

Preliminary Field Notes on the Semai Language

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P R E F A C E
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In a sense, the authors of this book are the Semai themselves. The notion of such a book was first broached by elders of the western Semai, who felt that without a standardized written language their customs and indeed their language might eventually fall into disuse and decay. They found an earlier transcription of Semai, invented by the Rev. B. W. F. Nabitoepoeloe, too far removed from the sound of the language to be satisfactory, aside from the fact that only Christian materials are available in Nabitoepoeloe's transcription. It is, therefore, at their urging and with their enthusiastic assistance that this book was written, in the spirit of the Malay proverb, "Biar mati anak, jangan mati adat" ("Better to lose one's children than one's traditions").

Such a book not having been part of our original program, the compilation and presentation of the material were necessarily hasty, with the result that there are probably uncorrected errors here and there. Moreover, the National Language (i.e., Malay) would have been a better medium than English for such a book. The shortness of time, however has forced cutting corners wherever possible.

Formally, this book is designed for comparison with Carey's excellent work on the Temiar language, which is closely related to Semai. In the original version of these notes the numbers assigned to particular words matched the numbers Carey used for equivalent Temiar words. Adela Baer, however, pointed out that, since Carey's book has long been out of print, the strings of nonsequential numbers would be more confusing than helpful and therefore have been eliminated.

I've left this document pretty much the way I wrote it as I was leaving the field in 1963.¹ The person who wrote it was quite different in many ways from the person I am now, and I'm reluctant to correct him in retrospect. My tin ear for phonology isn't all that much better now, anyway. This is a compromise between my desire to update and improve it, and my sense that I should leave it as a record of my errors. Like all compromises, it's unsatisfactory. For standard (and more accurate) orthography of Aslian languages, readers should look at almost any of the excellent writings of Gerard Diffloth (e.g., 1976a, 1976b, 1977) and Geoffrey Benjamin (e.g. 1976a, 1976b). Semai grammar even back then had shifted a great deal towards more Malay forms, probably having in the old days been much more like Temiar than it was when I first was lucky enough to work with Semai (see Benjamin 1976a).

In the original text of these notes I expanded on the grammatical and vocabulary sections of Carey's book where it seemed as if such expansion would help people who are likely to come into

¹ Substantive revisions and additions to the 1963 text have been placed in footnotes.

contact with the Semai. For example, it is possible to triple one's vocabulary by using the "infixes" of Semai grammar (which, incidentally, also occur in Temiar). There is, however, no section on Semai ethnography, which is a subject complicated enough to warrant separate publication. For those people interested in further study of Semai language and customs, the following publications will be useful:²

Carey, I[skandar [Y].

1961 Tenglek Kui Seroq: A study of the Temiar language with an ethnographical summary. Kuala Lumpur: Siri Pengetahuan Bahasa dan Sastera DBP no. 1, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka kementerian Pelajaran Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

Dentan, Robert K.

1964 "Senoi-Semang" Pp. 176-181 *In Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia*. Ed. Frank M. Lebar, et al. New Haven, CT:Human Relations Area File.

Nabitoepoeloe, B.W.F.

1950 Bup Menacha Mai Sengoi Pasek. Madras:Vepery.

Nabitoepoeloe, B,W.F.

1950 Katehismus Lutheran ha Mai Sengoi: Luther's small catechism in Sengoi. Madras, India: The Tranquebar Publishing House under the auspices of the Lutheran World Federation, Geneva, Switzeralnd for the Sakai Home Church, Tapah.

Skeat W[alter] W[illiam], and Charles O. Blagden

1906. Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula. 2 vols. London: MacMillan.

Williams-Hunt, P.D.R.

1952. An introduction to the Malayan aborigines.
Kuala Lumpur: Government Press.

It is impossible to thank by name all of the generous Malayan people of all races who opened their doors and hearts to us during our too brief stay in their country. Of these who helped in the preparation of this book, I would especially like to thank the members of the Jabatan Orang Asli, notably Dr. L. Y. Carey (Pesurohjaya Orang Asli), Tataq Dr. Bolton (Doktor Orang Asli), Inche Mat Noor (Pelindong Orang Asli, Perak), M. Louis Carrard (Bah Karat), and Inche Mohd. Ruslan (Jenang Senoi Peraak). Finally, I would like to thank the contributors to this book; Mat Ariff kenön Kulöp, Ngah Hari kenön [child of] Yeop Ahmat, Kin-Manang, Bah Sudeio

² Where translations or word lists have appeared in print elsewhere, it seems appropriate to cite the more accessible and often updated/corrected/modified later reference to works that are listed in the updated reference list at the end of this document.

kenön Ngah Hari, Penghulu (Pgh.) Yeop Ahmad, Pgh. Derus kenön Ngah, Risau kenön Jambu, Merloh kenön Jambu, Uda Bahman and Itam Beleg kenön Alang Judin. Eng-ha-riag nu enkëiq suma.

P A R T O N E

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SEMAI LANGUAGE

Introduction

The Senoi Semai, numbering 11,000 to 12,000 people, are the largest single group of Malayan aborigines. The word "Senoi" - more properly "Senqui" or "Sengqoi" - means "person," and ethnologists use it to describe those Malayan aborigines (Semai, Temiar, Jah Hut, Che Wong and Mah Meri) who speak a "Mon-Khmer" language distantly allied to Cambodian. The word "Semai" is of unknown origin, apparently unrelated to the Malay word semai.¹ There is a Sungei (Sg.) Semai in southern Perak, and this may have some connection with the name of the people. The Semai themselves rarely use the term "Semai," and some groups in southern Perak reject the application of the term to themselves. More frequently they call themselves "Senqoi Hiiq" (We people), "Mai Darat" or Mai Seraq (both of which terms mean "People of the Hinterlands"). Occasionally a Semai will use the insulting Malay word "Sakai" (slave, serf) when talking about how backward his people are, but on the lips of a non-Semai Sakai is an offensive word, and the Department of Aborigines discourages its use.

The Semai in any particular area take their group name from that area. Thus there are Mai Gol (People of Tapah) Mai Telep (People of the Sg. Telom), Mai Chanan (Mountain People, i.e., what ethnologists call the "Highland Semai"), Mai Bareh ("Town People," apparently from a Malay word baroh, "lowland," which the Semai use to refer to towns), Mai Kuui Tëio (People at the Head of the Waters, i.e., people living at the headwaters of a river), etc.(see Dentan 1971).

Because travel across the mountains is difficult, the Semai in each river basin do not often mix with Semai from other basins. As a result, each area speaks its own dialect of Semai. There seem to be five major dialect areas: Telom (abbreviated to "T" throughout the rest of this book, with strong Temiar influence) central Perak (P, subdivided into Kampar, Pk, and Sahum, Ps, subdialects), Cameron Highlands and Jelai (CHJ), southern Pahang and Perak (SPP) and Northern Perak (NP); CHJ seems to be intermediate between T and P, while SPP and NP are heavily infiltrated with Malay words. This book will concentrate on T and P.²

Although the racial history of the Semai remains unclear, the history of the Semai language seems to involve a spread to the east and a concurrent contraction from the west. On the eastern border,

¹ Malay words are underlined in this book.

² In fact, there were over 40 dialects of Semai, according to Gerard Diffloth.

small Negrito groups have apparently been absorbed into the Semai and those who have remained unabsorbed speak a language, imperfectly described, which is mostly Senoi (if not Semai). On the west, on the other hand, Malay words are continuously ousting Semai ones. Although historical speculation is fatuous in the absence of convincing evidence, it seems possible that some of the so-called "aboriginal Malays" in Perak include Semai groups who have settled down and forgotten their own language.

In connection with this last speculation, it is interesting to note that Semai contains many archaic Malay words, which are characteristic of "aboriginal Malay" languages. For example, in the P dialect the word NGENGULANG means an altar erected at harvest time to feast the spirits of earth and water. The P Semai say the ceremony is of Malay origin, and Semai less in contact with the Malays do not make such a harvest altar. The word itself comes from the Malay genggulang, but only Malays in remote kampongs recognize the word³

Although Malay has given Semai many words, it has also borrowed a few, and sometimes it is difficult to tell which language is the borrower. The place to look for Semai loan words is in the Pahang and Perak dialects of Malay, among place names and words for jungle products. For example, Perak Malays sometimes call the rhinoceros hornbill tarak, from the Semai tereq, instead of using the National Language word enggang. Again, the sort of fish poison called tuba jenu seems to be called after a Semai word, jenuq. As S. Durai Raja Singam says in his book on Malayan Place Names, a good many places are still called by their aboriginal names. An amusing example is Kinta, which he says comes from an "aborigine" word "gentah." From the fact that the word also means "male" and refers to the rounded stones in the river, it is obvious that the word is Semai gentap, "testicles." Quite often the Semai name for a place is a translation of the Malay name or vice versa: cf. Mengkuang, Lon Sekeit; Suak Padi, Tëio Baq; etc.

In short, Semai is a living language, not related to Malay but using many words of Malay origin and gradually being replaced by Malay in the west while still apparently expanding to the east.

Pronunciation

Stress in Semai is almost always on the last syllable of a word, except in the case of recent loan words. This stress is very pronounced in the eastern dialects but weaker in the west. Typically, along with being stressed, the last syllable is pronounced on a slightly higher pitch. This change of pitch is especially strong among infants just learning to talk.

³ For a photograph of a harvest altar see R.K. Dentan Papers, Series 4 at Keene State College Orang Asli Archive:
<http://www.keene.edu/library/orangasli/dentan.cfm>

Semai Vowels

1. A is pronounced as in the National Language. The sound is similar to the a in English cart. E.g., kaq (fish), -chaq (eat), mënhar (meat).
2. AA is a longer sound, pronounced a little further back in the mouth, something like the a in the English exclamation "ahh." E.g., menhaar (generous), raag (T, tiger).
3. E is pronounced like e in the National Language. In an unstressed syllable, it may be slurred over; thus the Semai word selai is pronounced, usually, slai. In a stressed syllable, e is a little shorter than the u in the English put. E.g., tet (porcupine), këq (he, she), chet (plant), kerendëi (secret language).
4. EE is longer and pronounced further back on the mouth, a little longer than the u in English put. E.g., teet (vaginal hernia), deeg (P, house).
5. Ë is similar to the longer e in the National Language, as the e in Perak, a little longer than the e in English bet. E.g., chëq (bug).
6. EI is similar to ei in the National Language, a little shorter than ay in English day. E.g., reis (floor), tëio (Pk, CH, SPP, T: water). In Ps, however, ëi is pronounced like e.
7. I is pronounced like the i in the National Language hitam, a little shorter than ee in English seek. E.g., chengis (foul), moit (pith).
8. II is a diphthong, a little longer than ee in English seek. E.g., riis (liver), jiis (day).
9. O is pronounced like the o in some National Language words, e.g., puloh. It is equally hard to distinguish from u and the Semai may not make a distinction between the two sounds. It is pronounced somewhat like the o in English bore, but the sound is fuller and made further forward in the mouth. E.g., -choq (plait), moit (pith).⁴
10. OO is a little longer than the o in English rope. E.g., chooq (dog), koot (owl).
11. Ö is a little shorter than the ou in English ought. E.g., -köt (take), belöq (parent-in-law).
12. ÖÖ is more drawn out and pronounced further back in the mouth. E.g., kööt (postpartum disease), belööq (where?).

⁴ This may be where I first use a dash before a verb (-choq) but I did so inconsistently. Also, most adjectives can function as verbs.

13. U is a sound between e and the long oo sound of English *loot*. (Cf. under o above.) E.g., *pug* (chicken), *chuq* (grasshopper), *-muit* (enter).

14. UU is the sound of oo in English *loot* or the u of umor in the National Language. E.g., *puug* (genital hernia), *-puut* (shoot a blowpipe).

Semai Consonants

Except as noted, Semai consonants are pronounced as in the National Language.

1. C, F, Z are not used.

2. In the case of certain final consonants (consonants which occur at the end of words), the Semai do not exhale through their mouths, as do speakers of English and the National Language, but through their noses, without releasing the consonant. To a non-Semai the resultant sound is a sort of nasal strangle. Thus final -g sounds like -gn, -b like -bm, -t like -tn and so forth. This nasalization is much stronger in the eastern dialects than in the west and is most pronounced there when the word occurs in isolation or at the end of a sentence.

3. J is hard, as in the National Language or dge in English edge. In the P dialect, however, j is sometimes pronounced like ny in the National Language nyawa.

4. R is trilled slightly, as in the National Language. Words ending in -h in Malay frequently end in -r in Semai, e.g., jinteh becomes jentér and Sg. Woh becomes Tëio Waar.

5. NG is pronounced as in the National Language or ng in English singer. Malay loan-words ending in ng, however, usually appear in Semai with the ending -g. E.g., Pahang becomes Pahag.

6. CH is pronounced as in the National Language, like tch in English etch.

7. S, especially in the eastern dialects, tends to be aspirated because the teeth are not firmly closed, making a sound a little less definite than the sh in English shall but more aspirated than s in English sit. In T Semai, a word ending in a double vowel and an s (-VVS) is pronounced as if it ended in a single vowel and an is (-VIS). E.g., legöös is pronounced lögöös.

8. Before Q, H, R, S, L the P and SPP Semai pronounce -N- as -NG-. E.g., senqoi (person) becomes sengqoi, enröq (speech) becomes engröq, menhar (meat) becomes menghar, pensel (noseflute) becomes pengsol. The more pronounced trill of the T Semai R gives N before R the sound of -ND. E.g., penraq (heat of the sun) becomes pendraq, enröq (speech) becomes endröq.

9. Q is always a glottal stop, like k in National Language chupak. It is frequently added to the end of the Malay loan words which have a final vowel. E.g., bela becomes belaq, jala becomes jalaq.

10. Semai does not always distinguish between B and M,
11. Semai does not distinguish between final -D and final -T. T is frequently substituted for -N at the end of Malay loan words. E.g., kawan becomes kawat.
12. Final syllables ending in -NT, -NH are nasalized.

Grammar

Although all languages have a grammar, most primitive people do not distinguish between "good" and "bad" usage. Usually, therefore, when a linguist writes about a primitive language, all he can write is a "descriptive grammar," a set of rules which he has noticed speakers of that language obey, although they themselves are not conscious of "speaking grammatically".⁵

Among the Semai, however, language is very important. They regard forcing anyone to do anything as abhorrent. If the most important man in the community wants to make a three year old toddler do anything, he has to persuade the child to do it. If the child does not want to (-segat), the matter is closed. As a result of this situation, leadership tends to fall into the hands of people who can speak most persuasively. Semai oratory is highly developed, relying largely on simile, imagery and repetition. Perhaps as a corollary of oratorical skill, the Semai have what linguists call a "prescriptive grammar," they distinguish between sloppy grammar, which they call "fast talk," and good grammar, which they call "proper talk."

Although it is better for someone who has dealings with the Semai to talk poor Semai than not to talk Semai at all, since the Semai rarely feel that a non-Semai-speaker is fully trustworthy, to speak "proper talk" is a sign that the matter under discussion is important and that the speakers are all men of some importance.

Verbs

The conjugation of Semai verbs is more difficult than in the National Language because 1. Semai uses a complicated set of pronouns and prefixes, and 2. Semai uses a dual plural in addition to the regular plural. Before conjugating the verb, it is therefore wise to examine the pronouns.

Pronouns

1. Ègn (T, CHJ) or èdn (P) means "I".
2. Hëq, "thou," is used only to people of the same age as or younger than oneself. It is also used for certain kinsmen. When these two

⁵ I apologize for using the word "primitive" in this paragraph. It was standard anthrospeak in the early 1960s. It now seems insulting and absurd to me. I was already beginning to think then, and strongly assert now, that traditional Semai have a complex philosophy from which other peoples could learn a lot.

categories conflict (e.g., when a man has an uncle younger than himself), people may agree simply to call each other *hëq*. The use of this pronoun implies affection.

3. *Jeen*, "thou," is used only for one's elders, certain kinsman and community leaders in the process of performing some ceremony or traditional duty. The use of this pronoun implies respect.

4. *Këq*, "he" or "she," is rarely if ever used for non-humans. There does not seem to be any pronoun used for "it," the notion being contained in the third person singular verb prefix. In Semai, unlike Temiar, this pronoun need not take a suffix explaining where the person referred to is, although frequently such specification is made. E.g., *këq adëh*, "he here," sometimes shortened to *k'adëh*.

5. *Jar*, "we two," does not include the listener, but means the speaker and a third person.

6. *Har* "thou and I," includes the listener but is also used to mean "thou" for speaker's spouse's sibling's spouse, Semai *biraas*. It connotes chumminess.

7. *Jerkëiq* means "you two."

8. *Obai* means "they two." It is often used with the name of the husband or wife to refer to a married couple. E.g., *Obai Bah Risau*, "Disturbance and his wife," *Obai Kin-Epël*, "Apple's parents."

9. *Jiiq*, "we", like *jar* (see #5) excludes the listener but includes the speaker and two or more other people.

10. *Hiiq*, "we and you," is used where the speaker is referring to himself, his listener and at least one other person. It is more polite to use *hiiq* than *jiiq*, since it implies that both listener and speaker have a community of interests.

11. *Enkëiq*, "all of you," is used for three or more people. It is, however, a mark of courtesy to refer to people individually or in pairs, and some Semai feel that the use of *enkëiq* indicates a lack of common interest between the speaker and his audience, although to use *enkëiq* is not bad manners.

12. Although several Semai say that there is only one third person plural pronoun but three dialect variants, others contend that, in "proper talk," one should distinguish among the three. The distinction, which fits into the Semai pattern of grammar, would be as follows:

<i>Mambëq</i> .	"They (all of whom I know well)."
<i>Ennai</i> .	"They (with whom I have some contact)" or "They (who are of my people)."
<i>Mai</i> .	"They (to whom I do not use a term of kinship)." For example, one would use <i>mambëq</i> for members of one's immediate kindred,

ennai for neighbours and mai for other people in another village with whom one is not related by blood and towards whom one acknowledges few obligations. Mai is also used in the sense of "the people," e.g., Mai China, "the Chinese people." It is also used in the sense "other people." E.g., Hal mai, "Other people's affairs (and none of our own); K'adëh mai, "This man is not related to me by blood."

13. Luui and Luuit, "self." Apparently, the first is emphatic, the second reflexive, although they may be merely widespread dialect variants. Luui often takes the place of këq to indicate possession. One may say, "Enröq k'adëh, but one is more likely to say "enröq i luui." Although in daily usage the meanings of these two phrases overlap, the difference in emphasis might be translated as, respectively, "He says" and "He says." Luui is also used in a variety of phrases like ha luui, "by oneself," "alone."

Possessive

Possession in Semai, as in the National Language, is indicated by placing the noun or pronoun referring to the possessor after the noun referring to the possessed. E.g., chooq këq, "his dog."

Pronomial possessive

To emphasize possession, one uses the word li, "of" with pronouns but rarely if ever with nouns. E.g., chooq li enkëiq, "it's your dog;" saraq li hëq, an idiomatic expression meaning roughly, "suit yourself" (lit., "liking of you").⁶ In addition one may use the third person form i, "his," "her," "its," which, unlike këq, is often used for inanimate objects. In the following series of examples the emphasis moves away from the possessed towards the possessor: i abei, abei këq, abei i luui.

Conjugation

The basic principle behind the different forms of Semai verbs is the combination of 1. a personal pronoun; 2. a modified form of the personal pronoun, which is not understood in isolation; and 3. the verb stem, which is also the imperative mood of the verb. In "fast talk," the modified pronoun (2) is often omitted; but "proper talk" always uses it. The pronoun itself (1) is used, when one wishes to emphasize the subject. E.g., këq ki-panëi petpunt, "he is good at shooting a blowpipe, he is." In certain cases, therefore, use of the pronoun is bad form; for example, in prayer a man rarely uses the pronoun "I."

⁶ Saraq means something like mental characteristic, habit, or custom.

Table 1
Conjugation of Present Tense of chaq, "eat"

<u>PERSON</u>	<u>SINGULAR</u>	<u>DUAL</u>	<u>PLURAL</u>
1 (exclusive)	ëdn eng-chaq (P) ëgn am-chaq (T) ëgn en-chaq (CHJ)	jar jar-chaq	jiiq ji-chaq
1 (inclusive)		jerkëiq jerke-chaq	

Table 2
Simple Present Tense of chaq, "eat." Active Voice

<u>Person</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1 (exclusive)	ëgn am-chaq (T) ëdn eng-chaq (P) ëgn en-chaq (CHJ)	jar jar-chaq	jiiq ji-chaq
1 (inclusive)	(no such form)	har har-chaq	hiiq hi-chaq
2	hëq hëm-chaq (T) hëq ha-chaq (P)	jerkëiq-chaq jerke-chaq	enkëiq-chaq enke-chaq
2 (respectful)	jeen jen-chaq	(no such form)	(no such form)
3	këq ki-chaq	obai ubai-chaq	mai mai-chaq ennai nai-chaq mambëq mambe-chaq

Reduplication

Reduplication of the verb is used to express one or more of the following notions: 1. that the action is not complete, as in the English "present progressive," 2. that the action is not continuous, or 3. that the action has no fixed goal, as in reduplication in the National Language. Only one-syllable words which begin with a consonant can be reduplicated. Some examples may clarify how this form works.

1. en-chaq, "I eat" a meal. But en-chaq-chaq, "I eat" a snack.
2. en-chiib, "I walk" to my destination. But en-chib-chiib, "I walk" around.
3. en-muh, "I bathe" ceremonially. But en-mah-muh "I bathe" in the river.
4. en-këq kaq, "I am fishing." But, en-kaq-këq kaq, "I am going fishing."

It should be noted that the translations given above depend on context. Thus, when a man says, "En chaq-chaq," in example one, he may equally well mean that he has not yet finished eating.

*Future Tense*⁷

Futurity is expressed by putting the particle -ha- between the modified pronoun and the verb stem. E.g., hëq ha-ha-chaq, you will eat. In the third person singular, the modified pronoun changes from ki to ka-. E.g., ka-ha-chaq, "he will eat." When the notion of futurity is expressed by certain adverbs, the present tense is also used to refer to future actions. E.g., Hupur döh en-jug, "Tomorrow morning I am going back; Pigoi döh ha-nyiq, "Later on, you'll be sick." If, from the context, it is clear that the action does not take place in the future, the present tense may express futurity.

Past Tense

The notion that an action is past is, as in the National Language, always expressed by adverbs except when the context makes it clear that the action is past. E.g., Ya en-chaq, "Already I have eaten;" Kelëm nëq kit-bët-bët (T), "Last night he was sleeping."

*Passive Mood*⁸

There are two prefixes attached to verb roots to indicate futurity: ki- (ka-ha- in the future tense), which is used when the agent (not the subject) is singular; and bi- (ba-ha- in the future tense), which is used when the agent is plural. E.g., Ki-chaq ya peroog "It was (or "they were") eaten by a rat;" Bi-chaq ya peroog, "It was (or "they were") eaten by rats.

Causative Verbs

With monosyllables, the Semai make causative verbs by adding the prefixes ter-, per- or ber-. With verbs of two or more syllables, they use the infix -r-, which goes between the last and the next-to-last syllable. The following table gives an idea of how this works.⁹

⁷ Or present progressive tense.

⁸ Actually ergative.

⁹ The prefixes reflect Malayized usage, I believe.

Table 3
Construction of Causative Verbs

<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning of Root</u>	<u>of Causative Verb</u>	<u>Meaning of Verb</u>
bör	good	ter-bör	repair ("make good")
jug	go home	per-jug	Send home ("make go home")
dat	die	per-dat	kill
chaq	eat	ber-chaq	food; <u>hence</u> , adopt
gëq			
kédei	be ignorant	ké-r-dei	keep secret from
teloh	hole	te-r-loh	bore, puncture
<u>tahan*</u>	withstand	te-r-han	make to withstand, brace

* This process may be used with Malay loan-words.

Gerundives

Nouns are formed from the reduplicated form of monosyllabic verbs by 1. dropping the initial consonant (both ch and ng are actually single consonants) of the verb root and 2. putting in its place the infix -n-. The following table should make the method clear.

TABLE 4
Construction of Gerundives

<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning of Root</u>	<u>Reduplicate</u>	<u>Gerundive</u>	<u>Meaning of Gerundives</u>
Giq	chop	gaqqiq	gaqniq	chopping
Jaar	run	jerjaar	jernaar	running
Choh	defecate	chahchoh	chahnoh	defecation
Chaq	eat	chaqchaq	chaqnaq	food

Because of the "interchangeability" of some consonants noted in the discussion on pronunciation, some of the gerundive formations sound irregular to an ear used to English or the National Language.

Table 5
Gerundives That Sound Irregular

<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning of Reduplicate Root</u>	<u>Gerundive</u>	<u>Meaning of Gerundives</u>
Dat	die	dendat	death
jaap	weep	jinjaap	weeping
Röb	fish hand)	(by rengröb	fishing hand) (by

For one-syllable verbs ending with a vowel (and thus having no reduplicated form), the gerundive is formed by inserting the infix -en- between the vowel and the initial consonant and the vowel.

Table 6
Construction of Gerundives for One-Syllable Verbs Ending With a Vowel

<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning of Reduplicate Root</u>	<u>Gerundive</u>	<u>Meaning of Gerundives</u>
chau	asperge	(absent)	chenau brush used to asperge

For one-syllable words beginning with a vowel (and thus having no reduplicated form), the gerundive is formed by prefixing en-.

Table 7
Construction of Gerundives for One-Syllable Verbs Beginning With a Vowel

<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning of Reduplicate Root</u>	<u>Gerundive</u>	<u>Meaning of Gerundives</u>
ög	give	(absent)	ënög gift
uui	make	(absent)	ennui construction

Monosyllabic adjectives are treated as if there were a reduplicated form.

Table 8

Construction of Gerundives for Monosyllabic Adjectives

<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning of Reduplicate Root</u>	<u>Gerundive</u>	<u>Meaning of Gerundive</u>
Bör	Good	(absent)	benör

In verbs or adjectives of two or more syllables, the gerundive is formed by inserting the infix -en- between the initial consonant and the immediately following vowel.

Table 9

Constructing Gerundives in Verbs or Adjectives of Two or More Syllables

<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning of Reduplicate Root</u>	<u>Gerundive</u>	<u>Meaning of Gerundives</u>
Terbëq	set a trap	(absent)	terembeq
Teroit	fish with line	(absent)	tenroit

One may form nouns from Malay verbs as well.

Table 10

Constructing Gerundives From Malay Verbs

<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning of Reduplicat Root</u>	<u>Gerundive</u>	<u>Meaning of Gerundive</u>
tutup	close	(absent)	tenutup

One may equally well form verbs from certain Malay nouns.

Table 11

Construction of Verbs from Certain Malay Nouns

<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning of Root</u>	<u>Reduplicate</u>	<u>Gerundive</u>	<u>Meaning of Gerundive</u>
kuri	feast	(absent)	kenuri	(a) feast

E following the infix -en- is not pronounced.

Table 12
An Example of E following the infix -en-

<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning of Reduplicate Root</u>		<u>Gerundive</u>	<u>Meaning of Gerundive</u>
chereg	long	(absent)	chenreg	Length
Bekët	hot	(absent)	bengkët	Heat

The Optative Particle

After verbs in the imperative mood, or in expressions of desire, the Semai use a prefix a-. E.g., Gui a-nyat, "Sit further away;" Chiib a-bör, "Watch your step" or "Walk safely;" En-nyëq a-bengkët, "I don't want heating," i.e., "I want to be cool." Note that the future tense can also express desire. E.g., En-höönt a-jug, "I want (someone to) go home," but En-ha-jug, "I want to go home (myself)."

Adjectives

Comparison is usually expressed by the word ju (from). E.g., Chooq këq entoi ju chooq hiiq, "His dog is bigger than our dog;" Obai adëh enraq ju har, "These two people are older than you and I." Comparison, however, is not expressed if it is contextually implied. Thus, one man may interrupt another who is not making his point clearly and suggest that the speaker yield the floor to him, saying, "Egn panëi gëq berual," i.e., "I can speak a little (better than you)." As...as comparisons are expressed as in the National Language, except that the gerundive form of the adjective is used.

Table 13
Construction of As...As Comparisons

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Meaning of Adjective</u>	<u>Gerundive Form</u>	<u>Meaning of Gerundive</u>
leio	long (of time)	se-luneio adëh	as long as this
bör	good	se-bernör adëh	as long as this
chereg	long (of space)	se-chenreg ajëh	as long as that

There is no superlative form.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that this is not a complete study of the Semai language, the subtlety of Semai as a means of communication is quite clear. There is much that needs further study by a competent linguist who should be able to collect enough information to tell how long the various Senoi peoples have been separate from each other and

to give a description of Semai dialects which is obviously beyond the scope of this work.

It is equally clear that the basic structure of Semai notably the use of infixes and the dual plural) is radically different from Malay and that the language itself is vigorous. A detailed comparison of Semai with languages elsewhere in Southeast Asia might give a clue as to the origin of these charming and mysterious people.

P A R T T W O

MYTHS

The Origin of Millet

Told by Ngah Hari kenön Ahmat of Tëio Menchag.

I mulamula i kenön tujuh. Jadi kenön tujuh i kaqnëq
Its start their children seven. So children seven their search

këq takeeb.¹ Lepas ajëh jadi takeeb pëq chukup
search tuber. After that so tuber not enough

chaqnag, terëq i kaqnëq. Ket chuag, lamalama engröq obai
food, hard their search. Belly hungry, eventually speech they-two

"Kenön har jeqoi,
"Children we-two many,
ma har berchaq kenön har ajëh?
what we-two feed children we-two those?

Baik-lah, engröq obai, "perdat-lah kenön har setengah."
All right," speech they-two, "kill-(emphatic) children we-two half."

Jadi har ha-uui bubug, har ha-permuit kenön har
So we-two we-two-make fishtrap, we-two we-two-put-in children we-two

bagëi kenön pug. I jiis pun ya mengönt, lamalama
like children chicken. Its day also already night, eventually,

obai bot-bët. Jadi berapooq möng nanuq mai engraq sa-ëkör
they-two are-sleeping. So dream there is one they old one-tail.

"O" engröq mai engraq ajëh, "ma ki-susah pikir?"
"Oh," speech they old that, "what it-difficult thought?"

Lamalama ki-jawap ya i gensir, "Kalau begitu², chaqnag
Eventually it-answered by its husband, "If thus, food

jiiq pëq chukup. Ajëh pasal eng-ha-perdat kenön'n."
we-exclusive not enough. That cause I-will-kill children-my."

Jadi engröq mai engraq adëh, "Huper-döh hëq berselai," engröq
So speech they old this, "Tomorrow thou make-a-field," speech

i luui. "Kalau begitu, kenön hëq agooq perdat,"
his self. "If thus, children thou do-not kill,"

¹ Takeeb is a huge forest tuber on which the Semai used to rely for food before they took up agriculture.

² "Kalau begitu," a Malay phrase is much used as a conversation filler, like the English "Well...."

engrög i luui. "Jadi," engrög i luui, "bolëh en-ög èdn
 speech his self. "so," speech his self, "can I-give I
 chaqnaq." Chukup tujuh jiis, sewëg nu selai hëq. Chaqnaq
 food." Enough seven days, inspect to field thou. Food
 adëh sampai chenöq möl söög hiiq. Jadi, maniq.
 this until grandchild end hair we-inclusive. So, rain.
 Ki-gertëiq engrög ku selai neit. "Chet pei," engrög i
 He-hear speech at field again. "Plant millet,"³ speech his,
 luui, engrög empoog ajëh. "Gaag," engrög i luui, "bekoi..."
 self, speech dream that. "Keladi,"⁴ speech his self, "tubers"
Jadi ki-ketjut, jiis ya yah. Jadi ki-pikir neit mai
 So he-wake-up, day already daylight. So he-think again they
 engraq adëh neit. Ki-nëng nu i bubu ku paraq, jadi ki-pikir
 old this again. He-look at his fishtrap on rafter, so he-think
 nu i luui, "Töq patut en-perdat kenön'n." Jadi ki-kööt yuit
 to his self, "It-is-not right I kill my child-my." So he-get knife
suma diiq ka'tëh deeg ajëh neit
 all gone inside house that again.
Ki-pakat i kenön bel-bel. Jadi, engrög i kenah,
 He-agree his children are-clearing.⁵ So, speech his wife,
 "Empël eng-chaq?" Jadi, engrög i gensir, "Agooq peduli."
 "When I-eat?" So, speech her husband, "Do-not worry."
 Mai bel bel bel, mai juug. Jadi i huper, mai engraq
 They clear clear clear, they go-back. So, it's morning, they old
 ki-et këq ha luui nu tempat i selai. Jadi, ki-tööt.
 he-go he by self to place his field. So, he-burn.
 Sudah ajëh, ki-jung ma deeg. Dalam tujuh hari baru ki-sewëg
 After that, he-go-back to house. In seven days new he-inspect.
 Ki-nëng pei, gaag, bekoi, möng pa'jeh.
 He-see millet, keladi, tuber, there-is at-there.

³ Foxtail millet.

⁴ Taro.

⁵ ie. he gets his kids to agree to clear brush.

Free Translation

Once upon a time, there was a family with seven children. These seven children and their parents lived by looking for a kind of huge forest tuber.⁷ These tubers, however, did not provide enough food, and they were hard to get. Their stomachs were empty. One day the parents said to each other, "We have many children. What are we going to feed our children? I think we will have to kill some of them. We will make a fishtrap and put them into it like little chicks." It was already late in the evening, and so they went to bed.

That night, the husband dreamed of an old man. "Hey," said the old man, "why are you so unhappy?"

"Well," answered the husband, "we don't have enough food, therefore I will have to kill my children."

The old man answered, "Tomorrow morning, make a field. Don't kill your children, I'll give you some food myself. After seven days go and look at your fields. There will be enough food for as many of your descendants as there are hairs on our heads." It began to rain. The husband heard the voice in his field again. "Plant millet," said the voice of the dream, "plant taro and yam tubers...."

The man woke up, and it was already daylight. He thought over what the old man had said. He looked at the fishtrap on the rafters, and he thought to himself, "It's not right for me to kill my children." So he got all the machetes he could find, and he agreed with his children that they should start clearing a field.

His wife said, "When am I going to eat?"

Answered her husband, "Don't worry."

They all worked for a long time clearing the field, then they came home. The next morning, the old man went by himself to the place where his field was, and he burnt it off. After that, he went home to his house. Seven days later he went and inspected the field. He saw that there was millet, and [taro], and [Dioscorea alata] tubers there.

The Origin of the People of Perak (NP)⁷

Told by Penghulu Yeop Ahmad to Uda Bahman, both of Tëio Pai Teet.

Sengqoi asal negriq Pirag ia-lah ju bangsa Jawa. Pechah
People original land Perak it-is from race Java. Split-up
obai ajëh.
they-two that.

I menang ki-bekenah sengqoi Göp, i tenëq
Its younger-sibling he-take-wife person Malay, its elder-sibling

⁶ Takoop, *Dioscorea gibbiflora*, an important famine food for Malaysian indigenes, both swiddeners and foragers well into the 1960s (Burkill 1935; Dentan 1991:437-438 & references therein).

⁷ For more recent versions of The Origin of the People of Perak see the following sources: Dentan 1997:130-131; Juli Edo 1990:48-50. Juli Edo also gives a biography of Mat Ariff, the narrator, in the same work, Pp.26-29.

bekenah sengqoi seraq. I tenëq ajëh bekenön chanuq, telas
take-wife person inland. Its elder-sibling that had-child first, after

ajëh i menang neit bekenön loq sengqoi Göp. Jadi
that its younger-sibling again had-child with person Malay. So

i kenön obai bekatiq. Jadi i tenëq ajëh ki-ën
its children they-two quarrel. So its elder-sibling that he-carry

et-lah ma'dëh. Ki-goi ku Laut Lepas, bila engröq
go-emphatic to-here. He-sit at Sea Free, when speech

i kenön nar obai nikah samaq. Bukan-lah möng
his childrun two they-two marry together. No-emphatic there was

berbelanjaq, nikah jeui. Bekenön-lah
payment marriage follow. Had-children emphatic

i kenön ajëh. Nar èkör i kenön
his children that. Two tails their children.

I chenöq ajëh pechah ju Laut Lepas. Mai, goi ku
His grandchildren that split from Sea Free. They sit at

Telok Anson. Pechah ju Telok Anson, mai goi-lah ku Chenan Tunggal.
Telok Anson. Split from Telok Anson, they sit-emphatic at Bukit Tunggal
(Tunggal hill).

Tiba-lah sengqoi Siam nu nengriq Piraq. Jadi mai belah
Appeared-emphatic people Siam to country Perak. So they cut

batangqari Piraq senjaq ju i kuui nengriq Piraq loi-lah
river Perak all-the-way-from its head country Perak as-far-as-emphatic

nu i keit tëio Pirag. Möng nanuq arab piraq betul ku Sabak Bernam,
to its arse water Perak. There-is one thing silver real at Sabak Bernam,

Töq lalu mai kerat, be-taun-taun töq ki-putus. Siap ajëh,
Not pass-by they cut, years-and-years not it-break. Ready that,

mai panggil sengqoi hiiq mai seraq, mai ör chagöh. Arab ajëh
they call person we they inland, they order pray. Thing that

mai höönt kerat putus. Jadi sengqoi hiiq mai seraq ki-belamur.
they want cut break. So person we they inland he-sing.⁸

Bila sudah ki-belamur, ki-ör-lah kerat. Mai kerat ya
When already he-sing, he-orders-emphatic cut. They cut by

⁸ Semai religious ceremonies involve singing and dancing.

Siam piraq ajëh putus-lah. Jadi tempat ajëh loi-lah
Siamese silver that break-emphatic. So place that until-emphatic

huant 'jëh bi-sebut Kampong Lambur.
now that is-called Kampong Lambur.

Sengqoi Siam ajëh mai goi ku tepi Piraq. Mai tepi nyaqnyiq,
Person Siam that they sit at side Perak. They on the side always sick,
sebap ya selaq jehuuq jeletag.
because by leaf of tree, Dyera species.

Möng do dat-dat. Mai ög habar nu raja mai.
There-is who are-dying. They give news to rajah they.

Ki-pedir ya raja mai, ki-ör maq nu nengriq mai.
It-made-said by rajah they, he-order return to country they.

Ki-gëët goi ku nengriq Piraq, ajëh nengriq mai seraq.
He-forbid sit at country Perak, that country of they inland.

Free Translation

The original peoples of the country of Perak come from Java. There were two brothers who left Java. The younger brother married a Malay, the elder an aborigine. The elder brother was the first to have a child. The children of the two brothers quarreled. So the elder brother took his family over here. He stayed at Laut Lepas. One day his two children said they would like to get married. There was no bride price, just a common-law marriage. His children had children in their turn. They had two children.

These children, his grandchildren, left Laut Lepas. They lived at Telok Anson. They left Telok Anson and lived at Bukit Tunggal.

Siamese came to the Perak country. They cut the Perak River from the top to the bottom. There was a thing of real silver at Sabak Bernam. They could not cut it, and for years it did not give way. These Siamese called on one of our people, an aborigine; they told him to pray. They wanted that thing cut apart. So our man, the aborigine sang.⁹ When he had finished his song, he told them to start cutting. They cut and the thing broke. So that place is called Kampong Lambur (Song Village) to this day.

These Siamese lived on the banks of the Perak. They were always getting sick, because of the leaves of the poisonous jelutong tree. Some of them were dying. They reported their situation to their king. The king ordered them to return to their country. He forbade them to live in the country of Perak. That was to be the country of the aborigines.

⁹ Invoking his familiars.

A Story of Bah Pent¹⁰

Note: There are innumerable stories about Bah Pent, all of them funny and some unprintable. In the following condensed version of a Pent adventure, I have indicated (in parentheses) where the narrator and his audience broke down in laughter. Told by Itam Beleg kenön Alang Judin to Bah Sudeio kenön Ngah Hari, at Tëio Menchag (P).

Mulamula ki-pet-punt döq.

At-the-beginning he is blowpiping long-tailed-macaque.

Telas ajéh, kirep ki-choq.

After that, he-burn-off-hair he-gut.

Baru-lah ki-

New-emphatic he

sengrënt

clean-out-by-squeezing-between-thumb-and-forefinger

i ëij.

its excreta.

Töq leio ken 'jëh, tibaq i kenön dög

Not long after that, appear its child long-tailed-macaque.

Ki-tanyaq nu Pënt, "Ma ha-uui?"

It-ask to Pent, "What thou-do?"

Ki-balas ya Pënt,

It-answer by Pent,

"Ëdn eng-sengrënt

"I-clean-gut-by-squeezing-between-thumb-and-forefinger

ëij sög ëij sënt."

excreta rotten, excreta (?) ."
(Laughter)¹¹

Kenön dög ajéh ki-juuq nu i deeg.

Child long-tailed-macaque that it-go-back to its house.

Ki-pasal nu i apaq. I apaq ki-löös, ki-buru

It-talk-over to its father. Its father he-come-back, he meet

Bah Pënt. Ki-tanyaq nu Bah Pënt,

Master Pent. He-ask to Master Pent,

"Pënt, Pënt, ma ha-sengrënt?"

"Pent, Pent, what thou-clean-out-by-squeezing-between-thumb-and-forefinger?"

Engröq Bah Pënt,

¹⁰ For a more recent version of A Story of Bah Pent see Juli Edo 1990:86-94.

¹¹ Pent uses doubletalk so that the younger macaque won't understand that it is another macaque that Pent is eating. A good deal of the humor lies in the sound of the words.

Speech Bah Pent,

"Eng-sengränt
"I-clean-out-by-squeezing-between-thumb-and-forefinger,
dög."
long-tailed-macaque."

Engröq dög,
Speech long-tailed-macaque,
"Hëq salah."
"You do-wrong."

Menyadi Bah Pënt ki-chap.
So Bah Pent he-was-caught.

Bi-beg kerob deeg,
He-was-tied beneath house,
bi-choh
he-was-defecated
bi-nöm
he-was-urinated
ya dög
by long-tailed-macaque
ku kemil deeg.
at above house. (Laughter)
Bah Pënt
Master Pent

ki -selöi, langsong ki-but-bët. I gegelap, ki-jagaq.
he-tired, straightway he-is-sleeping. Its early-daybreak, he-is-aware.

Ki-tanyaq ya 'beiq dög,
He-is-asked by father long-tailed-macaque, "Pënt, ma ha-enpooq
keläm nëq?" Ki-berlaq ya Pënt, "Edn eng-em pooq asap."
evening last?" It-is-answered by Pent, "I I-dream smoke."

Ki-balas ya dög,
It-is-answered by long-tailed-macaque, "Hëq salah, keranaq
"Thou do-wrong, because

ha-em pooq sëq." Pënt ki-beg kuat neit.
thou-dream false." Pent he-is-tied strong again.

I keläm, Pënt ki-këq akal, keranaq ka-ha-terlas
Its evening, Pent he-see k intelligence, because he-will-free

ha i luui. I huper gelap ki-tanyaq ya dög,
by his self. Its morning dark he-is-asked by long-tailed-macaque,

"Ha, Bah Pënt, hëq ma ha-em pooq keläm nëq?" Ki-balas
"Ha, Master Pent, thou what thou-dream evening last?" It-was-answered

ya Ban Pënt, "Eng-berapooq legöös."
by Master Pent, "I-dream rambutan (fruit)."

Engröq dög,
Speech long-tailed-macaque, "Eng-bolëh eng-terlas hëq huper döh."
"I-can I-free thou morning next."

Engröq Pënt, "Eng-bolëh eng-ternyul nu engkëiq tempat möng
Speech Pent, "I-can I-point-out to you-all place there-is

legöös."	I huper Pënt ki-ternyul	tempat legöös,
rambutan."	Its morning Pent he-point-out place	rambutan,
<u>langsong</u> i luui bi-terlas.	Adëh chermör <u>habis</u> , hant adëh.	
straightway his self is-freed.	This story finished, like this.	

Free Translation

Once upon a time, Bah Pent was shooting macaques with his blowpipe. After he got one, he burned off its hair and gutted it. Then he squeezed the excreta out of its intestines. A little later, the macaque's child appeared.

"Pent, what's that you're cleaning out?" it asked.

"I'm cleaning out frannistan and portis excrement," answered Pent.

The macaque's child went back to its house and told its father what it had seen. Its father went back and confronted Master Pent. He asked Master Pent, "Pent, Pent, what's that you're cleaning out?"

"I'm cleaning out macaque excreta," said Master Pent.

"You have done a bad thing," said the macaque, and they grabbed Pent. They tied him underneath the house, as people do to monkeys. He was drenched with feces and urine from the macaques up in the house. Pent was tired and finally he fell asleep. The next morning he was awake at daybreak.

The father macaque asked him, "Pent, what did you dream last night?"

Answered Pent, "I dreamed of smoke."

Retorted the macaque, "You are bad, because you dream falsely." He tied Pent up tighter than before.

That evening Pent thought over his situation carefully. How could he free himself? Early the next morning, the macaque asked him, "Ha, Pent, what did you dream last night?"

Pent replied, "I dreamed of rambutan fruit."

Said the macaque, "I can let you go tomorrow morning."

The next morning Pent pointed out the place where there were rambutan fruits, and finally they let him go.

This story is over, that's all there is.

Tale of the Ogre¹²

Note: The ogre in this story has long been identified with the Gergassi of Malay folklore, although its name indicates that the Semai ogre is an old female. Although most of the western Semai have adopted the number seven as a magical one, so that most western Semai stories feature seven brothers, nevertheless the original magical number, still used in the east, was probably six. The switch to Malay magical practices has caused some confusion; for example, there are seven magically gifted brothers in a story from the Erong Forest Reserve (SPP), although the story itself, which explains the origin of the name Bernam (from ber-enam, being six), is hereby invalidated. Sometimes a compromise is possible; thus the mourning period after a death is seven days but six nights.

This version of the story seems to be abbreviated, possibly because the Semai do not enjoy hearing about fighting and killing. Told by Sudeio kenön Ngah Hari(P).

Li enai, enai be-tujuh. Enai be-enam enai et pet-puut
Of they, they were-seven. They were-six they go blowpiping

bi-wëis i luit pa deeg keranaq bi-beqal ha
he-is-left its youngest-sibling at house because he-is-rejected for

Jaq Chemenaq chupuq I luit
Ogre of Garcinia prainiana. Its youngest-sibling

ki-poit pa deeg loi tujuh jiis, tapi i tenëq töq
he-wait at house until seven days, but his elder-siblings no

juug jugaq, loi këq susah i sengiq. I huper
go-back also, until he difficult his thoughts. Its morning

këq ki-dalaaq ha i tenëq di enai be-enam ajëh.
he he-looks-for his elder-siblings who they are-six that.

Sedang këq ki-chiq-chiib këq ki-rasaq chuag i ket.
While he he-walking-around he he-felt hungry his stomach.

Nyapöng möng kening chupuq dapat këq ki-chaq
Fortunate there-is tree Garcinia prainiana, can he he-eat

i pelëq. Sedang këq ki-chaq pelëq, ku tibaq Jaq Chemenaq
its fruit. While he he-eat fruit, to appear ogre

ka-ha-perdat ha këq. Ku i penyudah, Bah Luit
it-will-kill for him. At its upshot, Master Youngest Sibling.

töq dat, tapi Jaq Chemenaq dat ki-perdat ya Bah Luit.
no die, but ogre die it-is-killed by Master Youngest Sibling.
Free Translation

¹² For a more recent version of Tale of the Ogre see Juli Edo 1990:59-86.

There were seven of them. Six of them went off hunting with their blowpipes, leaving their kid brother at home because he had an ugly skin disease and they did not like to look at him. All six of them were killed to the last man by an ogre which lived in a chupu tree. Their kid brother waited in the house for seven days, but his elder brothers still did not return home, until he became very worried and upset. The next morning he went out looking for those six brothers of his. While he was walking around, he felt hungry. Fortunately there was a chupu tree so that he could eat its fruits. While he was snacking on the fruit, there appeared an ogre about to kill him. To make a long story short, Master Youngest Brother did not die; but the ogre died, slain by Master Youngest Brother.

A Midwife's Prayer¹³

Note: When a child is sick, his parents call in the midwife who delivered him. She prepares her equipment by moistening it with an asperger. Then she invokes the First Midwife, who dwells in the uppermost layer of the seven-layered heavens, and next on the Midwife in each successively lower layer. Finally she invokes the Midwife Among Teachers, as follows. Told by Ngah Hari kenön Yeop Ahmat of Tëio Menchag (P).

Ku belööq jeen gei?	Ku <u>Padag Bungaq</u> ,	ku <u>Padag</u> ben buus,
At where you sit?	At Field Flower,	at Field <u>Pogostemon</u> species,
ku <u>Padag</u> keralat?	Ku belööq jeen ber-jijai?	Ku <u>panchur</u>
at Field pachouli?	At where you are-standing?	At bathing-tube
gadig,	ku <u>panchur</u> <u>kenundang</u> , ku <u>panchur</u> <u>piraq</u> ?	Eng-ör
ivory,	at bathing-tube festival, at bathing-tube silver?	I-order
cheleh ku <u>panchur bungaq</u> .	En-ha- <u>belaq</u>	chachöq jeen
descend at bathing-tube flower.	I-will-care-for	descendent you
adëh.	En-höönt a belengqap, a belengqop, ör än sekooq <u>bungaq</u>	
this.	I-want coolness, shade,	order carry aura flower
jeen.	En-höönt a <u>umör</u> a <u>selamat</u> ku chachöq jeen adëh.	Edn
you.	I-want longevity safety at descendent you this.	I
opah,	sekooq <u>bungaq</u> , sekooq <u>bungaq</u> ,	sekooq ben buus,
make-gift,	I offer aura silver,	aura flower, aura <u>Pogostemon</u> sp.,
sekooq selböq,	sekooq chichoog, sekooq <u>pemoleh</u> .	Edn höönt a
aura glossy-leaf,	aura vine, aura pemoleh.	I want
polëh pujaq ku keranaq	ëdn, ku sengrooq'n.	Agoog ög
vivify fortify at body I,	to vitals my.	Do-not give

¹³ For a more recent version of A Midwife's Prayer see Dentan 2002:181-183.

nu bengkët bepengqanh ku beroog ëdn. Ëdn höönt a singëit
to heat spoilage at body I. I want cool

a dingin ku li luit, ku kenön chenög ëdn. Ëdn höönt a
cold at its self, at child grandchild I. I want

umör, ëdn höönt a selamat.
longevity, I want safety.

Note: At this point the midwife begins to bathe the child with water from a bamboo bathing-tube to cleanse the child of disease. Next, the child's mother bathes the midwife, who prays as follows:

Ëdn semain nu jeen, Bidat Asalm, Bidat Tujuh, en-ha-belaq
I request to you, Midwife Origin, Midwife Seven, I-will-care-for

neramëit jeen. En-höönt a belengqap den belengqop ku sengroog
beloved you. I-want coolness and shade at vitals

neramëit jeen. Ya em-bayar sekooq selböq, sekooq bungaq,
beloved you. Already I-pay aura glossy-leafy, aura flower,

sekooq panchur, sekooq piraq. En-höönt besaraq ku sengroog.
aura bathing-tube, aura silver. I-want inspire at vitals.

P A R T T H R E E

VOCABULARY

This word list was collected mainly in villages at Tëio Jentér (Kampong Jinteh) on the Telom River in Pahang and at Tëio Menchag (Batu Berangkai) near Kampar, Perak. Words which seem to be cognate with Malay words are underlined.¹

The Body (English, Semai, Malay)

BODY	SENROG	Badan
VISIBLE BODY	BEROOG	Badan
SHORT	LENG (SPP) KUTEIQ (T) PATËIQ (P)	Pendek
TALL	CHEREG	Tinggi
THIN	SÖR (P) SOG (T)	Kurus
FAT	BIHIG (T) <u>GEMUQ</u> (P)	Gemok
HAIRY (of body)	BER-SENTÖL	Berbulu
HAIRY (of head)	BER-SÖÖG	Berbulu
Type of hair:		
PEPPERCORN	GEREL (T) GERUNEL (P)	Kerinting
CURLY	KERITLET	Ikal
STRAIGHT	SINIJAR (T, P) SELAJAR (P)	Lurus
BALD	LAAJ KUUI (T, P) PELQEHE (P)	Botak ²

¹ Except for typographic errors I have mostly left the Semai as I transcribed it when I was working with less knowledge and a persistent tin ear, since to do otherwise would require rewriting the whole text. I had considerable trouble, obviously, hearing vowel length, especially long "e"; and final "-t" in the following lists should often be "-d," "-q" or "-j," the latter a sound I did not recognize at all. I have corrected the errors I recognized.

² Both translations of "botak" are secondary meanings; the first refers to "annihilation" -laaj, as in -liij-laaj, throw a tantrum, and trlaaj, disaster following loss of self-control. Pelqeh usually refers to nasty metallic smells, e.g. urine, ketchup, old sweat.

HEAD	KUUI	Kepala
SKULL	CHAWÖÖG (T) TARÖG KUUI (P)	Tangkorak
BRAIN	KELQOOB	Otak
HAIR (of head)	SÖÖG	Rambut
FACE	MAT-MOH (T) RENIIS (P)	Muka ³
CHEEK	MEENG (T) MIING (P)	Pipi
FRECKLES	ËIJ ROI	Tahi lalat ⁴
EAR	ENTAQ	Telinga
TEAR	TËIO MAT	Ayer mata ⁵
EYE	<u>MAT</u>	Mata
EYELID	SEMPOI	Kelopak mata
EYELASH	NYEMNYOM MAT	Bulu mata
EYEBROW	SENTEIR (T) SENTÖL MAT (P) ⁶	Kening
EYEBALL	KENLOOG MAT ⁷	Anak mata
PUPIL	KELAD MAT	Anak mata
FOREHEAD	TAHAGIQ (T) TEMARGIQ (P)	Dahi

³ Both translations of "muka" are secondary meanings: the first is "eyes [and] nose," the second "basic appearance," maybe from reiis, "floor, base, basis", cf. r'eiis, "root, basis" as in Teiw [Tëio?] R'eiis, Malay Sungai Rias, (on which the settlement nearest Sahum is Pangkaad, from Malay pangkal, the lower part of a tree?

⁴ The Semai phrase directly translates the Malay prompt, i.e., "fly shit."

⁵ The Semai phrase directly translates the Malay prompt, i.e., "eye water."

⁶ The Perak Semai phrase = "eye bristle."

⁷ The Semai word knlook comes from kloog, a word for "soul."

NOSE	MÖH	Hidong
NOSTRIL	LERMOR MÖH	Lubang hidong
BREATH	LEHEM	Nafas
MOUTH	EMPAG	Mulut
PHLEGM	KEPENHAG	Kahak
LIPS	NYINYOI	Bibir
SALIVA	LEHEIQ	Ayer ludah
TONGUE	LENTAG	Lidah
TEETH	LENUING	Gigi
GUMS	LINGSIT	Gusi
MOUSTACHE	SENTÖL NYEMNYOM ⁸	Misai
BEARD	<u>JANGGUT</u>	Janggut
CHIN	JINGKAO	Dagu
NECK	TANGEN	Leher
NAPE	TENGKÖQ	Tongkok
THROAT	CHENGONQ	Kerongkong
VOICE	ENRÖQ	Suara
SHOULDER	POG (T) GELPAL (O)	Bahu
ARM	KENRIT	Lengan
ELBOW	KANANG	Siku
HAND	TEG	Tangan
HAND, PALM	PAL TEG (T) TAPAR TEG (T, P)	Tapak tangan
HAND, BACK	KENÖQ TAPAR TEG	Belakang tangan
FINGER	JARAS TEG (T) TEG (T) <u>JARIQ</u> (P)	Jari

⁸ The Semai phrase means "lip bristles."

FOREFINGER	TEG TERNYUL (T) ⁹ TEG L'BEIQ (T)	Telunjok
MIDDLE FINGER	TEG JANIQ ¹⁰	Jari hantu
LITTLE FINGER	TEG KENÖN (T) ¹¹	Kelengkeng
THUMB	TEQ TABOQ (T) AMET [AMEI?] <u>JARIQ</u> (P) ¹²	Ibu jari
FINGERNAIL	CHENRÖS	Kuku
CHEST	CHEMOM (T) ENTEH (P)	Dada
FEMALE BREAST	MËM	Tetek perempuan
NIPPLE	MËM	Biji tetek
LUNG	SOOB	Paru
HEART	NÖÖS	Hati
BACK	CHELOOT (T) KENÖQ (P)	Belakang
BACKBONE	JEQAG KENÖQ (P) JEQAG CHELOOT (T)	Tulang belakang
WAIST	WAG (T) WÖG (P)	Pinggang
LIVER	RIIS	Hati
GALL BLADDER	KEMANT	Pedu
HIP	CHANDIT (T)	Tulang punggong
KIDNEYS	KEMNÖM (T) PELËQ WÖG (P) ¹³	Buah pinggang

⁹ The first Semai phrase directly translates the Malay prompt, i.e., pointing [finger, hand], the second is "the hand's father."

¹⁰ The first Semai phrase directly translates the Malay prompt, i.e., "demon finger."

¹¹ The Semai phrase means "the hand's child."

¹² Probably the P name directly translates the Malay prompt = "the fingers' mother," 'ameey jari'.

NAVEL	SOOG	Pusat
SPLEEN	KELAB	Kura
INTESTINES	ËIJ WET (T) CHOOG ËIJ (P) ¹⁴	Usus
STOMACH BELLY, VISIBLE	ËIJ KET	Perut
PENIS	LOOQ	Zakar
TESTICLES "BALLS"	GENTAP PELËËQ ¹⁵	Pelir Kemaluan
PUBLIC HAIR	SENTÖL LOOQ	Bulu kemaluan
BUTTOCK ARSE	JANGAP KËËT	Punggong Punggong
ANUS	LOBÖG KËËT	Lubang jubor
FECES DEFECATE EXCRETION	CHAHNOH -CHAH-CHOH ËIJ	Tahi Buang tahi
URINE URINATE	NENNÖM (T) NANNÖM (P) -NEM-NÖM (T) -NA-NÖM (P)	Ayer kenching Kenching
VAGINA	LEET (P)	Puki
THIGH	LEMPAQ	Paha
KNEE	KEREL (T) KURUL (P)	Lutut
LOWER LEG	KUMENG	Tulang kering
ANKLE	KEREN JUG	Buku lali
FOOT TOE	JUG TABOQ JUG (T) JARAS JUG (T)	Kaki Ibu jari kaki

¹³ The Perak phrase directly translates the Malay prompt "fruit of the small of the back or waist."

¹⁴ The Perak phrase = "vine of excreta," eij = any exuvia.

¹⁵ Pleeq = "fruit."

TOENAIL	CHENRÖÖS TAPAR JUG (P)	Kuku ibu jari kaki
SOLE OF FOOT	PAL JUG (T) TAPAR JUG (P)	Tapak kaki
BLOOD	BEHIIB	Darah
MUCUS	SIINH, SIIS	Ringus
VEIN LYMPH GLAND	<u>URAT</u> BEHIIB <u>SEMLËËT</u> ¹⁶	Urat darah
MUSCLE	<u>URAT</u> ENTOI ¹⁷	Urat besar
NERVE	<u>URAT</u> BLUUG (T) <u>URAT</u> BIYËG ¹⁸	Urat puteh
FLESH MEAT (edible)	SEIJ MËNHAR	Daging Daging
BONE	JEQAG	Tulang
SWEAT	SENQEPE	Ayer peloh
ALBINO	(NOT KNOWN)	Orang balar
INTELLIGENCE VITALITY RESISTANCE	SENGIIQ KELOOG SEMELLIIT ¹⁹	Akal
BIRTHMARK	(NOT USED)	Kenan
NAKED	BREIS	Telanjang

¹⁶ The Semai smleet here is cognate with (or a variant of) smliit, "resistance," below, and entails the swelling of glands (Dentan 1988).

¹⁷ The Semai phrase directly translates the Malay prompt "big muscle/nerve."

¹⁸ The Semai phrase directly translates the Malay prompt "white muscle/nerve."

¹⁹ The Semai smliit here is cognate with (or a variant of) smleet, "lymph gland," above, and entails the swelling of glands (Dentan 1988).

MARROW	LEM SOB	Otak tulang
TORSO	ENTOH	
ADAM' S APPLE	GELÖH	
FAT	MENCHÖQ	

Sickness

ACHE	-NYIQ	Sakit
ARTHRITIS	-NYIQ JERLAQ KEMUR ²⁰	
ATHLETE' S FOOT	REGRÖG	Jintang
BLIND	BUTAQ	Buta
BRONCHITIS	SENGIÖT	Sakit lelah
CARIES	GEIIJ	Lobong gigi
CHICKENPOX	TEMAQ ÖÖS	
CONJUNCTIVITIS	CHEHËR MAT	Mata merah
CONSTIPATION	GENGGËËT	
CONVULSIONS	SABAT	Sawan
HAVE CONVULSIONS	-NYELAP	Bersawan
CORYZA	-NYIQ SIINH	
	-NYIQ SIIS	
COUGH	-KEHÖL	Batok
DEAF	<u>PEKAQ</u>	Pekak
DIARRHOEA	CHAWAM	Chirit
DIZZINESS	LENWIG MAT ²¹	Mata pusing
DYSENTERY	-CHOH BERHIIB	Berak darah
DUMB	<u>BISUQ</u>	Bisu
EARACHE	-NYIQ ENTAG	Sakit telinga
EPILEPSY	-DAT-SUUI	Gila babi
FAINT	-PUCHUG (T)	Pengsan
	-DAT (T, P)	
FEVER	-KEREEG ²²	Demam

²⁰ The Semai phrase means "hurt by spine of grub."

²¹ Semai lnwig (T) or lngwiig (P), dizziness, is far more charged than the English gloss suggests, since it can be the first stage of an altered state of consciousness that may lead to trance and demonic possession.

FILARIASIS (early)	KENYARAT	
FILARIASIS (late)	TELUQ (P)	
	TELUP (T)	
BE GIDDY	-LEWIG	Pening
GOITRE (Small)	BEGÖQ (T)	
GOITRE (Large)	KÖR	
HAEMORRHOIDS	<u>REJAN</u>	Rejan
HEADACHE	TENHÖR KUUI ²³	Sakit kepala
HEPATITIS	-NYIQ PENALIIQ (T) ²⁴	
	-NYIQ SALAH CHAQNAQ (P) ²⁵	Sakit kuning
HICCOUGH	CHEDDOOG (T)	Tersedu
	CHEGDUG (P)	
ITCH	BEHEIT	Gatal
LEPROSY	PENLAAS (T)	Kusteh
	KOMAN KUUS (P)	
LEUCODERMIA	LEKAIT	
LIMP	<u>-CHAPËQ</u>	Chapek
MALARIA	-NYIQ KELAB	Sakit kura
MEASLES	PETNEIT	Champak

²² The Semai -kreeg here seems cognate with a number of words for stabbing pain and general difficulty in both Malay (e.g., *kuru*, *terek*) and Semai (e.g. -truu' and maybe the word given as *teluq* below). The Semai concept also has sexual undertones (Dentan 1988). Temiar *tenruu'*, a nominalized form of the word, refers to similar phenomena. *Btsisi'* connect *truu'* with sharp stomach pains. The cognate word *tree'* means "difficult;" Semai use it as an exclamation, the way Malays use the word *susah*, to mean "tough luck" or "too bad!" Malay *teruk*, which refers to "severe" or "serious" illnesses or beatings, "acute" pain, "bad" coughs, etc., may be cognate with Malay *terek*, "extreme" or "excessive" bad luck, difficulty, etc. Temiar use the term for an acute form of *sabat*, a childhood illness also characterized by the symptoms of spirit-possession: dizziness, nausea (See Dentan 1988, in press). The term seems cognate with Austronesian "koro," the "genital retraction syndrome," in which men fear that their penises will retract, piercing their livers; but this affliction seems unknown to Semai.

²³ The Semai phrase seems to mean "sucked-out head."

²⁴ The Semai phrase means "taboo disease" from Sanskrit *pali*.

²⁵ The Semai phrase means "eat wrong disease" and, like the Sanskrit-derived *pnalii'*, refers to mixing immiscible categories of food.

MEDICINE	PENLAI	Ubat
MYOPIA	SABÖR	Kabor
NIGHTMARE	-YAIYAH (T) ²⁶ -PIPUI (P) ²⁷	Mengi-gau
PAIN	-NYIQ	Sakit
PERSPIRE	-BEKËT,	Berpeloh
PROLAPSE (Testicular)	-SENGGEP PUUG	
PROLAPSE (Vaginal)	-NYIQ TEET	
PIMPLES	MON	Jerawat
PUS	BEMBEG	Nanah
SCABIES (a)	BARËH	Kudis
SCABIES (b)	TEMAQ	Kudis
SHINGLES	KERABOQ	Kayap
SHOCK (Primary)	-DEQ RUAI	
SHOCK (Secondary)	CHALËS -DEQ RUAI	
SMALLPOX	<u>CHICHAI</u> (T) <u>PELENTONG</u> (P)	Sakit chachar
SNEEZE	-RAMÖH (T) -CHECHAAS (P)	Bersin
SQUINTING	-MINYËP (T) -KANYUQ (P)	Juling
STING (by insect)	-KAP ²⁸	Gigit
STOMACH ACHE	-NYIQ KET, -NYIQ ËIT	Sakit perut
STUTTER	<u>-KAQ</u> (T) <u>-GAGAP</u> (P)	Gagap
SWELL	-AAS	Bengkak
TINEA	MËNT (T) UMËT (NP) GAAS (P)	Kurap
TOOTHACHE	-NYIQ LEMUIN	Sakit gigi
TUMOUR	<u>BARAH</u>	Barah
VENERAL DISEASE, VD	<u>KARAG</u>	Karang

²⁶ The Semai word is cognate with words meaning "deceive" in other Aslian languages.

²⁷ The Semai word is cognate with words meaning "deceive" in Austronesian languages, e.g., Malay *tipu*.

²⁸ The Semai phrase directly translates the Malay prompt, "bite."

VOMIT	-KOOQ (T) -KEEQ (P)	Muntah
WORMS (<i>Ascaris</i>) (Pinworm, hookworm)	<u>CHACHIG</u> GERISMAS	Chaching
YAWS	TEMAQ	Puru

Clothing and Personal Decoration

AIGRETTE (hair tuft)	<u>TAJOQ</u>	Tajok
ANKLET	<u>GELAG</u> JUG	Gelang kaki
BARKCLOTH	ABAT	Kulit kayu
BEADS	<u>MANIQ</u>	Manek
BELT	CHENGKÖT WÖG	Tali pinggang
BRACELET	<u>GELAG</u>	Gelang
CLOTH	ABAT	Kain
CROSSBELT	TENWAG	Selendang
EARRING	<u>SUNTIG</u>	Anting-anting
COMB (2 teeth) COMB (3 or more teeth)	SUREI SUGUQ (P)	
FACE PAINT	GEMNEM	Choreng muka
LOINCLOTH	LAAT	Chawat
NECKLACE	<u>RANTEI</u>	Rantai
NOSE QUILL	PENLOOG (T) <u>SUNTIG</u> MÖH (P)	Subang hidong
RING	<u>CHINCHIT</u>	Chinchin
SARONG SCARRING TATTOOING	ABAT <u>SARONG</u> DIIL CHENUL (T)	Kain sarong Parut Chachah
TROUSERS	<u>SERUAL</u>	Seluar
LEAF	SELAQ	Daun
PAINT (face)	-GEM-GEB (T) -CHÖT (P)	Chat muka

WEAR

-LEG-LÖG

Pakai

The House

UPRIGHT	CHENÖL	Tiang
MAIN BEAMS	BARAG	Alang
WALL	<u>NINIG</u>	Dinding
WINDOW	LENGLÖG	Jendela
DOOR	<u>PINTUQ</u>	Pintu
LADDER	KENLOH (T) RANGKAL (P)	Tangga
FLOOR	REIIS	Lantai
FLOOR SLATS	CHENKAR	Lantai
SLEEPING PLACE	JIROOG (P) DOOG BËTNËT (T)	Tempat tidor
LONGHOUSE	DEEG CHEREG (P) ²⁹ DOOG RAYAQ (T)	Rumah panjang
HOUSE ³⁰	DEEG (P, NP, SPP) DOOG (T, CHJ)	Rumah
VERANDAH	(NOT USED)	Serambi
KITCHEN ³¹	WAAL, DEEG WAAL (P) DOOG WAAL (T)	Dapor
HUT	DEEG REB (P)	Pondok
ATTAP (thatch)	DEEG <u>SAPAU</u> (P) PELOOG	Sapar Atap

Most house poles bear Malay names.

Domestic Utensils³²

HATCHET	<u>KAPAQ</u>	Kapak
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²⁹ The Perak Semai word translates the Malay prompt.

³⁰ The Semai word refers to any area in which people reside: room, house or (reduplicated) settlement.

³¹ The Semai word waal means "hearth."

³² For additional terms for tools see Dentan n.d., 1989, in press.

AX	JËQ	Beliong
AX BLADE	MAT JËQ	Mata beliong
AX HANDLE	PEPEDAH	Hulu beliong
AX BUTT	DUUL JËQ	Hulu Beliong
BACKBASKET	RAGAQ (P, T) ERLEQ (T) ALÖQ (SPP)	Raga
BAG, LARGE	<u>BAKUL</u>	Bakul
BAG, SMALL	CHAMAG (P) TAPÖG (T)	
COOKER (BAMBOO TUBE)	AWAT PENGOH	Buloh pelemang
DYE	<u>CHELUB</u>	Chelup
GOURD (WATER)	<u>LABU</u> TËIO	Labu ayer
HANDLE BUTT	DUUL	Tenpat pegang
KNIFE	YUIT	Pisau
MAT, SLEEPING	CHERUQ	Tikar tidor
MORTAR	GUUL	Lesong
PARANG, MACHETE	YUIT	Parang
PESTLE	KENUR (T) KENEH (P)	Alu lesong

Cooking and Stimulants

ASH	<u>HABUQ</u>	Abu
BAKE	-JÖP	Bakar
BETEL NUT	BELOOG (T) BELEEG (P)	Pinang
BOIL	<u>-REBUS</u>	Robuskan
BOIL WATER	-GAP TËIO	Jerangkan
CHARCOAL	JENKAH	Kayu arang
CIGARETTE	ROKÖQ	Rokok
COOK	-BERENCHET	Memasak
DRINK	-NYOOQ (T) -NGÖNT (P)	Minum

EAT	-CHAQ-CHAQ	Makan
FIRE CATCH FIRE	ÖÖS -DER	Api Tepasang
FIREWOOD	CHEQ ÖÖS	Kayu api
FLAME	NYOH ÖÖS (T) RUB ÖÖS (P)	Nyala api
FOOD	CHAQNAQ	Makanan
FRY	<u>-GORENG</u>	Goreng
HEAT	-BEN-KET	Panaskan
HUNGRY	CHUAG	Lapar
LIME	KÖB	Kapor
MEAT FLESH	MËNHAR SEIJ	Daging Daging
POUND	-SAH-SËH	Tumbok
SALT	CHE [N] QËT (T) ³³ EMPOIT (P)	Garam
SIDE DISH	ENTÖQ (T) ENTEQ (P)	Lauk
SMOKE (tobacco)	-HÖÖT <u>BAKAU</u> (T) -NYUUQ <u>BAKAU</u> (P)	Isap rokok
SOOT	JENKAH	Arang para
STEAM	<u>HUAP</u>	Wap
THIRST TOBACCO	SHENLUL (P) <u>BAKAU</u>	Haus Tembakau
WATER	TËIO	Ayer
VEGETABLE	<u>SENAYUR</u> ³⁴	Sayoran

Games, Dancing, Music

BALL	<u>BOLA</u>	Bola
DANCE	-GESAG	Tari

³³ The Telom River term refers to "sweet" as well as "salty."

³⁴ The Semai is a nominalization of Malay "sayur" as in the prompt.

DRUM	TOOBUQ (T) <u>GENDANG</u> (P)	Gendang
MOUTHFLUTE	CHENILOI <u>SIOI</u>	Seruling Bersiul
NOSEFLUTE	PENSÖL	Seruling hidong
GONG PLAY	<u>GÖG</u> -MOMAN	Gong Main-main
SING	<u>-BELAMUR</u> (P) -JOLAG (T)	Nyanyi
SONG	<u>LAGUQ</u> (P) JENOLAG (T)	Lagu
STAMPER, BAMBOO	CHENTOOQ (T) CHENTEEG (P)	Alu buloh
TWO-STRINGED LYRE	KEREB	

Magic, Religion

AURA	SEKOOQ	Chahaya
CHARM	<u>TENANGKAL</u>	Tangkal
CUSTOMS	<u>ADAT</u>	Adat
DRAGON ³⁵	DANGGAQ (T) <u>NAGAQ</u> (P, CH) BAH RAGAQ	Naga
DREAM (MAGIC)	EMPOOQ	Mimpi
FAMILIAR SPIRIT	GUNIG	Hantu yang berkawan
TABOO	PENALIQ ³⁶	Pantang champor makanan
EXPERT (RELIGIOUS)	<u>MALIB</u> (P)	Malim
GHOST	KIJMOIJ	Hantu orang mati

³⁵ The Semai phrase is a by-name meaning "Master backbasket."

³⁶ This taboo is on mixing foods (from Sanskrit pali).

GOD	JENANG (P) TUHAT (T)	Tuhan
INCANTATION INVOKES	<u>JENAMPIO</u> -TER-LOH ³⁷	Jampi Memanggil hantu
PRAY	-CHAGÖH	Senbahyang
SHAMAN	SENQOI BER-HALAAQ	Pawang
SIN	TENHANG ³⁸	Dosa
SOUL	RUAI	Roh
SPIRIT, DEMON	JANIIQ	Hantu
TABOO, RESTRICTION	LAQNAQ	Pantang
VITALITY	KELOOG	Semangat

Political and Territorial Arrangements

HEADMAN	BATIN (T) <u>PENGHULU</u> (P)	Ketua
CHIEF	<u>RAJA</u> (T) BATIN (T)	Penghulu
ELDERS	MAI RANAQ (T) MAI ENGRAQ (P)	Orang tua kampong
HEREDITARY AREA	TEIQ <u>SAKAQ</u>	Kawasan pusaka
KAWASAN (area)	TEIQ	Kawasan
LAWS	YEPNAP (T) <u>UNDANG-UNDANG</u> (P)	Undang-undang
PASS JUDGEMENT RAMAGE	-YAP (T) GUU	Bagi hukum
MISTAKE VILLAGE	<u>SILAP</u> LENRIG (T) KAMPUG (P)	Silap Kampong
FAULT	SËËQ	Salah
ANCESTRAL CUSTOM	ENRÖQ MAI MANAH ENTUM, <u>ADAT</u> MAI MANAH ENTUM	Adat

³⁷ The root meaning seems to be "to call down," and "to call into being."

³⁸ The word comes from Sanskrit tanha, lust or desire.

PROPERTY	<u>HERTAQ</u> (T) <u>RETAAQ</u> (P)	Harta
HEREDITARY PROPERTY	<u>HERTAQ SAKAQ</u> (T) <u>RETAAQ SAKAQ</u> (P)	Harta pusaka
BREAK AN AGREEMENT	-SERLOOQ	

Agriculture

FRUIT	KEBEQ (Counter) PELÉEQ	Buah
BANANA	TELEI	Pisang
BURN OFF	-TÖÖT (P) -TOIT (T)	Bakar
CUCUMBER	<u>TIMUN</u>	Mentimun
DIG	-CHOOB	Menggali
DURIAN (a fruit)	SEMPAQ	Durian
FELL	-GAQ-GIIQ	Menebang
FENCE	<u>PAGAR</u>	Pagar
GOURD	<u>LABU</u>	Labu
PLANT	-CHÖÖT (T) -CHET (P)	Tanam
HARVEST ³⁹	-KIT-KEET	Menuai
CALADIUM, TARO	GAAG	Keladi
FIELD	SELAI	Ladang
SMALL FIELD	SELAI CHAGÖL	Ladang kecil
ABANDONED FIELD	SELANYAM	Ladang tertinggal
MAIZE	JAGUG	Jagong
MILLET	PEI	Sokoi???
PEPPER	<u>LADAQ</u>	Lada
POUNDED RICE	CHENROI	Beras
GROWING RICE	BAQ	Padi

³⁹ The Semai word refers to cutting off rice seed heads.

COOKED RICE	<u>CHANAQ</u> (P) <u>NASI</u> (T)	Nasi
SWEET POTATO	<u>HUBIQ</u> CHOOG (P) <u>HUBIQ</u> (T)	Keledek
TOBACCO	<u>BAKAU</u>	Tembakau
TAPIOCA (cassava)	<u>KAYU</u> (T) HUBIQ JEHUUQ (SPP) EE-JEHUUQ (Ps) GALËH (CHJ) HUBIQ (Pk)	Ubi Kayu
DIBBLE	KENOH (T) KENEH (P)	Kayu tugal
AFTER-HARVEST FEAST	JIIS CHAQ ENTOI ⁴⁰	Kenduri semangat padi
PLANT WITH DIBBLE	- <u>TUGAL</u> (T) - <u>CHEET</u> (P)	Menugal
PLANT VEGETABLES	- <u>CHEET</u> (T) - <u>CHEET</u> (P)	Menanam (sayor)
SOW	-RUUI (T) -SEMEI (P)	Tabor
WINNOW BY FOOT	-JAG (T) -DEN-DËËT (P)	Mengirek
WINNOW UP AND DOWN	-GOOB (T) -GEEB (P)	Tampi
WINNOW SIDEWAYS SHARE OUT RICE	-SELOIT -ÖG BAQ	Indang Bagi padi
CARRY ON HIP	-BÖG	Dukong
PUT IN	-CHAP	Isikan
RICE BAG	<u>BAKUL</u>	Bakul
CUT GRASS	-CHAH (T) -BEL-BEL (P)	Tebas
to WEED WEED	-JIN-JAIT NYÖQ	Buang rumput Rumput
FELL TREES	-GAQ-GIIQ	Tebang

⁴⁰ The Semai means "Day of the Big Eat."

BURN FIELD	-TOIT (T) -TÖÖT (P)	Bakar ladang
DRY FIELD	-PER-SOOT SELAI	Meneringkan ladang
ABANDON FIELD	-WĒIS SELAI	Meninggalkan ladang
POUND	-SAH-SĒH	Tumbok
HARVEST	-KIT-KEIT	Menuai
RIPE	NUUP (T) NEEB (P)	Masak
RAID A FIELD	-SEIG SELAI (T)	Redah
WEAVE BAGS	-TAIT	Anyam
LEAF MANURE	(NOT USED)	Baja daun
TO HALF-CUT TREES	<u>-TAKOQ</u>	Menakok
FELL (of trees)	-KÖL	Tumbang
HIT (a tree)	-RIPÖH	Rempoh
LOOK FOR FOOD	-KAQ-KÈQ CHAQNAQ	Chari makanan
GUARD A FIELD	<u>-JAGA</u> SELAI (T) -POIT BAQ	Menjaga ladang Menunggu padi
LIFT	-RÖÖT	Ambil

Fishing⁴¹

CASTING NET	<u>JALAO</u>	Jala
SPEAR FISH	-CHÖQ	Tangkap ikan dengan serampang
EEL	<u>BELUT</u>	Belut
FISH	KAAQ	Ikan
to FISH	-KAQ-KÈQ KAAQ	Menchari ikan
FISH EGGS	PENLEG KAAQ	Telor ikan
FISH HOOK	KEDUG (T) KEDEG (P)	Mata kail
FISHING POLE	<u>BAWUR</u>	Joran panching
FISH SPEAR	SERAMPOQ	Serampang
FISH TRAP	SERIG (T) <u>HUBUQ</u> (P)	Bubu
FISH WEIR	MERËG	Perangkap
MAKE A WEIR	-PEG-PAG	Bikin tangkap
FISH PEN	WENGANG (T)	Perangkap ikan
FISHING BASKET	SENQEING (T)	
GLOBE FISH	KAAQ <u>MONTAL</u>	Buntal
FISH BY HAND	-RÖB	Chari ikan dengan tangan

⁴¹ There is a rich vocabulary of words for fish and other animals. The names at first seem to present an impossibly complex picture, with people disagreeing about everything so that observers like Fred Dunn are tempted simply to despair of making a serious classification. To some extent, the confusion and uncertainty are "real," in the sense that people do not learn names in any systematic way, but only when they have occasion to. This sort of personalized lore fits into the general scheme of "memorate knowledge," characteristic of nonhierarchical societies in which there is no structure which would accomodate authoritative knowledge, no locus for people to arrive at compelling decisions. Thus, in a social sense, no one can be "wrong" about bird names, and there are no "well-informed informants." But Semai do believe that some people are more expert about names than others are: e.g., a good hunter will be a local expert on animal names.

CRAB	GATAB (P, T) ⁴² KAAQ YAR (T) ⁴³	Belangkas
LINE	SENRAI	Tali
Udang	PRAWN GENCHOG (P)	GENCHÖNT (T)
SCALES	<u>SISIK</u>	Sisek
GILLS	JENREG	
DORSAL FIN	CHÈIR	
SWIM (of fish)	-DOIH (T) -LOI (P)	Bernang

⁴² Gatab is probably a version of Malay ketam, crab.

⁴³ Semai take natural categories very seriously. Semai thinking is, in general, essentialist, not nominalist, a sort of paleo-Platonism, in which a particular species is the "true" (mtuul, mrnaar, from Malay "betul" or "benar") exemplar of a natural taxon of species (Dentan 1970). Confusing or mixing categories constitutes an assault on the structure of the cosmos and can have cataclysmic results. This sense of epistemological cosmic fragility underlies the pervasive Semai taboos on mocking (-luk), disrespecting (-luhent) or mixing categories. A complicating factor is that people avoid using the "real names" of animals they are about to kill or have killed and instead use "by-names," called "death names," muh dadaad, so as not to attract the attention and possible vengeance of the creature. For example, the name KAAQ YAR above is such, meaning "claw fish." All animals that are eaten have such nicknames.

Weapons and Traps⁴⁴

BIRD LIME	PALËT (T) CHEBUR (P)	Getah
BIRD LIME STICKS	JERMËËS	Kayu getah
CATCH GRASSHOPPERS WITH LIMED STICKS	-PALIT CHUG	Chari belalang dengan kayu getah
BLOWPIPE	BELAU	Sumpitan
BLOWPIPE OUTER CASING	LOG	Sarong luar
BLOWPIPE INNER TUBE	MAT BELAU	Anak sumpitan
BLOWPIPE MOUTHPIECE	TERUG	Kepala sumpitan
BLOWPIPE MUZZLE	BELAU	
BLOWPIPE COTTON	SELMEL	
SHOOT WITH BLOWPIPE	-PET-PUUT	Sumpit
HUNT	-LEB-LEB	Memburu
DART POISON	DÖÖG	Ipoh
KNIFE	YUIT	Pisau, parang
QUIVER	LEG	Tabong
QUIVER CAP	JENKÖB	Tudong tabong
DART	ROQ	Anak damak

⁴⁴ The same rules that apply to fishing applies to snares. Semai should make traps in secret, indoors or deep in the woods, with no one else around. Trappers should not talk about getting ready to trap anything. To omit these precautions could -kreeq, startle or alert, potential prey, so that the snare would not work: ki-nyeq hq-hee', "it doesn't want to ensnare." After setting a trap, people at Jnter said, you should -prbu', avoid, people on the way home. If you meet someone, you say, "Don't talk to me, I'm coming home." The other person should never ask what you were doing. To exchange greetings this way is to -muur, and mnuur is a dangerous state—usually produced by doing something one does not want to do. As a result in this case, you suffer -saqseq, "catching," analogous to -srlooq, "successful hunting," terms which in these circumstances refer to offending the power which brings you good luck, a power Semai traditionally conceive of as a wife or concubine. Other circumstances conducive to saqseq include the following: talking about or with a non-Semai; using cooking oil, chilies, salt, meat, fish or bananas; sex or even sleeping together; bathing, getting caught in the rain or crossing large rivers.

DART BUTT	BEROOL	Kepala anak damak
SPEAR	TARÖG	Lembing
SPEARHEAD	MAT TARÖG (T) MATAQ (P. CHJ)	Mata lembing
MONKEY TRAP	BAKOOQ ⁴⁵	Perangkap kera
MOUSEDEER TRAP	SAP	Perangkap pelandok
RAT TRAP	JENGLEG	Perangkap tikus
SPEAR TRAP	DAAQ	Belanjau
SQUIRREL TRAP	KEDIG ⁴⁶	Perangkap
DEADFALL	RAIT	Perangkap

Transport

BOAT	<u>PERAHUQ</u>	Perahu
BRIDGE	GERTAQ	Jambatan
PADDLE BLADE (OF PADDLE OR SPATULA)	<u>PENGAYOH</u> PAL	Pengayoh Mendayong
PATH	NÖNG	Jalan
POLE	<u>GALAH</u>	Galah
RAFT RAFT SWEEPS	<u>RAKIT</u> (NOT USED)	Rakit Palampong

⁴⁵ The term bakooq refers to a large-framed noose trap, of which the smaller version is a kdiig. The trapper's wife (sometimes the trapper himself) sets a dozen or two noose traps at a time, in a row, with a fence of leaves or twigs between the traps. A West Semai may set as many as a hundred at a time. The trapper pegs down each trap firmly, then sticks one end of a flexible young sapling or straight branch (lanung) into the ground next to the trap. A good lanung is slvvn and cigeeh, flexible and tough. The trapper bends the other end and ties (-kab) it to the apex of the arch of trap with a strip of rattan. He or she lays a twig across the arch of the trap, securing the rattan, thus forming a trigger, pnaluus, from -paluus, to spring erect the way the lanung will. To the trigger the trapper ties a thin piece of string made from the fiber of a fishtail palm, jinjeeg or gaseeq (*Caryota obtusa* var. *aequatorialis*, *C. mitis*). The string (bgneek, from -beg, "tie") bifurcates at the bottom, forming an unobtrusive web across the opening of the trap. The trapper attaches a rattan noose to the lanung and spreads the noose open (-roos).

⁴⁶ This is a small-framed noose trap.

WALK	-CHIIB JUG	Jalan kaki
GO DOWNSTREAM	<u>HILIR</u>	Hilir
GO UPSTREAM	<u>-MUDIQ</u>	Mudik

The Family

ABORTION	-WAH-WAH ⁴⁷	Kegugoran
ADULTERY	-UUI <u>JAHAT</u> ⁴⁸	Berzina
AFTERBIRTH	SUUB	Uri
APHRODISIAC	(NOT USED)	Ubat pengeras
BASTARD	KENÖN <u>RATA</u> (P) ⁴⁹	Anak gampang
BURY	-KUB	Kenbumikan
BURIAL PLACE	JIRAT (P)	Tanah perkuboran
CORPSE	MAI DAAT ⁵⁰	Mayat
DEAD	-DAAT	Mati
DEATH TABOO	LANAQ	Arwah mayat
GHOST	KIJMOIJ	Hantu
GIVE BIRTH	-PER-YÖÖS	Bersalin
GRAVE	HÖL (T)	Kuboran
HYMEN	MALEH	Dara
INCEST	<u>SUMÖG</u>	Sumbang
MENSTRUATION	-BERHIIB ⁵¹	Datang bulan
MIDWIFE	<u>BIDAT</u>	Bidan
MILK	TËIO MËM	Susu
NAME	MUUH	Nama

⁴⁷ This may just refer to falling out like a ripe fruit.

⁴⁸ The Semai means "do evil."

⁴⁹ Traditional Semai did not discriminate (against) such children.

⁵⁰ Strictly, the word daat means limp and unconscious, e.g., as a flaccid penis or a person who has collapsed after demonic possession. Kebees (or, as I would write it now, kbvvs) means to die.

⁵¹ The Semai term means "bleed."

NICKNAME	MÖL	Nama main
NAME	-PER-MUJUH	Namakan
ORIGINAL ANCESTOR	JENANG ENRAQ ⁵²	Datok nenek
PREGNANT	MAKÖT	Hamil
RIGOR MORTIS	TEGAR	Kaku
SEmen	TEIQ LOOQ ⁵³	Ayer
COHABIT	-NINOI	Bersekedudok??
SOUL	RUAI	Roh
SUCKLE	-PER-MÈM ⁵⁴	Menyusu
TWIN	<u>KERBAR</u>	Anak kembar

Kinship Terms

JEG	KINDRED
AMEI (T) AMÈQ (P)	MOTHER
ABEIQ (T, Ps). APAQ (Pk)	FATHER
KOOIT (T) KEEIT (P) AKOIT (NP)	PARENT'S ELDER BROTHERS OR MALE COUSINS
BAH (T, P) MENAH (T, P)	PARENT'S YOUNGER BROTHERS OR MALE COUSINS
MÖQ UNAQ, UAQ	PARENT'S ELDER SISTERS OR FEMALE COUSINS PARENT'S YOUNGER SISTERS OR FEMALE COUSINS
JENANG (T) ATOQ (P), ATAAQ (P)	GRANDFATHER, GRANDMOTHER GRANDFATHER, GRANDPARENTS' BROTHERS OR MALE COUSINS IN THE 2 ND ASCENDING GENERATION
AJAQ (P) JENAQ (T)	GRANDMOTHER, HER SISTERS OR FEMALE COUSINS IN THE 2 ND ASCENDING GENERATION
JENANG (P)	ANCESTOR IN GRANDFATHER'S GENERATION; GOD
DÖÖT	ANCESTOR IN GREAT-GRANDFATHER'S GENERATION

⁵² The Semai phrase means elder grandparent.

⁵³ The Semai phrase means "penis liquid."

⁵⁴ The Semai term means "affect by [giving the] breast."

TUREI (P)	ANCESTOR IN GREAT-GREAT-GRANDFATHER'S GENERATION
JENANG ENGRAQ (P)	ANCESTOR
TËNEQ (Pk, T)	ELDER SIBLING OR COUSIN IN EGO'S GENERATION
MENANG (Pk, T) PÖQ (Ps)	YOUNGER SIBLING OR COUSIN IN EGO'S GENERATION
KENÖN	OWN CHILD
KENÖN (T, CHJ) <u>ANAQ BUAH</u> (P)	CHILD OF ELDER SIBLING OR COUSIN
CHENÖQ	GRANDCHILD; CHILD OF YOUNGER SIBLING OR OF YOUNGER COUSIN IN EGO'S GENERATION
<u>CHICHIIB</u>	GREAT-GRANDCHILD
PIUT	GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILD
UNING-UNING	GREAT-GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILD
WEH (CHJ) LEIH (T) ⁵⁵	WIFE
KENAH	WIFE
WEH (CHJ) YOOQ (T)	HUSBAND
GENSIR	HUSBAND
KENUIN (T) ⁵⁶ KENGNUIN (P)	PARENT'S ELDER BROTHER OR ELDER MALE COUSIN OF PARENT IN 2 nd ASCENDING GENERATION
KEII	WIFE'S ELDER BROTHER, YOUNGER SISTER'S HUSBAND
MENSAU	YOUNGER SISTER'S HUSBAND
MENAI	SPOUSE'S YOUNGER SIBLING
MALOI (CHJ) ⁵⁷ TOO (CHJ) HÖI (CHJ)	WIFE'S YOUNGER BROTHER HUSBAND'S YOUNGER BROTHER WIFE'S YOUNGER BROTHER, HUSBAND'S SISTER

⁵⁵ The Telom term, which I should have written LEEH, is the root of 'ALEEH (a term for girls, usually used in address), MNALEEH ("nubile young woman"), and the tekonyms BIQ-BALEEH and KE-MALEEH.

⁵⁶ The final phoneme in these words should be -/ny/.

⁵⁷ These terms are all from hearsay.

MAQNÖQ	SPOUSE'S ELDER SISTER
BELÖQ	IN-LAW, FATHER-IN-LAW
JAJAQ	MOTHER-IN-LAW

MANKIND

For each of the various groups with which they come in contact, the Semai have a series of names. There is the "true" name, which is given below, and then there are several "secret names." Secret naming (kerendëi, from kedei, "not to understand") allows the Semai to discuss a visitor without the visitors recognizing that he is the subject of the conversation. Should he learn one "secret name," the people with whom he is staying will switch to another "secret name" and so on, inexhaustibly. These names may be based on puns. E.g., Americans, MAI AMERIKAN, are called MAI KAAQ, "Fish people;" in the National Language, KAQ is ikan, and IKAN in turn, is part of AmerIKAN. Or, it may be based on some personal peculiarity of the race involved. E.g., Japanese, MAI JEPUN, were called MAI CHANGQAINT, "Kyphosis people," from their posture when standing at attention. There are many of these names, and the more one learns, the more are coined.

MANKIND	SENQOI	Manusia
ABORIGINE	MAI SERAQ ⁵⁸	Orang darat
NEGRITO	(USE TRIBAL NAMES)	Orang belukar
MALAY	MAI GÖP	Orang Melayu
CHINESE	MAI <u>CHINA</u>	Orang China
INDIAN	MAI <u>KELING</u>	Orang India
EUROPEAN	MAI BIUUG (T) MAI BIYËG (P)	Orang puteh
COMMUNIST GUERILLA	MAI JEREES	Orang Kommunis hutan
OLD MAN (Title)	TATAQ	Lelaki tua
OLD WOMAN	JAJAQ	Perempuan tua
AGE	<u>UMUR</u>	Umor
ANCESTOR OLD	MAI MANAH ENTUM ENRAQ	Turun-menurun Tua

⁵⁸ Seraq seems to be cognate with an old Khmer word for "realm."

MAN, MALE	KERAAL	Laki
WOMAN, FEMALE	KERDUR	Perempuan
YOUTH, BOY	MAI NYINYAM	Pemuda
BACHELOR	LITAU	Bujang
UNMARRIED GIRL	MENALËËH	Anak dara
WIDOW, WIDOWER	BALUG	Janda, bujang
YOUNG MAN	LITAU	Orang muda laki
YOUNG WOMAN	MENALËËH	Perempuan muda
CHILD	SAIYËËT	Anak
OWN CHILD	KENÖN	Anak sendiri

The Semai use what ethnologists call "teknonyms." A man with a child takes the name "Father-of-so-and-so." In these names, the word for father is BENIQ ("seed") and for mother is KENIING ("stock"). In the name itself, these are usually shortened to BIQ- and KIN- respectively.

FATHER OF A SON	BIQ-NYAM (T)	Bapak anak laki
MOTHER OF A SON	KIN-NYAM (T)	Emak anak laki
FATHER OF A DAUGHTER	BIQ-BALËËH (T)	Bapak anak
MOTHER OF A DAUGHTER	KIN-MALEËH (T)	Perempuan
MOTHER OF DEAD CHILD	KIN-KIJMOIJ	Emak anak
STERILE WOMAN	KIN-MANANG	Perempuan
PREGNANT WOMAN	KIN-MAKÖT	Emak anak yang mati

Animals⁵⁹

ANIMAL	MERGAS (P) ⁶⁰	Binatang
BARROW (mound; anthill) <u>BUSUT</u>		Busut
BEAK	BALÖG (T) MUNCHÖNG (P)	Paroh
CARCASS	<u>BANGKEI</u>	Bangkai
EGG	PENGLÉG	Telor

⁵⁹ For additional terms for animals see Dentan 1965, 1967, 1968, 1970, 1988, 2002:184-185.

⁶⁰ The Semai term is from a Sankrit word for cattle.

FAT	MENCHÖQ	Lemak
FEATHER	SENTÖL	Bulu
FLY	-HËËG	Terbang
FROG SPAWN	PENGLÉG TABËG (P) IKEET KAQ JUG (T)	Telor katak
FUR	SENTÖL	Bulu
HONEY	GERETOQ (T)	Manisan lebah
HOOF	CHENRÖÖS	Kuku
HORN	BALÖG (T) <u>TANDOQ</u> (P)	Tandok
NEST	INSOOB	Sarang
SPOOR	DËËL (T) DILL (P)	Kesan
TRUNK, ELEPHANT	KENÖNT (T) BERAIEI (P)	Belalai
TUSK, IVORY	<u>GADIG</u>	Gading
WING	KENYËG	Kepak

Insects

ANT	LAAS	Semut
ANT, FIRE	LAAS TEB	Semut api
ANT, WHITE	GARUUIT (T) GEREEIT (P)	Anai-anai
BEE, HONEY	LEWEI	Lebah
BUG	CHËQ	Kutu
BUTTERFLY	KEREQBAQ (P), TAWAG (T)	Kupu-kupu
CENTIPEDE	KEQËB	Lipan
COCKROACH	SÖÖR	Lipas
CRICKET a.	SEMËNT	
CRICKET b.	JARENT	
FIREFLY	KETLET	Kelip-kelip

FLY	ROI	Lalat
GRASSHOPPER GRUB	CHUG KEMUR	Belalang Ulat
HORNET	SEMUINT	Tebuan
MOSQUITO	HËËB (T) SEBEIT (P)	Nyamok
SCORPION, LARGE	MANGAI	Kala
MOTH	TAWAG (T) KEGBAG (P)	Rama-rama
SPIDER	TANGWIG, MANENG	Labah-labah

Reptiles

CROCODILE	<u>BAHYAQ</u> , BAH ROKÖQ	Buaya
HOUSE GECKO	<u>CHICHAQ</u>	Chichak
SNAKE	KUKEIO (T) TIJIQ (P)	Ular
COBRA	KEDUNG	Ular tedong
HAMADRYAD	SELEIQ	Ular tedong selar
KRAIT	JERAKÖH	Ular katam tebu
BLIND SNAKE	CHENLUR MAT IIB (T)	Ular buta
TREE SNAKE	SELINDÖNG	Ular puchok
PYTHON	RELAJ	Ular sawa
WATERSNAKE	CHALÖG	Ular ayer
TORTOISE	KOOH	Kura-kura
TURTLE	PEQAAS	Labi-labi

Birds

PHEASANT	KUÖG	Burong kuang
BIRD	CHËËP ⁶¹	Burong

⁶¹ The Semai term is cognate with Vietnamese *chim*, from a proto-Austroasiatic root *ts[ee]m.

BROADBILL ⁶²	CHËËP MANIQ (P)	Burong hujan
CHICKEN ⁶³	PUG	Ayam
COCK	PUG KERAAL	Ayam jantan
CROW PHEASANT, COUCAL <i>Centropus sinensis</i> and <i>C. bengalensis</i>	DUTDUT (T) GUGÖNT (P) GUGUNT (CH)	Burong butbut
DRONGO <i>Dicrurus paradiseus</i> , ⁶⁴ D. remifer, and D. aeneus	TINTOOOG	Burong chawi
DUCK	<u>ITËQ</u>	Itek
EGRET	<u>BANGAU</u> (T) BAAJO (P)	Burong bangau
FALCON ⁶⁵	KELAAG	Burong lang

⁶² Carey's identification of the "rain bird" (the denotation of both the Malay and Semai phrases) as a broadbill is correct as far as it goes. But "rain bird" includes several species, of which broadbills are part:

BLACK AND WHITE BROADBILL <i>Cymbirhynchus macrorhynchos</i>	C. CERWAR	Takau rakit
LONGTAILED BROADBILL <i>Psarisomus dalhousiae</i>	C. PRAH C. TERTIIR (by-name)	Takau injap
BLACK & YELLOW BROADBILL <i>Eurylaimus ochromalus</i>	C. YIRYOR, C. SWOR	Takau hitam

Other rain birds include the oriental white eye, several species of woodpeckers, most bee-eaters (*Merops* spp.) and babblers, and some swifts. Also c. cinceg, c. cenheenj kayuq (=hënj?), c. jek and c. pantil bliuk (forktails, nuthatches, thrushes and birds which Semai regard as akin); coucals; several yellow and black birds-like orioles, the common iora and maybe the yellow sultan-tit, perhaps because yellow suggests lightning and black thunder clouds; c. nub, scarlet minivets; c. prah, longtailed broadbills, *Cymbirhynchus macrorhynchos*; some flycatchers like c. wetwant and c. seruniq habuq; niltava, *Muscicapa grandis*; c. serban tataaq, *Terpsiphone paradisi*; and c. wëj or setwëj, the fairy bluebird, *Irena puella*.

⁶³ In one Semai dialect, domestic fowl=manuk, cognate with the Austro-Thai root *manluk.

⁶⁴ The greater racquet-tailed drongo or king crow (cecawi anting-anting, D. *paradiseus*) is also called C. LUDAT. Ludat are mythic little people of the forest, who have twisted mouths and shamanic powers.

⁶⁵ The Malay word is of Austroasiatic origin. The Semai term applies to any meat-eating bird, particularly raptors, but by extension to herons and kingfishers.

FINCH	REEJ (B) ⁶⁶ HEENJ	Burong pipit
HORNBILL ⁶⁷	<u>TEREQ</u>	Burong enggang
JUNGLE FOWL <i>Gallus gallus</i>	BERUGAAQ (T) DENAAQ, PUG DNAAQ (P) TADUUR (?T)	Ayam hutan
OWL ⁶⁸	KWÖNGKWOINJ (T) CHËEP JANIQ (P)	Burong hantu
PIGEON	<u>PONEI</u>	Punai
SNIPE	YAAG ⁶⁹ , <u>BUKEQ</u>	Burong berkek
SWIFT	JAWIIR ⁷⁰	Burong layang-layang
TURTLEDOVE <i>Streptopelia chinensis</i>	<u>KUKUR</u> , <u>TEKUKUR</u> KERKÖR, TERKÖR	Burong tekukor

⁶⁶ "Reec" is a widespread Austroasiatic word meaning something like "sparrow." Most Semai know the word. Kids slingshot them but rarely blowpipe them. In the dry season, reec get caught in birdlime by the pool where they bathe. Species include *Passer montanus malaccensis* (common pipit), *Lonchura maja maja* (white headed munia), *Loncura punctulata* (spotted munia), and *Loncura striata* (sharp-tailed munia). All are also "paddy birds," c. baq.

⁶⁷ See Dentan in press, for details on hornbill nomenclature.

⁶⁸ Semai distinguish owls from other raptors only by a by-name, kwang mad, referring to their big round eyes, although some people use the term kwangwoonc for several species of owl. Seeing a page of owl and hawk pictures. Taant, a 7 year old Perak boy said, "Those we can't eat [gesturing to owls], those we can" [gesturing to hawks]. His pal Rmpent, 9, agreed, saying that owls are jnadi' mrgaas, metamorphosed "beasts" [i.e., tigers]. Taant concurred: "They are demons."

This is one of the categories whose subdivisions are particularly unclear, perhaps because so many klaak are nocturnal that people do not get a "take" on what they look like and therefore have trouble recognizing them from pictures. The association of owls with night and nocturnal demons makes using the birds' correct names somewhat risky, particularly at the times when children normally ask adults to tell them a bird's name, i.e., when both have just heard the call. For details on owl nomenclature, see Dentan in press.

⁶⁹ Yaag is probably a misidentification (see Dentan in press).

⁷⁰ The term jawiir is generic for swallows and swifts. Because of their pointed (stabbing) tails, *Chaetura gigantea*, the giant spinetail swift, and *Hemiprocne longipennis*, the grey-rumped tree swift, are also classed as a ceep caaq seij, flesh-eating bird (the other members of this category are bee-eaters, or jawiir caaq seij).

WEAVER FINCH <i>Ploceus philippinus</i>	JIJJOIJ (T) ⁷¹ TEMPOËH (P) PUANQ (Waar) SUSEEO (R'eiis River)	Burong tempua
WOODPECKER ⁷²	TERALÖH (T) TERANIQ (P) TAHWANH (CH) HR-HEER (P, CH)	Burong pelatok

Mammals

BAT	LEQ (P)	Kelawar
BEAR	BERUÖG (P) SAAMBO (T)	Beruang
BUFFALO	<u>KERBAU</u>	Kerbau
BULL	<u>LEMBU</u> KERAAL	Lembu jantan
CALF	KENÖN <u>LEMBU</u>	Anak lembu
CAT	<u>KUCHIG</u>	Kuching
COW	<u>LEMBU</u>	Lembu
DEER, barking	POOS (T)	Kijang
DEER, chevrotin, big	BACHOOQ (T)	Napoh

⁷¹ Jijjoij is probably a misidentification of c. lnseek, by-name c. teet de boij, whose names refer to menstrual discharge.

⁷² Woodpeckers seem dangerous to Semai. Like most birds with long sharp beaks, which seem to evoke images of piercing, woodpeckers in general have a supernaturally dangerous aura associated with the violent thundersqualls that seem to represent the consequences of breaching borders or limits (see Dentan 1988). A common by-name is CËËP CÖK or CENCÖK, stabbing bird, or C. TARÖK, spear bird. Moreover, most Malaysian woodpeckers have a loud screaming or laughing cry of the sort Semai associate with supernatural dangers, so that one by-name is C. -lislees, "screaming harangue bird." The startling violence of the knocking noise the birds make may also seem supernaturally dangerous, as manifested by the Waar River names for the rufous piculet, Sasia abnormis, C. KEPDËP, C. DEPDËP, C. CEPDËP. In general, therefore, woodpeckers are trlaaj. The consequent danger of using the bird's correct name may account for the multiplicity of names, as among owls, and accounts for the by-name C. Bah GÖR "Mr. Growl [=Tiger] bird." There seems to be no generic term for woodpecker. Many people know the Malay generic belatok/pelatok, which serves other Aslian peoples. Cëëp teraniq/baluu "widow(er) woodpecker," may be generic for *Picus* spp.

DEER, chevrotin, small	CHICHOI (T)	Pelandok
DEER	DANGEL (T)	Kanchil
RUSA (sambar deer)	<u>RUSAQ</u>	Rusa
DOG	CHOOQ	Anjing
ELEPHANT	<u>GAJAH</u> , CHIIG (P)	Gajah
GOAT	<u>KAMBIG</u>	Kambing
GIBBON, SIAMANG	HOOL (T) HEEL (P)	Siamang
GIBBON, WHITE-HANDED	MAWAQ	Wakwak
GIBBON, DARK-HANDED	KEREQÖG (P)	Wakwak
LONGTAIL MACAQUE	DÖQ	Kera
PIGTAIL MACAQUE	RAU	Berok
BANDED LEAF MONKEY	PERUUT	Lotong cheneka
DUSKY LEAF MONKEY	BESIG	Lotong chenkong
SILVER LEAF MONKEY	BUNGAR	Lotong kelabu
OTTER	KEBÖG	Memerang
SELADANG (wild ox)	<u>SELADAG</u>	Seladang
SEROW (wild goat)	MÖG	Kambing hutan
PIG, common wild	LUUQ (T) ⁷³ LEEQ (p) GAU (T, NP)	Babi hutan
PIG, bearded	JELUH (T)	Babi berjanggut
RAT, bamboo	PENTNEET ⁷⁴ (T), DEKAG (T) KELUL (P)	Dekan
RODENT	PEROOG	Tikus
RHINOCEROS	HAGAP	Badak
SLOW LORIS	TAMPËL, SERUOIT (T) <u>KUKAG</u> (P)	Kongkang
SQUIRREL	(NAME FOR EACH SPECIES)	Tupai

⁷³ These terms are former by-names, cognate with Malay lauk, sidedish.

⁷⁴ Pentneet is a by-name from the method of taking the animal, by fanning (-peet) smoke into the animal's burrow.

TIGER	RAAG (T) ATAIN (CHJ) REGRAAG (Pk) MANUS (Ps) MAMEG (NO) "MERGAS" (P)	Harimau
FELIS MARMORATA	SENGNANG (T) ATAIN SIMPUR (CHJ) MERGAS SELARUQ (P?)	Rimau dahan
GOLDEN CAT	TUYUQ	Rimau kukur
WILD CAT	TAWOING (T) REGRAAG AAR (P)	Kuching hutan

Miscellaneous

CATERPILLAR	KEMUR	Ulat bulu hitam
FROG	KAAQ JUG (T) TABÉG (P)	Katak
LAND LEECH	PELEP	Pachat
WATER LEECH	JELAU	Lintah
MAGGOT	KEMUR	Ulat
SLUG	KEMUR	Ulat jelutong
SNAIL, Thiara species	KAQ KÖB (T) KALOOQ (P)	Siput

Vegetation (* Malay term)⁷⁵

BAMBOO	AWAAT (T, P)	Buloh
BULOH AKAR*	AWAAT KIYUL ⁷⁶	
BULOH AUR*	AWAAT HAUR	
BULOH BALAI*	AWAAT <u>BALAQ</u>	
BULOH DURI*	AWAAT TEMAQ (T) AWAAT GASEIJ (P)	
BULOH PADI*	AWAT RENGRÖQ	

⁷⁵ For additional terms for plants see the following sources: Ave 1985, 1986, 1988, Browne 1933; Dentan 1971, 1991, 1999, 2002: 177-178, 185; Dentan and Ong 1995; Kiew 1995; Lim 1992, 1997:174-184; appendix on Semai poisons.

⁷⁶ The 2nd terms refer to the itchy feeling contact with the stem produces.

BULOH PELANG*	<u>AWAT PELAG</u>	
BULOH SEMILANG*	AWAT LIAG	
BULOH TEMIANG*	<u>AWAT TEMING</u>	
BARK	CHEKÖB	Kulit kayu
UNDERGROWTH	PABEL	Belukar
BERTAM* (A PALM)	BELTÖP	Bertam
SIREH* (BETEL LEAF)	JERAG	Sireh
BRANCH	KENING	Dahan
BREADFRUIT	SEQUG	Pokok terap
COCONUT	NYER (T) <u>NYIUR</u> (P)	Nyior
COTTON PLANT	<u>KAPAS</u>	Pokok kapas
COTTON TREE (KAPOK)	BESÖR	Pokok kekabu
FAN-LEAF PALM	KUAR, <u>PALAS</u>	Pokok palas
FERN TOPS	BER <u>PAKU</u>	Puchok paku
FIG TREE ⁷⁷ FLOWER	SEQOOG <u>BUNGAQ</u>	Pokok ara Bunga
FRUIT	PELËËQ	Buah
TOADSTOOL, FUNGUS	BETIIS	Chendawan
PULAI* TREE	<u>PULEI</u>	Pulai
RAMBAI* (FRUIT TREE)	<u>RAMEI</u>	Rambai
RAMBUTAN* (FRUIT TREE)	LEGÖÖS	Rambutan
RENGAS* (POISON-SAP TREE)	<u>RENGAS</u>	Pokok rengas
ROOT	JANGKAR	Akar
CREEPER	CHOOG	Akar
WATER RATTAN	CHOOG TEIO	Rotan ayer
MANAU* (A RATTAN) ⁷⁸	CHOOG SËRPËIG	Rotan manau

⁷⁷ See Dentan and Ong 1995 for more accurate and extensive identifications of fig trees.

MANTANG*	<u>MANTAG</u>	Mantang
SEGA* (A RATTAN)	CHOOG SEGA	Rotan sega
SEGA AYER* (A RATTAN)	CHOOG SEGA RËG TËIO	Rotan sega ayer
SENI* (A RATTAN)	CHOOG SETÖQ	Rotan seni
TANAH* (A RATTAN)	CHOOG TEIQ	Rotan tanah
UDANG* (A RATTAN)	CHOOG HAAG	Rotan udang
SAP	CHEBUR	Getah kayu
SCREWPINE (PANDANUS)	SEKEIT	Mengkuang
SELARU* TREE	<u>SELARUQ</u>	Pokok selaru
SENTUL* (FRUIT TREE)	<u>SETOOL</u> (T) <u>SETEEL</u> (P)	Pokok sentul
CALADIUM, water	KEMERÖG	Keladi ayer
GINGER	KERJAQ	Halia
GINGER, wild ⁷⁹	<u>KANTAT</u> (P) KALAQ (T)	Kantan
GINGERWORT ⁸⁰	LEMPÖÖS	
GRASS	SËËB (T) NYOQ (P)	Rumput
BAMBOO HAIRS	GENSËIT	Miang
HIBISCUS TREE	KENING <u>RAYE</u>	Pokok bunga raya
IBUL* (POISON-FRUIT PALM)	<u>HIBUL</u>	Ibul
STRYCHNOS CREEPER UPAS* (POISON TREE)	LEGEEB DÖÖG ⁸¹	Akar ipoh Rokok ipoh
JACKFRUIT	<u>NANGKAQ</u>	Nangka
WILD RUBBER TREE JERING* TREE	BEDÖQ <u>JERIG</u>	Jelutong Jering

⁷⁸ See Ave 1985, 1986, 1988; Kiew 1995 and Kiew and Hood 1991 for a more accurate and extensive identifications of rattans.

⁷⁹ See Dentan 1999 for a more accurate and extensive identifications of wild gingers.

⁸⁰ See Dentan 1999 for more accurate & extensive identifications of gingerworts.

⁸¹ See Appendix for more on Semai poisons.

JUNGLE	JEREES	Hutan
KEPAYANG* TREE	PLACHËQ	Kepayang
KERDAS*	<u>KERDEO</u>	Kerdas
KULIM* (a large tree)	<u>KULIB</u>	Kulim
LALLANG* (tall grass)	<u>LALAG</u>	Lalang
LEAF	SELAQ	Daun
LEBAN* TREE	LEBAT	Leban
MAHANG* TREE	<u>MAHANG</u>	Mahang
MANGO TREE	PAOH (T) <u>CHEMPELAM</u> (P)	Mampelam, Mangga
MANGO, horse	<u>MACHAG</u>	Machang
MANGO, fire	SEPEP	Machang api
MERANTI* (SOFTWOOD TREES) KËËS		Meranti
MERRAU* (HARDWOOD TREE) <u>BERBAU</u>		Merbau
PAPAYA	BETOINO (T) <u>BETEQ</u> (P)	Betek
PETAI* (BEAN-POD TREE) BETAR, PUTAR		Petai
PINEAPPLE	NAS (T) <u>NENAS</u> (P)	Nenas
SUGAR PALM ⁸²	<u>KABONG</u>	Kabong
TEAK	<u>JATIO</u>	Jati
THORN	TERLAQ	Duri
TREE	KENING JEHUUQ	Pokok kayu
TUALANG* (LARGE FOREST TREE) REGUL		Tualang
TUBA* CREEPER	JENUQ	Akar tuba
TUMERIC	REMET	Kunyit
TUMERIC, wild	RETMËT	Temu kunyit
WAX GOURD	<u>KUNÖR</u>	Kundor
WOOD, DEAD	JEHUUQ KARUG	Kayu mati

⁸² For more recent information, see Dentan 1991.

Topographical Features

BAY	LUBUG	Lubok
BEACH	<u>PANTEI</u>	Pantai
BANK, river	BËG (T) <u>TEBIG</u> (P)	Tebing
CAVE	CEBGE ^B (T) <u>GUHAQ</u> (P)	Gua
CLIFF	<u>TEMBER</u>	Tubis
COAST	<u>PANTEI</u>	Pantai
EARTH	TEIQ	Tanah
FLOOD	MENQAG, -BEQAG	Ayer bah
FORD	CHEGAR (T) <u>LEMBAH</u> (P)	Changkat
MOUNTAIN	LÖÖT	Gunong
HILL	CHENAN	Bukit
HOT SPRING	TËIO PELEIT (T) TËIO BEKËËT (P)	Ayer panas
ISLAND	CHEGAR (T), CHELAH (T) <u>PULAU</u> (P)	Pulau
LAKE	<u>TASEQ</u>	Tasek
LAND	SERAQ	Darat
MOUNTAIN	LÖÖT	Gunong
MUD	<u>PAYAQ</u>	Lumpur
PASS	<u>GENTING</u>	Genting
PATH	NÖNG	Jalan
PLACE	<u>TEMPAT</u>	Tempat
POOL	<u>LUBUG</u>	Lubok
RAPID, large	<u>JEREB</u> (T) <u>JERAM</u> (P)	Jeram
RAPID, small	TALAG (T)	Jeram kechil

RIDGE	NANÖÖS (T)	Permatang
RIVER	TËIO (T, P) BATANGQARI (P) ⁸³	Sungai
RIVER BED	<u>ALOR</u>	Alor sungai
RIVER JUNCTION	CHEBAQ	Kuala
ROCK	<u>BATU</u>	Batu
ROAD	NÖNG AMAQ (T) NÖNG ENTOI (T, P)	Jalan raya
SALT LICK	JENÖT	Jenut
SAND	<u>PASIR</u> (T, P)	Pasir
SEA	<u>LAUT</u>	Laut
SPRING	-HUG	Mata ayer
SWAMP	TEIQ <u>PAYAQ</u>	Paya
UNDERGROUND RIVER	JENLIP (T)	Sungai masok tanah
UPRIVER	TËH	Di-uluh
DOWNRIVER	REIS	Di-hilir
TRIBUTARY	KENÖN TËIO	Anak sungai
VALLEY	<u>GENTING</u>	Gaung
WATERFALL	<u>PANCHUR</u> (T) TËIO CHERENGLAH (P)	Ayer terjun
WHIRLPOOL	<u>-KISAR</u>	Ayer berpusing
FLAT GROUND	TEIQ <u>BAREH</u> TEIQ <u>LEMBAH</u>	Tanah rata

Natural Phenomena, Time, etc.

SUN	MATA BALIG (T) MAT JIIS (P)	Matahari
SUNLIGHT, SUN'S HEAT	PENRAQ	Kepanasan Matahari
SUN RAY	SEKOQQ MAT JIIS (P)	Chahaya matahari
MONTH	GENCHËQ	Bulan

⁸³ The Perak word, also used by Mah Meri, may come from the name of a river in Sumatra.

MOON	GECHËQ	Bulan
MOONLIGHT	SEKOOQ GECHËQ	Chahaya bulan
STAR	PERLOI	Bintang
DAY	RALIG (T) JIIS (P)	Hari
DAWN	HUPER <u>GELAP</u>	Suboh
MORNING	HERLUB (T) HUPER (P)	Pagi
NOON	YAH (P), JELËG (T)	Tengah hari
AFTERNOON	DUUI	Petang
EVENING	KELËM	Petang
NIGHT	SEGEHP (T) MENGÖNT (P)	Malam
MIDNIGHT	<u>TENGAH</u> MENGÖNT (P)	Tengah malam
TODAY	BALIG ADËH (T) JIIS ADËH (P)	Hari ini
TOMORROW	JAPER (T) HUPER DÖH (P)	Besok
DAY AFTER TOMORROW	HUPER UTEH (P)	Lusa
THREE DAYS HENCE	HUPER KATEH (P)	Tulat
YESTERDAY	DUUI JEH (P)	Kelmarin
DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY	ENTUM (P) ⁸⁴	Kelmarin dahulu
A CERTAIN DAY	MÖNG NANUQ JIIS (P)	Pada suatu hari
ONE DAY IN THE PAST	NANUQ JIIS MANAH	Pada suatu hari zaman dahulu
WIND	-POI, POOS, PENUI	Angin
RAIN	-POOG (T) -PÖÖG (CHJ) MANIQ (P)	Hujan
"HOT RAIN"	<u>HUJAN PANAS</u>	Hujan panas
RAINBOW	CHEDAU	Pelangi

⁸⁴ The Semai word means "ago," as in manah entum, "long ago."

STORM	-POOS (T) -PEES (P)	Ribut
LIGHTNING	-SIGNYOQ (T) <u>-KILAT</u> (P)	Kilat
THUNDER	ENKU	Guroh
ECLIPSE	RAHUUQ	Gerhana
AIR	SEWIG (P)	Udara
MIST	SAGUB	Kabut
DEW	<u>EMUT</u> , <u>EMBUT</u>	Embun
CLOUD	SAUB, RAHUUQ ⁸⁵	Awan
SKY	SEWIG (P)	Langit
HEAVEN	<u>SHURGAQ</u> (P)	Shurga
HELL	<u>NERAKE</u> (P)	Nuraka
SEASON	<u>MUSIM</u> (T) JIIS (P)	Musim
HEAT	BENKËT	Kepanasan
ECHO	<u>DENGUNG</u>	Dengung
NORTH	(NOT USED)	Utara
SOUTH	(NOT USED)	Selatan
EAST	MAT JIIS SUUI (P)	Timor
WEST	MAT JIIS DAT (P)	Barat
SHADE	-LEQOB	Tedoh
DROUGHT	<u>MUSIM</u> BEKËT	Kemarau
EARTH TREMOR	(NOT USED)	Gempa bumi
VOLCANO	CHENAN ÖÖS	Gunong berapi
SOON	<u>SEGERAQ</u>	Segera
NOW	ANËQ (T) HUNEN (P)	Sekarang
IN A LITTLE WHILE	CHEHOI	Sa-kejap lagi

⁸⁵ For discussion of the above terms for weather, see Dentan 2002.

IN A MOMENT	GËQ NEIT	Sa-bentar lagi
RIGHT NOW	HUNEN ADËH (P)	Sekarang ini
IN THE FUTURE	PIGOI DÖH	Tunggu
PAST	<u>SUDAH</u> (T, P) YA (P)	Sudah
A WHILE AGO	NËËQ	Sa-kejap tadi
A LITTLE WHILE	PAI NËËQ	Baharu sa-kejap tadi
A MOMENT AGO	PËQ LEIO NËËQ	Sa-bentar tadi

Numerals

QUARTER	<u>SUKU</u>	Suku
ONE	NANUUQ (T) ⁸⁶	NANEEQ (P)
TWO	NAR	
THREE	NEIQ	
MANY	KMNEM	

Colors

Although like the Temiar, the Senoi seem to have started with a four-colour system, the diffusion of dialect words and the metaphoric use of other words (e.g., "unripe" for "light green") has given them a much larger vocabulary. Some of these latter are given in quotation marks below.

BLACK, DARK BLUE,	HENGAH (T)	Hitam
PURPLE, BROWN	BELQAG (P)	
WHITE, LIGHT GREY,	BIUUG (T)	Puteh
LIGHT YELLOW	BIYËG (P)	
RED, RED VIOLET, RED ORANGE	PETLAINT (T), CHINGAL (T) JENGHANG (T), CHEHËR (P)	Merah
GREEN, BLUE, CHARTREUSE	BLAQUR	Hijau, biru

⁸⁶ Telom Semai have a complicated shamanic counting system made up of fragments of Mon numerals.

RED PURPLE	REHOI (T)	Biru champur merah
BRIGHT YELLOW	KELOI, "REMËT" ⁸⁷	Kuning
KHAKI	"LANGSAT"	Warna buah langsat

Adjectives

FOUL-SMELLING ACRID	PELQIINH	
FULL	TEBËG	Penoh
GOOD, FINE, HANDSOME, HEALTHY	BÖR	Bagus, baik, elok
HAPPY	BÖR NÖÖS, BÖR SENGIIQ	Senang hati, Senang pikiran
HARD	TEGÖS (T) CHEGËH (P)	Keras
HEAVY	NYUUH (T) NYEEH (P)	Berat
HIGH	CHERUUG (T) CHEREEG (P)	Tinggi
HOT	BEKËT	Panas
KIND, GENEROUS	MENHAAR	Murah hati
LARGE	AMAQ (T), ENTOI (T, F)	Besar
LIGHT	HAYÖNQ	Ringan
LONG	CHERUUG (T) CHEREEG (P)	Panjang
LOW	GOTEIQ (T) PATËIQ (P)	Rendah
NEW	PAI	Baharu
OLD	MANAH	Lama

⁸⁷ REMËT=tumeric.

OLD (person)	ENRAQ	Tua
OLD (man)	TATAQ	Laki tua
OLD (woman)	JAJAQ	Perempuan tua
PEPPERY, HOT	PEJËT	Pedas
PUNGENT, MINTY	CHENGIIS	
PUTRID	SÖG	Busok
RAW, NAKED	BERËIS	Mentah
RIPE	NUUB (T) NEEB (P)	Masak
ROUGH	<u>KASAR</u>	Kasar
ROUND	(NOT USED)	Bulat
ROTTEN	NIT-NEIT	Burok
SALTY	GERAQ (P) KEQUUR (T)	Masin
SELFISH	KARËIT	
VERY SELFISH	KESMAAS	
SEVERED	GECHAT	Putus
SHALLOW	ENCHËS	Tohor
SHARP	CHEBAT (T) <u>TAJAP</u> (P)	Tajam
SHATTERED	BEKAH, CHEQEH (P)	Pechah
SHORT	GOTËIQ (T) PATËIQ (Ps) LENG (Pk) ENGLËNG (SPP)	Pendek
SHRIVELLED	<u>KECHUT</u>	Kechut
SHY, RELUCTANT	- <u>SEGAT</u>	Segan
SHY, EMBARRASSED	-SEL-SEIL (T) -SEL-SIIL (P)	Malu
SLIPPERY	SELEIT	Lichin
SLOW, LONG	LEIO (P, T)	Lambat, lama
SLOW	<u>LINGAH</u> (P)	Lengah
LATE	<u>LAMANT</u> (T)	Lambat

SMALL (of time)	LALIIQ (P)	Kechil
SMALL (of size)	MACHÖNT (P) MACHËNT (T)	
SMOOTH	SELEIT	Gebu
SNAPPED	BUGET	Patah
SOFT	<u>LEMAH</u>	Lemah
SOUR	KEQEER (P) KEQUUR (T)	Masam
SAD (emotion)	<u>SUSAH</u> NÖÖS	Susah hati
SAD (consciousness)	BEBOQ SENGIIQ	susah pikiran
STRONG	<u>KUAT</u>	Kuat
STUPID, DUMB, MUTE	-KALÖÖT	Bodoh
STUPID, IGNORANT	-KEDEI	tak pandai
SWEET	CHEQËT	Manis
TAME	<u>JINAQ</u>	Jinak
TART	KEQEER (P) KEQUUR (T)	Kelat
TASTELESS	BELOIJ	Tawar
THIN, LEAN	SÖR	Kurus
THIN, TENUOUS	TERHEL (T) ENGSEI (P)	Nipis
THIRSTY	<u>HAUS</u>	Haus
TRIANGULAR	NEIQ <u>SAGIQ</u>	Tiga segi
TRUE	<u>BETUL</u> (T, P) KEMEL (P)	Betul
UNHAPPY	SUSAH NÖÖS ⁸⁸	Susah hati
UNTRUE	-DAAKOQ (T) ⁸⁹ -BEDEQAH (P)	Bohong
WEAK	SELEI	Lemah
WILD	CHES	Liar

⁸⁸ The Semai phrase is a literal rendition of the Malay phrase.

⁸⁹ The Semai words refer to lying.

YOUNG	NYINYAM	Muda
MAGICALLY INEFFECTIVE ⁹⁰	JAH	Tawar
MAGICALLY EFFECTIVE	-HALAAQ	
SATIETED	-BEHEIQ (T) -BEHEEQ (P)	Kenyang
HUNGRY	CHUAG	Lapar

Verbs

ABLE, CAN	<u>-BOLËH</u>	Boleh
ACCUSE	-SABEEQ (P)	Tudoh
AFRAID	-SENGÖÖH	Takut
AIM	<u>-TUJUQ</u>	Tuju
ANGRY	-RÖÖQ (CHJ, T)	Marah
ANSWER	JAWAP, BALAS	Jawab, balas
ARRIVE	-LOI	Sampai
ASCEND (hill)	-CHAT	Naik
ASCEND (steps, ladder, etc.)	-HUIT	Naik
ASK	<u>-TANYAQ</u>	Tanya
ASK FOR	-SEMAIN	Minta
AWARE, GET UP	-KUUS	Bangun
BARK (of a dog)	JËL (T) -JEL-JEL (P)	Salak
BATHE	-MAH-MUH	Mandi
BE, THERE IS	MÖNG	Ada
BIND	-BEG-BEG	Ikat
BITE	-KAP	Gigit

⁹⁰ The metaphor is "lacking one's salt."

BLOW (one's nose)	-HIH NEIS	
BREAK	-GE-R-CHAT	Putuskan
BREAK	-BE-R-GUT -BE-R-GIL	Patahkan
BREAK	-BE-R-KAH -CHE-R-EH	Pechahkan
BURN field	-TÖÖT (P) -TOIT (T)	Bakar
BURN wood	-JÖP	Bakar
BUY	-BELIQ	Beli
CALL (summon)	-CHE-R-ËG	Panggil
CALL (name)	<u>-SE-R-BUT</u>	Menyebutkan
CARRY (by hand)	-ËN	Bawa
CARRY (on back)	-AIN	Bawa
CATCH, ARREST	-CHAP (P)	Tangkap
CHEAT	-TIPUQ (P) <u>-HELOT</u> (T)	Tipu
CLEAN (cloth)	-SAH-SAH	Chuchi
CLEAN (house)	-SUUIT	Chuchi
CLEAN (hands)	-SUUIT	Chuchi
CLEAR (shrubbery)	-CHAH-CHAH (T, P) -BEL-BEL (P)	Menebas
CLOSE	<u>-TUTUP</u>	Tutup
COME	-CHIB-CHIIB (T) -CHIQ-CHIIB (P)	Mari
COME!	BEI!	Mari!
COOK	-BER-EN-CHET	Masak
CRY	-JEN-JAAP	Menangis
DANCE	-GESAG	Menari
DESCEND LADDER	-CHELOH (T) -CHELEH (P)	Turun tangga
DESCEND HILL	-CHERUT (T) -CHELEH (P)	Turun bukit

DIE, FAINT, WILT, GO LIMP	-DAAT	Mati
DISCARD	-WËIS	Membuang
DIVORCE	<u>-CHERËI</u>	Bercherai
DIVORCE (one's wife)	-WËIS KENAH	
DIVORCE (one's husband)	-WËIS GENSIR	
DREAM	-BERAPOOQ, -BAKEIQ	Mimpi
DRIP	-JÖT	Menitek
DRINK	-NYOOP (T, CHJ) -NGÖÖNT (P)	Minum
DROP	-YÖG	Jatoh
DROP	-JEER	Gugor
DRY	-PER-SÖÖT	Mengeringkan
DYE	-SIM-SIB (T) <u>-CHELUP</u> (P)	Penchelup
EAT	-CHAQ-CHAQ	Makan
ENTER	-MUIT	Masok
EXTINGUISH	<u>-PADAM</u>	Padam
FALL	-YÖQ	Jatoh
STOP, DESIST STOP, WAIT, WAIT FOR	<u>-BERENTI</u> -POIT	Berhenti Menunggu
SWALLOW	-LIIB	Telan
SWIM	-LI-LOI	Berenang
TEACH	<u>-AJAR</u> ⁹¹	Ajar
TELL, SAY TELL, ORDER	-PER-DIIR -YAP (T)	Beri tahu Beri tahu
THROW AWAY	-GAS	Buang
TIE, BIND	-BEG-BEG	Ikat

⁹¹ For Semai, this Malay word connotes physical "discipline:" people deny they "ajar" their kids but a Sino-Semai wife-beater said he "ajars" his wife.

TRY, ATTEMPT	<u>-CHOBÄQ</u>	Choba
TRY, SAMPLE	<u>-TERAL</u> , <u>-PANDU</u>	Pandu
TURN	<u>-PUSIG</u>	Pusing
WAIT	<u>-POIT</u>	Menunggu
WALK, GO	<u>-CHIIB</u>	
WALK, GO ON FOOT	<u>-CHIIB JUG</u>	Jalan kaki
WANDER, BE LOST	<u>-RIJ-ROIJ</u>	
WANT	<u>-CHËN</u> (T) <u>-HÖÖNT</u> (P)	Mahu, hendak
NOT WANT	<u>-NGËI</u> (T) <u>-NYËQ</u> (P)	Tidak hendak
WASH (e.g., clothes)	<u>-SAH-SAH</u>	Chuchi
WHISPER	<u>-BISIG</u>	Bisek
WHISTLE	<u>-HENG-HÖNG</u>	Siul
WORK	<u>-KERAJAQ</u> (T) <u>-KERJAQ</u> (P)	Kerja
YAWN	<u>-KÖHOI</u> (T) <u>-KIHOI</u> (P)	Menguap
THINK	<u>-SENGIIQ</u>	Pikir
FOLLOW, OBEY	<u>-JEUI</u>	Mengikut
KILL, MURDER	<u>-PER-DAAT</u>	Bunoh
HELP, COOPERATE	<u>-TOLÖG</u>	Tolong
WEAR (clothes)	<u>-LÖG</u>	Pakai
HOPE	<u>-HARAP</u>	Harap
ATTACH, FIX	<u>-KE-R-NAQ</u>	Lekatkan
BAKE, ROAST	<u>-JÖP</u>	Bakar

Adverbs, Conjunctions (?), Prepositions

ABOVE	KEMIIL MA.....TAH	Di atas Ke atas
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ACROSS	ENGLAG KU-STEH (P) ⁹²	Seberang
AFTER	<u>TELAS</u>	Lepas, telas
ALL	<u>SUMA</u>	Semua
ALWAYS	<u>SELALUQ</u>	Selalu
AND, WITH	ROP (T) LÖQ RU (P)	Dan, dengan
AT	PA (P, T) KU (P, T)	Di
BACK	KENÖQ	Belakang
BACKWARDS	CHELET (P, T) MA KENÖQ (T) NU KENÖQ (P)	Ka-belakang
BECAUSE	<u>SEBAP</u> , <u>PASAL</u>	Sebab, fasal
BEFORE (time)	TÖQ TIIQ	Sa-belum
BEFORE (time)	CHANUQ	Dahulu
BEFORE (place)	KUNGAR	Hadapan
AMID	KU SEMAQDEIQ (P) NAQNIQ (?T)	Di-tengah
BEHIND	KU KENÖG	Di-belakang
BELOW	KERÖB	Bawah
BESIDE	KU <u>TEPI</u> (P) KU BEG (T)	Di-tepi
BUT	<u>TAPI</u>	Tetapi
CANNOT	TÖQ <u>BOLEH</u> , PËQ <u>BOLEH</u>	Tak boleh
CERTAIN, SURE	<u>TENTUQ</u>	Tentu
EACH	<u>JAPJAP</u> ME-MASIG (P)	Tiap-tiap Masing-masing
IN A LITTLE WHILE	TÖQ LEIO NEIT	Sa-kejap lagi

⁹² The Semai term literally is: "the side over there."

FEW	GËQ	Sadikit
VERY FEW	GËQGËQ	Sadikit- sadikit
FROM	JU (P) KE (T)	Daripada
HERE	PA ADËH P'ADËH	Di-sini
HERE TO THERE	KEN'DËH MA TËH (T)	Dari sini Ka-sana
IF	<u>KALAU</u> (T, P) AMEN (P)	Kalau
IN	KU KATEH	Di-dalam
LATE, LONG (time)	LEIO	Lambat
RIGHT	KEN TÖP	Di-kanan
LEFT	KEN WEIL	Di-kiri
MANY	KEMNEM (T) JEQOI (P)	Banyak
MORE	NEIT	Lagi
NOT YET	TÖQ TIQ (P) JATIQ (T)	Belum lagi
NO, THERE IS NOT DEFINITELY NO	TÖQ TIQ TÖQ	Tidak, tiada Tidak-lah
NOT YET	JATIQ (T) TÖQ TIQ (P)	Belum
NOW	HUNEN	Sekarang
OR	KE.....KE (T) <u>ATAU</u> <u>ATAU</u> (P)	Atau. . . atau
OUT	KEM BËG	Di-luar
PERHAPS IN MY OPINION	<u>BARANKALI</u> GAMAQ'N	Barangkali Menurut pikiran saya
QUICKLY	GEIJ, <u>DERAS</u> , <u>KINCHANG</u>	Lekas
SLOWLY	<u>PELAHAT</u> , <u>LINGAH</u>	Perlahan- lahan

WHAT?	JALUQ (T) MA (P)	Apa?
WHERE?	BELÖÖQ (P)	Mana?
WHICH, WHO	DE	Yang
WHO?	BOOQ	Siapa?
WHY?	YA MA (P) <u>PASAL</u> MA (P) <u>PASAL</u> JALUQ (T)	Apa sebab?
HOW [?]	RËQ 'LUQ (T) BAGEI HARÖQ (P) BA' HARÖQ (P)	Macham mana [?]
WHEN?	EMPËL	Bila?
JUST NOW	ANËQ	Tadi
OWN, SELF	LUUI, LUUIT	Sendiri
NO NOT	NYINYUQ (P) PËQ, TÖQ	Tidak, bukan Tidak, bukan
LIKE THIS THUS	RËQ 'DËH (T) <u>BAGAI</u> ADËH (P) BU' JEH	Sabagai ini Begini
SAME	SERI (P) <u>SERUPAQ</u> (T)	Sa-rupa
DON'T	AGOQQ (P) DEQ (P) GAQ (T)	Jangan
ALSO	<u>JUGAQ</u>	Juga
A LITTLE WHILE	TÖQ LEIO	Sa-bentar
ONLY	GEEB (T)	Sahaja
HOW FAR?	TALEIH (P, T) MARIB NYAT	Berapa jauh?
FORMERLY	ENTUM	Dahulu
LONG (time) EVENTUALLY	LEIO LEIO LEIO LEIO	Lambat
THERE IS, THERE ARE	MÖNG	Ada
ALL TOGETHER	<u>SAMA</u>	Bersama-sama

A LITTLE	GËQ	Sadikit
VERY LITTLE	GËQGËQ sadikit	Sadikit-
FINISHED	YA GUUIT (P) SUDAH SOIT (P)	Sudah habis
SOMETIMES	<u>KADANG-KADANG</u>	Kadang- kadang
OFTEN, ALWAYS	<u>SELALUQ</u>	Selalu
RARELY	<u>JARANG</u>	Jarang- jarang
STRAIGHTWAY	TEGAQ	Terus
ABOVE	KU KEMIIL	Di atas
HOW MANY?	MARIB	Berapa?
BY (agent)	YA	Oleh

Miscellaneous

STORY	CHERMÖR	Cherita
GOOD BYE	A BÖR ⁹³	Selamat jalan
NAME, REPUTATION	MUH	Nama
THING	ARAB	Barang
NEVER MIND	TÖQ MA (P)	Tidak apa
IT DOESN'T MATTER	TÖQ MA I MA	Tak apa apa
ALL RIGHT	HALEQ (T)	Tidak apa
(EMPHATIC)	-BE (P)	-lah
	-LAH (T)	
(AS A QUESTION)	ENTEI? (P)	Betul-kah?

Secret Speech

The following section is made up of examples of the extensive "secret speech" (ENRÖQ KERENDAI) of the Semai. In the T dialect, there is a euphemism for every animal, as well as for every sort of people. The words are given in pairs; the first is the normally used word, the second the euphemism.

⁹³ The sense of the Semai term is "be careful" (so that nothing bad happens to you).

GRAVE	JIRAT	Kubor
STORAGE PLACE	<u>TEMPAT</u> DAQNÈQ	Tempat simpanan
DRAGON	NANGGAQ	Naga
MR. BACKBASKET	BAH <u>RAGAQ</u>	Si-raga
GHOST	KITMOIT	Hantu orang mati
EYES-TURNED-UP	MAI MAT BERLAAG	Mereka putih mata-nya
TREE DEMON	JANIQ JEHUUQ	Hantu pokok
LONG HANDS	MAI CHEREG TEG	Mereka panjang tangan-nya
BIRD DEMON	JANIQ CHËEP	Hantu puteri
LONG HAIR	MAI CHEREG SÖÖG	Mereka anjang rambut-nya
CROCODILE	<u>BAHYAQ</u>	Buaya
MR. CIGARETTE	BAH ROKÖQ	Si-rokok
TIGER	GENTAIT	Harimau
ROAR	REG-RAAG (P), RAAG (T)	Bunyi harimau
EUROPEAN	MAI BIYËG (P) MAI BIUUG (T)	Orang puteh
HOARY-HEADED	MAI MENGKOH	Orang puteh rambut-nya
DIE	-DAT	Mati
FALL (of leaf)	-LALËH	Gugor
DEAD PEOPLE	MAT DAAT	Orung mati
VANISHED	MAI NYEMP	Mereka yang
	hilang	
TIGER	GENTAIT	Harimau
NASTY-EYES	BAH NEIJ MAT	

A P P E N D I X

SEMAI POISONS¹

Strictly, dook is poison from the sap of the ipoh tree, *Antiaris toxicaria* (Williams-Hunt 1952:59; Dentan N.d.; Wavell 1958: 48-49). In typical Semai synecdoche the term covers any traditional poison, e.g., the following as well as anything that makes you sick when you eat it:

<i>Alocasia denudata</i>	<i>braak</i>	tuber	[as an irritant] (HCN)
<i>A. macrorrhiza</i>	<i>braak</i>	tuber	
<i>Amorphophallus campanulatus</i>	<i>likir</i>	root	
<i>A. prainii</i>	<i>likir</i>		
<i>Aralidium pinnatifidum</i>	<i>slbuat</i>		[may not be poisonous]
<i>Coptosapelta flavescens</i>	<i>pruaal</i>		
<i>Coscinum fenestratum</i>	<i>kopah?</i>		
<i>C. wallichianum</i>	<i>kopah?</i>		
<i>Derris elliptica</i>	<i>croo/jnuu</i>	tuber	[generic fish poison=croo]
<i>Dioscorea daemona</i>	(cook) <i>kduut</i>		[usually a fish poison]
<i>D. hispida</i>	<i>kduut/taduut</i>	tuber	
<i>D. polyclades</i>	<i>kduut/taduut</i>	tuber	
<i>Dyera costulata</i>	<i>bdo'</i>	red sap	
<i>Dysoxylum alliaceum</i>	<i>lawenk</i>	seeds	
<i>D. caulinflorum+</i>	<i>lawenk²</i>	seeds	
<i>Ervatamia malaccensis</i>	<i>pracet</i>		[cf. r'eiis pnacet, by-name of yellow & black cat snake, Boiga dendrophila, Telom dialect. Real name:trsaak]
<i>E. coronaria</i>	<i>pracet</i>		

¹ The text in this appendix is reproduced with permission from "This is passion and where it goes: Despair and suicide among Semai, a non-violent people of West Malaysia" by Robert Knox Dentan, published in Moussons 2: 31-56, 2000. The original text was revised for this publication.

² Lawenk seeds are poisonous (Burkill 1936:899). Semai at Mncaak and along the Waar use the red fruits lawenk bears on its trunk for dart poison. The word lawenk is interesting. Possibly cognate words are used by Semang peoples for bees (Burkill 1936:192) and by Javanese to refer to a shrub, *Phaleria capitata*, the cotyledons of whose seeds "contain a biting poison" (Burkill 1936:1733). Some Semai use the rolled-up leaves of berhep ,also a *Desoxylum* sp., to clear stuffy noses (Lim 1992:399).

Eurycoma longifolia++	<i>jlaas</i> ³	root
Hulletia dumosa	<i>dkoh booy</i>	seeds
Lophopetalum pallidum	<i>krooy?</i>	decoction
Myxopyrum nervosum	<i>lguub</i>	[all lguub are dart poison vines]
Pometia pinnata	<i>kaseey</i>	bark
Strychnos sp.	<i>lampong</i>	
S. quadriangularis	<i>lguub</i>	[dart poison]
S. ovalifolia?	<i>lguub</i>	
Strychnos sp.?	<i>traac</i>	peeled vine
Other, unidentified poisons:		
	<i>btiis kura</i>	fungus [fruiting body]
	<i>riil</i>	tree [inner bark]

People also traditionally used ground cobra fangs, tarek sleeii; dried tails of giant millipedes, taluuk, including taluuk siwey, *Glyphiulus* sp.; and toadskin from tabek kngkik, *Bufo* spp., and t. karok, the giant *Bufo asper*, associated with kcmooc, ghosts.

Nowadays people also use commercial poisons. The term *pnglaay cbuur*, rubber poison, refers to the acid used in treating the latex or, oftener, the herbicides and pesticides with which tappers spray the plantations. "Roundup" is a common Malaysian herbicide, mostly glycophosphate, which ulcerates mucous membranes, causes cardiac distress, damages the kidneys and causes "abnormal mental states," among other things (Utusan Konsumer 1997, 1998). "Baygon" is another. But, as Semai hunters traditionally did, Semai mix in anything which tastes bitter or makes you sick, e.g.,

³ Semai still use *jlaas* root for dart poison (cf. Burkill 1936:1000-1001). The plant is a couple of fathoms tall, about a fathom across where it enters the earth (apparently counting adventitious roots or suckers). Semai associate its power with the sex and violence for which thundersqualls are their "natural symbol." Putting dart poison (or menstrual blood) in a river is *trlaac*, an act which produces thundersqualls. After a long drought, a concerned Tluup person, not necessarily a shaman, cuts off a piece with a couple of stems on it and takes it to a stream, not a big one since how much wind is released varies directly with the how big the stream is. He cuts up the stems and root, throws the pieces in the water, goes home and waits a couple of days for the rain. Tapah and Mncaak Semai used the bitter bark to poultice wounds, and along the Reiis to ease childbirth.

Malays also associate the plant with sexual prowess (Dzulkifli 1991). They and Malay-speaking indigenes like Temuan call it "tongkat Ali," Ali's cane (Foo 1972:71-72; Lim 1992:395; Zakaria dan Mustafa 1992:19, 75; Ong 1986:512-513. The Malay term covers *Smilax myosotiflora* (Ismail 1930:411, 414-415, 438, 470; cf. Ong 1986:549-550), a vine Semai call *cook masow* (Burkill 1936:2075).

"Gun," a mixture of aspirin and caffeine. That is, the new poisons fit smoothly into the traditional pattern.

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