these were pronounced in a casual manner. In contrast, in the case of Sarip Mara, he ended his stories in a formal way as he did when opening his account. He finished most of his stories with a blessing in Arabic, “*Sekian. Wassalam mualaiikum warahmatullah hibarakatu,*” (That’s it. And peace be with you and Allah’s blessing), as in M112 ‘Bedmen.’

The tellers may also end their story in a polite manner by thanking their audience for sharing the time with them in listening to the stories. In this case, Wak Maran was among the best examples of such a way of closing each of his stories. Two out of the four stories he delivered, he closed in an apologetic style. In his story ‘Dua beradik’ (T37 - The Two Brothers), he said:
and then again, in ‘Wak Parjo’ (M70 - Mr. Parjo), he ended it in a similar style, as follows:

“Jadi itulah saja cerita, cerita, cerita yang mungkin tak begitu menarik. Terima kasih.”

[So, that’s all there is of the story, a story, a story which was perhaps not very interesting. Thank you.]

Both statements above can be considered as expressions of modesty, typically Malay utterances, whenever a certain task is performed and completed.

Sometimes, however, the tellers did not even indicate whether the story was completed. Mostly, in this instance, the teller was narrating sex stories where, at the end of the story, all the participants, including the teller were laughing excitedly, so that they forget (or felt it unnecessary) to employ any closing formulas to mark the end of the story. On several occasions, I had to ask, and in reply they either nodded or at once used one of the common closing phrases, “tamat” or “habis.”

The use of markers (viz., opening and closing formulas) discussed above, resembles the tatsuniya performance of the Hausa society of Northern Nigeria studied by Said Babura Ahmad. He states that, “[t]he function of the formula is to mark the break away from reality. It captures the attention of the audience and prepares them for a
collective journey to the world of imagination,” and “...to reverse the purpose of the opening formula and to announce the return to the world of reality,” (Said Babura Ahmad, 1997: 18 - 19).6

The Atmosphere of the Performance

It is noticeable that the atmosphere created during the performances (i.e., sessions of Malay humorous storytelling) may vary. They can be distinguished according to the amount of laughter or other signs of mirth into three categories: lively and cheerful; less lively; and serious or dull. This scale of evaluation is similar to Isidore Okpewho’s notion when he states that the performance will enable one to visualise the artist in action and consider the various factors that determine the success or the failure of the event (1992: 42). In this respect Bauman (1986: 3) mentions that, “[f]rom the point of view of the audience, the act of expression on the part of the performer is thus laid open to evaluation for the way it is done, for the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer’s display.”

Therefore, in connection to the atmosphere created, which of the three categories mentioned above applied depended on a combination of factors: the type of tales told; the number, nature and reactions of the audience present; the setting and circumstances;

6 *Tatsumiya* (a traditional fictional narration) may begins with phrases such as: “Here it comes, here it comes for you...”; and “Here’s a tale for you...” which are similar to the “announcement phrase” in this study. They may also start with the Arabic formula, *Assalam Alaikum* (Peace be upon you). In contrast, the narration may end with a closing formula such as: “Off! with the head of a mouse” or “It is off!” and also with Arabic formulas, *Tamat* (That’s the end) and *Haza Wassalam* (Here is peace). Further detail, see Ahmad (1997).
and the storyteller himself and his attitudes. Thus the combination of sex stories; a large number of listeners, especially friends, peers, and colleagues; and a setting away from home usually produced a lively and cheerful atmosphere. This was shown in the performances by Abu Zarim, Azizi, Hamzah, Aji, Bob, Najib and Ajis, who produced very lively performances and created a very lively and cheerful atmosphere.

At one extreme, for example, Abu Zarim’s first spell created the most lively and uproarious atmosphere of any of the performances observed in this study. His session was conducted together with Azizi. It took place in the school canteen during the 20-minute morning break. It was near the end of the school term and everybody was in holiday mood. There were seven in the audience including four young male teachers. All of them knew what to expect; stories about sex. This was due to the narrator’s reputation and because they had suggested that such stories be told. Abu Zarim and Azizi told their stories alternately but the former orchestrated the event throughout. There was laughter and even banging and drumming on the tables throughout the event. They guffawed especially when each tale drew towards its climax. The session only ended when the bell rang to end the break.

During the event many people intervened freely with questions and remarks. In an amateur storytelling performance such as that given by Abu Zarim and Azizi, interruptions are natural and unavoidable. Sweeney (1976: 19) describes the situation thus: “[h]e may appeal to his audience, expecting and often welcoming constant
interruptions from them, sometimes to the extent that a story-telling session becomes a free-for-all and it is uncertain who is actually telling the story.” The audience may simply interrupt to ask questions; or shout to suggest words and phrases whenever the narrator is floundering to find one. At times, the interventions made by the audience may interrupt the flow of the narration. Because of this, the interruptions have an impact on the delivery. They play a significant role in building up the storyteller’s confidence; they help the narrator by suggesting the right word or phrase whenever he is struggling to find one; and they alert the narrator when he is carried away. The audience’s assistance is appreciated by the narrator, who nods in approval. During my research, a similar pattern was repeated frequently when an audience was present. Thus, both the storyteller and the listeners played a role in creating a mirthful atmosphere. Furthermore, after each story is completed, the listeners and teller often discuss what has been said and together they laugh excitedly. They may also repeatedly reproduce the punchline, if there is one in the story.

One of the best examples of an active audience was Din Kilat.\(^7\) He was present at all the performances by Hamzah and Mohd. Noor. During the sessions he usually suggested what story should be told. In fact, on several occasions he also provoked the tellers to deliver more stories, as he knew their potential. Sometimes Din Kilat quoted a phrase or a few lines of a particular story to refresh both the tellers’ memories. Hamzah and Mohd. Noor usually nodded in approval or laughed upon hearing the lines and

\(^7\) Din Kilat’s real name is Khairuddin bin Ismail. He is Hamzah’s colleague and currently working as a general clerk (*Pembantu Am Rendah*).
reacted directly to Din Kilat’s demand. This proved that both the tellers had many more stories to offer. It also clearly showed that Din Kilat had heard every single story of Hamzah and Mohd. Noor’s repertoire. In addition, Din Kilat also intervened with remarks and laughter during the renderings. Another active audience was Yusop Cina. He was present during the performance by Aji, and in fact he was the one who arranged the session. On several occasions during the session he laughed uncontrollably and repeated the punchline of the story. The actions of both listeners, Din Kilat and Yusop Cina gave supportive encouragement to the tellers. The latter effect can be seen in the story, ‘Fesyen’ (M48 - Fashion) told by Aji below:

Aji : Cerita pesen. Pertandingan fesyen pakaian.
[A story about fashion. A costume fashion contest.]

Yusop Cina : Oh! Cerita pakaian aku belum dengo.
[Oh! The story of costume I have not yet heard.]

Aji : Pertandingan fesyen.
[Fashion contest.]

Yusop Cina : Cerita lain ya? Bukannya mata.
[Is it another story? Not the story about the eye.]

Aji : Oh mata! Oh mata! Kejap lagi la, mata.
[Oh the eye! Oh the eye! In a moment, the story about the eye.]

Yusop Cina : Hah!
[Yes!]

Aji : Ini pertandingan.

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8 His real name is Mohd. Yusof bin Abdul Aziz. He is Aji’s colleague and currently teaching in a secondary school in Kluang, Johor.
Yusop Cina : *Pertandingan mata dah?*

[The story about the eye contest, has it been told?]

Aji : *Pertandingan fesyen pakaian.*

[The costume fashion contest.]

Yusop Cina : *Heh!*

[Yes!]

Aji : *Ini pertandingan fesyen la, pakaian la. Pakaian mana yang paling seksi, paling cantik kan.*

[This is a fashion contest, costumes. Which is the sexiest and the most beautiful costume.]

Yusop Cina : *Heh!*

[Yes!]


[Wah! Sexy! Beautiful! That’s the category to win isn’t it. Thus, in the contest there’s varieties. Different types of contestants took part. Ah! There was a contestant who wore a short dress, an extremely short dress.]

Yusop Cina : *Heh!*

[Yes!]


[Yes! She entered! But all were really beautiful. The costumes were really beautiful. Sexy, beautiful, the women were beautiful. It was women’s costumes contest.]

Yusop Cina : *Haah!*

[Yes!]

Aji : *Masing-masing pakaian lawa-lawa la.*
[Everybody wore beautiful costumes.]

Yusop Cina : Hah!
[Yes!]

[First contestant, second contestant (they) called, third contestant (they) called until, the last contestant, the defending champion you know. She was the defending champion of the sexy and beautiful costume contest. She was really the defending champion. Every time she came with an improvement. Her fashion was always a new one. Every time she came with a new fashion. New clothing fashion.]

Aji : Jadi malam tu dia pakai fesyen yang bebeza tau. Dia masuk-tnasitk tak pakai baju.
[So, that night she wore a very different fashion you know. She entered undressed.]

Yusop Cina : {Ha! Ha! Ha!}

Aji : Hoop! Orang semua pakai, ada baju kan. Dia tak ada baju terus!
[Oop! The others were dressed. She did not wear anything!]

Yusop Cina : Aangah!
[Yes!]

Aji : Johan memunggu ni!
[This was the defending champion!]

Yusop Cina : Haangah!
[Yes!]

Aji : Jadi orang pelik tau. Pengadil pun pening kepalakan. "Ai!" Masa pengacara bagi tau kan dia kata, katakan, "Ini johan menunggu dengan fesyen radio!"
People were puzzled you know. The judges got a headache too. “Oh!” When told by the announcer, he said, said he, “This is the defending champion with the fashion of radio!”

Yusop Cina: *Haangah!*

[Yes!]

Aji: *Fesyen radio!*

[ The fashion of radio!]

Yusop Cina: {Ha! Ha! Ha!}​


[She entered undressed. People said, “Why don’t you dress?” The judges were surprised you know. Hah! She then flaunted herself in front. Walking in front. The judges stopped her. “Hey! You here! Wait! Hold on!” Hoh! Held back by the judges. All the judges came forward you know. “Why do you say this is the fashion of radio? This is without clothes on.”]

Yusop Cina: *Lah!*

[Ahh!]

Aji: *“Eh! Tengok la! Tak pecaya tengok, tengok, tengok. Macam radiokan?” dia kata. “Hah! Ini tombol dia.”* [Eh! Watch it! If you don’t believe, watch, watch, watch. Isn’t it like a radio?” said she. “Hah! These are the knobs.”]9

Yusop Cina: *Ha! Ha! Ha! Tombol!*

[Ha! Ha! Ha! The knobs!]


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9 At this point, Aji placed both his hands on his chest indicating a woman’s breasts.
["These are the knobs. Hah! Aaa, isn't this a radio. Hahl" she said.]

Yusop Cina : {Ha! Ha! Ha!}


["Is it?" Wah! People tried to hold. Hold it, hold it, hold it, hold it, "Eh! You said it is the fashion of radio. But there is no sound!" they said. "Heeh! Stupid!" she said. "Of course there is no sound! The plug is not in!"]

Yusop Cina : Ha! Ha! Ha! Plug aaanya. Tak masuk lagi pulak!

[Ha! Ha! Ha! Aaa the plug. Has not gone in yet!]

Aji : {Ha! Ha! Ha!}

Yusop Cina : Habis?

[Is it finished?]

Aji : Habis. Ha! Ha! Ha!

[Finished. Ha! Ha! Ha!]

In the example above, Yusop Cina clearly encouraged Aji with his remarks and laughter. This made his present felt and also made the atmosphere of Aji's narration lively. Also in the first, most lively category were the performances of Hamzah, Aji, Bob, Najib and Ajis as the result of the same combination of the factors: sex stories; away from home; many listeners, who were friends. During their performances also the audiences played an active role by passing constant comments.

In addition to the factors mentioned above (topic, size of audience and location), the storyteller's character and temperament are also significant factors that contribute to
the atmosphere of the storytelling session. Pak Atan for example, has an easy manner, an
open expression, a cheerful character and a quick sense of humour. His temperament is
similar to that of Abu Zarim, Azizi, Hamzah, Aji, Bob, Najib, and Ajis. Their
temperament and characters give an extra edge to their deliveries and they can easily
provoke people to laughter.

Pak Atan’s character and temperament played a major part in enlivening the event
especially in his second session which took place at a food stall in Kelanang town. As he
sat down he attracted several passers-by to witness and listen to his narration. At first
there were only four people present, who were his peers sitting around the table. Then the
audience gradually grew in numbers as the session progressed. Most of them were local
people who knew Pak Atan’s reputation. Pak Atan looked keen and excited and so did
the audience. He opened his performance with a few words of introduction and a couple
of pantun. The audience played a major role in creating a lively atmosphere with laughter
and they also interjected remarks and comments. At a certain stage, Pak Atan became
annoyed when an old member of the audience disputed the rationale of a blind
protagonist’s action in the tale. Words were exchanged and voices were raised. This
made the event even more lively and the audience guffawed in reaction to their
behaviour.

Examples of category 2 (less lively) performances were others by Abu Zarim,
Azizi, and Pak Atan. There was a sudden change of atmosphere during their
performances because of the lack of an audience. In contrast to the first, Abu Zarim’s second session was delivered in his office without any audience except myself. A similar situation also happened at Azizi’s second session, when he was heard only by myself and the canteen lady. She was amused with what she heard and chortled all the way through the session. Despite their telling the same type of sex stories, this fact alone was not enough to create a lively atmosphere as they had in their first renderings. In fact, Pak Atan’s first delivery was similar. It was held in the main hall of his house and witnessed by myself and Bang Din. The latter was the only one who went some way to make a cheerful event with his remarks and laughter. But by and large, the atmosphere was relatively less lively, which vividly demonstrates the importance of the audience in such event.

Other examples of less lively performances were especially those of the elderly narrators such as Haji Manan, Tokcik, and Syed Yusof and also by Cikgu Senin, Nazari, Mohd. Noor, and Amir. Haji Manan’s and Tokcik’s performances took place at their house in the main hall and verandah respectively. They all took place without the presence of any audience except myself, yet they still managed to create quite a cheerful and lively atmosphere. Much of this was due to the type of tales that were presented. Some of them were stories that contained sex episodes. While narrating such tales, especially during the parts where the sex episodes occurred, both the narrators tittered and smiled. However, they continued the story until the end and only then did they laugh.

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10 Refer Chapter One, note 22.
They then immediately produced another similar story without any feeling of embarrassment. I was surprised at their willingness to narrate such sex tales since there existed a considerable age gap between us, particularly between me and Tokcik, who was my great-uncle,\(^{11}\) (a situation which usually precludes such behaviour (e.g., Sweeney (1972c), “…age, sex, marital and social status of the informant and of his listeners are important factors in determining what tales are told and how they are told...grossly erotic tales may be related only among members of the same sex, marital status, or perhaps between two married couples...)). It is probable that they recounted such stories because they considered me to be old enough to hear it or perhaps just for the sake of fun.

Another example of category 2 (less lively) performances were those of Syed Yusof, which resembled those of Tokcik and Haji Manan in atmosphere, owing to the lack of audience. Interestingly, the setting of his renderings played the major part in determining the type of stories he chose to tell. He performed twice within the space of two weeks. His first session took place at his home whereas the second spell was at a food stall. Throughout his renderings, Syed Yusof mostly told well-known traditional stories such as the ‘Sang Kancil’ tales and an assortment of ‘Abu Nawas’ tales. In his first spell, he did not tell any sex stories because his wife and son (an accountant) were present (since he was at home). During the encounter, his wife played a major part, interrupting with constant remarks while their son was busy with his work but kept his ears open. She was a good listener and an active member of the audience. The couple

\(^{11}\) Tokcik is my father, Cikgu Radi’s uncle.
giggled throughout, but their son just kept silent and smiled at what he heard. In contrast, in his second session Syed Yusof suddenly produced a story containing sex episodes. At a certain point he even elaborated the sexual episode with an erotic gesture by raising his hand, referring to the character’s genitals. At this point, I felt the same shock and embarrassment that I had previously experienced from Tokcik’s and Haji Manan’s performances, because I did not expect such tales to be told by him, considering the age gap.

Examples of category 3 (dull) performances, by contrast, were Pak Soud, Sarip Mara, Yusop Vespa, Wak Maran, Nyonya, and Cikgu Radi. Their delivery was more or less serious and created a subdued atmosphere. This was because these storytellers considered the renderings a formal matter which was meant to be in some way official (because it was UKM research) and so they took it seriously. Furthermore, Pak Soud is a shy person. His character affected the manner of his narration which was rather boring. He looked nervous in spite of narrating his story smoothly. Pak Soud’s cousin, Haji Musa, and I formed the audience. Haji Musa kept silent throughout and remained passive in order not to interrupt the narration. He also felt the rendering was formal and in a sense a serious affair. My father’s performances resembled Pak Soud’s. They took place at the family house around the dining table in the kitchen, usually after the evening meal. On most occasions my mother was there with me to witness the narration. Usually we kept silent in order not to interrupt the proceedings as my mother (who also considered the event to be official) kept reminding me not to talk. She in fact prevented the rest of
the family members from interrupting during the session. We reacted with laughter only when each story was completed. The most that we reacted during the narration was to smile and grin. Both my parents shared the same attitude as Pak Soud and the rest of the tellers in this group, i.e., that the occasion was formal and needed to be taken seriously.

The narration of Sarip Mara followed a similar pattern. He performed twice in the space of two years, both times at his home. Sarip Mara also took it seriously as he considered it official. In his first session the audience consisted of Bang Din and myself while in the second, only of myself. To my surprise, during his second session he was well prepared and ready with a script. He read it verbatim like a newscaster and later told me that he wanted it to be a perfect performance because it was official. Furthermore, after each story, Sarip Mara chose to give a commentary. Sometimes, these commentaries were longer than the stories themselves. In the case of Romzi, the atmosphere of the performance was very dull. His was a very poor delivery which was far less interesting than the ones I had listened to before. He froze as the recorder was placed in front of him. The session took place in his house with only myself as audience.

On the whole, the amateur storytellers examined in this thesis delivered their stories casually. During most of the events, refreshments were available and the narrator sometimes interrupted his narration for a moment to sip his coffee in order to ease his dried throat. Furthermore, some even smoked a cigarette, or pipe in the case of Tokcik, in the middle of the performance. Abu Zarim and Azizi’s first performance for instance,
was given in a room full of smoke as most people present were chain smokers. By and large, all the storytellers regularly had short intervals in between the tales to smoke, drink and catch their breath before resuming again. For their part, the audience too sipped drinks and enjoyed their food while listening to the stories with interest.

Another point worth mentioning is the performance of other verbal arts, such as riddles, during the proceedings. Najib, Cikgu Senin, and Syed Yusof liked to displayed their riddle skills in the middle of the storytelling session between the stories they told. They produced an assortment of riddles and pressured their listeners (usually myself and other audiences) to solve them. Their ability to pose riddles added a certain interest to their storytelling sessions. In a way, the telling of riddles enabled them to take a break to relax before continuing with other stories while the audiences were wondering about the answers.

My contributions in all the storytelling sessions conducted in this study were limited as I tried to avoid being directly involved. I preferred to let the storyteller and audience play their parts freely and so make the renderings as authentic as possible. I felt that interfering too often might put pressure on them and make the event into a formal occurrence. Most of the time, I was busy taking notes and handling the recording equipment. Only on a few occasions, I did react with laughter to new stories I heard and I also passed remarks or suggested words whenever I was the sole listener.
Another factor affecting liveliness of performance, which was noticeable during the storytelling sessions, was the difference between the tellers in their degree of composure. Some of them were calm and composed, which enabled them to show their potential and competence and resulted in smooth narrations. In contrast, there were also several tellers who were nervous at the start but eventually regained confidence as the sessions progressed due to the supportive applause of the audience.

On the whole, almost all the narrators were calm, relaxed, and confident during the process. This includes Abu Zarim, Syed Yusof, Bob, Cikgu Senin, Azizi, Pak Atan, Sarip Mara, Tokcik, Haji Manan, Cikgu Radi, Nazari, Hamzah, Mohd. Noor, Ajis, Najib and Aji. They even looked keen, eager and excited with broad smiles on their faces and showed great interest. They were in total command of their nerves and displayed composure despite being well aware of the existence of the audience and of the cassette recorder. They quickly adjusted themselves to the environment and enjoyed telling their stories. Judging by their faces, it can be said that they felt satisfied with their efforts when the rendering ended. There were also some very committed figures in this group such as Tokcik and Haji Manan. Their commitment can be judged by the way they told their stock of stories. Both of them tried to tell everything they possessed and acquired. Sometimes their committed and serious approach led to a loss of composure. At a certain stage during their spells when they had run out of stories, they seemed to be trying hard to recall more with grimaces and eyes closed for a few minutes. Sometimes they even
banged the desk in frustration. They also asked me to come again and promised me that next time they would be ready with other stories.

Nevertheless, there were also several nervous starters who gained confidence gradually as the sessions progressed. Yusop Vespa, Pak Soud, Wak Maran, Romzi and Amir can be placed in this particular group. For example, Yusop Vespa was nervous from the moment he began. He sat stiffly in his chair and looked downward, staring at his clasped hands while holding a cigarette. As the delivery advanced and especially when he had completed his first story he gradually gained confidence and became more relaxed. It was only then that he dared to face his audience directly, as he received their supportive applause. Pak Soud’s case was similar. During his performance, he often held a cigarette box and picked it up in order to calm his nervousness. Throughout the narration he smoked and avoided facing his audience. Worse than Pak Soud was Romzi. He was very nervous, jittery and restless when a cassette recorder was placed in front of him. During his narration, he froze and at one stage even panicked. Clearly he was nervous. He felt uncomfortable about telling stories in such conditions and from the beginning his interest was tepid. Hence he struggled throughout his delivery and made the narration dull. Sometimes in the middle of the sessions, he became speechless but continued smiling and giggling to calm his nervousness. He never regained his confidence even though he tried hard. He felt pressured by the situation as he considered it to be a formal matter.
There were also differences between the narrators in terms of individual skills in their deliveries. These individual skills were in terms of speech; gesture; the use of opening and closing stock phrases; and so forth. During the performances these skills were visible. Some of the tellers blended the skills to perfection, which resulted in an excellent narration. In contrast, there were some narrators who delivered their stories in a rather strange manner. Thus each and every storyteller had his own idiosyncrasies in the way he delivered their stories.

In terms of speech, they ranged from rather a special style to normal conversational style. Pak Atan employed fast, loud and high-pitched speech during his deliveries. His style of delivery was quite similar to that of Abu Zarim, Wak Maran, Ajis, Bob, and Nyonya in terms of speech itself. This resulted in a very clear tale being delivered. The most vivid and dramatic form of delivery was by Syed Yusof, indicating that he has a flair for the art. His speech alternated between fast and slow, loud and soft, and high-pitched and low-pitched, as demanded by the story. At certain points, he also whispered in mimicry of the character’s action in the tale he was narrating. On the other hand, the delivery of Mohd. Noor, Hamzah, Azizi, Najib, Cikgu Senin, Nazari and Pak Soud was more like everyday conversation. The only thing to distinguish it from a conversation was the constant - that they were narrating stories. It was monotonous,
medium in pitch, and with a normal pace. However, in the opening stages of Pak Soud’s story, he delivered it in a much controlled manner; slower in pace, phrase by phrase with a lapse of a few seconds between each phrases. It was done in this way because he was trying to control his nerves to build up his confidence. This could be seen in the story, ‘Buah’ (T19 - Fruit). He recounted the story as follows (slashes indicate pauses in the narration):

“Adalah/ cerita ini/ dulu kala/ berkenaan/ remo dengan anaknya./ Jaman dulu punya

cerita,/ Nabi Allah Sulaiman,/ binatang pun pandai becakap./ Jadi adalah orang ni/
bersama laki bini/ keluarga dia./ Kerja dia/ masuk hutan keluar hutan/ belantara/
mencari rotan./ Lama kelamaan mencarik rotan ni,/ kerjanya berjual-jual macam itu./

Makin lama/ makin jauh,/ makin lama/ makin jauh/ sampailah/ ke dalam hutan yang
jauh...”

[This/ is a story/ of long time ago/ about/ a tiger and her cub./ A story of the past,/ during Prophet Solomon’s era,/ animals were also able to talk./ So, there was a man/ husband and wife/ in the family./ His work/ was going in and out of the forest/ the jungle/ searching for rattan./ For so long then searching for rattan./ he sold it./ The longer/ the farther/ the longer/ the farther/ until he reached/ deep into the forest/...]

Tokcik, Amir, Cikgu Radi, Sarip Mara and Yusop Vespa too, delivered their stories in a similar fashion to the above. However, on one occasion, during the tale of ‘Tak Mendengar Nasihat’ (T68a - Ignoring Advice), Cikgu Radi delivered his tale in a theatrical manner. It happened as the story was drawing to its close where the message of the story lay. By his action he was without doubt taking an opportunity to give some
advice indirectly to me, his own son, by means of storytelling. He narrated the story phrase by phrase with a lapse of a few seconds between each phrase. Mostly, at the end of every phrase, the closing syllable of the last word was sounded at length (printed in bold). He delivered it thus:

"...dimakannya./ Tiba aaaa, perangkap tu pun bingkas./ Dah bingkas perangkap tu
tesepitlah dia./ Terasanyalah sakit./ Dah hampe-hampe mati./ Situ barulah dia tepeke./
"Betul gak mak aku ni/ cukuplah sayang kan aku./ Aaa, tidak dibenokannya aku
tehur./ Tapi aku degil,/ tehur jugak./ Aaa, inilah balasannya,"/ katanya./ Tiks itu
pun/ matilah./ Itulah [Itu ajelah ceritanya./ ceritanya./ orang yang tak mendengo/
cakap' mak bapak./ [Tan dengo cakap mak bapak./ Kaki lima badan tecampak.]"

[...he ate it./ Suddenly aaaa, the trap sprang./ He was trapped when it sprang./ He felt the
pain./ Nearly died./ Only then he realized,/ "My mother was right/ she loved me very
much./ Aaa, she didn’t allow me to go out./ But I was recalcitrant./ still went out./ Aaa,
this is the reward,"/ he said./ The mouse then/ died./ That’s [That’s all the story.] the
story./ people who ignore their/ mother’s/ and father’s/ advice./ [If you ignore your
parents’ advice, your body will lie on the pavement.]]

In the last sentence, the phrase, "...orang yang tak mendengo/ cakap/ mak/..." was said with a high-pitched tone to stress the point. However, the pitch was lowered for the last word but maintained the length sound of the closing syllable of the word, "bapak" (father). Then, it was followed by my mother’s response as she concluded the story with a verse of pantun. Therefore, indirectly, both of my parents used the event to send a useful message to me.

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12 The pantun is a four lines verse. It was my late grandmother’s (my mother’s mother) pantun which I used to hear during my childhood.
Romzi's, Aji's, and Haji Manan's deliveries were also monotonous. The former's delivery was awkward, with many pauses, some of which were very much longer than is usual in conversation. In contrast, Haji Manan and Aji spoke at a fast pace as if they felt some urgency. In the course of the former's delivery, slips of the tongue often occurred as he has a stammer. This produced meaningless words and unnecessary repetitions. Most of the narrators used high-pitched and fast speech at the climax of the tale. It was here that the excitement lay: the narrator perhaps produced the punchline or the protagonist did something comic in the tale.

Another technique employed by some storytellers was gesture. Pak Atan and Syed Yusof were among the storytellers who used the technique with expert precision. For example, in 'Dua Orang Buta' (T20a - The Two Blind Men), Pak Atan used his hands in order to show the size of the mangrove fruit he had mentioned. He also imitated the character's action of rowing a boat in the same tale. In another story, 'Si Buta Kahwin' (M46 - A Blind Man Gets Married), Pak Atan acted the movements of the blind character. He held both his hands in the air as if he were the character feeling the way in his new home (his in-laws' house). Like Pak Atan, Syed Yusof also employed facial expressions and gestures. He raised his eyebrows, grimaced, and even bit his lips. He liked to use his hands freely to mimic the character's actions in the tale he was telling. This made his narration more interesting to the audience. For example, in the story 'Nak
Menantu Arab’ (T18 - Only an Arab as Son-in-law), Syed Yusof\(^{13}\) waved his hand couple of times in rejection with his eyebrows raised, imitating an Arab father who boasted that his daughter would marry no one but an Arab. In former times Arabs were considered to have high religious and social status in Malay society. Other narrators such as Abu Zarim and Aji also employed gesture. However, it was demanded in the tales they are narrating as it was the point of the story. As an example, in Abu Zarim’s ‘Buta Huruf’ (M5 - Illiterate), he waved his hand up and down to imitate the character’s action. The joke was that it was meant to indicate a hand but was misunderstood as a man’s genitals.

The storytellers usually opened their performances with a story straight away. Nevertheless, a few storytellers, in particular Pak Atan and Sarip Mara, acted differently. The former liked to start his performance by giving a brief speech and reciting a couple of pantun before the actual story was delivered. These short speeches and pantuns showed his appreciation, praise and welcome for my presence and can be considered as the prelude to his session. During his second spell, the prelude consisted of a brief speech consisting mainly of seven verses of pantun, as follows:


\(^{13}\) He is himself of Arab descent.

\(^{14}\) Mamat or Muhammad is my nickname.
[What’s your name just now? [Me? Muhammad.] I welcome our Mr. Mamat this morning. Whom I met about three years ago, only now aha. [Two years.] More than two years aha our Mr. Mamat. After being parted for some time, today I meet our Mr. Mamat. Therefore, I wish to present a couple of pantuns to our Mr. Mamat. The first,]

Hilir berakit membawa padi,
Ular lidi dimakan gagak,
Kalau tak sakif dengan mati,
Bila-bila bejumpa jugak... (lagi).
[Taking paddy downstream by raft,
Tiny snake eaten by a crow,
If we don’t get ill or die,
At anytime we might meet again.]

Ya! [Yes!]

Pagi-pagi pergi ke ladang,
Nak menyemai si benih padi,
Kalau ada untur ku panjang,
Tah bila-bila mesti bejumpa jugak lagi.
[Going to the farm early in the morning,
Wanting to sow the paddy seeds,
If my life is prolonged,
Sometime will surely meet again.]

Ya! Terima kasih; [Yes! Thank you;]

Cik Pauh dari Permatang,
Daun selasih bercampur minyak,
Dari jauh Cik Mamat datang,
Terima kasih banyak-banyak.
[Miss Pauh from Permatang,
Basil leaf mixed with oil,
From far away came Mr. Mamat,
Many, many, many thanks to him.]

Ya! [Itu apa hal lekat pada baju tu? ] 15 Ya, Cik Mamat; [Yes! [What’s that stuck to your shirt?] Yes, Mr. Mamat.]

Letak pandan di tepi bendang,
Terbang ke desa burung kedidi,
Hah! Merayau badan di negeri orang,
Budi bahasa Cik Mamat berlindung diri.
[Lay the pandanus beside the paddy field,
Sandpiper flew to the country side,
Hah! Wandering around in foreign country,
Cik Mamat is shielded with good manners.]

Ya! Bertiulah pantun saya (tuk) tuju pada Cik Mamat kita; [Yes! That’s my pantun forward to our Mr. Mamat.]

Hitam-hitam si tampuk manggis,
Sayang kemuning huruh bunganya,
Walau hitam dipandang manis,
Bertambah pulak baik budinya. 16
[The dark black mangosteen’s cap,
Pity yellow wattle for its fallen flowers,
Although you’re black, you still look nice,
In addition to your good behaviour.]

15 An elderly, 87 years old, Abu Hassan bin Abdul Karim who suddenly appeared and wondered about the microphone pinned on Pak Atan’s shirt.
16 This is the typical Malay way to praise a dark skinned person in pantun form. Black (hitam), referred to my dark complexion.
Ya! [Yes!]

Rokok Benson\(^{17}\) Si Gudang Garam,\(^{18}\)
Dihisap selepas minum kopi,
Kalau dah karam di lautan dalam,
Memang payahlah nak berenang ke tepi,
Akhirnya tenggelamlah seorang diri,
Di lautan yang dalam.

[Benson and Gudang Garam cigarettes,
Smoked after sipping coffee,
If you have foundered in the deep ocean,
Surely it’s difficult to swim to the land,
In the end you’ll drown alone,
In the deep ocean.]

Ya! Asak nak eer; [Yes! (Meaningless words)]

Anak helang di kayu tinggi,
Patah ranting terbang ia,
Cik Mamat datang ke Kelanang tak lama di sini,
Hah! Cukup masanya maka baliklah dia.

[The eagle chick on a high tree,
The branches broke, it flew away,
Mr. Mamat came to Kelanang for a short while,
Hah! When the time comes he will go back.]

Aaa, melainkan saya doakan agar Cik Mamat dipanjangkan umur dimurahkan rezeki yang halal. Semoga Allah perkenankan di bila-bila masa akan kita bersua juga lagi."

[Aaa, other than that I’m praying for Mr. Mamat’s long life and prosperity. I hope sometime in the future Allah might grant that we meet again.]

After each pantun was delivered it was greeted with loud applause and roars of laughter from the audience showing their optimism. Judging by their faces, there was no doubt that they were demanding that more pantuns be delivered. This was due to Pak Atan’s reputation as a DJ which made him a popular figure in his neighbourhood, Kelanang, Kuala Langat. Furthermore, it was on such occasions that he had the opportunity to show his skill in reciting pantun.

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\(^{17}\) Benson and Hedges.
\(^{18}\) A brand of Indonesian cigarette, spiced with cloves. It is very popular in Malaysia and usually smuggled into the country.
Another uncommon introduction to a story, distinct from the rest of the storytellers, was that produced by Sarip Mara. It was a rather strange and unconventional style as he also used a prelude like Pak Atan. Nevertheless, the prelude was produced before commencing each new story. His approach was formal as if he was giving an official speech. He greeted and addressed his audiences formally and he again introduced himself and announced his address. For example, during his first spell, before telling the story of ‘Sudah Bayar Ke Belum?’ (M84 - Have You Paid?), he said:


[Peace be to you and Allah’s mercy and blessing as well. My honourable Haji Ibrahim bin (Saip), Sahamin. Mr. Saipol bin Haji Rodi. I, Haji Mohd. Sharif bin Mohd. Ali, address in Sungai Arak Village, Banting...]

Then, two years later, I was the sole member of the audience. The session was held in a different place since he had moved. In the story ‘Lori Balak’ (M118 - The Lorry), he began with a similar prelude before each story:


[Peace be to you and Allah’s mercy and blessing as well. I, Haji Mohd. Sharif bin Haji Ali. At No. 79, (aaa kam), Jugra Jaya Housing Estate, Banting, Kuala Langat...]

19 To Jugra, 2 miles from his previous place.
The other form of prelude to the sessions was simply the usual Arabic greeting, in its longer and shorter versions, “Peace be to you and Allah’s blessing as well,” (Assalamualaikum warahmatullah hiwabarakatu) and “Peace be to you,” (Assalamualaikum) respectively. The former was practised by Mohd. Noor and Abu Zarim only once at the beginning of their spell and the latter by Pak Atan before the first story of his first spell. The rest of the tellers simply started directly with their story and without any prelude. As for Sarip Mara, he thought that the occasion was formal. Therefore, he took it seriously and treated it as officially as he could. Whereas, Pak Atan took the event as an opportunity to show his talent and skill at reciting pantun in front of the crowd.

As has been mentioned earlier, one of the three techniques for beginning a story is employing a few words of explanation (the other two were the supposedly normal opening phrase and announcement phrase). Nonetheless, in certain cases, the explanation may also be inserted during the narration itself. It often occurred whenever the storyteller felt it was needed or upon a request by a listener. For instance, in ‘Keri’ (T22 - Sickle), Tokcik gave some information to describe the use of the sickle. He explained, “Ada rumput jaman dulu tak ada tajak. Dalam padi tu ada satu alat namanya keri. Aaa, itu alat memotong rumputlah, menajak pepangkal padi tu...” (There was grass, long ago, there was no hoe. In the paddy there was an implement called a sickle. Aaa, that is the implement to cut the grass, hoeing the grass at the base of the paddy plant...).
Other than such an instance as above, the teller may also bring in various kinds of extra information within the story, when what he is saying reminds him of his past experiences. In doing so he may halt the proceedings for a few moments. For instance, during the narration of ‘Nak Menantu Arab’ (T18 - Arab as Son-in-law) by Syed Yusof, the scene of the riverside he was depicting suddenly awakened memories of his childhood. He said:

“Satu petang, dia orang sana dahulu orang dedulu ni rumah tepi sungai tau? Rumah tepi sungai, tinggi-tinggi dalam serantai lebih sikit...”

[One evening, people there, people in the past their houses were by the river you know? The houses were by the riverside, roughly about a hundred yards or more...]

Suddenly, he halted the flow of his narration and kept silent for a few seconds as if he was remembering something. Then, he lowered his voice and said; “...dok ingat. Mandi sunga!” (...I remembered. Bathing in the river!) Similarly, Aji also suddenly admitted that his hobby was angling when he was explaining the Javanese character in the story of ‘Wak Pancing’ (M66 - The Javanese Angler). He said, “Kebetulan memang aku ni kaki mamancing gek...” (Coincidentally, I’m myself also an angler too...).

In addition, other sorts of information were also brought into the story by the teller. In this case, the information was in the form of a review drawn from the story’s message. It was usually done when the story had been completed but the teller continued his narration with the review. This treated the review as if it were a part of the story
itself. The teller who habitually used this technique was Wak Maran. This is evidenced through all four of his stories and shows his consistency in employing the technique. One example of this is in ‘Memakan Diri’ (T15 - Self Suffered). As the story had finished he then followed it with the review as he said:


["If I had known, I wouldn’t have given advice. I’m the one who has suffered.” Ha! Ha! Ha! Hence, now, if we want to advise somebody, we should not burden anyone and not trouble anyone. We should give good advice, that brings benefit to all. Not an ill advice or trickery. That’s all the story. Thank you.]

A very similar pattern was followed by Cikgu Radi in his second narration of ‘Hantu Senja’ (T11b - The Dusk Ghost) when the story had just been completed he explained the purpose of such a story (ghost story) as it was in the past, as follows:


[Finished. Therefore this, this story is to advise children. In the past the children were obstinate. If they were not frightened they wouldn’t come in. (Aaa), therefore they were scared. Thus, the way people taught their children was by frightening them. Hence, it enabled children to be taught not to be naughty.]

The above discussion on the delivery of stories gives an inside picture of the Malay humorous tale telling performance. The tale is framed into the structure of a performance by the opening and closing phrases. Three types of opening phrases are usually employed by the narrators, those of the (supposedly) common type (such as Suatu
hari, Pada zaman dahulu, Pada suatu masa dahulu etc.); announcement phrases (such as OK lah! Ini cerita lagi cerita Banja la kan!); and the information type. In most instances, the usual type of opening formula used by the storyteller is the the announcement phrase. Similarly, the story may be closed not only by the usual closing formula “tamat” or “habis,” but may be finished by various other phrases such as “Itu le ceritanya;” with a blessing in Arabic, “Sekian. Wassalam mualaikum warahmatullah hibarakatu;” or with an apologetic or modest ending: “Jadi itulah saja cerita, cerita yang agak tak begitu tesusun. Ye! Terima kasih.” Various kinds of atmosphere were evident: lively, less lively or dull. However, the combination of a good number of listeners and an interesting type of story (particularly stories containing elements of sex) usually provided a lively outcome. Some narrators particular narratives skills which they blend with perfection, resulting in an excellent performance. During the narration, the audience may intervene freely with their remarks and questions whenever they please. In the following chapter, all the recorded materials will be presented.
Chapter Three

Repertoire

A Note on the Transcriptions

Sweeney (1972c: 62 - 63) expressed his concern about the originality of published 'folk-literature' which had been gathered from oral sources.¹ He was doubtful about the presentation of texts which had been adapted into literary prose. Although it fulfilled the intended purposes,² however, such documentation made the text lose its oral character. Owing to such criticism, it is best to present the recorded material of this study in its original form in order to preserve its oral nature.

In this case, the transcriptions of the stories have been transcribed following as closely as possible the exact wording of the narrator, which is a similar method to that employed by Derks (1994)³ and Sweeney (1976).⁴ The former said, "..., I decided to write down what I heard, or rather, what I was able to hear. And what I think I heard was,..." (Derks, 1994: 21). Therefore, all the 216 narratives have been transcribed verbatim, as close as possible to what was said by the storytellers. In this process, it is inevitable that the transcriptions include all the interventions (remarks and laughter),

¹ These texts were published on the initiative of British administrators and more recently by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. The former published the tales mostly in the Malay Literature Series which included the farcical tales, mousedeer stories and folk-romances. On the latter, see Wan Yusof Haji Wan Hassan (1997).
² To provide suitable reading material for schools and to preserve the content of the stories.
³ Refer Derks's transcriptions of Panglimo Awang.
⁴ Refer Sweeney's article for the three examples of 'Pak Pandir' tales.
either related or unrelated to the story, made by the participants during the proceedings. To make the texts more intelligible, several symbols have been used, as follows:

( ) Meaningless words (usually slips of the tongue made by narrators)

[ ] Remarks related to the story (reaction of the audience)

/ / Remarks unrelated to the story

[Ha! Ha! Ha!] Laughter by the audience

Ha! Ha! Ha! Laughter by the narrator

The materials are presented and arranged according to the categories, divisions and sub-divisions of the classifications of thematic and heroes, which will be explained in the following chapter. Summarized translations of all the stories are shown in Appendix 3. These are relevant to the process of analyzing the plots of the stories, which will be discussed also in the next chapter. Selected translations of 40 odd tales are given in Appendix 4. These translated stories are also arranged according to the classifications of themes and heroes. However, all the titles of the stories are my own creation.5

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5 See Appendix 1 for the narrator and the duration of each stories. For the meaning of words, see Glossary of Malay Words.
TRADITIONAL

HUMAN QUALITY:

a. Numskull

1.

Tl. Macam Kuda


94
Malam tu, malam tu dia pun tido awal. Tido cepat. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Tido cepat! Tutup lampu semua cepatkan. Wah! Lepas tu seronokkan! Rupanya betul! Memang kuat la!


Rupanya, ceritanya apa tau? Raja sudah salah ambik kuda. Kuda betina! Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Habis, cerita habis.

2.

T2. Bergigi


1 The narrator, Bob halted his narration because there is a customer as the proceeding took place at a food-stall next to his kiosk. Refer Chapter One for the narrator’s background.

3. Makan Angin


4. Cik Puteh


5.

T5. Kena Simpai


6.

T6 Pak Pandir - Belalang Rusa

Pak Pandir - Belalang Rusa

Pak Pandir - Belalang Rusa

Pak Pandir - Belalang Rusa

Pak Pandir - Belalang Rusa

Pak Pandir - Belalang Rusa

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Pak Pandir - Belalang Rusa

8. T8. Buah


Waa! Habsi ni begitu megah dapat bila dia dah memang sedangkan dia memang betul mencurik ni. Dengan keadaan megah ni pun dia membongkokkan badannya. Dia gunakan siku yang dah kudung tadi. Tangan dah kudung sebelah kanan tadi dia tekan telinga kuali (se),

10.

T10. Tamak


T11a. Hantu Senja


12.

T11b. Hantu Senja


---

2 T11a and T11b is the same story told in a space of 2 years by Cikgu Radı.
tu dia. Jadi dia duduk menyorok balik reban.
Dalam dalam semak dekat reban.


13.

T12a. Yang Sulit dan Yang Berat3


3 T12a and T12b is also similar narrated by Cikgu Radi in a lapse of 2 years.


14.

T12b. Yang Sulit dan Yang Berat


15.

T13. Bola


T14. Cermin


17.

T15. Memakan Diri


106
18.

T16. Si Bakhil


19.

T17. Malang Pak Si Kaduk

Malang Pak Si Kaduk ni dia pendek je lah ceritanya. Dia ni nak pegi menjemput orang kendurik, jemputan orang kendurik. Pegilah. Pegi ke rumah orang kendurik tu elok-elok nak

---

4 Syed Yusof's son intervenes when he came bringing tea for us.

20.

T18. Nak Menantu Arab


21.

T19. Buah


22.

T20a. Dua Orang Buta


23.

T20b. Dua Orang Buta

(Aaa) ini ada satu cerita, orang buta (aaa) dua orang buta ni sahabat baik, sahabat karib dia. Dua-dua buta tetapi dalam dia buta-buta tu pikiran dia panjang. Pada satu hari dia teringat, dia nak sangatlah meniru orang ke laut banyak dapat ke laut. Dapat mengail, (aaa) dapat menjaring, dapat (aaa) ini memukat, banyak dia dapat (i) banyak orang dapat ikan didengonya.


kuat bila (tentano) aje nak telentang. Bila nak anu kang kayuh tu nak telentang. [Tak begeraklah tu.] Tak begerak tali tu. Tegang tali ni tariknya menjerut telentang orang ni.


24.

21. Suami Yang Bodoh


(Aaa), carik, carik, carik bomoh, bomoh jantan jugak, orang lelaki. Yang orang tu pun


kerebau.” “(Aaa)! Bukan kerebau?” katanya.
kahulah. Engko kata makan rumput,” katanya,
“Dia ni makan rumput gak.” (Aaa) jadi itulah dia.

26.

T23a. Pak Pandir - Cendawan

(Aaa) jadi ini lagi satu cerita Pak Pande. Jadi Pak Pande ni, satu hari Mak Andih dia dah
anu tadi nak pegi ke ladanglah, nak menanam apa
semau. Jadi dah dia pegi ke ladang Pak Pande ni
tinggal di rumah. Jadi diangkat dia ke ladang tu,
dia merayau-rayaulah dekat kebunnya tu dekat-
dekat tepi rumahnya tu, jumpa cendawan
busut. Mak Andih ni jumpa cendawan busut
buken main banyaklah cendawan busut tu. Jadi
dibawaknya balik dibuatnyalah sayo. Sayo
cendawan busut ni memang sedap. Manis! Abis
dah dimasakannya nasik, dimasaknya sayo
cendawan busut ni tadi. Ditinggalkannya di rumah
tu. (Aaa) jadi katanya, “Pak Pande kau tunggu
rumah. Aku nak pegi ke ladang ni. (Aaa) itu ada
sayo cendawan busut tu ko makanlah kang. Tapi
jangan ko habiskan. Tinggalkan aku sikit.” (Aaa)
jadi, “Ye lah!” kata Pak Pande ni. Jadi Pak
Andih ni pun pegilah ke ladang.

Habis Pak Pande ni tinggal di rumah dia
makan, makan, makan nasik, makan cendawan
busut ni sampe habis. Kalo begitu bila dah habis
baru dia tepeke, “Ini kang tentu dimarah dek Mak
Andih ni,” katanya. “Disuruh tinggalkan dia sikit
ni dah habis. Jadi apa hal aku ni?” katanya. “Apa
akal nak mencari jalan ni?” Habis kalau begitu dia
pegilah balik tempat yang Mak Andih jumpa
cendawan busut ni tadi. Ditengoknya situ pun dah
habis diambil dek Mak Andih. Kalau begitu dia
membuat satu akal. Dia pun telentenglah atas
tanah tu diambilnya rumput-rumput tu,
diambiknya apa semua daun-daun kelapa
ditimbiskan badannya. Dia ni tadi, Pak Pande
ni pun diambilnya, barang dia. Apa ni tu
kemalu diambilnya diambikannya keluar celah-celah
rumput daun kepada tadi macam rupa kudu
cendawan aje rupanya. Lepas tu dia mendiamkan
diri.

6 T23a and T23b is narrated in a lapse of 2 years
by Tokcik.

Habis bila hari dah petang Mak Andih ni
tadi baliklah ke rumah dari ladang. Balik, balik
ditengoknya Pak Pande dah tak de. Carik-carik
nak dijumpanya Pak Pande. Lepas tu Pak Andih
pegilah ke dek pak Pande ni tadi. Dah habis ni tadi marahlah dia kat
Pak Pande. Dalam marah tu teringatlah dia
tempat jumpa cendawan tadi. Jadi kata Mak
Andih, “Biarlah aku tengok tempat yang tumbuh
jadi. Mengkali kalau ada kudu tumbuh lagi.” Jadi
carik, carik, carik. “Ah! Ini;” katanya.
“Tak ada ni. Ini ada satu kudunya aje,” katanya.
Jadi bila kudunya nampak, nak dicabutnyalah.
Dicabut dipulasnya. Pak Pande pun menjerit.
(Aaa), jadi melompat. Jadi itulah cerita satu cerita
hal Pak Pande tadi.

27.

T23b. Pak Pandir - Cendawan

Jadi satu hari Pak Pande dengan Mak
Andeh ni tadi Pak Pande ni kerjanya beladang
ajelah. Jadi dalam pada dia begitu keja, keja
beladang tu semua Mak Andeh ni pegilah
mencarik sayo-sayoran apa semua. (Aaa) jadi
dijumpanya cendawan busut. Banyaklah
dijumpanya. Jadi diambilnya bawaknya balik.
Digulainya. Jadi digulainya Pak Pande ada di
rumah. Jadi dia kata, bepesan dengan Pak Pande.
“Pak Pande! Pak Pande! Itu ada gulai cendawan
tu. Kalo ko nak makan, makan la tapi jangan ko
habiskan. Kang aku balik nak makan.”

Jadi Pak Pande ni bila dah makan makan
gerja sedap. Makan, makan, makan, langsunglah
habis gulai cendawan tu dimakannya. Jadi bila
dah habis baru teringat. “Aah! Ini Mak Andeh ni
pesan ni suruh,” katanya. “Apa ni? Tinggalkan dia
Ni macam mana gaya ni?” katanya. Kalo begitu
dia pun pegilah. Pegi pegi ke tempat Mak Andeh
yang dapat cendawan wala-mula tadi. Dia pun
telentenglah. Ditutupnya badan-badannya dengan
sampah apa semua. Jadi dicakakkannya dia
punya kemaluannya tu. Jadi kemalu tu betul-
betullah macam rupa kudu, kudu cendawan tadi.
Kudu cendawan yang belum tumbuh yang belum
lebo tu memang kudu tu memang macam
kemaluannya jantan ni la. (Aaa) jadi pegilah di situ.


28. Pak Pandir - Anak


29. Pak Pandir - Kenduri


Pak Pandir - Angus Aje Acak
Idak


31.

T27. Pak Pandir - Belalang Rusa


T28. Lebai Malang


Jadi itulah Pak Lebai malang ni. Tamak nakkan yang (yang) dagang sedap masak lauk sedap-sedap, Ah! Dia tongkahnya arus. Bila tak dapat pulak yang di hile tadi dia pun balik pulak mudik ke hule pulak. Pun menongkah arus jugak. Lelama tak dapat jugak nak kendurik rumah orang itu. Ah! Jadi malanglah kena dua tempat kendurik tu tak adolah didapatnya. Dah!

T29. Si Buta, Si Pekak dan Si Bodek

/Selanjutnya inilah cerita Si Buta, Si Pekak dan Si Bodek, Si Buta dia duduk dia pakat. Dia kata, “Apa ini hari kita nak makan? Apa nak buat lauk?” Jawab (si pe, si pe), Si Pekak, “Pegi le! Pegi le engko mencurik,” kata dia. “Kambing si anu tu kita


34.  

T30. Cendawan


b. Cunning

35.  

T31. Pak Itam

ayah, ayah ko menyuruh mari kita pegi. Mohlah pegi.


36.

T32. Sang Kancil dengan Anjing


37.

T33. Pak Pandir - Kerak Nasi


38.

T34. Nangka


Budak ni dia rezeki dia baik. Jalan, jalan sampe satu kampung. Jumpa jugak dengan anak satu (na), satu anak dara di kampung. Dia kata


39.

T35. Dodol


40.

T36. Tengkah Kentot


41.

T37. Dua Beradik


kerbau?] Anak, anak kerbau ni! Sampai umo satu taun.


Abis dia tanya. Dia kata, "Dua hantu la bawak, bawak balik sini.


Bapak dia tu ambik keris tu kat sana tu kat, sangkut kat atas tu. Kasik (aaa), keris dia kasik dengan abang, ambik ulu dia. "Sarung dia ambik kata say.


T38. Sang Kancil dengan Anjing


43.

T39. Sang Kancil dengan Memerang


44.

T40. Abu Nawas - Telor


45.

T41. Abu Nawas - Tahi


46.

T42. Abu Nawas - Bintang


T43. Abu Nawas - Betina


8 Refer Chapter One and Four, see notes 9 and 18 respectively.


Pegilah mengadap sultan. Mengadap disoal dek soltan. "Wah! Beginilah ko punya


48.

T44. Abu Nawas - Lembu Berjanggut


49.

T45. Sang Kancil

menerima ni, berak pun tak jauhlah," katanya.


Lebih kurang seminggu dua minggu macam tu jugak, jumpa lagi. Hai! Jumpa yang ketiga tu hah! Dah kancil

---

10 Intervention made by a lady-vendor as the proceeding took place at her food-stall.


50.

T46. Khadam dengan Tuan Puteri


\[12\] The narrator, Syed Yusof halt his narration to greet a former Selangor assembly member who sat a few table away.

\[13\] The lady-vendor invited us for lunch.

\[14\] During shaving, the barber is ordered to cut the khadam’s throat.

51.

T47. Tukang Berus


52.

T48. Khadam dan Tuan Puteri

(Aaaa), jadi ni tesebutlah kesahnya, dalam satu negeri jugalah, seorang raja tu memang retinya zalimlah. Dia mengawal anak-anak dara tuan-tuan peterinya tu tak dibaginya keluar pegi ke mana-mana. Tak dapat nak bejalan ke, nak bejumpa dengan lelaki apa semua dia tak tahulah hal lelaki, hal dunia ni tadi.


T49. Pak Pandir - Belayar


55.

T51. Pak Pandir - Dara

56.

T52. Siput dengan Helang


57.

T53. Sang Kancil dengan Gajah


58.

T54. Sang Kancil dengan Buaya I

goncangnya belah kanannya tu dalam air tu. 
“(Aaa) nilah kaki aku,” katanya. “(Aaa) inilah ko 
tangkap. Ini ko tangkap bukannya kaki itu kayu,” 
katanya. (Aaa) lelama buaya tu pun pecaya 
dilepaskan nyalah kaki kancil ni tadi ditangkapnya 
ranting tu. (Aaa) jadi kancil ni pun naiklah 
melompat ke darat. Lepaslah dia dari tangkapan 
buaya tadi. (Aaa) itulah ceritanya.

59.

T55. Sang Kancil dengan Buaya II

(Aaa) jadi satu hari sang kancil ni tadi 
duduklah di tepi sungai ni tadi. Dipandangnya 
sebelah sana banyaklah buah masak. Buah mata 
pelanduk apa namanya tu masak-masak seberang 
sana. “Jadi macam manalah?” dikatanya. “Nak 
seberang. Sungai ni luas. Arusnya deras.” (Aaa) 
lepas itu dia pun tepikirlah dalam hatinya. Dia 
pun diserunyalah, “Hai sang rangkak! Timbul 
kanmu semua,” katanya. “(Aaa) Raja Sulaiman 
suruh mengira kamu sekelian,” katanya. (Aaa) 
Raja Sulaiman itu jam maklumlah raja-raja 
binatang semua. Dia pandai becakap. Binatang-
binatang pun mengikut perentah Raja 
Sulaiman.

(Aaa) jadi buaya ni bila mendengokan 
seru pada sang kancil ni mengatakan Raja 
Sulaiman punya titah dia pun semua panggillah 
yang kecil, yang beso, yang rame semua naiklah 
menganu, timbul atas sungai tu tadi dari seberang 
sini sampelah seberang sana. Jadi pelanduk ni 
diambilnya satu tempurung. (Aaa) lepas tu dia 
meloncatlah pada tiap-tiap eko buaya tu tadi. Jadi 
dikiranyalah. Satu, dua, tiga lekok; satu, dua, tiga 
lekok; satu, dua, tiga lekok; satu, dua, tiga lekok; 
satu, dua, tiga lekok sampelah ke seberang sana. 
Dia pun meloncatlah naik ke tebing tu. (Aaa) jadi 
bila meloncat naik ke tebing tu, (aia) jadi dia pun 
bekata, “Hai!” kana sang buaya. “Engkau semua 
sudah kena tipu!” katanya. “Aku naik 
menyeberang sungai ni kerana aku nak makan 
buah sini,” katanya. (Aaa) itulah dia ceritanya.

60.

T56. Sang Kancil, Harimau dengan 
Beruang

Ah! Jadi ini cerita sang kancil, harimau 
dan beruang. Jadi sang kancil ni bila siang dia 
duduklah dalam lobang. Dia apa ni tido. Bila tido 
tu dinampaknya remo ni lalu dengan beruang. 
Kalo begitu dia kata dia takut dia kena tangkap, 
dia pun mengauri dalam gua tu, dalam ala 
lobang anu gua tadi. “Nama! Ngaum!” katanya. 
“Ai! Ini apa nama ni?” kata dek beruang dengan 
remo. Dah dia takut mendengokan suara. Kancil 
i dalam lobang ni. Memang suaranya boleh jadi 
kuat kena gegaun dalam pada lobang gaung tu. 
Jadi kata dek beruang, “Aku takut nak pegi 
sorang. Engkolah pegi.” Jadi kata remo pun, 
“Aku pun takut nak pegi,” katanya. “Ah! Kalo 
bejalan, kita tambat apa ni eko kita.” Itu jam beruang 
ceritanya ekonya sama panjang dengan remo ni 
tadi. Jadi ditambahnya eko tu. “Bedua-dua bila 
kita bejalan pegi,” katanya.

Jadi bila masa bejalan, bejalan dah sampe 
dekat pintu gua tu, jadi kancil ni tengok. “Wah! 
Ini dah dekhat remo dengan anu dengan beruang 
katanya. “Bapak ko dulu berutang dengan aku,” 
katanya. “Beruang putih. Ini ko bayo dengan 
beruang hitam,” katanya. “Ah! Beruang hitam, 
beruang hitamlah. Bawak ke maril,” katanya. Jadi 
bila didengor dek beruang dengan remo ni, dia 
pun dah takut. Tak dia pun teperanjat. Bila dia 
pun larik dekua-dua, bila tarik punya betarik jadi 
putuslah eko beruang ni tadi. Jadi dah tinggal 
sekerat eko beruang tak adalah bereko sampe 
sekarang. Dan remo tu panjanglah ekonya. Ah! 
Itulah ceritanya beruang dengan sang kancil 
(aaa) dengan apa ni? Remau.

61.

T57. Sang Kancil - Tali Pinggang

Ini ada satu cerita jugak, sang kancil 
dengan haremo. Jadi satu hari tu sang kancil pun 
duduklah di bawah satu pokok. Jadi di atas

62.

T58. Sang Kancil - Tebuan


63.

T59. Kulub Kecil Kulub Besar


65.

T61. Tiga Sahabat


66.

T62. Lidah


15 One of the audience reminded his friend to watch out for the coffee next to him as the proceedings took place at the canteen. Refer Chapter Two, see the discussion on Abu Zarim’s and Azizi’s performances.
67.

**T63. Songkok Merah**


68.

**T64. Anak Ayam dengan Anak Itik**


69.

T65. Unta, Babi dan Pokok Gajus


76. Lidah


la? Raja cakap, “Mintak! Mintak! Cakap!”
Perdana menteri tak boleh cakap. Sekali raja pun
geram, raja pun (aaa) kepitlah pipi perdana
menteri tu. “Cakap! Kenapa tak boleh cakap?”
Sekali (raj), apa? Perdana menteri pun tenganga
mulutnya. Tengok lidahnya kudung. Rupanya
perdana menteri lagi hebat daripada orang lain.
Lidah yang putus. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!
Lidah yang putus. Rupanya dia pakai lidah. Lagi
hebat. (Aaa) itulah ceritanya.

71.

T67. Tandang Lekat Bakar Kikis

Pada masa zaman dahulu kala, adalah
orang bejiran duduk di tepi sebuah kampung.
Yang sorang tu asal bejalan ke rumah orang tak
ingat nak balik. Asal bejalan je ke rumah orang
tak ingat nak balik. Hah! Itu dikata orang tandang
lekat. Yang seorang itu pulak bukan main bakhil.
Hah! Pelokek. Satu hari, si bakhil ni, si apa ni
membako ubi. Bila behau aje ubi ni si tandang
lekat ni datang le bejalan ke rumahnya. Bila
ditengoknya si tandang lekat ni datang bejalan dia
pun mulalah rasa marah pun ada. Habis dah
sahabat tu diajak juga lawe behau. Orang ni
pemalas. Hah, dia menengok orang membako ubi
dia nak menompang tuahlah. Orang ni bako gak
ubi seketul. Jadi nak dimakannya kang dah
masak, orang ni nak mintak. Dibakonya lagi. Jadi
dah hangus ubi tu dikakisknya. Hah, lepas tu
dibakonya. Orang ni dimanti balik tak de gak
balik. Dibakonya gaknya ubi tu lagi. Lepas tu
dikikisnya. Ditunggannya orang tu tak nak gak
balik lagi. Hafah, ia punya marah tak bolehlah
cerita. Dah tu mendiamkan hati pasal sahabat
sebelah rumah. Dibako gak lagi ubi tu. Ditungkonya
orang tu nak tad gak nak balik. Bubau gak lagi. Ditengoknya
balik ubi yang dah
masak dah hangus. Lama-lama ubi tu dahlah
tinggal baya jari. Bila tinggal baya jari ditengok
dek orang yang datang ni tadi, “(Aaa) Tak can
dapat makan ni,” katanya. Jadi dibecakaplah,
“Baiklah encik! Saya nak balik!” “(Aaa),
baliklah!” katanya. Dalam balik tu, orang ni kata,
Jadi jawab orang tu, orang yang balik tu, “(Aaa),
terima kasihlah cik bikokis,” katanya. (Aaaah),
itulah ceritanya. Habislah!

Kemudian bila dah jadi macam itu, orang
yang si pemalas ni pun adalah hatinya tak
membalas dendam. Satu hari, si orang yang bako
(ki) kiks, (ba) bako kikis ni tadi datanglah bejalan
ke rumah dia, rumah si pemalas ni tadi. Jadi bila
orang dia datang, kebetulan dia ni nak memasak
ubi nak nak memasak ubi jugaklah. Zaman itu
zaman makan ubi. Jadi bila ditengoknya orang
datang, dia dah memang pemalas, “Apalah nak ku
angkatkan orang ni ah.” Mahu tak mahu diambik
ubi dikupasnya. Dia nak membako tak kuasa,
agak orang pemalas. Nak mcerebus jauh sekali.
Diambilnya ubi tu dikelensetkannya. (Aaaa),
digosoknya pada bontot kuali. Hitamlah ubi tu.
Bila dah hitam ubi tu. Hah! Dibahaginya orang
tu takan. Bila yang dia ni elok sedap dia makan
ubi, (bi ki) dah dia, bila dah beconteng arang.
Yang orang sorang tu merasa tak sedap
dicampakkanlah. Dia katalah, “Haa! Terima
pun baliklah. Habislah cerita.

72.

T68a. Tak Mendengar Nasihat

Adalah saeko, sepasang tikus laki bini.
Membuatlah sarang tepi sebuah kampung. Jadi
akhimya dia dah mencari makan, masuklah ke
rumah orang. Tiap-tiap malam dia makan.
Bila yang dah jadi macam itu, orang
yang si pemalas ni pun adalah hatinya tak
membalas dendam. Satu hari, si orang yang bako
(ki) kiks, (ba) bako kikis ni tadi datanglah bejalan
ke rumah dia, rumah si pemalas ni tadi. Jadi bila
orang dia datang, kebetulan dia ni nak memasak
ubi nak nak memasak ubi jugaklah. Zaman itu
zaman makan ubi. Jadi bila ditengoknya orang
datang, dia dah memang pemalas, “Apalah nak ku
angkatkan orang ni ah.” Mahu tak mahu diambik
ubi dikupasnya. Dia nak membako tak kuasa,
agak orang pemalas. Nak mcerebus jauh sekali.
Diambilnya ubi tu dikelensetkannya. (Aaaa),
digosoknya pada bontot kuali. Hitamlah ubi tu.
Bila dah hitam ubi tu. Hah! Dibahaginya orang
tu takan. Bila yang dia ni elok sedap dia makan
ubi, (bi ki) dah dia, bila dah beconteng arang.
Yang orang sorang tu merasa tak sedap
dicampakkanlah. Dia katalah, “Haa! Terima
pun baliklah. Habislah cerita.

Bila dah beso (ba), tikus (ketua) jantan
ni bepesanlah pada anaknya, “Hai anak ku!
Janganlah ko berani keluar malam. Janganlah ko
merayo masuk ke rumah manusia. Kerana
manusia ni banyak akalnya. Macam-macam dia
boleh menjahanamkan kita.” (Aaaa), jadi anaknya
mendengolah cakap bakapnya. Jadi tak adalah dia
kekeluor. Ditunggumannah dalam sarang.

Tiap-tiap malam mak bakapnya
keluorlah masuk ke rumah orang mencari makan.
Bawak balik, anak tu makan. Tiap-tiap malam
begituulah cara sehingga anaknya dah beso.
Kemudian salah satu dariapadu anaknya tu
memikekan, “Eh! Mak aku ni ke mana dia

T68a and T68b is similar told in a lapse of 2
years by Cikgu Radji.

151


17 Cikgu Radi halted his narration to remind his 5 years old grandson, Payol who is listening beside him about the mice trap which he used to see his grandmother set.

74.

T69. Anjing dengan Bangau


75.

T70. Balasan Orang Yang Tamak


76.

T71. Arnab dengan Kura-kura


c. Ambivalent

77.

T72. Pak Pandir


Jadi maknya tadi pulak tekenang pulak Mak Andeh ni tadi. Mak Mak Andeh ni tadi dua


78.

T73. Pak Pandir

/Cerita yang terakhir bernama cerita Pak Pandir./ Mak Andeh nak pegi ke ladang. Dah tu dia, “Pak Pandir! Pak Pandir! Engkau carang aku tinggal, mandikan budak. Matahari sati-gati kah


akan.” “Hah! Tengokkan dia tu.” Ha! Ha! Ha! 

Apa pegi nenek gegasi tu sama dua-dua laki bini. 

Dia suruh jemput bilal sama imam dijemputnya 

nenek gegasi. Lelama, kalo Mak Andeh punya 

panas hati tak tekira lagi. Mak Andeh pun dah 

takut. Nenek gegasi! “Mak! Aku kena jemput,” 

kata dia. “Ye nek!” kata dia. “Nak kendurik anak 

dia,” kata dia. Apa nama ni? Nasik dah satu 

cawah, lauk dah satu kawah. Apa? Nenek pun 

duduk dekat situ mengadap ajelah daging sama 

tadi nasik. Habis le satu kawah. Lengah dia 

gengabis.

Dia tinggal tadi apa kereja dia? Dia beri 

anak orang tu makan. Diocok dalam mulut 

budak tu. Diasaknya! Mulu orang tu beso. Ha! 

Ha! Ha! Diasaknya nasik, diasaknya apa? 

Dirodok-rodok. Lama nyerengai anak orang tu. 

“Dah kenyang mulut ko ye! Dah nyang!” kata 

dia. Ha! Ha! Dah nyang. Dah nyang rut ko. 

Lelama dia pun dah siap dia beri makan tadi 

tinggalnya. Nenek pun nak balik. “Ko dah 

kenyang anak aku?” “Dah! Dah nek! Nyang dah! 

Nyang perut dia, dia do,” kata dia. “Dah nyang!” 

Dia pun larik. Dia dah tak adalah takut juga tu. 

Dia balik ke rumah.

Mak Mandeh pun pada marah. Mak 

Andeh kata, “Apasal ko jemput gegasi. Engko 

tak dapat makan lagi dah habis. Sedut dek nek 

gegasi.” “Hah! Ini karang nek gegasi. Alah! Anak 
i a dah ati agaknya. Aku hasak, hasak perut. Ha! 

Ha! Ha! Dia makan mati.” Lelama kata dia, “Mari 

kita larik lagi.” Dia pun larik aje. Tak 

duduk situ lagi. “Kita bodo!” Dia pun larik laki 


Apa? Gegasi tu datang menurut. Tengok anak dia 

dah mati. Dia pun datang aje menurut. “Mana 
pandu dia?” kata dia. “Anak aku dah mati!” kata dia. 

“Ko makan dia,” katanya. Dia dah jauh dia 

larik. Tah mana dia larik. Dia ngajak Mak Andeh 
tu, mengajak dia menyeberang laut, laut. Ha! 

Menyeberang sungai la konon. Gergasi tak boleh 
nak menyeberang sungai tu. Lama nek gegasi 
dutang dekat sungai. Dia kata, “Kan camane aku 
nak dapat engkau?” Kata dia, “Kalo nek nak 
dapat saya.” Kata dia, “Nek nak apa ayah.” Kata 
dia, “Ambek ayan ata, macuk dalam ayan.” Ha! 

Ha! Ha! Dalam tempayan dia suruh masuk. 

Tepuk-tepuk tempayan tu masuk air. Tenggelam 
nenek gegasi. Habis la, habis. Habis! [Habis cerita 
tu?] Pembohong betul cerita jaman dulu.

80.

T75a. Penghulu


81.

T75b. Penghulu


18 Zi is short for Azizi.
19 T75a and T75b is the same story told in the space of a month by Abu Zarim.


82.

T76. Lalat dengan Katak

Ini cerita lalat dengan katak la. Yang itu zaman-zaman dulu punya cerita la. [Aaa! Zaman


Jadi bila dah siap, dah tale, tale, tale tak semua kan. [Habis lepas tu?] Dah siap dia (ma), main dengan janda ni. [Hah! Lepas tu dia pun keluorlah, terebangkan. [Hah!] Lepas keluar! Lepas tu bila dia dah siap je, lalat terebang, terebang jatuh tau. Terebang, terebang jatuh. Yelah! Kena tale benda tu. [Hah!] Benda tu orang main tapi benda tu ada. (Bi), lalat dengan katak ada kat dalam kan. [Haah!] (Aaa) jadi lalat bila kena, naik, lalat terebang jatuh, terebang jatuh. Katak jadik, katak keluar je, katak keluar dari benda tu kan! Ha! Ha! Ha! [Mabuk!] Keluar, keluar (kep), kaki besilang dia. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Jalan dia pening.] Jalan besilang, pening kepala. [Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Besilang kali! Ha! Ha! Lepas tu dia orang, orang buat laporan tau. "Apa cerita?" dia kata. "Ko terbang, terbang jatuh ni kan?" "Ah! Aku tengah-tengah rehat," dia kata. "Aku nampak beso loceng. [Ha! Ha!}

83.

T77. Tikus dengan Monyet


84.

T78. Kena Tawan


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20 The distant is roughly 300 meters.
MODERN

HUMAN QUALITY:

a. Numskull

86.

M1. Minah, Mamak dan Kambing


87.

M2. Banyak Lagi!


Sebulan dia mengambil masa untuk meluruskan bulu dia tadi. Wah! Bila bulu ni dah lurus dia punya suakalah. Dia pun pegi rumah, balik ke rumah tuan dia. Waktu tu tuan muda ni tengah mandi. Jadi dapat dia mengendap (lembit) celah bilik, celah-celah dinding bilik mandi tulah

88.

M3. Sadin


Kang lambat ni kang orang rumah saya nak masak.


89.

M4. Syurga


Jadi petang itu. Eh! Dia pun duduk. Rumah dia ni, rumah betanggalah rumah betangga di atas. Sambil duduk-duduk lepas minum teh petang tu dengan emak dia. Alah! Orang kampung, mak ni tahu mana ada pernah


90.

M5. Buta Huruf


21 Former Deputy Prime Minister.
22 Malaysia's first Prime Minister.


91.

M6. Banyak Lagi!


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23 The narrator, Abu Zarim waves his hand up and down imitating the teacher's signal to his pupil.

24 Name of a town and a district in the state of Johor located in the north-eastern corner on the border with Pahang.
Indonesia. [Hah!]

Dia orang pegi sampai Indonesia lama. 15 hari kan, dua minggu, pike la! Kan! Dua minggu. [Nak tinggal ni kan!] Hah! Abih! Tapi, tapi masa tu tak da enjin semua, tak da kan. Orang, [Tak kan kapal laya aje?] orang lama dia pegi (muli), sampai dua bulan tau baru nak balik kan. [Heh!] Dia orang pelayaran jauh la. [Haah!]


92.

M7. Mata


M9. Mat Rock


25 Sungai Nibong is a name of a place in Pulau Pinang (Penang).
26 Abu Zarim inviting several young male teachers to joint the proceeding.

95.

M10. Peti Ais


Malam ni bini dia naik cepatlah ke atas. Dah janji ni tak boleh le. (Bi) bini dah janji dengan laki dia naik ke atas. [Tunaikan janjilah.]


96.

M11. Mengendap


12. Banyak Lagi!


27 The narrator stops abruptly as a customer entered his kiosk.

99.

M14. Pak Aji Kawin Muda


28 Din Kilat tries to strike the interest of another potential storyteller, however he declined to performed.
M15. Daging


M16. Memancing

Pasal kalo sebut togok pun orang tak paham togok kan? Togok ada tiang jajo. [Togok?] Hai! [Tau la! Itu apa? Loghat daerah!]

101.

M17. Gila Isim

Budak ni memang gila isim la. Tak gak! Agaknya satu hari tu bapak dia dengan dia pegi ke la. Ni dekat feri. Feri lama tu la! [Hai!}


103.

M18. Orang Pencen


104.

M19. Si Kembar


106.

M21. Tiga Orang Pencuri


Jadi (di bede), dia betiga ni bepakatlah. “Kita jangan landing kat Malaysia pasal polis semua ada. Kita landing kat negeri lain lah, kat

107.

M22. Susu


108.

M23. Syurga


mak!” “Eh! Cubalah ko tengok betul-betul.”


109.

M24. 20 Sen


110.

M25. Makcik Tapai


111.

M26. Isa


dia yang larik tu ke sana tu. “Manak kawan aku
tak datang-datang?” Dia menyusul dengan dia tu
kawan dia tu. Haasa! Haasa! “Kot mana? Kot
mana? Ya! Ya! Cepat! Cepat! Cepat!” Dia kata,
“Hei! Isa! Itik tu! Itik! Itik nilai tu, itik serati.”
“Hah! Itik?” (Aaa) barulah ikut kawan tu.
Dapatlah dia orang larik. Jadi larik punya larik
sampaialah sebuah pondok. Jadi di sebuah pondok
ni mereka duduklah berehat melepaskan letih,

112.

M27. Beg

Cerita Baharuddin pegi memancing. Jadi
pada satu hari dia, [Dia pegi mana tu?] pesan,
pesan gaknya petang tu dia tengok lauk tak da
apa semua dia nak pegi memancinglah. Dia
panggil anak dia, “Mat! Bagi beg kau kejap.
Pijam!” Kebetulan anak dia ada beg raggedlah.
Beg ragged yang berambu-rambu, Yang wama
wami hitam, merah, ijau, kuning. Cantiklah!
Raggedlah beg tu! Dia bawaklah. Pikul. Bawak
masuk bekal sikit.

Hari pun dah dekat magrib. Tapi dia
tahu kalau dekat-dekat magrib ni kalau dia
memancing memang dapat ikan-ikan besa petang
tu. Terus la memancing. Sekor dapat ikan. Dua
dapat ikam. Hari dah makin gelap. Yang ketiga tu
rasa berat satu macam. Jadi dia bawak paranglah
menang dah tepi dia parang. Jadi berat satu
macam dia pun angkat tarik. Benda tu datang.
Datang dia angkat naik ke atas. Dia tengok benda
hapanlah dalam gelap ni, Bebelang-belanglah
dengan berambu-rambulah. “Apa benda ni? Ikan
apa? Setan ke? Iblis ke?” Dia pun tarik
pemelahan ambik parang. Tang! Gedung
gedang! Gedung gedang! Gedung gedang! Dia
pukul binatang tu sampe hanco dengan batang-
batang pancing sekali pun habis patah.

Jadi puas hati dia. Dia pun bangun.
Bangun nak balik. Bangun nak balik carik, carik
beg. “Di mana beg aku tadi? Mana pegi beg aku
radi?” Carik punya carik, carik tak ada. “Eh!
Mana?” Duduk dia kejap. “Eh! Heran aku. Beg
aku besa kat sebelah ni tadi, hilang! Mana, mana
dia?” Heh! Lama dia boleh teringat. “Heh! Takkan
beg tadi aku cincang belahnya.” Dia pegi carik.
Tarik balik. Tarik balik tengok memang beg tu
tadi jugak lah. Jadi beg tadi (ya) jugak yang entah
macam mana jatuh dalam air sangkut kat pancing.
Dia tarik dia ingat kot setan, iblis apa. Hancur
habis beg dia. Ha! Itulah ceritanya. Terima
kasih.

113.

M28. Wan Sulaiman I

Cerita orang lawan kentot. Jadi budak-
budak zaman dulu dia orang malam-malam suka
tido kat surau. Jadi ramai-ramai tidoh kat surau.
Entah (satu) mana satu? Satu budak tu kentot.
Bunya Poot! Kentot. Wan Sulaiman ni marahlah.
Abang, Wan Sulaiman abang. Wan Ahmad adik.
Wan Sulaiman kata, “Siapa nak lawan kentot?
Betanding kentot dengan aku?” Jadi yang kentot
mula-mula tu dia nak kenakan. “OK lah! Kita nak
tengok siapa yang kentot besa dia memang hero
malam ni.” “Kita buat pertandingan macam
macam mana?” “Kita pasang lampu, pelita ni. Lampu
pelita, pelita ayam ni. Siapa boleh kentotkan,
kentotkan pelita ni sampai padam dia, dia
johang.”

Jadi mula Si Wan Sulaiman ni abang.
Ooh! Ko main tera lah. Dia memang dia kentot
besa. Letak pelita situ dia tonggeng. Poong! Dia
Kemudian adik dia Wan Ahmad. Selak kain
Masing-masing gelap carik pelita. Tak da apa
seuma. Lama (pagat aah) abang dia pegang pelita.
Pegang-pegang pelita tu [Cair.] rasa cair. [Ha!
Ha! Ha!] Rasa lembek apa semua. [Ha! Ha! Ha!]
Kemudian dia cium. Taik yang keluar! (Aaa) Si
Wan Ahmad tu dah larik balik ke rumah. Sampai
besa sangat kentot keluar dengan taik-taik sekali.
Sampai padam pelita! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] OK. Terima
kasih.[Diberakkannya!]

179
M29. Wan Sulaiman II


M30. Pencoreng


115.

M31. Nak Nyanyi


117.

M32. Sudah Bayar Ke Belum?


118.

M33. Telor Asin


119.

M34. Tok Arab


29 Pol is for Ful, short for my name Shaiful.

b. Cunning

120.

M35. Ada Ke Tak Ada?


30 Ji is short for Aji.

31 One of the waiters greets Yusop Cina.
kat sini sekejap. Buah aku ada tak?" Ha! Ha! Ha!
tak ada?" "Adah!" katanya. Ha! Ha! Pegang balik
kang, ada.

Sampai hari yang ketujuh. Hari yang
dijanjikan tu. Hari yang dijanjikan dia pegang-
pegang ada lagi. Wah! Senang hati dia. Happy la.
[Menang la!] Masa dia petang tau. Petang lepas
dia sembayang asar tau. Lepas dia sembayang
asar orang bagi salam. "Assalamualaikum!" Bini
dia pun jawab, "Waalaikumsalam!" Dia tengok
ada dua, ada dua orang datang. Dia kata, "Dua
orang datang bang." Waa! Suami dia pun turun
tengok. Eh! Ini pegawai bank ni tadi, lepas tu dia
pun bukak pintu, "Masuk! Masuk!" Masuk dalam
bebau-bau kejap pegawai bank ni tanya. /Makan
dah? Makan! Dah! Dah!/ Pegawai bank tu
tanya, "Jadi tak ni? Pertarungan kita ni?" Dia
seluk, seluk poket dulu pegang. Ada kan.
"Jadi?" kata dia. Ha! Ha! Ha! Dia kata jadik.
(Aaa) dia kata, "OK! Jom! Kita naik atas."

Naik ataslah. Naik atas masuk dalam
bilik. Waa! Dia pun, dia ada bawak member
sorang tau. Member dia (aaa) bawak briefcase.
Duit la tu! Memang dah ada briefcase la. Kalau
dia kalah memang dia serah duit la. Dia masuk
dalam aje, masuk lepas tu dia kata, "Boleh saya
pegang? Saya nak check ni betul? Betul ada ke
tak ada kan?" Kata orang ni, "Boleh!" Dia pun
seluk poket kan. Seluk tangan dia kan. Masuk
dalam, masuk dalam seluar kan. Masuk dalam
seluar pegang. Pegang, pegang, pegang. Kamas,
ramas, ramas dia tengok member dia. "Adah!"
[Ha! Ha! Ha!] Lepas tu dia seluk lagi. Dia dah,
dia keluaran tangan tau. Dia seluk balik. Dia
pegang, pegang. "Adah!" dia kata. Dia seluk lagi,
Pegang tengok member dia. "Adah!" Dia kata,
"Eeer! Memang ada la. Encik tak rugi. Saya pun
tak rugi. Orang belakang ni yang rugi. Saya
betanah dengan dia. Kalau saya dapat seluk
pegang buah cik tiga kali beturut-turut saya akan
dapat 30 ribu. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Encik ambik 10
ribu. Saya untung lagi 20 ribu, "Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!
Ha! Ha! Ha! kata dia. "Betul la! Memang handal la
cu betaruh. Memang betul la." Ha! Ha! Ha!
[Ha! Ha! Ha!] Orang belakang tepuk dahi,
"Cilukak betul!" Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] OK!
Itu satu cerita la.

121.

M36. Siapa Hebat? I

Selama (be), selama beberapa taun tu,
aku tak kesah la. Aku diam aje. Sekali tu aku kata
apa? Aku nak kena lawan, dak dia ni cakap.
Ceritakan kesah buah derian. Bila aku cerita la,
buah derian aku perenah jumpa la yang ke
belakang ni. Buah tu dalam sebiji tu aku agak
dalam tujuh kili lebih kini! Lebih kurang dalam
13 kati la! "Eh!" dia kata. "Tempat aku lagi buah
beso. Lagi beso pun ada ni." Aku diam aje ni
ceritakan. Setahu aku, aku deduk Parit Raja aku
belum dengo lagi ada. Dia cerita la buah derian tu
berapa kilo. Dah habis cerita-cerita, last sekali
aku cerita la!

Ada satu tempat kawan aku, kesian
orang tu. "Kenapa?" Dia carik buah derian.
Carik-carik buah derian, penat. Bau ada. Carik-
carik dah penat. Bila dah penat agaknya dia
jumpa tunggul. Dia duduk atas tunggul kan. Dah
penat! Derian bau makin lama makin kuat. Habis
dia korek-korek kaki dia. Ee! Rasa macam kaso
tau! [Hah!] (Sit) tengok kulit derian. Rupanya
tunggul yang dia duduk tu tangkai derian. Ha!
Apa maksudnya? Bemaka derian tu memang
apa? Ha! Ha! Ha! Beso la! [Oh!] Sampa
tepelesok! Jatuh tu tepelesok. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha!
Ha! Ha!] Tunggul tu tangkai derian. Ha! Ha! Ha!
[Oh! Ha! Ha! Ha!] Jadik cerita tu tadi, kalah la
dia orang punya cerita ni. Hah! [Haa! Ini, macam
apa? Apa? Kuak air jumpa ikan!] Ha! Macam
nak ambik ikan la. Macam yang dia cerita ikan.
Kadang nak ambik air susah. Kadang tepaksa
kuak ikan dulu baru boleh ambik air. Jadi orang
tu cerita tempat dia banyak ikan. Orang ni cerita,
orang kampung dia nak ambik air susah. Kena
kuak ikan dulu baru boleh ambik air. [Baru boleh
ambik air! Ha! Ha! Ha!] Ha! Itu matikan cerita
ini. Cerita orang dulu dia banyak dia matikan kan
orang yang apa? Tujuan asal dia.

122.

M37. Siapa Hebat? II

Ini kesahkan, kesah pasal orang expert
main pedang la. Jadi panggil Cina sorang, Jepun
sorang, Melayu sorang. Handal-handal la! Orang

32 The same waiter asks Yusop Cina.

[Panungnya?] Ha!


123.

M38. Tebu


124.

M39. Adil


125.

M40. Si Sengau


126.

M41. Dreber


c. Hypocrite

127.

M42. Orang Dakwah


akhir-akhir dia malu sendiri, cabut. (Aaa) itu cerita dia. /OK. Zi! Ko cerita yang kedua pulak./ 128

M43. Misai


M44. Orang Syurga Orang Neraka


M45. Bodoh Sombong


M46. Si Buta Kahwin


M47. Tiga Kali Saja!


M48. Fesyen


134.

M49. Pertandingan

(Aaa) ini petandingan pasal, pasal petandingan benda, benda beso ni. [Haah!] (Mau), siapa, benda mana yang paling bukan saja besa la. Besar dan juga yang cantik la. [Haah!] Haa! Jadi masing-masing keluar la. Masing-masing semua orang jemput la. (Aaa) dia kata, "Peserta petama dipersilakan! Hah! Peserta yang pertama untuk mempersembahkan apa ni la menunjukkan kehebatan dia kan." [Haah!] Dia pun

33 At this point, the narrator places both his hands on his chest indicating woman's breast.

135.

M50. Tiga Kali Saja!


Jadi jumpalah sorang kawan dia. Kawan dia ceritalah, "Ada sorang tok bomoh sana boleh
ubatkan ko. Ko pegilah,” OK lah dia terima
nasihat kawan dia. Dia pegi, pegi berubat. Jumpa
tok bomo tu diceritalah hal dia sebenar. Tok
cumah tu pun paham. Tapi tok bomo tu cuma
boleh buat untuk tiga kali saja. “Tiga kali! Tiga
dia,” dia kata. “Apa syaratnya?” “Kalo ko endak
keraskan ko punya tu, ko kena sebut perkataan
naik. Naik! Naik! Naik! Sebut tiga kali,
Naik! Naik! Naik! (Aaa) dia naiklah. Bila dah
naik tak nak turun,” dia kata. “Nak turunkan dia
do kena besiul. (Aaa) ko besiulah. (Aaa) dia
turunlah.” “Eeh! Tak pa lah,” dia kata. “Syarat tu
pun senang,” dia kata. OK. Dia ubat-ubat, boleh.

Wah! Dia tak de ketelahan. Jalan tunggu
bas nak balik ni. Nak balik rungah isteri dia ni.
Isteri dia ada kat rumah mak mentua la, rumah
mak mentua dia la kan. Nak balik tunggu bas.
Tunggu bas. Bas pun sampai. Bas mini sampai.
Orang ramai. Sekali kondakter bas ni sebutulah.
“OK! Naik! Naik! Naik!” kata kondakter bas.
Bila kondakter dah sebut, dia punya tu ni. Pu.
Ha! Ha! Ha! Orang lain sebut pun naik.) (Aaa)
orang lain sebut pun dia boleh naik, naik. “Wah!
Cilaka punya kondakter,” dia kata. “Disebut
pulak ni naik.” Jadi dia tepaksa siul la. Tak dia
naik naik, keras aje dia boleh turun. "Naik! Naik!
Naik! Naik! Naik! (Aaa) dia turunlah. Bila dah
naik tak nak turun,” dia kata. "Syarat tu pun senang,
" (Aaa) dia turunlah. Bila dah naik, dia turunlah. "Syarat tu pun senang," dia kata. OK.
Dia ubat-ubat, boleh.

Dia naik dah sampai terus depan rumah
dia terus berenti depan rumah ni. Dia belari terus.
Belari terus. Rumah pulak pintu tetutup. Ketut,
ketuk, ketuk pintu. Bukak deh dia mentua dia.
Rumah dua tingkatkan. “Ah! Engko dah balik,”
dia kata. “Ah! Naik la! Naik! Naik! Naik!”
dia kata. Dia punya tu. Ha! Ha! Ha! Orang lain sebut
naik dia, dia naik. “Naik! Naik! Naik!”
dia kata. Dia kena besiul. "Naik! Naik!
Naik! Naik! (Aaa) dia turunlah. Bila dah
naik, dia turunlah. "Syarat tu pun senang," dia kata. OK.
Dia ubat-ubat, boleh.

136.
M51. Orang Muar

Orang Muar dulu kan banyak, ini kesah
cakap koto la! [Tak kesah!] Jadi kesahkan satu
kereta Triumph sport car nak pegi Mesing34 tau
lalu Jamaluang.35 Jamaluang! [Eem! Hem! Hem!]
Nak pegi Mesing gajah banyak tengah jalan. Jadi
lori balak memang ulang alik tu kan. Habis dia
tengok tengok ni balak ni berenti tau, berenti.
Yang kereta tu banyak berenti la, ada kereta berenti.
Yang, yang kereta sport car ni kan, tengok apasal
berenti. Dia pun potong lagi ke depan la. Sunggohpu
duduk tengah jalan tak nak beralih,” dia kata. Dia
pun cakap dengan gajah tu. “Hei! Aku ni orang
Muar!” dia kata. “Ko tak tau ke?” Cicit gajah tu
lari. Tutup! Dia lari! Cabut! Jadi dreber lori tu
tanya, “Kenapa gajah tu dengok cakap orang
Muar dia lari?” “Gajah tu dia takut. Dulu orang
Muar tau? Kaki bonot! Dia gajah tu takut,
cabut!” Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha! Orang Muar!]
Ini cerita orang dulu tau! Jadi gajah tu dengokan,
cicit lari. [Bemakna gajah tau la bahawa orang
Muar ni memang handal! Ha! Ha! Ha! Hah!
Memang takut. [Orang Muar handal. Ha! Ha!
Ha!] Ini cerita apa? Cerita, cerita koto la.

137.
M52. Tok Penghulu Bele Jugak

OK! Cerita tok penghulu bele jugak. Dalam sebuah kampung, Jabatan Pertanian bagi
ternakan lembu sawah, lembu, lembu pawah.
Lembu sawah pulak, lembu pawah. Jadi
kebetulan satu orang pemuda ini nama dia Amat
dia dapatlah seekor lembu betina. Jadi dia pun
belu lembu ni. Bagi makan cukup. Bagi makan
rumput. Tido elok dalam kandang sebagainya.
Jadi lembu ni jadi gemuk. Cantik. Ibuh lembu
muda ni jadi gemuk.

34 Mesing (Mersing), see note 24 of this chapter.
35 A small town near Mersing.

M53. Satu Kaki


bapak mentua dia kan. Dah tu hari dah petang.
“Ko tidolah serambi sini ni. Tak ada orang. Hah!”
Dah tu ambiaklah bantal. Tido malam tu. Kan!

“Nyamuk selaka punya nyamuk! Sampe ku rogol ko karang baru ko tau!” katanya. Sekali orang tua dengor. Teperanjat orang tua dia. Karang kejap orang tua ni, dia kejut anak (eh), pempuan dia. “Engko jangan kawan dengan dia.” Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! “Engko tau! Nyamuk pun nak dirogolnya. Cuba ko bayangkan beso mana dia punya?” [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Ha! Ha! Ha! [Heh! Habis?] Habis! [Ha! Ha! Ha!]

M55. Tambah 20 Sen


ETHNIC GROUPS

a. Malay

i. Minangkabau

141.

M56a. Orang Minangkabau


M56a and M56b are similar told by Abu Zarim in a space of a month.

142.

M56b. Orang Minangkabau


143.

M57. Balik Mekah


144.

M58. Siappo Yang Ludah Den?


145.

M59. Kembar Tiga


iii. Pahangese

146.

M60. Orang Pahang Juga!


37 Both places (Kuala Pilah and Seremban) are situated in the state of Negeri Sembilan. The latter is the state capital.

147.

**M61. Orang Pahang Juga!**


148.

**M62. Orang Pahang Juga!**


38 Kuantan is the state capital of Pahang.

39 Kuala Lumpur.

[iii. Kelantanese]

149.

M63. Darling


Biasanya orang Kelantan lelaki ni dia pakai kain batik. Kain batik kan?


151.

M65. Orang Kampung Gua Musang


40 A district in the state of Kelantan and it is considered one of the remote areas in the country.

iv. Javanese

152.

M66. Wak Pancing


153.

M67. Memarit


Jadi besok pun pegi lagi marit. Pegi gali parit tau. Wak ni kan setengah jam tak bangun-bangun tau. Dia tengok budak ni setengah jam

41 The narrator, Aji places his point finger under his nose imitating the Javanese character smelling his finger.
bangan. Satu jam pun tak bangun. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] "Lagi hebat!" kata wak ni. "Oh! Ini handal ni! Satu jam tak bangun." Sekali bangun-bangun satu jam. Satu jam lebih baru dia bangun tau. Sekali bangun begini.\footnote{This time he places his hand instead imitating the second character.} Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha! Lagi hebat dengan, dengan lengan ye?] Ha! Ha! Ha! Bukan gini! Gini! Penuh! Ha! Ha! Ha! Padan, padan handal. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha! Oh! Dia jolok dengan lengan.]

154.

M68. Garpu


155.

M69. Nasi Ambang


156.

M70. Wak Parjo

OK! Ini ada satu [Aaa saya punya orang ceritakan ya? Aah! Yelah!] [Aaaah!] ini, ini ada satu [Wak Jais punya Wak Maran ceritakan.] ini ada satu cerita ni lah. Cerita ni (aaa) cerita zaman...


157.

M71. *Wak Jawa*


b. Aborigine (Orang Asli)

158.

M72. Orang Asli


159.

M73. Gajah


160.

M74. Basikal


161.

M75. Buah Pot


43 An audience who just jointed the proceeding showing his frustration for missing the earlier stories.
44 Din Kilat insists him to keep quiet.

162.

M76. Motor


163.

M77. Report


164.

M78. Wayang


165.

M79. Basikal


166.

M80. Orang Asli


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45 Malaysian famous violinist.

167.

M81. Basikal


168.

M82. Anak Putih


169.

M83. Beli Kereta


---

46 A place in the district of Kuala Langat.

M84. Sudah Bayar Ke Belum?


M85. Mamak


sedih." "Tok sah sesedih la." Suami dia tido balik.
Tetengah malam begoyang katil, goyah dinding.
"Apa hal goyah ni?" (Aaa) dia baru teringat masa tu lembu kat bawah rumah. Lembu tu diikat tali, panjang gaknya. Dia (sikat) dia pegi kat bawah rumah. Tali lembu tu dipendekkan siklitah supaya lembu tak apa kan? Tali panjang tu dia merayu begega sana begega sini. Di tengah malam begega lagi. "Apa hal lembu aku ni?"


172.

M86. Kacau


Jadi belaku pada suatu hari la di sebuah kedai minuman. [Sapa-sapa ni?] Biasanya kalau pekan ni kedai Hallam la ya. Kedai kopi la. [Hai!}
Lain Kang la!


173.

M87. Buka Kain


Jadi pada hari perasmian tu Toh Puan Raha pun sampailah. Disambutlah, dialuhkanlah kedatangan. Ramaialah orang datang, pemberita semua datang, orang masyarakat ladang tu semua adalah. Semua bekumpulah dekat bangunan tu. Dah bagi ucapan semua, yang

---

47 One of the Chinese ethnic groups.

48 Malaysia's second Prime Minister.

174.

M88. Nak Tengok Nak!


lama, lama-lama dia dah rasa apa? Dah rasa lalilah benda tu dah telampo biasa sangat pasal kawasan situ, orang tak perenah tengok orang India. Tak ada India kat situ. Dia agaknya yang petama kat kawasan tu. Jadi orang semua heran menengokkan dia tu.

175.

M89. Ini B Punya!


M90. Sendiri Punya


M91. Peti Ais


M92. Forum


e. Westerners

179.

M93. Cendawan


180.

M94. Kondom


49 A village near Jasin in Melaka.

181.

M95. Mana Jantan Mana Betina?


182.

M96. Tuan Forest


50 A place located in Kuala Langat. Previously, the royal resident of Sultan Abdul Samad (1859 - 1898).

183.

M97. Faa Yaa Sim Nga


Bawak parang aje. Tak payah nak pake tu. Nak bawak pake senapang.” La kan.


51 Four letters in Jawi script.
M98. Muaalaf


Jadi masa dia sembayang, masa dia sujud

M99. Ayam Mas


M100. Ipoh Mali


52 Name of a franchise selling chicken products.
53 A town in the state of Selangor.
54 The state capital of Perak.
ni, dia nak makan ayam dia pilih ayam yang
daripada Ipoh aje. Ayam dalam emporium ni
dalam peti ais tu semuaa dah, dah togel dah.
Dah siap sembeleh. Siap potong. Jadi ada budak
Melayu juga situ. (Aaa) sebelum, budak Melayu
ni baru kereja kat situ. Sebelum budak Melayu ni
ada budak Melayu lain yang kereja kat situ.

Jadi nyonya ni kalau datang dia mintak
ayam tanya, “Eee! Itu (aaa) budak! Kasi satu eko
ayam.” “Apa macam ayam?” kata budak Melayu
tu. “Ala! Itu Ipoh mali punya.” “Apa macam Ipoh mali punya?
Saya tak tau (aaa) kasi itu ayam?” Nyonya tu
ambiklah ayam tadi seko. (Biaaa) bila ayam
diambil diatinya bontot ayam tu. Dia tengok
bontot ayam. “Ai ya! Ini Melaka mali punya la.”
Dia tengok bontot ayam tu dia tau dah mana
ayam tu datang. Kemudian budak tu tukar ayam
lain lagi. “Oh! Ini bukan. Ini Selembar mali punya
la. Saya mau Ipoh mali punya.” Budak tu dah
tukar dekat 10 eko ayam tak ada yang Ipoh
pu尼亚. Kemudian, “Hai! Banyak susah ini
macam. Awak olang balu ka?” “Hah! Barula
nya.” “Awak mana mali?” Budak ni punya geram.
Ha! Ha! Ha! Budak ni pun lucut seluar dia
tunjukkan bontot dia. Ha! Ha! Ha! Pasal nyonya
ni pandai tengok bontot boontok kan. Tengok bontot
ayam kan. Dia tau ayam manakan. Ha! Jadi dia
pun, budak ni pun telanjang tunjukkan bontot dia.
“Hah! Sendiri tengok la nya! Mana saya mali?”
Ha! Ha! Ha! Tadi dia tengok, tengok bontot. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Habis cerita.] Habis cerita.

187.

M101. Muallaf Cina

Salam mualalfikum Warahmatullah
Hibarakatuh [Waalikumassalam] Cerita yang akan
saya sampaiakan pada pagi ini ialah cerita mualaf.
Kisah mualaf pegi sembayang Jumaat. [Cina
masuk Islam, ya!] Ya! [Orang India ke Cina?] Cina
masuk Islam. Jadi isteri dia kata, “Bang!
Pegilah sembayang Jumaat. Ikut orang-orang
kampung. Tak pandai pun tak apalah. Ikut
belajar.”

Jadi dia pun pegilah naik bas. Tambang
bas pegi 50 sen, balik 50 sen. Dia naik bas sampe
depan masjid berenti. Duit seringgit dah dibayar
ticket bas 50 sen tinggal 50 sen. Masuk dalam
poket baju. Lepas tu sembayang. Dengar kutbah
apa semua tu, kemudian tibalah waktu
sembayang. Masa tengah sembayang, masa dia
rukuk tak ada apa-apagi lagi. Masa dia sujud.
Tang! Duit 50 sen (dalam ta) dalam poket
tu dia jatuh. Duit 50 sen tu golek, golek
pegi sebelah dekat tangan kawan sebelah.

Kebetulan kawan sebelah tu dia baru nak
sujud. Jadi tangan dia tekan atas duit 50 sen. Si
mualaf ni dah sereba salah. Dalam hati dia, “Kalo
dia ambik duit aku ni 50 sen ni, balik jalan kaki
aku, jauh aku. Susah!” dia kata. [Hah!] Dia pun
bisiklah, “Hei! Duit saya 50 sen tu jangan
diambil.” [Ha! Ha! Ha! Mintak balik.] Yang
kawan ni pulak yang tangan dia di bawah tu dia
angkat tapak tangan dia. Betul ada 50 sen. “Aku
tak pelahap duit aku ni 50 sen tu.” [Ha! Ha! Ha! Dia
riso jugak.] Jadi kawan yang sebelah, sebelah dia
pulak kata, “Hei! Orang sembayang jangan
becakap!” Yang sebelah dia pulak kata, yang
sebelah kata. Eh! Yang sebelah kata, “(Aaa) nasib
baik aku tak becakap!” Yang sebelah satu lagi tu
kata, “Yang awak tu!” Jadi begitulah ceritanya.
Jadi habis kelima-lima orang tu batal sembayang
Jumaatnya kerana dek duit 50 sen. Haa!
Begitulah ceritanya mualaf ni. “Nasib baik wa ta
ta cakap,” kata dia tu. Haa! Haa! Haa/

Kemudian balik, balik ke rumah. / Ini
cerita Sapieelah ni. Balik ke rumah bini dia
suruh pegi pulak sembayang asar. Dia kata, “Tak
pandai sembayang asar. Macam mana nak
sembayang asar?” “Ikut ajelah imam. Ikut ajelah
imam sembayang macam mana,” kata bininya.
[Ikut aje.] Sembayanglah. Dia pakai songkok.
Songkok orang mualaf ni songkok panjang. Hah!
Panjang, besa, tinggi ni. Masa dia rukuk dia
macam mana dia, dia nak pandai nak Nak cepat
pandai ni dia (belaa), pegi-pigi sembayang
belakang imam. Depar sekali, betul-betul
belakang imam. Bila imam rukuk dia pun rukuk.
Tapi ta macam mana, masa rukuk songkok dia
tesentuh buah imam tu. Imam tu marah betul
pasal sambil dia bangun balik tu dia tendang
kawan ni. Kawan ni pun ikut la. Maka, bini aku
kata macam tu kalo ikut apa? Ikut imam buat aku
buat la. Dia tendang orang belakang pulak. Habis
la dua lintang pukang jatuh. (Aaa) lepas itu imam

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55 The narrator, Mohd. Nor admit that he acquired the story from his colleague, Shafie.
tu marah betul. Kejalah! Imam tu tak jadi semayang, keja keililing kampung. Sampe sesak-sesak napas imam tu, sampe mati imam tu. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Jatuh sesak napas mengeja dia. “Celaka! Musaf ni apa?”

188.

M102. Lancau


189.

M103. Tiga Orang Mualaf


**OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS**

*a. Armed Forces*

192.

**M106. Satu Kaki**

OK. Kita buat (aaa) yang kedua ni kita buat apa sikitlah ada sedikit (aaa) X lah. Yel OK. Cerita askar. Askar ni dia ni komando, komando.


193.

M107. Mengaji


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\(^{55}\) Abu Zarim invites the other teachers to joint the session.

\(^{56}\) An army base situated in Melaka.


195.

M109. Tak Nampak


196.

M110. Askar


58 Gurkha, Nepalese soldier serving in the British army.
59 Famous beach situated in Negeri Sembilan.


Tah macam mana dia dah habis tiga bulan tu kan dapat cek dia. Tiga ratus ribu, elau pegi Bosnia. Yang laki dia tengok dah tiga ratus ribu ni kan, balik beritahu bininya. “(Aaa) ini cek tiga ratus ribu. Apa nak buat?” dia kata. “Usah

60 Someone invites us to eat as the session took place at the food-stall.


Dia pun pegi kedai papan ni beli beluti empah empat dengan dawai mata punai. Dia panggil orang bekeja pasang mama mata punai. Belinya anak-anak lembu semua. Hagihabis dia dalam 30 ribu. Lembu, mana tak tunjuk benda tu kan. Pantat semua nampak. (Aaa) kuat. (Ha! Ha! Ha!) Lembu, mana tak peduli. (Aaa) kuat. (Ha! Ha! Ha!) Tak jadi laki dia tau. (Aaa) kuat. (Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!


224


198.

M112. Bedman

/Assalamualaikum warahmatullah


199. M113. Main Golf

/Assalamualaikum warahmatullah hibarakatu. Saya Haji Mohd. Sharif bin Haji Ali. No. 79, Taman Jurug Jaya, Banting, Kuala Langat. Ingin merakamkan satu cerita, ini boleh dikatakan cerita sama ada betul memang-memang perkara itu memang betullah. (Ce), cerita ialah satu pegawai main golf./


Dah tu bapak dia kat bawah sabit rumput. Bawak sabit (rum), kan! Bapak dia kat bawahlah, dia atas kan. Sekali (pu). Ha! Ha! Ha! Pukul-pukul dia punya air tu jatuh bawah. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Sekali bapak dia kata, “Eh! Apa benda ni?” Tengoknya. Tengok aneknya tengah memukul. Ha! Ha! Ha! Sekali bapak dia cakap. “Hai Mat! Mat! Ko buang cucu aku, Mat!” Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Sekali Mat tu ala, dia punya malu dengan bapak dia tak tau la kan. Esok pepagi dia cabut aje. Ha! Ha! Ha! Dia cabut tempat lain. Ha! Ha! Ha! Dia cabut tak balik rumah seminggu je. Punya malu dengan bapak dia. Ha! Ha! Ha! Habis cerita. [Itu aje ceritanya?]
b. Policemen

202.

M116. Bai


203.

M117. Dah Penuh


c. Forestry Officials

204.

M118. Lori Balak


Itu saja. Ha! Ha! Ha!

d. Politician and etc.

205.

M119. Yang Tu Aku Punya


206.

M120. Betul Laa Engkau Cakap!


207.

M121. Raja Bersiong


208.

M122. Jalok Ambong

M123. Otak


210.

M124. Hantu


211.

M125. Salah Sangka

/(Aaa) assalamualaikum warahmatullah hiwabarakatu. [Waalaikum salam.] (Aaa), tuan-tuan ini ada satu cerita. Cerita ini lucu jugak. (Aaa) kesah orang bercintalah. (Aaa) kalo-kalo tadi cerita dedulu ini cerita baru pulak./

Jadi dah lama dia bicinta ni. Lama! Orang ni anto surat, orang ni anto surat. Kalo orang ni tak datang (aaa) ini. Hah! Surat masa itu dia ada jugak seselitkan dek (si), Si Nasir ni pantun. Kata dia,

Pisang Serendah masak ijo,
Masak sebiji tengah padang,
Tinggi (men), rendah mata aku meninjo, [Yah!]
Aku nanti ko datang, haram tak datang.

Hah! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Si Yah ni pun begitu gak. Pantunkan pulak (sua), Si Nasir ni,

Remuk redam kapal di tanjung,
Nampak dari Pulau Jerejak, [katanya]
Rindu dendam, bang Nasir samalah tanggong,
Nak menangis bukanlah budak.


Hah! “Kanda kepada dinda.” Hah! Kata dia,

Harap-harap sirih di puan, [kata dia]
Kalau tak puan, kelapa bali,
Diharap pada mu tuan,
Kalau tak tuan siapakah lagi?


61 A brand of detergent. 
62 A place near Kuala Lumpur, see Chapter One, note 3. 
63 A town in Pahang. 
64 Discussion about a football match (the final of the Malaysian Cup) between Pahang and Singapore in 1980s.
“Engkau nak tau?” dia kata. “(It), itulah keistimewaan, Ha! Ha! Ha! (Aaa) serbuk pencuci Trojan!” Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha! Dah habis?] Dah!

213.

M127. Kereta


214.

M128. Kancil dengan Rusa


215.

M129. Sakonas


216.

M130. Rokok

Chapter Four

Classifications

Theoretical Considerations

Matters of classification have become the prime concern ever since the very beginning of the scholarly investigation of oral tradition, especially in terms of the narrative form. Various classification systems have been suggested by scholars to suit the purpose.\(^1\) However, the bases of such tools are normally formulated around three major aspects; a) plot, character, motif, and type; b) action of characters; and c) theme. Among the well-known schemes used in classifying narratives are those of Stith Thompson’s Motif-Index;\(^2\) Antti Aarne’s and Stith Thompson’s (Aarne-Thompson) Types-Index;\(^3\) and Vladimir Propp’s Morphology of the Folktale.\(^4\) The popularity of the first two methods, which represent the (a) aspect, are evident as they have become the basis framework of other sorts of system for classifying folktales from various parts of the world.\(^5\) In

\(^{1}\) For a brief history of the classification of folktales, see Stith Thompson, The Folktale (1977: 414 - 415).

\(^{2}\) Identification of traditional narratives through motifs (the smallest elements in a tale having a power (something unusual and striking) to persist in tradition), see Thompson (1977: 415 - 416). The work consisted of 6 volumes, entitled Motif-Index of Folk Literature : A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales (Stith Thompson, 1955 - 1958).

\(^{3}\) A type-index implies that all versions of a type have genetic relationship. It is an expansion of Aarne’s work revised and completed by Stith Thompson under the title The Types of the Folk-Tale in 1928, (Stith Thompson, 1977: 416 and 419).

\(^{4}\) Propp formulated his system as early as in 1928 in his work, Morphology of the Folktale in Russian. It only become generally accessible to the West in 1958. For a brief historical perspective surrounding the author and the work, see the Introduction of Propp’s Theory and History of Folklore (1984: ix - xix), by Anatoly Liberman.

\(^{5}\) As examples, see Stith Thompson’s and Warren E. Roberts’s Types of Indic Oral Tales : India, Pakistan and Ceylon (1960); and Bacil Flemming Kirtly’s A Motif-Index of Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian Narratives (1950).
contrast, Propp’s method of classification is represented by the (b) aspect. However, in the course of this study only Propp’s system will be discussed in detail. It is felt that the basic principles of the scheme in some way significantly reflect the prospective classification scheme of the plots.\footnote{Further elaboration on the matter will be dealt with later in this chapter especially under the ‘Classification of Plots.’}

Propp’s subject of investigation is Russian fairy tales, “wondertales.” The fundamental element of the analysis is the comparison of plots from which the component parts of the tales are extracted. The result of the comparison is what Propp terms morphology, i.e., a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole (Propp, 1968 : 19). Propp’s point of departure in introducing his system is by illustrating four events for comparative purposes as below:

1. A Tsar gives an eagle to a hero. The eagle carries the hero away to another kingdom.
2. An old man gives Sucenko a horse. The horse carries Sucenko away to another kingdom.
3. A sorcerer gives Ivan a little boat. The boat takes Ivan to another kingdom.
4. A princess gives Ivan a ring. Young men appearing from out of the ring carry Ivan away into another kingdom, and so forth.
Through such illustrations, Propp concludes that the function of these events is unchanged. Hence he proposed that the study of the tale should be based, "according to the functions of its dramatis personae," (ibid, 20). According to Propp (ibid, 21), "[f]unction is understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action." In order to present his technique, Propp formulated four theses as follows:

1. Functions of characters serve as stable (only seven different characters were taken into consideration), constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled. They constitute the fundamental components of a tale.

2. The number of functions known to the fairy tale is limited (31 in numbers - each designated with its specific symbol).

3. The sequence of functions is always identical (it is always the same and arranged in a prescribed order, i.e., function A is always followed by function B and so forth).

4. All fairy tales are of one type in regard to their structure (ibid, 21 - 24).7

Therefore, Propp’s technique proposes that all the significant actions that occur in a tale should be noted. Every one of these actions should be identified with the recommended descriptive terms and symbols. After these identifications, all these noted actions made by the dramatis personae should be arranged in a line for analysis.

7 Italics are all in original.
As far as this study is concerned, none of the structural classification schemes (i.e., Thompson's, Aarne-Thompson's and Propp's systems) mentioned earlier are used, for the following reasons. First, these classification systems are designed for the purpose of classifying traditional tales, especially folktales. However, the collection of Malay humorous tales gathered in this study consists of both traditional and modern types of narratives. Second, the fact that these systems, particularly Thompson's motif-index and Aarne-Thompson's type-index, are based mainly on material from Europe, makes them to some extent inapplicable to non-European narratives. This is more so in relation to the humour category (which Aarne-Thompson terms 'Jokes and Anecdotes'), a point which Sweeney makes in relation to Malay humorous tales, which are the prime concern of this study.

A similar situation is also evident in Thompson's motif-index. Therefore, these classification systems are hardly applicable to the collected data. Nevertheless, if it were intended to make a comparative analysis between Malay humorous tales and European or other parts of the world (which is not the task of this study), both schemes, Thompson and Aarne-Thompson would be worth considering. As for examples, these schemes are

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8 Eurocentrism is one of the key points, particularly the concepts of 'motif' in Thompson's motif-index argued by most scholars such as Bertel Nathhorst (1970) and Alan Dundes (1997). Some of the key points of the argument were best explained by Robert A. Georges (1997).

9 The issue was also highlighted by Sweeney in his study of one of the Malay humorous tales, Pak Pandir. He pointed out that the section (Jokes and Anecdotes), from a practical viewpoint is totally inadequate. The 'Numskulls' category contained no sub-divisions. However, in separate sections there exist the categories of 'Numskull' and 'Stupid Man.' In spite of that, Sweeney also argues that most of the 'numskulls'/'stupid man' tales occurred in the section of 'Married Couples.' In the study, Sweeney classified his assortment of Pak Pandir tales according to their plots. For further details, see Sweeney (1976).
successfully used by Sweeney (i.e., in the last part of his analysis of ‘Pak Pandir’ tales)\textsuperscript{10} and by Mustafa Mohd. Isa (1987).\textsuperscript{11}

The third reason concerns the issue of Aarne-Thompson’s self-imposed censorship which has been criticized by Alan Dundes (1997 : 198). Dundes claims that Thompson purposely omitted obscene data in the scheme. Furthermore, Dundes admits that so much of folklore deals with unabashedly taboo topics and therefore it should be taken into account as folklore itself is a science, albeit a social science. In this respect, Aarne-Thompson’s system would be restrictive as most of the present collected data consist of ‘obscene’ matter and, therefore, only a very limited number of tales could be classified.

Similarly, Propp’s scheme as such is also inadequate in classifying Malay humorous tales. This is because the scheme does not fit this kind of tales. Propp’s scheme is more suitable for other types of Malay genres such as penglipur lara.\textsuperscript{12} However, some of its principles, as we shall see, can be used in the classification of humorous stories as well. In other words, the humorous tales are very dissimilar to the ones studied by Propp especially in terms of structure.

\textsuperscript{10} See Sweeney (1976 : 63 - 82) under the sub-title ‘Commentary on the tales.’
\textsuperscript{11} He used all the three classification systems those of Thompson; Aarne-Thompson; and Propp in the work. For the title of the work, see note 12 below.
\textsuperscript{12} Examples of studies which successfully used Propp’s method are Inon Shahruddin Abdul Rahman’s Si Miskin : A Structural Study (1983) and Mustafa Mohd. Isa’s Awang Belanga : Penglipur Lara Dari Perlis (1987).
Malay humorous tales are mostly short and simple without any complicated plots. Basically, they can be considered single-episode narratives with the exception of only a few stories (see below). Each story is complete in itself. The typical construction of the tale is embodied in three main parts: introduction, development, and conclusion. In the introduction, the description of the main character is presented followed then by the development part. At this stage, the actions of the character are described and then the tale is continued and closed by the conclusion. Perhaps the best examples of this style of composition can be seen in the construction of the assortment of ‘Pak Pandir’ and ‘sang kancil’ tales.

Each of the ‘Pak Pandir’ tales consists of only one complete episode and can be performed in a couple of minutes. The characters lacks movement. The number of characters is limited to two persons, who are usually Pak Pandir and Mak Andih. Any storyteller can choose whatever story he/she pleases from the assortment of ‘Pak Pandir’ tales to be told to the listener. This however does not in any way reduce the impact or

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13 They are short in terms of the time consumed by each performances, and most are executed in three minutes. The longest story is T43 - ‘Betina’ (Female), an episode of Abu Nawas tales by Syed Yusof which took him nearly 8 minutes. See Appendix 1 for the full list of the durations of each tale.
14 See Chapter Three for examples of ‘Pak Pandir’ tales - T6, T7, T22, T23a, T23b, T24, T25, T26, T27, T33, T49, T50, T51, T72, and T73.
15 See Chapter Three for examples of ‘sang kancil’ tales - T32, T38, T39, T45, T53, T54, T55, T56, T57, and T58.
efficacy of the performance. In relation to this fact, Sweeney strongly criticized Winstedt’s and Sturrock’s published version of Cherita Jenaka. He states that:

“[t]he work, hardly surprisingly, differs from the oral versions. On the one hand, the compiler has naturally, and quite rightly so in the circumstances, discarded the conventions of oral literature and employed the literary style of the written medium. On the other, in re-creating the tale as literature, the compiler has exercised his right to combine, select, alter and rearrange as he sees fit,” (Sweeney, 1976: 15).

Sweeney argued that the oral touch of the tale has vanished from its actual domain. The authenticity of the tale has been challenged by the authoritative hand of Winstedt and Sturrock in terms of employing the conventional style of written composition. However, to some extent, Sweeney’s comment is only partly true. The analysed sample reveals that there are two ‘Pak Pandir’ tales which are parallel to Winstedt’s and Sturrock’s practice in terms of combining several episodes. Tales T72 and T73 - ‘Pak Pandir’ of Haji Manan and DBP’s collection respectively consisted of several interdependent episodes strung together in them. Although such a procedure is not a common practice, yet its existence does not in any way reduce the oral nature of the stories.

The longer narratives with well-developed plots of the Malay humorous tales are limited to the traditional tales. They are normally represented by the ‘Pak Belalang,’ ‘Si Luncai,’ ‘Pak Kadok,’ and ‘Lebai Malang.’ These stories contained several episodes in

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16 Refer Chapter Three, see Tokcik’s narrations of ‘Pak Pandir’ and ‘sang kancil’ tales for comparision.
17 Other stories of similar qualities (i.e., longer narrative with well-developed plot) are Hikayat Maskhu Thakk, ‘Mat Jenin,’ and Musang Berjanggut. However, the ‘Pak Kadok’ and ‘Lebai Malang’ stories contained in the collected sample are of a brief version. The longer version of both these stories was unable to be collected. For comparison, see Winstedt’s and Sturrock’s edition of Cherita Jenaka.
them and describe the characters roaming in time and space. Among the tales that possess such characteristics in the collected samples are: T1 - 'Macam Kuda' (Like a Horse); T4 - 'Cik Puteh'; T18 - 'Nak Menantu Arab' (An Arab as Son-in-law); T29 - 'Si Buta, Si Pekak dan Si Bodek' (The Blind, Deaf and Hernia); and T43 - 'Betina' (Female).\(^{18}\)

The matter of structure relates to the setting of humorous stories, which is considered worth an explanation, as follows.

Setting

The setting is usually briefly described in Malay humorous tales. Often elaboration of environment and landscape are omitted. In a sense, the subject is mentioned only for the purpose of placing the character in a certain environment. Quite often, the narrator just indicates that such actions took place in a certain locale with a single phrase such as; "...dalam sebuah kampung..." (in a village); "...dalam sebuah hutan..." (in a forest); or as in M62, "Satu hari tu dia pegi Ko Lumpur..." (one day he went to Kuala Lumpur).

\(^{18}\) This story (T43 - 'Betina'), narrated by Syed Yusof is not an episode of Abu Nawas tales as he claimed. It is actually an adaptation of Hikayat Musang Berjanggut based on its content. Syed Yusof was unaware that he had placed Abu Nawas instead of Kamalul Arifin as the protagonist in the tale. For comparison, see Winstedt (1908) and Abdullah Haji Musa Lubis (1965).
The traditional narratives are mainly confined to three different locales: palace, village, and forest. In contrast, the modern narratives are set mostly in village and town areas. Interestingly, there are three grotesque settings, those of Aji's T76 - ‘Lalat dengan Katak’ (Housefly and Frog), and Azizi's M44 - ‘Orang Syurga Orang Neraka’ (Heaven and Hell) and M59 - ‘Kembar Tiga’ (Triplets). Towards the end of tale T76, for instance, the actions take place in a woman’s vagina. The characters namely housefly and frog are trapped when the woman has sexual intercourse with her spouse. Tale M44 sets the characters in heaven and hell. Whereas, in tale M59, the setting is the belly of the unborn triplets’ mother.

There is clear evidence that the setting of Malay humorous tales is mostly restricted to a single environment and enclosed in a limited space of time. In these ‘cell type settings’ the characters are placed to roam around. Owing to these restrictions the characters are denied any chances of movement to manoeuvre themselves in their adventures. They are as if shackled to their situations. Thus most of the Malay humorous tales are narratives of the static type. This characteristic is more obvious in modern narratives as they are commonly set in a house, mosque, hall, police station, street or car. This is another reason why such tales are short. Of 85 traditional and 131 modern narratives 42 (49%) and 93 (70%) stories are of this single-setting type respectively.

Largely, the time setting of traditional narratives is in an unknown epoch. It is unclear when exactly this time existed. Usually, it is only indicated with a simple
statement such as; ‘long ago,’ ‘once upon a time,’ ‘in the past,’ and ‘a long time ago.’ On certain occasions the time setting is said to be during “zaman Nabi Allah Sulaiman” (the era of the Prophet Solomon). Normally, this expression is used only in tales portraying animals. Employing such a phrase implies that all animals could talk in a similar way to humans. Perhaps the best example can be seen in Pak Soud’s T19 - ‘Buah’ (Fruit). He said, “Jaman dulu punya cerita, Nabi Allah Sulaiman, binatang pun pandai bercakap” (Stories about the past, (during the era of) Prophet Solomon, animals were capable of talking). Similar examples can be seen in written works especially in O.T. Dussek’s (1925 : 41) edition of Hikayat Pelandok, in the story of ‘Pelandok dengan Anak Memerang,’ where we read the following:

“Maka ada-lah kunun masa zaman nabi Allah Sulaiman ‘alaihi ‘s-salam, dengan takdir Allah ta’ala kapada masa itu semua binatang bercakap seperti manusia juga.”

“Thus, it is said that during the era of Allah’s Prophet Solomon (upon him be peace) then, by the decree of Allah the Most High, all animals could talk similar to human.”

In contrast, the time settings in modern narratives are more realistic. In some stories depicting past events the times are specifically defined. For example, the narrator indicates that the time settings for M95 and M114 were during World War II; M68 during the Korean War; M70, M93, M96, M97, and M109 are said to have happened during British rule in Malaya. The time settings may also be placed several years back parallel to the actual happening, as in contemporary stories. An example of such tales is Nazari’s M119 which is set during the UMNO General Assembly in 1987.

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19 For comparison, see Tokcik’s T55 - ‘Sang Kancil dengan Buaya II’ (The Mousedeer and the Crocodile II).
To sum up: Malay humorous tales (with the exception of a few tales such as ‘Pak Belalang,’ ‘Pak Kadok,’ ‘Si Luncai’ and ‘Lebai Malang’), lack movement by the characters; consist of uncomplicated plots; and often are direct and short.

Classifications

In this work, four types of classification will be employed: i) thematic classification, ii) classification according to the mode of creation of a story, iii) classification of heroes, and iv) classification of plots.

1. Thematic Classification

There have been several attempts at classifying Malay humorous tales. Among these were attempts by Winstedt (1939); Diskusi Sastra (1976); James Danandjaja (1984); and Jamilah Haji Ahmad (1990). Winstedt (1939: 12-18) for instance, classifies the Malay humorous tales into three categories. First, there are the tales of simpletons, such as Pak Kadok and Lebai Malang. Second, there are the stories of the Malay Handy Andy (numskull), which group is solely represented by stories about Pak Pandir. The third category includes the stories about the cunning hero portrayed in the tales of Pak

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20 The work was first published in 1974 and consisted of two parts, Volume 1: Traditional Literature, and Volume 2: Modern Literature. It is set in question and answer form, and actually was a series of radio programs broadcast for Form Six students. The contributors to the work include Abu Bakar Hamid, Ali Haji Ahmad, Mohd. Taib Osman, Siti Aishah Md. Ali, Siti Hawa Saleh, and Umar Junus.
Belalang, Si Luncai, Abu Nawas, and Maskhu’lhakk. Winstedt’s classification is without doubt based on the themes of the tales. However, he capitalized his classification only on a limited number of tales (especially the five well-known tales), and failed to take into consideration other, less popular, stories. In one sense, such a classification is inadequate as it does not give a clear picture of the genre. Sweeney (1976: 16) criticizes Winstedt’s classification in regard to the ‘Pak Pandir’ tales. He points out that, although the protagonist of the ‘Pak Pandir’ tale usually acts as a numskull, on certain occasions he might also perform as a trickster. This makes the placing of the tale in the numskull category ambiguous.²¹

Similarly, Diskusi Sastra’s (1976: 39) classification resembles exactly Winstedt’s scheme, which it translates into Malay. The divisions are: a) the unfortunate numskull (which it terms bodoh sial) such as Lebai Malang and Pak Kaduk; b) the ambivalent (pintar bodoh) such as Pak Pandir; and c) cunning (pintar) Pak Belalang and Si Luncai. On the whole, it follows Winstedt footsteps by ignoring the possibility of taking any other existing tales into consideration. Quite interestingly, the term ‘pintar bodoh’ that is used to classify Pak Pandir tales, could be considered more acceptable than Winstedt’s narrow and Eurocentric term, ‘Malay Handy Andy.’ But its contribution is limited to this improvement on Winstedt’s term.

²¹ Will be elaborated in detail in this chapter in ‘Classification of Heroes.’
Danandjaja (1984: 123-124) introduces yet another form of classification scheme for humorous tales. He, however, bases his classification solely on the modern and contemporary type of Indonesian tales rather than the genre as a whole. He based his system on Aarne-Thompson's *Type-Index* and Jan Harold Brunvand's classification in *The Study of American Folklore* under the section of 'Jokes and Anecdotes' which he terms 'lelucon' and 'anekdot,' respectively. Danandjaja divides the Indonesian humorous stories into seven categories with several sub-divisions. This classification is shown in Fig. 9 as follows:

![Figure 9. Danandjaja's Classification of Indonesian Jokes and Anecdotes](image)


2. Jokes and anecdotes about sex: a) Sex of race or ethnic groups, b) Sex of religion personages, c) Sex of armed forces officials, d) Sex of political figures, e) Sex among ordinary people, d) Sex among children, and g) and so forth.

3. Jokes and anecdotes about race or ethnicity: a) Race or ethnicity, b) Certain figures of race or ethnicity.


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22 According to Danandjaja, Brunvand classified jokes into 3 groups, Jokes about Religions; Jokes about Nationalities; and Jokes about Sex.
5. Jokes and anecdotes about the armed forces: a) Certain personnel of armed forces, b) The armed forces.


7. Jokes and anecdotes about other collective groups.

Classifying jokes and anecdotes according to a collective group as in Danandjaja’s scheme, however, is also unsatisfactory. Danandjaja selected certain specific groups which would in the end lead to a major problem. It will group all the possible jokes and anecdotes about other unmentioned groups such as teachers, policemen, clerks, pilots, students and so forth into the seventh category (i.e., jokes and anecdotes about other collective groups). This would make the division complicated with multiples of jokes and anecdotes of various groups cramped together. There is no doubt that Danandjaja uses the seventh category as a safety platform, whenever there are any unclassified jokes and anecdotes from other groups.

Jamilah Haji Ahmad’s (1990: 87) classification is actually Diskusi Sastra’s scheme, which has its roots in Winstedt’s views. Jamilah admitted that the system was based on the characteristics of only five well-known Malay humorous tales. Nevertheless, at present, Jamilah’s (Diskusi Sastra’s) system can be considered as the standard classification system of the Malay humorous tales and is commonly used when dealing with the subject matter.
In contrast, the classification scheme used in this thesis attempts to combine the achievements of Winstedt, Diskusi Sastra, Jamilah and Danandjaja. It intends to classify the subject matter in a broader perspective by considering both the traditional and modern narratives. In order to produce a comprehensive scheme, the tales will be classified on thematic grounds. This is considered the most relevant mode of classification, considering the tales’ basic nature (i.e., short and simple). Although in a way it follows Winstedt’s framework, it does not in any way limit its scope as it will be left open to allow the possibility of any new entries. It is also hoped that this classification system will be suitable for classifying the large numbers of humorous tales that exist at present in Malay society.

First, the stories are classified into traditional and modern categories. Of 216 narratives, 85 tales (39%) are traditional tales, whereas 131 stories (61%) are modern. This figures indicates that currently interest in traditional tales has decline compared to the modern and contemporary type of narratives. All the well-known tales such as ‘Pak Pandir,’ (15 stories - T6, T7, T22, T23a, T23b, T24, T25, T26, T27, T33, T49, T50, T51, T72, T73); ‘Lebai Malang,’ (T28); ‘Abu Nawas,’ (5 stories - T40, T41, T42, T43, T44); ‘Pak Kaduk,’ (T17) no doubt belong to the traditional category. This classification also includes ‘sang kancil’ tales (10 stories - T32, T38, T39, T45, T53, T54, T55, T56, T57, T72, T73).

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23 Refer to the discussion of ‘Structure’ in this chapter.
and other animal tales (11 stories - T15, T52, T64, T65, T68a, T68b, T69, T71, T76, T77). All these tales are recognised as traditional, based on their contents.

Besides that, there are some other markers which enable us to identify traditional stories. One of them is time setting. Some of the narratives clearly indicate their time setting in the story itself through its opening formula, especially in the case of traditional stories. Other traditional markers are spatial setting, actions and characters. The usual spatial settings of the traditional narratives are the palace and its surroundings, the forest, and the village. The actions usually portray ordinary activities of rural life such as farming, fishing, and ritual feasts (kenduri). Characters range from royalty down to villagers. They also include the unfortunate, such as the blind, the deaf, and the limbless; and non-human subjects such as animals, ogres, and ghosts.

Modern narratives are basically defined by the time setting and the depiction of modern actions and issues. The characters include politicians, policemen, members of the armed forces, lawyers, village chiefs (penghulu), specific religious figures (imam and haji), and representatives of different ethnic groups, as well as villagers and the unfortunate. Furthermore, modern narratives tend to be shorter than traditional ones.

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24 Among the opening formula are such expressions as “A long time ago...” (Pada zaman dahulu kala...); “Long ago...” (Zaman dulu...); “In the past...” (Pada masa dulu...); and “Once upon a time...” (Pada suatu masa dahulu...). The traditional tales that possess such features are: T9, T10, T11a, T11b, T12a, T12b, T13, T19, T35, T36, T63, T65, T66, T67, T68b, T69, T74, and T75b. Refer to Chapter Two for a discussion of the opening formulas.

25 Prayers leader.

26 A person who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.
especially those of the contemporary type. They are direct and straightforward as if they are intended to be completed very quickly.

Under these main categories (i.e., traditional and modern), the thematic scheme is further divided into several other sub-divisions. Among the most popular themes of humorous tales are human qualities. However, most of the human qualities are normally centred around the numskull and cunning themes. In the traditional category, for example, the numskull and cunning themes can be seen in T9 - ‘Si Kudung’ (The Mutilated) by Cikgu Senin and Haji Manan’s T38 - ‘Sang Kancil dengan Anjing’ (The Mousedeer and the Dog) respectively as follows (in summaries):27

One day a mutilated Ethiopian is arrested for stealing. Both his hands have been maimed because of his previous felonies. In this incident some people see him stealing a cauldron. They catch and take him to the judge. During the proceedings, the judge does not believe that he could steal, due to his disability. He lets him go free. The accusers are very embarrassed in front of the public. The Ethiopian is happy. He proudly walks to the cauldron and forgets about his disability. He bends down and using both his elbows lifts the cauldron on to his back and carries it out of the court. At that moment, the judge orders the guards to catch the culprit. Due to his stupidity and his actions he proves that he is capable of stealing the cauldron. From that day onward there are no more cases of stealing.

and

On one late evening, a farmer catches a mousedeer in his farm. He brings the mousedeer home and plans to slaughter it for dinner. However, it is too late and he plans to do it the next day. Then he puts the mousedeer in a cage under the house for the night. A dog guards the cage. As the dog sits beside the cage door, she keeps saying ‘tuan aku makan daging, aku makan tulang jadilah’ (my master eats the meat and I eat the bone it is enough). The mousedeer ignores the remarks. Later that night, the mousedeer tricks the dog in an attempt to escape. He states that the farmer wants him to marry his daughter. The dog believes the mousedeer. Dog persuades the mousedeer to change places. The dog keeps nagging. However, the mousedeer ignores her for a time being to keep her anxious. When it is nearly morning, the mousedeer agrees. The dog releases the mousedeer. The dog enters the cage instead. The mousedeer flees. In the morning, the farmer sees the dog is missing. He looks for the dog at the cage and finds her in it. He discovers the truth. He is very furious and beats the dog.

27 Other examples of this theme, see Appendix 4 (Translation of Narratives).
In the modern category an example of the numskull theme perhaps can be seen in M13 - ‘Lurus Bendul’ (Too Straight) narrated by Bob about an ignorant boy (as regards Chinese) named Dollah below (in summary):

Dollah is a boy who lives in multi-racial village. He likes to play football. One day, while playing football a Chinese boy swears at him saying, ‘cibai’ (Chinese - penis). When he returns home, Dollah asks his mother for the meaning. Although she knows the actual meaning, she explains it as a bowl instead. Then his father returns and asks him where his mother is. Dollah tells him that his mother is in the kitchen washing cibai. His father is surprised and has a look. Next day, he plays football again. Somebody swears at him saying, ‘lancau’ (Chinese - also means penis). At home he asks his mother what it means. His mother explains it as an umbrella. In the mean time, his father wants to go to the shop and it is raining. Dollah reminds his father to bring along his lancau. His father is surprised as Dollah passes him the umbrella. Then the following day, he plays football again. This time someone says, ‘kongkek’ (Chinese - intercourse) to him. He asks his mother the meaning. His mother tells him it is sleeping. Then a visitor came to the house asking for his parents. He tells the visitor that his parents are ngongkek. The visitor is shocked with the explanation.

Whereas, an example of the cunning theme in modern category is as in M41 - ‘Dreber’ (The Driver) of Cikgu Senin below (in summary):

A professor is invited to give a talk to some government executives in INTAN.²⁸ However, he falls sick and is unable to give the talk. He is worried as it is too late to inform the organizer. His driver asks what is worrying him. The driver suggests that he takes the professor’s place to give the talk. He convinces the professor that he can do it. The professor agrees with the suggestion. Then they change clothes. At the hall, ‘the professor’ delivers his topic with good effect. Then he opens the session for only one question due to time limitation. A participant stands and asks. However, ‘the professor’ did not understand anything that was being asks. Then he laughs and says that the question is very easy even his driver sitting at the back row can answer it. He invites the driver who is actually the professor to come up and answer the question. However, the questioner feels so embarrass since the driver also could answer his question. The professor is relieved and happy with his driver.

²⁸ An abbreviation for Institut Tadbiran Awam Negara (The Nation Institute of Civil Administration) which has its branch for the southern region situated in Kluang where the story was recorded.
Other human qualities portrayed in such tales are greed, arrogance, stinginess, untrustworthiness, and hypocrisy. These qualities can be categorized together under the catchword ‘hypocrite’ as each of them is related to it in a sense. Examples of this quality in the traditional and modern categories can be seen in T64 - ‘Anak Ayam dengan Anak Itik’ (The Chick and the Duckling) by Cikgu Senin, and in Pak Atan’s M46 - The Blind Man Gets Married (‘Si Buta Kawin’) which can be summarised as follows:\textsuperscript{29}:

An orphaned duckling befriends a chick. They grow up together. After sometime the duckling becomes a handsome duck while the chick becomes a beautiful hen. The duck falls in love with the hen and they marry. Then comes the time for the hen to lay her egg. However, she feels embarrassed and tries not to lay a duck egg. In her depression, she keeps saying, \textit{Tak! Tak! Tak!} (No! No! No!). The duck is worried and try to calm down his wife. He replies, \textit{Jangan cakap! Jangan cakap!} (Don’t talk! Don’t talk!).

\textbf{and:}

Jali is a blind person. After many difficulties trying to marry someone he manages to marry Hasnah. However, he tries to hide his blindness from his wife by putting on sunglasses. After the wedding he feels his way in his father-in-law’s house awkwardly. Then he lies to his wife stating that the bed is too high when they were in their room. Next day he stumbles into the clothing lines on his way to the bathroom. Everyone is curious. Then he has dinner with his wife’s family members. He acts awkwardly at the dining table. He only takes what is placed in front of him. His wife noticed his awkwardness. She realizes his blindness. Only then he admits the truth.

In accordance with the facts of the stories, the human qualities whether in the traditional or modern category can be divided into three major sub-divisions: a) numskull, b) cunning, and c) hypocrite. However, in the case of the traditional category, one more sub-division of human quality has to be established - ambivalence. This sub-division will enable the prospective scheme to suit any form of narrative portraying both

\textsuperscript{29}Refer Chapter Three and Appendix 4 (Translation of narratives) for other sort of tales of this theme.
positive and negative qualities, such as T72 and T73. In DBP's T73 - 'Pak Pandir,' the
protagonist, due to the combining of several episodes is portrayed as an ambivalent
figure. Firstly he acts as a numskull who bathes his child in the boiling water. This is
followed by the burying of the empty mat instead of his child's corpse. His numskull
character continues when he buys a sickle instead of the buffalo which his wife has
ordered. Lastly, however, he acts cunningly to kill the ogres so as to save his life and his
wife after the death of the ogre's child.

Another popular theme that is portrayed in Malay humorous tales is sex. Stories
about sex are considered immoral and taboo in society and are exclusive to adults.
However, there is phenomenal evidence that the Malays are generally fascinated by this
type of stories. This notwithstanding, sex stories have usually been denied a place as a
subject matter for academic research and were excluded from all earlier studies. This sort
of stories usually concerns various sexual acts, from copulation to sexual molestation;
adultery to rape; and may also include sodomy and oral sex. Such stories can be found in
the traditional and modern forms but the latter produces enormous numbers of these
stories. They are grouped under the label 'sex' in both categories.

In traditional narratives, for instance, the theme of sex occurs in T4 - 'Cik Puteh'
told by Haji Manan. The protagonist, Bang Lamat manages to persuade Cik Puteh to join

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30 Will be elaborated later under the classification of heroes in this chapter, especially regarding trickster
figures.
31 For further discussion on the matter, see the discussion of 'Structure' in this chapter.
32 Refer to Chapter Three, Appendix 3 (summaried translation); and Appendix 4 for examples of this theme.
him netting fish by the shore. While they are catching fish, Bang Lamat pretends that he has a bad stomach and asks for the female genitals of either cow or buffalo for the treatment. Without it he would die and they would be unable to return. In a panic to find such medicine, Cik Puteh offers her vagina. Without any hesitation, Bang Lamat welcomes the offer and has sexual intercourse with her by the shore as he takes advantage of the woman’s stupidity.

In T34 - ‘Nangka,’ the protagonist tricks the farmer and his wife in order to have sex with their daughter. He claims to the farmer and his wife that their daughter refused to give him a drink. Then he tells the girl that her parents have allowed him to have sex with her. As her parents are out in the middle of the paddy-field and she is at home, she shouts to them to confirm the message. Neither party can hear clearly and they mistake each other’s messages. The girl mistakes her parents’ message about giving a drink an instruction to provide sex, which leads to the culprit’s having sex with her.

Although sex stories are considered vulgar and obscene, they are very popular, and include some ‘Pak Pandir’ tales, such as Tokcik’s T23a and T23b - ‘Cendawan’ (Mushroom); T50 - ‘Burung Gekgek’ (The Gekgek Bird); and T51 - ‘Dara’ (Virginity). These stories portray Pak Pandir as lecherous person playing tricks on his wife, deceiving several women and a farmer to satisfy his lust. Regarding T50 in particular, the protagonist acts as a child abuser, rapist and sodomiser who practises sodomy by

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33 Refer Chapter Three for the full accounts of the stories and Appendix 4 for its translations.
disguising himself as a bird. Thus, Winstedt’s edition of ‘Pak Pandir’ tales in Cherita Jenaka is totally different from those which exist in real oral tradition. Judging by the nature of these episodes, the stories are no doubt unsuitable for children. Usually stories of this type arouse excitement amongst adults, who find entertainment in the erotic stories. However, the obscene and erotic nature of these stories prevented Winstedt from publishing them. Having been educated in the spirit of Victorian society, Winstedt presumably did not dare to publish such lurid tales because their publication would have damaged his reputation.

Similarly, in the modern category, examples of sex narratives can be seen in M52 - ‘Tok Penghulu Bele Jugak’ (The Village Chief Does the Same) by Mohd. Nor. The story depicts a villager who copulates with his cow. Suddenly, the village chief passes by and sees him in the act. Fearing exposure, the man seizes the village chief’s shotgun and forces him to do the same at gun point. The final point of the story depends on the double meaning of the word “bela” - to look after or to copulate with. Another example, Hamzah’s M14 - ‘Pak Aji Kawin Muda’ (A Haji Who Marries A Young Wife) revolves around an old haji and his young wife who is tricked into sex by a young man who fancies her. Unable to catch the culprit, the angry old haji asks his wife how his genitalia compare with the young man’s in size, length, hardness and hairiness. Nearly all her answers disappoint him but he is somewhat consoled to learn that he wins in one respect - hairiness. A similar scene of comparison can also be seen in M11 - ‘Mengendap’ (Snooping) by Azizi. A divorcee eavesdrops under his ex-wife’s house while she and her
new husband have a conversation in bed, in which the new husband asks his wife how his genitalia compare with her former husband’s. The culprit is pleased to begin with with, but becomes annoyed and feels humiliated when he is said to have big testicles. He objects and thus reveals that he is snooping under the house.

Like other societies, the Malays also possess another type of humorous tales that revolves around groups of people as the butts of their humour. They are usually targeted and mocked for their evident or supposed stupidity. Interestingly, in most cases, this kind of stories is also associated with sex-related stories. Nevertheless, this kind of narrative is more developed in the modern form of stories than in the traditional one. On the basis of the tales recorded, these collective groups can be categorised into two separate divisions namely, ‘ethnic groups’ and ‘the occupational groups.’

In the ethnicity division, the prime targets of laughter are the Aborigines (Orang Asli), Indians, Sikhs, Chinese, Westerners, and also Malay sub-ethnic groups such as the Minangkabau, Pahangese, Kelantanese and Javanese. All these specific groups form sub-divisions within the ‘ethnic division.’ For example, the Sikhs, whom the Malays refer to as Benggali, are usually claimed to have the habit of practicing sodomy and are ridiculed for it, although the truth of such a claim is dubious. Two of the three stories about Sikhs in the collected samples, M90 - ‘Sendiri Punya’ (It’s My Own) and M92 -

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34 Normally, the Malay identified the Westerner (usually white) as Mat Saleh or Orang Putih (white people).
35 The term Malay in this thesis is according to the Malaysian context which includes all the ethnic groups such as Minangkabau, Javanese, Kelantanese, Banjarese, and so forth.
'Forum,' perhaps are the best examples of such stories. The first features a male Sikh who suffers from boil on his buttock and uses a mirror to look at it. In doing so he sees his anus and simultaneously gets an erection. He is annoyed and scolds it, "'Cit!' katanya. "Sendiri punya pun mau ka?'" ("'Cit!' he said. "Even your own (anus) you want?"). The second story, on the other hand, portrays a representative of the Sikhs who gives his views on women during a forum. He says that Sikh males see women as a gramophone record: both sides, front and back, can be used ("'Itu depan boleh main, belakang boleh main'") indicating that they also like to practise sodomy.36

As mentioned previously, while these ethnic-related narratives are most likely to exist in modern form, it needs to be emphasized that some elements of ethnicity do also appear in traditional tales. However, their existence is not so developed that they can be claimed to constitute a separate ethnic class. For instance, DBP's T59 - 'Kulub Kecil Kulub Besar,' depicts the involvement of two non-Malay characters, namely a Chinese and an Indian, in separate incidents.37 In both incidents, they are portrayed as the numskull characters and are easily deceived by Kulub Kecil. On the first occasion, a Chinese vendor has to pay some money to Kulub Kecil to avoid conviction. The foolish vendor is accused by Kulub Kecil over the death his mother. In the second instance, an Indian textile trader is cheated and eventually lead to his death (by drowning) after he

36 A similar motif can also be seen in one of the three examples about the Sikh described by Abdul Wahab Ali (1997).
37 They are mentioned as Cino (Chinese) and Koling (Indian) in the story in which they should be said as Cina and Keling respectively. It is stated in such a manner because the story is told in Minangkabau dialect. However, the term Keling is considered as a racial abusive word especially in Malaysian current context. Such term is regularly used in Malay traditional text such as in Sejarah Melayu for the indication of India (belum keling) and Indian. However, during the narration, the narrator quite often mix-up the term Keling with the terms malbari and pelekat.
changes places with the condemned Kulub Kecil, who is held in a cage by the riverside. The fool is tricked into believing that he will marry a princess if he agrees to change places.  

The stories about ‘occupational groups’ are mostly about the uniformed services - the armed forces and policemen - but include also politicians. One of the examples of this sub-division is M118 - ‘Lori Balak’ (The Timber Trailer) by Sarip Mara. It tells the story of a forestry official arguing with a lorry-driver, as follows (in summary):

A forestry official stops a lorry carrying logs. He inspects the lorry and its load. Then he asks the driver how many people there are on board and how many logs they are taking. The driver replies that there are two people, himself and his assistant, and that there are two logs (batang - also applies to penis). The answer annoys the official. He thinks the driver is playing a joke on him. On inspection he sees that there are four logs. He asks for an explanation. The driver explains that each log has been cut into two parts. This annoys the official. Then he asks the driver to show him the lower and upper ends of the logs. However, the driver asks the official for the answer. He says that the bigger section is the lower end whereas the smaller section is the upper end. Then the driver says it is wrong as both ends are in the forest. The answer makes the official angry and speechless and he asks them to leave.

Other unclassified tales which could not be placed into any of the divisions or sub-divisions mentioned earlier form the ‘miscellaneous’ division. Thus, based on the collected materials, the proposed thematic classification system of Malay humorous tales is as shown in Fig. 10, as follows:

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38 This particular story is a variant of ‘Si Luncai.’ Refer Chapter Three for the full text of the story and Appendix 3 (summarised translation). For comparison, see ‘Si Luncai’ of Winstedt’s and Sturrock’s Cherita Jenaka.
Figure 10.
Thematic Classification of Malay Humorous Tales

Malay Humorous Tales

Traditional

Human Quality

Numskull

Hypocrite

Cunning

Ambivalent

Sex

Human Quality

Numskull

Hypocrite

Cunning

Occupational Groups

Ethnic Groups

Armed Forces

Policemen

Forestry

Officials

Malays

Aborigines

Indians

Sikhs

Westerners

Chinese

Minangkabau

Pahangese

Kelantanese

Javanese etc.

39 For full listing of the classified samples, see Appendix 2.
40 1. Human Quality [Designated as Q]: Numskull [Qn], Cunning [Qc], Hypocrite [Qhy], and Ambivalent [Qam]; 2. Sex [S]; 3. Ethnic Groups [E]; 4. Occupational groups [O]; and 5. Miscellaneous [Mis].
Combination of Themes

In relation to the above thematic classification, it can be observed that not every tale possesses a single theme. On some occasions, certain tales may possess a combination of two or three themes. The tales that possess a single theme are listed according to their divisions as shown in Fig. 11 below:

**Figure 11.**
Single Theme Tales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Tale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qn</td>
<td>T5, T6, T7, T9, T10, T11a, T11b, T12a, T12b, T13, T14, T15, T16, T17, T18, T20a, T20b, T22, T24, T25, T26, T27, T28, T29 M7, M8, M9, M15, M16, M17, M22, M26, M27, M28, M29, M30, M31, M32, M33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qc</td>
<td>T32, T33, T35, T36, T38, T39, T40, T41, T42, T43, T44, T45, T49, T52, T53, T54, T55, T56, T57, T58, T59 M36, M37, M38, M39, M41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qhy</td>
<td>T61, T63, T64, T65, T67, T68a, T68b, T69, T70, T71 M42, M44, M45, M46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qam</td>
<td>T72, T73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>T74, T75a, T75b, T76, T77, T78, T79 M47, M48, M49, M50, M51, M52, M55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>M63, M69, M83, M88, M96, M105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>M121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mis</td>
<td>M125, M126, M127, M128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 11 above shows that the ambivalence theme appears only in the traditional category. In contrast, ethnic and occupational themes exist only in the modern category. Whereas, in the other divisions (viz., numskull, cunning, hypocrite, and sex), it is clear that these divisions are represented by scores of tales, both in traditional and in modern categories.

The remaining tales, which are not listed in Fig. 11, consist of a combination of two or three themes. This situation is due to the overlapping of themes in each tale. Such a result was hinted at by Propp (1968: 7), as he strongly opposed thematic classification. He claimed that such a classification would lead to a total chaos and produce an overlapping of themes. But the case of humorous tales is an exception. It is the overlapping of themes that clearly shows who are the butts of the humour, especially the stories in the ethnic and occupational divisions.

As mentioned earlier, the vast majority of Malay humorous tales are on numskull and cunning themes. However, the clear factors that differentiate these tales from the single theme tales are the elements of identities (categorised as ethnic and occupational groups) and sex. For instance, the double theme tales such as T1, T2, T3, M1, M2, M3 and so forth, are tales of numskull theme, but at the same time they also include the sex theme. For example, Cikgu Radi’s M32 and Sarip Mara’s M84, ‘Sudah Bayar ke Belum?’ (Have You Paid?). The two stories are similar in terms of content and theme. However, in the latter story, the narrator identifies the numskull through ethnicity. By doing so he makes the story contain a double theme, (i.e., numskull and ethnicity). In this
case, the prime target of the humour is an Indian due to his stupidity. A similar situation appears in M53 and M106, ‘Sekaki’ (A Foot) of Mohd. Nor and Abu Zarim respectively. The latter identifies that the protagonist of the story as a soldier. Fig. 12 below, shows all the double theme narratives.

**Figure 12.**
**Double Theme Tales**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Qn</th>
<th>Qc</th>
<th>Qhy</th>
<th>Qam</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>Mis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qn</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qc</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>M21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qhy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M35, M40</td>
<td>T31, T34, T37, T46, T47, T48, T50, T51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qam</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M43</td>
<td>T60, T62, T66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E</strong></td>
<td>M58, M68, M70, M71, M72, M73, M76, M77, M78, M80, M84, M86, M87, M98, M99, M100, M101, M102, M103, M104</td>
<td>M89, M97</td>
<td>M56a, M56b, M57, M59, M64, M66, M67, M85, M90, M92, M93, M94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>O</strong></td>
<td>M108, M111, M112, M116, M117, M118, M122</td>
<td>M113, M114</td>
<td>M106, M109, M110, M115, M119, M120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mis</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M124, M129</td>
<td>M123</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Quite similar to the double theme tales, the triple theme tales are also marked by the compulsory presence of the elements of identity (either ethnic or occupational) and sex together. These compulsory elements then combine with one of the optional elements of human qualities, either numskull, cunning or hypocrite, to produce multiple themes. For instance, in Hamzah’s M91 - The Fridge (‘Peti Ais’), the multiple themes consist of a combination of both compulsory elements (ethnicity (Sikh) and sex) and one of the optional elements (numskull). Whereas the same story by Azizi, M10 - The Fridge (‘Peti Ais’) is classified as double-theme as there is no specification of identity (i.e., ethnic). These triple theme narratives are shown in Fig. 13 below:

**Figure 13.**
Triple Theme Tales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tale</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>M60</td>
<td>‘Orang Pahang Juga!’ (You’re from Pahang too!)</td>
<td>ESOhy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>M61</td>
<td>‘Orang Pahang Juga!’ (You’re from Pahang too!)</td>
<td>ESOhy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>M62</td>
<td>‘Orang Pahang Juga!’ (You’re from Pahang too!)</td>
<td>ESOhy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>M65</td>
<td>‘Orang Kampung Gua Musang’ (A Villager from Gua Musang)</td>
<td>EQnS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>M74</td>
<td>‘Basikal’ (Bicycle)</td>
<td>EQnS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>M75</td>
<td>‘Buah Pot’ (The Pot Fruit)</td>
<td>EQnS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>M79</td>
<td>‘Basikal’ (Bicycle)</td>
<td>EQnS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>M81</td>
<td>‘Basikal’ (Bicycle)</td>
<td>EQnS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>M82</td>
<td>‘Anak Putih’ (The White Child)</td>
<td>EQnS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>M91</td>
<td>‘Peti Ais’ (The Fridge)</td>
<td>EQnS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>M95</td>
<td>‘Mana Jantan Mana Betina?’ (Male and Female)</td>
<td>EQnS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>M107</td>
<td>‘Mengaji’ (Reading Quran)</td>
<td>OQhyS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>M130</td>
<td>‘Rokok’ (Cigarette)</td>
<td>MisSE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Fig. 11, 12 and 13 above, several conclusions can be drawn. Of the 216 stories collected in this study, 106 stories (50%) were on a single theme, while double
and triple themes were found in 97 stories (44%) and 13 stories (6%) respectively. Triple theme stories exist only in the modern category. This is because the identification of ethnicity and occupational groups exists only in stories of this category. With regard to sex stories, there is a clear evidence that such stories exist in both traditional and modern forms. However, they are more dominant in the latter category.

II. Classification According to the Mode of Creation

Malay humorous tales can also be classified according to their mode of creation. Considering the collected samples, four different type of tales could be distinguished and these are: i) fictional, ii) riddle, iii) actual personal, and iv) actual general.

1. Fictional

The fictional type of humorous tales is a form of imaginative work by an anonymous creator, in either traditional or modern categories. Generally, the traditional stories include well-known Malay comic personages (such as Pak Pandir, Lebai Malang, and Abu Nawas\footnote{Mohd. Taib Osman (1963: x) explained that, although the tale is of alien origin (Arab), it is considered part of the Malay repertoire. Malay society considered the personage (Abu Nawas) as a man who lived among themselves. He assumed that the issue of origin is outdated and it is exclusively for scholars the concerned.} as well as sang kancil). On the other hand, the modern fictional narratives depict recent actions and issues. They are mainly in the form of jokes and anecdotes.
2. Riddle.

Similarly, the riddle-based narrative is a piece of fictional narrative which contains a riddle. However, the main purpose of the fiction is to keep the listener (or interlocutor) from noticing that the story is a riddle. The question eventually appears when the story draws to its closure. To be exact, the fiction acts as a preface for the question. This type of narratives exists in both traditional and modern categories. There are four riddle based narratives in the collected samples, those of Amir’s T61 - ‘Tiga Sahabat’ (The Three Friends); Najib’s M39 - ‘Adil’ (Fair) and M109 - ‘Tak Nampak’ (Not Visible); and Nazari’s M83 - ‘Beli Kereta’ (Buying Car). T61, for example, portrays three animals, a buffalo, a goat, and a wild boar planning to cross a river full of crocodiles. The animals fail to swim across and are eaten by the crocodiles, except only the wild boar. Amir then suddenly raises a question at the end of the story, “...Jadi apa sebabnya buaya tu tak makan si babi hutan ni...” (“...So, why do those crocodiles not eat the wild boar?...”).

3. Actual Personal

Actual personal narrative is a story based on the recollection of events which actually happened in the narrator’s own personal experience. Sandra Dolby Stahl (1989:

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42 The crocodiles are considered to be Muslims and as Muslim they are forbidden to eat pork.
Dear Professor Hitchcock,

I am grateful to you for agreeing to act as an Examiner for the candidate named below who has submitted a thesis for the degree indicated. I enclose a copy of the Regulations and also a checklist which has been prepared for Examiners.

While the Regulations should contain all the information you require, the checklist for Examiners has been produced as a summary of the stages of the examination and who is responsible for their implementation. It is hoped that you will find it useful, but if you have any concerns or wish to seek advice at any stage in the examination process, please do not hesitate to contact the Research Degree Examinations Office here at the Senate House.

The Supervisor may, with the candidate’s agreement, attend the oral examination as an observer. If the candidate has more than one Supervisor, only one may attend. The fee for examining an M Phil thesis is £85 and for a Ph D thesis £110. Please see the enclosed guidelines with regard to travelling expenses and subsistence allowances. Please return the enclosed thesis on completion of the examination.

Examination: PhD
Supervisor: Professor V Braginsky

Candidate: Mr S B Md. Radzi, 61A Granleigh Road, Leytonstone, London E11 4RG

School: The School of Oriental and African Studies

Field of Study: South East Asian Languages and Literatures

Thesis Title: Malay Humorous Tales: Performance, Corpus of Oral Texts and its Study.

Co-examiner(s): Dr E U Kratz, Language Centre, School of Oriental & African Studies

Yours sincerely,

David Wheeler
Research Degree Examinations
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termed it as personal narrative and defined it as, “...a prose narrative relating a personal experience; it is usually told in the first person, and its content is nontraditional.” There are five actual personal narratives in the collected samples, those of Sarip Mara and Najib. The former contributed two stories M111 - ‘Basikal’ (Bicycle) and M112 - ‘Bedman,’ while the latter contributed three stories, M17 - ‘Gila Isim’ (Mad); M36 - ‘Siapa Hebat 1’ (Who is Smarter 1); and M124 - ‘Hantu’ (Ghost). The former narrator, for instance, told the stories about his experiences during his army service. In M17 for example, Najib says, “...Jadi masa tu aku nak pegi keja la. Naik bas turun bas. Aku tengok apasal orang ramai. Rupanya anak dia ni dah kepala tak betul, kena gila isim...” (“...So, at that moment I’m going to work. Getting in (and) out of the bus. I look to see why there are a lot of people. Actually, there is (something) wrong with the head of this man’s son, (he is) mad...”).

4. Actual General

Such stories are identical to actual personal narrative but are not from the narrator’s own personal experience. It is claimed that the event described is based on someone else’s experience. There are three such stories, namely Tokcik’s M34 - ‘Tok Arab;’ Nazari’s M69 - ‘Nasi Ambang’ (The Rice Gift); and Wak Maran’s M70 - ‘Wak Parjo.’ For instance, Tokcik says, “...ini cerita betul, Mat.” (“...this is a true story, Mat”)\(^\text{43}\) when he completes the stories. Similarly, Nazari indicates, “...ini betul-betul

\(^\text{43}\) Mat is short for Mamat or Muhammad, my nickname.
terjadi. Hah!..” (“...it really happened. Hah!..”) as he starts narrating M69. On both these occasions the narrators claimed that the stories they told were true.

III. Classification of Heroes

The characters engaged in Malay humorous tales are diverse. They include human and non-human subjects.

In traditional narratives, the characters include the royalty: kings, queens, princes and princesses. Among the dignitaries the prime minister (*perdana menteri*) is usually mentioned. The other court officials often mentioned are lower rank assistants such as warriors (*hulubalang*); servants (*khamad*); and ladies-in-waiting (*dayang*). Generally, none of these characters are named except the monarch in Abu Nawas tales, Sultan Harun al-Rashid. Other than this, the monarch may also be identified by his title, e.g., Sultan Pahang and Raja Banjar in T74 and T79 respectively.

The other human characters in the traditional narratives are the ordinary people, mainly village folk. Among the village folk there are: the village chief (*tok penghulu*), the imam, and *lebai* (a person who is regarded as having sufficient religious knowledge and is accepted by the community around him), as the village ‘nobility.’ However, the most popular comic figure among the village folk is Pak Pandir. Furthermore, Malay humorous tales also find their characters among the disabled. These characters include
the blind, deaf, and limbless such as Si Pekak (The Deaf), Si Buta (The Blind) and Si Bodek (The Hernia) in T29 and Si Kudung (The Mutilated) in T9. In some cases, the comic figures are named after their peculiar negative attitudes. For instance, in T16 the protagonist is named Si Bakhil (The Miser) because of his miserly behaviour. Further examples are the two figures in T67 named Tandang Lekat (Sticky Visitor) and Bakar Kikis (Burn Scraper). The former gets her name from her bad habit of staying too long at houses she visits. Whereas, the latter gets her name from her constant burning and scraping of the tapioca in the presence of her guest.

On the other hand, frequently the characters of humorous tales are animals. The wild beasts concerned are the crocodile, bear, tiger, python, and elephant while the domestic ones include mouse, chick, duckling, camel, pig, cow, buffalo and dog. There is also a holy character portrayed in the figure of Nabi Sulaiman (Solomon). However, it is in the escapades of sang kancil that Nabi Sulaiman often appears. Interestingly, except in T39 (where he acts as a mediator), the character usually appears only in name but not in person. Sang kancil uses the name to scare off his enemies. Nabi Sulaiman also appears in other tales portraying animals, when he plays a similar role (viz., he appears only in name). Other than animals, the non-human characters include ogres and ghosts.

In contrast, the characters in modern narratives are anonymous and are generally identified by their race, social status, or occupation. According to their occupations,
characters drawn in modern narratives often from two groups of people, those of lower and higher status. The lower status group are the village folk, taxi drivers, farmers, imams, and members of the army; whereas, the higher status group includes doctors, lawyers, bankers, politicians, and ministers.

On the whole, these characters, whether human or non-human, are characterized with either a positive quality, e.g, cunning, and quick-wittedness, or negative ones such as stupidity, slow-wittedness, greed, and hypocrisy. In the case of animal tales, in general, the weaker, smaller, and more lowly figures in the reality are equipped with positive qualities which help them to out-smart their bigger and stronger enemies or rivals.

In this connection, several types of roles played by these characters can be distinguished. The common roles played in Malay humorous tales by the heroes are those of: 1) numskull; 2) cunning; 3) trickster; and 4) mediator.

1. Numskull

Judging by the collected samples, there is no doubt that Malay humorous tales are heavily anchored to numskull roles. In most cases, the numskull figures are portrayed as blundering fools, buffoons, and silly people. This is clear from the classification of plots
(see Section IV below). The first three categories of the classification focus on the misinterpretations committed by the characters playing the role of the numskull figures.47

Heda Jason (1972 : 7) in her study of Jewish-Near Eastern numskull tales states that in general the numskull population is symbolized by groups of low social status and groups standing on the margins of society. She elaborates the social identity of the numskull as follows:

"We see peasants, shepherds, untouchables (Yemenite ahdam); monks - members of a social class the image of which is negative in the eyes of the narrating society; women - the social position of which is lower than the men's in the society we are dealing with, and once, a child; inhabitants of a provincial town (Chelm in Poland and Homs in Syria) or of a backward region (Kurdistan), Arabs - members of an ethnic group despised by the narrating society."

Furthermore, Jason (1972 : 9 - 11) distinguishes the numskull’s actions in two groups, namely actions which imply lack of knowledge of basic attributes of objects and basic technology, and actions which reveal that the performer lacks the ability to apply non-deductive rules of inference. Examples of the former group of actions are: objects are thought of as having qualities of living beings; animals are thought of as having human qualities; there is a lack of acquaintance with qualities of the human or animal body; false ideas about qualities of objects are held; there is a lack of knowledge in husbandry; a lack of knowledge of everyday objects; and there is no ability to solve simple technical problems. Whereas, in the latter group, the numskulls are apparently acquainted with the world around them, but their way of thinking reveals inappropriate

47 Refer Appendix 3.
applications of non-deductive rules of inference. It is this lack which leads them to absurd conclusions and consequently, absurd decisions. Jason’s view was strongly supported by Lalita Handoo (1983:258-261), as it is parallel to the Indian data. She also identified the Indian numskull characters according to Jason’s description above.48

Jason and Handoo clearly focus their numskull figure only on human personages. Their numskulls’ identities partly resemble the numskull figure in Malay humorous tales. However, in the terms of this study, the numskull figure is a category of any character, whether human or non-human, who performs silly actions. No numskull figure in Malay folklore is specifically located in a certain geographical location. Malay numskull characters are found in both urban and non-urban groups; in non-Malay ethnic groups; and include non-human subjects. In human form, the commonest numskull figure in Malay folklore is Pak Pandir, while in terms of collective groups they are the Aborigines and Chinese mualaf (recent embraces to Islam).

Likewise, the Malay numskull is also portrayed as possessing both qualities mentioned by Jason, (i.e., lack of knowledge of basic attributes of objects and basic

48 According to Handoo, the numskulls in India are the inhabitants of Bhainswala in Haryana, Shikarpur in Punjab, Bhogav in Uttar Pradesh, Kottazham in Kerala, Baro in Bihar, and Aaluur and Tippanamapatti in Tamil Nadu. It also located in symbolic geographical names such as “Tsotalhom” in Kashmir and “Pedgav” in Maharashtra. The numskull also represents by the non-urban groups such as villagers, peasants, shepherds and to a social or ethnic group different from the narrator’s own. Furthermore, the numskull is also described as a person within the narrating society based on its attitudinal or behavioural state who act differently from the normal person such as the numskull husband and a stupid boy of normal parents. Handoo also claims that, at the level of kingship relations and attitudes, the Indian’s numskull is strongly portrays by the son-in-law figure. Although in reality, such a figure holds a superior position but in folklore it is symbolically being mock.
technology; and inability to apply non-deductive rules of inference.) The following examples, support the numskull’s possession of the former quality:

i. Pak Pandir bathes his child in boiling water (T24).

ii. Pak Pandir buys a sickle which he takes to be a buffalo (T22).

iii. A princess mistakes the penis projecting from under a pile of dried leaves for a mushroom (T30).

iv. A tapai (fermented food)\(^4^9\) seller thinks that her vagina has eaten the tapai and curses it (M25).

With regard to the latter quality, (inability to apply non-deductive rules of inference, which leads to absurd decisions), in most cases, although the numskulls are familiar with the world around them, yet, in confronting certain situations or problems, they think awkwardly, with the result that they make bizarre decisions. Perhaps the best examples of this are the following:

i. Minah follows her son’s example and climbs a guava tree so as to receive some money from the imam. However, she wears only a sarong and not her panties. Instead of giving her RM5.00 as he did to her son, the imam only gives her 20 sen to buy a razor (indicating that she should shave her pubic hair) (M24).

\(^{4^9}\) It is usually glutinous rice or tapioca.
ii. Lebai Malang paddles downstream when the tide is coming in, and later paddles upstream when it is going out. In both occasions, he misses the feast (*kenduri*) due to his stupidity and greed because he paddled against the current (T28).

iii. A student in an adult literacy class during a minister’s visit takes the teacher’s signal (waving his hand to indicate the word *tangan* (hand) written on the blackboard) mistakes it for ‘penis’ and shouts it to the minister (M5).

iv. A bear and a tiger run away in fear and break their tails when they hear a roaring sound made by sang kancil. Sang kancil shouts loudly claiming that the tiger’s father owed him a white bear, but has paid him with a black bear instead (T56).

v. As for the Chinese *mualaf*, they are portrayed particularly as ignorant in matters concerning the praying practices (M98, M101, M103). In M98 for instance, the *mualaf* is told to copy what other people do during prayers. Some naughty boys flick his testicles from behind and he copies them by flicking the imam’s testicles. He mistakes the boys’ action for part of the praying routine and considers it should be imitated.

2. Cunning

The cunning heroes in the narratives mostly appear as rivals of the numskull figures, especially in the deceit - deception tales. In most such tales, the cunning characters succeed in deceiving their victims, who are usually characters playing the role of the numskull. Examples of tales which portray cunning characters are: T5, T26, T46,

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50 Refer Appendix 3, see especially the fourth division of plot type in deceit-deception tales.
T47, M32, and M36. For instance, M32 - ‘Sudah Bayar ke Belum’ (Have You Paid?) narrated by Cikgu Radi, depicts a farting incident in a taxi. The story is as follows (in summary):

One day a taxi is traveling in a rainy day. The wind shields are shut to prevent the rain from entering. The situation makes the car hot. Unfortunately there is no air-conditioning then. Suddenly one of the passengers breaks wind in the car. The driver is annoyed and wants to catch the culprit. He asks his passengers but no one admits responsibility. When they reach their destination everybody pays their fares. Suddenly, the driver shouts that the person who farts has not paid. Then one of the passengers replies that he has. He mistakes the driver’s intention and now everybody knows he is the culprit.

Tales of cunning also include the adventures of Abu Nawas (T40, T41, T42, T43 and T44). His tricks and pranks were often intended to make a fool of Sultan Harun al-Rashid.

3. Trickster (Ambivalent figure)

It appears that a few of the above comic characters also play the role of a trickster figure. According to *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987: 45) trickster is a name given to a type of mythic hero distinguished by his skill at trickery and deceit as well as by his prodigious biological drives and exaggerated bodily parts. He is a comic and amoral character, who is sometimes human but more often animal in shape. As an animal, it is noted for its agility and cunning. Furthermore, the trickster sometimes plays the role of the culture hero.51 Therefore, the trickster figure is an ambivalent character. He is an

51 A mythical archetypal figure, the transformer who introduced fire, agriculture tools, or even death to the human world. In a mythic age at the beginning of the world, helped to mould human culture into its familiar form, *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987: 45). A culture hero is a mythological figure who is credited with having invented or discovered such things as fire, iron, farming, and writing, or having shaped society such as by instituting marriage, *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* (1974: 228).
embodiment of ambivalent qualities, positive and negative aspects; good and bad; cunning and stupidity; sharp-wittedness and slow-wittedness. He is protective and selfish; moral and immoral. By these ambivalent qualities, a trickster deceives and manipulates his dupe through his sharp-wittedness. In contrast to that, he too can be deceived and manipulated due to his slow-wittedness, and thus become a dupe.

The Malays, too, possess their own trickster figures like other societies. Among the characters who possess such ambivalent qualities are Pak Pandir and sang kancil. The former for instance, although he is often portrayed as a numskull, may also in certain episodes change his role to a trickster figure. In T33 ('Kerak Nasi' - Rice Crust), T49 ('Pergi Belayar' - Sailing), T50 ('Burung Gekgek' - The Gekgek Bird) and T51 ('Dara' - Virginity) for instance, Pak Pandir is depicted as a villainous and cunning figure. In T33, Pak Pandir who is lazy, out-smarts a farmer and gains a piece of land after winning a bet. In T49 he is depicted as a glutton who tricks his wife, saying that he wants to sail away, but hides himself on the shelf and eats the food which his wife has prepared. In T50 and T51, Pak Pandir is portrayed as a lecherous and amoral person who plays tricks on his victims to satisfy his lust.

The trickster figure of the Winnebago tribe of the North American Indian is Wakdjunkaga (Paul Radin, 1956); Maui-tikitiki-a Tarangga or normally known simply as Maui (the other name which he earned is Maui-tinihanga or Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks) is for the Polynesians (Katharine Loumala, 1949) and (Johannes C. Andersen, 1928); and Si Kabayan for the Indonesian Sundanese (Achdiat K. Miharja, 1963); and for the Yoruba people of the Western Africa is the tortoise, Ijapa (Ropo Sekoni, 1994). In the case of African trickster tales, J.D. Edwards (1978 : 1 - 6) states that it had traveled abroad since they are told whenever African people have settled in the American continent. The close parallels between the animals who play the role of principal trickster in Africa and the New World would appear to indicate a strong historical connection between the folktale traditions.

Refer to Appendix 3, especially the first type of plot : 'Order - misinterpretation of it,' which mainly consist of Pak Pandir playing the numskull role.

For more examples of Pak Pandir's villainous cunning role, see Sweeney’s collection (Sweeney, 1976).
This evidence shows that Pak Pandir actually plays a dual role in his escapades, numskull and cunning. He possesses ambivalent qualities, a positive and negative side in him. Although his cunning quality cannot be denied, he uses his intelligence in various negative ways instead. This results in his possessing a negative image in terms of attitudes, actions, and thinking, and being the cause of all sorts of troubles. Furthermore, this evidence affirms Sweeney’s claim (1976: 15) that Winstedt and Sturrock ignored such role in their edition of ‘Pak Pandir’ tales in *Cherita Jenaka*.

Similarly, in animal stories, the trickster role is played by the sang kancil character. In his escapades, sang kancil often used his sharp-wittedness to trick and fool his enemies in order to save his life. In T45 for instance, sang kancil tricks his oppressor, the tiger, several times and succeeds in killing him. His prankish acts include stating that the hornets’ nest is Nabi Sulaiman’s gong; and that a python is Nabi Sulaiman’s belt. On both occasions, the tiger blindly believes and puts himself in danger. This affirms Philip Frick McKean’s claims that sang kancil is the trickster figure in Malayo-Indonesian folklore. In contrast, although sang kancil is regarded as the cleverest creature in Malay folklore, he can also be deceived. Usually he is tricked by a much smaller creatures than himself.

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55 In fact, Sweeney (1994: 7) claimed that Winstedt was intrigued when he learned that in oral nature there are dozens of ‘Pak Pandir’ tales which are not merely limited to the one he had published.
57 Further detail, see Philip Frick McKean (1972).
58 See O.T. Dussek’s (1925) edition of *Hikayat Pelandok*. In one of the episodes of the ‘Hikayat Sang Kancil’ for instance, sang kancil is depicted as a pompous character. He is deceived and fooled by a group of snails in a race competition. For comparison of a similar motif, see T52. But the role of the pompous character is played by an eagle.
4. Mediator

Another significant role often found in Malay humorous tales is the mediator. In such role usually a character acting as a middle man settles problems that arise between parties that are in dispute. In traditional narratives the mediator roles are usually played by Nabi Sulaiman, a king, or a judge (hakim/kadi). In T39 - ‘Sang Kancil dengan Memerang’ for instance, the mediator is Nabi Sulaiman. He arbitrates over the dispute between the otter and sang kancil who is accused of killing the former’s siblings. In contrast, sometimes, sang kancil may also act as a mediator in his escapades. In modern narratives, the village chief (penghulu) and police are the most likely figures to be depicted as the mediators. In M71 for instance, the mediator is a policeman whereas in M86 this role is played by the village chief.

IV. Classification of Plots

Sweeney (1976), classified ‘Pak Pandir’ tales according to their plots on the basis of comparison. Although he focused only on ‘Pak Pandir’ tales, the article is without doubt the first thorough examination of the subject matter, which also uses oral materials. In the groundwork to his classification scheme, Sweeney criticized Thompson’s; Aarne-Thompson’s and Propp’s systems of classification. He claimed that

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59 See ‘Hikayat Sang Kancil’ of Dussek’s edition of Hikayat Pelandok. In one of the episodes, sang kancil played the role of the mediator to settle the dispute between a crocodile and a buffalo.
these schemes are inapplicable to his data. As a solution, Sweeney suggested an alternative approach to analyse his data, which is the comparison of plots in which there is clear evidence that Propp’s basic principle of plot analysis was adapted, i.e., the idea of function as the invariant of hero’s actions but not Propp’s scheme as a whole.

In his findings, Sweeney revealed the existence of several plot types. Regarding the tales, he perceived some general similarities. He stressed that ‘Pak Pandir’ tales consist of two key elements namely: a) a situation or action and b) a reaction to it. In the vast majority of instances, the reaction is in terms of misinterpretation or misjudgment of the action or situation presented. Considering the collected materials, characteristically they show numerous resemblances to Sweeney’s. In this respect, Sweeney’s method perhaps would be the appropriate way to deal with the analysis of the plot. However, some modifications to the method are inevitable.

Sweeney’s first, second, third and fourth plot types are based on the key elements of action or situation and misinterpretation of it. However, in dealing with his classifications, Sweeney stressed the existence of a certain framework. In his first plot-type, the framework consists of a sequence of basic elements arranged as follows: i) order; ii) separation; iii) misinterpretation of order, with possible dire result; iv) reunion; v) revelation; and vi) reproach. Thus Mak Andih gives Pak Pandir an order. When they

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60 Refer note 9 of this chapter.
61 Emphasis is in original.
are separated, the latter usually misinterprets the order. The truth is discovered when they are reunited.

In the second plot-type, the sequence of elements is as follows: i) order; ii) separation; iii) attempted solution of order; iv) action or situation presented; v) misinterpretation with possible dire result; vi) non-solution of order; vii) reunion; viii) revelation; and ix) reproach.\(^{62}\) Quite similar to i, ii, and iii in the first plot-type, Pak Pandir is presented with a situation (or action of a third character) in iv, which then leads to his misinterpretation of the order. Not only does he fail to resolve the problem presented, but in his attempt to do so, he aborts his original task. Sweeney claims these first and second plot types as the typical Pak Pandir plot types.

The third plot-type is identical to the second plot-type but it lacks the conventional framework as it only consists of: a) a situation; and b) misinterpretation. In this type usually Pak Pandir is alone and encounters a situation. He misinterprets the situation and makes a fool of himself in a silly way. The fourth plot-type also lacks the conventional framework but the situation to be misinterpreted arises from the action or remark of a second character.

Sweeney’s fifth plot type is concerned with the deceit-deception type of tales. However, the intention to deceive is not considered by Sweeney. He distinguishes two

\(^{62}\) Emphasis is also in original.
types of deceivers namely; the numskull and the normal person. The distinctions of the deceivers are essential because the protagonist, Pak Pandir possessed an ambivalent character. This character may appear as a numskull in one tale and as a trickster in another.63 This deceit-deception type of tales is divided into two categories; a) deception of a numskull, and b) deception of a normal person. The character in the former plot type (5a), is presented with a ‘ready-made’ wrong interpretation that he has to accept. Here, in most instances, the deceived party is Pak Pandir and the deceiver is Mak Andih who punishes him for laziness and greed.

On the other hand, in the deception of a normal person (5b), the wrong interpretation is suggested by the situation. The deceived party accepts the situation because he considers it the most logical explanation of the phenomena presented. Sweeney explains that there are three factors that may produce the ambiguity of such a situation. These factors are, i) cunning; ii) a bizarre action (usually a reaction to a previous situation or action); and iii) a coincidence or incredible occurrence (the result of some previous action). For example, in tale 72 (according to Sweeney’s division), Pak Pandir defecates and his excrement falls under the house onto the back of a passing tortoise. When he investigates, he is happy to see his excrement is able to move of its own accord.

63 Refer ‘Classification of Heroes,’ especially on ‘Trickster (Ambivalent figure)’ in this chapter.
Based on the criteria above, and regardless of the framework (i.e., the sequence of elements), but with an exception in the first plot type, several plot types could be revealed. However, Sweeney’s second plot type is omitted.

1. Order - misinterpretation of order

In the first type (tales 1-10) the plot follows the same pattern as in Sweeney’s scheme. Similarly, the basic elements are an order and misinterpretation of it. It is also identical in terms of the arrangement of the basic elements in the framework. They are; i) order, ii) separation, iii) misinterpretation of order, with possible dire result, iv) reunion, v) revelation, and vi) reproach. The fact that this plot type possesses a similar pattern is because it contained mainly Pak Pandir tales that are the prime target of Sweeney’s analysis.

In all the tales of this type, the protagonist receives an order to carry out some task. Separation is essential to enable the protagonist to misinterpret the situation. The separation is made either by the character who delivers the order or by the character who receives it. In the former case, it is usually an *in situ* task since, for instance in tales 3 and 4, the character who gives the order has to depart. The truth is discovered when both parties are reunited. In the case of tales 8 (T72) and 9 (T73), which are ‘Pak Pandir’ tales, it does not follow the same pattern of framework because in both instances the tales contain more interdependent or bound episodes. However, these two tales are placed
under the first plot type because the characteristics of division (i.e., order and separation) are more striking.

2. Actions/situations - misinterpretation

The second type (tales 11 - 51) consists only of the key elements of a situation and misinterpretation. In all the tales the protagonist is presented with a situation. Then the character would perform the act of foolishness in attempting to resolve the problem. The difference between this type and the first is that the element of separation is not essential for the protagonist to misinterpret the action or situation presented. In tales 40, 41, and 42 for instances, the misinterpretations of the situation are made by a group of characters, and in these cases they are Aborigines. The result of the misinterpretation may or may not produce a bizarre or dire result.

3. Actions/situations - misinterpretation made by the second character

In the third plot type (tales 52 - 78), the misinterpretation of the situation arises from the action or remark of a second character. In most cases, the protagonists provide a situation and the second character misinterprets it, as in tales 61, 62, 65, 68, 71, 72, and 73. In tale 62 for instance, a boy is trained by his grandfather to say that he wants to sing whenever he urinates. However, when his grandfather is not around, his grandmother misinterprets the routine and asks the boy to sing close to her ear. In certain tales in this
group, double misinterpretations occur and are made by the third and fourth character. For instance, in tale 53, a thieving tiger is scared when it hears the shepherd’s wife mentioning the dusk ghost. The tiger mistakes one of the two thieves for a dusk ghost and the thieves mistake the tiger for a goat.

4. Deception - positive result to the deceiver

With regard to the importance of intention in the act of deceit, and regardless of the behaviour of the character performing it (whether numskull or normal person), the deceit-deception tales in the collected material mainly focus on the result of the deception. In all the occurrences, the character who performs the act of deception is a normal person and the act is performed with intent. The deception is usually performed as a retaliation for a previous incident or to gain advantage. Through modifications such as the above, the deceit-deception type of tales can be distinguished into two types: deception with positive result and deception with negative result.

In the former plot type (tale 79 - 115), the protagonists of all the tales succeed in their act of deceit. In numerous cases, the act of deceit arises because of: i) anger over previous incidents, hence as a form of revenge; ii) saving life; or iii) achieving certain goals (sex, marriage, food, land and so forth). Examples of tales involving the first cause are: as tales number 81, 92, and 93. In tale 92 for instance, the protagonist retaliates against the sugarcane farmer in a form of revenge. He feels insulted because the farmer
ignored his request to buy a stick of sugarcane in an earlier incident. The farmer preferred to sell only if the buyer wanted the whole crop. In tales 102, 103, 104, and 105, the deceiver, musedeer (*sang kancil*), succeeds in deceiving the predators to save his life. Whereas, in tale number 87, the protagonist succeeds in deceiving two families in order to have sexual intercourse with their daughters. In most cases, the truth is discovered only after the acts of deceit have occurred.

5. Deception - negative result to the deceiver

In this group (tales 116 - 120), the deceiver fails in his/her attempt to deceive and this usually produces a bizarre or dire result. Tale number 117 for example, portrays how the deceivers fail to fool the target and end up losing their penises, which are cut off. In tale number 116, however, both parties try to deceive and kill each other to gain their stolen gold. In the end, all the three thieves die because of their greed.

6. Climax - bizarre reaction to the situation/action or solution of a problem

In this plot type (tales 121 - 172), the climax of the tale is a bizarre reaction to a situation/action or solution of a problem. Sweeney distinguished two plot types in this category. First, 6a) the climax of the tale is a bizarre reaction to a situation/action or solution of a problem; and secondly, 6b) the climax is a result of some external factor
outside the control of the dramatis personae. In this respect, however, only the former category is considered in this study.

7. Miscellaneous

In this group (tales 173 - 176), the tales are mostly in riddle form and usually lack a plot.

The presentation and comparison of the tales follows Sweeney’s method (1976: 31). Each tale is dealt with separately. The versions of a tale are compared with one another. The most typical version of each tale acts as the ‘key version’ and is presented in a detailed summary. The summary is divided (quite arbitrarily) into a number of points and each point is designated a number. The compared versions follow the points noted below:

a) Omission of a point number indicates that the point in question is identical to the key version.

b) Deviations from the key version are noted under the respective point numbers.

c) Point numbers in square brackets indicate that the points in question are not found in that version. Where other items replace a missing point, these are noted after the square brackets.
d) Where a point in a compared version contains more details than the key version, those details are noted under the point number in question, to which is added a plus sign ‘+.’

An example of the comparison of the tales can be seen in Fig. 14 which comprises M101, M98 and M103 in tale number 10 below:

Figure 14.
The Comparison of Plots

M101 1 A Chinese mualaf (recently converted to Islam) is asked by his wife 2 to go to Friday prayers. 3 He tells her that he does not know how to perform the prayer. 4 His wife asks him to copy people in front of him. 5 Then he sets off to the mosque by bus. 6 After paying 50 sen for the bus fare 7 he has another 50 sen coin left and puts it in his pocket. 8 Coincidentally he sits in a row with other fellow mualaf. 9 During the prayer (a mass prayer) and during sujud (bowing in kneeling position so that the forehead touches the floor) the coin drops out 10 and rolls to the mualaf next to him. 11 He is also about to sujud. 12 Unaware of the coin he palms it. 13 The former worries that the latter might take the money and make him walk home. 14 Then the former whispers to latter telling that his money is under his palm 15 and ask him not to take it. 16 The latter lift his palm 17 and see the coin. 18 He is annoyed 19 and replies that he is not interested in the money. 20 Suddenly, the next mualaf beside them tells that it is forbidden to talk during prayer. 21 The fourth mualaf then states that he is lucky for not talking. 22 However, the fifth mualaf question the fourth mualaf’s action. 23 In the end all their prayers are faulty. 24 When he returns his wife asks him to go for asar (evening prayer) at the prayer place. 25 He tells his wife that he did not know the prayer. 26 His wife asks him to follow the imam. 27 He prays behind the imam 28 and follows the imam’s action. 29 During rukuk (bow from the waist) his cap touches the imam’s testicles. 30 This makes the imam angry. 31 As the imam stands he kicks the mualaf. 32 The mualaf remembers his wife’s advice. 33 He kicks the person behind him 34 and made them fall. 35 After the prayer the imam chases him around the village in anger. 36 He chases the mualaf until he is out of breath 37 and dies.

M98 1 seeks advice concerning praying from imam and some people + his testicles are big; [2 - 3]; 4 imam and some people; [5 - 27]; 28 + during sujud some naughty boys flick his testicles; [29]; 32 from imam and some people + follows it + flicks imam’s testicles + imam kicks him + he kicks to the back (but kicks into the air cause there is nobody) + asks imam whether his prayer is valid (cause imam’s kick hit him and his kick did not hit someone); [33 - 37].

M103 1 three mualafs + imam invites them to pray together + explain some basic rules (not to talk and walk); [2 - 8]; 9 not a coin but a big mouse passes; [10 - 13]; 14 talks saying that a big mouse passes; [15 - 19]; [24 - 37].

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64 For the full account of the presentation and comparison of the tales, see Appendix 3.
From the classification of plots above, it can be stated with certainty that Malay humorous tales are mainly anchored upon the numskull tales. The first, second, and the third plot types, for example, are dominated by misinterpretation actions, which clearly indicates that the acts are performed by numskull figures. Similarly, in regard to the deceit-deception stories (particularly in the fourth plot type), the deceived parties are also portrayed in the numskull figures who perform silly actions.

Variant

In connection with the classification of plots, it is noticeable that some of the collected samples possess variants. Usually these anonymously created humorous stories are similar in terms of content but slightly different in their description of characters, settings, and the sequence of episodes in the story. They belong to Malay society as a whole and are transmitted by word of mouth, and in the process of transmission, variation occurs. The sequence of the story may be altered or it may include innovations; descriptions of the characters change; and settings are placed in other locales. All these variations are clearly shown in the “Classification of Plots Scheme.”

Perhaps, a comparison of Nazari’s T8, Pak Soud’s T19, and Hamzah’s M75 may best reveal that these tales are variants of the same basic story. The first two tales entitled ‘Buah’ (Fruit), while the latter is ‘Buah Pot’ (Pot Fruit) as named by Hamzah himself

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65 Refer to Appendix 3 for the full account of all the variants.
after the farting incident in the story. Nazari and Pak Soud describes the character as a Malay couple, whereas Hamzah describes it as an Aborigine couple instead. All the stories are set in the forest. Nazari describes the couple as they go into the forest to look for firewood. While Pak Soud and Hamzah describe them looking for rattan instead. These stories tell how the couple saved themselves from the tigers on separate occasions by bending head over and presenting their naked bottoms to the tigers. On the first occasion, it was the man who was confronted by tigers. The ignorant tigers refrained from eating the fruits (actually the man's testicles) as they considered them unripe. However, on the second occasion, the man's wife went to the forest instead as he has avoided coming, being scared after the earlier incident. When she bends over, the beasts are annoyed when they see the fruits are missing and leave the scene in dismay.

Among other tales in the collected samples that are variants of each other are those listed in Fig. 15 below:

![Figure 15. Variants of Tales](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tale</th>
<th>C.O.P&lt;sup&gt;66&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Narrator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>T3. 'Makan Angin' (Jaunting)</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Bob Haji Manan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T31. 'Pak Itam'</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tokcik Tokcik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T47. 'Tukang Berus' (The Scrubber)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T48. 'Khadam dengan Tuan Puteri' (Servant and Princess)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>T60. 'Lidah' (Tongue)</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>Aji Azizi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T62. 'Lidah' (Tongue)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cikgu Senin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T66. 'Lidah' (Tongue)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>66</sup> The numbers listed in Fig. 15 above are the tale numbers according to the Classification of Plots (C.O.P), see Appendix 3.
Figure 15. shows more than 10 stories in the analysed sample are quite similar particularly in terms of content, but differ slightly in various aspects. It is unclear which of these tales can be considered the original version. Interestingly, some of the narrators live far apart and are unknown to each other, and yet they produce the same stories. This shows that such stories are popular and transmitted widely throughout the nation.

In conclusion, Malay humorous tales can be classified according to four different classification systems: thematic; by mode of creation; by heroes; and by plots. The thematic classification scheme is not in anyway limited to only the five popular Malay humorous tales, and enables one to classify any humorous tale, whether in the traditional...
or the modern categories. Classification according to the mode of creation reveals that such tales consist of four different types: fictional; riddle; actual personal; and actual general tales; whereas the classification by heroes show that the main heroes of the tales were the numskull, the cunning character, trickster and mediator. Lastly, the classification of plots reflect the actions performed by the main heroes. These classification schemes, particularly, the classification by heroes and plots can be used to determine and explain what usually arouses the Malays to laughter. This will be discussed in the following chapter together with the linguistic and literary features of the tales with special references to the aspects of poetics in Malay humorous tales.
Chapter Five

Poetics

Linguistic Features of Malay Humorous Tales

Colloquial Presentation

Malay humorous stories are presented in the medium of everyday conversation (c.f., Sweeney, 1976: 18). Although the presentation is of non-stylized form,\(^1\) it also possesses aesthetic elements in its delivery. However, this aesthetic impact lies in the capability of the teller to exploit the colloquial usage of the language so as to make the story more expressive and bring it closer to real life. In this colloquial presentation the storyteller may employ in the process various languages, including dialect and foreign languages. However, this ability differs considerably from one storyteller to another.

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\(^1\) Sweeney (1972a: 63-72; and 1973: 3) distinguishes between two kinds of language and presentation for stories, stylized and non-stylized. The stylized form employs some definite distortions of grammar and pronunciation; special words and phrases; and various other devices which result in a 'heightened' form of the local dialect. It is presented according to a mode of linguistic expression uncommon in everyday speech. This stylized form is practised exclusively by the professional performers and is best seen in the most developed genres of oral literature such as wayang kulit (shadow-play). Phillips (1981), also observed a similar style of presentation in sijobang (the singing of a narrative poem about a hero called Anggun Nan Tungga) performed professionally in Payakumbuh, Western Sumatra. The language used (viz., the local Minangkabau dialect) differed from ordinary speech in many ways. He confined these differences to two aspects, namely, vocabulary and grammar. The former overlaps with the daily speech to a large extent. Such language also includes a number of words which are not in colloquial use, and also excludes some of the colloquial ones. In terms of grammar, the language possesses a higher proportion of complex sentences (i.e., with two or more clauses), and a greater tendency to place subordinate clauses before the main ones. Furthermore, the sentences are usually quite long and complicated compared with daily speech.
Basically, the linguistic structure of the sentences used in the stories is simple and short and the narrator avoids using complicated structures. This is because of the spontaneous nature of such performances (i.e., a story is usually told without prior preparation as it is an impromptu occurrence). Examples of this non-stylized form of everyday conversational narration may be best seen in the excerpts quoted below:

a. from T61 - ‘Tiga Sahabat’ (The Three Friends) by Amir:


["Haah! Here is a story. In a forest, there are three animals and they are good friends. A buffalo, a goat, and a wild boar. One day, they stroll around looking for food. They see across, across the river there is a place, a beautiful garden. So, they plan to cross the river. When crossing, they see that there are a lot of crocodiles in the river...."]

b. from M47 - ‘Tiga Kali Saja!’ (Only Three Times!) by Abu Zarim:


["...Don’t you worry. Haa! But if you say, Up! Up! Up! It will stand. But as this is for the first time," he said. “I give you three chances,” (the healer said.) [Can be tried for three times.] “Only three times but not more.” Wah! He is jubilant. “But we have to test it first,” he said. Then the healer, “Okay! Let me see your (penis) now.” Pull it. “Up! Up! Up!” (he said.) Uszuzu! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “Hah! Try to bring it down, can it,” he said. “If not it will be uncomfortable for you to board the bus later,” (the healer said.) [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Hah! Then he said, (the healer said,) “You say, Iss! Iss! Iss! Iss!” [Wah! When Iss! Iss! Iss! Iss! It comes down.] He is okay. (He) departed..."]
From the excerpts above it is clear that what Sweeney (1987: 241 - 266) points out is true. There is frequent use of dialogue in excerpt (b) linked with the phrases dia kata or kata dia (he/she said; or said he/she) repeatedly; and direct speech in excerpt (c). In excerpt (a), however, the narrator recounts the sequence of events which are mostly actions, without using much direct speech or dialogue. In spite of this, simple juxtaposition does occur in the delivery. However, it is not so widely used as it was by the nonliterate storytellers studied by Sweeney (1987: 242 - 246). All the storytellers in the present study have received some kind of formal education. Thanks to their higher degree of literacy, they are able to use their linguistic skills to good effect. These linguistic skills are apparent in terms of words selection; type and construction of sentences; and the arrangement of sentences in sequence to form the story line.

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2 Mostly all of the narrators studied completed Form 5 education. A few of them such as Aji, Nazari and Amir are university graduates. Further detail, see Chapter One, and Fig. 2, 3 and 4.
This notwithstanding, on certain occasions, errors are made by the narrators, especially in terms of sentence construction. This may happen when the narrator changes his mind as he finds a more appropriate sentence-pattern and abandons the one he is using. This point is also mentioned by Sweeney (1987:252) who termed the situation, "aborted constructions." Examples include T45 - ‘Sang Kancil’ by Syed Yusof, in which he says, ...Seminggu tak dap(at)...., (A week can’t get....), but is unable to finish the sentence. He continues with a new phrase, engko, engko tido aje (you, you just sleep). Similarly in the next line he says, Tak bol(eh) (Can’t), and completes it with a new construction, engko relek aje tak payah carik makan (you just relax, no need to look for food). The storyteller may also abort the delivery at once as he/she realizes a mistake has been committed. Tokcik for instance, in T28 - ‘Lebai Malang,’ suddenly realizes that he has wrongly stated the character as Pak Pandir instead of Lebai Malang. He quickly admits his mistake by making a verbal gesture, Alamak! (Oh! Mother) as an exclamation.

**Foreign Language**

One of the linguistic features of Malay humorous tales is the language used by storytellers. Although, as had been stressed earlier, their non-stylized storytelling uses the language of everyday conversation, in certain cases, the narrator may also employ words borrowed from foreign languages (as used in conversation). The most common foreign language used is English. In fact, English words are regularly used in ordinary daily life
as a substitute for certain Malay words. For example, Haji Manan, Syed Yusof, Bob, Cikgu Senin, Abu Zarim, Azizi, Nazari and Sarip Mara, used several English words in their narrations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word used</th>
<th>English term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stall</td>
<td>[style]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taem</td>
<td>[time]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terik</td>
<td>[trick]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pere</td>
<td>[free]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>redi</td>
<td>[ready]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>las</td>
<td>[last]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k Kemping</td>
<td>[camping]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se rende</td>
<td>[surrender]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, Nazari and Aji, can be considered narrators who positively like to mix English with Malay in their deliveries. Both these narrators are bilingual. Their use of English in their colloquial language points towards their level of education. Nazari, for instance, uses English to good effect as he delivers the tale, M94 - ‘Kondom’ (Condom). In the story, he imitates a conversation in English, as can be seen below:

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3 The younger generation, especially in their 30s and below, are most likely to be bilingual due to the development of the nation education system as English is regarded as the national second language.

[“They strolled around at which place? The Westerners’ isn’t it? After that, suddenly there, there was a condom dropped. So, the person behind picked it up, right? He said, as he picked it up, “Is it yours?” After that, the person in front said. “Ee! No! I’ve mine inside,” she said. “I’ve mine inside.” To show how it is what? She is used to such things, right? He thinks that the condom belonged to the person in front. But, that girl said. “Eh! No! I’ve mine inside,” she said. All those (things) they have got. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Everybody has them.] They had their precaution. To us a thing like that is still very sensitive! Very sensitive. Hah! Okay! (Its) too long.”]

Dialects

Likewise, storytellers also use words from their own dialect. Bob, for instance, who is a Banjarese, uses several Banjarese words in his delivery, particularly in T79 - ‘Raja Banjar’ (King of Banjar). He even explains the meaning in Malay as he goes on. He employs the following Banjarese words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Banjarese dialect</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>onak</td>
<td>(duri)</td>
<td>[thorn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napang tuh?</td>
<td>(Apa benda tu?)</td>
<td>[What’s that?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padeh banar!</td>
<td>(Pedih sangat!)</td>
<td>[It’s too painful!]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other dialect users are Mohd. Noor, who is a Kelantanese, whereas Abu Zarim and Cikgu Senin, who are from Negeri Sembilan, use their own Minangkabau dialect in
their deliveries. For instance, Abu Zarim produced several stories on Minangkabau subjects such as M56a and M56b - ‘Orang Minangkabau’ (Minangkabau Folk) and M57 - ‘Balik Mekah’ (Returning From Hajj). He uses the Minangkabau dialect to good effect. For example, in M56b, he says:

**Minangkabau dialect**

_Eh! Tekentoik ko Minah?_”

**English**

[‘Eh! Did you fart, Minah?]”

and in M57:

_Engko! Ko kotongahkan ponggong ko!_ [You! Move your bottom to the centre!]

The use of dialect which is considered funny anyway - has an even stronger comic effect when it is used for the story’s punchline. In a story set in the Minangkabau speaking area, the punchline would fall flat if it were in ordinary standard Malay. For example, in M58 - ‘Siappo Yang Ludah Den?’ (Who Spat on Me?), the narrator, Amir had to use the phrase ‘*Siappo yang ludah den?’ at the end of his delivery although he is not a Minangkabau, because the phrase acts as the punchline of the story.

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4 Refer Appendix 4 for the translation of the story.
5 Refer Chapter Two for the background of the narrator.
Malay humorous tales also include stories that portray life in royal circles in the past. In this case, some narrators use several words of classical language as found in written literature at the appropriate time. This can be seen in the following excerpt from Aji's T1 - 'Macam Kuda' (Like a Horse) below (classical Malay words are in bold type):


["...The queen then calls her daughter. She say, "Dear daughter!" She say, "It's too much! I can see you are greatly depressed, sad. What is the cause? Can you try to explain it to mother. I would like to know the problem." She replies, "Cep! I have a big problem." She say, "I'm too shy, reluctant to talk." She say, the mother, the mother say, "Don't worry!" The queen say, "Don't worry! I'm willing to listen to whatever problems you're facing..."]

Abu Zarim also uses such language, for example in T74 - 'Sultan Pahang' (The Sultan of Pahang); and in T75a and T75b - 'Penghulu' (The Village Chief). Perhaps the best example of such language is in the excerpt from T75b below:


["Pardon me Your Majesty! Thousands of pardons. I hope my words will be pardoned," (said the senior village chief). "How is the condition of this village, senior village chief? How is it?" (asked the king). "Wah! Everything is good. But unfortunately this year is the depression year. Drought (effected) everything. Everything is unavailable. So, tonight I'm very sad that (I) could not present any women. I've tried hard to look (for them) in this village. Forgive me Your Majesty! I can't find any," (said the senior village chief).]
In both occasions, the narrators use the classical language to recreate the verbal decorum of the court. Abu Zarim for example, demonstrates the atmosphere when the village chief encounters with the king to explain his failure to fulfil the king’s request. The village chief refers to himself with the self-abasing personal pronoun, *patik* (slave, I).  

By and large, therefore, to judge the language used in performances of Malay humorous tales (i.e., amateur storytelling) as something ordinary is incorrect. Although the colloquial language of everyday conversation is used, the tellers utilize their linguistic potential fully and freely in narrating the repertoire. In doing so, the storytellers manage to imitate and bring the reality of life into their presentations. Various forms of language (i.e., English, Malay dialects and classical Malay) are combined by the narrators to excellent effect. In the case of English it manifests the original level of the narrator’s education, whereas dialects are usually used as demanded by the story especially in order to induce laughter at the story’s punchline. This extra mode of stylized narration no doubt brings an aesthetic impact to the performance. The higher the proportion of these linguistic features employed by the narrator, the more stylish and more expressive the narration is felt to be. However, the ability to manipulate these linguistic skills differs considerably from storyteller to storyteller.

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6 Further discussion and criticism on the matter, see Muhammad Haji Salleh, (1991 : 126 - 128).
Literary Features of Malay Humorous Tales

Storytelling Techniques

Another form of devices, that brings much of the poetic impact to the presentation of Malay humorous tales is what could be termed "storytelling techniques." These techniques consist of: repetition; insertion of verse; and shortening phrases. To a degree, they also bring the performance from a non-stylized to a more stylized form. However, the degree of stylization is very much lower than in the case of professional storytelling. Although they are normally used in the delivery, the employment of these techniques differs in each storyteller.

1. Repetition

Repetition is one of the most fundamental characteristic features of oral literature. It is a device that gives a touch of beauty or attractiveness and also brings a utilitarian value to a piece of oral expression (whether song or narrative or other kind of oral literature). Repetition may be the repetition of a phrase, a line, or a passage (Okpewho, 1992: 71). In this respect, the narration of Malay humorous tales is no exception. However, in numerous cases, the type of repetitions is parallelistic phrases with epiphora. The technique produces an aesthetic impact in the narration. Among the storytellers who

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7 Further detail, see Okpewho (1992: 71 - 78).
frequently employ such repetition in their deliveries is Abu Zarim. For instance, he employs the technique in M42 - ‘Orang Dakwah’ (The Missionary) as below:

“...Orang dakwah ni dia apa? Pergilah bejalan ke satu masjid ke satu masjid, ke satu surau ke satu surau, dengan pakaian dia, dengan jubah dia, dengan ketayap dia...”

[“...What is this missionary? He goes visiting from mosque to mosque, from prayer place to prayer place, with his clothing, with his robe, with his turban...”]

and in the same story he also narrates, “...Belajar sana sikit, belajar sini sikit...” (Learnt a bit there, learnt a bit here...”); and “...Sebab dia sedar sekerat dia tahu, sekerat dia tak tahu...” (“...Because he was well-aware that he knew half, (and) he didn’t know (the other) half (of the knowledge)...”). Other examples of these parallelistic phrases with epiphora can be seen in Fig.16 below:

Figure 16.
Repetition - Parallelistic Phrases with Epiphora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Story</th>
<th>Parallelistic Phrases with Epiphora</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1.  | Abu Zarim T74 - ‘Sultan Pahang’ (The Sultan of Pahang) | ...keras tidak sejuk tidak. Tapi lembut ada keras pun ada... [it is not hard (and) it is not cold. But it is soft (and) it is hard too...] ...Yang di depan ni kayu balak tidak, perigi buia tidak, busut jantan pun tidak... [The one in front isn’t a log, it isn’t an abundant well, (and) it isn’t an anthill either...]
| 2.  | Abu Zarim T75a and T75b - ‘Penghulu’ (The Village Chief) | ...Janda dia tak mau, budak dia tak mau... [Divorcee he didn’t want, small girl he didn’t want...]
| 3.  | Aji M66 - ‘Wak Pancing’ (The Javanese Angler). | ...Yang ni baling la, sana sini, kanan kiri, depan belakang semua... [This fellow throws in everywhere, here (and) there, right (and) left, front (and) back...]
| 4.  | Aji T76 - ‘Lalat dengan Katak’ (Housefly and Frog). | ...Dia nak patuk sebelah kanan aku elak sebelah kiri. Dia datang sebelah kiri aku elak sebelah kanan... [He wants to bite from the right I dodge to the left. He come from the left I dodge to the right...]
| 5.  | Hamzah M76 - ‘Motor’ (The Bike). | ...ke hulu ke hile, ke hulu ke hile... [...to and fro, to and fro...]

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| 6. | Haji Manan  
T5 - 'Kena Simpai' (Got Hooped) | ...disimpe tangen kiri tangen kanan, lutut kiri lutut kanan...  
[...hooping left hand (and) right hand, left knee (and) right knee...] |
|---|---|---|
| 7. | Haji Manan  
T33 - 'Pak Pandir - Kerak Nasi'  
(The Rice Crust) | ...Petang orang balik dia balik, orang pegi dia pegi...  
[...In the evening, (when) people return he returns, people go he goes...] |
| 8. | Cikgu Radi  
["...British and the Europeans came to Asia. The British came to Melaka. The Portuguese to Melaka. The Dutch (came) to the Indonesian areas and the Spanish came to Philippine. The France came to Indo-China..."] |

Although this type of repetition is produced in a variety of ways as shown in Fig. 16 above, the common form is “...masuk hutan keluar hutan...” (“...going in (and) out of the forest...”) as in Pak Soud’s T19 - ‘Buah’ (Fruit); Bob’s T79 - ‘Raja Banjar’ (The Banjarese King); Haji Manan’s T5 - ‘Kena Simpai’ (Got Hooped) and T72 - ‘Pak Pandir.’ In DBP’s T59 - ‘Kulub Kecil Kulub Besar,’ it is “...masuk kampung keluar kampung, masuk pekan keluar pekan...” (“...going in (and) out of the village, going in (and) out of the town...”). The actions are similar but the places have changed. In the case of a Middle-Eastern setting it is “...masuk gurun keluar gurun...” (“...going in (and) out of the desert...”) to suit the setting as in Cikgu Senin’s T10 - ‘Tamak’ (Greedy). This typical type of repetition is mainly used in the traditional narratives and is often found in written form.

It is clear that the basic elements in the construction of these parallelistic phrases with epiphora are repeated words, usually words of opposite meaning (either verbs, nouns, or adjectives). These words are juxtaposed in between other verbs, nouns or...
adjectives and vice-versa. On the surface, it produces a beautiful sound effect that is similar to assonance or alliteration. However, the commonest form of repetition (i.e., *masuk hutan keluar hutan*) is deployed to show the character’s movement when engaged in a long journey, since the character is described as passing several forests, villages, or towns.

2. Verse

Quite closely related to the aesthetic impact of the narration by means of repetition, is the use by two storytellers of a poetic insertion, i.e., *pantun*, in their narrations as part of the story. The narrators in question are Pak Atan and Tokcik. As mentioned previously, both these narrators have a reputation and credentials in *pantun* reciting in their communities. The former’s *pantun* may be seen in M125 - ‘Salah Sangka’ (A Blunder), while the latter in T50 - ‘Burung Gekgek’ (The gekgek Bird). The former’s *pantuns* are as follows:

Nasir:

*Pisang Serendah masak ijo,
Masak sebiji tengah padang,
Tinggi (men) rendah mata aku meninjo, /Yah!/ /Aku nanti ko datang, haram tak datang.*

[Serendah’s banana ripe in green,
One ripened in the middle of the field,
Up (and) down my eyes looking,
I waited for you to come, never (did you) come.]

Shamsiah:

*Remuk redam kapal di tanjung,
Nampak dari Pulau Jerejak, /katanya/
Rindu dendam, bang Nasir samalah tanggong,
Nak menangis bukaninya budak.*

[Ship is shattered at the cape,
Could be seen from Jerejak Island,
Nasir, the deep yearning together we endure,
I want to cry but I’m not a child.]

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8 Refer Chapter One.
Nasir:

*Harap-harap sirih di puan, /katanya/
Kalau tak puan, kelapa bali,
Diharap pada mu tuan,
Kalau tak tuan siapakah lagi.*

[Hoping (and) hoping for a plate of betel,
If it isn’t a plate of betel, its palm oil,
Hoping (none other than) you miss,
If it isn’t you, who else might it be.]

Whereas, Tokcik’s *pantun* can be seen below:

*Ayam borek telaga batu,
Tambat mari pintu gua,
Lubang buret dapat satu,
Lubang pantat dapat dua.*

[(A) flecked fowl (and a) stone well,
Tied it up to the cave opening,
The anus I got one,
The vagina I got two.]

In his story, Pak Atan uses *pantun* as a form of dialogue (viz., through letters) between two lovers, Nasir and Shamsiah. Clearly, through a poetic form, (i.e., *pantun*), both characters manage to show their deep feelings of love for each other. On the other hand, Tokcik uses *pantun* as a device to sum up the concluding episode of the story (T50 - ‘Burung Gekgek’). It shows what actually the protagonist does, i.e., he disguises himself as a bird and has sex with all three of his hosts.

3. Shortening Phrases

It is observable that the storyteller often uses a phrase which could be termed a ‘shortening device.’ Its function is to eliminate, omit or avoid any further explanation on the current subject mentioned as if it is known to the listener or it is unrelated to the
sequence of the story. The common type of such a phrase is “...(en)tah macam mana..” (“...not sure how...”). Among the storytellers who regularly use the phrase is Cikgu Senin. In T66 - ‘Lidah’ (Tongue) for instance, Cikgu Senin produced this shortening device four times. The four instances are quoted below:

1. “...Tah macam mana, teringatlah dia nak kawin semula...” (“...Not sure how, he thought of marriage again...”).

2. “...Entah macam mana, satu harilah raja ni pun beisterilah baru..” (“...Not sure how, one day this king got married to a new wife...”).

3. “...Jadi tah macam mana, satu harilah raja ni bepike macam mana nak tangkap orang yang buat tak baik dengan bini dia ni..” (“...So, not sure how, one day this king thinks how to catch those persons who had sex with his wife...”).

4. “...Jadi entah macam mana, raja pegilah memburu...” (“...So, not sure how, the king goes hunting...”).

In all these cases, it is evident that Cikgu Senin used the phrase in order to avoid elaborating on how the king got all these ideas. He takes for granted that they are not worthy of explanation at length as they are commonly known.

Other than the entah macam mana type, the narrator may also employ other forms of shortening phrase that carry a similar function (i.e., avoiding elaboration). These phrases are: begitu begini; tolak punya tolak; dah nak jadi cerita; aleh-aleh; pendeknya; pendek cerita; jimat kata; and pendek kata.9 The first four of these phrases including the

9 Begitu begini in T19; dah nak jadi cerita in T71; aleh-aleh in T2; tolak punya tolak, pendeknya, pendek cerita, and pendek kata in T59; and jimat kata in M65.
entah macam mana form are colloquial phrases. However, aleh-aleh is equivalent to tiba-tiba which means ‘suddenly’ in English. In contrast, begitu begini, tolak punya tolak and dah nak jadi cerita could be translated as: ‘(doing) this and that;’ ‘as things happened’ and ‘as it is to become a story’ respectively. The forms pendek kata; pendeknya; pendek cerita; and jimat kata, however, can be generalized as ‘in short’ or ‘briefly.’

Thus the employment of storytelling techniques, (viz., repetition -parallelistic phrases with epiphora; insertion of pantuns; and shortening phrases) in a sense, shows that this amateur performance possesses poetic qualities, the impact of which has been shown above. Frequent use of such devices in storytelling develops non-stylized form of narration in the direction of a more stylized one. Likewise, the narrator (such as Abu Zarim, Tokcik, Pak Atan and so on), who tends to use such devices regularly in narration is brought a step closer to his counterpart, the professional performer.

**Devices of Humour**

As we have seen earlier in the previous chapter, the plots of Malay humorous tales can be divided into seven different categories. They are namely: i) order - misinterpretation of order; ii) action/situation - misinterpretation of it; iii) action/situation

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10 Humour has been subjected to rigorous studies by social scientists, especially by psychologist, see Mahadev L. Apte, 1992 : 67). For a brief literature on the topic of humour, see note 7 of Apte (1985 : 267 - 268). A few of these studies mentioned are: Bergler (1956); Fry (1963); Goldstein and McGhee (1972); Morreall (1983); and McGhee and Goldstein (1983).

11 Refer Chapter Four and Appendix 3.
- misinterpretation made by the second character; iv) deception - positive result to the deceiver; v) deception - negative result to the deceiver; vi) climax - bizarre reaction to the situation/action or solution of a problem; and vii) miscellaneous. These categories reflect the actions of the characters and define who the main heroes are (i.e., numskull, cunning, and trickster figures). The seven different divisions could be simplified into four categories, as follows:

i) Order - misinterpretation of order;

ii) Action/situation - misinterpretation of it by protagonist or by the second character;

iii) Deception - positive result to the deceiver or negative result to the deceiver;

iv) Climax - bizarre reaction to the action/situation or solution of a problem.

On the basis of these factors (i.e., the heroes; and the simplified classification of plots), we are able to show and explain what usually provokes the Malays to laughter, and to some extent, to determine what devices of humour are used in Malay humorous tales.

The first two groups in the simplified classification of plots above, (i.e., i. order - misinterpretation of order; and ii. action/situation - misinterpretation of it by protagonist or by the second character), reveal that the main hero is the numskull figure. Similarly, in

12 Refer Chapter Four and Appendix 3.
13 Refer Chapter Four, in particular the classification of heroes.
the deception tales, (i.e., iii. especially in the case of a positive result to the deceiver), the rival to the hero is also the numskull figure. In most cases, the numskull’s actions can be considered as incongruous due to his slow-wittedness. According to John Morreall (1983: 15), incongruity is a cognitive reaction to something that is unexpected, illogical or inappropriate in some other way.14 In a more elaborated definition, Paul E. McGhee (1979: 6 - 7) argues:

"The notion of congruity and incongruity refers to the relationships between two components of an object, event, idea, social expectation and so forth. When the arrangement of the constituent elements of an event is incompatible with the normal or expected pattern, the event is perceived as incongruous."

This notion of the incongruous can be perceived when the numskull character performs silly, awkward, and irrational actions resulting from misinterpretation of actions and situations. The data reveal that incongruity is one of the fundamental devices of humour in Malay humorous tales that stimulates laughter. Some of the best examples of incongruous acts are in T22, T23a, T24, and T25.15 All these stories depicted the escapades of Pak Pandir playing the role of a numskull.

In T22, for instance, Pak Pandir is ordered by Mak Andih to buy a buffalo but he buys a sickle instead as he misinterpretes the description of the animal (a thing that eats grass) given by his wife. As a villager, it is strange to see Pak Pandir failing to recognise both objects, especially the buffalo as it is a common domestic animal. Furthermore, to make his predicament even worse, Pak Pandir drags and later ties the sickle to a mango

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14 For a brief discussion on the history and the theory of incongruity, see Salvatore Attardo (1994: 47 - 49) and John Morreall (1983: 15 - 19).
15 Refer Chapter Three for the tales or Appendix 3 for the summarized translations.
tree when he reaches home. The object cuts his legs and heels as he drags it and makes him scold the tool. Such silly and illogical acts by Pak Pandir are incongruous, i.e., incompatible with the expected pattern of normal village life. In another example, in tale T24, Pak Pandir is depicted bathing his child in a boiling water. He is unaware that his child is dead and takes the poor child’s grimace for laughing. He silly action continues when he buries an empty mat, supposing it to be his child’s corpse in it. He drops the corpse and later fails to recognise it on the way home. Again, his acts are incompatible with normal life.

Putting aside Pak Pandir tales as the focus of attention, elements of incongruity can also be noticed in other tales. In M42 (‘Orang Dakwah’ - The Missionary) for example, a missionary who leads a mass prayer suddenly disappears unnoticed by the congregation during sujud. He escapes quietly because he realizes he has made a silly mistake (i.e., reciting the passages aloud during the zohor (noon prayer)). His action is improper as it is not allowed for one to abort prayers and leave in such a manner. As a missionary he is ashamed to face the people and admit his mistake, because he is considered knowledgeable in religious matters.

In M68, the incongruous act concerns a Javanese rubber-taper from Johor having lunch in a big hotel in Singapore together with his wife. The scene is set during the Korean War when the rubber price was expensive and this rubber-tapper was among the

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16Bow in kneeling position as the forehead touches the ground and it is part of praying routines.
farmers who had received the windfall. As an ordinary villager, he is unfamiliar with the city life-style and does not have any experience of dining in such a place. Therefore, eating with fork and spoon is new to him as he usually eats with his hand instead. When the cook asks whether he wants a fork, he tells the cook to put a bit of it in the food (noodles) he ordered. In his ignorance he mistakes the fork for one of the ingredients for preparing the noodles.

In the deception type of stories, for instance, an incongruous act by the numskull figure can perhaps be seen in T5 - ‘Kena Simpai’ (Got Hooped) by Haji Manan. The story depicts a thieving ogre being trapped and killed for eating all the salted fish. Owing to his stupidity the ogre is unaware that he is being fooled as he offers himself to be hooped in order to cure his illness. His deceiver manages to tie up the ogre’s hands and knees using rattan loops.

Alongside incongruity, absurdity is another form of humorous device. Mostly this kind of device can be perceived in stories of the fourth plot type, (i.e., climax - bizarre reaction to the action/situation or solution of a problem).\(^\text{17}\) Regardless of who the heroes are, in such stories the climax is frequently absurd. For instance, in Najib’s M18 - ‘Orang Pencen’ (Pensioner), a pensioner goes for a vacation in Japan with his wife. Each of them wants to surprise the other, so they go shopping separately. The husband buys medicine to cure his baldness and his wife buys medicine to enlarge her breasts. In the course of

\(^{17}\) Refer Appendix 3 for further examples of the stories provoked by absurdity.
their actions, they mix up their medicines and, unaware of the situation, they apply the wrong medicines to their problems, which leads to an absurd conclusion. When they return home the pensioner finds his head swollen and his wife’s breasts hairy. In the traditional category of the story, the element of absurdity can be seen in T36 - ‘Tengkah Kentot’ (The Breaking Wind Challenge) by Cikgu Radi. The story finishes with the poor man succeeding in marrying a princess as the result of winning the farting challenge. In the process, the hero manages to answer back to the sound of the princess’s farting, something that had never been done before. All the previous challengers had been decapitated for their failure. The princess farted: ‘Tang! Tang! Tang! Tut!’ and he farted back: ‘Bang! Bang! Bang! But!’

One more form of humorous devices often found in Malay humorous tales is the element of surprise. Mostly this type of device is found in the fourth type of plot in the simplified plot classification (i.e., climax - bizarre reaction to the action/situation or solution of a problem). The element of surprise is evident in stories such as M126, and M127. In M126 - ‘Trojan,’ for instance, the story is presented in spine-chilling style. It depicts the incident happening on a rainy night, on a lonely road, at mid-night, on a Thursday night.¹⁸ The story features two friends driving home who are suddenly stopped by an old lady who asks for a lift. Her dress is covered with blood but later on it turns clean white. The men are shocked and scared and ask her for an explanation. She replies that it is due to the effectiveness of ‘Trojan.’¹⁹ The explanation brings the story to a

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¹⁸ Malays call it as ‘malam Jumaat,’ (Friday eve). Superstition has it that during ‘Friday night’ spiritual beings come out wander around. For comparison, see Amir’s M8 - ‘Makcik’ (Aunt).
¹⁹ A brand of detergent.
sudden halt and catches the listener by surprise. The matter-of-fact answer, ‘Trojan,’ has absolutely nothing to do with the eerie story leading up to it.

A similar pattern of presentation is visible in M127. Rumours about a new Malaysian car which is to be introduced have spread around. It is said that the model is far better than the previous ones in terms of speed, shape, beauty and it glides along the road. The element of surprise appears when the name of the model is suddenly mentioned, “Produa Babi.”20 The name is unthinkable and unacceptable as babi means “pig,” forbidden animal in Islam,21 so that Malays regard the pig as disgusting. In both examples above, the elements of surprise are well camouflaged and are executed only when the stories reach their climax.

Regardless of the classification of plots and whoever the heroes are, sometimes, Malay humorous tales may also provoke laughter through playing on ambiguous words. The ambiguity of words or double meanings which evoke laughter can be seen in M34 - ‘Tok Arab’ by Tokcik. The story features an Arab who marries a Malay woman but cannot understand Malay. After the ceremony the bridegroom is eager to have sex but his wife refuses as she is menstruating. She says, “datang kotor” (i.e., polluted), but her husband mistakes it to mean dirty and asks her to wash herself. Then she says, “datang bulan” (i.e., month), and he thinks she means the moon. Only when she says, “datang

20 Previous models were named “Produa Kancil” and “Produa Rusa,” after the mousedeer and deer respectively.
21 Malaysia is an Islamic country and pork is forbidden (haram) to Muslims.
“haid,” does her husband understood, as ‘haid’ is an Arabic word. All these phrases carry a similar meaning, menstruation.

In Yusop Vespa’s M86, the ambiguous word is “kacau,” which means either stir or disturb. The incident happens in a Chinese coffee-shop when an Indian customer accuses the shop-keeper of purposely giving him a cup of coffee without sugar. The vendor, however, asks the man to stir the coffee in order to mix the sugar as it lies at the base of the cup. An argument occurs as the Indian repeatedly misunderstands the term to mean disturb. He takes the vendor’s answers as a signal to start trouble and smashes the cup. In another example, M87, the master of ceremonies who is an Indian invites the guest of honour to come forward to unveil the plaque in the opening ceremony for a new block of a Tamil school building. However, for “unveil” he says, “untuk membuka kain,” which can also mean to ‘lift open the sarong.’ His action brings an embarrassment to the guest of honour who is a lady and wearing a sarong.

However, in most instances, it is observable that amusement is usually induced by a combination of several of the devices mentioned above. For examples, in the case of M74, M79, M81, M82, and M91, the humorous devices combine elements of incongruity and absurdity. Hamzah’s M74 - ‘Basikal’ (Bicycle) for instance, depicts a numskull Aborigine who finds a Westerner raping his wife in his own house. However, the culprit is unaware that the Aborigine has returned. On seeing the incident, the Aborigine is confused and does not even attempt to stop the act. He wonders whether to fight the
culprit but realises that he is too small; thinks of stamping on the white man but fears that the culprit’s penis might only penetrate deeper, and wants to stab him but is scared that the blade of the spear might pass through the white man and kill his wife. Instead of taking any of those actions, he takes his revenge on the Westerner’s bicycle by banging it against a tree. However, his anger does not subside, although he has completely wrecked the bicycle. So he goes into the kitchen and eats some cold rice to cool his anger. The story reveals the Aborigine’s numskull behaviour in performing incongruous actions which were totally irrelevant and illogical. His solution to the problem is absurd.

In other cases, ambiguity may be combined with surprise to produce humour, as in M53 and M106. The latter for example, revolves around the ambiguity of the word sekaki which carries a double meaning, namely disabled with only one foot, and a foot long in measurement. The story tells of a woman who is unaware that her soldier husband has only one leg. Earlier, the soldier had to leave urgently for duty on his wedding day. While on duty he stepped on a mine and his leg had to be amputated, but he does not inform his wife and family. When he returns home and prepares for bed his wife is shocked to see his condition. She shouts, Mak! Satu kaki! (Mother! One foot!). However, her mother mistakes the phrase ‘one foot’ to mean the length of her son-in-law’s member and replies, Untunglah nak o! Bapak ko enam inci aje! (You’re lucky my child! Your father is only six inches!). It was considered incongruous for such a remark to be made by a mother to her daughter, and it took the audience by surprise.

22 Both stories are variants of each other, see Appendix 3 (tale number 76).
Another combination of humorous devices is between absurdity and surprise as in T74, T75a, T75b, and T79. In T79, the King of Banjar possesses a huge and very long penis, which he has his guards carry before him everywhere he goes. However, the guards in front play trick on him by purposely poking the royal organ into some thorns along the way. When the king is informed what caused the pain, he orders his guards to clear it away. However, when the men push his member into a cow’s genitals, he instead orders them to move it forward and backward continuously. The king’s decision when he feels the satisfaction has elements of absurdity and surprise.

Laughter may also be provoked through the combination of ambiguity, absurdity, and surprise. T78 - ‘Kena Tawan’ (Captured) of Azizi for example, features three captured men who are about to be boiled alive by some tribesmen. The only way to survive is to satisfy the sexual desire of the chief’s daughter. The first two captives fail in their attempt but the third person succeeds because, as he puts it, he ‘uses his head.’ The ambiguity lies in the word ‘head’ which usually means ‘thought’ but here means that he uses it instead of his genitals.

Similarly, laughter can also result from the combination of ambiguity, incongruity and surprise, as in M102 and M104. The former for instance, tells a story of a newly converted Chinese Muslim man, mualaf who is about to marry a Malay divorcee. During

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23 T74 and T79 are variants of each other, see Appendix 3 (tale number 131).
24 Both stories are variants of each other, see Appendix 3 (tale number 46).
the wedding ceremony held at the bride’s house, confusion over the meaning of the word ‘lancar’ (fluent) leads to the cancellation of the wedding and the bridegroom being chased away. It happens when the bridegroom who has a thick Chinese accent is unable to say the consent (a compulsory phrase) fluently (lancar) in reply to the imam during the akad nikah (marriage contract). The routine is repeated several times without success. Some of the guests start talking to each other saying that the bridegroom is not fluent (tak lanco). Thinking that they are saying he has no penis (lancau), the Chinese becomes angry and opens his trousers to show it to the wedding guests, who chase him away.

The examples employed above show that incongruity, ambiguity, absurdity and surprise play a fundamental role in inducing laughter in Malay humorous tales. Sometimes laughter may also arise owing to the combination of several of the elements mentioned. However, incongruity play a major role in evoking laughter as it occurs most frequently. This fact justifies the claim that the Malay humorous tales are mostly anchored upon numskull tales, since such characters characteristically perform incongruous actions. Furthermore, the numskull actions fit the classification of plots either in the misinterprettation or deception type of stories.

25 Mostly all words ending with ‘ar’ were replaced with ‘o’ in ordinary speech such as in pasar (market); tikar (mat); kasar (rough); lapar (hungry); and cakar (scratch) become paso; tiko; kaso; lapo; and cako respectively.
26 Pronounced also as lanco which means penis in Chinese.
Functions of Malay Humorous Tales

Didactic functions were amongst the important factors in literature which was taken seriously by the traditional Malay society. Edifying tales were preferred because they contained the elements of didacticism which could be beneficial to the postulated audience. This matter was often emphasized by the writer in the beginning of a traditional Malay literary text (Sweeney, 1980 : 28). One of the examples of such practice is the prologue of the Sejarah Melayu, which has been widely quoted by scholars of Malay literature. Tun Seri Lanang clearly defined his didactic intention in creating the text when he said:

"...barang kita perbaiki kiranya dengan istiadatnya, supaya diketahui oleh segala anak cucu kita yang kemudian daripada kita, dan boleh diingatkan oleh segala mereka itu, syahden adalah beroleh faedah ia daripadanya," (Sejarah Melayu : 2).

Muhammad Haji Salleh (1991 : 25) translated this passage as follows:

"...perhaps we can improve it with all due ceremony, that it may be known by all our descendants, who come after us and so that they may remember it. And thereby gain profit from it."

Such an approach to literature clarifies the important task of a writer or a storyteller. In creating or presenting their tales they have to take into consideration that the beneficial effect of the text matters most to the audience.
Looking at all the Malay humorous tales which have been examined in this study, we have to admit that more often than not the characters have a negative image and are endowed with negative characteristics such as laziness, deceitfulness, gluttony, greed, dishonesty, delinquency and pruriency. How then can such characters carry elements of didacticism? Pak Pandir for instance, is not only portrayed as a buffoon but may also feature as a villainous trickster and without doubt cannot be idolised or turned into a symbol to be proud of. It seems that these particular tales have no beneficial effects because they are immoral and obscene. Furthermore, on the face of it they create a bad impression. This is identical to what Sweeney (1980 : 29) said about ‘Pak Pandir’ tales, “... tales such as Pak Pandir stories, which would seem to be more designed to raise a vulgar laugh than to edify;...” However, if the stories are viewed from the reverse angle, their beneficial effect can be realised. This beneficial effect emerges in terms of negative didacticism.

Braginsky in his work, “Hikayat Hang Tuah : Malay Epic and Muslim Mirror,” (1990 : 407 - 410), focused on the episode of Hang Jebat’s rebellion as an example of negative didacticism. Passion overcame Jebat’s reason. He became a demon, intoxicated with power. He took over the palace, killed the palace women, ran amok, plunged the kingdom into chaos and so forth. By these negative actions, Jebat becomes a negative example of sorts. The author of the hikayat has eventually succeeded in revealing the hidden didactic message of his work. The message is tragic and serious. In the tragic figure of Jebat, the author shows the wrong way to behave. Jebat, as a symbol of
passions, is counter-opposed to Hang Tuah, a symbol of reason and the bearer of the idea of right conduct, beneficial for Malacca.

Tales such as Pak Pandir possess a similar quality of negative didacticism. However, it is presented not through tragical and serious negative examples but in terms of comical and funny ones. Through laughter, the audience receives moral teaching on the basis of the rule of contraries, in terms of Pak Pandir’s transgression of the social norms especially in the role of a villain trickster. They laugh, not at the transgression of the social norms, but at Pak Pandir himself. This prevents the audience from being bored by the dullness of seriousness. Thus Malay humorous tales will refresh the audience during the storytelling session. Braginsky states that:

"The stories of Pak Pandir and the other heroes similar to him as well as those of mouse-deer, could seem just unpretentious jokes if they did not reveal one of the most significant aspects of the world outlook of the Malays, just as of many other peoples of the world, namely the role of laughter in their lives: both destructive and creative at the same time. Jokes, puns, the illogical actions of these heroes evoked the feeling of ease and relaxation so necessary to the audience. They opened a kind of "safety-valve" for the audience, a window into a kind of "anti-world" where everything was turned upside down. For the time of the story-telling the listeners freed themselves, as it were, from the strict regulations of the communal life, its innumerable prohibitions and taboos. In stories of this kind reality showed its most unexpected facets, appearing before the listener with its elements interrelated in the most unusual way. Thus these stories provided the listener with an opportunity of experiencing the unity of the universe anew, transformed, cleansed and rejuvenated by laughter.

On the other hand, by means of the “humorous inversion” of established norms of behaviour, these stories all the more emphatically affirmed the truth of the norms and moral values they seemed to reject, on which that unity was based and which was now refreshingly alienated by the hero's tricks and pranks. And finally, the humorous stories vividly showed the dignity of the intellect overcoming all obstacles. All these features of humorous stories are particularly obvious in written Tale of the Ingenious Pelanduk, which, in the general opinion, is a parody, but a parody in the medieval sense of the word, i.e., didactic “from the contrary”, because it always presents a “reversed” picture of the duly ordered world through the portrayal of a kingdom of animals bearing absurd titles and ruled by a mouse-deer which has overpowered them by his cunning (Braginsky and Phillips, 1998 : 17 - 18).
This view corresponds to Mikhail Bakhtin’s (1984: 66) description of the Renaissance conception of laughter, as follows:

“Laughter has a deep philosophical meaning, it is one of the essential forms of the truth concerning the world as a whole, concerning history and man; it is a peculiar point of view relative to the world; the world is seen anew, no less (and perhaps more) profoundly than when seen from the serious standing point. Therefore, laughter is just admissible in great literature, posing universal problems, as seriousness. Certain essential aspects of the world are accessible only to laughter.”

Therefore, we can dismiss claims that these pieces of narrative prose (viz., Malay humorous tales) are unworthy of attention, as being only a lower genre of literature, standing at the periphery of the literary circle. Although it contains numerous negative images, especially those of the elements of sex, it nevertheless reveals also certain essential aspects of the world which can only be approached through laughter, i.e., as a form of negative didacticism.

However, the functions of humorous stories cannot be reduced only to negative didacticism. On the one hand, the fundamental use of Malay humorous tales is for socializing purposes. In social gatherings, the participants free themselves from the burdens of the day in the company of friends, peers, and colleagues in a relaxed manner, while the storyteller for his part enjoys narrating stories, and the audience for its part enjoys listening to them. On such occasions, they may laugh at the elements of humour presented to them.
On the other hand, in most cases, Malay humorous tales were also used as a kind of weapon of criticism. Indirectly, by means of blending criticisms, views and thoughts about the society together with elements of laughter, criticisms which it is totally impossible to make openly can be freely expressed. The effect may be to raise a few eyebrows, especially among those who are the intended targets. However, humour makes it possible, since laughter liberates both the anonymous author who creates and the storyteller who narrates the stories from any form of authoritative pressure that might put them in jeopardy. At least, they feel freedom to express their views through the telling of Malay humorous tales, and are thus able to mock and criticize their intended targets.

Usually, such criticism is against negative elements of society such as stupidity, stinginess, greed, hypocrisy, dishonesty, pomposity, delinquency, and so forth. Likewise, the criticism may also be laid against wrong doing or mismanagement by highly-placed members of the social hierarchy which includes royalty, the circles of society, and nobles. Among examples of wrong-doing are their incompetence, negligence, injustice, misuse of power and so on. This so-called weapon of criticism can be seen in two different perspectives: social and political.

In the case of social criticism, it is clear that Malay humour attacks stupidity. Stories about Pak Pandir for instance,27 suggest that people should possess at least a simple ability to think and a minimum knowledge of the skills needed to survive in daily

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27 Refer ‘Pak Pandir’ tales in Chapter Three, and Appendix 3 especially in the first three divisions.
life. Without such abilities we could easily be dominated and manipulated by others. It is not size, strength and power that matter most in daily life but intelligence. Stories about sang kancil in particular, suggest the need for this faculty. In a way, they set the standard of how society should perform to cope with situations that may occur in daily life.

A further form of social criticism is associated with relations between the state and ordinary people. Stories about the escapades of Abu Nawas, who symbolized the people, depict a commoner playing tricks on Sultan Harun al-Rashid, who with his bad qualities symbolized the state. On each occasion, Abu Nawas succeeded in out-smarting the king. This shows that the king is just as human as his subjects. As a human he also makes mistakes and he too can be punished. In another example, T70, a kadi (judge), who holds one of the respected positions and symbolizes Islamic institutions, is mocked. He is called in to settle a dispute between brothers over dividing their father’s wealth. However, as a mediator he is tempted by greed, dishonesty, and delinquency. He uses his position for his own benefit to gain some share of the wealth. This shows that one should not use the religious mask to hide his negative attitude in excising his power.

In recent times, the critical function of the stories has shifted from socially to politically motivated concerns. Often the figures who are criticized and mocked are

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28 Refer ‘sang kancil’ tales in Chapter Three, and Appendix 3 especially in the deception category.
29 Refer Chapter Three for examples of the story, and Appendix 3 and 4 for summarized translations and translations respectively. In comparison, see Maier (1991) for his analysis of Cherita Musang Berjanggut, which had a similar motif.
politic. There are several stories in the collected samples which revolve around politicians, such as M119, M120, and M121.\textsuperscript{30} In M121 for example, the focus of criticism is one of Kedah’s political figures who is accused of bribery. In the story he is symbolized by the Raja Bersiong (The King with Tusks), the famous character from the Kedah legend, \textit{Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa}, who has a habit of eating food mixed with human blood.\textsuperscript{31} However, instead of eating the food mixed with blood he eats 5 kilograms of fresh meat everyday. But only 2 kilograms enters his belly and the rest goes missing as it sticks between his teeth. The purpose of the story is to hint symbolically that the personage has embezzled some of the state’s resources for his own good and so to portray him as a corrupt leader. Interestingly, this story is similar in a way to the description of the huge figure and appetite of Raja Bedurai Puteh (White Viceroy) in \textit{Hikayat Anggun Che Tunggal} (1914 : 5). That personage is described as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
Tujuh hasta bidang dada-nya,
Tujuh chap pokok lengan-nya,
Gerhamnya empat sa-rumpun,
Sa-gantang makan daging,
Dua cupak lekat di-gigi-nya.
\end{verbatim}

Seven cubits broad his breast;
Seven spans around his arm;
Molars four from out one root;
Pounds of meat at once he’d raven;
Half would cling about his grinders. (Winstedt’s translation).

\textsuperscript{30} For other examples, see Abdul Wahab Ali (1997).
\textsuperscript{31} Further detail, see \textit{Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa} (Siti Hawa Salleh, 1980).
\textsuperscript{32} The word should be ‘geraham’ (molar) as in later edition of the text.
In another example, the British are among the targets of criticism. As one of the colonial powers, they are mocked and criticized by the Malays. Thus anti-colonial feeling can be detected in M96 - ‘Tuan Forest’ (The Forestry Official) by Tokcik, in which the British are criticized for their greed. The story depicts a boatman accusing the British of taking all the nation’s wealth and leaving the natives to die in poverty as he tries to explain why a tree is dying. In M97 - ‘Faa Yaa Sim Nga,’ William, a British officer is ridiculed for his pomposity. He boasts that he has killed various kinds of beasts in the past, but during a hunting trip, he is smartly out-witted by Abu. Abu shouts “Faa Yaa Sim Nga” several times to the officer. However, he mistakes the words for “Fire! Singa!” (Shoot! Lion!), i.e., shoot the approaching lion. In fear, William gives his shotgun to Abu to kill the beast and himself runs away for safety. The incident reveals that William is a liar, pompous and coward.

The Malays also use humorous stories to reinforce their sense of integrity, self-respect and self-esteem vis-à-vis other nations. Naturally, the Malays consider themselves equal to or even better than others. M37 for instance, shows how the Malays succeeded in beating Chinese and Japanese competitors in their skill with traditional weaponry. The Chinese slashes all the birds with a sword when they are set free from the cage. Similarly, a Japanese also cuts down a group of grasshoppers with his samurai sword as they escape from the cage. Finally, the Malay slashes at a group of houseflies with his kris. He seems to have missed them, but in fact he has cut off their genitals and wins the contest. In

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33 Four letters in jawi scripts which spell the word ‘pisang’ (banana).
another example, M108, a Malaysian soldier is shown to be braver than an American, a Russian, and a German soldier. They all obey orders to jump off a multistorey building, and injure themselves in the process. But the Malay is the bravest because he dares to disobey his superior’s order to jump. Although such stories are considered absolutely nonsensical, yet at least in fantasy, the Malays succeed in achieving their integrity and self-respect.

On the other hand, Malay humorous tales may also be used for self-mockery. For instance, the intention may be to arouse awareness among the Malays that they have not fully utilized their intellectual capacities. M123 in particular shows where the Malays are compared to other races such as the Westerners, Chinese, and Indians, when brains from various races are put on sale. The Westerner’s brain commands a high price because they are the colonialists; the Chinese brain is also priced highly because they are good at trading (they control the nation’s economy), and the Indian brain likewise because they are known for their trickery. But, the Malays’ brain is priceless, because it has never been used before. The story calls on Malays to use their brains.

In conclusion, the beauty of Malay humorous tales lies in utilizing vivid colloquial speech, enhancing its expressiveness by the use of appropriate classical language, English and dialectical words of Banjarese and Minangkabau. These languages are employed in order to imitate reality and bring it into the narration. However, the usage of English, shows, in a way, the level of the narrator’s education. In some cases,
the employment of dialects is needed in the story to make the comical effect better articulated. The aesthetic impact is further strengthened by employing various storytelling techniques in the presentation. These techniques include repetition, the insertion of *pantuns*, and the use of shortening phrases. The elements of laughter are induced in the stories through several devices such as incongruity, absurdity, ambiguity, surprise or by a combination of these devices. Finally, the humorous stories perform diverse functions, frequently of great importance. They serve as an instrument of negative didacticism, are used for recreational and socializing purposes, and act as a form of social and political criticism. They ridicule stupidity, arrogance, greed and lust, emphasize the value of wit and resourcefulness, and help to arouse personal and national awareness as well as a sense of national integrity.
Conclusion

Malay storytelling usually arises spontaneously within informal groups gathered together at leisure. Commonly, the storytelling session is held in the privacy of home, most likely in the main hall. It often occurs late in the evening after the evening meal or before bedtime. Thus it is a family-based occasion as stories are told usually by the older generation - grandparents to their grandchildren and parents to their children. Stories such as fables, aetiological tales, cautionary stories and humorous tales are among the various types of stories told on such occasions. These tales are exclusively told by ordinary people on a non-professional basis. At present, the interest in such storytelling has declined, owing to the growing popularity of modern means of entertainment, particularly electronic media such as television. On the other hand, the decline in interest in storytelling of that kind is also partly influenced by the decreasing numbers of capable narrators. Despite some decline in interest in storytelling, humorous tales are still popular and occupy an important place in the current life of Malay society.

Besides the traditional type of humorous tales as the core component, the genre has survived the obstacle of modernisation thanks to the emergence of a new type of tales which can be styled modern and contemporary humorous tales. Such tales are numerous and have flourished by taking modern and contemporary issues as their subject matter. The inclusion of this new subject matter makes the modern form of Malay humorous tales more popular with the public.
This study has shown that, nowadays stories are frequently told away from home. The many different kinds of festivals and holidays celebrated by Malaysia’s pluralistic society and the warm tropical climate combine to increase the opportunities for people to mix socially away from home. These factors allow people to stay long hours away from home, especially at food stalls. These stalls are the most preferred setting, as they provide the space for people to gather and socialize both during the day and in the evening until the early hours of the morning. Such places also provide an excellent atmosphere for storytelling sessions and have mushroomed due to the country’s recent economic growth. Usually these stalls are patronised by men in the company of their peers, friends or colleagues, away from children, the opposite sex, and family members. While they are socializing and enjoying various kinds of food, humorous tales are commonly told spontaneously. The most preferred type of humorous tales delivered during on occasions are the modern and contemporary ones.

The narrators of Malay humorous tales covered by this study come from diverse educational and economic backgrounds and are of different personalities. Most of the elderly storytellers have had only basic education (primary school), while the younger ones have completed their secondary level schooling, and a few of the younger storytellers are university graduates. Some of them have reached the highest rank of their local social hierarchy such as imam, mosque treasurer, or the person whom people consult on matters concerning local customs, history, and culture. They include teachers,
pensioners (ex-policeman, ex-fire fighter, ex-soldier, ex-teacher, and ex-village chief), technician, farmer and self-employed. Most of them have an easy manner, an open expression, a cheerful character and a quick sense of humour. Usually these storytellers are regarded as jokesters by their peers, friends and colleagues.

These narrators, exclusively men, who could be termed ‘amateur storytellers,’ are ordinary people. They do not earn their living or part of it from storytelling but mostly do it for the sake of pleasure and fun. They possess an interest in and habit of telling stories; they also possess a collection of tales, and the ability to perform spontaneously and to make their stories come to life in the presence of an encouraging audience. Commonly, these amateur storytellers acquired most of their stories from friends, and grandparents. They are usually identified as persons who can tell stories (boleh bercerita). However, it is only the elderly storytellers (age above 60 years old) who are still capable of narrating the traditional stories. The younger storytellers normally tell modern stories, especially those containing elements of sex. This shows that the former are the survivors of the tradition of yesteryear and suggests that the interest in traditional tales is declining and on the brink of disappearance.

Observation of the performance of Malay humorous tales shows that the atmosphere created during the deliveries can be of three types: lively and cheerful; less lively; and serious or dull, depending on various factors. Thus the combination of sex stories, a large audience, especially including friends, peers, and colleagues, and a setting
away from home usually produces a very lively outcome. The narrator’s personality and
temperament, such as an easy manner, an open expression, a cheerful character and a
quick sense of humour, also gives an extra edge to the performance as they help to
provoke the listener to laughter. Similarly, the listeners also play a significant role in
creating a lively atmosphere. Their intervention during the performance with questions,
remarks and laughter builds up the storyteller’s confidence. The listeners also give
supportive encouragement and assistance whenever the storytellers are floundering and
struggling to find a suitable word or phrase. Thus both parties play an important role in
creating a lively atmosphere during performances of Malay humorous tale telling.

Some narrators possess individual skills which differ considerably from one
storyteller to another. These techniques are blended skillfully and result in an excellent
performance. The storytellers’ idiosyncrasies are evident in terms of speech, gesture and
the use of opening and closing stock phrases. In order to produce a vivid and dramatic
delivery the narrators may alternate their speech between fast and slow, loud and soft,
and high-pitched and low-pitched, as demanded by the story. The employment of facial
expressions and gestures also made the narration more interesting to the audience and is
sometimes of crucial importance in the story. In practice, stories are not begun straight
away and ended with a closing formula. A few tellers start their sessions with a prelude,
which may include a short speech, or the recitation of pantun. Similarly, in ending the
story, some narrators may include a summary of the story or discuss the story with
accompanying laughter.
This study shows that narrators employ a variety of formulas to begin and end the story. In most cases, announcement phrases (such as OK lah! Ini cerita lagi cerita Banja la kan!) are used to begin the story, and closing formulas such as “Itu le ceritanya;” with a blessing in Arabic, “Sekian. Wassalam mualaikum warahmatullah hibarakatu;” or with an apologetic style “Jadi itulah saja cerita, cerita yang agak tak begitu tesusun. Ye! Terima kasih;” are used to bring it to an end. Hence the well-known and supposedly common type of opening formulas such as Suatu hari, Pada zaman dahulu, and Pada suatu masa dahulu and the closing formula tamat or habis are less likely to be heard. The various opening and closing formulas in a way frame the Malay humorous tale into a structured performance.

The nature of Malay humorous tales is another important and worthy subject for examination. The tales are mostly short and simple without complicated plots. The settings of these Malay humorous tales are often restricted to form ‘cell type like settings’ as they are usually placed in a single environment and enclosed in a limited space of time. The traditional tales are more likely to be set in a some indefinite epoch, quite unlike the modern ones. Malay humorous tales are anonymous, but the modern and contemporary stories may have some variants which differ slightly from one teller to another.
This study shows that the repertoire of Malay humorous tales is enormous. It is not in any way limited only to the five famous traditional personages: Pak Pandir, Pak Belalang, Pak Kadok, Si Luncai and Lebai Malang. It also contains other forms of recreational tales, such as the story of Kulub Kecil Kulub Besar and stories that portray animals as their protagonists. In this respect, the existing classification scheme followed by the ‘Winstedtians’ is totally inadequate. Malay humorous tales cannot be classified into only three major categories based on those well-known tales. According to the thematic classification elaborated in this study, all the existing tales, whether of the traditional or the modern type, can be classified into several divisions and sub-divisions. This classification reveals that the main themes of the Malay humorous tales are anchored upon the ‘cunning’ and the ‘numskull’ in both traditional and modern categories. Furthermore, the ‘ethnic’ and ‘occupational’ themes, which are more developed in the modern type of humorous tales show that the Malays are similar to other societies who enjoy in mocking other collective groups. In the ethnic category, the butts of their humour are the Aborigines (Orang Asli), Indians, Sikhs, Chinese (especially mualaf - recent converts to Islam), Westerners, and also the Malay sub-ethnic groups of the Minangkabau, Pahangese, Kelantanese, and Javanese. In the occupational groups, on the other hand, the prime targets are the politicians, policemen, and armed forces. Another theme popular in both traditional and modern categories of Malay humorous tales is sex. Such stories usually depict various sexual acts, from copulation to sexual molestation, and from adultery to rape. This indicates that the Malays too are fascinated by this type of stories.
Proceeding from a classification by modes of creation, it appears that although nearly all the tales have a fictional basis, there are a few which are based on the recollection of events which actually happened, classified here as ‘actual personal,’ and ‘actual general’ tales. A classification by heroes shows that the main heroes of the tales are the numskull, the cunning, and the trickster. In regard to the trickster figure, this study affirms that the Malays too have their own trickster figure. In human form, it is Pak Pandir, whereas the mousedeer, sang kancil, is its animal form. Both these characters possess ambivalent qualities, or positive and negative aspects: good and bad; cunning and stupidity; protective and selfish; moral and immoral. These ambivalent characters deceive and manipulate their dupes through their sharp-wittedness, but at the same time they too can be deceived and manipulated owing to their slow-wittedness and thus become dupes themselves. Thus we can dismiss the common view that Pak Pandir plays only the role of the numskull, for in fact he is also portrayed as a villainous cunning figure who is selfish, gluttonous, lecherous and amoral.

The classification according to plots corroborates the fact that the most popular themes and the types of heroes of the Malay humorous tales are heavily centred upon the numskull and the cunning. Five of the seven types of plot in this classification demonstrate in their escapades the numskull’s action of misinterpretation and the cunning’s act of deception. Misinterpretation of actions and situations makes the
numskull perform silly actions and the act of deception shows how the cunning manipulates his dupe.

The poetics of the Malay humorous tale can be examined through its linguistic and literary features. The former aspect consists of utilizing colloquial usage in order to imitate reality and bring it into the narration by means of using foreign language, dialects and classical language. The linguistic aspect further strengthens the aesthetic impact of the story through employing what could be termed storytelling techniques in the presentation intended to affect the audience. Such techniques include repetition (parallelistic phrases with epiphora), the insertion of pantuns, and the use of shortening phrases. Therefore, to evaluate the performance of amateur storytellers as merely something ordinary is totally unacceptable. They, too, have the ability to make the performance of Malay humorous tales more stylish and more expressive than mere everyday speech. However, the ability to use these skills differs considerably from storyteller to storyteller.

This study also enables us to explain what it is that usually provokes the Malays to laughter. Based on the classification of plots and heroes in particular, it is found that the elements of laughter are induced in the stories through several devices, such as incongruity, absurdity, ambiguity, and surprise or the combination of these devices. Furthermore, the stories perform diverse functions: they contain elements of didacticism especially in its negative form; are used for socializing purposes; represent a form of
social and political criticism; enhance self-respect; and arouse a sense of national awareness and integrity.

The atmosphere of Malay social life that was made warm by the presence of an eloquent storyteller is disappearing. The folktales of yesteryear are not as popular as they used to be. However, Malay humorous tales are probably the only type of tales that confirm an interest in storytelling amongst the Malays, and show that this interest is still alive. However, there has been a dramatic change in the type of tales told. Modern and contemporary types of humorous tales, especially stories about sex, are nowadays much preferred and exist in great number. On the one hand, they are delivered for the sake of fun and pleasure but on the other hand they are used for mockery and criticism. The elements of humour contained in the stories provoke the laughter of the participants (the storyteller and the listener). During the performance of humorous tales they gain the freedom to laugh, and this laughter liberates them from any forms of pressure.
APPENDIX 1

List of Narrators and Tales

1. Initials of narrators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABU</td>
<td>Abu Zarim bin Abu Hashim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJI</td>
<td>Haji Shahruddin Basri bin Haji Ibrahim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMI</td>
<td>Amir Hamzah bin Md. Radzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZI</td>
<td>Azizi bin Bakar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOB</td>
<td>Zaini bin Harun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAM</td>
<td>Hamzah bin Hariffin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JIB</td>
<td>Mohd. Najib bin Haji Ahmad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAN</td>
<td>Haji Abdul Manan bin Puteh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAZ</td>
<td>Nazari bin Mohd. Jais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIN</td>
<td>Isnain bin Bachik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOR</td>
<td>Mohd. Noor bin Abdul Hamid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYO</td>
<td>Maimunah binti Mohd. Jaib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAD</td>
<td>Md. Radzi bin Haji Arshad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAN</td>
<td>Mahran bin Sidek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAZ</td>
<td>Mohamad Razir bin Abdullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROM</td>
<td>Mohd. Romzi bin Tasinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHA</td>
<td>Haji Mohd. Sharif bin Haji Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>Syed Yusof bin Syed Hashim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOU</td>
<td>Mohd. Soud bin Sampol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAN</td>
<td>Mohd. Atan bin Abdul Kadir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOK</td>
<td>Haji Talib @ Abdul Mutalib bin Bulat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VES</td>
<td>Mohd. Isa bin Ibrahim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DBP</td>
<td>Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Collections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANO</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
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2. List of stories

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>S/teller</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Duration (second)</th>
<th>Theme(s)¹</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>T1</td>
<td>AIJ</td>
<td><em>Macan Kuda</em></td>
<td>1997</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
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<td><em>Bergigi</em></td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>72&quot;</td>
<td>QnS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><em>Makan Angin</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
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<td><em>Cik Putih</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td><em>Kena Simpai</em></td>
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<td>Qn</td>
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<td><em>Pak Pandir - Belalang Rusa</em></td>
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<td>RAD</td>
<td><em>Yang Sulii dan Yang Berat</em></td>
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<td><em>Si Bakhil</em></td>
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<td><em>Dua Orang Buta</em></td>
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APPENDIX 2

List of Tales According to the Thematic Classification

Based on the discussion on thematic classification, and to the extent of the collected samples in this study, the Malay humorous tales can be listed according to their categories, divisions and sub-divisions as follows:

**Traditional**

1. Human Quality
   a. Numskull T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10, T11a, T11b,
      T12a, T12b, T13, T14, T15, T16, T17, T18, T19, T20a, T20b, T21, T22, T23a, T23b, T24, T25, T26, T27, T28, T29, T30
   c. Hypocrisy T60, T61, T62, T63, T64, T65, T66, T67, T68a, T68b, T69, T70, T71
   d. Ambivalent T72, T73

2. Sex T74, T75a, T75b, T76, T77, T78, T79
Modern

1. Human Quality
   a. Numskull M1, M2, M3, M4, M5, M6, M7, M8, M9, M10, M11, M12, M13, M14, M15, M16, M17, M18, M19, M20, M21, M22, M23, M24, M25, M26, M27, M28, M29, M30, M31, M32, M33, M34
   b. Cunning M35, M36, M37, M38, M39, M40, M41
   c. Hypocrisy M42, M43, M44, M45, M46

2. Sex M47, M48, M49, M50, M51, M52, M53, M54, M55

3. Ethnic Groups
   a. Malays
      i. Minangkabau M56a, M56b, M57, M58, M59
      ii. Pahangese M60, M61, M62
      iii. Kelantanese M63, M64, M65
      iv. Javanese M66, M67, M68, M69, M70, M71
   b. Aborigines (Orang Asli) M72, M73, M74, M75, M76, M77, M78, M79, M80, M81
   c. Indians M82, M83, M84, M85, M86, M87, M88, M89
   d. Sikhs M90, M91, M92
   e. Westerners M93, M94, M95, M96, M97
   f. Chinese M98, M99, M100, M101, M102, M103, M104, M105
4. Occupational Groups

a.) Armed forces M106, M107, M108, M109, M110, M111, M112, M113, M114, M115

b.) Policemen M116, M117

c.) Forestry Officials M118

d.) Politicians, etc. M119, M120, M121, M122

5. Miscellaneous M123, M124, M125, M126, M127, M128, M129, M130
APPENDIX 3

Classification of Plots

1. Order - misinterpretation of order

T12a 1 The chief robber asks his men to steal 2 a mysterious thing. 3 They set off. 4 At their victim's house they mesmerize the occupants. 5 The occupants fall asleep. 6 The robbers ransack the house. 7 They find *sempal* (a tobacco ball) 8 gagged in an old woman's mouth. 9 The robbers mistake it for a mysterious thing 10 and take it to their chief. 11 Their chief is angry. 12 Next day, he sends his men 13 to look for a heavy thing instead. 14 The men follow the similar routine at their victim's house. 15 This time they find a millstone 16 and carry it to their chief. 17 The chief thwacks them 18 with the millstone.

T12b Steals the millstone first.

T22 Pak Pandir (PP) and Mak Andih (MA) work in a paddy-field. They intend to have a buffalo for plowing. MA orders PP to buy one. He is unfamiliar with the appearance of the animal. She informs him that a buffalo is the thing that eats grass in the paddy-field. PP set off and sees the grass being cut with a *keri* (sickle). He takes it for a buffalo and buys it. He ties and drags it along the road. The sickle cuts his legs and heels. PP scolds the 'buffalo' for hurting him. At home he ties the sickle to a mango tree. MA reveals his mistake and PP discovers the truth.

T23a 1 MA asks PP to stay at home. 2 She intends to work on their farm. 3 Before leaving she informs PP 4 that there is a plate of cooked mushroom (*gulai cendawan*). 5 She asks PP to leave some for her. 6 However, PP eats all the food. 7 When PP realizes his mistake, 8 he goes to the place where MA found the mushroom. 9 PP lies down on the ground 10 and covers his body with dried leaves. 11 He leaves his erect penis visible. 12 MA is annoyed 13 when she discovers the mushrooms have been finished. 14 She goes to the spot 15 seeking for mushrooms. 16 She sees what she takes to be a stick of fungus. 17 When she pulls to uproot it 18 PP cries in pain and runs away.

T23b 12 not annoyed.

T24 PP and MA have a child (unnamed). The child is three months old. MA intends to work in their patch of land. She orders PP to bath their child in luke-warm water when he wakes up. MA leaves. PP boils some water. He places the child in the boiling water and it dies. PP takes the child's grimace for laughing. MA returns and discovers the truth. MA orders PP to bury their dead child. He wraps the corpse in a mat. On the way to the cemetery, the corpse falls out. Unaware of the situation, PP buries the empty mat only. On his way back, he sees the corpse but fails to recognize his child. He returns and advises MA not to feel sorrow saying that not only their child died someone else also has had a similar experience. MA goes to see. She discover the corpse is their child.
MA plans to hold a feast in remembrance of their child’s death. She asks PP to invite the imam, *bilal* (muezzin), *siak* (mosque caretaker) and others. However, PP is unfamiliar with these people. MA explains that the imam has a beard while the muezzin wears white cap. On the way, PP meets with a *pipit* (white-headed bird) and takes it as the muezzin. He chases the bird and catches it. Then he meets with a goat. He thinks that the goat is the imam as it has a beard. PP takes both animals home. On the way the bird chirp, Pit! Pit! PP replies that his house is not small (*semit*). The goat then bleats, Bek! Bek! PP say that MA rice is not mushy (*lembik*).

MA orders PP to catch some fishes using the *taut* (a kind of angling equipment). He asks MA what the baits is. MA asks him to look for ‘deer grasshopper’ (*belalang rusa*). He fetches *taut* and leaves. PP looks for ‘deer grasshopper’ but encounter a sleeping deer. He catches the deer, hooks it and places in the water. PP returns. After 2 hours he comes back to check and sees the bait is still there. He complains to MA that the deer grasshopper is useless. MA investigates and sees the deer. They slaughter the deer.

A pair of mice lives at a side of a house. New siblings arrive. They nurse their siblings carefully. They advise them not to go to humans’ houses as it is dangerous. The siblings grow bigger and bigger. One day, the oldest of the siblings is suspicious about their parents’ activities. He investigates them. He sees his parents enter people's houses 10 stealing food. He thinks that his parents eat nice food in the house and ignore him. Next day he enters people’s house and finds some food and eat it. He accuses his parents as liars. He continues to steal in the humans’ house. Finally, he is trapped and killed. Before he dies he realizes how much his parents love and cared for him.

MA orders PP to bury their dead child, Andeh (c.f., see T24). PP places the corpse inside a mat and rolls it up and leaves. The corpse drops out and he buries the empty mat. On the way home he sees the corpse but fails to recognize it. He informs MA about the incident and she is upset to hear. They hold a feast. MA orders him to invite the guests. PP invites the hajjs, and other people including the goat and *pipit* (a bird). MA prepares the food. She orders PP to spread out the mat. PP spreads the mat including part of his penis as he stretches it out so wide and he sits at the back. During the feast hot gravy drops onto PP’s penis. He jumps in pain and runs. The guests depart. PP plans to trade and sail. PP asks MA to prepare some food (c.f., see T49). He hides himself on the shelf. He stuffs his anus with a cloth to avoid defecation. Part of the cloth hangs out. His mouth accidentally makes a sound. MA thinks it is the sound of the ship and PP is about to come home. She cleans the house and sees the cloth. She pulls it and PP defecates on MA. MA is furious and plans to leave. She gathers all her tilings and put them inside a basket. PP hides inside the basket. She departs with her child. On the journey PP urinates. MA thinks her cooking oil have spilt and rubs it on her hair. They stop at a *redan* tree bearing fruits to rest. She thinks of PP. She tells her child that if PP was there he would climb the tree to fetch the food. She says it a couple of times and PP answers from inside the basket. MA is annoyed and remembers the oil spilt incident. He climbs the tree to get the fruits. They reach an ogre’s house. They stop there for a rest. The ogre child hides them under a cauldron because his parents eat humans. The ogres set out hunting and returns with some animals. They cook their catches. As they are eating PP speak asking for a spoonful of the food, ‘*mintak sesodok.*’ MA is furious. The ogres search for them and find them under the cauldron. The ogres are shocked by their discovery. They are scared to see PP’s white teeth but without a lip and they flee.
MA plans to work on the farm. She orders PP to bath their child with luke-warm water (c.f., see T24). PP boils some water and places the child in a bowl containing the hot water. The child dies. PP takes the child's grimace for laughing. PP discover the truth when MA returns. She orders PP to bury the corpse. They wrap it inside a mat. PP takes it and leaves. He drops it and buries it in an empty mat. On the way home he sees the corpse but cannot recognize it. He informs MA not to feel sorrow because other people also share similar experience. MA investigates and discovers the truth. They plan to hold a feast in remembrance of their child. MA asks PP to buy a buffalo and gives RM 100 (c.f., see T22). Before he leaves PP asks about the appearance of the buffalo. MA informs him that it is a thing that eats grass. He buys a tajak (a tool to cut grass) instead. He takes it home and ties it to a tree. MA is furious to see it and order PP to return it and get a real buffalo. The seller gives a buffalo and PP takes it home. They slaughter the buffalo and prepare for the feast. MA orders PP to invite the guests but he invites the ogres instead. The ogre comes with his wife and eats all the food. PP has to stay at the ogre's house to feed their child. PP stuff the food into the child's mouth until he dies of choking. PP runs home to inform MA. They flee across a river. When the ogres discover that their child had died they look for PP and MA. The ogres chase them to the river but fail to cross. PP tells them to use the tempayan (a large vase). They use it and drown in the water.

A Chinese mualaf (recently converted to Islam) is asked by his wife to go to Friday prayers. He tells her that he does not know how to perform the prayer. His wife asks him to copy people in front of him. Then he sets off to the mosque by bus. After paying 50 sen for the bus fare he has another 50 sen coin left and puts it in his pocket. Coincidentally he sits in a row with other fellow mualafs. During the prayer (a mass prayer) and during sujud (bow in kneeling position so that the forehead touches the floor) the coin drops out and rolls to the mualaf next to him. He is also about to sujud. Unaware of the coin he palms it. The former worries that the latter might take the money and make him walk home. Then the former whispers to the latter telling him that his money is under his palm and asks him not to take it. The latter lifts his palm and sees the coin. He is annoyed and replies that he is not interested in the money. Suddenly, the next mualaf beside them tells that it is forbidden to talk during prayer. The fourth mualaf then states that he is lucky for not talking. However, the fifth mualaf questions the fourth mualaf's action. In the end all their prayers are faulty. When he returns his wife asks him to go for asar (evening prayer) at the prayer place. He tells his wife that he did not know the prayer. His wife asks him to follow the imam. He prays behind the imam and follows the imam's action. During rukuk (bow from the waist) his cap touches the imam's testicles. This makes the imam angry. As the imam stands he kicks the mualaf. The mualaf remembers his wife advice. He kicks the person behind him and makes them fall. After the prayer the imam chases him around the village in anger. He chases the mualaf until he is out of breath and dies.

1 seeks advice concerning praying from imam and some people + his testicles are big; [2 - 3]; 4 imam and some people; [5 - 27]; 8 + during sujud some naughty boys flicks his testicles; [29]; 32 from imam and some people + follows it + flicks imam's testicles + imam kicks him + he kicks to the back (but kick into the air cause there is nobody) + asks imam whether his prayer is valid (cause imam's kick hit him and his kick did not hit anyone); [33 - 37].

1 three mualafs + imam invites them to pray together + explain some basic rules (not to talk and walk); [2 - 8]; 9 not a coin but a big mouse passes; [10 - 13]; 14 talks saying that a big mouse passes; [15 - 19]; [24 - 37].
2. Action/situation - misinterpretation of it

11 T2 A person gets married. The first night his wife practises oral sex. He mistakes it for normal intercourse. Next morning, a friend of him asks about his experience. He tells him that his wife’s vagina has teeth. His friend do not believe. He takes his friend to the river. Together they watch his wife bathing. She is naked. She notices someone peeping. Her clothing are far away. She grabs some kangkung (a kind of leafy vegetable) in the water. She covers her genitals. Her husband tells his friend that his wife’s vagina is eating kangkung. This proof that her vagina has teeth.

12 T6 PP strolls along a river bank. He meets an angler. He asks the man what bait he is using. The angler tells him he is using a ‘deer grasshopper’ (belalang rusa). PP looks for the deer grasshopper. PP catches a huge deer instead (c.f., see T27). He ties up the deer and places it into the river as bait. The deer struggles to free himself. The splashing sound of the water makes the angler came to investigate. He sees a deer. The man slaughters the deer and divides the meat with PP.

13 T7 PP strolls in the forest. He encounters a sleeping deer. He stops and examines the stag’s antlers. PP hangs his lunch, betel and cigarette pouches onto the stag’s antler. PP lies down by its side. He feels and massages the stag’s legs and ribs and says it is nice to cook. The stag wakes up and runs off with PP’s pouches. He chases and shouts, ‘Oncang aku!’ (My pouch!).

14 T9 A mutilated Ethiopian is caught stealing. Both his hands have been cut off because of his previous felonies. In this occasion people see him stealing a cauldron. They catch and take him to the judge. The judge does not believe that he could steal due to his disability. He releases him to go free. The accuser is very embarrassed in front of the public. The Ethiopian is happy. He proudly walks to the cauldron. He bends down and using both his elbows lifts it to his back and carries it out of the court. At that moment, the judge orders the guards to catch him. His actions prove that he is capable of stealing the cauldron. From that day on ward there are no more cases of stealing.

15 T14 A man goes to the town and buys a mirror. He takes it home and hides it in his room. When he looks through the mirror he laughs as he never had the experience before. His wife is curious at his action. When he is working, his wife searches the room and finds the mirror. She look through the mirror and sees a woman. She mistakes her image for another woman. She calls her mother-in-law complaining that her husband has an affair with another woman. Her mother-in-law agrees but the person he is seeing is as old as her. She calls her husband and informs him of the matter. Her husband checks and sees a man instead of a woman. All the family members mistakes their images for someone else.

16 T20a Mat and Seman are two blind friends. 2 They plan to go fishing. 3 They prepare themselves with the rods, baits, fishing hooks, fishing lines and their lunch. 4 They go to the jetty 5 and steal a boat. 6 They sit facing each other and start paddling. 7 The boat rocks forwards and backwards several times. 8 They think that it is due to waves. 9 They do not realize that the boat is still tied to a pole 10 and they are paddling in different directions. 11 They hear the sound of the mangrove fruits falling into the water. 12 Mat and Seman think it is the sound of the fish splashing. 13 They
anchor their boat. 14 They drop their fishing lines. 15 Some crabs drag their fishing lines 16 into their holes. 17 They think that their lines were caught by *sesirat* (a rather worthless fish that makes a knot in the lines). 18 As they are arguing 19 the boat owner comes. 20 Only then do Mat and Seman realize that they are still at the jetty.

1 Ali and Amat; 18 + eat the food.

17. LM (Lebai Malang) gets two feast invitations, upstream and downstream. He is undecided about which one to attend. He becomes greedy. He intends to go downstream as they are offering beef. He paddles his boat but it is high-tide. He struggles to combat the current. When he reach the house the feast is over. He quickly paddles back upstream instead. However, it is low-tide. Again he struggles with the current. When he reaches the house the feast had just finished.

18 The man with hernia (Si Bodek) suggests to the blind man (Si Buta) and the deaf man (Si Pekak) to look for food. The hernia man stays at home preparing the spices. Both of them plan to steal a goat (c.f., see T11a and T11b). They go to a goatpen at night. In the dark the deaf man feels for the goat. He feels a thieving tiger. He mistakes the beast who is also planning to steal for a goat. They put the tiger into a sack and shoulder it home. In the middle of the journey, the tiger scratches open the sack. The thieves try to save themselves by climbing on trees but the blind man climbs a dead tree. The tiger comes back with a bear for revenge (c.f., see T56). They tie their tails together. The blind man falls on top of the tiger. The beasts run off and snap their tails. The bear loses its tail in the incident. The blind and the deaf men return home empty handed. Then they plan to steal in a house. The blind man enters through the kitchen and finds some rice. The deaf man sees gold coating on a gong. He scraps the gold and then hits the gong. Somebody comes and catches them stealing. The hernia man pretends to wake up the house owner as an excuse. The blind man in attempt to escape fall into a drain. When they succeed in escaping they came to a coconut tree. The deaf man climbs and eats a coconut on the tree. The hernia man asks the deaf man to pass him one. The deaf man ignores him. The man with hernia climbs tree and is followed then by the blind to get the coconut themselves. In an attempt to get a coconut the blind mistakes the hernia’s testicles for the coconut. He twists and pulls the testicles. The hernia man cries in pain. In the chaos all of them fall to the ground.

19 A man joins a religious gathering at a *surau* (prayer place). A feast is held after the prayer. He is invited for dinner but refuses saying he is not hungry. After the feast all the guests prepare themselves to sleep. They place their caps at their sides. Among them there is a man wearing a red cap. In the middle of the night the man who refused the food feels hungry. He forages in the dark for food. Unfortunately grabs hold of the red cap. He mistakes it for a pancake and eats it. A small part of the cap remains. When he is full he continues his sleep. In the morning everybody wakes up and put on their caps. The man with the red cap is unable to finds his cap. They search for the cap and find the small bit of the cap. They sees the culprit’s mouth is red. They realise he has eaten the cap and so his mouth is red in colour.

20 A housefly and a frog set out for an expedition. They came to a river bank and see a divorcee washing clothes. Her sarong is disarranged. The housefly and frog can see the woman’s vagina. Frog asks his friend to investigate the place. When he returns, the housefly tells the frog that the place is suitable for both of them. They move to the new place. The divorcee’s boyfriend appears. He is eager to have sex with the women. When they are having sex, the housefly and frog are trapped in side the woman’s genital. Once it is over, both friends manage to free themselves. Then they tells each other of their experiences. The housefly explains that a bell hit his head and he felt dizzy. The frog says he saw a snake. He had to avoid it when the snake tried to bite him but he
could not stand its poison.

21
A mouse and a monkey compete with each other. They want to know who has the strongest penis. They see an elephant passing. The monkey jumps on the elephant and molestes the beast. Then it is the mouse's turns. He jumps and molestes the elephant but he takes a very long time. This makes the monkey bored. The monkey takes a coconut and throws it to the mouse. However, it hits the elephant and he shouts in pain. The mouse mistakes the shouting of the elephant for the effect of his actions.

22
Minah works in a mamak's (Indian Muslim) restaurant. Mamak fancies her. He asks Minah to show her legs to him in return for a goat. Minah agrees. Then he asks Minah to lift her sarong higher. Minah agrees and she gets a further goat. Similar requests are made several times and each time Minah gets a goat. Lastly, Minah's genitals are visible. Mamak asks whether he can thrust his penis a bit in her vagina. Minah refuses as mamak no longer has any goat to give. Mamak ignores her demand but continues thrusting his member. Minah enjoys it. She requests mamak to thrust it slowly in return for the goats she has. In the end mamak gets free sex and all his goats back.

23
A fisherman keeps a ghost (hantu raya) to look after his belonging. However, he knows that the ghost likes to woo his wife. He tries to think of a way to stop it as he is going for a fishing trip. Then he pulls out one of his pubic hairs and gives it to the ghost. He asks the ghost to straighten the hair. By doing so the ghost will be busy and forget to disturb his wife while he is away. Then he leaves. The ghost tries hard to do it. After a month he succeeds in his task. The ghost is happy and thinks of disturbing his master's wife again. He goes to the house disguised as his master. The ghost calls her and she mistakes him for her husband. At the moment she is bathing. When the ghost pushes open the bathroom door he faints. The ghost sees his master's wife's pubic hair. When the ghost recovers he prattles to himself saying that he took a month to straighten one hair. Now, there is a lot more to straighten. The ghost flees.

24
A student takes his girlfriend back to her hostel in a car. On the way home he encounters an old woman at an abandoned bus-stop. He stops and asks where she is going. She tells him that she is going back to Sungai Nibong. He explains that there was no bus passing through the route. He takes the old woman to her destination. In the middle of the journey he experiences a horrible smell. He looks through the rear mirror and sees that the old woman's face has changed. This made him very scared as it is Thursday night (malam Jumaat). The old woman stops him in front of a graveyard. He becomes too frightened. When the car stops the old woman apologizes for farting in the car.

25
A young man returns home. He is a rocker (interested in rock music). Although he is a rocker he is a pious person. Before he reaches home he stops at an old prayer place to pray. The imam is old and everything he does is very slow. The imam made several false starts in the process saying
M11 A divorcee snoops and eavesdrops under his ex-wife’s house. She has just got married to another man. As the married couple is about to sleep they have a conversation. Her new husband asks her who got a bigger penis between him and his previous husband. She replies that her previous husband has a bigger penis. The person under the house is happy to hear it. Then her husband asks again whose penis is longer. She replies her previous husband. His ex-husband is jubilant. Then her husband asks again who got bigger testicles. She answers it is her previous husband. Suddenly, her ex-husband calls out telling her not to mention about testicles. So, they realize that he is peeping under the house.

M16 A fisherman teaches a boy to fish. He advises him to use a live bait. He explains to the boy that when the line is tight a fish is caught. He tells him further that sometimes when the line is loose it might be a better fish. Suddenly, the boy sees the line is loose and tells the fisherman. He pulls the line to check. No fish is caught but the bait is climbing a pole instead.

M22 A blind old man has many grandchildren. He likes to play with them. One day his grandson comes and tell him that his granddaughter, Salmah has died. He asks what caused her death. The boy says she died because some milk stuck in her throat. The old man asks what the milk looks like. The boy explains it was white. The old man asks again what white looks like. The boy says it looks like a heron. His grandpa asks again how the heron looks like. The boy is annoyed and he holds his grandpa’s arm. He shapes the arm like a heron. The old man mistakes it for the milk.

M26 Isa and Mamat plan to steal. They snoop under an old couple’s house. As it nearly isyak (the late evening prayer) and it is dark under the house the boys bump their heads against the floor board. The couple mistakes it for the sound of gong coming from the mosque. The husband says that it is isyak. However, Isa thinks that the occupants are calling his name and know their whereabouts. They run and trap themselves in the next door backyard. In the dark, Isa heard somebody calling his name. He replies back. Mamat appears and tells Isa that it is some ducks whom he is talking to.

M27 Baharuddin goes fishing late in the evening. He uses his son’s bag to carry his stuff. He catches some fish. Suddenly, in the dark he catches a strange object. He snatches his machete and chops the object into pieces. He thinks it is some spiritual being. Then prepares himself to go back. He looks for the bag but it is missing. He investigates the object that he chopped and finds that it is his son’s bag.

M29 Wan Sulaiman visits his friend in town. His friend takes him for dinner in a restaurant. Then they return home. However, Wan Sulaiman is unfamiliar with his friend house. In the middle of the night he wakes up to use the toilet. However, he fails to find the toilet and defecates in his sarong. Then he tries to throw the sarong through the window. He mistakes the glass wall for an opened window. The faeces falls on the floor. The sound wakes up the whole house.
An Arab marries a Malay girl. He is eager to have sex with his wife. After the wedding he pulls his wife into the bedroom. However, the woman is in her period and refuses to have sex. She tells her husband that she is datang kotor (menstruating). He mistakes it for dirty and asks her to clean herself. Then his wife says, datang butan (having her period). He mistakes it for ‘moon’ and says that the moon is in the sky. Then she says datang haid (period). Only then her husband understands as it is an Arabic word.

A dakwah (missionary) stops at a prayer place during zohor (noon prayer). However, his knowledge is not strong. When the imam sees the dakwah he asks him to lead the prayer. Although he agrees he is not enthusiastic about leading the prayer. During the prayer he reads the passages loudly instead of in silence. People are curious. The dakwah realizes his mistake and he feels ashamed. During sujud (bow in kneeling position as the forehead touches the ground) he quietly runs away. People wonder why it is so long. Then someone replaces the imam and continues the prayer to the end.

A villager receives a cow from the Department of Agriculture. He rears the cow properly and it grows into a healthy animal. One day he takes a fancy to the cow’s backside. He climbs on a tree stump and sexually abuses the cow. While he is molesting the cow the village chief passes and sees him. He jumps and grabs the chiefs gun. Then he orders the village chief to do the same. He threatens to shoot if the chief refuses. The chief obeys his command. Two weeks later, there is an open day in the village. Many people came for the festivities. The agriculture officers also came to check the villagers’ cows. Everybody looks at him and he feels uncomfortable. He mistakes bela for bele (molesting) and thinks that someone knows his secret. He shouts that he did not do it alone but together with the village chief. The village chief is ashamed and the village folks do not believes him anymore.

A man looks for a male prostitute. He asks what the payment for oral sex is. The prostitute explains it is only RM5 but, if with air-conditioning, it costs an extra 20 sen. The customer is surprised at the cheap rates. He doesn’t understand why the air-conditioning is so cheap. He asks again to be certain. Then male prostitute explains that 20 sen is to buy Hacks (a brand of sweet containing menthol).

Triplets hold a discussion in their mother’s belly. They discuss their future careers. The eldest wants to be an interior designer because he finds it a dull environment in the belly. The second triplet wants to be an electrical technician. He wants to put some lights because it is dark in the belly. The third triplet wants to be a policeman. He intends to arrest the bald boy who vomits every time he comes into their place.

During the Korean War rubber-tappers became rich. Rubber was high-priced. A Javanese farmer is among the rubber-tappers who benefited from such good fortune. He manages to buy a Morris Minor car. He drives to Singapore with his wife. They have lunch at a big hotel and order two plates of fried noodles. The cook asks him whether he wants a fork. He replies to put a bit in the food. He mistakes ‘fork’ for an ingredient in the fried noodles.
38
A herd of elephant attacks an Aborigine settlement in Gelong Forest, Perak. The TV3 (a private television company) crews go there to cover the news. They interview the headman. They ask him when the elephants will come. The headman misunderstands the question. He replies that he has not made any appointment with the elephants and the elephants also have not made any appointment with him.

39
1 An Aborigine goes hunting in the forest. 2 His wife stays at home. 3 While he is away a westerner working for WHO (World Health Organization) 4 comes to his house. 5 He sees the Aborigine's wife and rapes her. 6 While he is raping her the Aborigine returns. 7 He sees the act and 8 he is angry. 9 However, the westerner is unaware of his return. 10 The Aborigine thinks of fighting the culprit but he realises that he is too small. 11 Then he thinks of stamping on him with his foot but is scared that the culprit's penis will penetrate deeper. 12 Then he thinks of stabbing the man with his spear. However, he is scared that the blade might pass through and kill his wife. 13 Suddenly he sees the westerner's bicycle in the yard. 14 He takes the bicycle and bangs it several times against a tree. 15 The action damages the bicycle. 16 Then he says that his bicycle is damaged but not his wife. 17 However, the westerner is not done yet. 18 When the Aborigine comes into the house again it is over. 19 He sees his wife's genitals are wide open. 20 This makes him angry. 21 He goes to the kitchen 22 and eats some cold rice 23 to cool down his anger.

40
1 An Aborigine rides his motorbike 2 to and fro from the settlement to the town. 3 He carries several people each time to the Sunday market. 4 A police officer notices him and tries to stop him. 5 Then the officer raises his arm. 6 However, the biker passes the officer but he raises his arm back to the officer. 7 The police officer is annoyed. 8 A few minutes later, the Aborigine returns. 9 He tells the officer that he was sorry for not stopping 10 as his bike is full. 11 Then he offers his services to the police officer. 12 The police officer is annoyed 13 and asks him to go. 14 Later, the policeman stops the motorcyclist again. 15 In this instance, he carries his family member. 16 The officer explains that he has broken the laws. 17 Then he says that the bike is his 18 and introduces all his family members 19 including himself. 20 Then he asks what his offence is. 21 The officer becomes fed up with the situation 22 and lets him go free.

41
An Aborigine goes to the police station. He wants to report that his son had been attacked by a tiger. When he reaches the station he fails to find the entrance. He circles the building several times. Then he sees a window and he jumps in. He is lucky because the room belongs to the station chief. The officer asks him about the incident. He asks the time when the tiger attacked his son. He replies that the tiger did not use time but just attacks. Then the officer asks his son age. He does not know but remembers that his son had got his passport twice. The officer understood that the boy is 21 as what the Aborigine thinks of as a passport is the IC (identification card).
Lastly the officer asks the date of the event. He replies that he does not know but what he remembers is that the moon was exactly on top of a durian tree.

1 Several officers from JOA (Department of Aborigines) visit an Aborigine settlement. 2 Then they take the headman for a drive in town. 3 The headman witnesses life in town as he has never experienced it before. 4 They also take him to a movie. 5 When he returns home 6 he tells his experiences to his fellow-villagers. 7 Then he asks them whether they want to see a movie. 8 They shout in affirmation. 9 The headman tells them that if they want to see a movie they have to line up. 10 They fix a date to go. 11 When the day comes the whole settlements turns up and 12 form a very long line 13 with the smallest in front follows by the tallest at the back. 14 Then they walk to town. 15 They cross a railway line and see a train passing. 16 The headman explain it as an iron centipede (*lipan besi*). 17 Then they come to a cross road with a traffic light. 18 It is green at the moment and the headman explain it is only for the army 19 and they have to wait. 20 When it is yellow, the headman tells them it is for the royalty. 21 When it is red the headman orders his folk to moves. 22 The town is plunged into chaos as the line is very long. 23 Then they reach the cinema and they are late. 24 All the tickets are sold 25 except for the reserve seats. 26 The headman asks his people to get in line 27 to buy the ticket. 28 All of them manage to get in. 29 They gather in front of the screen and 30 watch a cowboy movie. 31 The headman has seen it previously. 32 He shouts to his people stating that the cowboys are their enemies. 33 When the Indians appear he shouts again stating that it is their people. 34 During the shooting episodes they see a lot of Indians get killed. 35 The headman suggests that they hide to avoid the shooting. 36 All of them hide behind their seats. 37 As the film progresses they sees the Indians are usually defeated. 38 The headman then orders his people to retreat 39 and get out of the cinema 40 to save his people from extinction.

1 happens in Sungkai when the cinema was first introduced in the 1950s or '60s + people are excited including the Aborigines; [2 - 26]; 27 + they buy tickets for the first class seats but take seats in front instead + they think that they paid more and so have the right to seats in front; 35 not the headman but one of the Aborigines shouts to lie down to avoid the shooting; [36 - 40].

42

43

An Indian goes to a Chinese coffee-shop. He orders a cup of black coffee. The waiter places the coffee on the table. Then the Indian complains that there is no sugar in the coffee. The waiter tells him to stir (*kacau*) it. He mistakes it for stir up trouble. An argument occurs as the Indian repeatedly confuses the terms. He takes the answers as a signal to start trouble and he smashes the cup. Then the village chief suddenly appears and resolves the problem. He explains the meaning of the term to the Indian and pays for the coffee and the broken cup.

44

Toh Puan Raha (wife of Tun Razak) is invited to officially open the new building of a Tamil school. Many people come for the ceremony. After all the speeches are delivered it is the time to raise the curtain over the brass plaque. The master of ceremonies is an Indian. He calls upon the guest of honour to come forward to raise the curtain. However, he says *'utuk membuka kain,'* i.e., to open or take off her skirt.

45

Several boys from a Malay estate invite their friends from the Indian estate for a friendly soccer match. The pitch is beside a railway line. During the match, twice a train passes. On each occasion the players of the visiting team stand excitedly looking at the passing train. Each time a goal is scored and the visitors are on the receiving end. In the end the host team wins by 2 goals. When the truck carrying the visitors is about to leave some Malay boys tease them for their ignorance that lead to the defeat. This angers one of the visitors. He shouts that this team is the B team. The A team hasn’t arrived yet.
1 A Chinese green grocer lives in a Malay village. He travels to several villages to trade. He meets a divorcee who buys vegetable from him everyday. They became acquainted and her parents like him. Then her father tells him if he wants to marry his daughter he has to convert to Islam. The Chinese agrees. He converts to Islam and undergoes circumcision. Then they hold a wedding ceremony. The guests gather. The imam comes and the bridegroom is ready. He sits in front of the imam for the akad nikah (marriage contract). The imam recites some prayers. Then he starts the ijab kabul (consent). The bridegroom has to answer. He cannot say it fluently. The wedding witnesses claim it is not valid. The consent is repeated and it is continuously repeated for several times. Then they bathe him before they continue with the consent. Again it is faulty. Some of the guest says that the bridegroom is not 'lancar' (Icncar - fluent) in answering the consent. The bridegroom hears this and becomes annoyed. However, he mistakes it for 'lancau' (penis in Chinese). In anger he says that he has a penis. He opens his trousers and shows his penis to the people. The people become angry and chase him away. The wedding is cancelled.

During the British occupation many Malay soldiers work as servant for a British officer in the officer's mess. The officer asks his servant for his shoes. The servant replies he has sent them to the laundry. The answer confuses the officer who asks a passing Malay corporal to sort it out. The corporal asks the servant to sort out the situation. Then he finds that the servant confuses shoes with socks because of his ignorance of English. Then he gets the shoes from under the bed.

A major takes his servant to a golf course. He aims at the ball several times as he prepares to make a drive. Then he hits it. He places his hand to his forehead to watch the ball. His servant asks him what he is looking at. He answers that he is looking for the ball. The servant tells him that the ball is still there at his feet. He is annoyed with the situation. On the way home he gives his servant leave and advises him not to play golf.

A forestry official stops a lorry carrying logs. He inspects the lorry. Then he asks the driver how many are there and how many logs they are taking. The driver replies that there are two people, himself and his assistant and there are two logs (batang - also means to penis). The answer annoys the forestry official. He thinks the driver is playing a joke on him. On inspection he sees that there are four logs. He asks for an explanation. The driver explains that each log has been cut into two parts. This annoys the forestry official. Then he asks the driver to show him the lower and upper ends of the logs. However, the driver asks the forestry official for the answer. He says that the bigger section is the lower end whereas the smaller section is the upper end. Then the driver says it is wrong as both ends are in the forest. The answer makes the forestry official speechless and he asks them to leave.

Najib visits his friend, Cikgu Seleman in Parit Raja, Johor. They sit and talk until midnight. In the area near Parit Kome there is a graveyard. There are rumours stating that people have seen a ghost there. It is a female ghost disturbing people and she is beautiful. It is late for Najib to go home. As he is about to start his motorbike the couple tries to scare him. They tell him to beware of the ghost because she might suddenly sit behind him. However, Najib replies that it is good as he is still single. He might divert his motorbike to some bushes. He mistakes the situation and
regrets using such words in front of his friend's wife.

51

M125 Nasir and Samsiah are lovers. However, they have never met each other yet and they only correspond regularly through letters. Nasir asks his girlfriend for a date in Port Dickson. She accepts the invitation and they drive to Port Dickson. In Port Dickson they walk together on the beach. Then Nasir tells Samsiah that he is going to the other end of the beach and asks her to wait on the bench. After a while he comes back. He walks quietly toward the bench and covers Samsiah's eyes. However, the girl is not Samsiah. She stands up and swears at Nasir. Nasir is surprised because he doesn't realize that she is not Samsiah. Furthermore, she is wearing a similar colour dress and she is facing toward the sea. Nasir tries to explain but she ignores him. Then Samsiah come and the problem is resolved.

3. Action/situation - misinterpretation made by the second character

52

T1 A king tries to find a suitor for his daughter. He succeeds and his princess gets married. However, his son-in-law is impotent. The situation upsets his wife and his parents-in-law. They search for healers to treat the problem but fails. His son-in-law thinks of divorcing his wife. However, he has a dream. In the dream he meets with an old man wearing a white robe. He asks to look for him to resolve the problem. He also informs him of his whereabouts. In the morning he gets a horse and looks for the old man. He succeeded and confirms the dream is true. The old man asks what type of genitals he hopes for. He wants it like those of the horse he rides. Then the old man sends him home. He returns. After three months the princess is pregnant. Her parents are happy. The king asks his son-in-law how he managed to overcome the problem. He tells every detail of it. Next morning, the king sets out to looks for the old man. He succeeds. He also wants genitals like the horse's. Then he returns. That night, suddenly the queen screams. A moment later the king himself screams out loud. Actually, the king made a mistake. He rode a female horse.

T11a 1 A shepherd is busy 2 driving his herd of goats back into their stall 3 at dusk. 4 His children are busy playing 5 in the yard. 6 They ignore their mother asking them to come into the house. 7 She tricks them by saying there is a ghost dusk. 8 A thieving tiger overhears the woman's remarks. 9 The tiger is scared of the dusk ghost. 10 The beast hides among the goats. 11 When it is dark and quiet, 12 and the tiger is about to steal, 13 two thieves appear. 14 The thieves are planning to steal the biggest goat. 15 The tiger mistakes the thieves for the dusk ghost. 16 The thieves mistake the tiger for the biggest goat. 17 They put the tiger into a sack 18 and shoulder it across the forest. 19 The tiger scratches the sack 20 and manages to stick its head out. 21 The person at the back alerts his friend that 22 there is a tiger. 23 The front person runs faster. 24 The tiger manages to flee. 25 The thieves run too when they see the tiger.

T11b Same as above.

T13 The Malays and Chinese are ignorant of Western culture. They see a ball at the beach. They chase it. The Chinese gets it first. They cut the ball into two and find nothing in side. The Chinese say, 'Bo la!' (Nothing!). The Malays misunderstand the Chinese remark. The Malays thinks the object is call 'bola' (ball) and use until today.
Students of an adult literacy class are expecting a visit from a minister. The teacher is busy preparing the students for the visit. To avoid any embarrassment the teacher teaches them some signals which he will use if they can’t answer the minister’s question. Then the day comes and the minister arrives. In the class the minister tests the students’ reading. The minister is very proud of the students’ progress. Then suddenly the minister writes the word ‘tangar’ (hand) on the board. It is a new word for the students. The teacher signals to them by waving his arm. Then the minister points to an old person to answer. However, he declines to answer but the minister keeps insisting. The old man mistakes his teacher’s gesture as meaning penis. Finally, he shouts it loudly, butoh!

Dollah is a boy who lives in multi-racial village. He likes to play football. One day, while playing football a Chinese boy swears at him saying, ‘cibai’ (Chinese - penis). He returns home and asks his mother for the meaning. His mother explains it as a bowl. Then his father returns and asks him where his mother is. Dollah tells that his mother is washing cibai in the kitchen. His father is surprised and has a look. Next day, he plays football again. Somebody swears at him saying, ‘tancan’ (Chinese - penis). At home he asks his mother what it means. His mother explains it as umbrella. Then his father wants to go to the shop and it is raining. He reminds his father to bring along his tancan. His father is surprised as Dollah passes him the umbrella. Then the following day, he plays football again. This time someone says, ‘kongkek’ (Chinese - intercourse) to him. He asks his mother the meaning. His mother tells him it is sleeping. Then a visitor came to the house asking for his parents. He tells the visitor that his parents are ngongkek. The visitor is shocked by the explanation.

A mad man stands in the water near a jetty. His father tries to rescue him and nearly drowns. A passer-by thinks he is helping his father. They just watch the incident. Then somebody jumps into the water and saves both of them.

Twins are jealous ever since they were still in their mother’s belly. The younger is very jealous of his brother as he is first in everything. One day he has an idea. He knows that his brother always drinks milk earlier than him every morning. So he put some poison on his mother’s nipple before he sleeps. Next morning, he feels strange. Everything is calm and quiet as if someone has died. He sees his brother is still alive. Then realizes it is his father who has died.

Three robbers robs a bank. However, only two of them enter the building while the other one waits in a helicopter. They have carefully planned the mission. The two robbers dress only in their underwear. They paint their bodies black. After getting the money they set off. They are unlucky as the alarm rings. The police come and surround the building. However, they manage to fly off. They cannot land their helicopter anywhere is Malaysia because the police trail them. They plan to fly to Hawaii. One the way, the two half naked robbers tells their pilot friend that it is unfair because he had his clothes on. They feel cold. Then the pilot asks what he should do. The two robbers ask the pilot to switch off the fan (kipas). When they are switched off the helicopter plunges into the sea.

An imam is late for his asar (evening) prayer. 2 As he runs to the mosque 3 he passes a huge guava tree. 4 He looks up and sees Mamat, a boy 5 up at the top. 6 He calls the boy to climb down. 7 Mamat refuses. 8 The imam looks in his pocket 9 and finds RM5. 10 He offers Mamat RM5 11 to climb down. 12 He agrees 13 and gets the money. 14 Mamat runs home 15 and tells
his mother. 16 After the prayer the imam returns. 17 He passes the same tree 18 and the boy's mother, Minah is on the tree. 19 The imam calls her to climb down 20 but she refuses. 21 Then imam offers her some money 22 and she agrees. 23 She climbs down 24 but the imam gives her only 20 sen. 25 She complains: why does she get less than her son? 26 The imam explains it is enough for her to buy a razor blade 28 because her pubic hair is too long.

M20 1 a pious person (orang alim) + strolling; [2]; 3 a tree + recite prayers + facing the tree and looking up; 4 naked girl; [5]; 6 the girl; [7 - 12]; 13 RM10 + asks to buy trouser; 14 the girl; 16 next day + pious person + recite prayer; 18 the girl's mother + naked; [20 - 22]; 24 pious person gives 50 sen; 26 pious person.

M30 Yon is Hamid's fiancée. Hamid likes to peep at her secretly. One night Hamid covers his face with a banana leaf and peeps as his fiancée urinates. The urine drops onto the leaf and makes a cracking sound. Yon is shocked to hear the sound and she screams. Her father hears her screaming. He mistakes it for somebody trying to break in. Instead of pencuri (thief), he shouts in panic, Pencoreng! Pencoreng! (meaning, Thief! Thief!).

M31 A boy whenever he wants to urinate will say that he want to sing. He is used to it as he has been taught to say this by his grandfather. One day his grandfather is not around when he wants to urinate. He tells his grandmother that he wants to sing. His grandmother thinks that he really wants to sing. She asks the boy to sing close to her ear. Then the boy urinates in her ear.

M35 An old man deposits a large amount of money every day. A banker notices and is curious. He asks the old man where he gets so much money every day. The old man says that he bets and wins. He never loses. Then the old man asks whether the banker wants to bet with him. The old man advises the banker not to worry. The banker agrees. They bet that in a week's time the banker's testicles will be missing. If they are not missing the old man is willing to pay him RM10 000. They agree on the terms. Each day the banker checks his testicles. After a week the old man visits the banker's house with his friend carrying a briefcase. Then the three of them go to a room upstairs. The old man then checks the banker's testicles. He checks them three times to make sure. Each times the testicles are there. Then the old man says that he and the banker have both won the betting. The person who loses is his friend that carries the briefcase. They bet that if the old man can touch the banker's testicles three times in a row the man has to pay him RM30 000.

M38 There is a sugarcane plantation on the other side of a big drain. An apek (an old Chinese man) guards the area. A group of boys tries to think of a way to cross and steals the sugarcane. A boy appears on the scene. The boys explain their problem to the boy. The boy tells them it is easy and asks them to get some stones. He takes the stones and throws them at the apek. He also teases the apek. The apek is annoyed. Apek misread their intentions. He cuts up some sugarcanes and throws them back at the boys.

M40 A man with a cleft palate gets marries. He marries a divorcee with two children. Her vagina is no longer as tight as a virgin's. When they have sex, the man asks his wife to, kemut (grip). Because of his speech defect his wife mistakes it for semut (ants). She replies that there are no ants in the bed. Her husband is annoyed. Then he asks her to cough. She does not understand the point of coughing. Only when she coughs does her husband feel the satisfaction.
66

1 A married man suffers from impotence. 2 He seeks help from a healer. 3 The healer gives him only three chances. 4 He has to say, *Naik! Naik! Naik!* (Up! Up! Up!) 5 and his member will become erect. 6 Then he has to say, *Iss! Iss! Iss!* 7 to make his member subside. 8 He is happy and returns home. 8 His house is far away he has to catch a bus. 9 The bus arrives, the ticket conductor says, *Naik! Naik! Naik!* 10 At that instant his member stands erect. 11 He has to call for it to subside again. 12 Now he has two chances left. 13 When he reaches home, 14 his neighbour is holding a feast. 15 He arrives exactly as the guests arrive. 16 The host invites them to come in as he calls, *Naik! Naik! Naik!* 18 Again he has to call for his penis to subside. 19 Then he got one last chance. 20 Finally he had a chance with his wife in the room. 21 He conjures it to become erect. 22 His wife is shocked and surprised to see the size and the condition of his penis. 23 Unintentionally she says, *Iss! Iss! Iss!* 24 At that instant the penis collapses. 25 In the end he fails to have sex with his wife.

67

1 an unmarried person + his mother urges him to marry + married + his friend inform about the healer; 6 whistle; 11 whistle; 13 door is locked and knocks + mother-in-law welcome + calls *Naik! Naik! Naik!* He has to whistle; [14 - 18]; 23 his wife whistles.

68

Abu visits his fiancée. The place is in a remote area. Unfortunately, he is unable to get home as it late and the last bus has left. His future in-laws invite him to spent the night at the house. He agrees and sleeps on the verandah. Abu cannot sleep because there are a lot of mosquitoes. His host did not give him any mosquito coils or mosquito net. He is shy to ask for those items. He is annoyed by the mosquitoes. In anger Abu says that he wants to rape the mosquitoes. His words are heard by his fiancée’s father. He thinks that Abu’s penis must be very small if he is able to rape the mosquitoes. He wakes up his daughter asking her to break off the engagement because her fiancé has a small penis.

69

I An old couple lives in an *atap* (palm leaves found by the river bank) house. 2 They usually have sex every Thursday night. 3 A village boy likes to peep at them 4 having sexual intercourse. 5 One Thursday night the boy peeps at the couple. 6 He cannot see clearly because the room is dark. 7 He can see only the old man’s testicles swaying. 8 The boy is annoyed with the situation. 9 He gets a bamboo stick 10 and pushes it through the palm wall 11 close to the man testicles. 12 He blows down it. 13 The man thinks that his wife is farting. 14 He asks her 15 but she denies it. 16 The boy blows again 17 and the old man asks his wife whether she farted. 18 Still she denies it. 19 The couple change their position 20 and only then can the boy see clearly.
A man has just come back from a pilgrimage to Mecca with his wife. He is less devout than his wife. In Mecca he did not have the chance to have sexual intercourse. Having sex at an improper time may result in paying a fine. When he reaches home he is eager to have intercourse. However, he has to wait because they have a feast and the relatives are there. After the feast he calls his wife to the bedroom and locks it. He asks his wife to move all the bags and their grandchildren off from the bed but place her bottom there instead. As an obedient woman she follows his orders. He urges his wife to have sex and it surprises her.

After completing her shift a factory worker sets off home. She travels in a bus. She wants to urinate. The driver won’t stop, so she stands by the window and urinates. Her urine catches a motorcyclist behind the bus. The biker overtakes and stops the bus. He climbs aboard and in anger asks which passenger who spat through the window. He says that he saw the person who spat has a mustache.

A Kelantanese man stays abroad for a long time. He marries a European. His Malay is no longer fluent. Then they return and settle down in Malaysia. His wife reminds him about changing their life style and being religious. They start learning and practising praying. Then they pray together. The husband leads the prayer. He reads the ‘Fatihah’ passage. At the end of the passage he wrongly says, ‘walaatdarling’ instead of ‘walaatdaalin.’ His wife thinks he is calling her and she replies with ‘abang’ (a common endearment to a husband) instead of ‘Amm’ (Amen).

A young man marvels at a Javanese wak (a term of address in Javanese for an older person) for his ability in angling. Every time he sees this wak casts his line he catches a fish. Then he goes and asks this wak for some hints. Wak explains to him that every morning when he plans to go angling he looks at his wife’s sleeping position. If she is facing to the right he will cast the line to the right. If she is facing to the left he casts to the left. The young man asks, what if she is in an upward position. If she faces upward then wak will cancel his plan because his plummet is hooked (meaning that he has intercourse with his wife).

An old Javanese man (wak) goes to town. He wears a coat with a big belt. He brings along his son and drives his old car. In the middle of the journey the car breaks down. He asks his son to push but he ignores him. He mends it himself and luckily its starts. He continues driving for a while and the car breaks down again. Again his son declines to help. In a sweat, he walks to a nearby food stall. At the stall he orders ‘Oren Tjuh’ (i.e., 7 orangeades) instead of saying 7UP (a brand of soft drink). The food vendor opens seven bottles of drink and brings them to him. He wonders who might drink the rest and asks for an explanation. The vendor explains that he has ordered seven bottles. It annoys him. Then the vendor asks what his son wants to drink. He replies ‘kasik biar’ (ignore him). However, the vendor mistakes it for beer and brings a bottle. The boy gets drunk and falls to the ground. The old man becomes surprised and asks the vendor what he gave his son. His explanation and the confusion over the drinks anger the old man and he decides to bring the matters to the police. At the police station, an officer questions the old man regarding the argument that led to the mentioning of the car. The officer asks him the type of the car he possesses. He says it as waksegen (Volkswagen). However, the officer thinks he is saying that he is shy (segen). Only after a while does the officer understand that it is Volkswagen. Then he asks for the registration number of the car. The old man pronounces it as ‘bijik ae dua dua nampak’ (BGA 2264). The explanation shocks the officer as he mistakes it for ‘both her nipples are visible.’ After a while they understand what the old man meant. Then the officer asks the old man to go and find a mechanic to fix his car.
An Aborigine searches for rattans in the forest. His wife stays at home. He hears tigers roaring. He is scared and panics. He runs into some bushes, and bends his head down. The Aborigine is not wearing anything except for covering his private parts. A pair of tigers appears. The female beast is pregnant. The beast comes to the man and feels his testicles. The tigers assumes they are fruits and wonders what kind of fruits they are. As the female tiger touches the testicles, the man breaks wind. It sounds, Pot! The tigers thinks it is a pot fruit. The beasts feels that it is still unripe and departs. The Aborigine runs home and tells his wife. Some days later, his wife is in the forest. He is sick. While gathering rattans she hears tigers roaring. She is scared and urinates in fear. She remembers her husband's experience. So, she enters the bushes and bends down. The tigers come and see the 'fruit' have been plucked recently as the sap is still there. The tigers regret not taking the fruits the other day.

A soldier has just got married. On the wedding day he receives a telegram asking him to report for duty. He leaves. While on duty he steps on a mine and his leg has to be cut off. He does not tell people at home about the matter. When he returns and is ready for bed, his wife is shocked to see he is one-legged. She shouts, Mak Satu kaki! (Mother! One foot!) Her mother thinks she means his penis is one foot long. She replies that her daughter is lucky. Her own husband's genitals are only six inches long.

During the British occupation a loan scheme is introduced in the army to buy bicycles. Every two months the bicycle will be checked. Said is caught for making a false claim. He is unable to show his bicycle because he does not have one. A British Captain asks Said for his bicycle. Said says he does not have it. Then he asks for the money. Said replies that he has 'tale'it (used it for other things). The captain asks a Malay sergeant the meaning of 'tale'. The sergeant replies 'gasak' (use for other things). The captain thinks he means the bicycle is 'bosak' (broken), so he dismisses the case.

Lim Kit Siang, Sami Velu and Vijendren go out to enjoy themselves. They go to a brothel to look for prostitute. At the brothel they take turns to have sex. First to enter is Lim Kit Siang. After 15 minutes he comes out. He complains that it is not good and it is not the same as with his wife. Then Sami Velu enters. After 20 minutes he comes out. He also had a similar reaction and agrees with Lim Kit Siang. It is not good and it is not the same as with his wife. Then Vijendren enters. It takes a long time for him to come out. Lim Kit Siang and Sami Velu become bored waiting. After 40 minutes Vijendren comes out. He looks happy and smiling. His friends ask him why he takes so long. Then Vijendren says that he agrees with them. It is not good and not the same as with the wives of his two friends.
4. Deception - positive result to the deceiver.

T4 Bang Lamat fancies his neighbour's wife, Cik Putih. He persuades her to follow him fishing by the seaside while her husband is away. She agrees. Bang Lamat brings along a fishing net. Together they wade through the water fishing. As they walk away from the beach Cik Putih tells him that her sarong is soaking. Bang Lamat asks her to lift it. Cik Putih lifts her sarong several times as she follows Bang Lamat to the deeper part of the water. Finally, her genitals are visible and Bang Lamat takes a side-long glance at them. Bang Lamat then pretends that he has a very bad stomach. He claims that he needs a cow's or buffalo's genitals to cure the illness. Without it he will die and they will not be able to return home. Cik Putih says it is impossible to find such medicine as they are on the sea-shore and she offers her vagina instead. Bang Lamat has sex with her. Then they return home. Several days later, Cik Putih and her husband see Bang Lamat passing their house. They invite him in for dinner. Bang Lamat tries to avoid the invitation but they insist on him staying. Cik Putih recounts her experience with Bang Lamat. Her husband sees it was a trick and he chases Bang lamat, but the culprit manages to escape.

T5 A group of seven boys goes fishing by a lake. They build a shelter on the side of the lake. Next day, they start catching fish. They catch a lot of fish. They clean, salt and dry the fishes to dry. The following day, one of them has to stay behind to look things while the rest go fishing. When after his friends leave an ogre comes. The ogre eats all the dried fishes. The man on guard runs away. He returns when the ogre has left. Similar situation is repeated for six days. Then the seventh man's turn comes to stay. While he waits the man makes some loops from rattans. When the ogre comes he tricks the ogre by saying that the loop can cure illness. The ogre offers himself to be looped. The man loops the ogre's hands and knees. The ogre is trapped and struggles to free himself but fails. When all the friends return they kill the ogre.

T16 A man asks a sugarcane farmer to sell him a stick of sugarcane. The farmer refuses to sell except if he wants to buy the whole crop. The man is annoyed and tries to inflict revenge on the farmer. He asks his friend's assistance for his plan. Next day, he visits the farmer as it is about dusk. He asks the farmer permission to perform his prayer at the house. The farmer accepts. While the farmer is still busy in the yard he calls the azan (call to prayer) to signal to his friend to cut the sugarcane and load it into the boat. The farmer realizes that he is being tricked. The man jumps down and flees. When the farmer investigates his farm he finds that the sugarcane has been stolen.

T18 A boy wants to fool the father of the girl he fancies. The girl's father has stated that he only wants an Arab as his prospective son-in-law. He would rather his daughter be an old maid than marry a non-Arab. The boy hears this as he snoops under the girl's house. The boy asks his friend to accompany him in his plan. He knows when the girl's parents take their bath at the river. The boys set off with a boat pretending to fish near the girl's parents. They wear white caps and are disguised as Arabs. As they get closer they talk in an Arabic accent. When the girl's parents hear them talking, they think that the boys are Arab. Next morning, the girl's father looks for the 'Arab,' asking him to marry his daughter. After seven months of marriage, during the fasting month the neighbour's children come to the house for tedarim (group recitation of Quran performed during the fasting month, Ramadhan). The occasion reveals that his son-in-law is a fake Arab and cannot even read a line of the Quran. Only then he realizes he has been tricked. He chases his son-in-law with a huge cane but the latter manages to flee.
A man looks for a healer. His wife is sick (actually she is menstruating). The male healer had previously sprinkles some lime on the betel leaves. He sends the woman's husband to get some betel leaves. He reminds him to avoid the leaves with bird droppings which have a white spot. When he leaves, the woman tells the healer of her husband's ignorance about sex. Then the healer has intercourse with the woman. The husband fails to find any clean leaves and he returns. He sees the healer having sex with his wife. He shouts to the healer to stop as he now understands about sex.

PP asks MA to prepare some food for him as he is hungry. MA is annoyed as PP keeps nagging. She peels some bananas and rubs them on the bottom of the pan. When it is black she gives it to PP. PP says repeatedly, 'angus aje acak idak' (it is burnt but not cooked).

The king asks Pak Itam to accompany the princess to the seaside. At the seaside Pak Itam undresses himself. He bends down and turns his backside towards the sea. The princess asks what he is doing. He tells the princess it feels good. The princess does the same but feels nothing. Pak Itam pretends to investigate. He tells the princess that she has two holes whereas he has only one. He suggests that one of her holes should be stopped up. Then Pak Itam has sex with the princess. The princess is pleased with the experience.

PP joins some men clearing land for planting. While the men work he sits dreaming the whole day. When the harvesting season comes MA thinks that PP is ready to harvest his crops. PP takes a rice crust and hangs it on a tree. He sees a farmer passing. The farmer asks him what is hanging on the tree. PP tells him it is a rice crust. The farmer does not believe him and thinks it is a bees' nest instead. They make a bet. If he wins he will hit PP. But if he loses PP can take his land. Both of them agree. PP climbs the tree and brings the rice crust down. He wins the bet and gets the farmer's land.

A man meets a girl and tries to seduce her. The girl refuses claiming that she is unmarried. The man seeks the girl's parents in the paddy-field. He claims to them that he has asked their daughter for a drink but she refuses. The girl's parents send him back to the house. At the house he claims to the girl that her parents allow him to have sex with her. He asks her to confirm it with her parents if she does not believe him. She shouts to her parents asking if it is true. Her parents cannot hear clearly and think she is asking about the drink. They ask her to give it. She thinks her parents allow her to have sex because she cannot hear either. She permits the man to have sex with her. When her parents return they discover the truth. The man had fled to another village. He goes to a house and asks for shelter from a girl. The girl asks him to wait for her parents' permission. When they return they let him spend a night there. The man claims his name is Nangka (jackfruit) to the girl; Buret (vagina - in Kelantan) to the girl's mother; and Pele (pelir - penis) to the father. At night he rapes the girl. When the girl screams a confusion arises when the girl's
parent comes to investigate. When the daughter shouts ‘Nangka’ her parent think she is dreaming of eating jackfruit. When the mother investigates, she shouts ‘Buret atas mek’ (Buret is on the girl). The father takes this to mean the girl has a vagina. He feels that his wife is silly for making such a remark. When he comes to investigate and sees what was happening he shouts, ‘catch Pele.’ His wife thinks that he means her to hold his penis and she grabs hold of it. In the confusion the boy manages to run away.

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T35 A man is hired to cook dodol (a sticky kind of sweet). As the food turns sticky his children at home start shouting and yelling at him to come back. He pretends to be annoyed and curses his children. He rolls the ladle to attach as much dodol as he can. He runs home with the ladle full of dodol. At home he scraps all the food into a bowl. He does it a few times until there is nothing left for the owner.

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T38 1 A farmer catches a mousedeer in the farm 2 late in the evening. 3 He brings it home. 4 There is no time to slaughter the mousedeer 5 and he plans to do it next day. 6 The farmer keeps the mousedeer in a cage under the house. 7 A dog guards the cage. 8 The dog keeps saying ‘tuan aku makan daging, aku makan tulang jadilah’ (my master eats the meat and I eat the bone, it is enough). 9 The mousedeer ignores the remarks. 10 The mousedeer tricks the dog in an attempt to escape. 11 He states that the farmer wants him to marry his daughter. 12 The dog believes the mousedeer. 13 The dog persuades the mousedeer to change places. 14 The dog keeps nagging. 15 When it is nearly morning, the mousedeer agrees. 16 The dog releases the mousedeer. 17 The dog enters the cage instead. 18 The mousedeer flees. 19 In the morning, the farmer sees the dog is missing. 20 He looks for the dog by the cage. 21 He discovers the truth. 22 He beats the dog.

T32 1 with some friends; [8 - 9]; [14]; 15 no mention of time; [19 -20].

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T39 The mousedeer kills some young otters while their parents are away. The otters suspect it is the mousedeer’s work. They report it to King Solomon. Mousedeer defend himself stating that it was not his intention to kill the otter’s young. He accidentally stepped on them as he practised his silat (a traditional martial art). He did it when he heard the war drums (the sound of the cuckoo), saw the lobsters with their spears and the sebaraus (a kind of fish) equipped with their war dress. He escapes any punishment.

T40 Abu Nawas is sent by the king to go into a pond together with some other men. They are asked to fetch an egg from the pond. The king has previously given his men an egg each except Abu Nawas. Every one comes out with an egg. Abu Nawas knows he has been tricked. He comes out flapping and crowing like a cock. Then he says that he is the cock and the others are hens. Without him the rest of the men cannot produce any eggs.

T41 The king invites Abu Nawas to the palace for a gathering. The king sprinkles his other guests with perfume, but sprinkles Abu Nawas with urine. One day, the king falls ill. He calls for Abu Nawas. Abu Nawas comes with a medicine, a tonic. The medicine is actually faeces that he has made into pellets previously. It is a retaliation for the previous incident.

T42 The king asks Abu Nawas to count the stars in sky. He comes to the palace. He brings along a piece of goat skin. He asks the king to count the fur on the skin. He claims the answer is similar to the stars in the sky.
Abu Nawas (AN) alleges that all the women in the palace are betina (insulting word - female). His accusation annoys the king. The king orders AN to find a true woman and bring her to him. The king gives him 500 dinar and a week to complete his task. On his mission he brings along a bundle containing sugar and rice mixed together. He goes to the end of the country to look for the woman. In every house he visits he asks for permission to stay for a night. Then he produces the bundle containing sugar and rice for their dinner together. Usually the bundle is returned and it is claimed he is mad. In the end, he comes to a house to spend a night there and produces the bundle. The host’s daughter manages to separate the sugar and rice and make some cookies for them. Then AN asks for her hand in marriage. The girl’s father agrees and they marry. Then AN returns home but does not present her to the king. He also does not appear in the palace and fails to meet the time limit. The king is angry and sends his men to look for AN. When they arrive the previous group are scared and ask AN’s wife to hide them. She locks them in a cage under the house. The proceeding is repeated several times until no one left in the palace. Then the king himself comes to look for AN. Again the men are stuck in the cage when the king arrives. The king is fascinated with AN’s wife. He begs her to follow him to the palace but she declines. The king says he is willing to do anything to get her. Then she requests the king to be a horse. She rides on his back around the room. Suddenly, AN jumps out from his hiding place. The king is ashamed and flees back to the palace. The men in the cage beg AN to help them. Then AN takes them to the palace and teaches them what to do. The king orders those men to be executed. However, they say that when the king became a ku (kuda - horse - only the first syllable is said) they were under the ru (rumah - house - the first syllable is said). The king understands that those men know what happened in the house. He feels ashamed and sets them free.

Abu Nawas meets several people who do not know what day it is when they are asked. He brands them as ‘bearded cows.’ He reports the matter to the king. However, the king refuses to believe that there are bearded cows. He brings them to the king.

Mousedeer meets with a tiger. 2 The tiger wants to eat him. 3 He tricks the tiger by saying he is looking after Nabi Sulaiman’s gong. 4 The tiger believes him. 5 The tiger persuades the mousedeer to let him hit the gong. 6 He agrees but 7 says he must ask Nabi Sulaiman first. 8 The mousedeer disappears. 9 He shouts from far off to hit it. 10 The tiger hits the gong 11 that is actually a hornets’ nest. 12 The hornets sting the tiger. 13 He is furious with the mousedeer. 14 Then the tiger meets the mousedeer again. 15 This time the mousedeer says he is looking after Nabi Sulaiman’s belt. 16 Again the tiger believes him. 17 The tiger wants to wear the belt. 18 He keep asking the mousedeer. 19 The mousedeer pretends to seek Nabi Sulaiman’s permission 20 and disappears. 21 He shouts to the tiger 22 telling him to put on the belt. 23 The tiger does so. 24 The belt is actually a python. 25 The python wakes up 26 and coils round the tiger. 27 However, he manages to kill the python. 28 Then, the tiger meets the mousedeer again. 29 This time the mousedeer does not have any excuses. 30 He asks the tiger to open his mouth widely. 31 Then the mousedeer enters the tiger’s belly. 32 The mousedeer sticks out his head through the tiger’s anus. 33 Everywhere the tiger goes, the mousedeer warns the people. 34 The mousedeer warns them to run away because the tiger is close by. 35 Each time the tiger has to stamp his backside on the ground 36 to make the mousedeer get in. 37 Suddenly, the tiger stamps on a tree stump 38 and kills himself. 39 When the tiger dies 40 the mousedeer comes out of the tiger’s belly.
T46 A king has a beautiful daughter. One day she asks her father’s permission for an outing at sea. The king sends for a khadam (servant) to look after her during the trip. He warns the khadam that he will be executed if he fails in his task. The other officials are envious because they were not selected. Preparations are made for the trip. The princess and khadam set sail for the sea. Reaching the open sea they anchor their boat and start angling. They angle until evening. When it is late and about time to sail back the khadam catches a catfish with poisonous spines. The khadam looks at the princess standing at the foremost section of the boat. She is wearing a fine dress that shows her body. His sexual desire is aroused and he has an erection. He cannot even paddle the boat back to the palace because of his desire for sex. Then he screams in pain pretending that the fish he caught has stung his penis. The princess panics and asks him what the matter is. He explains that he cannot paddle back because the fish had stung his penis and only the princess’s genitals can cure it. Worrying that she might not go home she permits the khadam to have sex with her. Then khadam asks her to keep it as a secret. After a week, the princess desires sex. She ignores eating and looking after herself. She behaves as if she is mad. This upsets her parents and they think that she is ill. The king is desperate to cure her daughter. Then he spreads the news that whoever succeeds in curing his daughter will be his future son-in-law. Many healers in the country and from abroad come to cure her but fail. Then the khadam came forward and tells the king that he can cure his daughter. The king is annoyed because for so long he has not mentioned that he is capable. The khadam explains that he met his father recently in a dream and he gave him a prayer to cure the princess. However, during the process no one is allowed to enter the room. The king agrees and leaves him with the princess in the room. They have sexual intercourse. Then the khadam advises her not to show that she has recovered instantly. The king keeps his promise. When his daughter has fully recovered the khadam marries the princess as a reward for curing her. The nobles and the palace officials are jealous of him. They try to eliminate him. Then they pay an Indian barber who is the court official barber to kill the khadam when he gets his hair cut. The plan fails because as the barber tries to cut the khadam’s throat the khadam says ‘Ehem! I know it’ (Ehem! Aku tahu). This makes the barber think that he knows the plan. Actually, it is the khadam’s habit to say it. The barber then reveals the whole plan. The culprits are arrested and beheaded.

T49 PP tells MA that he wants to sail away for a week to look for work. He asks MA to prepare some food. But in fact PP climbs on the shelf and hides himself. Fearing that he may defecate he stops up his anus with a cork. He stays there for a week and eats all the food. After a week MA cleans the house to welcome PP. She sees the cork and pulls it. A deluge of excrement pours down. MA is furious.

T50 PP gets his body covered with sticky birdlime. Then he walks across a lalang (a kind of grass) field. This covers his body with the lalang flowers. He looks like a white bird. Then he goes to a farm. He makes a sound like a bird, Gek! Gek! Gek! The farmer and his family members think it is a bird. They bring it home. Next day, the farmer’s daughter stays at home to look after the bird. PP rapes the girl. The following day, the farmer’s wife stays at home as their daughter refuses. PP then rapes the woman. The third day, the farmer stays at home as his daughter and wife refuse. PP sodomizes the farmer. Then the farmer realizes he has been tricked. He chases the bird. PP runs away.

T51 PP comes back from attending a funeral. He meets a girl. The girl asks who has died and the cause of death. PP explains that it is girl. The cause of death is that the girl’s maidenhood is still intact. This scares the girl because she is still a virgin. She asks PP’s assistance to cure her. PP rapes the
One day the eagle challenges the snail to a race. They agree. The eagle flies very fast. Whereas, the snail crawls slowly. After a few miles from the starting line the eagle shouts to the snail. The snail replies and to the eagle’s surprise he is in front. The same thing happens several times as the snail has placed his friends along the route. Finally, the eagle admits defeat. The eagle agrees to be a servant to the snail. The eagle has to signal to the snail each time when it is high tide and low tide.

Mousedeer meets an elephant. Then they compete to prove who is the stronger. Both of them compete in sucking the water from the river. The elephant starts first. However, he is sucking during the rising tide. The water level did not decrease. The mousedeer is sucking during the falling tide. The water became lower and lower. The elephant admits defeat.

Mousedeer strolls along the river. Suddenly, a crocodile seizes one of his legs. The mousedeer snatches a stick and throws it into the water. He tells the crocodile that the thing he has caught is not his leg. He invites the crocodile to grab the stick instead. The crocodile believes him and grabs the stick. Once he is free he jumps out and flees.

Mousedeer sees a lot of fruits across the river. The current is too strong. He calls all the crocodiles in the river to line up. He tells them that King Solomon has asked him to count all the crocodiles. They believe him. Then the mousedeer jumps onto the crocodiles and counts them. Once he is near to the other side of the river he jumps up onto the bank. He tells the crocodiles that was only his trick to cross the river. The crocodiles are angry.

Kulub Besar (KB) is jealous of Kulub Kecil (KK). One day, KB kills KK’s mother. KK takes his mother’s corpse to a coffee-shop. KK accuses the shop vendor of putting something in the coffee that killed his mother. The shop vendor gives him some money to settle the issue. Then he buries his mother. KK then sends someone to KB’s house to get him a cupak (a measuring cylinder). When it is done he returns it. KB finds some gold coins stuck to the bottom of the cupak as he had put some glue there previously. KB wonders where KK got that much money. Then he asks KK. KK explains that he got the money by selling his dead mother. KB returns and kills his mother. He asks somebody to sell her but it is unsuccessful. KB is furious at KK. He orders his men to catch and kill KK. His men catch KK and put him in a cage. They put the cage near the river bank. They plan to throw KK into the water the following day. Then they depart. Suddenly...
an Indian textile trader passes by near the cage. KK calls the trader. The Indian asks KK why he is
in the cage. KK explains that he is going to marry a princess the following day. The Indian
believes him and asks to change places. He releases KK and he himself enters the cage. KK
disappears. Next day, KB's men came to throw the cage into the water. They are surprised to see
KK has change complexion. The men ignore the Indian's explanation and they throw the cage into
the water. The Indian dies. A year later, KK returns. He has changed his appearance and dresses
like a hajj. He visits KB. KB is surprised to see him. He tells KB that he really died. While he was
dead he met with KB's parents. They want to see KB desperately. KB believes KK's stories and
asks KK to take him to his parents. KK agrees. Then KB holds a feast in remembrance of his
parents. In the mean time, KK digs a pitfall in a forest as trap, to take his revenge. When
everything is ready KK takes KB and his family to the trap. As they get near to the pitfall KK ask
KB to walk in front. KB falls into the pit and kills himself. However, KK stops the others from
falling into the pitfall. He marries KB's wife.

A dog and heron are friends. They live in the forest. One day the heron invites the dog to the
house. Heron serves porridge to the dog. Heron places it inside a bottle. The dog cannot eat it
because the bottle mouth is small. The dog is annoyed by the incident. The dog invites the heron
the following day. Heron visits the dog. The dog also serves porridge and places it on a plate. The
heron cannot eat it because its beak is too long. The dog succeeds in taking revenge on the heron.
The heron leaves.

A hajj marries a young wife. He usually goes to the mosque for magrib and isyak prayers (dusk
and late evening prayers respectively). When he returns the light is usually switched off. Someone
has been watching his routines. The culprit plans to fool the hajj. One evening, after isyak the
culprit stops the hajj and tells him that someone at the end of the village has invited him for a
feast. The hajj goes straight to the feast. The culprit enters his house and switches off the light.
The hajj's wife is unaware of what is happening. The culprit has sex with the woman. When the
hajj reaches the place he realizes that he has been tricked. He rushes back and sees his house is
dark. He enters the house and sees the culprit having sex with his wife. However, the culprit
manages to escape. The hajj becomes angry and chases him. When he returns he asks his wife
whose penis is bigger (c.f. see M11). His wife replies that the culprit's is. He is annoyed with the
answer and looks for the culprit but fails. Then he returns and ask his wife again whose penis is
longer. She replies the culprit's. He is angry and tries to look for the culprit again but fails to find
him. Then he returns and asks again whose penis is the hardest. She replies the culprit's as he is
younger. The hajj is angry and looks for the culprit again. He fails to catch him. When he returns
he asks again whose pubic area is more hairy. His wife answer it is his. He is relieved by the
answer.

A taxi is traveling in a rainy day. 2 The wind shields are shut. 3 It is hot 4 because there is no
air-conditioning. 5 One passenger breaks wind in the car. 6 The driver wants to catch the culprit.
7 He asks his passengers 8 but no one admits responsibility. 9 When they reach their destination
they all pay their fares. 10 Suddenly, the driver shouts 11 that the person who farted has not paid.
12 Then one of the passengers replies that he has. 13 He mistakes the driver's intention 14 and
everybody knows he is the culprit.

from Kuala Lumpur to Butterworth + not raining; [2 - 4].

A man tells his friend that the biggest durian he saw weighed seven kilos. However, his friend tells
him that in his village there are even bigger durians than that. The man becomes annoyed with his
friend's story. Then he tries to outdo him. He tells him that in his other friend's village a man
searched for a durian. The smell was very strong but he could not find the fruit. Then he rested and sat on a tree stump. As he sat he scratched the ground with his feet. Suddenly he saw a durian skin. The tree stump was actually the durian stalk.

111

A fowl loses its way and drifts to an island. The island folks catch the fowl. They take it to their headman as everyone claims it as theirs. The headman has to think of a way to divide it equally. A boy appears to settle the problem. However, he insists that everyone must obey his instructions. They agree. The boy plucks all the fowl’s feathers and distributes them to the islanders. Then he asks them to pick their ear with the feathers. They are excited with the experience. Meanwhile, the boy takes the fowl, fries and eats it.

112

A professor is invited to give a talk. However, he falls sick and is unable to give the talk. He is worried as it is late to inform the organizers. His driver asks what is worrying him. The driver suggests that he takes the professor’s place to give the talk. He convinces the professor that he can do it. The professor agrees. Then they change clothes. At the hall, ‘the professor’ delivers his lecture to good effect. Then he opens the session for only one question. A participant stands and asks. However, ‘the professor’ does not understand the question at all. Then he laughs and says that the question is so easy that even his driver sitting in the back row can answer it. He invites the driver, who is actually the professor to come up and answer the question. The professor is relieved and happy with his driver.

113

A mamak (Indian Muslim) walks across a river. The water is only calf high. Mamak is wearing sarong. He lifts it to avoid getting it wet. When he lift the sarong his penis is visible. At the river bank there are several women washing clothes. One of them sees the mamak’s genitals. She becomes sexually excited. She invites him to her house. That evening the mamak comes to the house. The woman explains to her husband that he is her brother just arrived from India and she has invited him to spend the night at the house. Her husband is pleased. When it is late her husband excuses himself to go to bed as he is tired after working in the paddy-field. He insists that they continue with their conversation. When her husband is sleeping the woman urges the mamak to come to her room. Then they have sexual intercourse. The woman cries during the act. Her husband heard her crying and asks her what was the matter. She replies that her brother says that their mother had died back in India. Her husband urges her not to upset and he continues his sleep. The bed and wall shake as the mamak and the woman engage in energetic sex. Her husband is awakened by the event. He remembers that the rope tying the cow is too long. He goes down to check it and shorten the rope. Then he resumes his sleep. Later, it happens again for the second time and he shortens the rope again. Then the shaking happens again for the third time and he becomes annoyed. He goes down and cuts both the front legs off the cow. Next morning, the news spreads in the village that a cow’s legs have been cut. He slaughters the cow and has beef for lunch. The mamak leaves the house to continue his journey. That night the man has sex with his wife. He tells his wife that he feels her vagina is too loose. She explain that it is because of eating too much beef. The mamak walks and reaches another village. He meets with some boys catching bumblebees. Mamak asks the boys whether the insect stings. The boys reply that it does. Mamak does not believe them and holds it. The bumblebee stings him but he tells the boys that it defecates. The mamak continues his journey and meets a Chinese at dusk. The Chinese teases him and they have a fight. Since it is dark the mamak gains advantage because the Chinese cannot see him. He easily punches the Chinese. Then the Chinese taunts him saying that he does not have teeth. He becomes angry and shows his teeth and this enables the Chinese to punch him. The next morning he continues with his journey until dusk. At a house suddenly something bites his calf. He cries for help. He complains that a snake has bitten him. Several people look for the snake but they can only see a coconut husk lying on the ground.
In the 1950s, there was a British officer named William who liked hunting. However, he was pompous. He told people that he had shot tiger and elephant before. One day he went hunting with Abu. however, Abu planned to fool him in order to punish him for his pomposity. In the forest, suddenly Abu shouts, Fire! Singa! (lion). William is scared and runs hiding behind a huge tree. Abu asks William why he is running away. He explains that he is scared and that all the stories he has been telling were fabrications. William passes his shot gun to Abu to shoot the lion. Abu refuses to take the gun and uses his machete instead. He walks to a banana plant and cuts down the fruit. He takes the banana to William. Abu explains that he did not mean lion but he was spelling pisang (banana) in jawi script (Faa Yaa Sim Nga).

Three deserters run home from the fighting during the Japanese occupation. They are disabled. One has lost a leg, one an eye and the last fellow is without a nose. They come to a village. They see a beautiful girl and try to hide their disabilities from her. The one-eyed person shouts asking his friends to avoid stepping on the faeces on the ground. Then the person without the nose covers his face and claims that the one-legged person has stepped on the faeces. The latter then jumps. In doing so they manage to hide their disabilities.

5. Deception - negative result to the deceiver.

Three thieves steal two pieces of gold at a bazaar. Each piece of gold is the size of a fist. They run into a desert. They stop and rest under a palm tree. They are hungry. One of the thieves is sent to a town to buy some food. The thief intends to put poison in the food to gain all the gold. His two friends also plan to kill him when he returns. When he returns with the food they kill him. They laugh after they have killed him. Then they eat the food and die.

Some young men try to trick a princess. They know that the princess is a numskull and likes to play with mushrooms. They lie down and cover their bodies with dried leaves (c.f., see T23a and T23b). The boys then stick out their penises. The princess is pleased. She mistakes the penises for mushrooms. Her lady-in-waiting reports the matter to the king. The king cuts off all the mushrooms and the men jump up and flee.

A butcher lives next door to a lawyer. His neighbour’s dog steals his meat several times. He is angry and wants to fool the lawyer. He meets the lawyer and asks for some advice regarding the matter. The lawyer suggests that the butcher claim compensation from the dog’s owner. The butcher indicates that the dog belongs to the lawyer. The lawyer is annoyed and realizes that his neighbour is playing a trick on him. The lawyer insists that for every consultation he is paid. He asks payment for his advice. In the end the butcher has to pay more than he receives.

A person is invited to a feast. He smokes a pipe. After dinner everybody gets out their cigarettes and smokes. However, this person had left his tobacco at home. A friend next to him offers his tobacco. He tries to open the tobacco case but fails. He is embarrassed to reveal his ignorance. He
tells the owner that he does not smoke that tobacco and returns it. Later, when the man opens his tobacco container he tells him that he wants to try it. The man is annoyed and reproaches him for being so arrogant.

M46  Jali is a blind person. He marries Hasnah. However, he tries to hide his blindness from his wife. After the wedding he feels his way in his father-in-law’s house awkwardly. Everyone is curious. Then he has dinner with his wife’s family members. He acts awkwardly at the dining table. He only takes what is placed in front of him. His wife noticed his awkwardness. She realizes his blindness. Only then does he admit the truth.

6. Climax - bizarre reaction to the situation/action or solution of a problem

T15  A cow advises his buffalo friend not to obey their master. Next day, the master orders the buffalo to wake up and to go to work in the paddy-field. The master hits the buffalo several times but it ignores him. The cow is happy because the buffalo follows his advice. The masters turns to the cow and hits him once. The cow stands up and follows his master. When he returns the cow complains that he regrets advising the buffalo because he has had to do hard labour in the paddy-field.

T17  Pak Si Kaduk goes to a feast. As he arrives and is about to moor his boat the feast is finishes. He sees the guests depart. He avoids going to the house. He returns home and he finds his wife is ill.

T36  A king tries to find a husband for his daughter. Her speciality is farting. Many princes and young nobles challenge her but fail. The failures are executed. Then a poor man tries his luck. They start the competition. The princess breaks wind. It sounds, Tang! Tang! Tang! Tut! The man replies and it sounds, Bang! Bang! Bang! But! The man succeeds. The king accepts him as his son-in-law.

T37  A farmer has two sons. He sends his first son to Indonesia to study. However, his second son stays with him to help him on the farm. One day, their buffalo gives birth to a calf. The boy cares for and nurses the young buffalo until she is big. After a year his big brother returns. His father asks him what he learnt in Indonesia. He explains that he learnt silat (martial arts). His father asks him to shows some of his skills. Suddenly, his little brother appears and belittles his brother’s ability. He challenges his big brother at silat and requests to use a kris (a kind of dagger) from their father. He gives his brother the blade but keeps the cover with him. Then they fight. When his big brother draws the kris he shows the cover. Each time the big brother thrusts with the kris, the blade enters back into its cover. This continues until the big brother becomes exhausted. The younger son is good at the skill because he practises it with his buffalo. Each time the buffalo swings its tail to drive away the flies he pokes the buffalo’s anus with a bamboo. Then he urges his big brother to compete in strength with him. He asks his big brother to carry his buffalo for some distance but he refuses. Then he carries the buffalo for several hundred yards and returns. His father is impressed with his strength.

T61  A buffalo, a goat and a wild boar are friends. One day they plan to cross a river. There are a lot of fruits to eat on the other side of the river. There is no means of crossing. Furthermore, there are
crocodiles in the river. Then they decide to swim across as fast as they can to avoid the reptiles. All the animals fail in their attempt except the wild boar. It is because the crocodiles are Muslim.

126

An orphaned duckling befriends a chick. They grow up together. The duckling becomes a handsome duck while the chick becomes a beautiful hen. The duck falls in love with the hen and they marry. Then comes the time for the hen to lay an egg. However, she feels embarrassed and tries not to lay a duck egg. She says, "Tak! Tak! Tak! (No! No! No!). The duck replies, "Jangan cakap! Jangan cakap! (Don’t talk! Don’t talk!)."

127

A camel befriends a pig. They live in a desert. One day the pig asks the camel to have a race. They agree. The camel proposes to hold the race at night. The race starts. The pig leads the race. However, the pig keeps looking over its back to see the camel. Suddenly, an accident happens. The pig bumps into a tree and flattens his nose. The camel back gnarls as he tries to stop. The tree that the pig bumps into is a cashew tree. At that very moment it bears fruit. In shock due to the impact of the bumps the cashew fruits protrude their seeds.

128

1 There is an elderly king. 2 His wife died long ago. 3 The king then married again. 4 His new wife is young and beautiful. 6 The king hears rumours that his wife is cheating on him. 7 However, he has a very faithful prime minister. 8 He plans to catch the culprits. 9 He tells his men that he is going hunting for a week. 10 Before he leaves he makes a special kind of metal loincloth for his wife. 11 In the middle he places a razor blade. 12 Anything that passes through will be cut. 13 When the king leaves, the officers have sex with his wife. 14 After a week the king returns and checks his officers. 15 He lines them up and asks them to undress. 16 All the officers have lost their penis. 17 The king knows that they have had sex with his wife. 18 He sends them to be beheaded. 19 Then he calls his prime minister 20 and asks him to undress. 21 His penis is intact. 22 The king praises his prime minister for his loyalty. 23 Then the king tries it for the second time and gets a similar result. 25 The king is proud of his prime minister. 26 King asks his prime minister to name anything that he wants 27 as a reward for his loyalty. 28 He ignores the king’s request 29 and keeps quiet. 30 The king is very annoyed and urges him to speak. 31 In anger the king forces open the prime minister’s mouth 32 and sees his tongue is missing. 33 It had been cut and the king understands 34 that he was also a culprit.

129

In a village there are two friends. They are neighbours. One is stingy and the other is lazy. One day the lazy one visits her friend as she can smell the food that her friend is cooking. Her friend is roasting tapioca. However, the stingy friend avoids to sharing it with her. When the tapioca is ready she scrappes it and roasts it again. The same routine is repeated several times until the tapioca is the size of a finger. Thinking that there is no hope of sharing the food the lazy visitor returns home. Next day, the stingy friend visit her lazy friend. Because of her laziness, she peels a tapioca and rubs it against the bottom of the pot. When it turns black she offers it to her friend. Her stingy friend eats it. When she finds it is horrible she throws it away and leaves. The lazy host continues to eat her food.
An old man has four sons. All his sons ignore him. They are only interested in his wealth. One day the old man falls sick. He calls his sons and shows them a pot hanging on the ceiling. He tells them that all his valuables are in the pot and they have to share it together. Later he dies. To avoid any dispute they agree to call a kadi (judge) to divide it. The kadi comes with a walking stick. He tells the boys that he will hit the pot with his walking stick. Anything that falls on them is theirs and the same applies to the kadi. When he strikes the pot it breaks. Faeces falls on them.

The Sultan of Pahang’s member is huge and tremendous in length. His armies have to shoulder it 3 everywhere he goes. One day he goes hunting in the forest. His penis bumps into something hard. He sends the temenggong (a royal official) to check. He informs him it is a huge log. Then the penis sticks into something cold. Temenggong explains it is an abandoned well. He asks his men to move it. Then it bumps into an anthill. He asks to move it because he is scared it might be possessed by an evil spirit. Then it sticks into something soft and it feels nice. Temenggong explains it is a female elephant’s genitals. He requests that his penis not be moved. He himself wants to push it in slowly.

Every year the Sultan of Pahang visits his regions. He wants two girls to be presented to him every night during his visit. Drought hits a village and the crops fail to grow. The king visits the village. Both the village chiefs (senior and junior chiefs) are worried because they cannot find any girls to present to the king. When the king calls they come forward with some evidence to support their claims. The first to come in is the senior chief. He brings kerda (a kind of seed for appetizer) and presents it to the king. His explanations anger the king. The king orders him to undress and bend over. He is worried that the king might hurt him. The king thrust the seeds into his anus. The senior chief laughs instead of crying in pain. He is thinking of the junior chief because he is presenting some durian buds that have a thorny surface.

Same as above.

Three friends are captured by tribesmen in a jungle. They are about to be cooked alive. However, the only chance of survival is to satisfy the sexual desire of the chief’s daughter. The first two persons fail. However, the third person succeeds after he uses his head instead of his penis.

A numskull gets married. One day his wife sends him to the shop to buy a can of sardines. On the way he repeats to himself the object of the errand in order not to forget. His friend stops him and they have a short conversation. When he reaches the shop he has forgotten the object. The shopkeeper sends him back to ask. A similar routine is repeated for the second time. The third time his wife is angry at him. She grabs her husband’s index finger and thrusts it into her vagina. When he reaches the shop, the shopkeeper asks him but still he forgets. The shopkeeper is annoyed and reproaches him. He shouts at the shopkeeper and points at him. The shopkeeper smells his finger. The shopkeeper asks why his finger smells like sardines. Only then does he remember his errand and ask for the sardines.
135
A boy learns some proverbs at school. Among the proverb is ‘syurga itu berada di telapak kaki ibu’ (heaven lies under a mother’s foot). He is very curious. In the evening, after tea he sits with his mother 5 on the steps. He is sitting below his mother. He remembers the proverb he learnt at school. He holds his mother’s foot and checks it but he cannot find any heaven there. His mother is curious and asks him. He tells her about his lesson at school. His mother explains the meaning of the proverb. Suddenly, he sees her mother’s genitals as her sarong is disarranged and she is not wearing her underwear. The boy asks his mother what that was. In surprise her mother tells him that it is his father’s heaven.

M23 1 learns for ustaz (religious school teacher); 3 he rushes home after the class; 4 see his mother folding clothes; [5 - 7]; 8 check her foot; 13 his mother also did not know + ask her son to look carefully.

136
A man suffers from a complex eye problem. It is a kind of cancer. The doctor advises him to remove the eye. He discusses it with his family. They agree. The doctor replaces his eye with an artificial one. Then the doctor advises him to put the eye in a solution every night. One night he is very thirsty. Accidentally he drinks the solution together with the eye. He seeks medical treatment. Many doctors decline to help. Then he meets a Sikh doctor. He gives him a kind of medicine to drink. However, after a week the situation remains hopeless. Then the doctor asks him to undress and bend over. The doctor checks his anus and falls unconscious. When he wakes up he tells the patient it is the first time he experiences an anus looking at him. The eye was protruding through the patient’s anus.

137
A pensioner goes for a vacation in Japan with his wife. In Japan they go shopping separately. Each of them surprises the other. The pensioner buys medicine to cure his baldness and his wife buys a medicine to improve her breasts. Unfortunately, they mixed up the medicines. Unaware of the situation they apply the medicines. When they return home the pensioner finds his head swollen and her wife’s breasts hairy.

138
A tapai (fermented rice) seller sees a shelter in a paddy-field. She is unaware that there are two boys in the shelter. When the boys see her coming they plan to play a trick on her. They hide on the roof. The seller takes a rest and falls asleep. Then the boys climb down and eat half a basket of her tapai. To avoid suspicion they lift the seller’s sarong and stuff the remaining tapai into her vagina. Then they flee. When the seller wakes up she is shocked by the situation. She thinks that her vagina had eaten the tapai. She curses her vagina. Then she sets off and continues prattling along the way. As she walks she feels like urinating and does so at a mudhole and uses the water for cleaning. After a few steps her genitals are itchy. She puts her basket on the ground and starts scratching but it never eases. She lifts her sarong, stands legs wide apart and rubs it with a towel. As she is doing so her nephew, Mat passes and sees her. Mat feels embarrassed to see her in an awkward condition. Then together they look for snails in the paddy-field. Suddenly the tapai seller jumps. A leech gets into her vagina. She asks for Mat’s assistance to remove it. In trying to pull it out Mat accidentally pulls her clitoris. She shouts in pain and shocks her nephew. However, the leech drops out by itself. That night Mat is unable to sleep. He keeps remembering the incident as it is his first experience of seeing it. At mid-night Mat goes to his aunt’s house. He asks her permission to sleep there. He still cannot sleep as he keeps remembering the incident. He crawls on his aunt, undresses her and thrusts his penis to her vagina. His aunt wakes up and swears at him. He demands to leave but her aunt requests him to continue. As she herself is a divorcee that night she manages to satisfy her lust.
M28 Several boys like to spend their night at the prayer house. Someone farts. Wan Sulaiman is angry at the person. Then he challenges the boys to fart. They agree that whoever manages to put out the flame of the oil lamp will be considered the winner. Wan Sulaiman farts but the flame is still alight. Then it is his little brother, Wan Ahmad’s turn to fart. The flame goes out. The room is dark. Wan Sulaiman feels for the oil lamp and touches some sticky and smelly stuff. Wan Ahmad had disappeared.

M33 A life guard suddenly calls all the males bathing in the sea to come out of the water. People are curious. They are wondering. They ask the life guard for an explanation. The life guard explains that they have been in the water for too long. If they stay in the water their testicles would be salty. (A pun on telur - egg / testicle).

M37 A Chinese, a Japanese and a Malay have a competition. The Chinese is showing his skill in using a sword. He lets open a cage of birds. The Chinese expert slashes all the birds as they flies. Then a Japanese expert wants to show his skill. He lets free some grasshoppers. He slashes all the grasshoppers as they escape from the cage. Then come a Malay expert with the kris. He asks them to free some houseflies. He slashes all the houseflies with the kris. They are still alive but he explains that those houseflies cannot breed because he has castrated them. So he wins the contest.

M43 A man wants to grow a mustache. His friends suggest that if he grows a mustache he will look handsome. All his attempts fail as he cannot grow it. He seeks medical advice. A doctor prescribes a medicine which however, fails. The doctor suggests planting an artificial mustache. He agrees. The doctor uses his armpit hairs. It looks nice and he is happy. Several weeks later he came to the doctor and complains. He says when it is hot the mustache produces a horrible sweaty smell. Then the doctor replaces it with his pubic hairs. It looks beautiful. Several weeks later he came back. He explains that when he sees beautiful women his mustache stands up. The doctor searches for other areas to get hair from his body but fails. The doctor suggests to use the man’s wife’s pubic hairs as a replacement. He agrees and brings his wife to the doctor. The operation is a success. He is happy and looks handsome. Several weeks later he came back to the doctor saying that every month the mustache menstruates.

M44 The occupants of heaven and hell agree to build a bridge to join both places. They agree that each party build its own half of the bridge. They set a time to complete the task. When the day comes all the occupants of hell are jubilant and they walk on the bridge. Then they realize that the heaven side is not complete. They are angry. They accuse the people of heaven of cheating. Then one of the heaven folk says that they do not have the expertise to build it. All the expertise in bridge construction is in hell. The occupants of heaven are the hajjs and ordinary people who often attend the mosque.

M49 There is a penis competition. The criteria for winning are that the penis needs to be big and beautiful. The first contestant’s penis is like a python. The audience applaud. The second contestant’s is twisted like a bonsai tree. Again the audience applaud. Lastly, it is the defending champion’s turn to show his penis but he does not appear. The announcer gives him three chances to appear. First call. Second call. Suddenly, there is knocking at the door of the main entrance. Someone opens the door. They see people shouldering the penis. They ask those present wait for another 10 minute before the champion arrives. He is still at the back. There is a traffic jam.
A person from Muar drives his Triumph sport car to Mersing, Johor. Trailers carrying logs are usually visible on the road between Jamaluang and Mersing. As he reaches Jamaluang there is a traffic jam. He sees the trailers are waiting in line. He wonders what is the cause of the problem. Although there is a limited space he continues driving to the front to check. He sees a herd of elephant sitting in the road. Then he tells the elephants that he is from Muar. When the elephants hear this they get up and run away. One of trailer driver heard the conversation. He asks the man why the elephants fled when he mentioned he is from Muar. He explains that in the past people from Muar were homosexual and practiced sodomy.

There is a man from the state of Pahang. He is very proud of his state. One day he drives around in his car. He meets a girl. He invites her to board his car. He drives around with her. The girl is impressed with his big car. He tells her that he is a Pahang man. Then he takes the girl for lunch in a big hotel. She is amazed. He states again that he is a Pahang man. Then he takes her shopping. She is amazed at the expensive clothes that he buys. Again he says he is a Pahang man. Later he takes the girl to a big hotel. They fondle each other in the room. Then the man undresses. The girl is impressed to see his big penis. Again he replies that he is a Pahang man. Then they have sex. Suddenly the man realizes that the girl is from Pahang too as her vagina is wide.

There is a drumming (rebana ubi) competition in Kelantan. It is a group competition. Many groups take part. They organize it in a traditional fashion and all the contestants have to wear sarongs. There is a group who the audiences are confident will win. They hit their drums to good effect. However, in the middle of the performance one of the group members becomes loose sarong. He has to roll it up. It happens several times and finally his sarong is at thigh height. They are supposed to stop drumming simultaneously. As they stop a single beat of the drum is heard. The person whose sarong became loose involuntarily hit the drum with his penis.

Several officers from the Ministry of Rural Development make a survey in Gua Musang, Kelantan. They want to know the employment figures in the district. They meet a villager and interview him about his children's employment. The villager explains that his son is an officer of pele kera (literally the monkey's penis) a land scheme in Pahang. The answer shocks the officers but they later realize that he meant FELCRA. The villager also tells them that his daughter is working at keletek (literally clitoris) petrol station in Kuala Lumpur. Again the officers are shocked by the answer. They later realize that he meant CALTEX.

A Javanese wak (a term of address in Javanese for an older person) is paid to dig a drain. He can dig for a long period without stopping. Someone admires his ability in digging the drain. The admirer asks him for a hint and advice. He tells him that if he is going off to work he will thrust his index finger into his wife's vagina first. When he stops digging, he stands and places his index finger to his nose. By doing so he gains energy. Next day, the admirer digs a drain next to him. Wak is surprised to see the man digs even longer than him. He sees him resting and placing his whole arm to his nose.
A Javanese wak receives an invitation to a feast. When he is about to leave he asks his wife for his handkerchief. His wife asks him to collect it from the clothesline under the house. It is dark. He grabs it and leaves. When the feast is over the guests are given some rice to take home as it is a Javanese custom. They spread down their handkerchiefs to wrap the food. Wak lays down his handkerchief. However, he is shocked to see that what he takes for a handkerchief is his wife’s self-made bra.

Wak Parjo works as a driver for a Dutch expatriate officer. One day he has to drives the officer from Johor Bahru to Kuala Lumpur. On the way Wak Parjo develops a bad stomach. He tries not to fart. However, he cannot hold back any longer and releases it slowly. His master hears the sound and asks him what it was. He explains that his body gas has come out. After a few kilometers he feels the pain again. Since on the previous occasion his master did not seem bothered, he farts. His master asks again. He tells him that he farted because he had a bad stomach. The officer tells him that he is rude (kurang ajar). Wak Parjo is annoyed. After a few kilometers he feels the pain again. But he is scared to break wind. However, he releases it slowly and silently. His master smells the gas. He asks Wak Parjo. He complains that the car is faulty.

Several officers from the education department visit an Aborigine settlement. They receive a warm welcome. It is a feast-day in the settlement. They organise a show in the evening. Next morning, the officers go fishing at the river. They meet with a group of boys. They ask them how deep the river is. They reply that one will disappear if one dives into the water. Later they meet another group of boys. They ask them whether there are a lot of fish in the river. They confirm that there are a lot. The officers ask where. They say, “In the water.”

An Indian wants to have a fair-skinned offspring. He seeks some advice from his friend. His friend advise him to put his penis only halfway in during intercourse. Straight away, that night he has intercourse with his wife. However, during copulation and when he reaches orgasm he ignores the advice. He thrust his whole penis in as he feels the pleasure. He says he won’t bother to go only halfway. It does not matter if his child is black.

Malaysians’ behaviour when buying car. The Chinese tests the speed of the vehicle. The Malays prefer less gas consumption. The Indian, on the other hand looks for the size of the car. The Indians prefer a car that has more space for passengers on board.

In Terengganu one rarely sees an Indian. An Indian teacher is send to a remote area of the state to teach English. He becomes the centre of attention in the village. On his first day he walks pass several houses to reach his work place. As he passes a house, a woman calls her children to the window. She points to the teacher stating that is a ‘keling’ (derogatory term for Indian). This incident annoys the teacher, though in time he becomes accustomed to it.

A Sikh suffers from a boil on his bottom. He cannot sit and has to stand. His child runs about in the house. The child accidentally bumps into the boil. He is in deep pain. He goes upstairs to check it. He gets a mirror and undresses. He bends over and places a mirror behind him. As he is looking through the mirror his penis becomes erect. He scolds his penis accusing it for desiring its own bottom.
A Sikh woman asks her husband to buy a new kettle as the old is leaking. He is displeased as he does not have any money because it is the middle of the month. However, his wife insists on him getting one or else she will refuse to have sex that night. He leaves the house. At the shop, he tells the salesperson his problem. Then the salesperson asks him to lift a kettle with his penis. If he is able to do so he gets the kettle free. He succeeds and gets it free. He is happy and gives it to his wife. That night his wife waits for him but he does not appear. She hears a noise in the kitchen. She goes to the kitchen to investigate. She sees her husband is trying to lift the fridge with his penis.

Ethnicity is not mentioned + husband lazy, unemployed and interested only in sex + asks his wife to make a drink + wife finds the kettle is leaking; mamak shop + ask mamak for credit; mamak; at the shop back yard.

There is a forum discussing men’s views on women according to ethnicity. The panels consists of Malay, Chinese, and Sikh. The Malay sees women as flowers. The Chinese sees them as a moon. However, the Sikh sees them as a record. Both sides, front and back, can be used.

A man visits Europe. As he walks along he sees a condom drop. He picks it up and asks a woman in front of him. She denies it belongs to her as she has her own inside her.

In the 1960s before the British soldiers were sent home they came to some villages. The children liked to befriend them. The soldiers usually gave them chocolates, biscuits, fresh milk, and sweets. A group of British soldiers comes to a village and camps at the side of a paddy-field. It is the rainy season and the sound of the frogs can be heard everywhere. The children ask the soldiers to differentiate the sounds of the male and female frogs. The soldiers fail to do so. The soldiers follow the children to look for some frogs. They find some frogs mating. The children ask them to listen to the sounds carefully. The male says, Seround! Second round! Third round! Whereas, the female says, Wait! Wait! Wait! They explain to the soldiers that the frog on top is male judging by its sound. The male is asking the female for sex. The female keeps refusing and asking the male to wait because their young are still awake.

During the British era a forest officer travels along the river in a boat to check the woods. He takes along a Malay worker as his oarsman. Then they pass a dead tree. The officer asks his rower why this tree died whereas the others grow. The rower explains that the situation is just like the British. They came here, took all the wealth, live in prosperity and leave the natives to die in poverty. The officer swears at him. His action angers the rower. When the officer sees him angry he says that he was swearing at the dead tree. A moment later, the rower suddenly hits the officer with the oar. The officer demands an explanation. He answers that he is not angry with him but only with his remarks.

anyonya (term of address for Chinese women) goes to the Kluang Emporium. She likes to buy chicken there. She looks only for Ipoh chickens as she herself is from Ipoh. The attendant at the section offers several chickens but she refuses them. Every chicken the boy shows she spreads open its backside to check its origin. She checks nearly ten chickens but none are from Ipoh. She is annoyed. Then she asks the attendant where he comes from. He becomes angry, he pulls down his trousers and shows his bottom to the anyonya. He asks the anyonya to identify him herself.
1 at ‘Ayam Mas’ (a franchise shop selling all kinds of chicken products) in Klang; [2]; 3 looking for a Johor’s chicken; [4]; 10 she finally gets it.

Ali, Lim and Sami are friends. One day they stroll in the forest. They come across a huge tree. Ali claims that the Malays likes such a tree. It can be a shade and the children can play underneath. Sami says that the Indians prefers it as a place for worship. They would place an idol at the tree buttress. However, Lim states that the Chinese sees such trees as money. They prefer it to be chopped down, made into timber and sold.

A soldier is sent to Bosnia for two years. 3 His wife is expecting. 3 When he returns all his family members welcome him at the airport. 4 His wife is annoyed as he does not recognize their son. 5 At home they hold a feast. 6 When the feast is over he is eager to have sex with his wife. 7 However, their son is still awake. 8 To occupy the time he performs several prayers. 9 Still the child is awake. 10 Then he reads the Quran. 11 This pleases his parents-in-law. 12 As he finishes the opening phrase he heard his wife 13 telling him that their son has gone to sleep. 14 At that instant, he recites the closing phrase 15 without reading any passages from the Quran. 16 His actions surprise everyone 17 and they realize his intention. 18 After three months he receives his allowances for his service in Bosnia. 19 With the money he resigns from the army 20 and starts trading. 21 His business grows. 22 He opens a grocery, runs school bus services, buys lands and rears cattle. 23 He became so occupied 24 that he ignores his home. 25 His wife is upset with him 26 and they quarrel. 27 In the end he tells his wife to take everything including the business, buses, lorries, cars, farms and cattle to handle. 28 His wife is angered by his action. 29 She lifts up her sarong 30 and reveals her genitals. 31 She asks her husband who will care after it. 32 Her husband asks her to leave it for him to look after.

1 returns home from Camp Terendak, Melaka after 3 months of service; [2 -3]; 4 have 3 children instead; [5]; 6 + no feast; 8 + watching television; [11]; [16 - 32].

There is an international gathering of soldiers. They organize a competition to select the best and bravest soldier. The first contestant is an American soldier. His colonel orders him to climb to the second floor and jump down. He obeys the order and jumps. He stands limping and salutes his superior. Then comes the Russian. His superior orders him to climb to the fourth floor and jump. He breaks a leg but still stands to salute his superior. He is followed by a soldier from the German army. The German climbs to the sixth floor and jumps. However, he is unable to stand because he breaks both legs. Instead he does a handstand. Lastly, it is the Malaysian soldier’s turn to show his ability. His superior tells him to climb to the 40th floor and jump. However, he refuses to go. Then his superior indicates that he is the bravest of them all because he dares to disobey his order. Everybody agrees with him.

In the 1960s there were Gurkhas in the British army. One day, a group of them camp at Port Dickson. They go swimming in the nude. Then a sergeant comes with a truck and orders them to come out of the water. However, there is a girl standing close by. The Gurkhas are embarrassed because the girl might see their penises. Then a corporal among them orders them to line up. Then they each thrust their penis into the anus of the person in front. By doing so they are able to hide their penises. (One might asks about the person standing in front of the line - it is intended for the person asking).
167
A soldier gets leave. He returns home. Every morning he sees a beautiful girl pass in front of the house. He fancies the girl and imagines that she might become his wife. Night after night he cannot sleep as he keeps thinking about the girl. One day he waits for the girl at the verandah. His father is at the lawn. The girl appears. Suddenly she stops in front of the house because she has a flat tyre. While she is sorting out the problem the soldier masturbates. His sperm drops on lawn. The soldier’s father sees it and says why he should throw away his grandchild. The soldier is ashamed and disappears for several days.

168
Mahathir and Razali are two political rivals. The former claims that the latter is impotent because he has never married. One day, Razali whispers to Mahathir that his genitals are functioning again. This worries Mahathir as it lifts his rival’s morale. Quietly, he asks Razali where he undertook his treatment. Razali informs him in Soho, Japan and produces a card. Secretly, Mahathir searches for the place and finds it. The hospital also confirms that Razali received his treatment there. Then Mahathir undergoes his operation hoping that his penis will be better than Razali’s. When the treatment is over he returns to Malaysia. However, the result is worse than before. He sees Razali and accuses him of cheating him. Razali asks Mahathir to show his penis to him. When Razali sees it he shouts that it is his penis. The Japanese did not do anything beyond switching the two penises.

169
The King with Tusks (Raja Bersiong) eats 5 kilograms of meat everyday. However, only 2 kilograms enters his belly. The other 3 kilograms go missing. People wonder where they are. On investigation they find the missing 3 kilograms of meat stuck between the king’s teeth.

170
A Malay teacher is sent to a school in a Javanese village after completing his training. The school canteen vendor has a beautiful daughter. She usually comes to help her father. The teacher fancies her. He seeks his friend’s assistance to tell him a few words of Javanese. Then he says to the girl ‘jalok ambong limang sen’ (a kiss for 5 sen) thinking he is asking for a cookie. His words astonish the girl.

171
A man goes to a restaurant. He plans to have brain for dinner. He asks the prices of the brains. The waitress explains each price. First she shows the brain of the Westerner. It is expensive because they were the colonials. Second he shows the Chinese brain. It is expensive because they are good at trading. Third, she shows the brain of the Indian. It is also expensive because they are deceitful. Lastly, she shows the most expensive brain in the menu. He asks whose brain might it be. She tells him it is the Malay’s brain. The man is shocked and asks for an explanation. She tells him that it has never been used before and no Malays have ever gained international recognition in any field yet.

172
Two friends, Ali and Amat drive home to Pahang. They are going home after watching a soccer final between Selangor and Pahang. The way passes through the Batu Keb area. The area around Batu Keb was still covered with jungle then. As it is midnight the area is deserted. To add to the spooky conditions it is drizzling. Ali who is the more cowardly of these two reminds Amat about ghosts. Amat is annoyed with him. As they come to a junction they see someone trying to stop their car. Amat stops the car. His action displeases Ali. They see an old woman. Her dress is covers with blood. She tells them that she has been involved in an accident. Her child is badly hurt and was taken to the hospital. She asks them to take her home. She boards the car and sits at the back. After about 2 kilometers, Amat looks through the rear mirror and sees the woman’s dress is
now clean white. There are no traces of blood. Amat asks the woman what has happened. She just grins at them. Then she tells them that it is thanks to the special action of TROJAN detergent.

7. Miscellaneous

M127  Malaysia has succeeded in producing her own national car. First, the Proton Saga. Then the Produa Kancil. This was followed by the Produa Rusa. Then there was rumours that a new model is about to be introduced. It is better than the previous models in terms of shape, speed, and beauty. It glides along the road. (Intended for the questioner. - It is Produa Babi (Pig)).

M128  At present Kuala Lumpur is dirty. Mahathir has voiced his concern on the radio and television. This shows the society’s lack of civic awareness. Recently animal faeces are lying everywhere in streets. Furthermore, animals are forbidden to come close to Maybank (a commercial bank) and to enter Singapore. Violation of such interdictions may cause death. (Intended for the questioner. - It is the newly version of national cars namely Produa Kancil and Produa Rusa. Maybank’s and Singapore’s emblems are the tiger and lion respectively).

M129  SAKONAS is a newly established firm. It is a company under PETRONAS. They are looking for workers and advertise it in paper. (Intended for the questioner. It is an acronym for Sarong Konek National (The National Condom)).

M130  Riddles on cigarettes. KENT can be defined four ways according to its lettering. Twice forward and twice from backwards. It means ‘Can your penis stand erect?’ (Konek Engkau Naik Tak?), ‘It cannot erect, you say?’ (Tak Naik Engkau Kata?), ‘If you want to know,’ (Kalau Engkau Nak Tahu), and ‘Bend down and you get it,’ (Tonggeng Nanti Engkau Kena). DUNHILL means ‘The world is a hell and life is like a kite,’ (Dunia Umpama Neraka Hidup Ibarat Layang-Layang). However, BENSON and HEDGES mean ‘When you wed with a Negeri Sembilan girl your wages and your wealth will be finished,’ (Bila Eden Nikah Sama Orang Nogori, Harta Eden Dan Gaji Eden Solosai).
APPENDIX 4

Translations

The stories below are translated according to the manner in which they are performed, i.e., colloquial presentation. Therefore, the translations are relatively literal as the stories are usually delivered in an abrupt manner, in terms of sentence construction. This method has been adopted, in order to keep the tales as close as can be to their oral nature. The appendix includes 40 - odd tales, selected from the collection of 216 tales which represent traditional and modern categories. The translations follow the thematic classification. They are divided into traditional and modern categories. Within each category, examples are presented of stories containing single, double or triple themes. For the most part, meaningless words and unnecessary repetitions (slips of the tongue as a rule) by the narrators have been omitted for the sake of greater coherence.

Traditional Narratives

Single Theme

Numskull

T6. Pak Pandir - The Deer-Grasshopper (Tokcik’s - ‘Belalang Rusa’)

Pak Pandir strolls along the river bank and meets an angler. “What are you doing?” he asks. “I am angling!” says the man. “What is the bait?” “Grasshopper! A deer-grasshopper!” I myself don’t know what this deer-grasshopper is./ “A deer-grasshopper,” he said. “Oh! Can you catch it?” “Ah!
Not yet. Maybe in a moment. I don’t know. Sometime I can and sometime not. Just wait and see angling with this deer-grasshopper.”

Then Pak Pandir looks for a rope. He uses roots as rope. He strolls around to look for the deer-grasshopper which he didn’t recognize, instead he catches a sleeping deer. It is a big deer and the roots he uses are big too. The deer wakes up and jumps into the river. Pak Pandir ties up the deer. It struggles in the water to free itself but fails. Lebooor! “Hoi! What are you doing?” asks the angler. “Angling!” says Pak Pandir. “What is your bait? Ah! There you caught one!” says the angler. “No!” says Pak Pandir. “Hah! What is that splash. Lelebor! Lelebor!” says the angler. “That is the bait!” says Pak Pandir. “What is the bait?” says the angler. “Deer, a deer-grasshopper,” says Pak Pandir.1 [Lisp] /Yes! He is a lisper./ “Hoi! It is a huge splash,” says the man. Then he comes to look. He finds out that Pak Pandir has trapped a deer and used it as bait. Ha! Ha! Ha! That is one of the stories. So, the man cancels his angling and slaughters the deer instead. So they have deer for their meal. The angler divides their share and return home. That is one of the stories. /I don’t know what happened to him after that./

T7. Pak Pandir - The Deer (Tokcik’s - ‘Pak Pandir - Rusa’)

Then Pak Pandir strolls in the forest again. He walks and walks until he came across a sleeping male deer. “Oh! You are sound asleep. Yeah!” he said. He looks at the horns. Then he hangs his packet of rice and a pouch containing some betel leaves on the horns. As he sit down at the side of the deer he said to himself. “Hey! It is wonderful. If I, this thigh is firm. Ai! Its foreleg and back are firm too.” He keeps saying it several times. “These horns are suitable as a hanger. This thigh is nice to eat,” he said. All the while, as he is sitting down he continues murmuring and stroking the deer. The deer wakes up, is startled and runs away. Then Pak Pandir remembers his pouch. “My pouch! My pouch!” he shouts. What can he do, the deer ran away in fear. He stroked a sleeping deer and said, “ This thigh is wonderful. If it is cooked it is nice.” As if he did not realize he’d hung his shirt there.

T11a. The Dusk Ghost (Cikgu Radi’s - ‘Hantu Senja’)

A long time ago there was a house near a forest. The owner had two or three children. He kept some goats. Every evening, the father put the goats in the goatpen. His children played in the yard. They ran around until dusk. Their

1 “Ucer, alang ucer,” (“Rusa, belalang rusa,”)
mother was annoyed when they ignored her orders to come in. “It’s dark! Take a bath! Change your clothes! Get into the house!” shouted the mother. The children still ignored her and continued playing. Later on she tricked them. “Hurry up children! Don’t play at dusk! There is a dusk ghost out there!” she said. Hah! When the children heard about the dusk ghost they ran in.

In the mean time, a tiger was lying in wait for the goats and wanting to catch them. He reached the goatpen. The tiger crawled slowly into the goatpen. When he was inside, the children’s mother was still shouting, “Get in children! Maybe there is a dusk ghost out there!” The tiger was scared to hear it. “Ai! If the dusk ghost comes, it might catch me,” he said. So he sat down scared in the goatpen.

When it was dark and quiet, the tiger began to think about the goats. Suddenly two thieves appeared with a sack and a stick, planning to steal a goat. Once they reached the goatpen, one of the thieves climbed up. The one on the ground said, “Choose the biggest (goat).” The night was dark and at that time there was no torchlight. Therefore, the thief had to feel the goat. “Eh! This one is small.” Feels another one. “Eh! Small!” Feels yet another one. “This is a male goat. Still small.” Then he feels the tiger. “Hoi! This one is big.” The tiger hears and says to himself, “This must be the dusk ghost.” This makes the tiger shiver in fear. Then the other thief says, “Here is the sack. Put the big goat in the sack.” The thief follows his friend suggestion while the tiger keeps silent in dismay. Once it’s in the sack the thief ties it up. He pushes it down while his friend pulls it to the ground. Then they tie the sack to the stick and together they shoulder it, one at the front, the other at the back. Then they walk into the forest to get back to their village. In the forest, they walk and walk, stumble, bump and fall. The thing that they are shouldering is big and it is nearly dawn and getting light. As morning approaches, the tiger claws the sack. When it rips the tiger sticks out his head. The person at the back see the tiger while his friend continues running. The former shouts, “Tiger!” The latter says, “Where?” The former shouts again, “Alah! Tiger!” Again his friend says, “Where?” He keeps running. The tiger keeps struggling to free himself and manages to get loose and flees into the jungle. Both the thieves were frightened and ran away. That is the story of the dusk ghost.

T12a. The Mysterious and The Heavy Ones (Cikgu Radi’s - ‘Yang Berat dan Yang Sulit’)

Long ago there was a robber. He had many followers. Every day they robbed their victims by mesmerizing them. All the victims fell asleep when they were mesmerized. This group of robbers were rich and famous. They had plenty of stolen gold.
One day the chief robber said, “Today you have to find something for me, I don’t want gold. I don’t want other expensive stuff. I want something special. Things that are mysterious! Haal! Valuable! Mysterious (sulit) things!” Then his men set off to a house. Upon arrival they mesmerized from the doorstep. The occupants fell asleep. Some slept while sitting, some slept standing and leaning, and even the cooks slept in the kitchen.

The robbers look everywhere for mysterious things but fail. Then the robbers come across a sleeping old lady with a quid of tobacco stuck in her lips. When the robbers see the tobacco they said, “Oh! This must be the mysterious thing that the chief asked us to look for. A valuable thing stuck in (terselit) the lips.” They take and wrap up the tobacco and go home. All of them are overjoyed. When they reach their hideout the chief asks, “Have you got the mysterious thing?” “Yes sir!” they say. “Good! Bring it here!” Then they give it to the chief. When the chief sees the quid of tobacco, Ha! Ha! Ha! he kicks them all. “This is not valuable! This is not special! This is a quid of tobacco,” says the chief. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “You said something that was stuck,” say the robbers. So they were kicked.

Next day, the chief sent another group of robbers. “You go and find me a rich man’s house. Don’t you take any mysterious thing like this. I don’t want! You get me a valuable thing that is heavy. Gold and anything light I don’t want. I want heavy things,” said the chief. Then they set off. When they reach a house they mesmerize the occupants. They ransack the house and look everywhere for heavy things. At last they find a millstone. They lift it. “Hoi! This is valuable and heavy,” they said. Then they carry the millstone back to their chief. “Aaa, this is what we got. It’s valuable and heavy,” they said. When the chief sees the millstone he takes it and thwacks it on their heads. Hah! They fall flat on the floor. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “To hell with you!” he said. “Stupid!” he said. That is the end of the story.

Cunning

T18. Only an Arab as Son-in-law (Syed Yusop’s - ‘Nak Menantu Arab’)

/This is a story. Ha! Ha! Ha! Its too early for you to ask me for some stories./ There is a village and this is about a village man. This man has a daughter. Then there is a naughty boy who lurks under the house. He hears the couple’s conversation before they go to bed. “Our daughter must marry an Arab. If the suitor is not an Arab I won’t accept him. I don’t mind if she turns to be an old maid,” says the husband.
The hooligan hears the conversation because he is lurking under the house. At night, usually people like to peep. "I don’t want anyone but an Arab," said the husband to his wife. "For me, if the suitor himself is from this village also, I would not accept his proposal. Let my daughter be an old maid. Let her grow old. It doesn’t matter. Hah! I will look for an Arab," he said. The boy hears the conversation. He is peeping. The father won’t accept ordinary people like him from the village. He avoids his own village folk, he wants an Arab.

One evening, at that time, houses were built by the river. A distance roughly about hundred yards from the river, I still remember it. People took their bath in the river! Hoh! Bathing in the river. Couples took turns. Sometimes, the wife bathed first while her husband waited at the river bank or at the jetty and vice-versa. They took turns. The boy who heard the couple’s conversation stating that they would only accept an Arab as their future son-in-law had a plan. [He ignored others!] They don’t want, they ignore, they won’t accept, they want only an Arab. Hee! In the past the Arabs were very well-known.

The boy makes a plan with his friend. Like both of us together making a plan. They look for a boat. They know the girl’s father. Actually, this boy fancied the girl and tried to get close but had no intention to propose to her yet. However, he knew the girl’s parents’ intention. They would not accept anyone other than an Arab. He knows it already.

When he returns home he tells his friend. "How about it? One day, we should teach the girl’s father," he said. Ha! Ha! Ha! If he doesn’t do anything he won’t be able to marry the girl. He fancies the girl, he fell in love with the man’s daughter. But the girl’s parents won’t accept him. Even if he proposes they won’t accept. He knows it. Then he makes a plan with his friend. They know the girl’s parents bathe in the river every day. In the evening, during the high tide they take their bath.

The boy looks for a boat. Ha! Ha! Ha! He looks for a boat and asks his friend to come with him. Together they wear white caps. They want to deceive the couple. They plan to fool the couple. When the boys are close to the couple, roughly a distance that the couple could hear them speaking, they talk in an Arabic accent. They bring along a fishing net. They want the couple to hear them talking as they pretend to fish. The boys know when the couple take their bath so they came there pretending to catch fish. One of the boys, who is paddling, says, "Tabarakal lazi." It means to throw the net. Woh! He throws the fishing net into the water. "Tarikkal lazi," said the paddler. They were trying to fool the couple, otherwise the boy is unable to marry the girl. "Tarikkal lazi," said the paddler. "Warangsang Waarenseng," replies the boy when the net stuck in some branches. "Waa ikaa selambo," the paddler asks his friend to dive into the water to free the net. "Waa takullah anboyaa," says the boy to inform his
friend that he is scared of crocodiles. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha! They talk Malay. But they speak it in Arabic.] They speak Arabic you know.

Wow! The couple hear them. “Come up! Come up!” says the wife. “There were Arabs,” she said. “Where?” asked her husband. “Over there catching fish. There. The one that we can see,” she said. Wow! He is anxious. He goes down to the water to listen closely. “Wow! That is better,” he said. Next morning, he looks for the Arab and asks him to propose to his daughter. Actually the boy is from the same village and trying to deceive the couple. When he thinks that the boy is an Arab he accept his proposal.

After seven months of marriage came the fasting month. In the past, during the fasting month, a Quran reading gathering was held. So all the neighbouring children came to the Arab to get some assistance in reading the Quran. His father-in-law is lying down. Usually the elderly lay down after the meal. After the sunset prayer he asks his son-in-law to teach the children. There are about four or five children attending the gathering. Their parents think it would be better to send them to the Arab as he can improve the children’s Quran reading. Ha! Ha! Ha!

Then one of children pushes the Quran to him. “There are too many Alif,” he says. Still speaks in an Arabic accent. Then another child comes forward. “Baa Alif Baa. A lot of Waw. A lot of Nun,” he said. This make his father-in-law suspicious. “What kind of Arab is this?,” he said. Not even a line could he teach. He doesn’t know, he has been cheated. In the past, usually the elderly kept a huge cane at their side. He is suspicious. “Is he a genuine Arab? If he is an Arab how come he could not teach anything. At least Alif, Baa, Taa and that is more than enough. Here, there is a lot of Nun, a lot of Waw, a lot of Alif,” he says. He isn’t satisfied. He stands up and beats his son-in-law with the cane. “Arab motherfucker!” he swore. The boy jumps out of the house and flees. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Its over! In the past they didn’t investigate. He was cheated. Seven months of marriage, and his son-in-law ran away just like that. The story is finished. Ha! Ha! Ha!
Long ago normally the Malays prepared cookies as the Eid day approached. They made *kuih bakar*, *saguti*, *putu* and the most grandiose of all was to prepare *dodol*. *Dodol* is very difficult to prepare. It needs someone with expertise and money to make it. In a certain village there was a person who was paid to prepare the food. He was poor and had many children. Every year during the Eid season, he received payment to cook *dodol*. So, a wealthy man called and asked him to prepare the food.

On that day, his children stay at home while he is working. His house is not far from the work place. The *dodol* has to be stirred continuously from the beginning when it is still fluid until it turns thick. Then, when the food is nearly cooked his children and wife at home start to scream asking him to come home. "Come home! Come home!" they shouted. His children cry loudly at home and this makes him annoyed. "You just wait! When I come back I will beat you with this stirrer," he said. His children continue screaming. By this time the food is nearly ready, and he scoops it. He twists the food and makes it stick to the stirrer. Then he goes home. "You just wait! You just wait! When I get there I’ll beat you all," he says. When he reaches home, his wife has prepared a bowl and a knife. Then they scrape off all the *dodol* that stuck to the stirrer. After that he returns to his work place and continues his work.

In a minute his wife and children scream again calling him to come home. He is annoyed again. "You just wait! I will hit you. You are troubling me!" he said. "I will beat you with this huge stirrer," he said. As he is going back he twists the thick *dodol* on the stirrer and runs home to punish his children. At home he scrapes all the food into a bowl. Then he returns to work. After several times of repeating the same routine there is nothing left for the owner. In the evening he returns home. When the *dodol* owner come back he see the pan is empty. He is very annoyed. During the Eid day that year the cook’s children enjoy themselves eating *dodol*. They sit down enjoying themselves by outsmarting people. That is the story of the *dodol* cook.

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2 *kuih bakar* - a kind of biscuit.
3 *saguti* - cookie made of rice flour with coconut and sugar.
4 *putu* - steamed cake made of flour and palm sugar eaten with grated coconut.
5 *dodol* - a traditional Malay sweetened food made of glutinous rice, sugar and coconut milk.
T36. **The Break Wind Challenge** (Cikgu Radi’s - ‘Tengkah Kentot’)

Long ago there was a country. The king had a daughter. When she grew up, she became a beautiful princess. Now she was a grownup she should be married. To find her a husband, the bridegroom must be someone who is suitable for her. The princess’s speciality is that she is good at farting. Hah! Therefore, the man must be someone who can challenge her in breaking wind. Those were the rules! They beat the drum throughout the country to summon and inform the people. Many young men came forward to try their luck. They were brought to the palace to challenge the princess but failed. All the failures were executed. Many noble men’s sons and princes came but failed, and they were sentenced to death.

Then a poor man came to try his luck. Hah! If he succeeds he could marry a princess as the reward. One day all the people gather at the palace. Everyone says, “The boy will surely die this time.” “So many capable princes have died because they couldn’t challenge her, how can this poor stupid boy win,” they said. Then they start the competition. The prime minister calls all the people to get closer to hear. The princess is placed behind a curtain. The spectators, ministers and all the people are on the other side of the curtain. Then, the poor boy comes up to try his luck. They begin the competition. The princess breaks wind. How does it sound? Tang! Tang! Tang! Tut!; Tang! Tang! Tang! Tut!; Tang! Tang! Tang! Tut! Then comes the boy’s turn to break wind. Bang! Bang! Bang! But!; Bang! Bang! Bang! But!; Bang! Bang! Bang! But! When the spectators hear they cheer for joy. That boy succeeds in challenging the princess’s farts. The king accepts the poor boy as his son-in-law. [The story is finished.] The story is finished. Ha! Ha! Ha!

T39. **The Mousedeeer and The Otter** (Syed Yusop’s - ‘Sang Kancil dengan Memerang’)

One day the mousedeer finds some baby otters eating fishes in the ditch. They eat all the fishes. “So you are the ones who ate all the fishes. There is nothing left for me,” says the mousedeer. The otter parents were not there and only their babies were left behind. “So this is your work. No fish left in the ditch. I can’t get any. Only you and your family benefited. Good! Your parents are not here,” says the mousedeer. The mousedeer then get down into the ditch. He stamps and poke the baby otters with his hooves. They sprawl lifeless. Later their parents come back and find their babies dead. They suspect it was the mousedeer’s doing. “This must be the mousedeer! Mr. Forest!” they said. They called the mousedeer Mr. Forest.
Then the otters report the matter to King Solomon. “Our children have been stamped to death by Mr. Forest,” the otters said. “He killed them!” they said. Then King Solomon asks his men to call Mr. Forest and they leave. When Mr. Forest comes forward King Solomon questions the mousedeer. “Hey Mr. Forest! You don’t have any mercy! Why did you kill the otter’s children? Why?” asks King Solomon. “At that time I heard, I heard war drums!” he replies. He was sleeping he says. Hah! Ha! Ha! Ha! You know what was the war drums? It was the botbot. Its sounds like; But! But! But! “When I heard the sound of the drums I thought it was war. So I prepared my steps,” he said. “I looked toward the brook, there were spears sticking up,” says the mousedeer. Lobsters! Ha! Ha! Ha! Lobsters have pincers. Hah! He says that the pincers were sticking up. He is bluffing. “Then I saw the tebarau fish wearing a red waist sash. That is why I began my steps of silat and accidentally stepped on the otter’s babies. It was not my intention to kill them,” says the mousedeer. He escapes punishment. “I am awaken by the war drums. I see spears sticking up at the river mouth. I think it is war. So I began my steps of martial arts,” says the mousedeer. Hah! Ha! Ha! Ha! That is it. He escapes. Too much of him.

T40. Abu Nawas - The Egg (Syed Yusop’s -’Abu Nawas - Telor’)

This is Abu Nawas, this is a story, this is a story of Abu Nawas. If there is anything the prophet, the king will call him. It is not a prophet, it is Sultan Harun al-Rashid. If the king has any problems he will call Abu Nawas. [Oh! Abu Nawas.] One day the king wants to test Abu Nawas’s cleverness, and also to outsmart him. The king gathers a group of men, gives each of them an egg and asks them to go into a pond. When these men come out of the pond they will produce their egg before the king. However, there is nothing for Abu Nawas. The king had ordered them. It means that when they come out they must present an egg to the king. No one gives Abu Nawas any egg. He watches them one by one come out of the pond and present an egg to the king. Lay it down in front of the king. [Because the king has given them the egg.] Haa! He gave the egg. The king wants to trick him. In the end Abu Nawas came out of the pond flapping his wings and crowing. The king is surprised. “What is this?” the king said. “Why don’t you present me with an egg,” said the king. “I am the cock,” said Abu Nawas. Ha! Ha! Ha! A cock flapping and crowing. “Kok! Kok! Koook!” he crowed. Hah! The king is amazed. “The ones who come out are the hens and bring eggs. I am the cock,” he said. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “If there is no cock how can the hens lay eggs?” Abu Nawas said. Hah! The king is amazed. “That is right!” said the king. He escaped punishment.

6 botbot - a kind of bird.
7 tebarau - a kind of fish.
8 silat - Malay traditional martial arts.
T41. Abu Nawas - Faeces (Syed Yusop’s - ‘Abu Nawas - Tahi’)

One day the king held a party. He invited all his statesmen and subjects. It was just like a festival where there is a lot of food and drink. Abu Nawas is there too. The king sprays perfume on all his guests. However, on Abu Nawas he sprays urine. He smells it. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “Hah! Dammit!” says Abu Nawas. “The king made a fool of me,” he said. “Okay!” he says. He returns home.

By God’s decree, the king, Sultan Harun al-Rashid falls sick. During his illness he orders his men to call Abu Nawas to cure him. “Please send for Abu Nawas,” he ordered. Hah! What is Abu Nawas retaliation, you know? He makes pellets out of some faeces as a kind of tonic. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Hah! He wants to make a fool of the king. When he came the king said, “Yes Abu Nawas! What medicine do you bring for me?” “Tonic Your Highness!” [There is some tonic he said.] He makes faeces into pellet and makes it like a tonic. Then he gives it to the king to taste and eat.

T52. Snail and Eagle (Tokcik’s - ‘Siput dengan Helang’)

This is also a story. This is also a story with a moral. A story about the snail out-witting the eagle. One day an eagle sits on a branch. He sees a snail creeping slowly. He asked, “How are you!” “Snail! Let us have a race. Who is faster and who is slower!” says the eagle. “If you want, that will be fine with me,” said the snail. So they start the race.

The snail starts crawling. The eagle flies very fast. After flying about a mile he shouts to the snail. “Hei snail!” he said. “Otttt!” replied the snail. The eagle thinks the snail is far behind him, but the snail is in front instead. “Oh! He is in front of me,” said the eagle, surprised. He continues flying for two or three miles then he calls again. “Otttt!” shouts a different snail ahead of the eagle. “Hei! He is in front of me. Wah! This is trouble,” says the eagle. Then he flies again as fast as he can. After flying for two or three miles, he is exhausted and calls the snail again. “Otttt!” replies another snail in front. The eagle is exhausted and sits on a branch. “In that case, I admit defeat,” says the eagle. “You have admitted your defeat,” says the snail. “Therefore you have to be punished! As for the punishment, every time the tide comes in or goes out, you have to inform us,” said the snail. It means that when the tide rises the snails on the ground can climb up the tree. The snails climb trees to avoid drowning. Thus from that day the eagle calls out to remind the snails that the tide is rising or falling. When the tide rises the snails could climb up the tree, and climb down when it’s low tide. So that is how the arrogant eagle was outsmarted by the snails. Aaa that is it.
Hypocrite

T63. The Red Cap (Haji Manan’s – ‘Songkok Merah’)

This is a story about a young man long time ago who travelled from one prayer house to another prayer house. Usually a feast is held at the prayer house. When the young man reaches the place, and after all the elderly have finished their prayers and reading Quran, it is the time for meal. The young man is also invited to the meal. “Let’s eat, my friend,” says a man. “Carry on. Have your meal,” he replies. “Come. Let us eat. If not it will be finished and you will miss the food,” says the man. “It’s all right. I don’t want to eat yet. Go on and have your meal,” says the young man. Then the men at the place eat the food offer it to them. At the end there is nothing left. Only the leftovers such as curry are left. Then the men go to bed. Before lying down to sleep they take off their caps and put them by their side. Then they sleep.

However, there is a man who wears a red cap. Like the others that man also puts his cap by his side. Later in the night, the young man (who refused to eat) feels hungry and his stomach hurts. He wakes up. He wakes up and feels around with his hands. He is scared that someone might notice his action. He gropes at the empty plates and bowls. He feels and feels and then he gets hold of the red cap. He takes it. “Ah! This perhaps what is left from the pancake,” he said. He dips the red cap, which he thinks is a pancake, into some traces of curry. He eats it. He bites the ‘pancake’ and eats it. “Oh! It’s too tough. May be because its cold. Perhaps it had turned bad and people avoided it. It’s cold, that is why it is tough,” says the young man. He continues eating the pancake. He eats and eats and dips it into the bowl containing some traces of curry. At the end only a small bit of the red cap is left. “Aah! I am full up. This pancake is salty! It’s tasteless. I’ve had enough of it,” he said. He puts down a small piece of the red cap. Only a bit is left while the rest has been eaten. The leftover is the red cap and not the pancake. Then he goes to bed and sleeps.

In the morning, all the man wake up and prepare to go home. Everybody fetches his cap and puts it on. Then the owner of the red cap is annoyed as he can not find his cap. “Eh! Where is my cap? Where is my cap?” says the man. Suddenly he sees a small piece of his red cap. Later the young man wakes up. “Why is only a small piece of my cap left? Why? Did you eat my cap?” asks the cap’s owner of the young man. “No! I did not eat your cap,” says the young man. When the owner is told by the young man that he did not eat the cap he sees the young man’s mouth is red. “Yes! You did eat my cap,” he says. “No! No!” says the young man. “Then why is your mouth red?” says the man. All the men laugh at the young man because he has eaten the red cap as his lips are red. That means he must be the one who ate the red cap. Only a small piece left. The
proof that he ate the cap is that his mouth is red. The cap’s colour wore off on his mouth. That is the end of the story. They then return home. This is another short story. All the men say, “Hah! That is it, we invite for a meal but you turn it down. Hah! At the end he eats, you eat somebody’s cap.” Yes! That is the story.

T67. The Sticky Visitor and The Stingy (Cikgu Radi’s - ‘Tandang Lekat Bakar Kikis’)

A long time ago, there lived two friends in a remote village. They were neighbours. One of them had a habit of staying long hours when visiting her friend. Whenever she made a visit she would stay for a very long time as if she would never go. Hah! People call such a person a 'sticky visitor.' Nonetheless, her friend is a very stingy person, a miser. One day the stingy friend grills some tapioca for her meal. Once it is grilled, the tapioca gives off a nice smell and then the sticky visitor appears. This make the host annoyed. In spite of that, the stingy friend has to wait for the guest for the sake of their friendship. Furthermore, the sticky visitor is also a lazy person. She comes in order to have same share of the food. The food is only a stick of tapioca. However, the host is reluctant to share the tapioca with her friend. Therefore she grills it until it turns black while she waits for the guest to go. Then she scrapes the tapioca until it turns white. However, the visitor declines to go. So she continues burning and scrubbing the tapioca. She waits and waits but still the guest refuses to go. This makes the host very annoyed but keeping the anger to herself. Her guest still refuses to go and they continue talking while she burns and scrapes the tapioca. At the end, the tapioca is reduced to the size of a finger. When it reaches the size of a finger, the sticky visitor knows that she don’t have any chance to share the food. Then she says, “Well my friend! I’d better make a move!” “Yes! Please go!” said the host. On the way out, the host said, “Would you please, leave miss sticky visitor.” “Oh! Yes! Thank you, you miss burner and scraper.” That is the story. It is finished.

After that event, the lazy friend thinks she will take a revenge. One day, the burnt scraper visits her lazy friend, the sticky visitor. On that day, she is planning to cook some tapioca. Well at that time people only had tapioca as their meal. When she sees her friend is coming, she wonders what to offer to her guest. “What will I offer my guest?” she wonders. As she is lazy, she does not bother to cook the tapioca, either by grilling or boiling it. She peels the tapioca and rubs it on the bottom of the pot. When it turns black, she invite her guest to eat. The guest tries the food which is unpleasant and throws it away. However, the host eats and enjoys her food. Then the guest says, “Thank you miss sticky visitor.” She then returns home. The story is finished.
Okay. This is a different story. This story is also about people in the past. There are a lot of stories about people in the past. A story of people in the past, [Can be called a tale.] a tale. A tale. So a man has a friend. Both of them are unmarried. Hah! When one of them marries he is very shy. He is very shy. On the first night he is very shy. [He switches off.] Yes! He has to switch off the light. Then his wife switches off the light. His wife is wiser than him. She is much cleverer than him. Then they fondle each other. His wife performs oral sex. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha! Don’t get angry.] She then performs oral sex. There were teeth weren’t there? It’s just like biting you know? [Eee!] Yes! It’s like a bite. Suddenly he ejaculates. Ejaculates. Her husband thinks that is copulation. Hah! He thinks that is intercourse.

Next day, next morning his friend asks him, “How was it?” [Eeh! Hee!] “How was it last night?” he asked. [Its normal!] Its normal isn’t it. /Sorry! There is some interruption. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] His friend asks him, “How was it last night? Was it wonderful?” “Hoh! It was wonderful!” he said. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “There were sort of teeth in my wife’s vagina. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] It bit!” he said. His friend doesn’t believe him. “How can it bite?” asks his friend. “If you don’t believe me let us peep at my wife,” he said. “Now she is bathing in the river,” he said. [Eee! Heh!]

Together they peep. They peep by the river bank. They see the woman is bathing naked. Hah! Suddenly the woman notices that someone is peeping at her. [Eer!] Her clothes are far away. When she notices she runs and picks some kangkung. [Eh! Heh!] At the river there are a lot of kangkungs growing. She picks some kangkung and covers her private parts. Her husband says to his friend, “Hah! There! You don’t believe me! Her vagina is eating the kangkungs.” Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “You don’t believe me. It is eating kangkung. That why I told you that her vagina have teeth,” he said. [Eeheh! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!] “She covers her vagina with kangkungs because it has teeth. There are teeth.” says her husband. That is the story. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!]

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9 *kangkung* - a kind of leafy vegetable grown in water.
T21. **The Fool Husband** (Tokcik’s - ‘Suami Yang Bodoh’)

This story is also obscene but it gives knowledge and advice to the unwise. One day a man marries a woman. The bridegroom is a numskull. Long ago there was no proper education and people were ignorant about marital affairs. However, on the wedding day the bride is menstruating. At night her husband wants to have sex. “No! I cannot!” she says. “I am sick. Look! The blood won’t stop. You have to find me a healer to cure it first,” she said. “When I am cured, only then we can.” “Well! I will looks for a healer,” says her husband.

He searches and searches and find a male healer. The healer is a bad person. When he arrives he ask, “Where is she? What is wrong? Let me have a look.” He checks her. “Aaa! This is easy to cure. Go and get me some betel leaves,” he requested. He reminds the woman’s husband, “Don’t pick leaves with bird droppings. The white spots are bird droppings. Pick clean leaves only,” (says the healer). Actually he has sprinkled the betel leaves with lime earlier as he arrived.

Then the husband sets off to fetch the leaves. When he is gone his wife tells the healer of her husband’s ignorance on sexual affairs. “If that the case, let me show you,” said the healer. “I will show you and later you have to teach your husband,” said the man. Then he rapes the woman. She just accepts it silently. When the husband fails to find any clean betel leaves he returns home. As he comes in he see the healer is raping his wife. “Oh! Stop! Stop! Stop! That is enough! That is enough! I understand now. You don’t have to teach me. You don’t have to cure her,” said the husband. Then the healer goes home. Ha! That is what happens if someone don’t know anything about married life.

T23a. **Pak Pandir - Mushroom** (Tokcik’s - ‘Pak Pandir - Cendawan’)

This is another story of Pak Pandir. One day Mak Andih goes to her farm. She leaves Pak Pandir at home. However, before she goes she finds plenty of mushrooms in the garden beside the house. She takes them home and cooks them. Its nice and sweet. Mak Andih also cooks some rice. She leaves the food at home. She says, “Pak Pandir you stay at home. I want to go to the farm. There is some cooked mushrooms to eat but spare some for me.” “All right!” replies Pak Pandir. Then Mak Andih sets off.

At home Pak Pandir eats and eats. When the mushrooms are all finished only then does he remember Mak Andih’s message. “This surely will make Mak Andih angry. She asked me to keep some for her. What will I do to sort out this problem?” says Pak Pandir. Then he goes to the spot where Mak Andih found
the mushrooms. There is nothing left. Then he gets an idea. He lies down on the
ground and covers his body with dried leaves. Then Pak Pandir sticks his
member out through the dried leaves as if it is the bud of a mushroom. Then he
keeps quiet.

In the evening Mak Andih returns. She sees Pak Pandir is not at home. Then
she goes to the kitchen to have her mushroom. Only then she learns that the food
is finished. She is angry at her husband. In her anger she remembers the place
where she had found the mushrooms. “Let me go and look at the place I found
them. Maybe there are some new ones,” said Mak Andih. She searches and
searchs and then she see there is only one bud left. “There is only one
mushroom bud left,” she said. She pulls and twists the bud. When it is pulled
and twisted Pak Pandir cries and jump out in pain. That is the story, a story of
Pak Pandir.

Cunning / Sex

T47. The Scrubber (Tokcik’s - ‘Tukang Berus’)  

This is a story, the title of this story is ‘The Scrubber.’ Long ago there was a
king and his daughter. One day the princess goes for a walk in the garden. After
strolling around she sits on the grass. When she sits on the grass she feels itchy.
When she feels itchy she think of going to the bathroom to get clean.

When the princess enters the bathroom she meets a man cleaning the room.
“What are you doing here?” she asked. “I am the scrubber. Anything that is dirty
I will scrub. If there are itches also I can scrub them,” said the man. Then the
princess said, “I sat on the grass and it itches. My buttocks are itching. Can you
scrub them.” “Yes!” said the man. “You bend over. Let me scrub,” said the
scrubber. He asks the princess to bend over. Instead of scrubbing her itches, he
rapes the princess. However, she has had no experience of sex before. After that
she feels satisfied. “Aaa! That is right. You are a very good, scrubber,” said the
princess. The itches are gone and she also feels the satified.

T50. Pak Pandir - The Gekgek Bird (Tokcik’s - ‘Pak Pandir - Burung Gekgek’)  

Aaa, this is a continuation of the Pak Pandir tale. One day after the rain stops,
Pak Pandir is sitting and dreaming in the house. Mak Andih is not at home.
“What am I going to do? Where am I going to go in this rainy season?” he says.
After that he remembers he has once snared birds with birdlime. Then he takes
out the birdlime and applies the glue to his whole body including his face.
Later, after Pak Pandir has completed the gluing he walks through a field full of coarse grass. At that time the grasses are full of flowers. As he walks across the field the flowers stick and cover his body. This makes his appearance no longer like a man, only his jaw is stuck out. After that, when his body is well covered, Pak Pandir continues his journey and he reaches a farm. The farmer has a wife and a daughter. So they were the husband, the wife and their daughter. When Pak Pandir reaches the farm, he sits beside the field. Then he makes a sound, a bird’s sound. Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek!

Then the husband, the farmer himself goes and looks. He is followed by his wife and their daughter. “Aaah! What is this?” asked the farmer. “There is a sound of a bird. Let us have a look!” said the daughter. They see there is a white bird. When the bird sees some people coming he increases his crowing. Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! “This must the Gekgek bird,” says the farmer. “Yes! It is a bird. Bring it home father!” says their daughter. “Let’s bring the bird home and nurture it,” says the girl. So they take the bird home. At home the bird continues to crow. Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek!


Then on the third day, the mother refuses to stay at home. Their daughter also refuses to stay. “Today, on the third day, father has to stay behind. Let me and mother work in the farm,” said the girl. So mother and daughter go to the farm and the father has stay at home. As usual the bird begins to crow. Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! The farmer brings some rice, water and bananas but the bird decline to eat. It keeps crowing. Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! “This bird refused to eat rice may be it want to eat my anus,” said the farmer. Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! Gek! As it crows loudly. Then he bends over and the bird commits sodomy. Only then the farmer realizes the truth. “This is not a bird. It is human. Motherfucker!” he said. He chases the bird. So Pak Pandir jumps out and flee away. As he is running he recite a pantun;

“A flecked fowl and a stone well,
Tied it up to the cave opening,
The anus I got one,
The vagina I got two,”

he recites. Aaa, the story is finished. He flees away after being chased by the farmer.

T51. Pak Pandir - Virginity (Tokcik’s - ‘Buang Dara’)

Aaa, this is also a Pak Pandir tale. One day Pak Pandir attends a funeral. It was a woman who died. The woman was a virgin. After the funeral, when the dead woman is buried and the service is completed, he goes home. On the way home, Pak Pandir meets a young girl. She asks Pak Pandir. “Where have you been Pak Pandir?” says the girl. “At a funeral! Somebody died,” replies Pak Pandir. “Who died?” asks the girl. “A virgin,” says Pak Pandir. “What happened to her? Was she sick? What was the cause of her death?” asks the girl. “She was sick. Her maidenhood was still intact and blocked up,” says Pak Pandir. “In that case, I am afraid. My virginity is still intact and blocked up,” she said. “Is it? You better be careful,” he says. “If you can cure it, please help me. Please remove my maidenhood,” asks the girl. “If you want me to remove it come here. There under the bamboo trees,” said Pak Pandir. “You lie down. Let me remove your maidenhood,” he said. The Pak Pandir rapes the girl. “Now you are cured. You can never die. Your virginity has been removed. It is removed,” he said.
Modern Narratives

Single Theme

Numskull

M8. Aunt (Amir’s - ‘Makcik’)

One night, there is a young man who had just taken his girlfriend back to the hostel. He drives his car. On his way back, he stops for a while. He sees an old lady waiting at an abandoned bus stop. There is no one else there. There is no bus using that route. Out of kindness, the young man goes and asks the old lady, “Auntie! Where do you want to go?” “I am waiting for a bus for Sungai Nibong,” said the old lady. “Oh! But auntie, the bus does not pass the university area. Aaa and no bus uses this route. So if you want to go back to Sungai Nibong I can take you there.” said the young man. So the kind-hearted boy takes the old lady. She sit at the back of the car.

The journey is on Thursday night. Suddenly, in the middle of the journey, a very bad smell emerges. The boy is very worried. He wonders, and knowing that night is Thursday night, and the smell is horrible, he looks through his rear mirror and sees the lady’s face changing. He is scared. The lady stops the boy as they reached Sungai Nibong. He stops in front of the graveyard, as requested by the old lady. The boy became so frightened. As she leaves, the old lady tells the boy, “Sorry son, I farted.” That is all about the story. Ha! Ha! Ha!

M9. The Rocker Boy (Azizi’s - ‘Mat Rock’)

This story /You sit here, if you want to hear, you sit here!/ is about a rocker boy. The rocker boy, his mother asks him to come home. His mother calls him to return. He is a rocker, rocker, although he is a rocker he is a devout person, who performs his prayers. On his way home he drops by at the prayer house, an old prayer house, an old prayer place to pray. Then it is the time for prayers. When it is prayer time and he has to wait for the mass prayer. The prayer place is old and the imam is elderly. The imam takes his ablution slowly. When he is about to start the praying, the imam moves forward to the front row. “Allah is Great.” Then he aborts the prayer. The imam is a very old man. Three or four times he make faulty starts. “Allah is Great! Allah is Great!” He fails again and again, he is very slow. The rocker goes behind the imam. “Imam! Imam! Let me be the imam,” he asked. The rocker asks to be the imam himself. He goes to the front and so he go. “Allah is Great.” Then he turns back. “Imam! Imam! You see
sir, only once,” he said. Ha! Ha! Ha! “Imam! Imam! You see I did it only once. No need for so many times,” he said. [Ha! Ha! Ha!]

M15. The Meat (Najib’s - ‘Daging’)

He (the butcher) thinks he is a clever man. He has a neighbour you know? A neighbour. He is a butcher and he has a neighbour. He has a neighbour, his neighbour is a man. He keeps a dog. Hoh! This man is a butcher. You seen this story? [No!] So, the butcher’s meat is stolen. (The dog) enters his compound and steals it. On the first occasion, he is patient, its all right. The second and later the third time he says, he want to do what? [That dog!] That dog! He wants to teach the dog’s owner a lesson. The dog’s owner. [The dog’s owner!] To asks for compensation.

However, his neighbour is a lawyer. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Right? A judge! A lawyer, lawyer. He asks the lawyer. He asks, “If?!” “Suppose someone’s dog eats, enters my compound, steals my meat in my compound. What should I do?” the butcher asks. “Oh! The owner, the owner has to pay compensation!” said the lawyer. “Is that so?” asked the butcher. “Aah! He has to! He has to pay!” said the lawyer. “Ah! Is that right?” said the butcher. “Right! You should go and ask. Certainly he must pay. That is the law,” says the lawyer. Then the butcher says, “The dog ate about 2 kilos of my meat.” So the price of 2 kilos of meat at that time is about RM20. RM20. Then the lawyer says, “Hoh! You go and ask.” “No!” replies the butcher. “It is your dog who ate it! You have to pay,” says the butcher. “Aah! Why didn’t you tell me? Why? Its all right. I will pay RM20, RM20. Hoh!” says the lawyer. After that he said, “I work as a lawyer. Everyone asks my advice on matters concerning the law. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] I am an expert you know! You have to pay me!” he said. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Its turned around!] The butcher has to pay! He loses! He has to pay RM100. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha! It’s turned around! He thinks he is smart!] Yeah! [But he is smarter than the butcher. He thinks he is!]

Cunning

M39. Fair (Najib’s - ‘Adil’)

A story about a man and an island. The head of the place is a village headman, not the king, and the people there catch a fowl. Somehow the fowl lost its way. A fowl! Someone’s fowl drifted there. It is still alive and reaches the island. There were many people who claimed to have caught the fowl. They report the matter to the village headman. Because of this particular fowl, the
village headman has to think hard how to be fair so that there would be no dispute. This is a riddle you know! I manage to solved it. Because of a fowl, the village headman has to think of a way to solve it fairly. There are a lot of people, he tries to avoid any dispute among his people. How the fowl could be divided equally. Which means for everybody’s satisfaction. Nobody could say that they get less, or they get nothing, so that everybody satisfy. To make them please! How? [Throw it into the sea!] No! You can’t. You will unable to taste it. [Oh! Need to taste it?]

Among the lot of them, there is a cunning boy. “I can do it. I can satisfy everybody,” he said. “Is that right?” they asked. “Yes! But you all have to obey my instruction,” says the boy. “All right!” they reply. Then he plucks all the feathers and give the people one each. “It is done! Everyone has a feather! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Hah! Pick your ears!” says the boy. Everyone is busy picking their ears. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Then he takes the fowl home, fry and eat it alone. The other are amazed. Ha! Ha! Ha! Satisfied. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Everybody get a feather each. [Hah!] If there were extra feathers, [Satisfied!] they get three or four for spares. Hah! Because they’d never seen a feather before. [Hah!] Hold it! Satisfied! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “Is everybody holding it?” he asked. “Yes!” they shouted. “Haa! Okay!” [Okay! Earpick!] All of them satisfied, everybody were lost in thought. Haa! Hee! Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Takes the fowl home, fry and eat. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] That is fair. The people satisfied.

**Ethnic Groups**

M83. **Buying Car** (Nazari’s - ‘Beli Kereta’)

Can this (story) can be classified as humorous? How the Malaysian people buy their vehicles? If what? If the Chinese are buying a car, on what basis do they ask? Chinese buying a car! [The Chinese buying car? What do they ask?] Hah! [How fast can it go!] “How fast can it go?” they ask. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Oh! They asked that, “How fast can it go?”] Hah! How fast can it go? If the seller tells them, “This (car) can go at 120 kilometers per hour,” “Ah! I’ll buy it!” they say. [Aaa it goes very fast.] Hah! It runs very fast. If the Malay buy a car. Wah! They are a bit careful. This is the Malays. Hah! What would they ask? [What is the petrol consumption?] Hah! “What is it? How many miles can it go on one gallon?” the Malays say. Ha! Ha! Ha! Aha! If an Indian buys a car? Hah! [If an Indian buys a car?] The Indian buys a car. [How many people will it carry?] “How many people can get into this car?” they asked. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha! Nine people can get in?] “How many people can get in?” the Indian asked. [The more the better! It is better! It’s cool!] Ha! Ha! Ha! That is why they buy old Mercedes, isn’t it? Many people can get in. Ha! Ha! Ha! [How many can get in.}
The Chinese certainly base it on speed. The Malays on (the petrol consumption.)
Ha! Ha! Ha!

M105. The Tree (‘Pokok’)

There are three friends, Malay, Chinese and Indian. What shall we call their names? Ali, Lim, and Sami (respectively). There are very close friends. One day, they plan to explore. Haa! They want to go for a walk in the woods. So, they stroll, stroll, stroll and come across a tree. It is a huge tree. It is very massive. Maybe it is the ketapang tree or what? I don’t know. Big! Then Ali said, “Hoi! This tree is very big!” “For the Malays, a huge tree like this, they like it,” he said. “It can give shelter. Haa! Their children can play underneath. So, they can avoid the sunlight. Haa! The children would not turn dark from the sun’s rays,” (he continued. Then Sami (gives his views). “Eh! If an Indian sees a huge tree like this,” he said. “The best thing to do is to make it a place of worship,” Sami continued. “Place an idol there. Ha! Ha! Ha! It can be worshipped! One can pray there!” he said. Then came the Chinese, Lim to (give his suggestions). “Ee! That is not good,” he said. “As for the Chinese, they would chop it down! Chop it down! Cut! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Split it! Turn it into logs,” he said. Ha! Ha! Ha! “That is more profitable!” (he said). Ha! Ha! Ha! “There’s no use in making a shelter. It is not worth a penny. It’s not worth making a what is it? A place of worship for praying in. It is better to chop it down. Getting money is better,” (Lim said). Ha! Ha! Ha! The story is finished.

Occupational Groups

M121. The King with Tusks (‘Raja Bersiong’)

This is a story of the king with tusks. It is a satire. The king with tusks is famous in Kedah. According to the legend, the king drank human blood. Hoh! If we read the Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa, the king accidentally drank blood. He found it tasted, nice and asked the cook to mix it every day in his food. He asked the cook to prepare it. That is according to the legend, Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa. However, this story of the king with tusks is a modern version of the king with tusks. A new version! This king with tusks eats meat! He eats meat. Everyday he eats 5 kilos of meat. But only 2 kilos enter his belly. It is not 5 kilos that enter. Only 2 kilos enter his belly. Where has the rest of it gone? It got stuck between his teeth. The 3 kilos stuck between his teeth. It didn’t enter the belly. Only 2 kilos passed into the belly. Ha! The story is finished.
M127. The Car (‘Kereta’)

Okay. This a story about that, the car, the national car. Malaysia has produced the Proton Saga. This is only a story, then it was Produa Kancil, wasn’t it? After that it was Produa Rusa. Then rumours appear stating a new type of model is about to be built. It is also Produa you know. Produa! Surely it is beautiful. Gliding along. Surely it is beautiful. What is it? It is more sophisticated than Produa Kancil and Produa Rusa. It glides like a sport car! Just gliding. It is very fast. Speedy. Then the listener of the story asks isn’t it. What is it? Ek, what car is it? What car is it, the car isn’t it? It’s very beautiful and the way it glides isn’t it? Everything is speedy. Then, then what is it? Its body is solid. Its body is solid you know. Then the teller tells what is it? (It is) Produa Babi! Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha! Is the story finished? Is it finished?] It’s finished.

Double Themes

Numskull / Sex

M1. Minah, Mamak and the Goats (Abu Zarim’s - ‘Minah, Mamak dan Kambing’)

This story is about a mamak\(^{10}\) and some goats. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] So there is a woman working at a mamak’s restaurant. Working. The mamak is there too. The woman has a nice body. The mamak fancies her. One day, the mamak asks her. This mamak also farms a lot of goats you know? Then he said, “Hei Minah? Come here.” Then she came. “What do you want mamak?” she replies. “Hei! Can I see a bit?” asked the mamak. “What do you want to see?” replied Minah. “I want to see part of your legs. They are very nice legs. Would you mind showing me your legs, I will give you a goat,” said the mamak. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “That is not a problem. Just to show the legs. All right mamak,” said Minah. She shows him her legs. “I have to pay. Hei! Take one goat.” [Ha! Ha! Ha!] The mamak sees Minah’s white legs. “Minah! If you pull up a little bit more of your sarong, I will give you another goat,” says the mamak. Now up to the thigh. Minah does not mind as it is only a matter of pulling up her sarong. “You get another goat. I give you!” [Now it is two goats.] Then it is two goats.

\(^{10}\) Indian Muslim.
Later. “Minah! Can you pull it up a little bit higher?” mamak asked. When she is asked to pull up a little bit higher, Minah says “Yes! I can get another goat.” “Can I ask one more time, I will give you another goat. Pull it up a little bit higher,” asked the mamak. At the end, in fact, mamak had only a few goats. “Minah! Do you mind if I put my hand on it. Could I?” asked the mamak. “Yes! Why not!” she said. She realises that she has acquired a lot of goat as she has counted them. She knows that if she get another one it will total ten goats. Then, the mamak places his penis into Minah’s vagina. “Minah! Can I push it in a little bit?” asks the mamak. “No mamak! You don’t have any more goats,” says Minah. “Really! I just thrust it here?” mamak says. Minah is starting to enjoy it. “Minah! I am sorry. I have no goats left. I had only 10 goats,” said the mamak. “It is all right mamak! I will give you back your goat,” says Minah. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “If you can push it in slowly, push it in bit by bit,” says Minah. Then, mamak slowly pushes in his penis. “Take one goat,” said Minah. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “Mamak! It’s lovely. A bit more, do it, do it again. I will give you one more goat,” says Minah. At the end, all the goats are returned to the mamak. Mamak gets sex for free. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!]

M2. A Lot More! (Abu Zarim’s - ‘Banyak Lagi!’)

/Peace be to you and Allah’s blessing as well. Yeah! Today our story is about a toyol\(^{11}\) and his master. There is a toyol. In the past, this toyol belongs to his master. His master is an old man and later he died. Now, this toyol no longer has a master. His master has a son who has just got married. Since the toyol no longer has a master, he takes shelter with his master’s newly married son. Everywhere his new master goes the toyol follows him, even to bed. So, the new master considers the toyol a nuisance and he feel very uncomfortable. At night, the toyol sits between the couple. He wants to see what his new master’s doing. Instead, the toyol’s new master is annoyed and feels uneasy because of being disturbed.

Then the new master thinks of a way to get rid of this toyol. He thinks and thinks and then he gets an idea. One day he calls the toyol. “Toyol come here,” he says. “If you want to be my friend you can. But there is a condition,” he said. Then he pulls out one of his pubic hairs, [Hoh!] one pubic hair. A pubic hair is curly isn’t it? Then he tells the toyol, “Take this hair. You make it straight. Hoh! When it is straight come and see me. That is the first condition. When it is completed come and see me.” he says. This toyol is happy because the condition is okay and easy to do. Every day he tries to straighten the curly hair. Every day and each day until his fingers get sore. It is very painful.

\(^{11}\) A kind of ghost.
The toyol spends a month straightening the hair. Wow! When the hair is straightened he is overjoyed. Then he goes to the house, returns to his master’s house. At that moment his master is taking a bath. So he manages to peep through, peep through the wall of the bathroom. “Hoh!” He is so surprised. “Oh! My god!” he said. “I straightened only one. There are a lot more,” he said. “Oh! It is so hairy!” he said. “Hoh! I may die. This one took me a month,” he said. “I feel that I could lose my fingers straightening them. There are thousands and thousands more. Eee! I could not manage it,” said the toyol. Then the toyol runs away. When the toyol has gone, only then does his young master feels comfortable. So, the toyol no longer had his master’s son as his master. Aaah! That is the story of a toyol and his young master. /Switch it off, Mat./

Cunning / Sex

M40. The Man with a Hare-Lip (Cleft Palate) (Cikgu Senin’s - ‘Si Sengau’)

This story is about a hare-lipped man. He is a man. He is nearly 40 years old but still unmarried. He asks a lot of the village’s girls to marry him. But everybody turns him down because he has a hare-lip. They are embarrassed at him. However, his time comes and he meets a divorcee from the same village. A divorcee with two children. Of course a divorcee, and she even had two children! This divorcee accepts the hare-lip’s proposal of marriage.

That night, they want to have sex. As is known, a divorcee is not a virgin. She is not like a maiden. So her vagina, as people say, her vagina no longer has a grip. Then her husband tells his wife. His wife name is Minah. “Minah! Minah! Grip Minah! Grip!” says the husband.12 “There are no ants here! This bed is new, just bought it!” she replies. “Aaa! Grip Minah! Grip” he asks. “Oh! There are no ants!” she replies. “Oh! You are so difficult Minah. I told you to grip. Now cough! Cough! Cough! Cough!” he asks. “What? You want me to cough?” she asked. “Yes! Cough!” he said. Then she coughs. “Oh! That’s nice. Please cough once more,” he said. “What? Cough again?” she asked. “Yes! Cough again. Oh! Oh! It is very lovely,” said the hare-lip. Hah! That is the story about the hare-lipped man and his divorcee wife. Both of them were unlucky. But there were many ways and signs to follow in order to satisfy their lust. That is the story of the hare-lipped man who married a divorcee.

12 “Enahl! Enahl! Kamut Enahl! Kamut!” (In nasal). His wife mistook kemut (grip) semut (ant).
M58. Who Spat at Me? (Amir’s - ‘Siappo Yang Ludah Den?’)

One day, there was a bus. It is a factory bus carrying female workers. There is no toilet on board. On the journey from Kuala Pilah to Seremban, one of the ladies wants to urinate. The driver declines to stop. Then the woman urinates through the bus window. However, there is a man riding a motorbike behind the bus. The urine catches his face. He is annoyed. He chases the bus. He stops it. Then he boards the bus. “Who spat me through the window. I saw he had a mustache,” he said.13 That is the story. Ha! Ha! Ha!

M73. The Elephants (Hamzah’s - ‘Gajah’)

/Today, I will tell you a story about the Aborigines. This is from my experience working in Pahang years ago. There are a lot of stories about the Aborigines. The Aborigines are straightforward people. When they talk, they avoid any complicated sentences. They talk straight to the point. What they want to say they just say. As an example, I saw this on TV3 a few years back. This is a true story. It is about a herd of elephants that came and destroyed the Aborigines' settlements at the Gelong Forest in Perak. The TV3 news crews go to the settlements to cover the story. They come and meet the village headman. “When will the elephants come?” they ask the village headman. You know what the headman replied? “I don’t know,” the headmen said. “I didn’t make any appointment with the elephants. And the elephants also didn’t make any appointment with me,” he said. Hoh! There we can see, how straightforward the answer can be. If we think it over it is right. How could the elephants have an appointment with us. And we also didn’t have any appointment with them. Okay.

Ethnic Groups / Sex

M64. The Drum Competition (Hamzah’s - ‘Rebana Ubi’)

This is the drum competition in Kelantan. Usually this competition is participated in by a number of people in a team. A team consists of a group of

men. They are asked to beat the drums. They dress in traditional clothes. Usually Kelantanese male wears batik sarongs.

Hoh! During the competition, there is a team who beat their drums marvelously. They are expected to win. The audience too expects them to win. They beat the drums. Dung! Dung! Dung! Dung! Dung dang! Dung dang! While they beat the drums, one of the men in the team's sarong becomes loose. Nothing he could do. When the was sarong loose he had to roll it. When it's loose he rolls it. He keeps repeating that until the sarong becomes short. Ha! Ha! Ha! Actually he is not wearing any underwear. They beat and beat the drums. Dung! Dung! Dung! They have to stop all at once. Stop all together. Stop. Toom! Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Just now the team is certain to win. But there is an awkward sound. [The sound is off rhythm.] It is off rhythm. Teng! [Who beat it?] Who is the one that makes such a sound? Teng! Actually it is the man with the loose sarong that makes the sound. Ha! Ha! Ha! [It sticks out.] Hoh! Once his penis sticks out, it accidentally beats the drum. Tong! Ha! Ha! Ha! [Finished?] Hoh! They lose.

M66. The Javanese Angler (Aji's - 'Wak Pancing')

There is a man. A story of a Javanese man. He is a Javanese. This Javanese is a keen angler you know. Coincidentally, I'm also a keen angler. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] This Javanese man often goes angling. He always gets fishes. He is very good. Whenever he angles, he catches fish. It is a lot, a large amount.

So, one day a youth wants to follow, a youth wants to join the Javanese man angling. He watches him casting (the line). (He) casts. Soop! Casts and in a minute he pulls it, (there is) fish. Casts again and pulls, pulls, (there is) fish. (He continues) to cast and pull. This fellow casts everywhere, here (and) there, right (and) left, front (and) back. He doesn't get any fish you know. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] So he asks this Javanese man. “Wak! I'm very surprised with you. You are very good at angling. Every time you angle, you catch fish. How can you be so good at angling?” he said. “Eh! It is very easy!” he replied. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “If I wake up early for angling I’ll look at my wife. How is my wife sleeping? If my wife facing to the right, I’ll throw my plummet to the right during angling. Ye! I’ll get fish. If I wake up and see my wife facing to the left, I’ll throw to the left. Ye! I’ll also get fish,” he said. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Aaa then the youth asks again. “Then if your wife facing upwards?” he asked. “Engeh! Upwards! I’ll cancel my angling. My plummet is already caught,” he answers. [Ha! Ha! Ha! The story is finished.] Ha! Ha! Ha! It is finished. That is a short story. Short story. [It is all right. It doesn’t matter.] This (story) targets the Javanese. [Hah!]
M92. A Forum (Hamzah’s - ‘Forum’)

This a short story, also an advertisement and it is about the Sikhs. Oh! It is not a contest. It is a forum, a forum on men’s views about women. Three, four ethnic groups are invited. The panels are the Malays, Chinese, Sikhs and Indians. However, the Indian declines to turn up. Only three panels, Chinese, Sikh and Malay. Okay. They start the forum to discuss men’s views about women.

They ask one of the panelists, the Malay. “All right! What is the Malay view towards women?” asked the chairperson. “Usually the Malays consider women as flowers, beautiful. Whenever we give a present to them it is a flower. Flowers symbolize women,” he said. Woh! He tells everything. That is the Malay’s view toward women. The chairperson then asked the Chinese. “What is the Chinese view toward women?” he asked. “The Chinese consider them like the moon. The full moon is beautiful,” he said. That is the Chinese views. Then come the Sikh’s turn. “What is the male Sikh’s view of women?” asked the chairperson. What is his answer? “That is easy! The Sikhs see women like a record. Its front can be used and the back, too, can be used,” he said. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] That is finished. The story is finished. Ha! Ha! Ha! It is completed.

Occupational Groups / Numskull

M117. Its Full (Najib’s - ‘Dah Penuh’)

In another place it is even better. (There is) a villager in an estate. So, the policeman is from a town. This policeman acts, acts, acts in a normal way. In town it is all right. In the village, two persons, three persons riding (a motorbike) is all right. Isn’t it? So, this policeman is transferred to a village. He happens to see three persons riding a motorbike. Wah! He stops them, three persons on a bike, right? He stops them, stop. Asks (them) to stop. This old villager says, “Sorry son! There’s no more room, son! It is full!” Ha! Ha! Ha! He thinks the policeman wants to have a ride. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Usually the village folks can ride up to three persons, four persons isn’t it? “Sorry son!” he said. There are four persons on the motorbike. In the carrier there is one. At the back another one, three, and four persons. The policeman stops them. “Sorry son! There’s no room! It is full! I’ve to go!” he said. The policeman wonders. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] He thinks that the policeman also wants a ride. Ha! Ha! Ha! [Ha! Ha! Ha!] This is a story, story about the police! There are heaps of stories about policeman stopping people aren’t there? There are a lot policeman stopping people, right?
Miscellaneous / Sex

M129. Sakonas

There is a company. It has just been formed. It is looking for workers. They look for workers. What is the name of the company? It is one of the companies under Petronas. They put their advertisement in the newspaper. They look for workers for the factory. The name of the company is Sakonas. People are wondering what company that is. Then they ask. They ask what is it? Its an acronym for what? Then one of the officer told them, “Sakonas is an abbreviation for the National Condom.”¹⁴ Ha! Ha! Ha!

Triple Themes

Ethnic Groups / Sex / Hypocrite

M60. You Are From Pahang Too! (Abu Zarim’s - ‘Orang Pahang Juga!’)

In the past, the Pahang people were well-known for their prowess. Anything that was enormous in size, was from Pahang. The beautiful (women) were also from Pahang. The biggest houses, biggest cars also belonged to the people from Pahang. They were totally outstanding.

Then, one day, a smart young Pahang man goes for a drive. He meets a lady. He invites her into his car. “Where are you going?” he said. “Wandering around sir!” she replied. “Okay! Get in,” he said. Then she gets into the car. They introduce each other and he takes her for a drive. “Oh! It is marvelous sir! Is it your car?” she asked. “Hei! I am from Pahang,” he replied. [Again and again saying he is from Pahang.] Wow! Then they have lunch. They lunch at a big hotel. “Oh! Let eat at the small hotel there,” said the woman. “Hei! I am from Pahang. Don’t let down the Pahang people,” he said. Then he takes the woman for a drive again. He buys her expensive clothes. He also buys himself expensive clothes. “Hei! Sir! Your clothes are expensive,” she said. “Hei! I am from Pahang,” he said. [I am from Pahang.]

Then he takes her to a hotel. He rents a first class room. “Hoi! It is a very nice hotel. It must be expensive,” she said. “I am from Pahang,” he replies. Then they fondle one another. They fondle and fondle and later the man takes off his trousers. The woman is surprised. “Oh! My god! Hei! It is huge sir!” she said. “Hei! I am from Pahang,” he replies. Then they fondle one another, he undresses

¹⁴ Sarung Konek National
her, he ask her to take off her trousers. Then woman follows his request. As she takes off her trousers, he see the woman’s vagina. “Oh! It is very wide! Where do you come from? Are you from Pahang?” he asks the woman. “Aaa. Yes! I am from Pahang,” she answered. Ha! Ha! Ha! She is also from Pahang. He is busy with his ‘I’m from Pahang’ and asks her, “Are you from Pahang?” “Yes! I am from Pahang,” she said. “Oh! Of course from Pahang!” he said. Ha! Ha! Ha!/You already have this story! Haa! [But the story is about husband and wife.]/

M82. Fair Skinned Offspring (Aji’s - ‘Anak Putih’)

This is a story about an Indian. His offspring of course are dark-skinned. [Hah!] They has no fair-skinned offspring. An Indian marries an Indian, their offspring are dark. Then he asks someone how to get a fair-skinned child. The man he asks makes a fool of him. “That is easy,” the man said. “If you want a fair-skinned child, thrust only half of your penis in when you have intercourse. Don’t thrust in all of it. Only part of it. When you have an orgasm, thrust in only part of your penis. Not everything,” he said. Wow! The Indian man tries it. He wants a fair-skinned offspring. That night he follows the instruction. He has sex with his wife. By the time he reaches orgasm, and is about to ejaculate he says, “Hah! No point in only going half-way.” He’s enjoying it. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] “It doesn’t matter if it is dark. It is all right!” he said. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Ha! Ha! Ha! Everybody knows this story. Everywhere you look it is the same.

Ethnic Groups / Numskull / Sex

M95. Male and Female (Cikgu Senin’s - ‘Mana Jantan Mana Betina?’)

In 1960s, the British army was about to leave Malaya because at that time our government, Malaysia had received its independence. (We) no longer needed the aid of the British government for military purposes. So, at the end of the era of the British army, they camped for several days. They camped near the villages.

So, one day they built their camp at a village beside a paddy-field. It was near the paddy-field. At that time it is raining. There are many children at that time near, near the British soldiers. The children like to befriend the British soldiers because they get free milk, biscuits, sweets, jam, chocolate and so forth. So, at that moment the frogs are croaking. The frogs in the paddy-field are croaking. (There is a) variety of sound. So, among the children there are some adolescent, and they like make fun of the Westerners, the soldiers. So, they ask the armies to
differentiate which is the male and female frog. The Westerners wonder. They
don’t know how to differentiate them.

So, the children take them to a paddy-field to peep at the frogs. Not sure how,
they encounter the croaking frogs. Actually the frogs are mating. So, to identify
which one is the male and the female, the children ask the Westeners to listen
carefully. So, the one on the top is making the croaking sound. It sounds,
“Seround!” However, the one at the bottom sounds, “Wek! Wek!” “Seround!”
(the top one croaks). “Wek! Wek!” (the other replies). “Second round!” (again
the earlier frog croaks). “Wait! Wait!” (the other replies). “Third round!” (the
earlier one continues). “Wait! Wait!” (again the other replies).

So, the Westerners still do not understand. So, the children explain to them.
‘Seround’ means one round. The female says ‘wait’ which means wait because
their siblings are still awake. ‘Second round’ and the female replies ‘wait.’ Ah!
Similarly, their children are awake and ask them to wait for a while. So, the
Westerner says, “Oh! If that the case, now I understood that the one on the top
which croaks ‘seround’ is the male. The one that croaks ‘wait’ is the female and
she is at the bottom.” Then only does the Westerner understand that there is a
difference between the croaking of the male and female frog. That is how to
differentiate the sexes of frogs. If you want to know you may examine. (In
order) to find the proof. That is my story of how to differentiate the croaking of
the male and female frogs.

Occupational Groups /Hypocrite / Sex

M107. Reading the Quran (Abu Zarim’s - ‘Mengaji’)

/Haah! I think I should tell another story about the army, right? Stories about
the army, stories about the army are neat./ This soldier goes to Terendak
Camp. [Where is his place of origin?] Hah! So, [What is his age?] he goes for
three months. He had many children, three of them. But, as is known, for quite
some time they have not seen each other. So, he arrives (home) in the evening,
that night you know? Hoh! His children welcome him, “Hoi! Dad is home! Dad
is home!” Wah! The children are overjoyed. The youngest child is the happiest.
That evening they talk, have dinner together. So, (he is) looking at his wife, each
are looking, desiring, right? [Ha! Ha! Ha!] For quite some time they have been
separated. Hah!

15 Terendak Camp is situated in Sungai Udang, Melaka.
So, the youngest child, because for so long he didn’t see his father, he didn’t want to sleep. It’s already past mid-night, the television is switched off, the programs are over. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] It is closed. Hai! The father is worried, the mother is also worried. So, (she) puts the child to sleep in the swing, lulls him. But still he doesn’t close his eyes. As if he has met someone new to him.

So, the boy’s father tries to calm himself down, he goes for ritual ablution. After completing all his prayers he recites some Quranic passages for some time. Takes ablution, prays in the house in order to, what does he say? “Aaa I’m trying to calm myself down, I’d better read the Quran.” Instead, the mother lulls the child, “Dooo!” However, the father starts saying, “Aanguzubillah himinassyaitan nirrajim. Bismil!” Aaa only when he is about to recites Bismillah, his wife said, “Darling! The child is sleeping.” “Shadaqallah hulaazim,” (he recites). [Ha! Ha! Ha!] He should have finished it, shouldn’t he? One page or so? Instead, Shadaqallah. Haa! He starts with Aanguzubillah himinassyaitan nirrajim. Its still okay, but when Bis, when Bis, “Darling! The child is sleeping.” (his wife says). Shadaqallah hulaazim. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Close it! Hah! Starts. [Ha! Ha! Ha!] Ahaa! Because its too long already, just you think of it? It is right? / Mr. Abu Zarim! That story, the one going to Mecca. Haa! Okay! Lets go to Mecca./

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16 Normally the Malays put their child to sleep in a swing. The swing is usually made up of a sarong (where the child is placed) which is tied to a spring and hangs from the ceiling.

17 An opening phrase to begin the reading of Quranic passages.

18 A closing phrase to end the reading of Quranic passages.
Glossary of Malay words

A
Aanguzubillah... Isl A phrase in the Koran which is read to start a passage.
acak mana (short for macam mana) how is it?
ais box refrigerator
ais-kerim 1. ice-cream 2. applied also to fellatio
air sembahyang ritual ablution
ajak invite
akad nikah marriage contract
akses Eng action - implies to show off
Alhamdulillah Hirabilaalamtu... Isl the first phrase of a passage in the Koran.
alim devout
anakanda child (respectful in letter/used by royalty, means I or you)
anak dara maiden
antu (short for hantu) ghost
anu term used as substitution for people, thing, etc.
apak (Ch.) elderly male Chinese
aral - mengaralkan unavoidable circumstances
ari (short for hari) day
aye kecil air kecil urine; air besar faeces
azan Ar call for prayer

B
badan dua pregnant
bagan fishing platform
bahal/bakhil stingy
baling throw
bakal would be, future
bang 1. call for prayer 2. (also short for abang - brother) a normal term used for husband
bangsal shed
baniah say in disagreement
bapok gay, homosexual
barah cancer
barang 1. thing 2. implies also private parts
batal cancelled, invalid
batang 1. trunk 2. analogy to man’s genital (coll.)

bati...lemah/lemah tenaga batin impotent
batu giling millstone
batuk cough
bau - terbau smell
bebe/bibir lip
begek (coll.) slow learner
bekal provision
bekarang/berkarang seek shellfish
bekbalik/balik-balik again and again
belacak a kind of sea fish
belangkong (coll.) hit
belat a kind of fish trap
belodok a kind of sea fish
bememberang/memering otter
benak slow learner
hendang paddy field
Benggali Sikh
bengen/bengis 1. strict 2. harsh
berahi sexual desire
herak defecate
berah/beras rice
berentap fight
beruang bear
besok tomorrow
beranak give birth
berkhitan circumcision
beronda-ronda/ronda-randih be in disorder
berpesan pass a message (advice)
beta I (used by royalty)
betina female
beteduh/berteduh sheltered
betoibetoil right
bilal muezzin
bikin (coll.)/buat make
bingai (coll.) stupid
bingkas bounce
bini wife
bisas venom
Bismillah hirRahman nir Rahim Isl in the name of Allah... (said as grace before meal; uttered prayer before undertaking task etc.)
bladi pol! Eng Bloody fool!
bodek hernia
bodoh-bodoh alang slow-witted
bomoh medicine man
bonda mother (used by royalty)
boryol lump
bontut 1. buttock 2. applied also to sodomy
borak - berborak chit-chat
borek fleck
botbot a kind of bird
buah 1. fruit 2. applied also to
testicles
buah bako/buah bakau  mangrove tree's fruit
buah ayie kecik/buah air kecil  urinate
buah put
buah (Mi/ buat - dibuat to make
buah foam
bukit hill
bungsu/bongsu youngest offspring
buntul sack
bunting pregnant
buret 1. anus 2. applied also to
sodomy
buah bako/buah bakau mangrove tree's fruit
buang aye kecik/buah air kecil  urinate
bubuh put
buek (Mi ybaf - dibuat to make
buih foam
buih hill
bungsu/bongsu youngest offspring
buntul sack
bunting pregnant
buret 1. anus 2. applied also to
sodomy
buru hunt
busut small mound
bunda huruf illiterate
botoh penis
dengah - terdengah-dengah breathless
dewasa adult
dideh/didih 1. boil 2. rage
dikhatwah/khalwat 1. solitude, retirement
from the world, retreat. 2. implies sexual intercourse
dismiss Eng dismiss
dobi laundry
dodol traditional Malay sweetened
food made of glutinous rice,
sugar, and coconut milk
dokek (Mi/ dekat near
dompok flattened nose
dongeng tale
dreber Eng driver
durian a kind of fruit with a thorny
skin
C
cabut 1. yank out 2. take off
(cam ne (coll) (short for macam mana) how
corang a kind of drum
cangkul hoe
capai reach
cecer cecir spilled, scattered (on the
ground)
cecek able to see, not blind
cemburu envious / jealous
cendawan mushroom
cerai 1. separated 2. divorce
cerek kettle
cilakak celaka 1. misfortune 2. dammit!
cibai (Ch.) man's genital
cincang chop
cungap - mencungap breathless
cupak measurement
D
dahaga thirsty
dakwah Ar missionary
damar resin of certain trees collected
as an article of trade
dapek (Mi/dapat get
dapo/dapur kitchen
dara virgin
datang bulan/datang kotor menstruation
dayang lady-in-waiting
degil stubborn
demam fever
dem (Mi) I
dendam revenge
denganh - terdengah-dengah breathless
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durian a kind of fruit with a thorny
skin
F
FELCRA acronym for Federal Land
Consolidation and
Rehabilitation Authority
G
gak-gak (short for agak-agak) roughly
gamen lon Eng government loan
garpu fork
gasok 1. fight 2. devour
gaul mix
gegasi/gergasi ogre
gelebe/geleber flabby
geli tickled
geluk water bucket
geram infuriated
gerangan can it be? (an expression of
doubt)
ghaung gaung ravine
gian (coll.) lust
gigi teeth
gigil - menggigil shivering
gigit  bite
ginau  (short for harimau) tiger
gini  (short for begini) like this
golek  rolling
Gorka/Gurkha  member of a people living in the mountains of Nepal, whose young men have been recruited since 1815 for the British and Indian armies
goyang  shaky
gua  1. cave 2. I (Ch.)
gubal  a kind of fish
gumi  sack

H
Hacks  a brand of sweet contained menthol
habuan  victim
handal  prowess
hantam hentam  1. hit 2. do as you like
hantok  bump
hapal hafal - menghapal memorize
haribulan  date
harkat Ar  value
hed hai'd  menstruation
hendap - mengendap lurking
hinggap  perch
hotak otak  brain

I
ibelis'iblis  chief of the devil
ijab kabul  consent given by the bride's family at wedding ceremony
ijo  (short for hijau) green
iikan  advertisement
ilang  (short for hilang) disappeared
imam  prayer leader
incaj Eng  acronym for Institut Taibiran Awam Negara, The Nation Institute of Civil Administrator
INTAN  late evening prayer
isyak

J
jajo/jaja - menjajakan trade
jaki  envy
jambu  1. guava 2. beautiful (coll.)
jamu - berjamanu  feast
jambak  bunch
jampi  incantation
janda  1. widow 2. divorcee
jang (Mi.)  common name for a man
jantan  male
jembuti (Jv.)  pubic hair
jerang  heat
jerangkap samar  mine
JKR  acronym for Jabatan Kerja Raya, The Department of Public Work
JOA  acronym for Jabatan Orang Asli, The Department of Aborigines
jodoh  1. marriage partner 2. match
jojol - terjojol  protrude (of eyes)
jombot  bunch
jomlah (coll.)  lets go
jubah  robe
jubur/dubur  1. anus 2. applied also to sodomy
junjung  carry on the head
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kembar</td>
<td>twin</td>
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<tr>
<td>kembara - mengembara</td>
<td>explore</td>
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<tr>
<td>kemban - berkemban</td>
<td>wrap a sarong around the upper part of a woman's body</td>
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<tr>
<td>kemias</td>
<td>1. tidy, neat 2. KEMAS acronym for an organisation Kemajuan Masyarakat</td>
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<tr>
<td>kembar</td>
<td>twin</td>
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<tr>
<td>kembar</td>
<td>wrap a sarong around the upper part of a woman's body</td>
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<tr>
<td>kemping Eng</td>
<td>camping</td>
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<tr>
<td>kemut</td>
<td>suck on (applied usually to sexual act - grip)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kencing manis</td>
<td>diabetes</td>
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<tr>
<td>kendur</td>
<td>flabby</td>
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<tr>
<td>kenduri</td>
<td>ritual feast</td>
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<tr>
<td>kenikmatan dunia</td>
<td>worldly pleasure - usually applied to sexual intercourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kento (Mi) /kentor</td>
<td>fart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kenyang</td>
<td>too full</td>
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<tr>
<td>keri</td>
<td>sickle</td>
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<tr>
<td>keta</td>
<td>(short for kereta) car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketam piye ketam piyai</td>
<td>a kind of crab</td>
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<tr>
<td>ketik</td>
<td>arm pit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketor - terketor-ketor</td>
<td>shaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerdas</td>
<td>a kind of plant with edible seeds (an appetizer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerebo kerbau</td>
<td>water buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerengteng</td>
<td>curly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketapi</td>
<td>(short for keretapi) train</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketayap</td>
<td>white cap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khadam</td>
<td>servant, slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki mak ko</td>
<td>(short for puki enak engkau) literally swearing phrase, your mother's vagina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kikis</td>
<td>scrape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko/kau</td>
<td>(short for engkau) you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koboi</td>
<td>cowboy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kojol(coll.)</td>
<td>drop dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokak (coll.)</td>
<td>lowly standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koling keling</td>
<td>appellation for Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Lumpur</td>
<td>Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komat/kamat</td>
<td>replay for azan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konk</td>
<td>man's genital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kontol (Jw.)</td>
<td>man's genital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kop O</td>
<td>black coffee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kote (Kel.)</td>
<td>man's genital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubang</td>
<td>mudpuddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubokubur</td>
<td>grave yard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudung</td>
<td>maimed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuin bakar</td>
<td>a kind of biscuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulub</td>
<td>1. foreskin 2. appellation for boy, uncircumcised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutu</td>
<td>1. head lice 2. implied to youths loitering in street, urchin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lagu</td>
<td>1. song 2. like this (northern state)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laki bini</td>
<td>husband and wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>latut</td>
<td>housefly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lampu</td>
<td>lamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lampu picit</td>
<td>torchlight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lancau (Ch.)</td>
<td>man's genital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapau/lapar</td>
<td>hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lat</td>
<td>interval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lat-lat</td>
<td>roughly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laua</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lave</td>
<td>invite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>layang-layang</td>
<td>kite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lecet - mele cet</td>
<td>chafed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lengkeng-lengkeng-lengkeng</td>
<td>feeling weak in limbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lempeng</td>
<td>pancake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>licin</td>
<td>slippery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lidah</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lintah</td>
<td>leech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lipat</td>
<td>fold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lembah</td>
<td>humidity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lembah</td>
<td>valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lembing</td>
<td>spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lengah</td>
<td>late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lobang</td>
<td>1. hole 2. also implied as woman's genital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loceng</td>
<td>bell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longkang</td>
<td>drain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loya buruk</td>
<td>jesting fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu (Ch.)</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lucah</td>
<td>obscene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lucu</td>
<td>amusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lunjur</td>
<td>stretch out (of arms and legs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lukah</td>
<td>fishtrap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lutut</td>
<td>knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mabuk</td>
<td>1. drunk 2. nauseated, on the verge of vomiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>main</td>
<td>1. play 2. appellation for sexual intercourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makan angin</td>
<td>jaunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makwa</td>
<td>girlfriend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamak</td>
<td>Indian Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mampuhih (Mi.)/mampus</td>
<td>1. die 2. usually means, To hell with you!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manggis</td>
<td>mangosteen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

418
mari (coll.) come
masaalath problem
masjid mosque
mat common name to call somebody
mati die
mati pucuk impotent
mat selleh/orang putih westerner
mek (Kel.) maiden
meleset depression
membayar plow
member Eng (coll.) friend
menantu son/daughter-in-law
mencako/mencakar claw
menelangkup/telangkup lie face downward
menyerap/meniarap itaraap lie face downward
mengah breathless
mengaji learning (usually implied to Koranic learning)
mengaruk lustful (sex)
mengeceek nagging
mengelentong kelentong bluffing
menggetah trap birds with birdlime
mengharung wade across
mengidam pregnant woman craving for something, usually food
mengigau talk in sleep
mengkali barangkali may be
mengurap flirtation
meninggal meninggal dunia die
menjahanamkan destroy
meninggalkan meninggalkan dunia die
menyamar disguise
menyangkung squatting
merelingmengerling glance
mererab mogrerab maghrib sunset prayer
Mersedes Mercedes Benz
mitang itchness
mimpi dream
mintak request
moh (coll.) lets go
moncong snout
monkey
muallap’mualaf Ar recent convert to Islam
muntah vomit
murai magpie

neraka hell
nikmat luxury, comfort
niris/nyirih a kind of plant
niyo/nyiur coconut
ngabo/khabar - mengkhabarkan inform
nganga - menganga opened mouth
ngantuk/ mengantuk drowsy
ngempar/hegempar drop on
ngeling/ngoling - menggiling grind
ngok (coll.) stupid
ngongkek/kongkek (Ch.) sexual intercourse
nikah marriage
nyonya (Ch.) an elderly Chinese woman

O
OCS acronym for The Officer Commanding the Station
odes Eng order (command)
oji/aji (short for haji) title of address for a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca; a woman is known as hajjah
omak makemak mother
orang asli Aborigine
orang putih/mat selleh Westerner
orang rumah wife

P
padang pasir desert
paie (Mi.)/pergi go
paip tap
palawan/pahlawan hero
pakat agreement
pak mentua (short for bapak mentua) father-in-law
pancang perahu pole used to tie up the boat to
pancung decapitate
pencut - terpencut 1. spray 2. ejaculate
panggong wayang cinema
pantat woman’s genital
pasar malam night street market
pasar minggu weekend street market
Patihah / Fatihah one of the pessages in the Quran
patuk bite
PBB acronym for Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu, United Nations
pedalah/berdahlih excuse
pedih  poignant
pekak  deaf
pekan sari  street market
pelandok  mousedeer
pelanto pelantar  platform
pelat  lisp
pelekat  sarong
pelepelir  man's genital
peluh  sweat
pembetit  liar
pempelahan  (short for perlahan-lahan) slowly
pengantin  bride/bridegroom
penghulu  village chief
pengkalan  jetty
pening  headache
pening-pening  drowsy
pepet (Kel.)  woman's genital
perahu  boat
perangkap  trap
perdana menteri  prime minister
peribahasa  proverb
perigi buta  abandon well
perli  ridicule
permaisuri  queen
perio  pot
petua  give advice, precept
piantan  certain time, moment when something happened
PIBG  acronym for Persatuan Ibu Bapa dan Guru, The Parent - Teacher Association
pikul  1. carry on shoulders  2. measurement
piring hitam  record
pokpek (coll.)  chit-chat
pomen Eng  foreman
poneh had (Mi.)  angry
ponggong  buttock
puas - kepuasan  sati sexual satisfaction
puccat  pale
pukau  mesmerize
puki  woman’s genital
pukul  1. hit 2. applied to lancap, masturbation
punut  carry thing in a cloth with corners tied together
putau putar  twist
putik  bud
puting  nipple
putu  steamed cake made of flour and palm sugar eaten with grated coconut
putus  broken off
R
rabit  tattered at the edges
rabut  flee
rakaat Ar  division in prayer
ramas  squeeze
rancap  pointed, acute
rangkak - merangkak-rangkak  crawl
rangsang  dried branched
rayap - merayap  creep, glide
rebana ubi  a type of drum famous in Kelantan
rebus  boil
redan  a kind of tree
RELA  acronym for Angkatan Relawan Malaysia, a form of paramilitary group established by the government.
relek Eng  relax
rempah  spice
rendong gendong  carry
renngut  tug at, yank out
renjis  sprinkle
renyai-renyai-renyai  drizzle
report Eng  report
reta aita  (short for harta) wealth
rezeki  livelihood
riso risau  worried
rimau remau  (short for harimau) tiger
robek  torn
romen Eng  romance - flattery
rukuk Isl  deep bow from the waist during prayer ritual
S
sabut kelapa  coconut husk
sadin  sardin
sagai  grate
sagun  cookie made of rice flour with coconut and sugar
sake/sakai  one of the aboriginal tribes
sampan  boat
sangkar  cage
sarang tebuhan  vespiary, hornets’ nest
sat  in a moment (northern states)
sawah  paddy field
sayo/sayur  vegetable
se  one
sedeh sedih  sad
sekan  shy
unveil (of shirt, sarong etc.)
slow
bush 
pray
a ball or quid of tobacco held in
the mouth between the teeth
and the lips usually by elderly
woman
a kind of sea fish
nasal, with hare-lip or cleft
palate
grin
ud up
underwear
verandah
bun
surrender
grimace
measurement in cubit
a kind of sealife
devil
start
prayer uttered after completing a
passage in the Koran
mosque caretaker
investigate
hang clothes out to dry
signal
crossed
wrong, false mistaken
Malay traditional martial arts
hoop
unveil
canine tooth, tusk
betel vine
whistle
(applied to sexual intercourse)
an expression of
satisfaction
one sen
lukewarm (water)
bow from kneeling position so
that forehead touches floor
(part of prayer ritual)
sharp vertical stake
thrust through the anus toward
the upper part of the body as a
form of corporal punishment
in the past
stuff, close up
circumcision
prostitute
river
(pray)
arrange
deficit, applied also to enjoy
heaven
faeces
faeces
title
short for tidak ada lah) none
tackle
hit with a fist
greed
bore through

fermented food, usually made
of glutinous rice or tapioca
date
a kind of fish
(river) bank
bore through
sturdy

fate
cover
naked
too late
sole of foot
egg 2. applied also to testicle
bluffing
police
large water jar
1. squat 2. applied also to
sexual intercourse
head gear
terror
breast
mat
mouse
acronym for Tenaga National
Berhad, a company supplying
electricity
1. tail-less 2. hairless
tok batin  the title for the chief of the Aborigines

tokeh 'taukeh  Chinese shop vendor

toleh  turn of head

tonyoh  rub to

tonggeng  bend down

tombak  spear

toyol  a kind of ghost (like a child and naked)

trapik lait Eng  traffic light

Trojan  a brand of detergent

tube/tubir  edge

nukang gunting  barber

tunang  fiance, fiancee; bertunang, engage

putup  1. close  2. cover

TV3  a privately owned television channel

U

ubat nyamuk  mosquito coil

ubi  tapioca

ulo ula  (short for ulur)  snake

uji  test

umo  (short for umur)  age

urut  massage

usung  carry, stretcher

ustat ustaz  Ar  male religious teacher; female is known as ustazah

uzo  (short for uzur)  enfeebled

W

wak  an elderly Javanese man

wak lurah  Javanese village chief

wirid  recite Koranic passages

wuduk  Ar  ritual ablution

Y

yakin  sure

Z

ziarah - menziarah  visit

zohor.zuhur  Ar  afternoon prayer
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