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PAGAN RACES
OF THE
MALAY PENINSULA
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ERRATA TO VOL. II.

Page 399, line 7, insert "rather" at beginning, and delete "for instance" at end.

416, note 4, for "Mogondou" read "Mongondou."

428, line 18, for "presented" read "represented."

511, line 9, col. 2, for "pèninag" read "pèninga."

516, last line, col. 2, for "hòpa" read "hòpal."

517, line 2, col. 1, for "popall" read "popal,"

552, line 37, col. 1, for "Jac." read "Jak."

564, line 11, col. 2, for "hook" read "chok."

569, line 26, col. 1, for "ar" read "or."

572, line 16, col. 1, for "after." read "After-"

599, line 11, col. 2, for "sèngo (sòño)" read "sèngo (sòño)."

655, line 36, col. 1, for "mong" read "mòng."

708, line 34, col. 1, for "huj" read "huj."

748, line 34, col. 2, add P 253.

757, line 12, col. 1, "kèm-nyüm," to be pronounced "kèmnyöm."

757, line 14, col. 1, for "bèrèp" read "bèrèp."
PART III.
CHAPTER I.

BIRTH-CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

By far the most important and interesting contribution hitherto made to our knowledge of the birth-customs of the three wild races dealt with in these volumes, whether Negrito, Sakai, or Savage Malayans, is contained in the remarks of H. Vaughan-Stevens upon the means by which (according to the Semang) the body of the living but unborn child is provided with a soul. The word "living" is used in order to distinguish between the "spirit of life" ("jiwa") and the soul ("sēmangat"), which latter (it may be helpful to say at the outset) is used throughout this book (as throughout Malay Magic) in the cultural sense of Tylor’s definition (which agrees far more closely with our own mediæval ideas of the soul than with its modern conception as transfigured by the ideas of Christianity). Although Vaughan-Stevens’ account still awaits corroboration from explorers among the Semang (and is therefore printed in small type), it is none the less eminently credible, for the idea of comparing the soul to a bird, or of identifying it in some way with a bird, is of world-wide distribution,¹ and is well known to the Malays, who call the soul the "pingai" bird, and in their magical

¹ For references, see Rev. de l’Hist. des Religions, xxxvii. 385.
invocations address it with the word “kur,” used in calling chickens. The Semang woman is said to carry about with her a bamboo receptacle, in which she keeps the soul-bird of her expected progeny; this bird is really the vehicle of her child’s soul, and she is expected to eat it to enable the soul of her child to be developed. The whole of this part of the subject is fraught with great interest, and would reward the most careful investigation by future observers.

Among the Sakai a professional *sage-femme* is to be found, who enjoys certain special privileges, and is the owner of a species of medicine-hut to which any of the expectant mothers of the tribe may retire when their full time has come. Another point about the birth-customs of the Sakai is that a special water-receptacle of bamboo called “chit-nāt,” which is decorated with a special design, is employed in the purification of mother and child.

Finally, among the Jakun, or aboriginal Malayans, we find the greatest development of the custom of “roasting” the new-made mother over a fire (an Indo-Chinese practice which is general among the Malays, by whom it is called “salei-an”), as well as a system of birth-taboos which regulate the diet and the movements of both parents.

I.—Semang.

Among the Semang of Kedah the mother was usually placed at birth in a sitting posture, and was then preferably treated with a decoction made from the root of a creeper called “chenlai,” which had to be sought upon the loftiest mountain ranges; but in default of this, a potion was concocted from the leaves of the “lōngkuas” and *Citronella* or lemon
grass. The afterbirth ("uri") and appurtenances were buried in the leaf-shelter close to the family hearth.¹

I may add that at birth a measurement is taken from the infant's navel along the umbilical cord to its knee, at which point the cord is severed with a sharpened sliver of Eugeissona or "bértam."

Both on the east and west coast the great majority of the names given to the children were of Malayan origin, and were taken from natural objects, especially from trees and plants, though they occasionally took the form of attributes appropriate to the individual, e.g. "Panjang," i.e. "Long."²

The following is the account given by Vaughan-Stevens of the Perak Semang:—

**Birth and the Name-tree.³**

Birth is usually an easy matter. An old and experienced woman assists the mother. A bamboo or young tree-stem is cut short at a height of about 1½ or 2 metres from the ground, and placed so as to lean diagonally either against the hut-roof or any other suitable object. A log of wood or thick segment of bamboo is then deposited at the foot of the sloping stem, so as to serve as a seat for the patient, who rests her back against the stem. There is no application of pressure or manipulation, only the sage-femme ("til-til-tāpā-i") presses the patient's hands a little behind her back flat on the ground.

When the child is born, it is received by the sage-femme, and a knife made from the blossom-stem of the bértam ("chín-beg" = Eugeissona tristis) palm is employed to sever the umbilical cord, at a distance of a "span's-breath" ("tāpā") from the body. The child's name will have already been decided by the father, who takes it from some tree which stands near the prospective birth-place of the child. As soon as the child is born, this name is shouted aloud by the sage-femme, who then hands over the child to another woman, and buries the afterbirth, usually—and formerly always—underneath the birth-tree or name-tree⁴ of the child. As soon as this has been done, the father cuts a series of notches in the tree, starting from the ground and terminating at the height of the breast.⁵

The mother generally rests for three days, but even after two days begins to move about again. No bandages, etc., are used.

The posture of the mother is said to be "imitated from that of Kari," and the sloping tree-stem is "the tree against which he leans." The cutting of the

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¹ V. Appendix.
² "A more simple and natural mode of bestowing names cannot well be imagined than that adopted by the Semang. They are called after particular trees; that is, if a child is born under, or near a coconut or durian, or any particular tree, in the forest, it is named accordingly."
³ Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 112-113.
⁴ The name-tree cannot be identical with the birth-tree, which is different for males and females (ib. 116), and contains the unborn souls; whereas the name is selected from any tree at will.
⁵ Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 112.
notches is intended to signalise the arrival on earth of a new human being, since it is thus that Kari registers the souls that he has sent forth, by notchting the tree against which he leans. These notches are called "tangkor." 1

Trees thus "blazed" are never felled. Any species of tree may be a name-tree for a child of either sex. The Western Semang, who live in clearings where there are no big trees, take such names as "Pisang" (Banana), "K'ldi" (Caladium or yam), "Kuang" (an abbreviation of Mengkuang), "Rambeni," "Rambutan," "Durian," etc., for the most part Malayan fruit names, although they frequently also take the corresponding names in Semang. The Eastern Semang (Pangan) take only Semang (Menik) names, and in this respect have plenty of choice, as their dialect has a name for every species of tree in the forest. 2

The child must not, in later life, injure any tree which belongs to the species of his tree. For him all such trees are taboo, and he must not even eat of their fruit, the only exception being when an expectant mother revisits her birth-tree.

Among the Eastern Semang (Pangan) it was an ancient custom for an expectant mother to visit the nearest tree belonging to the species of her own birth-tree, and hang it about with fragrant leaves and blossoms, if she happened to be able to reach its branches, or deposit them at the tree's foot, if the tree was too big for them to be suspended. This, however, was mere custom, and in no sense compulsory.

The Soul-Bird. 3

In depositing the flowers at the foot of the tree, she takes care that they are not laid upon the spot where the afterbirth had been buried. The reason for this (as given by the Eastern Semang or Pangan) is that the soul of the expected child, in the form of a bird, will recognise the tree by the aspect of this very spot, and will there wait until it is killed and eaten by the mother.

Even though the real birth-tree itself may be many miles distant, yet every tree of its species is regarded as identical with it. The bird, in which the child's soul is conveyed, always inhabits a tree of the species to which the birth-tree belongs; it flies from one tree (of the species) to another, following the as yet unborn body. The souls of first-born children are always young birds newly hatched, the offspring of the bird which contained the soul of the mother. These birds obtain the souls from Kari. If the woman does not eat the soul-bird during her accouchement, her child will either be still-born or will die shortly after birth. To explain bodily malformation the Semang declare that the bird "chim-iui" or "til-til-tapä" must, when it was being killed, have fallen upon a kind of fungus called the "tigress'-milk' fungus" 4 (Mal. "susu harimau"), which is the young soul of a tiger which rests quietly in the earth until the tigress has cubs, when it springs up and is eaten by the tigress, who thus obtains the souls of her cubs. 5

The souls in the "tigress'-milk fungus" ("susu harimau") 6 are always a pair, male and female, so that one fungus suffices. 7 If the bird ("chim-iui") falls upon one of these fungi the tiger-souls escape, and since they are in their natural state inimical to man, they remain so in the bird. Thus when the woman eats the soul-bird, the tiger-souls and the human soul battle together in the unborn body, which thus becomes crippled or dies outright. Yet even

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1 "Tangkor" is probably a cockneyfied spelling of "tangkok" = Mal. "talkok" (notch).
2 Ibid. 113-117.
3 Ibid. Ait. 113-117.
4 According to Vaughan-Stevens it is a "mushroom," but it is in reality the "sclerotium of a fungus," see Ridley, s.v., which view is here followed.
5 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 114.
6 "Susu harimau," in Malay = tigress' milk. In Semang = "napastaiyo" or tiger-soul (V.-St.).
7 According to the Sakai (Blandas) as well as the Semang (Menik) the tigress always produces a pair of cubs (V.-St.). The same notion is found among the Malays.
when the embryonic human body dies in consequence of a fight of this kind, the victory as between the souls nevertheless remains with the one that is human. The tiger-souls in these fungi are not the souls of tigers already deceased, but newly-developed souls derived from a stock which Kari has created and scattered abroad upon the earth like seeds.  

All creatures that are inimical to man obtain their souls from poisonous fungi, whereas harmless creatures obtain their souls from harmless fungi.  

When an adult man (or a woman who is not pregnant) partakes of a poison-fungus, containing the soul of a harmful beast, the beast-soul attacks the human individual quite as violently as if the attack were made by a creature that was adult, but in the case of an expectant mother, the beast-soul attacks the soul of the un-born child because it is the weaker. If the soul-bird falls upon a poison-fungus, which contains a beast—the soul of some beast or reptile, other than that of a tiger—such as, for instance, that of a snake—the latter bites the body of the unborn child, but it is not certain whether the child will necessarily die or not. Some slight protection is afforded by the appropriate design upon the birth-bamboo carried by the mother, this design being capable of repelling such attacks, although during the birth a tiger-soul thus repulsed may revenge itself upon the mother. Hence in cases of difficult birth the Puttos were always called in to assist, since they were able, by means of special charms, to avert these attacks as well as the others.  

Phosphorescent fungi, such as give light by night, contain the unborn souls of night-beasts, and give out light in order to show the female where to find the soul she is looking for. Many kinds of beasts have many young at a time, and for these whole groves of fungi shoot up when required.  

The West Semang no longer believe in the soul-bird, and even employ the bird itself as food; but the East Semang (Pangan) only kill the bird on behalf of their women-folk. In addition, they believe that the souls of Malays, Chinese, and Siamese were obtained from another kind of birds corresponding to the physical peculiarities of these several races. Before they leave the presence of Kari the souls sit in the branches of a big tree behind his seat and there wait until he sends them away. What their shape is the Semang do not know; they only know that it does not resemble the human form, and that this latter is only attained in the body. After the death of their human embodiment the souls which possess a human shape can no longer return to Kari to pass into new bodies, but have then to wait in a different place. Since the soul never dies, the soul-birds themselves do not die until they have fulfilled their mission; nor can they be shot by mistake; the arrow will miss them, until their predestined slayer should happen to shoot at them.  

According to another tradition, the souls of fish are contained in riverside grasses and bushes, every species of fish having its corresponding species of plant. The same is the case with sea-beasts. Birds fly behind the mountains when the sun goes down and into the country of the Sen-oi; there they eat certain unknown fruits, and in this way obtain souls for their eggs. The only exceptions are the birds called "chim-iui" and "til-til-tāpā." These need no souls, since they themselves are human souls in the visible shape of birds. When they require life for their eggs, i.e. when they are ready to fetch more human souls, they eat the fruit of the man's or woman's birth-tree, as the case may be. When one of these birds dies a natural death, it is because of the death of the child in the womb, but opinions are divided as to what may be the fate of such an undeveloped soul. Some, however, think it returns to Kari, and becomes re-embodied in another bird, the eating of whose flesh brings twins to another Semang woman, just as if she had eaten the soul-bird with an egg.  

Whenever an East Semang (Pangan) dies, his birth-tree dies soon after.  

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1 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 114.  
2 Ibid. p. 114.
however, the tree dies first, this is a sign that the owner's death will follow. Hence big and strong trees are selected as birth-trees. And when one Semang kills another, except in war, he avoids the other's birth-tree, for fear it will fall on him.  

The birth-bamboo.  

The birth-bamboo (as has already been said), is an internode, or hollow shaft of bamboo (minus the knots or "joints") which is covered with magical designs intended to serve as charms against sickness and nausea, and is carried by pregnant women, hidden under the girdle, in order to prevent any strange man from seeing it. The magical designs on it are incised by the husband, and an enceinte woman without a birth-bamboo is regarded in much the same way as a woman in Europe would be who lacked a wedding-ring.  

The patterns of the birth-bamboo represent the child in the mother's womb. They are described more fully in the chapter on "Decoration."  

Within this receptacle (the birth-bamboo) the expectant mother keeps the bird, her eating which is believed to introduce the soul into her unborn child. The expression used by the Semang of Kelantan to describe a woman who has hope of offspring is "machi kawau," i.e. "she has eaten the bird."  

The flesh of the bird in question, however, is not eaten all at once, but piecemeal, being kept in the birth-bamboo and replaced when eaten by one or two bones, until the child is born, when they are thrown away.  

"Til-til-tapä," the bird which brings male souls, is the smaller Argus- pheasant; that which brings female souls is called "chim-iui," [which probably stands for "chim yui," or the "bird that brings" (the soul)]. Twins arise from eating the soul-bird with an egg. In such a case there is only one birth-tree.  

The severance of the cord may be effected either by one of the women or by the child's father. It is performed upon a block of soft "jélotong" ("juletong") wood called "potong pusat."  

No implement of iron may be used for the purpose, a bamboo knife called "sémblu" being the instrument generally used, though knives called "tappá" ("tappar") are also manufactured (for this purpose exclusively) from the leaf-stem of the bértam-palm. In former times a white (spiral) shell was employed.  

The East Semang ("Pangan"), like the Sakai, sling their children from the bough of a tree, when they are working close by, but not when they are working at any great distance.  

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1 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 116, 117.  
2 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 115, 116.  
4 Literally, "cat bird."  
5 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 116.  
6 This is a Malay expression signifying "cut navel" (i.e. cut navel-string), which of course is a name describing the action, not the implement.  
7 According to Vaughan-Stevens "semilow" (sic) which is merely the Malay "sémblu," a "sliver" or "splinter," mis-spelt and slightly modified in course of borrowing.  
8 Bartels here remarks that in one
The Tembeh (Temia or Tummiyor) in the intervals between the times for feeding them leave their children by themselves on the floor of their airy dwellings.

Very often, however, they deposit them in a hammock consisting of a stretched-out "sarong" (Malay = cloth skirt, or wrapper) and sling them up under a screen of leaves, which can be completely constructed in about twenty minutes. This is partly done to set the mother free for cooking and preparing meals, but more so because such a position makes it pleasanter and more comfortable for the child, who is besides much better protected from the attacks of land-lice, ants, centipedes, and scorpions. It is therefore prompted by care for the child, and is not due to any carelessness or neglect. At night the child's swinging cradle is never (even among the Orang Laut) suspended from a tree, for fear of leopards.

According to Vaughan-Stevens (iii. 102) the average number of children born to a Tembeh cannot be put higher than two per man.

II.—Sakai.

A Sakai (Blandas) sage-femme is, as might be anticipated, more reluctant to give information about her art than even the magician, although the latter is far more secretive than the ordinary tribesman, the getting of information from whom is in itself a sufficiently hard task. The following account is from Vaughan-Stevens: 2—

The sage-femme's house is easily recognisable, since it is invariably built on a level with the ground, whereas all the other houses of the tribe are raised from 4 ft. to 6 ft. (1.2 m. to 1.8 m.) above the soil. 3 If she has a husband still living (which very seldom happens), she has two huts, one of the ordinary type in which she and her husband live together, and the other which serves as her medicine-hut and which is invariably built upon the ground. No man may on any pretence enter her medicine-hut or even approach it too closely, and even in passing it he must do so at a little distance. Women, however, may enter it whenever they happen to be invited, but children again are forbidden to do so, for fear of their doing some mischief. 4

Nevertheless these huts are not intended solely for the sage-femme, since they also serve as a special retreat for women at child-birth, and the latter are allowed to remain there for fourteen days after delivery. In the days when the Sakai were more numerous, these medicine-huts were much larger.

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1 Z. f. E. xxviii. 201.
2 Ibid. p. 164-197.
3 Ibid. p. 165. Various reasons were given to Vaughan-Stevens for this, e.g. (1) that the sage-femme was old and weak; (2) that when the hut was built on the ground, the demons ("hantu") could not insinuate themselves under the floor. More probably, however, it was so built in order to distinguish it from other houses and so protect it from trespass. Vaughan-Stevens further remarks that the door (in this class of hut alone) was lower than the head of a grown-up person, and that the walls and roof were contracted in size and thick, to prevent men from seeing into it.
4 Z. f. E. xxviii. 165.
The profession of the *sage-femme* was to some extent honoured by her being freed from taking any share in the work of the tribe, although she nevertheless obtained her full share of the produce. One of her duties consisted in taking care of children of the tribe in the absence of their mothers, for although none of the children might formerly venture to enter, their mothers would bring them into these huts whenever they had jungle-work before them and had a burden to carry upon their homeward journey.

If the settlement did not possess a hut of this kind, the children were often slung up above the ground to keep them out of mischief.\(^1\)

The *sage-femme* was a person of little importance as compared with the magician, except when performing her official duties. Nevertheless, she shared with the magician the privilege of being allowed to put on the white points in the face-painting, it being held that any unprivileged person who did so would be killed by lightning.

Again, the midwives of the Sakai, Besisi, and Kenaboi tribes further had an identical face-painting which they were privileged to wear whilst discharging their functions, the pattern differing from the usual one which they wore in their private capacity.\(^2\)

Up to the commencement of confinement, the Sakai women make no change in the routine of their daily life. An *enceinte* woman is treated as being in a respectable and enviable condition; she mingles openly with the men, even when in a state of advanced gestation, and apparently lacks any sort of perception of the propriety of retirement, though at the same time this publicity does not imply any immodesty on her part, or the least intention of making her condition known to the bystanders.\(^3\)

When she has gone some months a Sakai woman girds herself with a band which is called "*anu,*" and which is carried round the waist and fastened at the back.\(^4\)

Among the Sakai women miscarriage in the third or fourth month was fairly general. Whenever this happened the remains were simply buried without ceremony.\(^5\)

When a Sakai woman feels the first pang ("*t'ran*"), she lies down, and does not get up again until her child is delivered.\(^6\)

When her time has come, the sufferer lies upon her back with a cushion or bundle placed under the knees, so as to raise them slightly. A female friend (or the husband, when no other assistance is obtainable) squats down close beside her on the right. Another woman squats down at the sufferer's feet to receive the child, the latter resting her heels upon the floor and pressing them against the knees of this second assistant.\(^7\)

There is no professional\(^8\) *sage-femme*.\(^9\)

At the instant the cord is severed the child is given its name. The child is then washed with "*mèrion*" water, wrapped in a cloth, and handed back to the mother.\(^10\)

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1. Z. f. E. xxvii. 166.
2. Ibid. xxvi. 154 seqq. For further information regarding the face-painting of the midwife and her charges, see below, p. 48 (under "Body-painting").
4. Ibid. p. 185.
5. Ibid. p. 186.
6. "Delivery" is called, according to Vaughan-Stevens, "*anak kasih k'luar.*" This, however, is merely bad (vernacular) Malay, meaning to "bring a child forth" (Z. f. E. xxviii. 188).
7. Bartels observes, that from the description it is clear that the second of the two assistants does not squat but must kneel upon the ground.
8. Bartels points out that this contradicts what we have already been told, viz., that Vaughan-Stevens obtained a good deal of his information from professional *sage-femmes*, and that they possessed a special kind of hut.
9. Z. f. E. xxviii. 188.
10. Ibid. p. 192.
The *sage-femme* possesses a special receptacle called "chit-nät," which serves at one and the same time for the purification of the child and its mother.

This "chit-nät" is a segment of bamboo, which has had a piece amounting to about half its circumference cut away both at top and bottom. The remaining halves have in each case been left, forming projecting spouts, which are rounded off at their free ends, and have their straight edges "toothed" or indented. One edge of each of these projections has six, and the other seven such indentations. The body of the tube is so chosen that the two dividing cuts are made next to (i.e. above and below) two adjacent nodes, one of which serves as the bottom of the tube, whilst the other (at the top) has been excised. The tube has a circumference of 22 cm., and a length of 56.5 cm. excluding, and a length of 76 cm. including, the two projections. These latter are decorated with two rows of zigzag lines, whilst two double longitudinal stripes run from end to end of the body of the tube. One pair of these double stripes is distinguished by horizontal cross-lines; the other pair is connected by a zigzag line. Between the adjacent sides of two pairs of stripes further zigzag lines are introduced. The outlines are distinguished by black and white dots.\(^1\)

A special kind of bamboo receptacle, which is equally decorated, is employed for filling the "chit-nät" with water (Fig. 11).

[Bartels remarks: "This bamboo is only 29 cm. in length by 13.3 cm. in circumference. At the top it is cut horizontally through the node (between two adjacent internodes), at the bottom just below the next adjacent node, so that the node forms the bottom of the receptacle. For half its circumference at the top it is cleanly cut, for the other half it is cut in sharp scallops. The upper portion (of the tube) is plain, the lower covered all round with black and white dots as big as peas. Vaughan-Stevens gives a description of the pattern which he says he found on this 'chit-nät,' but which, in fact, is not to be found on it. He must have confused it with something else. His description, however, runs as follows: 'The figures on this 'chit-nät' are the "riong" and "bétong" (? rattans of the Tabong-story. Commencing at the open end, the triangular figures are Tahan's finger-prints. The flat (*liegende*) crosses with the line bisecting them are the thorns of the "rotan bètong" ("butong"). This figure represents the "rotan bètong," the spirals which run along it representing the thorns, and the cross-lines combine the idea of a quantity with that of a plant thus crossing itself. Above this in the middle is a row of "bétong" thorns, and below that the "rotan riong." The latter's prickles are naturally much shorter. Spirals of white and black (or red) dots were scattered throughout the entire pattern, according to custom, but no explanation was obtained.'"]

A very peculiar implement is employed by the Sakai (Sen-oi) for severing the umbilical cord. Three specimens in the Berlin Museum resemble what is called a "fox-tailed" saw, only that they are much smaller, their length being 8.4 cm., 9.3 cm., and 9.2 cm. respectively. They are cut out of wood, and have an elegant handle, which diminishes down to a small "talon"-like projection, united to a wooden blade, which is furnished on one side with rough saw-like teeth from 0.6 to 0.7 cm. deep. One of these knives has a double row of saw teeth. This implement is called "sémikâ" ("smee-kar"), and is also used for decorating the "chit-nät," as described above.\(^2\)

The second of the two assistants now lays the patient upon a clean mat and then goes out. Her companion meanwhile takes the afterbirth, and (should the child prove to be a boy) ties it up in a cloth and suspends it upon a tree, where it is left. If, however, the child happens to be a girl, the afterbirth is buried somewhere without further ceremony in the neighbourhood of the house. The

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1 Z. f. E. xxviii. 193.  
2 Ibid. p. 191.
reason given for this difference of treatment is that the women are obliged to remain in the house, whereas the men lead an open-air life, and do not remain in one place like the women.¹

In order to accelerate her recovery the patient has for ten successive days to take a warm infusion called "mērían sējok." In some cases a bandage of beaten tree-bark is applied in the same manner as the ordinary bark loin-cloth. This, however, is not always the case.²

For ten days she is forbidden either to drink, or wash in, cold water. For her purification she uses another kind of "chit-nāt," though this too has to be filled from the bamboo receptacle described above.³

[Bartels adds, that this "chit-nāt" is furnished, like the preceding one, with projections at each extremity which extend more than halfway round the circumference of the bamboo. The free edges are carved into elegant double curves. The bamboo is cut through, as before, in close proximity to the nodes, though in this case the receptacle is made from a piece of three internodes instead of one. The upper node and the three central ones are excised right up to the circumference of the bamboo, the vessel thus forming a simple tube as before. The fourth node is retained and serves as the bottom of the vessel. It contains a small hole which is, however, probably unintentional. Its length, with the projections, amounts to 177 cm., without them to 153 cm., and its circumference is 193 cm. The projections in this case are plain, but from end to end of the body of the vessel run two longitudinal stripes, one of which is barred with horizontal lines, the other is crossed by zigzags. Both bars and zigzags each contain four parallel and longitudinal rows of dots, in the outer rows the dots being white, whereas in the two inner rows they are black.]⁴

The extremity of the umbilical cord falls from the newly-born infant after a few days, and is then simply thrown away.

For a whole lunar month, however, the child is washed every morning with water out of a special "chit-nāt." (Fig. 14), which is filled from the bamboo receptacle already mentioned.

[Bartels adds: "This particular 'chit-nāt' differs from the rest in being furnished at the lower end with two long prongs. Each of these prongs measures 11.4 cm. in length by only 1.7 cm. in breadth, whilst the remainder of the vessel measures but 23 cm. in length, with a circumference of 13.8. This 'chit-nāt' is cut exactly like those which are formed from a single internode, except that it has no projection at the top, and in place of the projection at the bottom has the aforesaid prongs. These latter are plain, but the remainder of the vessel is covered with vertical rows of black and pale red dots about as big as the tips of the fingers."]

For the mother's purification a second "chit-nāt" is filled (with water) from the bamboo filler, and the sufferer washed with a warm infusion of "mērían."⁵

[Bartels adds: "This 'chit-nāt' is the longest of them all. Like the former, it is cleanly cut round half of its circumference only (at top and bottom), and hence it possesses similar projections to those already described. These two projections do not exactly correspond to the same two halves of the circumference respectively, and hence their long axes do not meet, but run parallel to each other. With these projections the receptacle is 185.5 cm. in length, without them 157.5 cm., its circumference being 23.5 cm. The free edges of the projections are carefully carved and adorned with delicate indentations. In other respects, except that of ornamentation, it exactly resembles the receptacle already described. As regards its ornamentation, the projections are

¹ Z. f. E. xxvii. 195.
² Ibid. p. 196. "Mērían" is Dissochita bracteata, and is also used by the Malays.—Ridley.
³ Z. f. E. xxviii. 196.
⁴ Ibid. p. 197.
⁵ Ibid. p. 194.
decorated with cross-lines, which have oblique lines running between them, whilst a longitudinal stripe, interrupted only by the cross-lines, runs from end to end of the body of the receptacle on either side. As in other cases, the outlines are distinguished by black and white dots."

Should the mother die during confinement, and the child be either still-born or die immediately afterwards, they are both wrapped in one shroud and laid in one grave together, the child being placed on the mother's breast, with its face downwards.¹

For the five or six days following her confinement the patient is only permitted to eat Caladiums or yams,² rice, and bananas. Chillies and hot highly-spiced broth are very strictly forbidden.

The mother, after delivery, is usually able to move freely about the house again within five or six hours. After three days she is fit to go out again as usual.³

The Sakai (Blandas) mothers often pluck out the wing and tail-feathers of young hornbills which the men have procured, and give their infants the quill-ends to suck. This not only entertains and quiets the children, but in some undefined way is believed to bring them good luck.⁴

For travelling short distances the children are carried astride the mother's hip.⁵ The Sakai sling up their small children on the hut-wall (in a basket or hammock made of bast⁶) for two or three hours together, so long as there is no fear of tigers.⁷

For sleeping the mother lays her infant across her breast, taking care, however, to make the position as comfortable as possible for the child.⁸

Of the fruitfulness of Sakai women, Vaughan-Stevens remarks that it appeared to be a general rule that out of about six children one would be still-born, and two of the remainder would die within the first three years.

Those women who have only one or two children, especially if one of the latter is born after a long interval, are, however, as a rule, successful with them.

The largest number of children (in one family), to take a single example, was sixteen, out of which twelve died before they reached maturity, and of these seven died before they were a year old. Five of them were boys and eleven girls.

Child-bearing generally continues up to the age of about forty-two years,

¹ Z. f. E. xxviii. 196. [It is not quite clear whether this refers to the Sakai or to some other tribe.]

² Vaughan-Stevens here has "kādi," a mistake for "k'lādi," a kind of yam.

³ Z. f. E. xxviii. 197.

Bartels here adds that, as Vaughan-Stevens has already told us that the Sakai women remain out of sight for fourteen days after delivery, he may be speaking here of some former custom. It may, however, I think, be safely said that there rarely is a fourteen days' limit amongst any of these savage tribes. The husband's difficulties are, in his wife's absence, so much increased, that he would certainly not permit so unnecessarily protracted a seclusion, even if the woman herself desired it, which she would certainly not do.

Z. f. E. xxviii. 201. Another

Sakai ceremony described by Vaughan-Stevens as following birth is the fumigation of the child by swinging it through the smoke of a large fire. See Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 107.

⁵ Z. f. E. xxviii. 200.

⁶ For a description of a Sakai hammock - cradle, see Vaughan-Stevens in Z. f. E. xxix. 190. Vaughan-Stevens attaches, however, a quite exaggerated importance to the fact that the pole from which the cradle was slung was not made fast, but oscillated to and fro on the top of the partition walls. This arrangement is found in many parts of the Peninsula, and, so far from being at all extraordinary, is simply due to the exercise of common sense, there being no reason whatever why the pole should be made fast.

⁷ Z. f. E. xxviii. 201.

though there was one case in which a woman gave birth to a child at fifty. Elsewhere we are informed that the average number of children in a Sakai family is four.

**NAME-GIVING.**

In writing of the "tuang-tuang" ("tuntong") ceremony as performed by the Sakai, Vaughan-Stevens says: "The children received their names from their parents in accordance with dreams, in which there appeared, for instance, either the floor of a hut, the track of a tiger in the jungle, a tree, insect, river, or the like."

According to the same authority, the name of each individual is represented by the pattern of the headband which he (or she) wears. His account, however, is neither altogether clear nor altogether consistent. He says: "The patterns painted on the headband (worn by the Sakai) represent the name of the individual. They are worn by men and women alike, but not by those who are unmarried, and who are not yet therefore entered into the tribe."

**NAME-BURNING.**

The magician exercised great power over the tribe through the fact that he could deprive a recalcitrant member of the tribe of his (or her) "name." In such a case the magician went in full state to the house of the offender, and there solemnly burned the headband of the person concerned, who by this means was completely excluded from the clan. Should, however, the rehabilitation of the offender be desired, the medicine-man, after first painting a new headband with the same pattern as before, went (accompanied by all his colleagues then living in the settlement) into the house of the penitent, who afterwards gave a feast.

Formerly there were many figures for the patterns, which followed, however, no fixed rule. The objects represented were those offered by the jungle, but the exact forms were very much left to fancy, and the colour of the patterns was fugitive. The bands thus painted were only worn for one particular festive occasion, and were then thrown away.

In speaking of some fifteen Sakai women, whom he saw at Kampong Langkor on S. Kerbu, De la Croix says that almost all of them carried a child astride of their hips.

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2 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 102.
3 Z.f. E. xxvi. 161, 162, where we read: "As the painted headbands might only be worn on special occasions, the black lines (or 'demon' lines) were not retained on the headbands of the lay members of the community (of either sex), and only the red pattern with black dots was allowed."
4 But, on the other hand, cp. p. 163, where we are told that "the women wear no figures on their headbands, because they very often accompany the men on the chase in order to bring home the booty or to seek roots on the way; and whenever they stay at home they are recognised by the demons, who have previously seen them in their husbands' company, as protected by the patterns of the latter" (1).
5 And yet again, on p. 162, we are told that the women wore headbands though only on occasion.
6 Z.f. E. xxvi. 163.
7 De la Croix, p. 336.
III.—Jakun.

Blandas.—Of the birth-customs of the Blandas no account is yet to hand. I have, however, at different times, when visiting their encampments, taken down some of the charms employed against Birth-demons, of which the following are specimens:

CHARM AGAINST THE LANGSUIR.

Langhui, Langhua!
Your beak is stumpy,
Your feathers are cloth of silk,
Your eyes are “crab’s-eye” beans,
Your heart a young areca-nut,
Your blood thread in water,
Your veins the thread for binding on cock’s-spurs,
Your bones twigs of the giant bamboo,
Your tail a fan from China.¹

Descend, O Venom,² ascend Neutraliser,
Neutralise the Venom in the bones, neutralise it in the veins,
Neutralise it in the joints,
Neutralise it within the house, neutralise it within the jungle.
Descend, O Venom, ascend Neutraliser,
And lock up this Langsuir.
Descend, O Venom, ascend Neutraliser.

Whilst repeating this charm rub the sufferer (“sapu-kan orang sikit itu”) with the leaves or the root (“isi”) of the “këlmoyang.”³

The Langhui is a birth-demon corresponding to the Malay Langsuir (there probably being a close philological connexion, if not identity, between the two names). The Malay Langsuir is believed to be a demon which has sprung from the ghost of a woman who has died in child-birth. The description appears to fit some kind of night-hawk or owl.

Another charm which I obtained from the Blandas was intended to subdue not only the Langsuir, but

¹ The idea is that a spirit may be controlled if the elements of its (supposed) origin are known.
² I.e. pain.
³ May be either *Chamaeleon*, *Homalomena*, or *Alpinia conchigera*, Griff. (*Scitamineae*); probably the latter = Mal. “lêngkuas ranting.”
the Bajang, a familiar spirit well known to the Malays and Blandas alike.

**Charm against the Bajang.**

OM, O Bajang Langsuir,
Thou sprangest from a woman that died in childbirth;
O Bajang Langsuir,
Thou betel-quit of Baginda Ali.

The reference to Baginda Ali is due to the superficial Mohammedan influences, which have reached the Blandas through the medium of the Malays.

Yet another charm given me by the Blandas was intended for exorcising the Polong, a familiar demon which is classed with the Bajang and Pélésit of the Malays.

**Charm against the Polong.**

As the chisel is broken, as the adze-helve is broken,
Broken in chiselling this fallen tree-trunk,
Even so break the bones of your jaws, the strings of your tongue,
And [only] when I retire, may ye go forward.
Ye who came from the sea, return to the sea,
Ye who came from the crags, return to the crags,
Ye who came from the soil, return to the soil,
Thence is it that ye sprang, O Familiar Demons.

The Pontianak is a birth-demon of a different kind, and this charm too I picked up from the Blandas.

**Charm against the Pontianak.**

O Pontianak, still-born one,
Die and be crushed 'neath the banked-up roadway!
[Here are] bamboos,¹ both long and short,
For cooking the Pontianak, Jin, and Langsuir.
Remain, Pontianak, among the Tree-shoots!
Remain, O Jin, among the Epiphytes!
And lodge not here, O Langsuir!
Lodge not here, O Jin!
Lodge not here, O Pontianak!

¹ A comparison with Malay charms, from which this is evidently borrowed, shows that "buloh" (= bamboo) is probably the correct reading. The Langsuir is, as has been said, the ghost of a mother who has died in childbirth; the Pontianak or Matianak, that of a child who has died at or before birth. The two bamboo-vessels, the long and the short, are naturally required, the long one for cooking the liver of the mother, the shorter for that of the child, the "Jin" being probably interpolated. Cp. Malay Magic, p. 320.
Lodge not here, O Deep-forest Demon!
Lodge not here, O Jungle Demon!
O Jungle Demon, return to thy jungle,
O Deep-forest Demon, return to thy Forest-depths.¹

The last of these charms collected from the Blandas was employed for exorcising the "Caul-demon," when the caul was being removed.

CHARM AGAINST THE CAUL-DEMON.²

 Shoots of Salak-palm, shoots of Ranggam-palm;
Caul like a bridle, Caul like a casting-net;
Caul that art bound, now be thou loosened;
Caul that art tied up, be thou unloosened;
Caul that art noosed, be thou unloosened;
Caul that art anchored, be thou unloosened;
Caul-fiend that lodgest here, be thou unloosened;
O fiends and devils, be ye unloosened;
O fiends from the Forest-depths, be ye unloosened;
O fiends from the Per'pat Rock, be ye unloosened;
O fiends from the Banyan Hill, be ye unloosened;
O fiends from the Kempas-tree, be ye unloosened;
O Caul-spirit, Demon that cam'st from the ocean,
From Levin and Lightning, from drizzling and mizzling Rain,
Return to Malim Putih, to Malim Sidi,³
'Tis not by me that this caul is unloosened,
But by Malim Putih, by Malim Sidi.

Besisi.—Among the Besisi (of the Kuala Langat District) the traditional hire of the sage-femme was two dollars in money, "or a white jacket." If no person of professional experience was obtainable, her place would be usually taken by the invalid’s mother or even her husband. The mother’s mosquito-curtain was decorated all round with the leaf-hangings used on all ceremonial occasions, and when the child was born the mother underwent a ceremonial bathing, and would then be brought out from time to time and seated with her back to the fire and kept extravagantly warm—"roasted," as it is called, a practice which is found among the Malays. An infusion was also made

¹ Cp. i. 153.
² The Caul-demon was believed to lick up the sufferer’s blood.
³ Both known to the Malays in connexion with To’ Batâra (or "Pêtala") Guru, the Malay name of Shiva (see Malay Magic, p. 85).
from the roots of a creeper called "akar mĕrian," ¹ and was administered to her as a potion, and this course was continued for about five or ten days, after which the woman would resume her ordinary avocations.

Mantra.—Upon the birth-customs of the Mantra Borie remarks that their children are delivered and cared for in the usual manner; a few days after birth the head of the child is shaved; it is not the object of any superstition until it is old enough to be able to distinguish its father and mother. If the child is ill they rub it with lime and turmeric. As to the mother, she remains in the house several days after her confinement. When she is strong enough to resume the ordinary occupations of the household, she must first purify herself by bathing, and by doing so she acquires the right to re-appear.²

In addition we are told by Logan that when a Mantra mother was in labour, a cup of water was charmed and administered to her. The juice of certain leaves ("pamanto" and "pamadam") was given to the child, while a charm was repeated.³ A name was given to the child at the moment the umbilical cord was cut, and this was retained until marriage, when a second name ("gĕlar") was bestowed, which was ever afterwards used in lieu of the first. These customs, however, were not inflexible. The birth-name was sometimes superseded (as being unlucky) before marriage, when misfortunes happened to the child, and the second name of the parents frequently gave place to the name of the eldest child with the

¹ Dissociea bracteata.
² Borie (tr. Bourien), pp. 80, 81.
³ Logan's version of this charm, which is in the Mantra dialect, is probably not quite accurate, and the sense is therefore uncertain, though a good deal can be made out.
prefix Pa' (Father) or Ma' (Mother). The latter was considered a peculiarly pleasing mode of address, parental feeling being no doubt found, in many cases, to be stronger than personal vanity. A similar custom prevailed amongst the Malays of Naning, Rembau, and the states of the interior, and had been probably imported from Sumatra, from whence this portion of the Peninsula was directly colonised. In this connexion Logan observes that the importance of proper names in carrying us back to remote times in a people's history, is well known to the antiquary in Europe. Amongst those aboriginal tribes of the Peninsula whose native language has nearly disappeared before the modern Malay, the inquirer often finds in the names of places and men the principal monuments of antiquity. It is probable that these names are really words of a language once spoken, although the significance of most of them has been lost. The examples of names which he collected (and which included the names of all the relatives and acquaintances of his informant) Logan regarded as an additional proof of the fact that neither Hinduism nor Islamism has impressed these tribes, save in some cases in a slight and superficial manner. No people ever zealously embraced these religions, without the names of the gods of the former and the prophet and apostles of the latter being largely appropriated by them. Lists of Malayan names exhibit many Mohammedan and a few Hindu ones, but the greater number are pure Malayan or ante-Malayan.

Finally we have evidence of the Malayan practice of "roasting" the mother in the statement that the
Mantra placed the wife near the fire in order to drive away the evil spirits who were believed to drink human blood whenever they could find it.¹

Benua-Jakun.—Of the Benua we are informed that the wife's mother generally acted as midwife, but when absent the husband himself supplied her place. At birth a string to which pieces of turmeric, "bunglei," etc., were fastened, was bound round the neck of the infant as a charm. During the third month of pregnancy the magician or "Poyang" visited the mother, performed certain ceremonies, and bound a charm round her waist in order that all might go well with her and the child. On the occasion of the birth of the first-born child a feast was generally given by the tribe.²

By Vaughan-Stevens we are told that the magician attending at a birth crouches beside the reclining woman and massages her, repeating an incantation as he does so.³

From the same authority we learn that a decoction believed to alleviate birth-pains was made from three roots the "white" and the "black ramuyan," and the "peranchu," which are boiled and administered as a potion. Vaughan-Stevens adds that the Benua women were, as a rule, three days in labour; and that after delivery they were required to lie down for ten days, during which time they were attended by other married women. One child out of ten in the present generation was said to die within three days; and nearly half the remainder (especially the girls) before puberty. The supply of milk from the mother was very small indeed, and the child continued to suck until the mother's breasts were dry.⁴

The knife used by the Benua for severing the umbilical cord was made from the hard exterior of a segment of bamboo. It was a sliver measuring 36.5 cm. in length by 1 cm. in breadth. At one end the sliver was indented and truncated just above

¹ J. I. A. vol. i. pp. 270, 271. This practice is also found among the Besisi (q.v. ante, p. 15).
² J. I. A. vol. i. pp. 270, 271. Cp. Newbold, vol. ii. pp. 406-407: "No assistance is rendered, except occasionally by the husband, if present, during the act of parturition; not even by one of the sex; nor is any preparation made to alleviate the pangs... An extract only, procured from the root and leaves of a shrub called, by the Jakun, 'sâlusch,' or 'puwar,' is given towards the end of the period of gestation, and continued at intervals until the accouchement is over. In protracted cases, the woman is laid upon her stomach, and a fire kindled near her to excite the pains. In order to facilitate the expulsion of the afterbirth, she is made to stand over the fire. Seven days afterwards, the mother performs ablutions, and returns to her conjugal duties." "Ptar" is the name of many wild gingers (Scilamineae); see p. 13, n. 3, ante. For "sâlusch" read "sâlusoh," cp. p. 25, infra.
³ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 143.
⁴ V. B. G. A. xxiv. 408.
an internode; at the other end it was cut through at right angles to its axis and sharpened at the edge. Vaughan-Stevens adds that the operation was performed by a woman of the tribe without any special ceremony.¹

**Name-giving.**

Names are sometimes given at birth, but in such cases are changed at the age of puberty.²

**Treatment of Children.**

Benua mothers carry their children in a sling of bark-cloth, which is passed over the child's back, over one of the mother's shoulders, and under the other, the ends being knotted.³

When the child is too small to hold on by embracing the mother's neck with its arms, it is carried behind her back, with its legs clasping her body. It is never carried on the hip, except in cases where the practice may have been learnt from the Malays.⁴

The food (of the Benua children) was eeked out with hog's grease from about the third or fourth day of their existence. This might be owing to the habit of not weaning children till they were two, three, or even sometimes four years of age. It was no uncommon spectacle to see an infant of a few weeks and a fat nursling of two years at the breast together. Indulged as the children were during their infancy, they had no sooner arrived at an age when their labour was of the least use, than they were made to assist their parents

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¹ Z.f. E. xxviii. 190. In the same context a wooden knife, assigned to the "Orang Utan," and used for the same purpose, is described. It had the general shape of a common kitchen knife, and measured 26.5 cm. in length, its blade was 1.6 cm. in breadth, and the back of the blade was 3 cm. thick.

² J. I. A. vol. i. p. 271.

³ Z.f. E. xxviii. 201.

⁴ Ibid. But this begs the question. If the Benua-Jakun, as there seems every reason to believe, are mainly of Malayan origin, there seems no reason why the custom should not be indigenous among them.
in different employments. The effect of this training was that the young Benua men and women were highly robust and active compared with the Malays, and capable of enduring with cheerfulness an amount of labour from which the latter would shrink.¹

Jakun.—We now come to the Jakun, properly so-called, of whose birth-customs, Captain Begbie, an old writer on the Peninsula, observed that when a woman was in labour, the Jakun took a round piece of wood, which they fastened at both ends in a shed. The woman was laid upon this, face downwards and pressing upon the abdomen, until the child was born. Meanwhile the husband kindled a fire before her, which was supposed to be of essential service, and performed the office of midwife; and after the child was born, the woman was put close to the fire. To this account the same writer added that the Jakun named their children simply from the tree under which they happened to be brought forth.²

On the other hand, Favre has recorded that no assistance was ordinarily given to lying-in Jakun women; their physicians or Pawangs were not permitted to appear in such circumstances, and midwives were not known amongst them. It was reported that in several tribes, the children, as soon as born, were carried to the nearest rivulet, washed and brought back to the house, where a fire was kindled, upon which incense or benzoin was thrown, when the child was passed over it several times. Favre adds that we know from history that the practice of passing children over fire was in all times much practised among heathen nations; and that it is still practised in China and other places. A few days after the birth

of the child, the father gave him a name, which was usually taken from the name of some tree, fruit, or colour.

Food-taboos.

A considerable number of food-taboos are found among the Jakun; e.g. among the tribes dwelling on the Madek River in Johor, of whom D. F. A. Hervey has related a curious superstition that prevailed among them, which, so long as the children were unable to walk, prevented their parents from using as food certain fish and animals, but as soon as the little ones had acquired the use of their legs, this restriction was removed, and the parents were once more able to indulge in what had so long been forbidden ("pan-tang"). Should this superstition fail to be complied with, and should any parent eat of any of the forbidden creatures during this period of restriction, the children were supposed to be liable to an illness called "būsong," which arises, according to the Malays, from "swollen stomach" ("prūt kēmbong"). The following was the list of fish and animals which were forbidden under the above circumstances:

**Fish.**—The "nōm," the "bēgāhak," the "sēngārat," the "tōman," and the "sēbārau."

**Animals.**—Deer of all kinds, both the sambhur ("rusa") and roe-deer ("kijang"); chevrotins, e.g. the mouse-deer ("p'landok"), and the "nāpoh"; the wild pig (the "jōkōt" and the "babi"); fowls and eggs; the lace lizard ("bīāwak"), the large water-lizard ("gēriang"); the land-tortoise ("kūra-kūra"), and a variety of the preceding called "baning," which is larger

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2 Hervey describes this as a species of diarrhoea. It is, however, rather a dropsical inflammation of the stomach (ascites), the symptoms being accurately described by the Malay phrase.
and has a flatter shell; the "biůku," resembling the "pěnyu tuntong" (sic, ? the freshwater turtle), a small tortoise called "jahůk," etc.¹

The rest of this account of Jakun birth-customs is taken mainly from the German publications embodying the work of Vaughan-Stevens.

**BIRTH-CUSTOMS.²**

*Enceinte,* Jakun women, unlike the Sakai, withdraw when strangers (even if members of their own race) are present, and hence, though not perhaps intentionally, they attract much more attention than the Sakai women, who do not trouble themselves about their condition.³

A Jakun husband, if he can avoid it, never goes out of the sight of his wife, when she is in this condition. This circumstance often causes difficulties when men are wanted either as bearers or guides. Through the presence of the man the well-being of the child in the mother’s body is believed to be somehow furthered.

A Jakun woman during pregnancy occasionally carries with her a shell-shaped piece of wood to protect her unborn child.⁴

Another Jakun custom was that a bundle of ijok ("ejoo") fibres were hung up in a public place, in order to warn passers-by that there was a woman in travail in close proximity. These ijok fibres consist of the black fibrous covering of the base of the leaf-stalk of the sugar-palm (*Arenga*). Bundles of these fibres, as big as a child’s head, were always kept by the women in readiness for such a purpose. Any man who saw this sign would at once turn back again.⁵

The treatment of the umbilical cord consisted in measuring it off from the child’s navel to its knee, and there tying it fast with a string (preparatory to severing it).⁶

¹ *J. R. A. S., S. B.,* No. 8, p. 120.
² *Z. f. E.* xxviii. 185-198.
³ Vaughan-Stevens adds that the Jakun women during pregnancy are in no way restricted as to diet. This statement, however, is certainly incorrect, the fact that their diet is restricted having been observed by D. F. A. Hervey and others.
⁴ Vaughan-Stevens seems to have considered this "shell-shaped" piece of wood as something unusual, but there can be little or no doubt that what he saw was the ordinary "waist ornament" (shaped like a fan-shell or a heart as the case may be, made either of wood, coconut-shell, or silver, according to the parents’ means) that is worn by female children up to the age of five or six, and which may easily have been carried by the mother as a charm in anticipation.
⁵ *Z. f. E.* xxviii. 188.
⁶ Ibid. p. 189.
If the child be a boy, the umbilical cord is then tied to one of his father's "throwing stones," preferably to one with which his father has already killed an enemy. It is then dipped in sea-water and washed, and hung up to dry in the smoke. When dry it is carefully guarded, together with the stone, until the boy is grown up. At his marriage the stone is made over to him to be carefully kept, since such a stone never misses its mark.¹

**SEX OMENS.²**

In order to ascertain the probable sex of an expected child the Jakun women wait until they dream of a certain number, a circumstance which invariably occurs, since they retire to rest filled with expectation of it.

For the (successive) number of nights thus dreamed of (commencing with the next night that follows that of the dream onwards), the woman sits up the whole night (in company with as many female friends of riper years as she likes) until (between sunset and sunrise) she hears the cry or note of some particular bird or beast. The first cry plainly heard by the entire company decides whether the expected infant is to be a boy or a girl. If the cry is heard on the right side of the company, it will be a boy, if on the left, a girl. If, on the other hand, the cry clearly comes from the front and not from the sides, great tribulation prevails, since the child will not live to grow up. Since, however, the wish is father to the thought, this is seldom, if ever, reported as occurring. But worst of all is the cry heard from behind, which indicates that the child will either be still-born or will die shortly after birth. In such a case an exclamation of pain from all present warns the husband to rise and drive away the unwelcome originator of the cry. When this has been done and the cry is heard again either on the right hand or the left, the danger is averted.³

Since, however, according to the older rules, the houses of the women always had the sea behind them, the younger people would declare positively that it was the sea that had made the noise in question, and that the women had made a mistake. Or else the husband entered his boat and rowed in the direction of the cry, and since it could only have been that of a bird, he hunted it back for some distance towards the side, so that it might be heard from the side again, and the expectant mother might be calmed. The husband had the power of averting the evil, so long as he only drove it sideward away from the front, should it happen that his wife would not accept the well-meant fictions of her female friends, to the effect that the cry came from the required direction.⁴

If, as may be taken for certain, the Jakun once really believed in these omens, they have certainly outgrown them in most cases at the present day. It is quite possible that they may still trouble some of the women, but from the fact that these well-meant fictions on the part of the woman's friends are admitted to be such, it may be inferred that the retention of the ceremony at present has little more than the strength of ancient custom. Moreover, its retention may perhaps be further favoured by the fact that on the following day there is given a small feast to which all the neighbours are invited. This feast is called the "Little Forage," whilst the richer and more complete banquet which follows the birth of the child is called the "Big Forage." The marriage feast again is called, *inter alia*, the "Double Forage," and the funeral repast the "Last Forage."⁵

Before leaving this subject it is interesting to record the Jakun belief that phosphorescent jelly-fishes in the sea were the wandering souls of men awaiting the impending birth of a child in order to try and enter its body.⁶

The practice of abortion was well understood by the Jakun women. It was procured in order to avoid the labour which the bringing-up of the child would entail. It was, however, very seldom practised, for if it was discovered by the

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1 Z. f. E. xxviii. 195.  
2 Ibid. p. 185-187.  
3 Ibid. p. 185.  
4 Ibid.  
5 Ibid.  
6 Ibid. p. 187.
husband, he had the right of giving his wife a sound drubbing with a club, and if in such a case he accidentally killed her, he was not brought to justice for doing so. In the case of a premature delivery, a sort of council of sage-femmes or elderly women might be called to try whether the woman had procured abortion. If she were found guilty, she was delivered over to her husband for punishment. He was not, however, compelled to punish her, and if he forbore, she escaped without a penalty.1

When an unmarried Jakun girl had recourse to procuring abortion, she entirely lost all position and status in the clan. She was despised by the other women, and scorned as a bride by the men; and finally she exposed herself to the disgrace of being chastised by her parents.2

No cranial deformation is practised by the Jakun. "The heads of the children are left in their natural shape and are not compressed in any way."3

The average number of children born to a Jakun is three.4

TREATMENT OF CHILDREN.5

The Jakun never leave their little children alone, as the other tribes do. Wherever the parents go, the mother carries the child, the father helping her when there are several children, and she has no female relation or friend at hand to assist.

The Jakun women carry their children slung at their backs in a sling made either of cotton stuff or bark-cloth. The sling is passed round the lower part of the child's body and back and over the mother's breast, an additional strip being frequently passed round the mother's forehead.

The child's legs are turned upwards towards the front, in line with the mother's hips.

If the child wants to suck, it is pulled round to the breast, and not fed (as among the Sakai) by throwing the breast over the shoulder—except perhaps in a very few cases when the breasts of a Jakun mother who has given birth to a very numerous progeny have become abnormally developed. A Jakun child may also be seen sucking with its head pushed forward under the mother's arm.

The Jakun women declare that in former times they never carried their children on their hips as the Sakai and Malay women do. Now, however, they have adopted the practice, which they have borrowed, as in so many other cases, from the tribes in their vicinity.6

The Jakun seen by Vaughan-Stevens declared that they (like the O. Laut) had never seen twins. If twins were to be born, they would be regarded as an advantage, since later on there would be two children to help with the work. The father, however, would feel an uncertainty, as to whether some other man had not helped him.7

Vaughan-Stevens describes another almost obsolete custom of the Jakun women, which is still, however (he says), occasionally practised. This is that whenever a Jakun woman loses her first-born, if the latter happens to be a boy, she pulls off the wrapper of cloth which she wears by way of undergarment and puts on a loin-cloth of tree-bark in its place. Over this bark girdle cotton-cloth might be worn, but the bark-cloth must be worn immediately next the skin, and that until a full month had elapsed since the child's death, after which it might be discontinued.8

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1 Z.f. E. xxviii. 186.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid. xxix. 183. From the context this passage appears to apply to the Jakun. The name of the race referred to in this connexion is not mentioned, however.
4 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 102.
5 Z.f. E. xxviii. 199-201.
6 Ibid. p. 200.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid. p. 199.
Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

0. Laut, S'letar.—The solitary statement that we possess as to the birth customs of the Orang Laut, S'letar is to the effect that their children were only welcomed to the world by the mother's joy.¹

0. Laut, Sabimba.—Logan informs us that among the Sabimba the husband alone assisted at births. To aid parturition a decoction of "sālusoh" leaves was administered, and blowing out of the mouth ("semboran") was also practised as among the Malays. A fire was kindled near the mother to scare away evil spirits. A decoction of the leaves of the "mēngkuas" was also given to the mother. The umbilical cord was cut with a knife or sliver of rattan ("sembilu rotan"), and powdered turmeric applied. On the third day the mother was bathed in water mixed with a decoction of "kamaso" leaves, followed by an application of the juice of limes. She then resumed her wanderings in the jungle in search of food, her child being bound closely under her arm with its mouth to the breast. It did not receive a name till it was a few months old. The children of the Sabimba were never beaten.²

0. Laut, Muka Kuning.—Of the Muka Kunings we are told that a midwife ("bidan") assisted at births, and received four thousand rattans on the first occasion of the kind in the family, three thousand on the second, two thousand on the third, and a thousand for any subsequent birth. The only medicine employed was a decoction of the bark of "kayu pangar," which was administered to the mother, and a decoction of the root which was given to the child.³

¹ J. E. A. vol. i. p. 344*.
² Ibid. p. 298.
³ Ibid. p. 338*.
0. Laut, Beduanda Kallang.—At child-birth among the Beduanda Kallang the mother drank a decoction of the leaves of mangrove trees ("bakau") that had fallen from the trees and floated on the water, and the child was given a little of the expressed juice of the fruit of the "k’luna."  

Orang Laut (no locality specified).—The rest of this account of the birth-customs of the Orang Laut in general is taken from Vaughan-Stevens, who gives no means of identifying the tribe.

Each family group of the Orang Laut contains one or more old women who follow the profession of sage-femme. Their status varies, and they are paid by means of a present.  

When delivery took place on board a boat, the space available was naturally very restricted. Hence the patient was either supported in an upright position or laid face downwards upon one of the boat's transoms which had been temporarily broadened by the addition of cross-pieces. Behind the patient squatted a woman, who held her fast at the back, whilst a second, whose duty it was to receive the child, and also to wash it as soon as it was born, sat in the bottom of the boat.  

The Orang Laut cut off the umbilical cord shorter than the Jakun. Their standard of measurement is three "breadths" of the bamboo knife used for the operation, the blade of the latter being required to be of the same breadth as the sage-femme's middle finger.  

Among the Orang Laut the mother half an hour after her confinement washes herself in the sea, and after a few days returns to her duties. In a case which they regard as being so natural, the Orang Laut apply no special treatment; for about a month, however, the mother has the region of the abdomen bound round with a cloth skirt ("sarong") in place of the loin-cloth which up to that time she had been wearing.  

A considerable amount of noise is made by the O. Laut as soon as a child is born to them. All present unite in shouting and in beating anything which will make a noise, the greater din that it makes the better. The hubbub lasts for about ten minutes at the shortest to half an hour at the longest, and is especially intended to scare away any evil spirits which might otherwise attack either mother or child. As soon, however, as the cord is cut, the demons are thought to have lost their opportunity. In the intervals of the din the old woman who has assisted at the delivery blows upon the child, but this, however, is no charm, or at least is not so regarded by the O. Laut.

According to the Orang Laut, the flying lizards of the Peninsula look out for births, and cause young newly-arrived souls to enter into the bodies of new-born children, by which means they at once obtain possession of their future embodiments. They regard these flying lizards as subordinate to the great blind Flying Lizard of their legends, which keeps watch over the [Life-] stone, for

1 J. f. A. vol. i. p. 300.  
3 Ibid. p. 189.  
4 " bakau.  
5 Ibid. p. 198.  
6 Ibid. p. 192. Sic. The practice of blowing upon the child is, of course, a wide-spread magic ceremony.
which express purpose the Creator made it. They have the power of flying from earth to the unknown Void in order to make arrangements with this Lizard-chief of theirs. No Orang Laut will kill these small reptiles, since its companions (he believes) would be sure to avenge its death, by refraining from pointing out the next born child of the offender to the soul which had been appointed for it.\(^1\)

Moreover, these small flying lizards have the power of turning themselves into crocodiles at will. The crocodile and the shark are regarded as brothers, and whenever a flying lizard learns from its Chief that any person's stone (representing his soul) is soiled and buried, the former is commissioned to convey the order for the death-penalty to the person concerned, and to execute it. This mission it accomplishes either in its own shape or in that of a snake (whose form it can assume at will when on land), in that of a crocodile (when it is in the water), or through any other agent whatsoever. Hence whenever an Orang Laut dies from the bite of a snake, or is seized by a crocodile or shark (the most probable forms of death according to their manner of living), or sucked down and drowned through some invisible agency, the Orang Laut all agree that it was the doing of the small flying lizard acting under the orders of the big blind lizard (that watches the life-stone).\(^2\)

The Orang Laut women when suckling their children do not throw the breast over the shoulder, though they often pass it sideways under the mother's arm. Like the Jakun mothers, they do not wean their children until their breasts are dry. There is seldom too little milk at first. In such an event the child would be fed by one of the mother's friends or relations, though this would not be held to constitute a closer relationship between the foster-child and the children of its foster-mother. The women do not retire out of sight when the child is being suckled.\(^3\)

The birth of a child is signified by means of a split stick, in the cleft of which a leaf is jammed. If the child is a girl, the stick retains its bark, if a boy the stick is peeled.\(^4\)

No steps were taken to procure abortion. Such an abomination would have been considered impossible.\(^5\)

The Orang Laut deny that child-murder has ever been practised among or even been charged to them. They are amply supplied with food, and the children are early taught to forage for themselves, so that they were not subjected to any such temptation. As among the Jakuns, twins are almost unknown.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) Z. f. E. xxviii. 187.  
\(^2\) Ibid. p. 188.  
\(^3\) Ibid. p. 201.  
\(^4\) Ibid. p. 198.  
\(^5\) Ibid. p. 186.  
\(^6\) Ibid. p. 200.
CHAPTER II.

MATURITY CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

If we differentiate as we ought the practice of tattooing (i.e. of decorating the person with punctured designs filled with pigment) from the various forms of scarification and raised cicatrices or keloids, we shall feel a considerable measure of doubt as to the extent to which any form of tattooing, properly so called, exists among the tribes of the Malay Peninsula. It is true that several writers of some authority employ (loosely, as I think) the word "tattooing" in speaking of the face-decoration of some of the Semang and Sakai tribes of Perak; and it is true that one of these writers (Miklucho-Maclay) even describes the operation as being performed with a needle,¹ but in none of these instances, not even in the latter, is the modus operandi described, and in default of evidence of this kind, we can only say that there is no adequate statement of tattooing as known to these tribes.² Of the practice of skin-scarification, on the other hand, as well as of face-painting, there is abundant evidence, and, unless the contrary fact can be proved, it is safest to suppose that most of the writers mentioned above

² Since penning the above, Mr. Leonard Wray has written me to the effect that "among the Perak Sakai tattooing is met with," though all details as to its form are still wanting.
have carelessly used the word "tattooing" as the equivalent of skin-scarification, a confusion which it would be easy to parallel from the writings of travellers in other savage countries. If this explanation, which to me appears to be the one that will best fit all the facts, be accepted, the next question to be considered is whether such "tattooing" as exists should properly be classified as a custom of Negrito or Sakai origin. That it is not a custom of Jakun origin may be taken as certain, since none of the purer Jakun tribes, so far as our information goes, ever practise it. It therefore almost certainly originated either among the Semang or among the Sakai, and the balance of evidence seems to show that it is not indigenous among the Semang. Of all the Negritos that I saw in Kedah and Kelantan, only one (a woman who displayed some traces of Sakai admixture) showed any evidence of it. And if we go further afield, to the nearest spot whence collateral testimony as to the customs of the Negritos may be obtained, i.e. to the Andaman Islands, we find that none of the tribes there practised this method of decorating the skin of the face, and that the "Jârawa" tribe apparently did not tattoo any part of the body. On the other hand, the cultural focus of this practice appears to be in the valley of the Plus in Ulu Perak, a district mainly under the influence of the Sakai.

To return to the former question, that of real tattooing, I may quote in support of a similar conclusion the opinion expressed by Mr. L. Wray, who has recently written me that with regard to the place of its origin, he believes it (as I do) to be a Sakai,

1 Cp. Man's Andamanese, p. 113, note to p. 111, "the Jârawa do not tattoo."
and not a Semang custom—firstly, because he has never seen it on a Semang, and secondly, because tattooing would not show on the nearly black skin of the Negrito.¹

Of the prevalence of some form of tattooing or scarification in Pahang I have not yet been able to get corroborative evidence, but one or other of these practices was certainly found among the Sakai tribes of Ulu Langat in Selangor, who were not long since described as a “tattooed” race.²

On the whole, therefore, it seems best to conclude that both these customs, whether tattooing or scarifying are of Sakai origin, and that even where we find them established among the Semang, they are really exotic.

It may, I think, be very reasonably suggested that most forms of body-paint employed by these tribes may have originated in the application of (1) magical designs to the body; and that out of the most commonly used forms developed, on the one hand, (2) the so-called “tribal marks” (where indeed these can be properly established), and (3), on the other, merely decorative designs.³ The bulk of our information on the subject comes from Vaughan-Stevens, but it is admittedly an eclectic account, and it would certainly be the height of rashness to attempt to build upon this flimsy foundation until the necessary material comes to hand for checking it. Quite apart from any question of his methods, Vaughan-Stevens himself declares above, but class (b) is not wide enough, some of the designs employed being undoubtedly love-charms intended to make the person of the wearer attractive; it is also probable that magical designs (V.-St.’s class (b)) preceded tribal marks (his class (a)), which were probably developed out of them.

¹ This second reason is not by itself, of course, conclusive.
³ Vaughan-Stevens classifies these designs as follows:—(a) Tribal marks, (b) charms against spirits, (c) mere decoration. This classification is very much on the same lines as that given
(p. 150) that it is now a very rare thing to meet with the old and correct designs. Here and there in remote tribes the women are still in the habit of painting their faces, but the patterns are very often employed solely for ornament, and are either a mere improvisation of the individual, or incorrect or abridged imitations of the old original design, while frequently the private totem (sic) of the family has replaced the original pattern of the tribe.¹

This custom (of body-paint) is of much wider distribution than that of scarification. This may perhaps be due to the fact that the marks of the latter are indelible, whereas the painted designs can be removed at a moment's notice should there be any apprehension (always a lively one in the hearts of these timid aboriginal races) of ridicule on the part of strangers who do not practise it.²

Accordingly we find that there are very few, if any, wild people of the Peninsula who do not, on special occasions at least, indulge in the practice, many of them being tribes which no doubt formerly practised scarification or tattooing.

It is to be seen among Semang, Sakai, and Jakun, but more especially among the Sakai. The colours used are black, white, red, and occasionally yellow, which last two appear to be of equivalent value from a magical point of view.

By the same method of weighing the evidence, I should be led to classify the custom of perforating the nose-cartilage (with the wearing of the nose-bar or nose-quill) as a Sakai practice, for in this case too the Andamanese evidence is of a negative character,³

² Ibid.
³ "In this [non-perforation of the nose-cartilage] the Andamanese differ
whereas this identical custom is certainly found almost everywhere among the purer Sakai tribes, even in the east coast states (e.g. Pahang, where a nose-ring is sometimes substituted for the quill), and as far south as Ulu Langat in Selangor, where the Orang Bukit were described by Campbell, in the passage referred to above, as a race that "put skewers through their noses,"\(^1\) and probably yet further south as far as Negri Sembilan. On the other hand, the practices of filing and blackening the teeth are widely-spread customs which are found (generally speaking) throughout the whole of the Malayan region, and the custom of ear-boring is practically universal.

Shaving the head, with the exception of a top-knot, which is often temporarily removed at puberty, may be seen among the Semang, but so rarely that it may be regarded as borrowed from the Malays, amongst whom it is common enough. With regard to the Sakai and the Jakun there is very little evidence, though, if we may judge from photographs, the latter certainly practise it to some extent. The apparent system of totemism reported by Vaughan-Stevens, which is given below (p. 62), rests on most unsatisfactory evidence, which can only have come, I think, from the use of "leading questions."\(^2\)

I.—Semang.

_Nose-boring._

**Kedah Semang.**—The boring of the nose-cartilage is, as already explained, most probably a Sakai custom

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which has been borrowed by the few Semang who are now found practising it.\(^1\) It was not practised at all by the Semang of Kedah, nor did we see any examples of it among the Pangan of Kelantan. I was told, however, that some of the Belimbing tribes (Pangan) were in the habit of passing pieces of stick or stems of grasses through a perforation in the cartilage. None of the Negritos, however, that I saw, either on the east or west coast, showed the slightest trace of it.

**Perak Semang.**—It is also said to occur among the Semang of Perak.

**Ear-boring.**

**Kedah Semang.**—This is a custom of both sexes. It is said to be performed in the case of girl-children as soon after birth as possible, the lobe being bored with a porcupine’s quill, or some such article, and the hole enlarged by inserting a rolled-up strip of cloth or banana-leaf on ordinary, and of licuala ("palas") leaf on festive occasions.\(^2\) Boys also occasionally have a hole bored in one lobe only, in which they carry the native cigarette, as is the practice, I believe, in Burma and elsewhere. I did not see any of the Kedah Semang actually wearing an ear-quill, though it has been recorded in Perak.

**Tooth-filing.**

**Kedah Semang.**—In Kedah the teeth were frequently filed, the six front teeth of the upper jaw being thus treated, as among the neighbouring Malay tribes. This filing is performed by means of a smooth piece of sandstone from the nearest brook, and is said to be

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\(^1\) Vide p. 150, ante.

\(^2\) In the Belimbing district of Ulu Kelantan, where the Pangan practise
performed at the age of puberty irrespective of sex, probably not long before marriage, as is the practice of the Inland Malays, from whom they learnt it.

The six front teeth of the upper jaw of a Semang skull brought home by the writer were filed, the filing being of the "concave" kind (in which the front part of the teeth is filed away, so that the teeth thus treated become concave instead of convex).

In the Ulu Kelantan district the various Pangan tribes are also alleged to practise tooth-filing,¹ and some of them are even said to blacken the teeth. I think, however, that with very little doubt, both this Pangan practice of tooth-filing and that of blackening the teeth (especially the latter) must have been of Malay origin. This last practice, at all events, is exceedingly rare among the wild tribes, though it is common enough with the Malays. Most of the Semang that we measured had had their teeth filed as described, but not one had them blackened.

Other Forms of Initiation.

All the Semang without exception deny that they ever circumcise or incise, except of course when they become converts to Mohammedanism.

Scarification or "Tattooing."

Kedah Semang.—The actual practice of tattooing properly so called (i.e. skin-puncturation) is, so far as I was able to ascertain, unknown to the Negritos of Kedah, and even with regard to scarification the evidence is of the scantiest character, and it would

¹ V.-St. mentions that he saw filed teeth among some "very black people, who lived on the boundary of the Pangan or Eastern Semang"—Z.f. E. xxix. p. 180. The filing is performed in Kelantan, as in Kedah, with sandstone.
perhaps be nearest the truth to surmise that such of the Perak Semang as practise it, have adopted it from neighbouring tribes of Sakai. At Belimbing in Ulu Kelantan, however, I was told that among the Pangan of those parts certain "marks" (scarifications) were worn on the face, the design being scratched in on the skin by means of a thorn ("duri"). The marks on the forehead were more or less vertical, and those on the cheek horizontal; but sometimes the design is only temporarily marked out with charcoal. I did not, however, see any Semang who were so marked, though I saw a large number who were not.

At Siong (in Kedah) the wife of the tribal chief (who, however, came from the Plus district in Perak and had Sakai blood in her) had four distinct scarifications upon the left cheek, with similar faint marks on the right cheek also. These marks, which were not quite horizontal but slightly divergent, started from the nose and were carried across the cheek, each of them forming a dark-red (almost black) stripe across the skin, looking like the cut of a whip-lash. She told me that these marks on her face were made when she was quite young and living in the valley of Ulu Plus. The finely serrated edge of a sugar-cane leaf was drawn lightly across the skin excoriating it, after which soot or powdered charcoal was rubbed into the incision. She assured me at the time that it was a tribal mark, the object of which was that any member of the tribe who bore it might be known to their friends whenever they met in a distant part of the country.

Although, however, marks of this kind may often merely be (as is indeed indicated by my informant's reply), of the nature of local "fashions," such as serve to distinguish the people of one district from the
people of another, not only in Asia, but in most parts of the world, not even excepting the continent of Europe, this need not preclude their use as magic.

Perak Semang.—The foregoing information, which was given me by the Kedah tribes, tallies closely with De Morgan's account of what he calls "tattooing," which from the importance of the subject is worth quoting verbatim: "The Semang and Sakai tattoo themselves differently" (for a fuller account see twelve illustrations in L'Homme, ii. 555). "Some draw (parallel or divergent) black lines upon their faces, starting from the nose and continuing across the cheeks or the forehead. These designs are frequently unsymmetrical: frequently too they are only found on one side of the face. These adornments are as frequent among men as among women, and are indelible. They are produced by lightly raising the skin and introducing beneath it colouring matter such as soot or powdered charcoal."

Body-paint.

Kedah Semang.—The custom of painting the body is indulged in rather for purposes of magic than for those of mere adornment, as it so often is among the Sakai. The facts are as follows. Among the Semang of the east coast in Ulu Kelantan I was told that the Pangan of Belimbing had the habit of tattooing or scarifying both their cheeks and their foreheads, but that occasionally, in lieu of this, they merely marked out the design with charcoal.

1 Elsewhere this same writer (viii, 296) states that the Semang women tattoo and paint themselves "in the same manner" as the Sakai. The words, however, are very vague ("elles se tatouent et peignent de la même mani-

Further, in Kedah one of the women of the tribe in explaining to me that the decorative designs of the bamboo combs worn by Semang women were intended for repelling various evil influences, volunteered the information that similar patterns were sometimes painted on the women's bodies, for a similar (i.e. magical) object, these latter being not therefore solely the outcome of local whims or fashions.

I saw, besides, among these Kedah Semang, a species of yellow unguent (said by the wearer to be pure coconut-oil) applied to the cheeks, the tip of the nose, etc., by the men, who informed me at the time that they only wore it by way of decoration. At the same time, in describing the love-charm called "chindwai," they explained that the application of oil to the face and breast was for purposes of magic, and this I believe to have been the original motive of all body-paint practised by the Semang.

In substitution for the yellow colour when coconut-oil is unprocurable, the Semang obtain a similar pigment from the wild "saffron" or turmeric. Among the Pangan of Ulu Kelantan this latter is converted (by mixing with lime) into a sort of burnt-red ochre.

Hence we see that at least three colours, black, yellow, and red, are certainly used by the Negritos, and to these white (obtained by slaking a little shell-lime) should be added.

On the other hand, it is not clear, from our existing information, whether any kind of red ochre is obtained among the Semang (as among the Sakai), by the grinding down of lumps of iron ore or hematite.

Perak Semang.—In the account of Semang traditions there is perhaps an allusion to the supposed origin of
body-paint in the story of the charred stick which Kamoj, the ruler of the damned, is said to have adopted as his emblem, in place of the burning brand which he received from Kari.¹

So too Vaughan-Stevens records that the Semang were in the habit of marking their bodies with charcoal for medicinal, (i.e. magical) purposes, wherever any pain might be felt.²

With reference to the Negritos of Perak, De Morgan mentions the fact (referred to above), that they both "paint and tattoo themselves in the same manner" as the Sakai, but his phrase is extremely vague, and he gives no further details. Vaughan-Stevens, on the other hand, declares that "to the Negritos, both painting and tattooing are unknown."³

II.—Sakai.

Nose-boring.

Perak Sakai.—Colonel Low has informed us that the perforation of the cartilage of the nose (through which porcupine's quills are worn) is the distinguishing characteristic of the Orang Alas (i.e. the Sakai) of Ulu Kinta⁴ in Perak.⁵

From other sources we learn that the Sakai of Perak are in the habit of perforating the septum of the nose, through which they insert the quill of a porcupine or a bar of some other material (wood or bone) which is not unfrequently decorated with incised rings.

It appears further that they occasionally wear in the same way a rolled-up piece of banana-leaf. This

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 131.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ In original "Ulu Kantu."
Sakai of South Perak, showing Face-Paint and Nose-Quill.
latter, however, is not worn for ornamental purposes, but is intended, as in the case of the ear-hole, to enlarge the perforation of the cartilage.¹

*Ear-boring.*

**Perak Sakai.**—The women sometimes wear a porcupine's quill passed through the perforation in the lobe of the ear. Wooden and other ear-studs or plugs and ear-rings are, however, not uncommonly substituted.²

The foregoing account is corroborated by Colonel Low, in the passage quoted above, and Hale, who states that they also "wear the same things" (*i.e.* porcupine's quills, etc.) in their ears, and there appears to be a tendency to enlarge the perforations. Mr. Hale observed two women wearing rolls of cloth as large as his little finger, and he found great difficulty in abstracting one of these rolls, which fitted very tightly.³

So, too, in a recent letter to me, Mr. L. Wray observes that ear-studs or plugs made of decorated bamboo, and with a diameter of 1¼ in. (31 mm.), are worn by the Sakai of Perak, who occasionally insert in them both leaves and flowers.

*Tooth-filing.*

**Perak Sakai.**—There is some doubt as to whether the practice of filing the teeth obtains among the Perak Sakai. De Morgan says that the teeth (of the Perak Sakai) were magnificent and were never filed, and that he frequently inquired of Sakai chiefs whether this practice existed, but that they as often denied it.⁴

¹ Vide vol. i. p. 156.
² De Morgan, vii. 414; L'Homme, ii. 586; and for the kind of earrings, etc., which are worn, vide vol. i. p. 156.
³ Hale, p. 293; cp. Rev. d'Ethn. i. 44.
⁴ De Morgan, vii. 412; L'Homme, ii. 582.
In spite of this evidence it would, of course, be strange if the Sakai had in no case picked up what is so common a custom of the Malays. But I have not so far found any mention of it by other authors.

Mr. L. Wray, however, writes me that he has seen at least one Sakai woman whose teeth were filed after the manner of the Malays. She was living with a tribe of Sakai near Chenderiang, but as she had once been a slave in a Malay house, it might have been done by Malays. In the same district he saw a woman whose teeth had been blackened.

Other Forms of Initiation.

There is no record either of circumcision or any kindred rite among the unconverted Sakai.

Scarification and Tattooing.

Perak Sakai.—There appears to be very little evidence of the practice of tattooing proper among the Sakai, beyond Mr. L. Wray's statement already quoted, but De Morgan’s account almost certainly holds good at least of the methods adopted for scarification. The same author goes on to explain that the face-marks to which he refers are found among the wilder tribes only, their more civilised kinsmen (who are in closer touch with the Malays), having long discontinued the practice. De Morgan himself observed it (in Perak) among the hill-Sakai of Changkat Kerbu, and also among those of Changkat Gochan,¹ as well as in other places. Baron Miklucho-Maclay, on the other hand, remarks (though in reality he only saw Pangan), that while he saw no "Sakai" or

¹ De M. viii. 225.
Semang man tattooed, he found most of the "Sakai" women so adorned, and always in the same style. Figure 2, Plate III. [of M.-Maclay's article] shows the arrangement of the simple design with which in childhood they embellish their cheeks and temples. The operation is performed with a needle, and the design is first marked out with resin.¹ Maclay's account certainly describes a method which may refer to regular "tattooing," though we must not be led too hastily to conclude (from the mere fact of a needle being employed) that puncturation, and not scarification, was the method actually practised.

Vaughan-Stevens, again, though he must have had ample opportunities of studying the question, is far too uncertain as an observer for us to feel sure to which process he actually refers. All the information that he gives is contained in the meagre statement that in the case of the Sakai (Senoi), Besisi, and Kenaboi the chiefs had the same pattern as the ordinary man, and that the chiefs of the Tembeh had, when their clan-mark (?) was tattooed, a further special tattoo-pattern denoting their rank "tattooed" upon the breast or the arm. They alone were tattooed, whilst to the Negritos (i.e. Semang and Pangan) both tattooing and body-paint were unknown.²

Of other authorities upon the Sakai of Perak, (1) Hale, though he could hardly have failed to see it, if it was there, unfortunately in his paper makes no reference whatever to the subject.

(2) De la Croix relates that, of some fifteen Sakai women belonging to Kampong Chabang whom he met at Kampong Langkor (S. Kerbu), some of

them had lines tattooed\(^1\) upon their cheeks, which he thought might be tribal marks. Two of these lines were parallel, and were drawn from the top of the ear to the nostrils; two more started from the bottom of the ear, and terminated at the corners of the mouth; and besides these there was a small vertical tattoo design between the eyebrows.\(^2\) Some Sakai men from another Sakai village close to Kampong Chabang, had the same tattoo-marks on the face that he had noticed among the women.\(^3\)

(3) To these may be added the statement of De Morgan, viz., that at Changkat Riam (in the interior of Perak) he "first saw people who were actually tattooed." The tattoo-patterns "of the men were less elegant than those of the women, who were sometimes entirely covered with indelible black lines and red paintings."\(^4\)

On the other hand, we have the first clear and decisive account from Colonel Low, who remarks that the Malays of Perak divided the Sakai into three classes—the "Tame Sakai," the "Hill Sakai" of Ulu Bertang, and the Alas ("Alas") of Ulu Kinta.\(^5\) This last tribe differed from the other two in having adopted the custom of . . . tattooing the face and breast by means of a sharp piece of wood, and filling the punctures with the juice of a tree.\(^6\)

The next really reliable statement upon the subject comes from Mr. L. Wray, who in writing to me recently remarked as follows:—"The Sakai of Perak practise tattooing, the lines being made by

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\(^1\) By "tattooed" may be meant "scarified."
\(^2\) De la Croix, p. 336.  \(^3\) Ib. p. 338.
\(^4\) De Morgan, viii. 211.
\(^5\) In original "Kantu."

Mr. Cerriúli has also since written me that the skin is "pricked" with a "bértam" thorn, and powdered charcoal rubbed in.
on a Woman

on a Man

Drawings by Wray showing Difference of Pattern between Sakai Man and Woman

Vol. II. p. 42.
1. Young Sakai man of "Lobon Kela" (S. Kinta).
2. Young Sakai man of Changkat Korbu (S. Korbu).
3. Young Sakai man of Changkat Riam (S. Korbu).
4. Young Sakai man of Changkat Chano (S. Korbu).
5. Young Sakai man of Changkat Gochang (S. Korbu).
6. Young man (S'mah) of Changkat Pongora (S. Phah).
7. Young Sakai woman of Changkat Riam.
8. Young Sakai woman of Changkat Chabang (S. Raya).
9. Young "Semang" girl of "Changkat Pongora" (S. Phah).
10. Young "Semang" woman of Changkat Pongora.
11. Sakai woman of Changkat Korbu.
12. "Semang" woman of "Changkat Pongora."

DE MORGAN'S DRAWINGS, SHOWING TYPES OF FACE DECORATION (SAKAI AND "SEMANG")

Vol. II. p. 43.
pricking the skin with a thorn, and then rubbing in powdered charcoal. I was told by a Malay that a tribe at Sungei Raya in Kinta employed red lines as well as the bluish ones produced by the charcoal, but he did not know what pigment was used. The lines are mostly to be seen on the face, but sometimes rings are tattooed round the fingers. The marks are usually confined, however, to a few lines on the forehead. A favourite device is a diamond-shaped pattern in the centre, with one or two vertical lines on each side, though often there is only one line, running from the roots of the hair down to the tip of the nose. I enclose some sketches I made in Batang Padang. All were on the forehead where not otherwise shown. The marks do not appear to be tribal, since members of the same family have different designs. I have certainly never seen scarification on a Perak Sakai. Raised cicatrices on the bodies of some of them I have seen, but there was nothing to lead one to suppose they were not the result of accident."

In spite of this apparently strong consensus of evidence, I must still repeat the warning that (although there clearly is some form of real tattooing, i.e. skin-puncturation, practised in the Peninsula), yet what many of the observers from whom I have quoted are wont to call tattooing, is certainly no more than scarification, or even perhaps nothing but mere face-paint after all.

Body-paint.

With regard to body-paint, the information to hand is more satisfactory. Its existence among the
Sakai of Perak is noted by Hale, Swettenham, De Morgan, Vaughan-Stevens, and others;¹ and among the Senoi of Pahang by Clifford and Martin. The pigments used agree pretty well, as to the colours used, with those employed by the Semang, but are made of varying materials.

De Morgan states that the Sakai of Changkat Gochan and S. “Krou” (in Perak) used to manufacture their white pigment from lime obtained from the shells of the Melania, and that they usually applied the product thus obtained in a circular stripe on the right cheek.² When black, the pigment is obtained from charcoal, when red, from the fruit of the anatto or Bixa orellana, which is cultivated for the purpose.³

The anatto (Mal. “kāsuma”), however, being of modern introduction, cannot have been the original object from which the red pigment was obtained, and there is accordingly some question as to what substance may have preceded it. Vaughan-Stevens describes it, somewhat vaguely and from tradition only, as a species of red earth, but in his Cave-dwellers of Perak Wray refers to the apparent use of hematite in this way, and there can I think be very little doubt that this conjecture is correct, and that a species of red ochre, obtained from some of the numerous forms of iron-ore so widely distributed in the Peninsula, originally formed the red pigment of the Sakai. Hematite does in fact to this day form a very popular

¹ De Morgan, viii. 211; Swett. p. 228; Hale, p. 243.
² De Morgan, viii. 225.
³ Cp. Wray’s Cave-dwellers, p. 43, for an almost identical statement: “The three colours used by the modern Sakai for painting their persons are charcoal, a vegetable red, and white china clay. These are mixed with oil, and the faces and sometimes the breasts of women, and occasionally the men, are painted with patterns with lines and dots. This is only done on occasions when they wish to add to their charms.”
SAKAI CHILD HAVING FACE-PAINT APPLIED.
red body-paint with the Peninsular Malays, who give it the name of "Batu Kawi." ¹

On the other hand, there is yet one other (unrecorded) means of manufacturing red pigment, by treating wild turmeric with lime—a process which has already been mentioned in dealing with the Semang.

A general description of the designs is given by De Morgan, who observes that the Sakai of Changkat Riam, more especially the women, were sometimes entirely covered with indelible black "tattoo"-marks and red paint. This paint would dissolve in water, and was only applied on feast days. Some of the women had their bosoms covered with concentric red circles, whilst others painted their bosoms all over and applied simple designs, consisting of straight or broken lines, to their cheeks, arms, and thighs.²

The remainder of this account of body-paint is taken from Vaughan-Stevens:³—

The Sakai, Besisi, Kenaboi, and Tembeh declare that they are descended from one and the same stock, but that their separate tribes had each inhabited an island before the joint migration to the Peninsula, under the "Chief with the Iron Finger-nails" ("Béchanggei Besí"), took place. From this joint migration must, however, be excepted the Tembeh, who had long before migrated separately to the Peninsula.

¹ In corroboration of this view, cp. Z. f. E. xxvi. 152: "As regards the materials with which the painting was effected, the Sakai are unanimous in saying that the red pigment now in use is of recent introduction, and that they formerly used a red earth, which was not, however, obtainable in the Peninsula. The anatto has long been in use, but is described as an inferior substitute for this earth-pigment, the colouring produced by the anatto being alleged to fade in about the course of an hour. The black (pigment) is prepared from charcoal, the white from lime, both being mixed with the sap of plants."

² This statement is correct, with the exception of the statement—assuming the identification made above to be correct—that the material for the original red pigment was not obtainable in the Peninsula. I myself have more than once met Selangor Malays who imagined, from the name of this ore ("Batu Kawi" or "Kawi stone"), that it was imported from the "Langkawi" Islands, north of Penang, and some similar belief may easily lie at the root of this reported statement of the Sakai.

³ De Morgan, viii. 211; cp. L'Homme, ii. 555 (for illustrations).
The tradition of this tribe is very vague, yet it is agreed that they lived for a long time separated from the other branches of the tribe. It appears that during this interval they learnt "tattooing" from another race, and afterwards substituted face-paint for "tattooing." 1

For each of the three tribes (Sen-oi, Besisi, and Kenaboi) there existed a particular pattern, which was identical as regards the design and the materials employed, but which varied in form. In each of the three tribes one and the same tribe-sign served for all the members of the tribe, from the chief downwards. Only among the Sen-oi there was a special breast-pattern both for men and women. Moreover, among the Sen-oi, too, the magician, the midwife, and their patients were excepted from the rule. Thus the following rules became established:

1. The magician or medicine-man in each of the three tribes wore, during an exorcism, paint suitable for the occasion; at other times he wore his ordinary paint, each of the three tribes having a special one for the purpose.

2. So, too, the midwives wore a special face-paint whilst in discharge of their office, but at other times the usual one of their tribe.

On the other hand, the midwives of all three tribes wore, whilst in discharge of their office, one and the same pattern.

3. The young mother and her new-born child each wore, according to the day and the condition of their health, a series of face-paint, which in the case of all three races was the same. 2

The three curves on the cheeks of the Besisi are only variants of the ancient tribal mark of the Besisi and Sen-oi, which consisted of three stripes.

The magicians constructed variants from the old pattern of the Besisi which corresponds to the present Sen-oi pattern (No. 9), only the Sakai (Sen-oi) pattern lacked the stripe which goes from the under lip to the chin.

The Sen-oi magicians afterwards added this stripe to the old pattern (No. 9). The Besisi then went further afield and chose the tiger pattern (No. 5), whilst the Kenaboi took the three curves worn by the laymen of the mother tribe (No. 1), and applied two of them in front and over the third, which remained in the old position that it had among the Sakai (No. 8).

The patterns of the medicine-men (sorcerers) were only put on when they were in office; on every other occasion they wore the painting of the lay members.

In the case of the Sen-oi, Besisi, and Kenaboi the chiefs wore the same pattern as the ordinary man, but the chiefs of the Tembeh wore, since their clan-mark was "tattooed," a special tattoo-design in addition, to denote their rank, punctured on the breast or the arm. They alone were "tattooed."

The Sen-oi magicians wore no breast-pattern, neither did the midwife nor the new-made mother. 3

In addition to the above information, Vaughan-Stevens procured drawings of the following patterns:

1. Pattern of a Kenaboi man—three narrow black stripes on white ground—a variant of the three red stripes of the Sakai man-pattern (q.v.)
2. Pattern of a Besisi man and woman.
3. Pattern of a Kenaboi magician (as well as that of a Sen-oi).
4. Face-patterns of children of all three tribes, etc., etc. 4

1 Z. f. E. xxvi. 150.
2 Ibid. p. 151.
3 Ibid. p. 157.
4 Ibid.; cp. also L'Homme, ii. 555.
Elsewhere\(^1\) we read that:—

The red colour is always laid on with the finger, and the breadth of the stripe is therefore always less in the case of a woman than in that of a man.

The black and white stripes are produced by dipping into the paint the little sticks which serve as brushes.

The longer sticks ("chin-karr"), which are \(4\frac{1}{2}\) cm. long, are used for painting on the black lines, two or three of which are applied in close proximity by means of two or three sticks which are held in the fingers simultaneously. The smaller stick ("ching-al"), which is \(5\frac{1}{2}\) cm. long, and has four teeth, is used to put on the white points; it is held vertically between the fingers. The black pigment (charcoal) and the white (lime or earth) are mixed with the sap of a creeper, which makes the colours stiff and sticky so that they do not run.

The implement with which the magicians and midwives apply the white points is called "smi-kar." When anyone but the magician or the midwife uses this instrument, he will be struck by lightning. One of these instruments obtained by Vaughan-Stevens was made of tortoise-shell, and was \(4\) cm. in breadth; the other, which was long and saw-shaped, was of wood, and measured \(6\) cm. in length.\(^2\)

With this implement the points are more regularly produced than is possible with the brush, but the alternate black and white dots which are sometimes met with are applied so carelessly and irregularly, that without exact information as to what the pattern should be the design which is intended can hardly be recognised.

This arrangement does not appear in face-paints, at least not in the old tribal patterns, although many families have adopted them for their patterns. The coloured stripe which, running along the bridge of the nose, forms the centre of the pattern, is carried down on to the upper lip, if there is no moustache to hinder it, but otherwise it ends at the tip of the nose, leaving the septum free.

The beard indeed seldom interferes with the carrying out of the design, as the Sakai have very little, and frequently pluck out the few hairs they possess, but where the hair of the beard does hinder, the red pigment only is applied, and the white and black are filled in in imagination.

When the occasion for which the pattern was applied is past it is perhaps washed off, but more often what part of it has not already disappeared is rubbed off. The red disappears completely in a single night, the white dots fall off, and the black streaks only make the face, which is dirty without them, a little darker. The face-paint of the child is only washed off by the midwife so long as her help is required; whether it is afterwards washed off or not depends on the mother.

The dead should never have any paint left on the face. In the case of anyone who had died whilst the face was painted, the colour had to be washed off before burial could take place; the mourners at funerals did not paint their faces.\(^3\)

**FACE- AND BREAST-PAINT OF A SAKAI MAN.**

The paint applied to the breast of the Sakai men represented a fern (a sort of polypodium). During the marriage ceremony (whether of the Sakai, Besisi, or Kenaboi) the fronds of this fern were bruised in water and squirted over the bride and bridegroom, and this assured the pair many children. The fact that, although the marriage ceremony among all three of these tribes was the same, the Sakai alone adopted this painting of the breast as their tribal sign, might lead us to infer that the Sakai face-paint was really the ancient paint of the Sakai race.

The dots and line of the face-paint represent another fern, with the juice of which the youths were sprinkled before they entered the ranks of men and might marry.

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1 Z. f. E. xxvi. 152-158.
3 "Senoi" (*i.e.* Central Sakai) in original, throughout this passage.
Face-paint of a Sakai Woman.

With regard to the five streaks which the face-paint of the Sakai women shows in contradistinction to the three streaks of the men, there is a tradition explaining this difference.²

The breast-paint of a Sakai woman may be applied by the mother, but only after the midwife has given up her charge; generally speaking, the children, whether boys or girls, often wear till marriage the red stripes with which they paint themselves, often with the help of a mirror obtained by barter, though they may not apply the black streaks and white dots themselves.

As regards the breast-paint of the Sakai women, it should be mentioned that the streak running downwards is generally carried yet further down, so as to follow the natural development of the breast. The pattern represents the same fern as the pattern of the men.³

Old women, who are past child-bearing, omit the lower stripe running from the under lip to the cheek, as well as the breast-paint, since these designs represent hope of children.

The differentiated pattern of the midwife—who is always an old woman—was invented because, "although she is old, she is always seeing to children."

Face-paint of a Young Mother.

A Sakai woman who has just brought forth a child paints her face every day, commencing from the child's birthday, until one lunar month be past. If the moon is invisible, the days are counted approximately. Whenever a Sakai mother applies the particular pattern designated for this purpose, the breast-paint appropriate to a Sakai woman is omitted.

Face-paint of a Midwife.

A Sakai midwife paints her face when she awakes from sleep, just as does the new-made mother whom she is tending, the time during which her services are required being usually three or five days. On every other occasion a midwife bears the face-paint of her tribe; only that she omits the breast-paint as soon as she enters on her functions as midwife.

When another woman, not a midwife by profession, helps during a confinement, she too puts on the face-paint of a midwife, so long as she is discharging a midwife's functions, but as soon as her help is no longer required, she again takes on the full paint of the woman.

The Sakai women are the only ones that paint the breast.⁴

Face-paint of Children.

The patterns of the children—which were stripes carried from the eyebrows to the tip of the nose, black in the case of girls, red in that of boys; in the latter case there were also two slanting red streaks from the under lip to the chin—were applied by the midwife only as soon as the child was born; so long as the midwife was in attendance the painting was renewed every morning, but it ceased as soon as she went away. The mother could then, if she wished, apply the ordinary tribe pattern, with the addition of the black nose-line in the case of a girl.⁵

The children may not wear the narrow black lines till they are married—through marriage, according to ancient custom, the youth becomes a man—for the children might become unlucky should they pluck up the ferns along with other

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1 "Senoi" in original.
3 Ibid. p. 155.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid. p. 158.
plants in playing, and as they would thus break the peace which the magicians in ancient times had made with the spirits of the fern.

This account was obtained from the lay members of the tribe, but the magicians only affirmed that the custom had been introduced to make a distinction between the unmarried and the married. In the councils of the race in old times an unmarried male might not take part, as he was not "man"; but in days when it became a more difficult matter to obtain a wife, the contempt of the bachelor was forgotten, as well as the original intention of the face-paint. In order to impress upon the children, however, that they might not pluck up the said fern, they were told, according to the version of the magicians, the story given above.¹

Elsewhere² (in his description of the "tuang-tuang" or "tuntong" ceremony) Vaughan-Stevens writes of the Sakai (Blandas) as follows:—

Whenever the bamboo "stampers" are to be used for an exorcism the whole clan collects together. The men sit upon the ground around the magician, who stands in the centre facing towards the rising sun or moon. For, very frequently, although not always, these assemblies are held at night-time and by fireslight. The women and children sit behind the men. The men have their faces painted and their hair pushed back from their faces, so that the demons may see the face-patterns, and in consequence retire.

Before leaving the Sakai, it should be remarked that the Sakai women keep themselves very much apart during their monthly purification, and all of them remain at home on such occasions, or at least as near home as possible; many of them even close the house-door. This is not, however, for shame, since the husband is always admitted. They themselves do not know why they do so, and the custom is probably derived from some forgotten superstition.³

To this it may be added that they employ a special kind of bamboo receptacle called "chit-nây" ("chit-nort") for their purification upon such occasions.⁴

Of the pattern of the bamboo receptacle just described we are told that its decoration represents a plant, which, according to the sage-femme, does not grow in the district now inhabited by the tribe. In former times it was laid in the water employed for purification. At the present day the pattern of this flower is only used to "destroy" (i.e. to neutralise) "the blood." If the blood be not thus "neutralised," the Blood Demon ("Hantu Darah") would spring from it and creep forthwith to the woman's body and stop her courses, and so prevent her from bringing healthy children into the world.⁵

² Ibid. p. 148.
³ Ibid. xxviii. 170.
⁴ Ibid. p. 171. Bartels adds that the receptacle figured in the illustration is only 38.5 cm. in length and 18.3 cm. in circumference. It is a circular segment of bamboo, which has been cut short just below a node at the top (so that the upper end of the vessel is left open), and again just below the next node at the bottom (so that the lower end is closed). Hence it is well suited for use as a water receptacle (or cup). The whole area of its outer surface is painted with an ornamental design, consisting of two narrow stripes with right - angled interior counter - projections, between which are inserted irregular five-rayed stars. The outlines of the pattern are formed by alternative black and white dots. Vaughan-Stevens has copied the "orthodox" pattern on a piece of bamboo with the aid of a medicine-man, but the pattern is not quite identical with that produced.
⁵ Z. f. E. xxviii. 172.
The men have nothing to do with the Hantu Darah, and say, "We know nothing about it, ask the sage-femme." Even the magicians, who are responsible for all other medicines which the latter employs against the demons, would not acknowledge this antidote against the Blood Demon. No Sakai man will touch this receptacle ("chit-nât"), which is usually kept planted in the ground by the waterside. It can be made very quickly when required, and the pattern is very quickly washed off by the rain. They have no great objection to the "chit-nât" being seen by strangers.2

Unmarried Sakai girls employ for their purification a water-vessel called "kā-pet" ("karpet"). Since these vessels, in order to be fully efficacious, should have been incised by a magician of the old school, they are only found among the wild Sakai tribes who do not speak Malay.3

III.—Jakun.

Besisi.—I never once heard of a single case of tattooing, scarification, nose-boring, circumcision, or even of incision, being practised by the Besisi, although I made the fullest inquiries among them.

They related to me, on the other hand, a tradition explaining their reason for not adopting the practice

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1 Literally, "Blood Demon" = Malay "Hantu Darah."
2 Z.f. E. xxviii. 172. Bartels adds that the painting is performed with the instruments used for severing the umbilical cord. The ornamentation of the other "chit-nāts," of which more will be said later, is the exclusive privilege of the magicians, who employ in making them a special kind of instrument, closely resembling a curry-comb. They are cut out of a flat piece of horn (Fig. 2), and have a hole at the top for suspending them when they are being carried. They broaden out towards the bottom, and their lower edge is furnished with rough, tooth-like projections. The greatest width of the larger one is 5.3 cm., and its height is 5 cm.; the smaller one being 3.5 cm. by 4.6 cm.
3 Z.f. E. xxviii. 173, 174. Bartels adds here that Vaughan-Stevens has sent two specimens of this vessel, one of them (Fig. 3) being obtained from the Senoi (pure Sakai tribes), and the other (Fig. 4) from the Kenaboi. The former is a short segment of the stem of a bamboo cut short just below a particular internode (at the top), and again just below the next, so that the vessel thus formed is open at the top and closed at the bottom. It measures 28 cm. in length, and 13 in circumference, and its surface is decorated by three narrow parallel stripes formed by a kind of leaf-pattern. The second is like the first, a simple segment of bamboo measuring 39.5 cm. in length by 17.1 cm. in circumference. It is also decorated with three stripes, of which only two, however, are formed by the leaf-pattern, the third apparently representing a downy leaf-stalk. The design represents a plant whose root-end is shown near the mouth-opening of the vessel. The discrepancy in the designs shows that a design does not lose its efficacy through slight mistakes of the operator, such as may be caused by hurry, even though the identification and explanation of the pattern may be made much harder through such slips, if not absolutely impossible.
of circumcision, which they ascribed to the invulnerability of one of their tribal ancestors.

Ear-boring, on the other hand was, as among the Malays, freely practised, the stalk of a flower, such as the fragrant "champaka," being not infrequently inserted in the perforation.

Face-paint, however, was very generally employed by them, and the pigments used for it appeared to be in the main identical with those adopted by the Semang and Sakai, *i.e.* white, obtained from lime; yellow, obtained from turmeric; and red, obtained from the juice of the anatto.

The only form of paint that I have myself seen among the Besisi consisted in daubing the face with the aforesaid pigments (white, yellow, or red), these being manufactured, in addition to the usual materials, from such others (*e.g.* "bēdak" or rice-powder) as the growing familiarity of the Besisi with Malay civilisation might suggest. No special pattern was employed by them, and I never saw any distinct traces of the elaborate system of body-paint described by Vaughan-Stevens. The latter, however, as usual, gives no localities or any other facilities for checking his statements, and I can only suggest that he probably got his ideas about the Besisi from some other tribe in their neighbourhood with whom there had been more Sakai admixture.

I give his account, nevertheless, for what it may be worth, in the hope that it may assist some future investigator to work out the subject more completely in the future.

It runs as follows: ¹—

The Besisi magician puts on a pattern borrowed from the leaf of the "chindweh rimau," or "tiger chindweh," which is a small, juicy, robust plant

¹ *Z. f. E.* xxvi. 156.
not yet fully identified. When rubbed to a pulp and smeared on the body, especially the breast, it is believed to give a man the power to overcome a tiger.

The fresh leaf with its peculiar markings gives an exact replica of the face-paint of a Besisi magician. The veining on the upper side of the leaf is of such a pale yellowish-green that it almost has the effect of white, and thus forms a sharp contrast to the very dark greenish-gold stripes of the leaf.

No one leaf is marked exactly like another. The patterns are manifold; in some cases stripes traverse the entire leaf. In a good light the ground colour of the leaf appears, as has been said, of a greenish-gold, but on the under side of the leaf the corresponding parts appear a dark reddish-brown; held up to the light the green of the upper side merges into the reddish-brown.

The under side of the leaf is very soft and smooth, but the upper side is plentifully covered with very fine hairs.

The dark reddish-brown lines which glimmer through from the under side correspond in fact to the red and black of the face-paint designed for the tiger in conjuration ceremonies, and at the same time to the recognised face-paint of the Besisi.

These stripes are said to correspond to the stripes on the skin of the tiger, the red colour not being distinguished from yellow.  

Mantra.—There is very little information on the subject of maturity customs available with regard to the Mantra of Malacca. Logan, however, records the fact that the teeth of the bride and bridegroom were filed with a stone before the day of marriage.

Montano states that the Mantra (Sakai) usually file the lower edge of the upper canine teeth, but does not connect it with any ceremony.

Jakun of Johor.—D. F. A. Hervey, in writing of the Jakun on the Madek, says that one chief characteristic which distinguished the Madek tribe from other Jakun tribes was the absence of any rite resembling circumcision; whilst the Sembrong tribe practised incision, but did not circumcise. The Madek people, however, relate that they used once to observe the custom, but it was given up owing to certain untoward circumstances, which befell the tribe two or three hundred years ago, as follows: on one occasion when the rite was observed, several of the

1 Z. f. E. xxvi. 156.
2 Logan in J. f. A. vol. i. p. 323*.
3 Rev. d'Ethn. i. 44.
4 A. D. Machado tells me that incision is still practised among the Jakun of Ulu Batu Pahat, in Johor.
tribe died of the effects. It was ascertained that the knives used for the purpose had been accidentally placed in a vessel containing upas poison ("ipoh"), the poison with which their blowpipe arrows are habitually tipped; and from that time forward the observance of the rite was discontinued.¹

Corroboration of the foregoing account may be obtained from the statement of Logan, who in writing of the Benua (or Jakun) of Johor, remarks that circumcision was not practised by them. A single incision or slit was made by the Benua, but not by the Berembun tribes.²

Names were sometimes given at birth, but these were changed at the age of puberty. The teeth were filed like those of the Malays and the Berembun tribes.³

**Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.**

**Orang Laut, S'letar.**—Of the Orang S'letar we are informed by Thomson that they did not practise circumcision, nor any other Mohammedan customs. It was, moreover, related to Thomson that many years ago when they had a Malay as their great chief or Batin, all the men now of the tribe were induced to undergo the rite of circumcision, though such a practice was no longer conformed with.⁴ This is probably a reference to some such story as that related above by Hervey.

**Orang Laut, Sabimba.**—Of this Orang Laut tribe we are told that they were not in the habit of filing

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² Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 271.
³ According to Vaughan-Stevens, the Jakun used to blacken their teeth, but this was probably a borrowed custom. Ear-boring was rarely practised by the men, and the lips and nose were never pierced (Z. *f. E.* xxix. 180).
⁴ *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 344².
their teeth, and that the practice of perforating the lobe of the ear was equally unknown to them.¹

In addition, we are informed (of the same tribe) that they did not practise the rites either of circumcision or incision.²

**Orang Laut (no locality specified).**—To the foregoing may be added an account given by Vaughan-Stevens³ of certain Orang Laut customs which he does not attribute to any particular tribe:—

Among the Orang Laut a woman during menstruation was, theoretically at all events, treated as unclean, though in practice it made no appreciable difference.

The women alleged a belief on the part of the men that if they were to touch a woman in such a condition, their virility would suffer. The men themselves, however, would make no admissions, and in practice, as I have said, little notice of it was taken.

Nevertheless, a woman in the condition referred to would avoid touching anything that a man might eat afterwards; it was, however, considered a sufficient purification to peel any roots which were supposed to have been thus defiled. On such occasions the wife would avoid cohabitation and sleep as far away from her husband as possible.

She would, moreover, avoid dipping her drinking bamboo in the common water-pot, but would dip it into a drinking-shell of her own, which she would keep separately, or else into a vessel made of a short segment of bamboo.

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¹ *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 298.
³ *Z.f. E.* xxviii. 171.
CHAPTER III.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

Among all the wild tribes of the Peninsula, as indeed among the Malays, an important ingredient of the marriage rite is a form of ritual purchase, commonly followed by a repast which is shared between bride and bridegroom, with their relatives and the chief of the tribe as witnesses.

Among the Negritos these two ingredients appear to constitute the entire ceremony, though even the act of purchase alone is said to be regarded as sufficiently binding, so long as it is performed before proper witnesses. It must not, however, be supposed from the meagreness of the ceremony that the marriage tie is not regarded by the Semang as in the highest degree binding, the reverse being the case. The Semang are, as far as I could learn, habitually monogamists, and I failed to obtain any sort of evidence in support of the statement that has been more than once advanced, viz., that their women were in common like their other property.\(^1\) This idea of the laxity of the marriage-tie among the Negritos may possibly

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\(^1\) Similarly erroneous notions as to polyandry among the Andamanese were combated in Man's *Andamanese*, p. 71. As regards polygamy, on the other hand, the teachings of actual experience, supported by what we see in India, Egypt, the Malay Peninsula, and, indeed, in all Mohammedan countries, tell us that a lord of the harem can only exist in cases where there is wealth to maintain such an establishment; jungle races and the races who live the simplest lives are commonly, from the exigencies of the case, monogamists.
arise from the great antenuptial freedom which appears to be allowed, but there is every reason to believe that when once married the Semang of both sexes are in the highest degree faithful to each other and that cases of unfaithfulness are exceedingly rare. That conjugal infidelity is strongly discountenanced is shown by the penalty assigned to it.

With regard to the Sakai, there seems to be a certain amount of evidence in favour of their being to a limited extent polygamists, though here again our information is too scanty to enable us to form an opinion as to how far the custom is general. On the other hand, with regard to the actual ceremony, the most important elements, according to one authority, are the painting of the man's face and the squirting of fern-seed over the bride and bridegroom, as a means of ensuring them a numerous progeny.

I may add that among the Sakai marriage is preceded by a form of initiation, at which the man's face-paint is applied for the first time.

Miklucho-Maclay heard from Malays and members of the Catholic Mission at Malacca that communal marriage existed among the Sakai (sic, ? Mantra). Some days or weeks after marriage the girl was said to leave her husband with his consent and take up with the men of his family in turn. She then came back to her husband, but kept up these irregular liaisons, which were regulated by chance and her own wishes.²

The Jakun or Malayan tribes again (including the Blandas and Besisi of Selangor), are as a rule fairly strict monogamists, and their post-matrimonial fidelity,

¹ See p. 64, infra.
² J. R. A. S., S. R., No. 2, p. 215. This is, however, the only notice of such a custom, and resting as it does on second-hand evidence or worse, cannot be accepted without due corroboration.
while it varies in degree apparently from tribe to tribe, is certainly remarkable, although in their case, too, it appears to be considered compatible with considerable freedom before marriage.

Of the Jakun ceremonies, that of eating together from the same dish is one which is found throughout South-eastern Asia. But the most remarkable part of all these customs are the Jakun (i.e. Malayan) “marriage carnival” and the unique race round the mound or “ant hill,” for which, among some branches of the Sea Tribes, a race in canoes is sometimes substituted.

The peculiar shape of the mound, which has come down from an entirely unknown origin, may perhaps be held to show that the mound ceremony is the older form of this peculiar rite, but in any case we have here a custom which will assuredly repay any student of ethnography who decides to work out the entire question for himself.

The effect of intermarriage between Malays and aboriginal women is one which at first would hardly be expected, viz., that it is the higher race—the Malay—that is chiefly affected by it. This fact, however strange it may seem, is clearly brought out by Logan, who, in writing of the Benua, observes that many of the Malays had Benua wives, who of course became converts to Islam. The Benua on their part were debarred from seeking wives amongst the Malays, and this must always have had considerable influence in checking the natural growth of population. The first Malay adventurers were probably more numerous in males than females. In many places the Chinese tend to absorb the Malays in their turn. The more civilised and wealthy races thin those below them of their women, and necessity drives the latter to make
up the loss wherever it is possible to do so, in some measure at the expense of those still lower. This is one of those fundamental facts of ethnography which should be borne in mind in speculating on the gradual extinction of aboriginal races, when comparatively civilised colonies come into contact with them. A considerable proportion of the Malays in the Peninsula behind Malacca are descendants of women of the aboriginal tribes, and the Malays in their turn gave wives to the immigrants from China, so that the greater portion of the Chinese of Malacca have Malayan blood in their veins.\(^1\)

\[\text{I. — Semang.}\]

**Pangan.**—I have never met with any published account of a Semang wedding, but while in Kelantan I acquired some information about the marriage rites of the Eastern Semang in the Belimbing district.

The "marriage settlements," according to my informants, consisted of the blade of a jungle-knife or chopper, which had to be presented by the bridegroom to the bride's parents, and a coiled girdle of great length called "salek," that was said to be manufactured from the fibres of the sugar-palm ("urat hijok"), but that doubtless more or less closely resembled the girdle of rock-vein fungus, which has been described in an earlier chapter. This girdle had to be presented by the bridegroom to the bride, who would never, it was said, consent to part with it for fear of its being used to her prejudice in some magic ceremony.

There was also a good deal of chanting ("siwang" or "bēr-siwang" = invocation of spirits) at these

\(^1\) Logan in *J. L. A.* vol. i. p. 291.
Pangan marriages, but beyond this no further information was obtainable.

**Kedah Semang.**—Later on I was informed by the Semang of Kedah that adultery was punishable by death (although in practice it might be commuted for the usual blood-fine of forty dollars). This fine, however, was payable in kind, and would doubtless in practice be adjusted to the means of the culprit.

The only information I have met with in regard to the married life of the Semang, is Newbold’s observation to the effect that the Semang women were in common like their other property.\(^1\)

What truth there may be in this sweeping statement it is very hard to say, though from what I saw and heard of their domestic life I find it most difficult to believe (with regard to the Semang of Kedah at all events), that the charge was well founded.\(^2\) Certainly, as has been remarked above, it appears quite incompatible with so severe a punishment for adultery as was exacted by the customs of this very tribe.

**Perak Semang.**—To the foregoing may be added the following notes of Vaughan-Stevens on the Semang of Perak:

When a Semang commits adultery with the wife of another (which very rarely happens), and the fact remains concealed until the death of the injured husband, the latter's soul acquires knowledge of the offence, and seeks to revenge itself upon the children of the transgressor, by sending a Disease upon them. In such cases the Disease (the same that had killed the man) attacks the children independently of Kari's commands.\(^3\)

In order to avert this danger, the transgressor, as soon as he hears of the husband's death, takes the children by the arms and swings them through the fire, at the same time “jumping” them up and down upon the charred wood so as to blacken the soles of their feet, by way of protecting them. If the Disease comes afterwards when the child has been replaced upon the ground, the child remains unharmed. Even if the child were somewhat affected before being swung through the fire, the Disease is yet forced to retire in order to escape

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1 Newbold, ii. pp. 379-381. Cp., however, L'H. ii. 558, where the men are credited with polygamy.

2 Vaughan-Stevens in *Z. f. E.* xxviii. 166, observes that in their (good) treatment of their women, the Semang ranked next to the Sakai.

3 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 132.
being burnt, and as long as the soles of the child's feet remain so blackened, the Disease is prevented from returning. Moreover, the Disease cannot in any case kill the child without Karib's command; nor can it, in any case, make a long stay, since it has to be back with the Death-messenger beside the corpse, as soon as ever the "Pênitâh" is cut. The children are only attacked as a means of bringing the transgressor to justice, by attracting the superior chief's (the Putto's) attention, either from the children's getting the same Disease as the husband or from the transgressor's betraying himself by swinging them through the fire. The superior chief, in such cases, pronounces the penalty.1

By the same writer we are told that—

The Semang have an aphrodisiac called "chin-weh" or "chindweh" (= "chinduai").2 This name is probably borrowed from the Sakai, but as the plant used in this case is altogether a different one and is not employed by other magicians, it may be regarded as a discovery of their own.3

II.—Sakai.

Perak Sakai.—De Morgan, in his account of Sakai marriage customs,4 remarks that the conditions required for marriage were few. In the first place, there was no fixed limit of age. The consent of the woman was required, together with that of her father (if living), but if otherwise, that of the eldest surviving member of the family. The future husband made the application in person with the consent of the father. The wife brought no dowry to her bridegroom, but the latter made a present to his prospective father-in-law of certain specified articles, e.g. a knife or hatchet or yams, "according to his means."5 Commenting on the foregoing, De Morgan remarks that it might be

1 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 132.
3 V. B. G. A. xxiv. 468.
4 De Morgan, viii. 422.
5 According to Maxwell (J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 1, p. 112) the price paid for a wife included a "piece of iron, some roots, and some flowers." According to Hale (p. 291) the presents consisted of "sarongs," or bill-hooks ("parangs"), purchased from Malays, or the bridegroom might clear one or two acres of jungle, plant them with tapioca, sugar-cane, etc., and present them to the parents of the bride. According to Braun de St. Pol Lias (pp. 279, 280) the husband generally paid ten dollars ("ringgit") = 50 francs to the father; a chief paid up to thirty dollars; but M. Lias adds that "this was the highest price, and that it appeared to him the biggest sum of money that the Sakai, even those educated by contact with the Malays, could conceive." The sums mentioned were doubtless paid in kind, but even then there is, I think, little doubt that this last figure (as M. Lias himself seems to have inferred) was exaggerated, perhaps for "swagger," owing to the presence of the Malays that he had brought with him. The nominal price of a Sakai wife, among
ENGAGED SAKAI CHILDREN WITH UNCLE.

Vol. II. p. 66.
Engaged to be married at the next Prah fruit season—the usual marrying time of the Sakai, Ulu Slim, Perak.
called an example of marriage by purchase, but that the fact of purchase is to some extent modified by the smallness of the price paid, and that all that actually remains is a purely formal substitute for marriage by purchase, which was once a wide-spread custom in Southern Asia. Continuing, De Morgan adds that the form of marriage was extremely simple. The bride and bridegroom repaired, accompanied by their relatives, to the house of their tribal chief, where the latter in converse with the two families inquired into the prospects of the joint ménage, after which, if no obstacle presented itself, he formally declared them married, and all was over.\(^1\) The newly married pair were required to build a hut and form a clearing, and in the interval that must elapse before it could bring them in a return, they lived at the charge of their families, who provided them with yams and maize, and everything else that they might require for their maintenance.

An account of the Perak Sakai by Colonel Low, in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, gives the details of the religious ceremony, which are omitted in De Morgan’s description:—

A young Sakai man pays his addresses in person. If the girl approves, he makes a present to her family of spears, knives, and household utensils, and a time being fixed, the relations of both sides assemble at the bride’s house. The betrothed parties eat rice together out of the same dish, and the little finger of the right hand of the man is joined

the Sakai themselves, cannot be greater than about the value of ten dollars paid in kind, for the simple reason that no ordinary Sakai bridegroom would have more property than this to pay with. Cp. also Vaughan-Stevens in *Z. f. E.* xxviii. 177.

\(^1\) De Morgan adds (*loc. cit.*) that there was "no religious ceremony"; but as will appear from the next account, this statement of his is certainly mistaken.
to that of the left hand of the woman. These two last observances are found with some slight modifications amongst the Malays on like occasions. The eating together is also a Burmese and Peguan custom.

The parents on both sides then pronounce them married persons, and give them good advice for their future conduct. As an example of the actual words used, Col. Low gives the expression "Mano klamin che dada," an admonition or wish that they might be fruitful.¹

It would appear from some accounts that the Sakai men occasionally take more than one wife. Thus De la Croix says that a Sakai married, or rather bought, a wife, or even two, if he were rich enough.²

Marriage and [alleged] Totemism.

According to Vaughan-Stevens, the Sakai (whom he calls "Senoi"), Besisi, and Kenaboi, were sub-tribes of one single people, which also included at a more remote date the Tembeh and Jakun. Each of these three sub-tribes was divided into clans,³ distinguished by the pattern of the face-paint (termed by Vaughan-Stevens "totems."⁺) The Thorn, Tiger, Snake, Fish, and Leaf totems were the primary ones. In the course of time, the components of the tribes becoming widely scattered, new settlements sprang up in various parts of the Peninsula, and it became the practice for each local group to adopt some variant of the totem-mark and house. Thus, among the sub-clans of the Snake totem, were Pythons, Cobras, Hamadryads, etc.⁵

In the olden days intermarriage between the clans was forbidden. The penalty for disobedience was expulsion from the clan. The people thus expelled formed new clans (Musang or Civet-cat, Crocodile, Scorpion). A member of the primary clans who married into one of these secondary clans lost his status in his old clan, and became a member of his spouse's clan. With the rise of sub-clans these quasi-endogamic rules do not seem to have been changed; choice was not restricted to the members of the sub-clan. No definite information is given

² Rev. d'Ethn. vol. i. No. 4, p. 279, 280: "a Sakai marries two wives."
³ Apparently forming local groups.
⁴ Z. f. E. xxvi. 150, 151. [I owe this summary of Sakai marriage and totemism to my friend, Mr. N. W. Thomas, who has made totemism his special study.—W. S. J] The account is confused, the editor has not distinguished tribe from clan, and speaks in one place of the totem mark as a tribal pattern. It is stated that the clan patterns went out of use owing to the scattering of the members of the tribe, and were replaced by the sub-clan patterns. Of the origin of the clans nothing is said.—N. W. T. Sed v. ante, p. 32, et infra. 258; and cp. Martin, 863.
⁵ Z. f. E. xxvi. 150, 151.
We distinguish that the tribe of Kenaboi, p. 24 by husband change data expressed kinship terminology, reliable hypothesis bear local and son-in-law those may be married clans, paternal by Batin, Pangan & E. Sakai. As assertion the Batin was prepotent, and the man who married into it lost his own tribal name, and took that of his wife.

We have no information as to whether members of the same clan or sub-clan are regarded as akin, or whether the sub-tribe is by the Sakai regarded as the kinship group. Nor is it clear how far kinship is a bar to marriage. Vaughan-Stevens remarks that the customs of the Sakai and Pangan are very similar to those of the Jakun and Orang Laut, who were compelled to take a wife from another community. In the same passage, however, he expressly says that the Pangan are not restricted as regards their choice of wives, thus contradicting the assertion that local exogamy is in force among them. The evidence is therefore worthless.

As regards the Sakai, however, Hale says that the Kinta Sakai generally went a considerable distance to seek their wives—to a tribe who spoke quite a different dialect. Elsewhere Vaughan-Stevens says, the Sakai usage was for the son-in-law to build his house on his father-in-law's land, but this of course does not exclude the possibility that he belonged to the same local group. We may perhaps infer that the same custom prevailed among the Tembeh. Vaughan-Stevens tells us that although no definite rule appeared to exist, the son-in-law and mother-in-law avoided one another in practice as much as possible. This may of course mean that the son-in-law and mother-in-law belonged to the same local group; we cannot infer a custom of exogamy from it, but it points to the two families being in close proximity.

In estimating the value of the account given by Vaughan-Stevens, we must bear in mind that he is inclined to group his facts from the standpoint of a hypothesis for the adoption of which he can give no sufficient reason. We are expressly told that it was only after lengthy observation that he arrived at the results given above, and that the system here displayed is his theory, based on many single observations, and not a connected traditional account handed down by the Sakai. Such a traditional account would probably not be entirely reliable; an observer like Vaughan-Stevens, with no knowledge of scientific terminology, and not much critical sense, would have done better to give us his data rather than his conclusions. In his account, summarised above, traditional

1 Z.f. E. xxvi. 160.
2 Here again the word totem is used by Grünwedel (or Vaughan-Stevens) to mean sub-tribe. As both husband and wife were of one clan, he could not change his clan; a change of sub-clan would be possible, but seems to be excluded by the context.
3 It does not appear whether this was accompanied by the removal of the husband to his wife's group, and his incorporation in it.
5 P. 291.
6 Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 90.
8 Cf. his treatment of the question of patterns, Z.f. E. xxvi. 150.
9 Vaughan-Stevens explains elsewhere (Z.f. E. xxviii. 175) that he means by exogamy, marriage outside the family, not marriage outside the tribe. He suggests (Z.f. E. xxvi. 160), that all three sub-tribes, Sakai or Senoi, Kenaboï, and Besisi, were a sub-group of the Leaf clan. Against this may be set the statement that the original purpose of the totem marks was to distinguish articles of property (loc. cit. p. 151).
narrative, present-day facts, and inferences, seem hopelessly and indistinguishably intermingled.

Elsewhere Vaughan-Stevens gives the story of twins who married the same woman. Their "tотems" were "musang" and "palm-leaf," and their child should have followed the father's "totem," but this being uncertain, it was given a new "musang" totem. It is not clear that the twins were children of a Batн. 1

Again, the breast-paint of a Sakai (Sen-oi) man represented a fern (a sort of polypodium). The fronds of this fern being bruised in water and squirted over the bride and bridegroom at marriage assured the pair many children. The dots and lines of the face-paint represented another fern, with the juice of which the youth was sprinkled before he became man and might marry.

The face-paint of the Sakai man consisted of three lines or stripes, whereas that of the woman consisted of five. 2

The tiger and "musang" patterns represented these animals, but are now only used as blowpipe marks. Formerly they were patterns for face-paint. 3

Yet in Z. f. E. xxvi. 150, the face patterns are spoken of by Vaughan-Stevens as being all of one type.

With regard to the age of the contracting parties, M. Brau de St. P. Lias states that the women were often married when mere children. 4

In the account by Colonel Low, from which I have already quoted, we are further told that polygamy was permitted among the Sakai, but was not common, and that the men seemed to care little about their wives leaving them.

The men appeared, nevertheless, to treat them well. But should a man choose to resent the infidelity of his wife, he might kill her and her paramour without any fear of the result, further than the possibility of their relatives avenging the deed. 5

To this we may add the fuller account given by De Morgan, who tells us that the husband acquired absolute power over his wife, and would not shrink from beating her if the provocation were great

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1 Ethnol. Notizblatt, i. 4-6.
2 Z. f. E. xxvi. 154. Mr. H. N. Ridley (of Singapore) suggests that these alleged fern-spores (as represented in the face-paint of the Sakai) are more probably copied from the black and white fruit-seeds which are found in the Sakai necklaces and armlets. They are probably not meant for fern-seeds or spor-angia, as these latter would not only be rather brown than black, but would be of a uniform colour. 3 Notizblatt, i. 4-6.
4 Cp. Vaughan-Stevens in Z. f. E. xxviii. 174, where we are told that the age among the Sakai was fourteen for the girl and from fifteen to sixteen for the man.
Newly-married Couple, Woman with painted Head-Band and Nose-Quill, Ulu Itam, Perak.
Dancing at Che Tutel's (the Squirrel's) Wedding, Rantau Panjang, Selangor.

Party with Musical Instruments at Wedding of Che Tutel, Rantau Panjang, Selangor

Malay gongs, drums, tambourines, and fiddles. (See p. 76.)
enough. A form of divorce was allowed among the Sakai, the reasons for which it was permitted being, in the case of the husband, grave misconduct, such cases being settled by a fine, or separation, the woman keeping the children. In the case of the wife, a refusal to take her proper share in housekeeping, planting, hunting, and other tasks necessarily incidental to her position, was regarded as a reason. The aggrieved husband, in the latter case, lodged a complaint with the tribal chief, who communicated it to the woman's family; if no good results followed, he insisted on separation, sending the woman back to her own family, but always, however, retaining the custody of the children—a point of great importance among these tribes where children were regarded as a source of profit, the possession of children actually making his re-marriage easier.\(^1\) The paternal authority ordinarily lasted during the father's lifetime, but otherwise ceased as soon as a married child left its father's roof. The adoption of orphan children by childless people was also occasionally practised.\(^2\)

We are told by Maxwell (in his account of the Perak tribes) that the punishment for adultery was death, and that it was usually carried out by a relative, who invited his victim to a hunting excursion, and after tiring him out, beat his brains out with a club while he was asleep, and left him to rot upon the earth, denying to his remains even the rough sepulture given to those who died in an honourable way.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) "Divorce was permitted by the Sakai, but was extremely rare among them. Adultery was regarded as a great crime ('salah besar'), To' Lilà told me, and often gave rise to a fight. The guilty parties were made to pay a fine to the husband, which generally amounted to thirty dollars each, the woman's fine being paid by her father or brothers."—Brau de St. P. Lias, pp. 279, 280.\

\(^2\) De Morgan, vii. 422.

\(^3\) Maxwell in *J.R.A.S., S.E.*, No. 1, pp. 111, 112. It should be noted that Maxwell in his account, which is
A different account of the method adopted by the outraged husband for the punishment of the guilty parties is given by Vaughan-Stevens as follows:—

The punishment prescribed by the Sakai for the adultery of a wife was very seldom really carried out. The husband, however, if he wished to enforce it, would bind his guilty wife hand and foot and lay her down upon the ground at a short distance from his hut. He then armed himself with three wooden spears of bamboo or palm-wood ("nibong"), and took up his station among the brushwood in the vicinity. The woman was allowed neither food nor water, but was kept there perforce until she died either from the bites of ants or from exhaustion. Meanwhile, however, her paramour was expected to wait for an opportunity to cut through her bonds and take her back to her husband's house. The husband, on the other hand, was allowed from his concealment to launch each of his three spears once at his rival. If he succeeded in killing him, he might if he pleased let his wife lie there till she died, or else if he were now more inclined to mercy, he might release her and send her away. If, on the other hand, her paramour's attempt succeeded, the husband could take no further steps, though he could if he desired send away his wife when her paramour had brought her back to the hut. If, on the other hand, the paramour refused to make the attempt, the husband might bring him up before the chief for punishment, in which case the husband himself was allowed to name the penalty. He applied in such cases to one of the subordinate chiefs, who could apply to the Batin for confirmation of the sentence, if he considered it just. He need not, however, do so if four of the older men advised him that the punishment was excessive.¹

The Batin had the power of delaying the proceedings by postponing the sentence for an indefinite period. Nevertheless private quarrels, ending in wounds or death, frequently arose from cases which had been postponed on account of some mitigating circumstance, which limited the penalty to be paid to public discussion of the case.²

A wife could not bring her offending husband to the Batin for punishment, since he need only announce that conjugal rights had been intentionally withheld from him, to obtain condonation of his infidelity, and a separation could then be obtained at his own instance. In former days, before the present intercourse with the Malays, divorce was not regarded with such indifference as nowadays, but was highly disapproved of and very seldom actually occurred. Moreover, a man would not put away his wife when he was sure both of losing his children and of having much trouble to come by another wife. But when a woman absconded from her husband, and after the lapse of a month, he did not think it proper to take her back, whether on account of her laziness, or her clumsiness, or her evil temper, both parties in that case were regarded as free, and were allowed to remarry at will. The husband, however, in this case had the right of retaining the children, and of making them work for him.³

otherwise sufficiently accurate, confuses the Sakai with the Semang—a confusion of which, however, he is by no means alone guilty.

1 Z.f. E. xxviii. 179. 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid. p. 180. In a letter just received, Dr. Luering says: "Among the Sakai of Bertang, in Perak, the punishment for adultery is a fine of $6.50, unless the woman wishes to follow her paramour, when the latter has to pay $25, or unless the woman is a chief's wife, when $25 may be the minimum. Children may follow either parent by choice, but usually prefer to follow the father. Misconduct of a man with his brother's wife would produce quarrel, but not necessarily entail a fine. Wives are generally chosen within the tribe."
Before leaving this subject, mention should be made of the account given by Vaughan-Stevens of Sakai love-philtres, which runs as follows:—

Among the Sakai love-philtres were employed by both sexes, one of them being called "mong dar" (?). It consisted of the blossom of a creeper which grew upon the hills. If a little of the dried blossom were steeped in water and drunk, it was alleged that it would produce stimulation in the men, but would have no effect upon women.\(^1\)

Another love-philtre, called "chin-weh" (= "chindwai") was only used by women, and that in the same way as the one just described; the only difference being that the entire plant was taken, as must necessarily be the case since the plant was of a fungoid character. It was very difficult to obtain.\(^2\)

Under the name "chinweh kasih"\(^3\) various plants were used as aphrodisiacs by the Sakai women. The Sakai magicians, moreover, knew of a certain plant, which they kept secret, and which procured them especial deference.

Even at the present day only the magicians of the old school have any knowledge of this plant, which was besides of great rarity. From one such magician Vaughan-Stevens obtained his specimen. In order to conceal its identity from the lay members of the tribe, the plant was crushed into water, which was purchased at a high price by Sakai and Malay women, who employed it as a love-potion.\(^4\)

The Sakai women also employed an expedient which was believed to impair the virility of the men. For this purpose they took the "senggulang" ("sengulung"), a kind of wool-louse [sic? millipede], and burnt it in the fire until it was charred. At the same time they burnt a small piece of cloth which had been used for washing a dead man’s body. The ashes of the two were mixed together, and whenever a woman succeeded in introducing these ashes into the food of her intended victim, the latter was believed to have lost his virility for ever.\(^5\)

Selangor Sakai.—The late Mr. J. A. G. Campbell of Selangor, in writing of the wedding customs of the Ulu Langat Sakai, describes a peculiar ceremony, which must be very trying to a nervous bridegroom.

Their marriage ceremonies (he says) were very simple; one custom was for the relations on both sides to sit on the ground round an ant-heap, and for the bride or her father to question the bridegroom as follows:—\(^6\)

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1 Z. f. E. xxviii. 183.

Bartels (loc. cit.) remarks that "this 'mong dar' is not, as Vaughan-Stevens formerly supposed, the Rafflesia, but a smaller though similar blossom. It is a parasitical climber, which possesses no leaves, but only big claviform buds which appear to be either thrown out at intervals from the stem itself, or to grow on a very short stem. These buds open suddenly with a distinct report. A thick fleshy calyx divided into several sections or ‘flower-leaves’ then appears; its colour being black varied with spots of peculiar shades, from dark brown to purple." 2 Ibid.

3 Ibid. The specimens sent could not be identified. "Kasih" = "love."


5 Ibid. This is also a Malay belief (C.O.B.).

“Are you clever with the blowpipe?”
“Can you fell trees cleverly?”
“Are you a good climber?” and
“Do you smoke cigarettes?”

If these questions were answered in the affirmative, the bridegroom then gave a cigarette to the bride and lighted one himself; they then ran round the mound three times; if the man succeeded in catching the woman the ceremony was completed, and they were declared married, but if the man failed to catch the woman he tried again another day.¹

Of the same Sakai tribe, Campbell adds that their marriage settlements consisted of saucepans, frying-pans, jungle-knives, hatchets, beads, and blowpipes. The woman, however, gave nothing in return. A man could not have more than one wife.

**Sakai (Orang Tanjong) of Selangor.**—Writing of another tribe in Ulu Langat, the same author tells us that the women of the “Cape Tribe” (“Orang Tanjong”) were allowed to have more than one husband, and that one woman who lived at Bandar Kanching formerly had four. These women (he adds) used to seek their own husbands.²

**III.—Jakun.**

**Blandas.**—The qualifications required of the Blandas (Kuala Langat) women, at their wedding ceremony, which was similar to that described above, were their ability to hammer tree-bark (“mënitek t’rap”); to roast or “burn” (“bakar”) bananas, sweet potatoes, and yams; and to make betel-leaf wallets (“bujam”). It may also be worth noting that both

¹ J. A. G. Campbell, p. 241. Although this tribe must be classed as Sakai, this particular ceremony is undoubtedly of Malayan origin. ² *Ibid.*
parties change their names after the birth of their first-born child, whose name they take. Thus Pā' Bijan, Mā' Bijan, or "Father of Bijan," "Mother of Bijan," were the actual names of a married Blandas couple whose eldest-born child was called Bijan.

Besisi.—Upon one occasion when I inquired of the Besisi in Kuala Langat how a man would address a woman whom he wished to marry, and who was not unwilling to accept him, one of them repeated as a specimen, the following address.1 It took the form of an imaginary dialogue, which ran as follows:—

_Men._ Are you willing to take me, say?
_Woman._ What mean you? I merely follow you. How can I refuse?
_Men._ I wish that too.
_Woman._ How can I refuse? It is the man with whom it rests. I merely follow you, since I am but a woman. As I am a woman, I merely follow you.
_Men._ If that is truth, so be it. I will be father and mother to you, rest assured.
_Woman._ What mean you? I follow you for a single day, but not for long.
_Men._ That is also my desire.
_Woman._ If you are savage, overbearing, harsh-spoken, if you are like that, if you are like a hornet, I shall be unable to endure it beyond to-morrow.

Here the man, after pushing the betel-stand towards her, says:

"I desire to seek somewhat of yours, a stand for betel;
I am looking for a filly, yearning greatly to obtain her;
I am looking for a sea-canoe,
If it have no mast, I will supply a mast for it,
If it have no sail, I will supply a sail for it,
I have sought it by sea till now, but have not found it.
I have now reached your land, I have scented a blossom,
I have scented it thus far oversea.
Weary am I indeed with roaming so far,
But here verily is such a blossom, and such scent has reached me, that I follow it.
Pick it up? I will indeed pick it.
Is it still to seek? I will indeed seek it.
Desired I not its fragrance, I had not sought it;
But my craving for its scent is very great, I ask but to own it.
Should I find it not, I will seek—yea, until I find it.
Great is my yearning—yea, even if in a month I find it not, I will not return
Until you grant me my Heart's Desire."

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1 In ordinary cases the man's request would be addressed to the girl's parents, as among the Malays themselves. Cp. Malay Magic, pp. 364-365.
As regards marriage itself, the existence of a distinctive law is perhaps more than might be expected of this unsophisticated race, yet it not only exists but is recognised as binding, and is, moreover, pretty strictly observed, and it is noticeable that there are in the Besisi dialect special terms for both "husband" and "wife."

A remarkable fact is that the Besisi commonly have a regular carnival (at the end of the padi or rice harvest) when (as they say) they are "allowed to exchange" their wives, a practice which recalls the wedding law of ancient Peru, by which there was established one universal wedding-day annually throughout the land.

The marriage settlements brought by the man consist of such objects as are best calculated to contribute to the satisfaction of the bride and her parents, as, for instance, a string of beads, four cubits ("hasta") of white cloth, a plate and a drinking-cup, and in some cases a ring; but at the same time the husband is expected to provide a hut, cooking-pots, and other necessary articles such as will suffice to enable house-keeping to be started with reasonable comfort.

The usual ceremony (as now practised by the Besisi) is of a very simple description, and is usually performed by the Batin, who is a priestly chief, and, as a Besisi man once put it, "who takes the place of an Imam" (the Malay Mohammedan priest).1

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1 "The marriage ceremony is performed either by the Batin or the Jinang. The contracting parties stand on each side of him, the girl on his left and the man on his right. He then joins their hands, and after an exchange of "sirih" (betel-leaf chewed with areca-nut) they are pronounced man and wife. A feast is afterwards held, to which all the members of the tribe are invited."—Bellamy, p. 227. Cp. J. I. A. iii. 490.
Party of Aborigines dressed (in Malay Clothes) for a Wedding.

Bride and bridesgroom seated in front, centre. The Batin or chief (in a white coat) standing near the bride, and the Batin's wife seated near the bridesgroom. Rantau Panjang, Selangor River.

Vol. II. p. 70.
Large Bell-shaped Mound of Clay used in the Mound-Marriage Ceremony.

This mound was thrown up and shaped as above in my presence by one of the Besisi chiefs at Ayer Itam, Kuala Langat. It is round a mound of this shape (not an ant-heap as alleged) than the Jukun bridegroom formerly had to chase his bride three times.

Marriage Decorations of Plaited Leaf Strips.

These are the actual specimens inserted by Besisi in the "marriage-mound." They represent "earrings," or nooses for snaring demons (two bunches in centre), blossom-spathes of wild "scaling-wax" palm (on left), and "sail-fruit" blossom, coconuts, and suns ("matariru," the latter star-like objects on long stems). At the top is the festoon or plait referred to in text. Similar objects are used at ceremonial dances (cf. p. 413 in fac.).
This simpler form of wedding (as practised by the Besisi of Sepang in Selangor) was celebrated in the following manner:—In the first place, the bridegroom would bring to the house of the bride's parents the presents required by custom—say five cubits of white cloth, five quids of betel-leaf, five cigarettes, and a copper ring.

On the bridegroom's arrival all present partook of food, and the bride and bridegroom then ate rice off the same plate. After this meal the gifts were presented to the bride's parents, and the Batin or one of the minor chiefs of the tribe (e.g. the "Penghulu Balei") then inquired: "What about these children of ours? Are we to make them one?" To this the parents replied in the affirmative, and the head of the tribe then gave both bride and bridegroom a new name.

The parties might then disperse at leisure.

The really remarkable rite called the "ant-heap" (properly the "hillock" or "mound") ceremony, referred to above by Mr. J. A. G. Campbell as a custom of the Ulu Langat Sakai, appears to be now very nearly obsolete among the Besisi, so far as I could ascertain.

I once had the good fortune, however, to witness it when it was being performed at Ayer Itam (in the Kuala Langat district of Selangor) by some Besisi who had just returned from Batu Pahat (in Johor, where they told me that the old custom was still kept up). I will therefore describe the ceremony that I saw as carefully as possible. I attended the wedding at the invitation of the Besisi themselves, with whom I was on very good terms. Shortly after my arrival at the village a small pit was dug by Penghulu Lempar (of Batu Pahat) in front of the door of a special palm-
MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS

Part III

leaf building (a Balei or Tribal Hall, built on the plan of the letter T) which had been erected for the occasion. With the earth, or rather clay, thrown up from the pit Penghulu Lempah constructed a mound about the height of a man’s waist and in the shape of a truncated cone, surmounted by a small globe and knob, so that it was not unlike a gigantic bell and bell-handle. In the morning, just before the ceremony, I saw Penghulu Lempah decorating it with flowers, and when I asked him where he learnt how to make the mound, he replied that he was quite used to doing so in Johor.

The flowers were arranged as follows:—First, round about the mound were planted half a dozen long stems of what Lempah called the “Owl-flower”; to these were added several blossoming stems of the wild red “Singapore” rhododendron, and to these were again added some young shoots of fan-palms and other kinds of palms. Into the mound itself Lempah stuck some stems of a common blossoming reed.

To these, the natural products of the jungle, he added a bunch of the following artificial “flowers” manufactured from strips of fan-palm leaf. These were intended to represent the sun; coconuts, nooses or “earrings”, the blossom of the wild “seal-

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1 The Besisi told me that the mound was always artificial and always of the same remarkable shape. The reason of its being called an ant-hill is merely that the Malay word (“busut”) means a “mound” of any kind (whether natural, e.g., an ant-heap, or artificial), so that the confusion arose easily enough.

The shape of the mound is not necessarily phallic: I have not been able to discover any parallel ceremony.

2 I mention this because the Batin afterwards told me that the custom was only kept up among the tribes of Ulu Batu Pahat. It seems certain, how-
ing-wax” palm, and the blossom and fruit of a remarkable wild tree-nut with boat-shaped sail, called by the Malays the “sail-fruit” or “fill-cup,” the latter title being due to an extraordinary property on the part of its seeds, any one of which, if placed in a cup of water, will fill the entire cup with a substance resembling a brown jelly, which is eaten with avidity by the Malays.2

I may add that each representation of the “sun” was crowned with a little spike, on which was spitted a blossom stripped from a newly-plucked spray of the wild (“Singapore”) rhododendron. This bunch was inserted into the knob-like summit of the mound, and a plait or festoon of the same material, decorated with long streamers, encircled the mound just below the upper rim of the truncated portion.

The preparations were completed by depositing on the flat top of the truncated portion a dish containing two portions of rice and wild betel-leaf3 and a dish of water, which were to be shared later on between the bride and bridegroom.

About half-past nine the beating of drums at a distance announced the approach of the bridegroom’s party. On its arrival the bride (who was staying in the house of the tribal chief or Batin, whose guest I was) was carried outside (on the shoulders of a matron, if I remember rightly), and stationed close to the mound, so as just to leave room for the bridegroom and his supporters to pass. A lengthy catechising of the man (who was coached by the Batin) followed, the questioning being undertaken by the Penghulu Balei (one of the inferior chiefs) on the part of the woman.

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1 Bes. “chongoi méri” = Mal. “pinang raja.”
2 Mal. “sälayer,” or “kembang såmangkok.”
3 “Chambai.”
Batin (on behalf of the man). I have.
P. Have you bought pots and pans?
B. I have.
P. Have you bought clothing?
B. I have.
P. Have you bought a jungle-knife (chopper)?
B. I have.
P. Have you bought a hatchet?
B. I have.
P. Have you built a hut?
B. I have.
P. Have you made steps for it?
B. I have.
P. Have you formed a clearing?
B. I have.
P. Have you made a rice-spoon? 1
B. I have.
P. Have you made a water-bucket?
B. I have.
P. Have you planted yams? 2
B. I have.
P. Have you planted sugar-cane?
B. I have.
P. Have you planted rice?
B. I have.
P. Have you planted bananas?

P. "Pün!" Sweet potato, "Pün!"
Thus we Jakun plant sweet potatoes!

"Ratified," 7 says the Batin, say the chiefs of the tribe! 8
"Ratified" [say] both young and old!
Round the mound and round again!

At this stage of the proceedings the bridegroom (who was dressed, like the bride, in Malay apparel) was conducted seven times and the bride once round the mound, and they were then stationed side by side, when they were together given rice to eat from the

1 i.e. a rice-spoon of wood or coconut shell.
2 i.e. "have you got a yam-patch?" etc. etc.
3 The phrase used may also mean, "Can you make" or "have you made cigarettes?"
4 Lit. a daughter of people (perhaps the wild people or the tribe). But it may equally well mean the daughter of a person, or "somebody's daughter."
5 The phrase here used ("tempa kret") lit. means "fall upon (your) body," i.e. "so may (a tree) fall upon you," which is the strongest form of asseveration used by these forest-tribes, among whom the terror of falling trees is very real and present, and perhaps more feared than any other danger.
6 Lit. "chikahs" and "lotongs" (two kinds of monkey).
7 Lit. "true" (Bes. "hol").
8 Lit. Batin, Jinang, Jukrah (titles of chiefs).
plate and water from the dish. All parties then adjourned to the "Balei" or tribal "Hall," where a feast was in course of preparation, and where the bride and bridegroom were made to eat and drink from the same dish, and shortly afterwards time compelled me to leave.

I may add, however, that during the entire night before the wedding from dark to dawn the Besisi never ceased beating their drums and playing on their rude bamboo flutes and stringed bamboos ("banjeng").

I may add also that the bride and bridegroom looked little more than children, and that there is no apparent limit of age for marriage among these people.

Before we departed one of the Batins remarked to me that the mound by which we were at the time standing was the emblem of his religion, or (as he put it) the "priest of his tribe." There can, I think, be little doubt as to the meaning of this statement, and given some such sacred emblem, the procession around it would be natural enough. Whether the race or the walk round it was the older institution must remain a moot point, until further evidence on the point is obtainable; most probably the walk is the survival.

With regard to the age at which the Besisi women are married, we are told by Logan that among the Besisi a child of a few years old was not unfrequently betrothed to her intended husband, who took her to his house and brought her up.  

1 The expression employed (in Malay) was "kita-punya Imam," i.e. "our priest." The statement was a purely voluntary one, and not in response to any question of mine. In Pahang a fire takes the place of the mound (p. 82, infra).

2 J. I. A. vol. i. p. 270. Logan compares this with the custom of the "Dayaks" near Banjermassin, where betrothal takes place at the age of four or six years. A similar custom occurs in Java.
It is said that a Besisi man will occasionally take to himself two wives, but never more than two; as a matter of fact, however, I do not remember a single case in which a Besisi man had more than one. On the other hand, no Besisi woman might have more than one husband, although cases of polyandry have certainly been recorded among the Sakai of the neighbouring district of Ulu Langat.

Before leaving the Besisi marriage customs it should be recorded that at their great annual carnival or drinking feast ("main jo'oh"), during the rice-harvest, there was (as in some other savage lands) a sort of "game of exchanging wives." This is the same ceremony as that which Logan terms the "Tampoi Feast," a fuller description of which will be given below.

Mantra.—In an interesting account of the marriage ceremony as performed by the Mantra, Logan informs us that marriages among the Mantra were not ordinarily made with the haste of the "Tampoi Feast." When a young man was desirous of marrying a girl, he would communicate his wishes to his own father, who communicated in turn with the father of the girl. If the latter agreed to the match, from four to eight silver or copper rings were presented to him, and a day was appointed for the marriage. When it arrived, the bridegroom was conducted by his parents and relatives to the bride's house, where a large feast had been prepared. On entering he paid his respects to the near relations of the bride. If the Batin did not reside at a great distance, he always attended, and presided at the ceremony. Betel-leaf and its usual accompaniments having been placed ready upon a sieve ("nyiru"), the bride took up one of the small

1 E.g., even, by latest reports, in Greenland.  
2 See pp. 169-170, infra.
packets of betel-leaf and presented it to the bridegroom, who presented another to her in return. The father of the bridegroom then addressed him, enjoining him to cherish his wife, to be kind to her, on no account to beat her or behave harshly to her, but, if he should ever be offended by her, to complain to her parents. The father of the bride then laid a similar injunction upon her. The company were then feasted, the bride and bridegroom eating from the same plate, a custom which is common to most of the Indo-Chinese and Malayan races. The bridegroom remained for the night.  

It should be added that the teeth of the bride and bridegroom were filed with a stone before the day of marriage.  

A form of the mound-ceremony found among the Besisi is also practised by this same tribe, and Borie, in describing it, remarks that when all the chief, which were thankfully accepted. A plate containing small packages of rice wrapped up in banana-leaves then having been presented, the husband offered one to his future wife, who showed herself eager to accept it, and ate the contents; she then in her turn gave some to her husband, and they afterwards both assisted in distributing the remainder among the other members of the assemblage. The Juru Krah having received a ring from the husband, returned it to him, and he then placed it on the finger of the left hand of his future wife. The bride having also received a ring from the Juru Krah, placed it upon the finger of the right hand of her husband; the marriage was then declared complete, and copious plates full of rice with vegetables having been served round, all set to work to satisfy their appetite. M. Borie remarked that the bride and bridegroom still ate from one dish. (Borie (tr. Bourien), pp. 81, 82.)
guests were assembled, the bride and bridegroom were led forth by one of the old men of the tribe towards a circle of varying size, round which the girl commenced to run, the young man pursuing a short distance behind her; if he succeeded in overtaking her, she became his wife, but if not he lost all claim to her. At other times a yet larger area was appointed for the trial, and the bridegroom pursued the bride in the forest.\(^1\)

In addition to the foregoing, we learn from Logan that the Mantra did not mix socially nor intermarry either with the other Benua tribes, nor yet with the Malays,\(^2\) and further that they were strict monogamists.\(^3\)

Adultery was a capital crime if it could be proved by witnesses. The sentence of the Batin was carried into execution by the Penglima. The offenders were laid prostrate in the nearest brook, and their heads were kept under water by placing a forked stick over their necks and driving the points into the bed of the stream. When the husband was satisfied of his wife's infidelity, but was unable to prove it, he might desert her, but was obliged in that case to leave her in possession of the house and clearing, and also to pay her ten cubits (10 "hastas" = 5 yards) of white cloth, thirty cents in money, and eight silver rings. The children remained with the wife, who might not, however, remarry until the husband took to himself another wife in her place.\(^4\)

The right of the husband to beat his wife for any cause whatever was not recognised by the Mantra,
and such was also the custom of the Benua, and probably of all the other (Jakun) tribes. Should a Mantra woman offend her husband, he might complain to her parents, who would themselves chastise her. The wife, on the other hand, had a reciprocal right to appeal for protection to the parents of her husband. Should the husband commit any serious offence against his wife, her relatives might complain to the Batin or chief of the tribe, who would authorise them to deal summarily with him. They would then repair to the offender's house and strip it of every article that it contained. The goods thus summarily appropriated were carried to the Batin, who would give one portion to the wife's relatives, and distribute the remainder between himself and his officers.  

**Benua-Jakun of Johor.**—Among the Benua Logan states that betrothal was the rule, and sometimes took place, among most if not all the tribes, at a very early age on the part of the unconscious girl. The Malays declared that when a marriage had been arranged amongst the Benua, the relatives of both parties would assemble at the house of the bride, who was then placed in a canoe by herself, supplied with a paddle, and sent down the stream. When she had been given a start of one or two reaches, the bridegroom entered a canoe and gave chase. Should he succeed in overtaking the fair one, she became his wife. If he failed, the match was broken off. But since most of the young women had good stout arms, and could make good use of the paddle that was given them, it must be supposed that love usually unnerved them, and gave the victory to the bridegroom.  


2 Logan here adds that he is scep-
to members of the tribe, the union was arranged by the parents, and the ceremony consisted simply in the parties eating from the same plate. After partaking of a repast, the relatives of the bridegroom departed, leaving him to pass the night in the bride's house. Next day he carried her home. A small present was sent to the bride's parents previous to the marriage. The Batins and their families would send as much as forty plates ("pinggan") on such occasions, and other persons as much as twenty plates. If the lady had already been married, no ceremony whatever was used. She repaired to the house of her new husband, and installed herself as mistress. 1 Most of the Benua had one wife only, but some had two, and there did not appear to be any rule on the subject. 2 The husband might not beat his wife for any cause whatever. 3

No marriage was lawful without the consent of the

tical as to the real existence in his day of the practice described, but in view of all the evidence, it may be taken, I think, as substantially accurate.

1 Logan here adds that amongst the Berembun tribes the husband either took up his residence in the house of his wife's parents or made one in their clearing.

2 J. I. A. vol. i. p. 270.

3 Iōrid. p. 267.

Newbold gives a graphic account of a wedding among the Benua, but unfortunately it is not clear to what tribe he refers. His account is as follows:—

"On occasions of marriages the whole tribe was assembled and an entertainment given, at which large quantities of a fermented liquor, obtained from the fruit of the Tampoi, are dispensed by the wedding guests; an address is made by one of the elders to the following effect: 'Listen, all ye that are present, those that were distant are now brought together, those that were separated are now united.' The young couple then approach each other, join hands, and the sylvan ceremony is concluded. It varies, however, in different tribes. Among some there is a dance, in the midst of which the bride elect darts off, à la galope, into the forest, followed by her inamorato. A chase ensues, during which, should the youth fall down, or return unsuccessful, he is met with the jeers and merriment of the whole party, and the match is declared off. It generally happens, though, that the lady contrives to stumble over the root of some tree friendly to Venus, and falls (fortuitously of course) into the outstretched arms of her pursuer!"

"No marriage is lawful without the consent of the parents. The dower usually given by the man to the bride is a Malay hatchet ('béliong'), a copper ring, an iron or earthen cooking vessel, a chopper or parang, a few cubits of cloth, glass beads, and a pair of armlets; the woman also presents a copper ring to her intended. Polygamy is not
father. A man might not have more than one wife at once. A man who divorced his wife lost the dowry given to her, but if the divorce came from the side of the woman, she was bound to return the dowry she received from the man.\(^1\)

Any married person surprised in adultery might be put to death. But if a woman so surprised could prove that she was seduced, she would not be put to death, but would be sent away by her husband. After divorce the man and woman might marry again with other parties.\(^2\)

A father could not sell his child, but might give him to another, always provided that the child would consent, no matter what its age might be.\(^3\)

If children were left orphans, their nearest relatives would bring them up, unless, with their consent, some other person agreed to do so.\(^4\)

Although the Benua women were generally faithful, adultery appeared to be neither infrequent nor held in sufficient detestation. The Malays asserted that it was not difficult to obtain favours of Benua women, and these latter themselves admitted that husbands sometimes changed their wives, and wives their husbands.\(^5\) Divorce was simply a putting away of the wife.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) With the foregoing should be further compared the account given by Vaughan-Stevens in *V. B. G. A.* xxiii. p. 833, which does not however add anything of importance.

\(^2\) Favre in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 269.

\(^3\) Ibid.

\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Ibid.

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\(^1\) This is doubtless at the annual "carnival" or "Tampoi Feast," and it is not fair on that account to tax the Benua with infidelity.
Jakun of Johor.—Logan states that among the Jakun, marriages were ordinarily celebrated about the months of July and August, when fruits were plentiful. The bridegroom frequented for some time the house of his intended, and when he had obtained her consent, he made a formal demand for her hand to her father. A day was then appointed, and preparations made for an entertainment, the scale of which varied according to the means of the two contracting parties, and their rank in the tribe. When the day for the marriage had arrived, the bridegroom repaired to the house of the bride's father, where the whole tribe was already assembled. The dowry to be given by the man to his bride was then delivered; it must consist at the least of a silver or copper ring, and a few cubits of cloth, and if the man were able to afford it, a pair of bracelets. To these gifts a few other ornaments and articles, e.g. furniture for the house of the new family, were added. Sometimes the woman also presented some gifts to her intended husband. The bride was then delivered by her father to the bridegroom, and the solemnity began. Some stated that among some of the tribes there was a dance, in the midst of which the bride elect darted off into the forest, followed by the bridegroom. A chase ensued, during which, should the youth fall down, or return unsuccessful, he was met with the jeers and merriment of the whole party, and the match was declared off. A slightly different ceremony was ascribed to the Benua of Pahang, viz., that during the banquet a large fire was kindled, all the congregation standing as witnesses; the bride then commenced to run round the fire; the bridegroom, who was obliged to run in the same direction, following her; if he succeeded in catching her the marriage was valid,
if he could not, it was declared off. No marriage was lawful without the father's consent. Conjugal faithfulness was much respected among the Jakun; adultery being punishable by death. It was especially remarkable that among the Jakun, although they were surrounded by Mohammedans and heathen races, all of whom were so much addicted to polygamy, it was not allowed to keep more than one wife, and that Logan met with only one who had two wives, and he was censured and despised by the whole tribe. The only difference, in fact, between this form of monogamy and that practised by Christian nations was that amongst the Benua a man might divorce his wife and take another. The rule was that if the divorce was proposed by the husband, he lost the dowry he had given to the woman; but that if the woman asked to be divorced, she must return the dowry she had received at marriage. The children followed the father or the mother according to their own (the children's) wishes; if, however, they had not yet arrived at the age of reason, they followed the mother.

Udai.—The only reference to marriage among the

1 On this Favre remarks that all the Jakun he questioned on the point declared that they were not at all aware of the practice, so that if the story were true, it must be ascribed to a few tribes only (J. I. A. vol. ii. p. 264).

2 Cp. Begbie, i.e. pp. 13, 14. Polygamy among the Jakun is not allowed, and is punishable.

3 J. F. A. vol. ii. p. 264. For the treatment of the Jakun women by their husbands, who regard them as mere chattels, but are otherwise not unkind to them, see Z.f. E. xxviii. p. 166.
Udai is that made by Newbold, who records that they are said never to intermarry with the Jakun, who accuse them of devouring their own dead and of cohabiting with the beasts of the forest.¹

**Orang Laut or Sea-jakun.**

**Orang Laut, S'letar.**—Of the marriage customs of the S'letar tribe we are informed that a mouthful of tobacco and a single "chupak" of rice handed to the bride's mother confirmed the hymeneal tie. The S'letar women intermarried with the Malays, this custom appearing to be not unfrequent; they were also sometimes given to Chinese, and an old woman stated that she had been united to individuals of both nations, at an early period in her life.²

**Orang Laut, Sabimba.**—Before marriage the bridegroom prepared a hut of his own to which he carried the bride, on the day of marriage, from the house of the Batin where they were united. Twelve cubits ("hastas") of white cloth, and some betel-leaf and areca-nut were delivered by the bridegroom into the Batin's hands for presentation to the parents of the bride.

The children of brothers might not intermarry, but those of sisters and of a brother and sister might do so. Adultery was punished by a fine of 1000 rattans, seduction of a virgin by compelling the man to marry her and to give the customary present to her parents.³

To the foregoing should be added the declaration of the Sabimba that they had no actual ceremonies at marriage; the preparation of a shed, open on all sides, and measuring about 6 ft. × 4 ft. (1.8 m. × 1.2 m.),

erected over a few branches and leaves strewed on the ground, comprised all the bridegroom's care. The price of a wife was stated to be ten needles, three hanks of thread, sixteen cubits of cloth, and three “reals.” The Sabimba women did not intermarry with the Malays, nor would they part with their offspring for any consideration.¹

**Orang Laut, Beduanda Kallang:**—Previous to marriage the bridegroom was expected to provide himself with a boat of his own. Members of the same family might not intermarry, however remote the degree, though at the same time no doubt the traces of relationship would tend to be soon lost and forgotten. Widowers and widows were not in the habit of marrying again. Polygamy and adultery were both unknown.²

**Orang Laut, Muka Kuning:**—As soon as the breasts of a girl were of the size of an areca-nut she was considered marriageable.³ When a marriage had been agreed upon, the parents of the bridegroom sent to those of the bride 3000 rattans, a piece of cloth, a jacket, and two silver rings. The marriage, which took place at the house of the bride, in presence of the Batin or tribal chief and several guests, consisted in the bride and bridegroom being placed side by side, and made to join hands, while the parents enjoined them to be kind to each other and avoid disputes. A feast followed, at which the newly married pair ate from the same plate or leaf. Singing and dancing to the tambourine (“rebana”) followed. The Batin received as his fee a present of 2000 rattans.⁴

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¹ J. I. A. vol. i. p. 347*.  
² Ibid. p. 300.  
³ This is also the standard followed by the Malays.  
⁴ J. I. A. vol. i. pp. 338*, 339*. 
If a husband was not pleased with his wife, he might return her to her parents, and after the lapse of a month the parties might form other connexions. Polygamy was unknown. The children of brothers might not intermarry.¹

**Orang Laut, Akik.**—The only remark I have met with in reference to the marriage customs of this particular tribe was to the effect that although a Jakun could take an Akik woman to wife, the Akiks were not permitted to marry with the Jakun females.²

The remainder of this account of the wedding ceremonies of the Orang Laut is taken from Vaughan-Stevens, and is of general value only, no names of tribes or localities being given:—

At marriage the son commonly undertook to build a boat for himself, unless, as was usual, he already possessed one. But both he and his wife could live in the boat of either’s parents, whenever his assistance and that of his wife might be required. Marriage took place at a very early age, at fifteen or sixteen years, but now since there are fewer women available, it takes place later.³

The customs relating to the choice of wives among the Orang Laut are very similar to those of the E. Semang (Pangan), Sakai, and Jakun.⁴ The men of one community could only take a wife from another community (not their own), in the days when they lived upon the sea.⁵ If the two communities were at feud, and the young people had no opportunity of making a choice, matches were effected by capture, and both the women and their dowry taken by force.⁶ But these organised attacks never take place in the interior of the country, since the Eastern Semang is unrestricted in his choice of a spouse, and the Sakai is bound by his totemistic (sic) code.⁷ Communal marriage, in which the woman is free to all the men of the community, or its milder form, family-marriage, in which the woman becomes the spouse of all her husband’s brothers, did not occur; and both polyandry and polygamy were equally unknown.⁸

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¹ *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 339.
² Newbold, ii. 413, 414.
⁴ As the customs of the three races are very different, this sweeping statement seems meaningless and indefensible.
⁵ On p. 175, Vaughan-Stevens explains that by exogamy he means marriage within the different branches of the same race, not intermarriage with strangers or foreigners. Thus in the case of four communities of the Orang Laut of which A, B, and C, were of pure blood, and D a mixed tribe of Orang Laut and Jakuns, the first tribe A, could take wives from B or C, B could take wives from A or C, and C from B or A, but none of them could take a wife from the mixed tribe D.
Orang Laut children belong not to the father but to the mother. Thus, supposing a woman belonging to a community A, marries a man belonging to a community B, the children would belong to A, and at the father’s death would be taken by the mother to her original home.1 Perhaps this may be the reason (remarks Bartels) why the Orang Laut man cares so little about his children and treats both mother and children so badly.2 Vaughan-Stevens continues, that when he said to some of the Orang Laut, “The fact appears to be that you can be sure who the mother is, but not who the father may be,” they laughed and agreed with him.3

Among the Orang Laut the exact value of the present to be made to the bride’s parents depends partly upon the bride’s qualities and partly upon the circumstance whether she was desired in marriage by one or more suitors. In the case of captives being taken as wives, this present was naturally omitted.1

Apropos of the so-called “ant-hill” ceremony, Vaughan-Stevens remarks that in spite of many inquiries he was unable to substantiate it except in a restricted area near Malacca, where he believes it was “introduced by half-breeds.”5

Vaughan-Stevens goes on to say that it was the custom for the youths of the tribe, at the wedding-feast, to engage in various games, the object of which was to excite the bridegroom to pursue his bride, but that though it was certainly unnecessary for him to catch her, he was mercilessly bantered if he failed of his purpose. This was, however, by no means a necessary ceremony, and did not take place at every wedding.6

The position of the women among the Orang Laut is pitiable, being much worse than among the other tribes.7 Vaughan-Stevens says, “I have often seen an Orang Laut man take all the fish and roots which had been collected by his family in the course of the day, and silently devour the whole, leaving nothing but the heads and refuse for his wife and children to feed on.” And when by any chance an Orang Laut is compelled to traffic either with the Sakai, Jakun, or Malays, these latter not infrequently insist upon his giving a share of the food which he gets from them to his wife and children. The Orang Laut are, in fact, the lowest of all the aboriginal tribes,8 and are the only tribe of which the men, upon all occasions, eat before their womenfolk are allowed to do so. Among other tribes the men on special occasions eat before the women, but that is because somebody has to look after the food, and not because they are considered too much beneath their husband for them to be allowed to eat with him.9

Even when Vaughan-Stevens gave food to Orang Laut women they never dared to eat it when their husband was present, and so long as another man, even if he were not their husband, was present, they would always retire from his presence before eating it or giving any of it to their children.10

The Orang Laut were originally divided into families, recognising a special locality or district as their home, and since they invariably lived in scattered parties in their boats, they described themselves as belonging to such localities. Marriage

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1 Z.f. E. xxviii. 175.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid. The custom here described appears to be analogous to the “Adat Perpatih” of the Malays of Rembau and Naning.
5 Ibid. This scepticism as to the prevalence of the custom is, I believe, quite unnecessary (for the reasons before given, and others).
6 Z. f. E. xxviii. 176.
7 This character of brutality so lightly ascribed to the Orang Laut, I believe to be quite unmerited, and mainly due to the fact of their being wilder and shyer than the other races in the Peninsula, and hence apparently more stupid and brutal.
8 It is not true that they are the only tribe of which the men eat before their women-folk, and even if it were, it may be doubted whether the inference here deduced can be justly drawn from it.
10 Ibid
did not affect the situation, and the invariable rule held good that men and women belonging to the same locality might not marry, but that each must seek a spouse in another locality. This rule, however, like many others, fell into disuse when the domain of the Orang Laut became restricted to its present area. But nevertheless the spouse is still chosen from as distant a locality as possible.¹

Among the Orang Laut monogamy was the rule, the only exception being the so-called "Levirate." For whenever the man's brother died, the former frequently supported the widow, on the ground that he took her as a kind of second wife. This at least is said to have been formerly the custom, until the women discovered later that as there were more men than women, they could very easily obtain a husband of their own.²

When the widow was taken over by the brother of her first husband, the children were allowed to choose, should they be old enough to do so, between remaining with their mother, and leaving her establishment.³

Vaughan-Stevens asserts that the custom of [mother-in-law] avoidance does not exist among the Orang Laut, nor were any names "taboo," though they had heard of the custom.⁴

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, l.c. p. 174.  
² Z.f. E. xxviii. 177.  
³ Ibid.  
⁴ Ibid.
CHAPTER IV.

BURIAL CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

This is a most intricate subject, and the best hope of an adequate solution seems to lie in observing the divergent mental attitudes of the three wild races when confronted with the death of a member of their small community.

The Negrito, for instance, exhibits little dread of the ghosts of the deceased, from which the Sakai, on the other hand, flee far aloof in terror. The Jakun again certainly display a dread of the ghost, but in their case the result of this most powerful motive, which inspires all similar burial customs, takes the form of a religious care for the dead man's spirit.

Hence it is not surprising to find that, though the Semang now employ a simple form of interment, their more honourable (and therefore older?) practice was to expose the dead in trees, whereas the Sakai simply leave the body to rot, and even desert standing crops.

The Jakun devote their first efforts to making things comfortable for the spirit of the deceased, and do not as a rule desert the place until after their month of mourning has expired.

Of the various rites observed by these tribes there are several that will prove of interest to students of
ethnology. Among these are mere desertion of the corpse, as practised by the Sakai; the exposure of dead wizards in trees,¹ attributed to the Semang; platform burial in a modified form, as practised by some of the Sakai of Selangor; the lighting of a fire on or near the grave, as is done both by the Sakai and most of the Jakun; the scrupulous solicitude shown by the Jakun for the deceased’s spirit, which is provided with a furnished hut to live in, and provisions to feed upon, (as in the interesting burial-customs of the Besisi),² and even with a trench full of water on which to paddle its canoe (as in the case of the Jakun chief recorded by Hervey); and finally, the practice of fixing a bamboo in the grave in communication with the mouth of the corpse for the purpose of feeding it, a custom of which we have among the Jakun of Berembun a mere survival.

To this we may add the use of the “burial bamboo” ascribed to the Semang by Vaughan-Stevens, which is said to be deposited in the grave to serve as credentials for the dead man’s spirit to show when it comes before the universal Judge; and the atrocious custom attributed to the Udai, which is explained by a Pangan tradition that I collected in Kelantan.

¹ The Andamanese expose the body facing east on a small stage of sticks and boughs 8-12 ft. above the ground, usually in the fork of a tree; this is thought more complimentary, as involving more labour.—Man’s. And. pp. 76-77.

² The soul-hut of the Selangor Besisi is strongly reminiscent of the “three-cornered hut,” which is erected by the side of the grave in Bali. At the burial of a commoner in Bali, we are told that when the body has been committed to the ground, there “is fixed in the ground by the side of the grave a bamboo, on the top of which there is a sort of three-cornered hut of lattice-work, in which offerings of small value, chiefly rice and flowers and fruit, are deposited immediately after the funeral, and subsequently at certain intervals. These offerings are for the purpose of propitiating the Butas (the demoniacal beings who infest places of burial especially), lest they should attack the soul of the deceased. The grave is then surrounded with a fence or hedge. Those who are buried in this way cannot enter heaven; they then assume all sorts of shapes” (especially that of the half-wild dogs which are numerous in Bali).—Misc. Papers relating to Indo-China, second series, vol. ii. p. 138.
I.—Semang.

Pagan.—The Pangan or Eastern Semang of Kelantan informed me that the bodies of the lay members of the tribe were buried in the ground (in a way which I shall presently describe), but that the bodies of their great magicians (whom they called "B'lians") were deposited in trees in order that they might be able to fly over the head of the fearful figure which they believe blocks the narrow way that leads to the Jungle-men's Paradise. They further informed me that the dead body of one of these magicians had actually been deposited in a tree on the banks of the Kelantan river (above S. Sam), but the place described already lay a considerable distance to the rear of our expedition, and it was not then possible to reascend the river in order to investigate. I may add that the Pangan, like the Sakai, are entreated at death to "think of their departed ancestors alone and forget their living friends."

Kedah Semang.—I will now describe the grave of a Semang which may be taken as fairly typical, and of which I was able personally to obtain the full particulars. At Siong, in Kedah, I persuaded the Penglima or head of the Semang tribe, with a great deal of difficulty, to allow me to purchase the bones of a relative of his own who had been buried in the jungle not far from the settlement. The Penglima conducted one of the local Malays and myself to the site of the grave, which was in the depths of the jungle, and which we could never have found without assistance.

A couple of stout bamboo poles which had been used to form the bier by means of which the remains had been borne to the spot, lay crossed above the grave, which was partially defended by a low fence of
prickly palm-leaves and branches. The grave was that of one "P'landok" or "Mouse-deer," who was said to have died about a year before, leaving behind him a son called "Padang" or "Flatland," whom I met in the settlement. We opened the grave together, and found it to measure about three feet deep by about five feet in length. There was nothing left of the body but the skeleton, which lay upon the right side in a huddled-up position, with the head and knees turned towards the right, and legs doubled back, so as to bring them within the limits of the grave.

Three coconut-shells, which had been used for holding small portions of rice, were still to be seen, one of them being just behind the head, and the other two at each side of the body. At the foot was a coconut-shell still partially filled with water. The body rested on a mat which covered a roughly-made floor or platform of sticks, and had evidently been wrapped up in a red cloth ("sarong"), pieces of which were still here and there visible. A row of short stakes had been driven diagonally into one side of the grave-pit, the lower ends meeting the side of the pit about halfway down, a foot (30 cm.) above the body, and the upper ones reaching to the upper edge of the opposite side of the pit. The roofing to the grave thus formed had been covered with palm-leaves (bērtam) laid longitudinally, and the whole arrangement formed a sort of screen which would keep the earth from falling on the body when the grave was being covered in.

An infant child of the dead man ("Mouse-deer") had been buried in a tiny grave a short distance

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1 As among the Andamanese, who are buried with "knees brought up to the chin, and fists to the shoulders." —Man's AND. pp. 75-76.

2 This platform had no doubt, with the two bamboo poles referred to above, formed the bier on which the remains of the deceased had been carried to the grave.
away from that of "Mouse-deer" himself, but nothing was to be seen there at the time of my visit beyond a slight depression in the surface of the ground showing where the burial had taken place.

These were said to have been the only deaths that had occurred since this tribe had arrived in the Siong district, where they had lived, they said, for a couple of years.

**Perak Semang.**—Mr. L. Wray writes me, that in the Piah Valley he once camped in a large clearing containing a crop of Indian corn, nearly ripe, besides vegetables, etc. This clearing had been recently abandoned in consequence of two deaths. The graves were in the clearing and the houses were still standing. Lower down the valley Mr. F. Lawder, about four years previously, had seen a case in which the house had been shut up with the dead body in it. The skull and some of the bones from this house are now in the Perak Museum. In the same valley Mr. Wray saw another huge clearing with growing rice abandoned because of a death. In this instance, however, he did not see the grave.

The following account, which generally speaking agrees with what I have observed myself, is taken from Vaughan-Stevens. It gives, however, the only account I have met with of the burial bamboo, which is one of the important subjects connected with these tribes still awaiting further investigation.

On the occasion of a death the Pangan silently fetch the timbers required for the grave, and betake themselves to any suitable place in the jungle. Here they dig a grave with straight sides, deep enough for a man to stand in up to the hips, and then return to fetch the corpse. The Sna-hut meanwhile examines the corpse and gives it the burial bamboo or "pēnitāh" ("peneetor"), a bamboo written over with signs, which is to serve as testimony on the other side of the grave to the behaviour of the man in the present life.

The burial bamboo is inserted in the girdle of the deceased, with the node uppermost, the hollow pointing downwards; the deceased lying meanwhile upon the ground. A slight bier is then fashioned out of a few bamboo poles, which are bound together with rattan or other creepers. The corpse is laid upon it,

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1 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 119-122.
and as many men and women as have any interest in the dead accompany the remains to the grave. On arrival the corpse is deposited in the grave in a supine position, without any sort of orientation. A few stakes are then planted slanting-wise in the soil of the grave on each side of the corpse, so that they cross each other gable-wise above the corpse, a pole of bamboo or some other material is laid upon the ridge thus formed, in a line with the body, and leaves and branches are employed to cover the sloping sides. As a general rule the earth is shuffled back again into the grave with the feet, a small mound is heaped up over it, and some brushwood laid on the top, in order to prevent the pigs from digging the body up again.

The method of burial now employed by the Semang on the west coast of the Peninsula is no longer the old one. In the southern parts of the west coast the Sakai methods are imitated, only the preparation of the grave is much more careless. The peculiar diagonal hollow for the reception of the corpse is always present. In the north of the west coast the Semang roughly imitate the manner of burial of the local Siamese who do not practise cremation: even idols stolen from their Siamese jungle companions are not forgotten. The Semang say that they never expose a corpse.

The Pangan (Eastern Semang) do not as a rule revisit the grave, but they have not the least fear of doing so, because, as mentioned above, they do not believe in Hantus; the Semang of the west coast only do so in order to free the grave from underwood.

If there is no minor chief (Sna-hut) in the neighbourhood, the dead man is buried without a burial bamboo, but the latter is afterwards lowered into the grave through a deep hole bored with a grave-stake. The soul must in that case remain in the body until the burial bamboo arrives, as it is conscious that it has done nothing which might cause the latter to be refused. It is true, however, that if the soul does not leave the grave soon enough, Kari is sure to become impatient, and send thunder and lightning in order to hasten the tarrying soul, and although the exact effect of this is uncertain, the Pangan think that the soul must expiate this. Hence no time is lost in obtaining the burial bamboo, of which the Sna-hut keeps a supply in hand, and when the deceased person is an adult man he also cuts the name-mark on the bamboo, before he gives it to the mourners. In former times the Sna-hut was never very far away, and was always called in, but later the signs became better known, and the men in urgent cases cut the signs themselves. Many had their burial bamboo prepared during life, as the Sna-huts lived very scattered.

When an innocent soul was deprived of its burial bamboo by any accident or through malice, it might demand restitution from Kari, and if the Sna-hut held the burial bamboo back unjustly, Kari's lightning would strike him and hurl him down to the infernal region (Kamoj).

Beside the corpse of a woman were deposited, in addition to her own burial bamboo, all her combs. These combs were placed in her hair if possible, if not, as many as possible were so placed, and the rest laid upon the breast of the corpse. This was in accordance with "Simel's command."

Similarly beside the corpses of men were deposited all their quivers and charm-bamboos and bamboo strings, with charm-patterns against Diseases. Their blowpipes, however, were not so deposited.

The Semang of the west coast often put a little food into the grave before they leave it, and kindle a fire in the neighbourhood; this, however, is in imitation of the custom of the Sakai. The Pangan do not do this.

If the bereaved relatives really feel sorrow, they do not show it openly, even a mother does not weep openly over her child.

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1 This is probably a solitary case; it is not true of the Kadah Semang.
2 This was contradicted by the E. Semang.
3 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. pp. 121, 122. Vaughan-Stevens adds, somewhat obscurely, that on the west coast the upper structure of the grave is either
It may still be a moot point whether the Semang ever bury the corpse in a sitting position or not. For although we are informed by Maxwell that the remains (of those who die in an honourable way) are laid upon a log of wood, *in a sitting posture*, and buried a foot or two under the ground, we have no account of any such custom at first hand from an eye-witness, and it is hence always possible that a statement of the kind, if not in the present instance, may yet sometimes arise from the vagueness of a native trying to describe the position of the corpse (with its legs drawn up under it), such as actually occurs. More exact information upon this point may therefore be awaited.¹

Ascribed to the Semang is a yet more extraordinary practice, the tradition of which, although totally devoid of foundation at present, may possibly have originated in some obsolete Semang custom.² This is the idea, found among the Malays, that when a Semang dies the body is eaten, and nothing but the head interred.³

II.—Sakai.

There is no satisfactory description of a Sakai burial, with the exception of one by Vaughan-Stevens, whose accounts as a rule require much independent corroboration.


² Especially likely does this seem when we remember the extraordinary customs of other Negrito races, e.g., the Andamanese, who used to exhume the bones of relations after three months and clean and break them up to form necklaces, with the skull as pendant.—Man's *And.* p. 78.

³ Newbold, ii. 377-379. Since the above was set up (in the text), I have met with evidence that seems to substantiate my view.—Vide p. 228, *infra.*

The Jakun of Johor make a similar charge against the Udai, whom they "accuse of devouring their own dead." Newbold, ii. 381, 382.
We are told, however, by Hale that the Sakai of Perak were in the habit of burying along with a man his tobacco wallet, bead necklace, or timber-box. Similarly her comb, necklace, or bracelets were buried along with a woman. The house in which the death had taken place was invariably burnt down and the settlement deserted, even at the risk of the loss of standing crops.¹

On the other hand, two Sakai graves in Batang Padang (Perak) described by Wray were raised like Malay ones, and well taken care of, and on them were the remains of fruit, flowers, Indian corn, coconut-shells, bottle-gourds, roots, etc., which had been placed there probably as offerings to the dead.²

This last description, though puzzling, is of no small interest, for although the graves described were undoubtedly in the heart of the Sakai country, the evident care with which they were tended sounds more like the work of tribes under Jakun influence, who like other branches of the Malayan race are most particular in this respect. From all we know of the genuine Sakai, they have so intense a terror of the ghosts of the deceased that they burn down the house, and even sometimes the village, in which a death has taken place, and never return to it. Can it be that deaths from epidemic diseases inspire this terror among the Sakai, whilst those from old age or other milder causes do not? I confess that I see no satisfactory explanation.

To the foregoing account Mr. Wray now adds, that at Kuala Dipang, in Kinta, he saw the grave of Toh Sang, the chief of the South Kinta and a portion

¹ Hale, p. 291. In a MS. note Clifford says that the medicine-men ("ha-la") of the U. Kerbat Sakai are exposed after death in huts, when they are thought to disappear and become tigers. For others there is no ceremony. ² L. Wray in J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 21, p. 125.
Sakai Man's Grave (S. Perak).

showing blowpipe, wallet, adze-head, fruit, wreath, and other objects deposited thereon, for the benefit of the deceased's soul.

Vol. II. p. 96.
of the Batang Padang Sakai. It was a raised grave of the Malayan type, and was built up with earth thrown up within his house, for which purpose the flooring had been removed, and the walls continued down to the ground. His widow and children were living in a house near by, and it was they who took Mr. Wray to see the grave.

The account given by Vaughan-Stevens contains (as usual) no localities; it runs as follows:—

The old form of Sakai ("B'landas") grave is very peculiar, but has now become rare. In places where the Sakai have mixed with Malays and Chinese the old methods of burial have ceased with the love of the old customs. The grave is made wall-sided, as it is then (says Vaughan-Stevens) found easier to dig (sic). The corpse is washed by friends or relations and dressed in clean clothes. The site for the grave is chosen by the wife or nearest relation and one of the subordinate chiefs (Penglima); it is always distant from another grave, road, river, or house. The digging of the grave, for which no payment is made, is performed by two or more persons, old tools being used in preference to modern (Chinese) ones. The corpse is laid out with the hands close to the hips, and bands or strips of bark or cane are bound round the arms, wrists, and ankles. The eyes are closed, but the lower jaw is not bandaged; and the body having been rolled up in a mat (a modern substitute for bark-cloth), is firmly bound round in three places. A new wrapper of tree-bark (large enough to surround the corpse) is then rolled round it and tied again with three bands of cane or tree-fibre and slung from a carrying pole, the ends of which are borne by two men upon their shoulders. Only one woman (the wife) may follow, but as many men as like may do so. At the grave the bark wrapper is removed, and the corpse laid upon its back in the grave with the head towards the west. There is no "consecrating" ceremony.  

I omit the rest of Vaughan-Stevens' description of the Sakai grave, as it possesses no further interest from the Sakai point of view. The form of grave described is a mere copy of a common Arabic grave-type which has been borrowed by the Mohammedan Malays, and adopted from them in turn by the Sakai without any interesting variations to recommend it. Those who wish to see it, however, will find it under the

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1 Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 136, 137. The length of the grave is fixed by measurement; the standard being a man's length plus a span or "jéngkal" (reckoning from the tip of the middle finger to that of the outstretched thumb). The standard for the depth of the grave is the hip-joint of the digger. [Among Malays it is usually taken to be the ear of the digger.—W. S.]
reference given. The only remaining point of interest in the account is the use of the Sacrificial Tray (Sak. "anchap" = Mal. "anchak"), which contains the "food and water" that are offered to the "Grave-spirit" (Mal. "Hantu kubor"), for whose benefit also the fire on the grave is lit. The soul ("sêmangat") proceeds to the Infernal Region ("Nêraka") or Paradise ("Pulau Buah" or "Fruit Island"), as his case may require; but his Evil Deeds remain by the grave in the form of a "Hantu Kubor," incessantly seeking a fresh embodiment.

To the foregoing may be added Vaughan-Stevens' description of a ceremony observed by the Sakai on the occasion of a death.

A dying man lies with head towards the west. The magician holding a censer ("sungkun") in his hand, takes up the usual crouching position at the feet of the patient, a little to the right side, and raises himself up slowly till he is "breast high." He then waves the censer seven times horizontally over the body, and placing the coconut-shell (bowl) at his feet, bends down and says softly in his ear: "O dying one, do not remember any more your father, mother, children, or relations. Think only of your ancestors already dead and gone to another place. Your living (friends) will find food."

The embers in the coconut-shell are kept in a glow till the man is dead.

The alleged reasons for the use of incense in this ceremony are that smoke "mounts upward and then vanishes"; also that "good spirits love its smell and bad spirits hate it."³

Selangor Sakai.—Of the Sakai tribes in the Kuala Lumpur district of Selangor, my friend Father Letessier has given an account in which he says that when a death occurred, the body was washed, and the

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 140, 141. To the above may be added Vaughan-Stevens' remark that among the Sakai ("Senoi") face-paint was never applied after death, and that any face-paint that the deceased might have been wearing must be washed off before burial took place. Also that no face-paint was employed by the mourners at a funeral (Z. f. E. xxvi. p. 153).
² Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 144.
³ Ibid.
hair oiled and combed carefully. Then, after being once more clothed in its best garments, it was entirely covered with a shroud. The dead man's dagger ("kris") or his chopper ("parang") was laid upon his breast, together with his betel-leaf wallet. When all was ready the deceased was carried out upon an improvised bier to a place pointed out by his nearest relation. The trench, which was broad and deep, was lined at the bottom and sides with planks or billets of wood. As soon as the corpse was lowered into the trench, tobacco and betel-nut was offered—"‘for the last time,’ they say." Everything having been placed beside the body, the grave was carefully covered over with planks which were then covered up with earth.

The same day rice and cakes were placed there, "not to feed the dead," a young Sakai hastened to explain, "but to obtain from the Lord forgiveness for his sins" ("lēpas dia-punya dosa"). On the third, the seventh, and the hundredth days following, a similar offering was laid upon the tomb, which was then raised and tended carefully.

Another form of burial which is perhaps more characteristic is that practised by some of the Sakai in the Ulu Langat district of Selangor, which appears to be a modified version of some old custom of "platform burial" — about halfway between regular "platform" burial and interment. Of this method the

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1 This explanation may have been given by a convert or have been merely diplomatic, but there can be little doubt as to the true interpretation of the rite, agreeing as it does so closely with the spirit of Sakai funeral rites in places where the influence of Christianity has not yet penetrated.

2 The attention given to the tomb upon the third, seventh, and hundredth days respectively is, I think, the clearest evidence of either Malay or Jakun influence. The careful washing of the corpse (with the oiling and combing of its hair) and the laying of the dead man's weapon upon his breast are equally Malayan customs.

3 Letessier, p. 102.
late Mr. J. A. G. Campbell of Selangor, in describing the customs of the Ulu Langat Sakai, wrote that, whenever a death occurred in a house, they would erect a platform in front of it, whereon they would place the body, leaving it there for a day, and would then either burn or desert the house, after burying the body. This same writer adds that the whole settlement was frequently deserted on account of a death. Burials were attended by the friends of the deceased, and the blowing of pipes and singing were the only ceremonies at the funeral. The body was not, as a rule, buried more than two feet deep.¹

III.—Jakun.

Tasau (?Sakai-Jakun) of Selangor.—There was a solitary family near Sepang, in the Kuala Langat district of Selangor, who were said to belong to the Tasau tribe (described as being “halfway between the Sea and Hill tribes”). They were said to practise a peculiar funeral rite, the story being that whenever a member of this tribe died he was carried some distance off into the jungle and there laid to rest in an actual hut erected for the purpose. Here he was watched for seven days by his son or nearest relative, who made daily excursions to the spot for that object; after this he was believed to disappear, and the watcher’s visits were discontinued.

Jakun (0. Bukit), N. Sembilan.—But by far the best account of a Jakun burial is the description of the funeral of a woman by Rowland,² who remarks that she was called Sulam by name, and that she was about

² Rowland, pp. 711-713.
forty years of age, having died upon the 12th July 1897. She was small and thin; her hair was curly, in strands, slightly grey. The eyes were dark with the remarkable bluish opalescent glitter at the outside edge of the iris, which all old people among the Land Jakun and the Malays themselves have. The woman, according to the statement of her husband, had died of fever and a cough, and she had been dead three hours already and was quite stiff when Rowland came to her funeral. She lay in one of the newly-built huts in which the tribe were then living. In the middle of this hut lay a piece of tree-bark, which served as a species of carpet; on the right of the small entrance a fire was burning, which burned faintly the whole day, and round about were to be seen the usual primitive household objects. The corpse lay on its back at one side of the hut, covered with a white cloth; and billets of wood had been pushed under its head and feet, so that they might not rest on the earth. The husband, an odd-looking person, with long, black beard, sat apathetically beside it; in his face was expressed not exactly sorrow, but a certain dull despondency.

Rowland had arrived, somewhat late, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and the people told him that it was too late for the funeral to take place that day. He therefore came again about eleven o'clock the next morning, summoned by the son-in-law of the dead woman. The corpse and the man still remained exactly in the same position as on the day before.

First, the corpse of the deceased was carried out of the hut by her daughter, a well-formed young woman of about twenty, and her husband, a fine fellow of the same age, after which, covered only
about the hips by a sheltering cloth, it was laid upon its back on a large piece of tree-bark.¹

Though the corpse did not as yet show any traces of decomposition, the cheeks and the eyes were somewhat sunken, the eyes still remaining half open. It was remarkable that on the under surface of the hands and feet, where the colouring is (at all events in the living Land Jakun) very faint, the skin of the corpse had become quite of a milky white, though it had never been noticeable in the same person during life.

Several children and women now brought water in vessels of coconut-shell, and the deceased's daughter and an old woman began to wash the corpse thoroughly. Rowland noticed that both women showed great delicacy of feeling, and, e.g., never exposed the pubic region, but, in order to wash it, merely wetted the loin-cloth from the outside or slightly lifted it in order to pour water underneath it. The younger of the two women before beginning the work had pushed her "sarong," which otherwise was always worn over the breast, lower down and round the hips. Before strangers this is never done, and they explained later that this was a sign of special confidence.

After this washing the hair of the corpse was combed, and a silver needle, which the husband had first to fetch from his betel-case, was then inserted² through the usual knot of hair at the back of the deceased's head. The daughter then called one of the children standing by and had a piece of yellowish (curcumalike) root³ brought; this she bruised a little,

¹ Rowland, p. 711.
³ Probably turmeric.
and then made little crosses with it on the under surface of the hands and feet, leaving a yellow trace behind; it was at the same time explained that when the deceased awoke in the grave she would look at her hands and feet and see from the yellow crosses that she was really dead. This was the custom, they said. Next the husband and the daughter laid the corpse on a mat, which again in its turn lay upon a long piece of tree-bark. The husband closed his wife's eyes, not without reverence, crossed her arms over the breast, and arranged the head so that it looked straight upwards. Next, two long pieces of white cloth were laid upon the body one over another; and in the lower one, which was nearer the body, the son-in-law cut a hole with his chopper ("parang"), explaining that this was done in order that she might breathe. In the outer cloth, however, no opening was made. The bark was then rolled together round the body, laced and relaced with rattan, and carried by two men to the grave, which had been dug, deep in the jungle, in a clearing cut out by other people.

The pit was almost 1 metre deep, and remarkably long and narrow; on the left (the lower) side the soil lay in a long narrow heap; it was banked up away from the hole by two strong beams, which lay one above the other, and were held in position by two pickets.

The corpse was laid on the ground upon the other (the higher) side of the pit, and the bark unwound from it; husband and son-in-law then grasped it by the shoulders and the feet, another man supported the head, and thus it was laid in the grave, face upwards, the feet towards the west, the hillock on the
right, distinctly on the right side of the pit; to the left of it a space remained free, which would have sufficed for a second person of equal size.¹

The husband now crouched down at the foot-end of the grave and took from his betel-wallet half-a-dozen little thin silver rings and brooches such as the Sakai women like so much to wear on the "kabaya." He gave one of these rings to a young boy, her son. The others, together with the betel-wallet and some green betel-leaves, he laid upon the breast of the corpse; the two last, however, he took away again later and laid them close to the deceased's left hand.

Near the grave lay a quantity of pickets, measuring about 1 metre in length; these were now placed by those present close together into the grave so as to form to some extent a sloping roof of pickets, over which tree-bark was then laid. While the bark was being laid upon the pickets, several of those present, among them all the women, took earth in their hands, rubbed it between them, and then let it fall with some care between the pickets fixed above the corpse.

Great pains were taken that no opening should be left anywhere, and that all was well covered with the tree-bark. Then three men, together with the husband of the dead woman, threw the earth back into the grave with hoes ("changkul") and stamped it firm under their feet. When a mound began to be formed, one of the two beams on the lower side of the grave towards the right was taken and a shorter piece of wood cut for the head side; all were then secured by means of short pegs (pickets), and between them the earth was heaped up in the usual way, as in

¹ Rowland, p. 712.
a three-sided frame of timbers. The foot end remained outside this barrier.

The husband had already, when the corpse was laid in the pit, placed the midrib of a bērtam-palm leaf upright in the corner, on the right at the deceased’s head; in the bark-roof a slit had been cut expressly for it, and even when all the earth had been heaped up, the little shaft still rose a foot above the hillock. That was the sign that the woman had died by herself, and had not by means of the same disease summoned with her one of her children or relations. All leaves and pieces of wood were then carefully removed from the earth of the grave mound. Two dishes of boiled rice were then laid on some large leaves, the one at the foot, the other in the middle of the mound; one was for the woman herself, the other for the spirits ("hantu") of her parents and relatives, who now came to visit her. At foot and head were then inserted a couple of rudely-carved pegs (as in the case of Malay graves), and these were bound with a strip of white material—this was the custom ("'adat"), and no more could be learnt about it.¹

Blandas.—There is no record of a Blandas funeral, but I may mention their "Hantu Pawul," which was a kind of grave-demon (Mal. = "Hantu orang bērkubor"). and was exorcised by means of the following charm:—

Shoots of the Convolvulus, leaves of the Convolvulus!¹
Pass by me at the full length of the house-floor!
For one month, yea, for two months,
Avaunt ye to the left hand, avaunt to the right hand!
May I be fatal-to-meet,
And you, O Pawul, be carrion.

¹ Rowland, p. 713.
² Malayan charms often begin by reciting the materia magica used in the ceremony, for which they thus form an aid to memory.
Besisi.—The Besisi informed me that their dead are not laid in the grave in one invariable posture, but that though generally placed in a supine position, they are sometimes laid upon the right side (as among the Malays), and also, very rarely, with the knees drawn up to the chin and the hands clasped in front of the knees, in a sort of sitting position. This position, however, was explained by the Besisi as being only adopted for the saving of labour, and there seems no reason why this should be doubted.

The house in which the deceased lived, and sometimes the whole of the settlement, will be occasionally deserted or burnt after a death. This practice, however, is now less common among the Besisi than the Sakai, perhaps owing to the fact that the former live more by agriculture. As regards the hut for the soul, I was once (before I had ever seen it) discussing this custom with the three Batins of Ayer Itam in the presence of some men of the tribe, when one of the Batins gave instructions that a model should be made for me; and in not more than twenty minutes a rough but perfectly intelligible and cleverly made model had been constructed from strips of the leaf-stalk of the ranggam palm, pinned together with the formidable thorns of the “nibong” (a hardwood palm), and filled with the diminutive furniture which will presently be alluded to.

It was an almost inconceivably difficult thing to see anything of the burial customs of the Besisi except by accident, and it was in fact by the pure accident of being on the spot when a death occurred that I at last saw one of these funerals. Even then no Besisi breathed a word to me about
the intended ceremony, and it was from a friendly Malay that the information came which enabled me to see it.

A young Besisi woman, named Sauma, had died the night before my arrival, and it was between 8 a.m. and 9 a.m. that I heard of the preparations for her burial, which had been kept a profound secret. Fortunately, however, there was still time, and one of my Besisi friends taking me up the river in his "dugout" canoe for a considerable distance, we arrived at the burial place, about a hundred yards in from the river, just before the commencement of the funeral proceedings.¹

The deceased was brought to the spot with her own "sarong" (a sort of plaid skirt or long kilt worn by the Malays) girt about her waist, but was wrapped besides in a new shroud of white cloth. The shroud, in turn, was wrapped up in a couple of new mats, the whole being lashed to a pole for ease of conveyance. When I arrived, the body, still lashed to the pole, was lying near the grave, the digging of which had just begun, and which when completed was a very narrow oblong pit no deeper than the digger's waist.

A yard or two from the foot of the grave was erected the triangular hut (no larger than an average-sized doll's house),² to which reference has already been made, but instead of its being thatched in the ordinary way, three leaves of the fan-palm ("kēpau"), with long stalks, were placed upright so as just to lean over the framework of the hut. I was told that this

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¹ This burial ground must have been the greater part of a mile away, allowing for the windings of the river.

² The posts of this hut were about 3 ft. to 3½ ft. high (91 cm. to 120 cm.), and the sides measured about 1 ft. 6 in. (45 cm.) each way.
was done to save time, but I noticed near the foot of another grave close by the ruined framework of a similar hut which had evidently, from the remains of the fan-palm leaves, been roofed in a similar manner. A ladder, consisting of an inclined stick, was added for the soul to climb up to its hut by. The hut had just been furnished (before my arrival) with models of the "sentong" (a long basket made of a kind of fan-palm leaf, which is strapped to the back and generally used by the Besisi women in this district for carrying jungle produce), a small closed rice-bag ("sumpit") filled with seed-rice, and an open wallet ("bujam") containing young shoots of the wild betel-leaf ("chambai"), one of the edible kinds of marine bivalve called "lokan," and a piece of newly-woven matting about 9 inches square, on which had been deposited the smallest possible "portions" of boiled rice, fish, acid fruits ("asam kēlubi"), water, and sugar (but no salt).

The deceased's father now unloosed the fastenings of the mats and the shroud in which the body was wrapped, and stripped the latter of its selvage. Next he wetted the deceased's face and breast with the midrib of a banana-leaf dipped in water, and removed her own garment ("sarong"), which was laid aside to be burned. Then the shroud was re-adjusted and the body laid in the grave, with the head pillowed upon the banana-leaf rib. A plank made of some soft wood (probably "jēlotong," not unlike deal), resting against sticks put ready to support it, was then placed in a sloping position.

1 The articles deposited in the hut are always, I was told, distinctive of the sex of the dead: thus for a man, choppers, etc., would be used.

2 This is a Malay custom, the strips of selvage (taken from the shroud itself) being used to tie up the dead body. Cp. Malay Magic, p. 401.
BESISI SOUL-WALLET.

Wallet left in Besisi soul-hut (near the grave of deceased), containing small models of various utensils and implements used by deceased during life.
over the body, so as to protect the latter from falling earth during the re-filling of the grave-pit.\(^1\)

The earth was now filled in and four poles put down rectangonally to mark the edges of the grave. Then two of the elder men took their stand on the opposite sides of the grave, and each in turn held out at about the height of his breast a couple of jungle knives (choppers) horizontally crossed. These each of these two men let fall (still crossed) seven times running upon the centre of the grave (where the girl's breast would be)—a strange custom, of which those present would only tell me that they did it in order that their own lives might not be endangered, but which (as other Besisi afterwards more fully explained to me) was intended to fix the deceased's ghost in the tomb, and keep it from feeding upon the living.

The elders then planted round the edges of the grave some yams (Bes. "yet"), some roots of the citronella or fragrant lemon grass (Mal. "sērai"), some roots of the sweet potato (Bes. "tila'" or "hila'"), and some roots of a purple-leaved plant—a kind of coleus (Bes. "torek" = Malay, "ati-ati").

Next the seed-rice was taken out of the hut and sown broadcast over the grave. Water was sprinkled over it, and I was told that the rice was to serve when it grew up for the deceased's soul to live upon. Finally the deceased's garment ("sarong"), the two mats, and the strips of selvage were collected together and consumed to ashes in a small fire which had been kept burning since the ceremony commenced.

I must add that, as it was approaching mid-day before the preparations at the grave were complete,

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\(^1\) No doubt in imitation of the Malay form of burial, known as "papan sa' kēping" (the single plank).
there was some hesitation on the part of those present as to whether it was not actually noon, in which case they said the burial would have to be postponed till the afternoon, since the shortness of their shadows at noon would (sympathetically) shorten their own lives. Fortunately I was able to reassure them, and the ceremony proceeded. No invocations were employed nor any set forms of words, so far as I could observe, although the chiefs and some twenty to thirty members of the tribe were present. The grief of the mother was especially distressing, since she broke down and sobbed aloud, but no emotion was shown by the rest.

**Mantra.** — M. Borie, in writing of the burial customs of the Mantra, states that the body was enveloped in a white sheet and bathed; it was then left until the friends of the deceased had had time to arrive, when it was bathed again, and carried by two friends to the grave. The other friends and relations might either follow or precede the cortège. Arrived at the place of burial, the deceased was deposited in a tomb dug in a lonely place, sometimes in a reclining position, sometimes sitting, and sometimes standing. If it was a child, in either of the last two positions and with the face to the east, and if an adult, with the face to the west. At the side of the deceased was placed a spear and a chopper ("parang"), and generally some rice, dishes, and old clothes.¹ Near the tomb flowers and fruit-trees were often planted, and this, they said, was the ancient custom of their forefathers. At the foot of the tomb a fire was kept burning for three days, after which no more visits

¹ Acc. to Montano (Voyage, p. 22), a betel-box, rice-pot, and calabash were deposited, a chopper being added in the case of a man. Cp. Rev. d'Ethn. i. 53.
were paid to it. The Mantra did not wear any signs of mourning, and deaths were rarely wept over. The house of the deceased was abandoned by the survivors, and as a rule the entire village emigrated.  

Elsewhere we are told, by Logan, that a Mantra grave was not protected by a roof like that of the Benua of Johor, though it in other respects resembled it. Above it the Mantra kindled a fire [of logs] ("ungun"), so that the soul ("sëmangat") or spirit of the deceased might warm itself, and not weep and wail on the grave from the cold. On the grave were also placed some unhusked rice or padi, some plantains, sweet potatoes, yams, betel-leaf, areca-nut, gambier, lime, tobacco, a peeling-knife made of wood, and a blowpipe that the survivors had previously broken to pieces,—praying the soul ("sëmangat") to seek no more from them. After a death in the clearing, nothing more was planted there, and when the crop or plants on the ground had been gathered, it was abandoned.

Berembun Tribe.—Among the Jakun of Berembun a fire was burnt above the grave for three or seven nights to prevent the "hantu" or ghost of the deceased from crying in the grave. A still more singular custom consisted in placing the end of a bamboo close to the nose of the corpse, the other end projecting above the grave. This practice was said to be confined to the graves of children who died young, and the reason given for it was that the gases accumulating in the body, and having no outlet, would cause it to swell and burst, and that by some

1 Borie (tr. Bourien), p. 82.
2 Cp. pp. 91, 98, ante.
3 J. I. A. vol. i. p. 325*.
4 This is doubtless a misunderstood survival of the use of the tube or pipe which among some races is fixed in the grave for the purpose of conveying food to the deceased.
sympathy between it and the body of the living mother, the latter would be affected in the same way.¹

Benua-Jakun of Johor.—On the day succeeding a death the body was wrapped in cloth and deposited in a grave dug near the hut, together with some of the clothing of the deceased, and his chopper ("parang"), if he possessed one. No ceremony was observed, but a framework of wood, resembling a (shallow) box without top or bottom, was placed above the grave.² This was filled with earth, a piece of carved wood was stuck at each end, and frequently the whole was covered over by a roof.³

Jakun of Johor.—The preparations made by the Jakun for their funerals were few and simple. If the decease took place before noon, the body was buried the same day, if after noon, the funeral was deferred until the day following. The corpse was washed, wrapped in cloth, and interred by the relations and neighbours in a grave about four or five cubits deep. The blowpipe, dart-quiver, knife, etc., of the deceased were buried with him, together with some rice, water, and tobacco. The only reason given for burying such things with the deceased was that this was the custom practised by their ancestors and followed by them.

¹ J. J. A. vol. i. p. 271; cp. the account in Newbold (vol. ii. pp. 408-410), which runs as follows:—

The preparations for funerals are few and simple. The corpse is stripped, washed, and wrapped in cloth of "trap" bark, or in a piece of white cloth, and interred, among some of the tribes, in a sitting posture, in a grave from three to six cubits deep; the cooking dish, blowpipe, dart-quiver, chopper, knife, flint and steel of the deceased are buried with him, along with a little rice, water, and a few "smokes" of tobacco, to serve the pilgrim on his long and dreary journey to the west. No sort of service is recited.

On the seventh day after interment, a fire is kindled over the grave to drive away evil spirits. Some of the tribes turn the head of a male corpse to the east, of a female to the west. The house where a person has died is generally deserted and burnt.

² This is the usual custom among Peninsular Malays. Cp. Malay Magic, p. 408.

³ J. J. A. vol. i. p. 271. This is also a Malay custom.
Like many other people, the Jakun considered white as a sacred colour, and it was a peculiar subject of comfort when, in their last sickness, they could procure for themselves some white cloth in which to be buried. When they were too poor to obtain it, the body was wrapped in tree-bark. It was alleged that amongst some of the tribes on the frontier of Pahang, the corpse of the deceased was burnt, as amongst the Hindus and Siamese; also that the place where a Jakun died was deserted by his comrades, and the house itself burnt; but this practice was confined to a few.¹

**Jakun of the Madek (Johor).**—Of the Madek Jakun we are informed by D. F. A. Hervey that on the death of a man tobacco and betel-leaf were deposited upon his breast, his relations weeping and wailing, and at the same time knocking their heads against the wall; whilst the women would tie a cloth round their necks “as if to strangle themselves”; the men, however, would nowadays invariably interfere before any harm was done, although, in former times, the women are said, on such occasions, to have actually put an end to their lives. The burial usually took place next day, but sometimes on the second day if there were any reason for delay. All the property of the deceased, comprising his weapons, cup and plate, and clothing, were buried with him, together with some rice. The depth of the grave was up to the breast. An axe, torch and torch-stand, coconut-shell gourd, and pan, were placed on the top of the grave.²

The great magicians (“poyang bēsar”) of the tribe were believed to be able either to reach heaven by

¹ *J. l. A.* vol. ii. p. 265. Mr. Blagden was told by a Mantra that he had seen a Jakun buried in a sitting posture, a fire being lighted round the head, which protruded from the ground.

disappearing without dying, or else, on sickening for death, to arrange to have incense ("kêmnyan") burnt over them for two days after their apparent death (instead of their being merely wept over and buried), and then to return to life again.¹

In a further account of some Jakun graves in Johor which was contributed some years ago to the same journal, Mr. Hervey states that he once found two or three Jakun tombs at the back of a small settlement containing five Jakun rattan-gatherers' huts in a tapioca plantation running down to the river's edge. Of one of these he attempted a sketch; it was the tomb ("pêndam") of the "Juru-krah," one of the subordinate Jakun chiefs, and the head of this particular Jakun settlement, who had died of fever nine days before. The body lay about three feet under ground, the tomb, which was made of earth battened smooth, rising about the same height above the surface. A little ditch ran round the grave, wherein the soul of the deceased chief might paddle his canoe. The body lay with the feet pointing towards the west. The ornamental pieces at each end of the grave corresponded to tombstones and were called "nêsan," which is the Malay word for such stones. On the other side of them were to be seen the small, plain, upright sticks, which are called soul-ladders ("tangga sêmangat"), which were intended to enable the soul to leave the grave when it desired. There were also to be seen four horizontal timbers on each side of the grave, which were joined together to form a framework,² consisting of sixteen beams in all, which

² This framework is the same as that constructed by the Mantra and Besid; as well as by the Malays, who call it "kalang dapor," or "hearth frame." Cp. Malay Magic, p. 408. It may be a survival of hut- or hearth-burial (v. pp. 100, 112, ante).
Fig. 1.

Jakun Graves at Kumbang.

Fig. 1.—a-a. Grave-posts ("nēsan") of carved wood, equivalent to tombstones. b-b. "Soul-" or "spirit-steps" ("tangga sēmangat"). c. Torch-stand ("kāki damar"), holding the end of a "damar" torch. d. Coconut shell ("tēmpūrong"). e. Jungle basket ("ambong").

Fig. 2. One of the grave-posts ("nēsan") at the foot of a woman’s tomb.

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was laid on the top of the grave, and thus formed a sort of enclosure, within the precincts of which were placed, for the use of the deceased, a coconut-shell to drink from, a torch ("damar") fixed in a rattan stand ("kaki"), an adze handle, and a cooking-pan ("kwali"). Outside this framework was suspended an "ambong" (which is a back-basket with shoulder-straps, made of the bark of "meranti" or some other kind of tree) for the deceased to carry his firewood in. Close by the tomb of the Juru-krah was that of his niece, between which and the former there were three points of difference to be noted: the first was that the framework on the top of the niece's grave consisted of but three horizontal timbers instead of four (forming a total of twelve beams instead of sixteen); the second, that one of the ornamental head-pieces was roughly shaped like a human figure, whilst the other resembled the "nēsan" of her uncle; the third, that the only objects inside the framework were a coconut-shell, a torch and torch-stand, and a little sugar-cane. Not far distant was a site marked off for a child's grave, by means of a coconut-shell and some cloth hung upon sticks. In another direction was the half-finished grave of another child, the lower framework being already in position, whilst the earth had been loosely heaped up in the enclosed space, and a small framework, intended for the top, lay close by.

Orang Laut or Sea-jakun.

Orang Laut, Sletar.—At death the deceased (of the Sletar tribe) were wrapped in their garments and committed to the parent earth. "The women weep a little and then leave the spot," were the simple words of the narrator of the ceremony.¹

¹ Hervey in *J. R. A. S., B.*, No. 8, pp. 97, 98. ² *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 344*.
Orang Laut, Sabimba.—Logan tells us, that whenever a member of a Sabimba family died, the body was washed, wrapped in cloth, and buried in a grave, an excavation being made in one side of the pit to receive it.\(^1\) Above the grave was placed some rice, a pot, an axe, a hatchet, a knife, betel-leaf and areca-nut, the deceased being meanwhile exhorted not to call the survivors or require anything from them in future. A fire was kindled at the side of the grave. On the third and seventh days the grave was visited, and a month later the house was abandoned and a new locality selected for the survivors. The property of the father descended to his sons.\(^2\)

A later account by Thomson differs slightly from the foregoing, as we are told that on any of their tribe being near death the Sabimba would leave the hut until they thought that all was over; they then laid the corpse upon a plank and removed it, shrouded in its own clothes, to a grave in which were buried, together with the body, the utensils of the deceased, such as his blowpipe, chopper, adze, cooking utensils, etc.; these were placed at the side of the grave, and the survivors then left the spot and wandered to other parts.\(^3\)

Orang Laut, Muka Kuning.—The dead were buried 1½ ft. (45 cm.) deep in graves near the house. A blowpipe was placed upon the grave of a male, and a knife on that of a female. In about a month after the burial the family abandoned the hut and constructed another in a distant place.\(^4\)

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1. This is the "liang lahad" of the Malays, which is borrowed from the Arabs. Cp. Malay Magic, p. 404.  

CHAPTER V.
MUSIC, SONGS, AND FEASTS.

The musical instruments of the three races include one primitive stringed instrument, two or three kinds of wind instruments (flutes), drums and other instruments played by percussion, and a primitive kind of Jew's-harp. It is a curious fact that all the regular instruments except the drum are made of bamboo in some shape or form. Of these the distribution appears to be fairly general, with the possible exception of the drum and the “banjeng” (the stringed instrument referred to), which seem to be rarely used by the wilder Semang tribes. They at least belong to a rather more developed class of instruments, found everywhere among tribes of Malayan stock, and were probably borrowed by the Semang from the Jakun.

The most interesting of the flutes, the nose-flute, is so called because it is played through the nose instead of the mouth. It has a wide distribution in South-east Asia and the Malay Archipelago, but I never heard of its being employed by the civilised Malays of the Peninsula, who themselves regard it as peculiar to the aborigines.

The Jew's-harp is also widely distributed in the same region, is found among all the jungle tribes.
of the Peninsula, and most probably came in with Malayan culture.¹

The chief point in which the Jew's-harp of these tribes differs from that used by the Malays is in respect of the handle, which among the aborigines is frequently made from the bone of an animal.

It may be noted here that the drum is not used by the Andamanese, and that, speaking generally, it is hardly portable enough as an instrument to be adopted by nomadic tribes. Hence, wherever it appears as a Semang instrument, it should almost certainly be regarded as borrowed from other (probably Malayan) tribes.

The bamboo harp or guitar of the Semang, as it has variously been called (though it does not perhaps correspond very exactly to either of those instruments), is also not found among the Andamanese, and was most probably in the first instance of Malayan origin.

The music of these races appears to be similar to that which is common throughout China, Indo-China, and (formerly at least) Java, and which generally consists, except where modified by foreign influence, of the five tones C D E G A.

Dress.

In the matter of dress, the trappings worn by the Semang dancers (in all cases which came under my observation) presented a strong contrast to those

¹ While Baron A. von Hugel was showing me some Jew's-harps (? from New Guinea) one day I noticed that the lower extremity of the instrument had been split and subsequently tied up. Other specimens from the same region showed the same peculiarity, and I think there can be little doubt that it is simply due to a more primitive (clumsier) form of manufacture, it being easier to cut out the tongue of the instrument if the end is split. I have never observed this peculiarity, however, among the Jew's-harps of the Peninsula, either among the jungle tribes or Malays.
worn by the Sakai and Jakun (e.g. the Besisi). For whereas the Negritos usually employed both leaves and flowers in their natural state, just as they were gathered in the jungle, both Sakai and Jakun wore artificial leaf decorations consisting of long white strips of palm-leaf plaited up into various fantastic shapes, intended to represent flowers, fruit, krisses, and nooses which (according to Vaughan-Stevens) are specially designed to entrap any unwary demons which might attempt to attack the wearer during the performance of the dance. Bunches of these "demon-traps" were inserted in the girdle and head-band of the dancer.

**Songs and Mimetic Dances.**

From the accounts of De Morgan, Hale, and other writers, it might be inferred that the song-and-dance performances of these tribes were not invested with any special meaning, and had no object beyond that of whiling away an idle hour. In some instances, no doubt, it is so, and it may even be conceded that in a few instances the songs themselves may merely consist, as is alleged by these writers, of words strung together at random. It cannot, however, be admitted that performances of such a kind are in any way typical, any more than it could be admitted that the burden of a music-hall song adequately represented the songs of Europe. As I shall presently be able to show from the specimens I myself collected, the songs of both Semang and Jakun generally possess a very definite meaning, which is only difficult to make out, in some cases, on account of the differences which exist between the sung and the spoken dialects, the former of which sometimes contains what are probably archaic, as well as rare and distorted forms.
The Semang chanted songs descriptive of animals and reptiles, birds and fruit, but there was nothing actually mimetic in the performances that I witnessed.

Among the Jakun (e.g. Besisi and Mantra), however, the songs are often distinctly mimetic, and in such cases are acted by the performers, who take much pride in their performance. Moreover, from an analysis of the songs themselves, taken in conjunction with the dress of the performers, and the subjects, and often the actual words of the songs themselves, it appears to me at least an arguable hypothesis that they may have been instituted mainly for the purpose of increasing the kindliness of nature, as the food-producing ceremonies of the Intichiuma are thought to have been among the Australian Blackfellows. There are also, however, among them songs that are performed for other motives and in other moods, the most important of which are the genealogical songs called "Trumba," which commence by describing the early wanderings of the chiefs of the tribe, and conclude with a recital of the various spots successively occupied by its ancestors.

Of the actual performances of these songs, as distinct from the subjects of which they treat, there is not much that requires to be said. It may, however, be noted that among the Semang, and apparently also among the Sakai, the chief if not the sole performers are the women of the tribe, whereas among the Besisi most of the dancing was actually done by the men, and it was only with much difficulty that the women could be persuaded to perform, except indeed at the great annual banquets after the rice-harvest. The performance took place after the evening meal, which

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1 For a fuller statement of the case, see Skeat, *Folklore Journal*, vol. xiii.
among the Jakun was on the occasion of their great annual feast-days accompanied by much drinking of freshly-brewed fermented liquors, and terminated with what can only be called their "game of exchanging wives," the whole performance being evidently regarded as having some sort of productive influence not only upon the crops, but upon all other contributing sources of food-supply. I may add that in all cases that I have seen (both among the Semang and the Jakun), as well as, I believe, among the Sakai, the dancing of the women is usually confined to a sort of curtseying step, which consists in bending the knees and modulating the arms and hands in time to the music. The dance-action of the men was much more free, but as far as I can remember, the mimetic dances (representing animals, etc.) were always performed by the men alone.

I.—Semang.

Musical Instruments.

Kedah Semang:—The simplest form of Negrito music (if it may so be called) consists of various simple ways of "beating time." One of these methods is to take a couple of hardwood sticks or bamboo slivers, which are held in the two hands, when one of them is struck upon the other in the air.

This method of beating time was employed by the Semang of Siong, who made use of it to accompany their songs.  

Another method of obtaining a musical note from the percussion of bamboo, employed by the Semang of Siong, simple as it is, has not been yet recorded.

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1 V., e.g., p. 152, l. 40; p. 156, ll. 33-35; p. 158, ll. 46, 47; p. 159, ll. 42, 43; and the Fish-trap Song (p. 162).
2 A similar method is employed both by the Sakai and the Jakun.
It consists in beating the open end of a long bamboo internode of large calibre with a palm-leaf fan. The bamboo employed measures from about three or four feet in length, and has a diameter of three or four inches. The lower end, which rests on the ground, is closed by the node, and the upper end is cut off evenly and left open for the beater. The beater is made by folding the leaf of the "palas palm" (*Licuala*) into the shape of a fan and lacing and relacing it across with a strip of rattan to stiffen it, and keep it in its proper shape. It measures about one foot in length by five inches at the broadest part, and struck sharply against the upper (open) end of the bamboo, which latter usually rests upon another piece of wood or else upon the knees of the performer. This instrument, like the last described, is used by way of accompaniment to the songs of the tribe.\(^1\)

A small variety of Jew's-harp is a favourite musical instrument with the Semang, though it is of course not used as an accompaniment. It consists of a small strip of bamboo (about five inches long by one inch in width), in the central portion of which a small free tongue is cut, in such a way as to allow it to vibrate easily when the instrument is played. To effect this the performer takes the instrument in his left hand, the left thumb resting upon a slight depression at the lower end of the harp. In his right he takes the handle (which is attached by a short string to the upper extremity of the instrument). By giving the handle a sharp tug or jerk, he sets the tongue of the instrument in vibration, producing a loud twanging note, which can be heard at some distance, but

\(^1\) I have not yet heard of this instrument being used by the Sakai or by any of the Jakun.
SEMANG JEWS'-HARP.
Made of bamboo with handle of monkey's bone. (Ulu Siong, Kedah.)

FAN-SHAPED PALM-LEAF BEATERS.
Used for striking the ends of long bamboos to cause a musical note. (Ulu Siong, Kedah.)
R. H. Yapp (Skeat Expedition).

PANGAN GROUP IN DANCING DRESS, KUALA SAM, ULU KELANTAN.

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which is by no means unmusical. In order to increase the volume of sound the body of the instrument is generally held between the teeth of the performer, or else over the hollow of the bamboo case in which it is sometimes kept.

The string by which the instrument is attached to the handle is generally of twisted vegetable fibre, and the handle itself the rib of a small monkey. In all other respects, however, it is very similar to the Jews'-harp of the Peninsular Malays.

The flutes used by the Semang of Kedah are of two kinds, the common bamboo mouth-flute and the nose-flute. Both are occasionally though rarely used to accompany their songs.

The common flute is usually about a foot long and is made of a segment of young bamboo. It usually has three holes, apart from the mouth-hole, and is often decorated with incised patterns.

The nose-flute, which has a similar number of holes, was about twice the length of the common flute used by the same tribe. There does not appear to be any record of the plugging of one of the performer's nostrils with grass or leaves (as is done by other races who use this instrument), but my impression is that I saw this done by a member of this tribe. The practice certainly obtains among the Sakai, though as when a pair of nose-flutes is played both nostrils may be used simultaneously, there should not be any special necessity for plugging the unused nostril when a single flute is used.

The stringed bamboo or "guitar" is occasionally found among the Semang (in fact I myself obtained a specimen from the Semang of Kedah), but it appears to be very rarely used by them, and is probably not a
Negrito instrument. In its simplest form it consists of a big segment of bamboo—usually from about 2 ft. to 3 ft. (60 cm. to 90 cm.) in length, with a diameter varying from 2-4 in. (5 cm. to 10 cm.). This segment comprises an internode with its two adjacent nodes or joints, the strings in my specimen being made by raising several thin parallel strips of the outer skin of the internode with a sharp knife, and inserting under them at each end small wooden wedges or bridges (called "pillows" in Semang) in order to stretch the strings to the required extent. By moving these wedges the instrument can of course be tuned. A strong rattan ring is also passed over each end, partly to keep the instrument from splitting, and partly to keep the strings themselves from breaking away at their extremities.

Perak Semang.—The only authority for the use of the drum among the Semang is the account of De Morgan, who gives, under the heading of "Negrito Songs," an account of the way in which an alleged Semang drum was made. But as he often confuses them with Sakai, and even describes the method of manufacturing a Sakai drum in identical words, I think his statements must, in the absence of corroboration on the part of other writers, be taken as referring to a tribe that was mainly (if not wholly) Sakai.

Feasts.

Kedah Semang.—On festal occasions both sexes adorned the person with white bands of Licuala leaf in place of the ligatures usually worn. Bunches or tassels of fragrant leaves and flowers were inserted under these bands, in the girdle, on the crown of the head, and at the back of the neck, and the head

1 De Morgan, vii. 430.  
2 Ibid. viii. 281.
itself was bound with a Licuala-leaf fillet. In the case of the men the fillet was simply carried round the head, but among the women in some cases two bands were carried over the crown of the head from ear to ear, the first just behind a narrow fringe of hair in front, and the second at the back of the region of the top-knot, whilst a third was carried round at the back of the head. In other cases only two bands were worn, corresponding to the first and third of the bands just described, the central one being omitted. A small roll or scroll of Licuala-leaf was also inserted in the ear-holes.

In addition a couple of leaf-festoons were worn crossed like bandoliers upon the breast, and bunches or tassels of leaves similar to those which are inserted in the fillet were worn in the girdle, and were also sometimes inserted in the armlets and knee-bands. A woman at Siong wore one of these tassels, which was made by shredding (with the thumb-nail) the leaves of the Rëtut, probably a kind of wild ginger (perhaps Hornstedtia hemispherica). It would appear that they are worn, not for mere ornament, but as charms against diseases. The one here described was worn as a protection against pains in the back. The leaves are usually picked and worn green, but dried leaves are occasionally employed. The black coiled girdle of "rock-vein" fungus was also usually worn upon these occasions, but a girdle of coiled cane with alternate knots of Licuala-leaf

1 This was, I believe, the customary dance-fillet prescribed on such occasions for the adornment of the men. Occasionally, however, a fillet made of "urat batu" (the "rock-vein" fungus described in an earlier chapter) were also worn. One of the Semang men at Siong wore a sort of wreath manufactured by shredding the leaf of the Zalacca palm (Salak) with a knife; this form of head-dress being believed to avert headaches. Another, with the same object, wore a wreath of Lycopodium cernuum.
and "chalong" leaves dependent from it, was also sometimes worn by the Pagan women of Kelantan, though the rest of their attire differs but little from what has already been described.

_Songs and Dances._

Both in the neighbourhood of S. Mat Sam (a tributary of the Kelantan river) and in Kedah I witnessed performances of the Semang choral dances (called Siwang), the performers in both cases being females. Indeed I was told by the Kedah Semang that their women alone were in the habit of dancing.

In the former case the dance was performed by two Pagan women, to the accompaniment of a somewhat monotonous chant and a bamboo guitar, the latter of which was played by one of the men.

In the other case, at Siong, two or three Semang women and a girl were the performers, and there was quite an extensive orchestra, consisting of two men who beat the long bamboos described above, a man who performed upon the nose-flute, and one or two men who beat time by knocking sticks together. Sometimes the musicians chanted songs; sometimes they merely played the accompaniment. When the former was the case, there was invariably an old man who "conducted," and from whom the rest of the performers caught up the words of the song, even though in some cases they evidently knew the words so well that they might easily have dispensed with his services. The step danced by the women was a graceful one, the knees being bent, the body turned partly round, and the arms either hanging loosely and slightly swaying from side to side or else stretched
forward and swayed in time to the music. The Pangan women when dancing kept slowly moving to and fro, and round in a small circle, but the Semang women of Kedah did not move from where they stood. In the latter case the performance took place by daylight at my special request, but night-time is regarded as the proper time for such ceremonies.

The song-dialect of the Negritos was described to me by the Semang themselves as being different (probably more archaic) than their spoken language, and as being harder to understand and to explain. Certainly the songs which I took down were extremely hard to make out, the words being frequently lengthened by one or more syllables to suit the music, and the difficulties were not lessened by the fact that, although I had them repeated frequently in order to make sure of the words, the lines themselves would constantly be repeated in a different order, fresh lines being inserted and others omitted, even though the words in the repeated line did not vary. Nevertheless, with a considerable amount of labour and repeated checking, I succeeded in discovering the meaning of about a dozen of these songs, which I recorded at the time upon a phonograph (taken with me up-country for the purpose), and thanks to my father's old friend and my own, Dr. R. J. Lloyd of Liverpool, it has been possible in a few cases to initiate investigations both from the phonetic and the musical point of view. I may add that some of these phonograph records were exhibited at one of the Royal Society's soirées in 1901.

In Ulu Raman a number of Semang songs were performed for my benefit by an aged Semang (named
To' Gelugor), several of whose songs I took down as he sang them. And here is one of the songs that he sang. The subject of it is a monkey called "Krā" (Macacus cynomolgus), and every line ends (by way of a burden) with the monkey’s name.

The Semang Monkey Song.

He runs along the branches, Krā!
Carrying off (fruit) with him, Krā!
He runs to and fro, Krā!
Over the sēraya-trees, Krā!
Over the rambutan-trees, Krā!
Over the live bamboos, Krā!
Over the dead bamboos, Krā!
He runs along the branches, Krā!
Peering forward, Krā!
And dangling downwards, Krā!
He runs along the branches and hoots, Krā!
Peering forward, Krā!
Among the young fruit-trees, Krā!
And showing his grinning teeth, Krā!
From every sapling, Krā!
Peering forward, Krā!
He is dressed for the dance, Krā!
With the porcupine's quill through his nose, Krā!

Dr. Lloyd's note upon the phonographic record of this song is that it is sung to a very simple tune, like the "Song of the Fruit-buds," but that it has a monosyllabic refrain.

The last two lines appear to be merely a "make-believe" invitation to the monkey to come and join the feasting and dancing of the tribe.

Other songs of a similar kind (of which the following are free and tentative translations) were taken down by myself either at Jarum or at Siong in Kedah.

The Song of the Fruit-cluster.

The fruit-cluster turns in the wind,
The fruit-cluster at the end of the spray;
The fruit-cluster turns in the wind,
The fruit-cluster that we climb for,
The fruit-cluster turns in the wind,
The fruit-cluster waves to and fro,
The fruit-cluster whose pulp is acid,
The fruit-cluster sways to and fro;
The fruit-cluster turns in the wind,
The fruit-cluster that spins round and round.

Upon the "record" of this song Dr. Lloyd remarks that it shows a different type of chant. The lines of the original have four accents each, but the invariable part of the line occurs at the beginning, and the variable part at the end of the line. Each part carries two accents, and the lines sometimes rhyme, but without regularity, and apparently without design. This song shows well the unorganised character of these compositions, and the singer's habit of bringing in the same lines repeatedly, and in any order, ad lib.

The Song of the Wild Ginger Plant.

Its stem bends as its leaves shoot up,
Down to its root it bends and sways,
Bends and sways in divers ways;
Its leaves are chafed and lose their stiffness;
On craggy Inas it is blown about,
On craggy Inas which is our home.
Blown about in the light breeze,
Blown about with the mist, blown about with the haze,
Blown about are its young shoots,
Blown about in the haze of the mountain,
Blown about in the light breeze.
It nods and nods upon the mountains,
Mountains of Bêching, mountains of Inas,
Mountains of Malau, mountains of Kuwi,
Mountains of Mantan, mountains of Lîmu',
On every mountain which is our home.

Dr. Lloyd remarks that the "Song of the Wild Ginger Plant" is not marked by any regular refrain, though the love of repeated words and sounds shows itself in one way or other in almost every line; otherwise, however, its only quality as verse is that of possessing four accents to the line.

The Song of the Fruit-buds.

They swell and swell, the fruit-buds!
To and fro wave the fruit-buds!
Blown about are the fruit-buds!
In the wind, the fruit-buds!
In the light wind, the fruit-buds!
Spinning round and round, the fruit-buds!
Swaying to and fro, the fruit-buds!

Dr. Lloyd’s note upon this song is that the music is simplicity itself, and that the time is well kept, the four accented syllables of each line coming in on the exact beat of the music, with the regularity of marching.

An attempt to reduce the music of this song to paper, from the record of the phonograph, is given herewith. It was kindly sent to me by Dr. Lloyd, with his comments on the songs.

The Song of the Ripening Fruit.
Plump grows the fruit at the end of the spray!
We climb and cut it off at the end of the spray!
Plump is the bird at the end of the spray!
And plump too the buck squirrel at the end of the spray!

Of this song Dr. Lloyd remarks that it exhibits a somewhat different style of metre. It possesses six accents to the line, of which four belong to the variable part of the line, and two to the invariable refrain.

Dr. Lloyd sums up his remarks upon these Semang records by observing that both as to music and metre they are very much on a par with the simplest of my Malay (east coast) records. The versification is based always upon the possession of a given number of accents in the line, and nearly always upon the repetition, either at the beginning or end of the line, of certain invariable words or phrases. The incidence of accent is, however, totally different from that of the Malay songs. The Malay lines usually end in, and are rhymed on, unaccented syllables, but the Negrito lines never end on an unaccented syllable, and though lines often end in identical words, actual rhymes never seem to be sought for. The thoughts expressed are of the extremest simplicity; and almost every line is complete in itself. The lines rarely have any special sequence, and most of them can be recited in any order, without injury to the poem, and it can be heard in the phonograph that the singers are quite alive to this, and freely alter the order of the lines. Accent appears less steadfast than in Malay, or perhaps licence is greater; at least it will be observed that the same word appears in different places with a different accentuation. The final syllable, which so seldom carried the accent in Malay, here carries it oftener than any other.

In conclusion I should add that, from what I was told by the Pangan of Kelantan, the “full” dress of the Negrito men on festal occasions was the same
as that of their women, with the exception of the different girdle ("tali' gel") and the combs that were worn by the latter. The men's dancing dress consisted, as a rule, of a loin-cloth ("penjok"), two crossed leaf-festoons or bandoliers ("chiniwok"), and a stick or dance-wand ("cheb chas"), which was carried in the hand.

Perak Semang.—The performances of the Perak Negritos have a strong family likeness to those of the tribes of Kedah. Of the former, Maxwell's account tells us that singing and dancing (Mal. "bër-sempul") were still in a very early stage of development, and that dancing was confined to the female sex.¹

Sitting together in a circle and facing inwards, the five men (whose performance Maxwell is describing) commenced a series of long chants or recitations in quick time. The instruments on which they accompanied themselves were made of pieces of bamboo. One man held in each hand a short tube of bamboo (green and recently cut) in an upright position on a horizontal wooden log. These tubes were raised and then brought down on the log alternately, producing a ringing and not unmusical sound, which had something of the effect of the beating of a tom-tom.² Two others struck pieces of bamboo held in their left hands with other pieces held in the right, after the manner of the Malay "chërachap" or castanets. There was no hesitation or difficulty about recollecting words; the man who led was followed by the other four, who were generally about a note behind him. The general effect was monotonous, the performers sometimes chanting rapidly on the same note for

² Cp. the same instruments as used by the Bêsîsi.
nearly a minute together. Their whole range most probably did not exceed three or four notes.\(^1\)

The first song was the "Tune of the Gias-tree"\(^2\) ("Lagu Gias"). This was an enumeration of fruit-bearing trees, and of the favourite mountains and forests of the tribe. It was said to be held in great veneration, and might contain some of the germs of the traditions of this singular people. Next came the "Tune of the Tiger-spirit" ("Lagu Chēnaku"). "Chēnaku" (or "B'lian") is the name given to a man who conceals his identity as a tiger under the semblance of a human form (Malay "Jadi-jadi-an"), this belief being widespread among the Malays as well as among the aboriginal tribes. The next song was the "Tune of the Prah-tree" ("Lagu Prah"), sung when the "prah" fruit is ripe, no small occasion of festivity among the forest tribes. The fruit is sliced up and mixed with other ingredients ("rojak,"\(^3\)) and then heat-dried in bamboo tubes ("lēmang").\(^3\)

The performance concluded with the "Tune of the Durian-fruit" ("Lagu Durian"). This, like the others, was unfortunately unintelligible, though it may be presumed that their estimate of this fruit was a high one.

But the most remarkable performance yet attributed to the Perak Semang is undoubtedly the Dance-drama related by De Morgan, who was an eye-witness of it, and describes it as follows:—

A young girl entered the circle and began to dance in the middle. She advanced slowly at first with a

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\(^1\) Maxwell in J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 4, p. 49.  
\(^2\) (?) "Gayas." 
\(^3\) Ibid. It should be noted that Maxwell, in the account quoted above, confuses together the names "Sakai" and "Semang," but that his account is otherwise substantially correct. J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 4, p. 49.
sort of polka step, but without turning round; then she commenced to wave or modulate her arms, and directed her hands behind her back. In this way she went two or three times round the circle. (This was explained to mean that she was looking for a husband in the forest.) A suitor soon appeared and danced round her, singing of flowers, birds, and insects. She moved backwards, followed by the suitor, who pressed for her hand in vain. Then a second and a third suitor appeared, each being repulsed in turn like the first, and at this point three other young girls arrived on the scene, and her late suitors deserted her to make up to her rivals, by whom they were promptly accepted, dancing round with them and talking. The first arrival then went from group to group trying to regain her late conquests, but was too late, and was compelled to remain an old maid, whereupon she stopped in the middle of the circle and uttered the most lamentable cries, repeating again and again the words Death, Male-diction, etc. After dancing round her for about ten minutes, one of the men of the rival groups returned to her, when she humbly agreed to accept the humiliating position of a second wife.¹

¹ De Morgan, viii. 282, where other performances of this kind are described. Elsewhere (op. cit.) De Morgan says that the Negritos of Perak were in the habit of singing words strung together at random, their joy or sorrow being distinguished solely by the nature of the words and the air. If they were feeling dull, they would go through the names of all their rivers, mountains, and hills. On returning from the chase they would sing words suited to wild animals, the forest, and their weapons. After a death of one of the tribe, they would repeat the words, Death, Decay, Fire, and the name of the deceased, etc. If they were feeling happy, they would sing of flowers, birds, and small insects. This, however, is only a general rule, and often they would string words together with reference to sound only, and not to their meaning. If the word was too short for the measure, they prolonged it by adding long drawn-out nasal syllables such as ang, eng, eng, ng, (the latter after words ending in a hard consonant such as g or k, or a vowel).
II.—Sakai.

Musical Instruments.

Perak Sakai.—As among the Semang, the simplest form of music takes the form of beating time. Thus De Morgan describes the Perak Sakai as using small slivers of bamboo, whose flat sides were clashed together with a sound like that of castanets.¹

Another simple form of percussion music is made by using a number of short bamboos (which are open at the upper end only) as "stampers," the bamboos being held in the hand and struck upon the floor or a piece of wood at regular intervals. This method of beating time, which has been only once recorded among the Semang,² is mentioned both by De Morgan,³ and Hale. A full description of these bamboos and the methods of using them will be found in the part dealing with the Besisi.

The bamboo harp or guitar (already described as in use among the Semang) is also found among the Sakai. Thus Hale⁴ describes one that he saw, among the Perak Sakai, as possessing three strings stretched upon a large joint of bamboo. This guitar, however, was probably not in the first instance a Sakai, but an aboriginal Malayan instrument.

In a recent letter Mr. L. Wray states that the Sakai of both Kinta and Batang Padang use frets

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¹ Cp. Z. f. E. xxvi. 172. "At times two bamboo sticks called 'sok yet,' measuring 38 cm. in length by 3 cm. in breadth, are employed in the "Tuang-tuang" ceremony among the Sakai. One stick is held in each hand, and they are struck together. The Sakai say that this custom is borrowed from the Siamese." There is, however, apparently no reason whatever why the Sakai should have gone to the Siamese for so simple an invention.
² By Maxwell, v. p. 131 ante.
³ According to De Morgan (viii. 281), it is the length of these bamboo tubes that causes the alteration of tone. The most usual method, however, is by varying the diameter of the tube. Cp. De Morgan, vii. 430.
made of small pieces of wood or pith stuck on to the bamboo under the strings of their guitars, but not touching them until pressed down by the fingers.

Of wind instruments the Sakai use various forms of flute,¹ which are similar to those manufactured by the Semang. Hale mentions their use of a “long bamboo flute with three holes” in it, as well as a species of bamboo whistle.

Mr. L. Wray writes me, that the nose-flute in Ulu Batang Padang is about 18 in. (45 cm.) long, and has four holes, the first being 9 in. (23 cm.) from the blowing end, and the other holes at distances of two fingers’ width from each other. The holes are made by taking a small dry stick, lighting one end in the fire, and then blowing out the flame and applying the glowing charcoal point to the bamboo, blowing with the mouth meanwhile to keep it alight. Mr. Wray had never seen more than one flute used at a time. If two are used, they must, he thinks, be of different construction, as those he had seen had to be held so that the wind from the nostril passed almost at right angles to the length of the flute.

Whistles are rare, but what are usually called by this name by most writers, are in reality short flutes. They have one end closed by the node of the bamboo, except a small hole in the centre, the other end being open. They are played with the mouth like a flute. The palm of one hand is held over the open end, and the thumb of the left hand over the small hole in the other end. They thus give three notes. The hole blown through is not circular, but shaped like that of a whistle.

¹ De Morgan, viii. 281; L’H. ii. 619; Hale, p. 298. Mr. Cerruti tells me that the Sakai often plug one nostril with grass.
The nose-flute is also certainly known to the Sakai, and the Jews’-harp is mentioned by Hale.¹

A drum, which De Morgan obtained at Changkat Kerbu in Perak, was made by hollowing out the trunk of a tree, and “heading” the barrel thus obtained with the skin of a black monkey.² According to Hale, this hollowing of the barrel is effected by burning as well as by chopping, the process being continued until the barrel is only about half an inch thick. Across one end the skin of a gibbon (siamang), or some other small animal, is stretched, and tightened up to the required pitch by means of rattan cords and wedges. Hale further describes a tune played upon one of these drums as being in what he calls “one-two time.”³

Mr. L. Wray writes me, that there is a Sakai drum in the Perak Museum, from Batang Padang. It is about 1 ft. (30 cm.) in diameter, and 2 ft. 6 in. (76 cm.) long. It is made of a tree-trunk hollowed out, and has on one end a siamang skin head. Mr. Wray bought it for $2.

Dress.

On festal occasions the attire of the Sakai (for both sexes) does not materially differ from that of the Negritos. The same leaf-festoons, fillets, armlets, knee-bands of Licuala-leaf are worn as have been described already, and the same bunches of fragrant leaves⁴ and flowers are also worn wherever there is a

¹ Hale, p. 296; cp. L’H. ii. 619.
² De Morgan, viii. 281. But see also De Morgan, vii. 430, which conflicts with this. There can, however, be little doubt that the account assigning this drum to the Sakai is the correct one. The drum referred to appears to have been only headed at one end (like that mentioned by Hale). See L’H. ii. 619.
⁴ Usually the leaves are picked and worn while green,—but dried leaves are not excluded (De Morgan, vii. 414).
SAKAI MEN PLAYING NOSE-FLUTES.

Near Kuala Koe, about six miles from Tapah, Batang Padang, Perak.

Vol. II, p. 130.
SAKAI USING VARIOUS MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Long and short bamboo "stampers," bamboo "guitar," nose-flutes, etc. (Chenderiang, Batang Padang, Perak.)
chance of fixing them. The only important differences appear to consist in the different type of headdress, and (frequently) of girdle, worn by the Sakai. Of the head-dress Hale says that on the occasion of special festivities, *e.g.*, at their dances, the Perak Sakai wear a sort of high turban made of bark-cloth, or a wreath of sweet-smelling grasses or leaves.\(^1\)

*The Dance.*

Hale, in describing a Sakai dance which he witnessed in Ulu Kinta, says, that after about five minutes' beating of the drum one or two men got up and commenced a dance, "the principle of which was a sort of curtsey made to every beat of the drum"; and that, at the same time, "grotesque gestures were made with the hands." After about half an hour's dancing the men sat down to rest and commenced chanting one of their songs, which consisted of a mere "repetition of the names of a number of mountains, rivers, etc.," all of which were in the Kinta watershed (the "Sakai country") between 4° 30' and 5° N. lat. One of the places referred to was Tambore (?), "now a Malay village with coconut palms at least twenty years old," and which must, as Hale points out, have been in the possession of Malays for that time at least, "as the Sakai do not plant coconuts."\(^2\)

After about an hour's chanting (Hale continues) the women came forward to perform. It "could scarcely be called a dance," as they did not move from place to place, but only went through certain evolutions as they stood. First they clapped their hands, for a few bars, in time to the beats of the drum,

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\(^1\) Hale, p. 293.  
\(^2\) Ibid.
repeating cries that sounded like "Sough, sough, sough," and then "Chaep, chaep, chaep." This was repeated some six or eight times, and at the same time they made a deep curtsey once to every drum-beat. Then the arms dropped to the sides, and the body was turned from side to side (from the hips upwards), the arms being allowed to swing round loosely with it, once to every beat of time; at the same time a deep curtsey was made as before; this being repeated about six times. This had a very pretty effect, as it was done by a graceful swaying movement. After this they stood still (with the exception of the curtseying), and placing one arm akimbo, held out the other with the palm open, and in time to the drum the forearm was turned so as to present the hand with the palm alternately upwards and downwards with a very slight but at the same time graceful movement, continued till the end of the song.\(^1\)

In the same connection, Hale says that each line (or word) was first chanted by the leader of the song and then repeated in chorus by the rest. Most of the expressions used were, however, well known to them, and they often picked up the words to some extent as they went along.\(^2\)

**Words of the Songs.**

Apart from the words of the song given by Hale,

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1. Hale, p. 299. De la Croix, in a similar account, adds, "At times the musical phrase dies away only to revive suddenly and terminate in a long-drawn howl which is lost in the night. The wild and profound poetry of the performance produced a captivating effect in the midst of the great forest surrounding us on every side" (De la Croix, p. 339). Cp. also Brau de Saint-Pol Lias, pp. 269-271.

2. Hale, p. 299. Hale adds that a similar invocation or "prayer" was addressed to the Spirits of the Forest, the mountains, the rivers, and the wind, the Spirits of Ancestors, the Spirits of Disease, the Spirits of Wickedness, and Trouble of all kinds (Hale, p. 300).

Note the head-dresses and girdles. (S. Perak.)

Sakai Women Dancing. (S. Perak.)
SAKAI GROUP AT LURO' KLUJI, ULU LANGAT.

Woman in centre with bamboo "guitar."
which is a mere list of place-names, we have few trustworthy records of the words of Sakai songs, with the exception of the account by Colonel Low, where we are told that their "Mampade," or airs were much in the Siamese style (which last undoubtedly takes the lead amongst the musical compositions of the Indo-Chinese nations), and that their songs had an inter-mixture of Malay, as in the following specimen which was sung somewhat in the Siamese mode:

Pirdu salen kinnang ingat sampe
Yari mola asal nyite gyijen
Ayer ambun unun moli
Kiri baju layang mayep singi.

No satisfactory translation could be got of this fragment, but the greater part of the words are Malay.

Selangor Sakai.—The Sakai of Ulu Langat (as also those of Perak) are very fond of "wind-organs," which are long bamboos with a slit in each inter-node, which are lashed to the top branches of trees, and which give out musical tones when the wind blows over them.

III.—Jakun.

Musical Instruments.

Blandas.—The chief musical instruments of the Blandas were their so-called bamboo "guitars," flutes, Jew's-harps, and drums.

A drum which I purchased with not a little difficulty from a chief of the Blandas tribe, whose encampment was situated in the swampy jungle

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1 Hale, p. 296.  
on the right bank of the Langat is now in the Cambridge Museum. It is about \(2\frac{1}{2}\) feet in length by 5 inches in diameter, and was made out of the trunk of a big screw-pine headed at each end with the skins of mouse-deer, which were held in their position by strong rattan bands or rings. To the edges of each skin, on which a certain amount of the hair was still left, were fastened rattan strings, underneath the ends of which wedges were driven to brace up the skins (or drum-heads) before playing. This drum was played by the hand only, tambourine-fashion. Martin and I, on our visit to the Blandas, also found a dance (?)-mask representing a tiger.

**Musical Instruments.**

*Besisi.*—Among the Besisi, as among all the aboriginal tribes of the Malay Peninsula, the beating of time by means of wooden sticks was no doubt one of the earliest forms of music.

The first advance in the development of musical instruments among the Besisi appears to have arisen from their observing the harmonious properties of the hollow stem of the bamboo, from whose long internodes (by various forms of percussion) musical notes were elicited. In the simplest form short segments of bamboo internodes of varying diameter are used as "stampers," each tube being open at the top, but cut off just below the node at the bottom, the scale of notes proportionately descending (like that of the pipes of an organ) as the diameter of the internodes is increased. To elicit the notes the player holds a tube vertically in each hand and drums lightly with the lower end either upon the ground or upon any piece of hard wood that may be at hand.
These bamboo tubes were called “ding tengkhing,” or “quarrelling bamboos,” and the ceremony “Rentak Balei,” i.e. “Stamping on (the floor of) the Tribal Hall,” evidently a reference to some form of beating time. On the occasion of a Besisi feast at which I was present, the two performers sat in the middle of the chief’s room. The bamboo tubes were six in number (two sets of three each), and each performer held one, I believe the one which produced the higher note, in his right hand, and the other in his left. Each set was of gradually diminishing sizes. The two biggest tubes, which gave the deepest notes, were called “male” (lēmol) or “father” (kuyn); the two intermediate ones were called “female” (kēdol) or “mother” (gendē’), and the two smallest were called “child” (kēnon) or “grandchild” (kēntot ?). The utility of these “child”-tubes was not very clear. I was told that they were mere supernumeraries, to replace any others that got damaged; and it is possible that this may have been the case, as this would account for their being smaller than either of the others. At the performances at which I was present the performers, holding one of the tubes in each hand, struck them in rapid succession upon the central floor-beam of the house, producing a simple musical rhythm, which was distinctly harmonious.¹ One of the tunes played by the Besisi consisted of one high note (struck by the right hand) followed by three low notes

¹ According to De Morgan (vii. 430), it is the difference in length of these cylinders that causes the variation in the note; but as the note really depends upon the volume of air set in vibration within the cylinder, the required note is obtained less clumsily, and I believe much more commonly, by varying the diameter of the tube, though it is possible that by some tribes both length and diameter are varied simultaneously. Elsewhere (viii. 281) De Morgan himself says that both are varied. Yet the tubes that I brought home were all almost (to a fraction) of the same length, though varying greatly in diameter.
(struck by the left hand), in common time, the first note being the loudest.

The next Besisi instrument deserving mention is the bamboo "guitar," which is very similar to that employed by the Semang. A point of some interest lies in the fact that this instrument, according to a Besisi tradition, was imitated from the stick insect, to which the Besisi gave the same name ("kēranting," from "ranting," a twig or "stick"). Unfortunately, however, for this attractive theory, there are only too good grounds for regarding it as a mere instance of popular etymology; for the name of the instrument varies greatly according to the number of strings it bears, and such forms as "kēruntong," "kērotong," and others show pretty clearly the fallacy of the suggestion. The name is undoubtedly onomatopoeic, intended to suggest a twanging sound.

But the drum is perhaps the most "important" of all the musical instruments used by these tribes. It is, I believe, usually found only in the houses of tribal chiefs, and may doubtless be regarded to some extent as their insignia of office. If so, this fact would sufficiently account for the extreme reluctance that its owner exhibits when asked to part with it, as it would then be the exact counterpart of the sacred drums and gongs used by Malay Rajas for calling together their retainers. It differs but slightly (in material and to some extent in shape) from the ordinary drum of the Peninsular Malays, to which it has evidently close affinities.

Of the Besisi wind instruments, their flutes were of bamboo, and differed but little from those used by the Semang and Sakai. The Besisi nose-flute was, however, very much shorter than that used by the
Semang; those that I obtained in Selangor being, in fact, little more than half the length of the nose-flutes I got in Kedah. A kind of bamboo whistle was also sometimes employed by the Besisi.

The Besisi were very fond of what are generally called "Æolian bamboos," or "wind-organs"—long bamboos lashed vertically to the tops of trees, with slits cut in them which produced musical notes when blown upon by the wind. Several of the trees near Besisi dwellings at Klang were fitted with these instruments, and they could be heard at a distance of upwards of a mile when the wind blew strongly.¹ The bamboo Jew’s-harp is also found among the Besisi.

Feasts.

The man’s head-dress on festive occasions consisted among the Besisi of a plaited palm-leaf (Licuala) fillet or head-band, from which depended a row of long fringe-like streamers (called “centipedes’ feet”), so that his face was almost entirely hidden as he danced. Besides this, he wore a similar fringe round about his waist, and a third slung like a bandolier over the shoulder and across the breast. Finally, he had a bunch of artificial leaf-ornaments, consisting of imitation flowers, pendants, nooses, and daggers, inserted in his head-band, and another at his waist, and carried a curious dance-wand, which will be described more fully below.

Altogether his get-up reminded me irresistibly of our own Jack-in-the-green, and might well have owed

¹ Mr. H. N. Ridley informs me that these wind-organs can be stopped at will by turning them round with their backs to the wind, and that the Jakun used occasionally to do this. They were of practical use as well as being harmonious, for the Jakun used to find their way home through the jungle by listening to them.
its origin to a similar motive, viz., an attempt to make the new year more productive by an abundant display of greenery.

The woman’s head-dress on similar occasions consisted of a plaited palm-leaf head-band, lacking the streamers, in place of which it was furnished with little upright spikes, on which were spitted sweet-smelling flowerets or leaves, whose fragrance thus became pleasantly diffused throughout the room. The rest of their attire was similar to the men’s.\(^1\)

As regards the season at which their feasts took place, the Besisi informed me that the chief of these were held annually, first when the rice began to bloom, and again at the beginning, middle, and end of the harvest.\(^2\)

On these occasions, the members of the entire settlement having been summoned, fermented liquor is brewed from the jungle fruits of the season and a banquet spread in the house of the chief. The latter presides and opens the proceedings with the burning of incense and the chanting of an invocation, which is usually addressed to the ancestors of the tribe, as well as to the wild beasts and demons that attack the crops.\(^3\)

The feast then begins, the freshly-brewed liquor is drunk, and, to the accompaniment of strains of their rude and incondite music, the jungle-folk of both sexes deck themselves freely with flowers and fragrant leaves and indulge in dancing and singing throughout the night. This ceremony is called “Berentak Balei,”

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\(^1\) A beautifully-plaited girdle of a fine species of cane was also formerly made by the Besisi, probably for special occasions. I obtained two specimens of it, but understand it is now obsolete.

\(^2\) Mr. Bellamy adds that a feast took place after the planting out of the rice, not before the sowing, as among the Malays (Bellamy, p. 227).

\(^3\) On the occasion of one of these harvest feasts at which I was present, the invocation was addressed to the Elephant, Deer, and Wild Pig, as well as to insect pests. See vol. i. p. 363, ante.
**Musical Instruments.**


*Vol. II.* p. 145.

**Stringed Bamboo or "Guitar" of the Mantra.**

Similar to that of the Besisi. (See pp. 142, 179.)
or "Drumming upon (the floor of) the Tribal Hall," from the use of the bamboo instruments described above.

The songs are not always merely chanted, but are often really acted (as well as sung), the dancer being frequently provided (as already mentioned) with a special head-dress, which differs for men and women.

I have also seen the dancer at the ceremonies of this same tribe carrying a curiously carved dance-wand, one of which I was fortunately able to purchase. I have never heard of any similar object being used by any other tribe, though Borie mentions the use of wooden swords (probably Malay fencing-sticks) in the dances of the Mantra, a kindred tribe.

According to the testimony volunteered by the Besisi themselves, these banquets used formerly to conclude with a drinking bout,¹ which was followed by a kind of "game," at which the men of the tribe were traditionally allowed, if they pleased, to exchange their wives. All performances of this kind are now, however, of very rare occurrence, though there is no doubt as to the earlier prevalence of the custom.

Words of the Songs.

The songs chanted on these occasions are generally rude improvisations, consisting of certain well-known and continually-recurring phrases. The tunes to which they are sung are very simple and quaint. These are generally mere chants, of three or four notes only, but

¹ Traces of such drinking bouts are to be found among the Malay races.

The wild people are not, however, as a rule, inclined to drink. This drinking festival is called by the Besisi "Main jo'oh," the meaning of which is probably "Drinking game" (vide D. F. A. Hervey's paper on the "Endau and Tributaries," J. R. A. S., S. B., 1882, No. 8, p. 16), where he gives "jo'oh" as meaning "to drink," and remarks that the same word is used in the taboo-language of camphor (Pantang Kapor) with the same meaning (J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 3, p. 113).
yet have a weird kind of melody of their own, and are sung with a wonderful spirit and verve, which prevents them from becoming tedious. Of these songs I was able to form, among the Besisi, an important collection; and as I know of nothing that could give a better general idea of the life, ideas, and customs of these wild tribes than these songs (which are a veritable storehouse of such facts) are likely to do, I give them in extenso, in the hope that something of their spirit may survive in spite of what is lost in the translation. I should perhaps add that I was told, inter alia, that the songs I had collected should, properly speaking, be sung in a certain order. Neither my informants, however, nor any other members of the tribe, could give me the order of any except the first ten, as given below. It would be a point of great interest if they should turn out, on further investigation, to be in any way analogous to the Malay "Rejangs," corresponding to the "lunar mansions" of the Hindus; and it would also be very interesting to know whether the "lunar mansions" of the Hindus were ever treated as the subjects of ceremonial songs in a manner at all resembling the primitive chants here described. In any case, however, this manual of the jungle would well repay study.

The proper order of the first ten songs, which are, however, in the following pages, more conveniently grouped, was said to be as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Siamang</td>
<td>The gibbon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pulai</td>
<td>A soft-wood tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Merbau</td>
<td>A hard-wood tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kluang</td>
<td>The flying-fox.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bangkong</td>
<td>A wild jungle-fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gabang</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kédan</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Klédang</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kabau</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mah hédét hum</td>
<td>The little folk's bathing song.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HEADDRESS OF BESISI MAN (ON LEFT), WOMAN (ON RIGHT), WORN TO CONCEAL THE FACE AT CEREMONIAL DANCES.

Strange Wooden Dance-Wand carried by Besisi Man at Ceremonial Dances.

Beneath it is a flute, and also a nose-flute, used on similar occasions.

(See p. 145.)
PA' NANTI, THE LATE BATIN OF THE BESISI, KUALA LANGAT, SELANGOR.

It was from this Jakun chief (here shown in full Malay dress) that I took down most of the Besisi Jungle Songs given in the text.
The following have no ascertained order, except the “Lang,” which always comes last:—

22. Plandok. The chevrotin (another species).
27. Ayam hutan. The jungle-fowl.
28. Biawak. The lace-lizard or “monitor.”
29. Bruang. The bear.

Other alleged songs, whose names were given but the words of which were not given me, are—

Bachang. The horse-mango.
Pipit. The finch or sparrow.
Buan. The rambutan, a wild jungle-fruit.
Sikah. A kind of monkey.
Lotong. ""
Kra. ""
Musang. The civet-cat.
Kuching utan. The wild-cat.
Srigala'. The jackal or wild dog.
Tikus. The mouse or rat.
Enggang. The hornbill.
Kinau. The Argus pheasant.

It is just possible, if the “Rējang” theory be established, that some of these songs may belong to a second series of “Rējangs,” just as in Malay we find at least three different sets of “Rējangs” co-existing. The translations run freely as follows:—

**The Elephant.**

An Elephant trumpets at Bukit Peralong,
A Herd Elephant to the Lone Wild Elephant,
’Tis the herd that precedes the Old Wild Elephant,
The Sacred Elephant, the Shrunken foot Elephant,
The Magical Elephant from the land of Johor,
The Elephant that descends to the salt sea yonder,
The Elephant that sports on the sandy beaches,
And thence returns to the Upper Langat:
That climbs the hills to the sacred country,
And tramples the hills, till they sink in ruins,
And tramples the trees, till their trunks snap asunder,
And stamps in his spoor and stamps in his foot-tracks,
Until the whole land to mire is trampled.
Now that at length he has reached his sanctuary,
See that ye slay not the Sacred Elephant:
For if you do, you will die of sacrilege.
Burn ye then incense, and pay your vows to him,
The Sacred Elephant loves his grandchildren,
And in their clearings he will not forage,
Nor will he forage among their coconuts.
Roam then, O Elephant, o'er hill and hill-slope.
Roam then, O Elephant, to cave and hollow.
See, he has passed to the Upper Langat.
An Elephant is drawn, by a host of people,
Is drawn away to a far-off country.
But roam thou, O Elephant, to the Fresh-water Lake-side,
Till thou diest, O Elephant, at the Fresh-water Lake-side.

THE RHINOCEROS.

Impit—impit! there calls a Rhinoceros,
The Herd Rhinoceros to the Lone Rhinoceros.
She calls her mate to search for sustenance,
The Rhinoceros that roams and climbs the mountains,
The Rhinoceros that roams when dew dries on the out-crop.
What skill have I to strive with the Rhinoceros?
I call to my comrades, but all are absent.
Affrighted I climb up into a forest-tree,
But the Rhinoceros waits at the foot of the tree-trunk.
I break off a bough and cast it down to him,
The Rhinoceros champs it and passes onwards.
Then I descend and run back home again,
But reaching home, the Rhinoceros follows me.
I then take a gun and shoot the Rhinoceros.
The bullet has hit him. The Rhinoceros has fallen.
See that ye singe then and quarter the Rhinoceros,
And give to eat a little to every one;
But sell the horn to the Chinese foreigners.¹

THE TIGER.

A Tiger roars at the end of the river-point,
What does he want? He wants to be feeding,
To feed on jungle-fowl, to feed on wild-boar,
To feed on sambhur, to feed on chevrotain;
The striped Tiger that crosses the salt seas.²

¹ The horn of the rhinoceros is greatly prized among all races in the Malay Peninsula, as possessing extraordinary magical virtues. The Chinese, as a rule, are the best customers of the aborigines.
² Probably in allusion to the known fact that tigers do from time to time swim across the narrow strait (about three-quarters of a mile?) that separates Johor on the mainland of Asia from the island on which Singapore is built.

For these songs see also notes to Appendix.
Do not forget this in the telling—
The headlands— they are the Tiger’s country.
The Tiger has sworn an oath against Somebody,
The Tiger whose bound is full five fathom.
Dodge we the Tiger and leap to the right hand—
The Tiger walks up a fallen tree-trunk.
The Tiger looks for a hill that is lofty.
The Tiger sleeps (there) at height of noon tide.
And then arises to roam the forest.
The Tiger hunts for his living quarry.
The Tiger roams as far as Mount Ophir, 1
That is the place of the Tiger’s origin.
There is his Jinang, there is his Dato’,
There is his Jukrah, and there his Batin,
There dwells the ‘Great Chief’ of all the Tigers—
The Tiger dies at the house of his Batin.

The Bear.
Wah, wah, wah! there calls the Honey-bear,
The bear called ‘Pangrong,’ the bear called ‘Hijak,’ 2
The bear that for food doth rend wild-bees’ nests,
That climbs the bee-tree to seize the wild-bees,
That roams to the crags and descends to the salt sea,
That yearns to devour the wild-bees utterly,
That climbs up the mangroves, and rends them open,
That climbs up the ‘kempas’-trees, and rends them open.
Sharp indeed are the Honey-bear’s tooth-points.
Mamat the First-born, seize your chopping-knife,
He is nearing the ground! He has dropped, the Honey-bear!
Chop at him now, you, Mamat the First-born.
He has reared upright! He turns to attack you!
Dodge now the Bear, O Mamat the First-born!
He dies! Oho, you have killed the Honey-bear!
Now take his spleen to doctor the fallen. 3

The Sambhur-deer. 4
Kön = béròngkeng! there calls the Sambhur!
What do you do in the middle of the knoll there?
We are but looking at Somebody’s clearing,
A clearing that’s ruined, devoured by Sambhur.
The slot there that’s left is the trail of the Sambhur,
From the hoofs of the Sambhur, so sharp and pointed;
The Sambhur whose tail is short and tufted,
The Sambhur whose ears are pricked and pointed,
The Sambhur whose horns spread massively branching,
The Sambhur whose neck is so slim and slender:
Such a stag is the magic Sambhur.

1 Mount Ophir (or ‘Gunong Ledang’—4000 feet), in the interior of Malacca, is a traditional site of the ‘Tiger city’ of Malay legend, where the posts of the houses consist of men’s bones and the thatch of women’s hair (Skeat, Fables and Folk-tales from a Far Eastern Forest, p. 26; compare J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 3, pp. 110-111).
2 Different kinds of bear.
3 The bear being able to fall a considerable distance without injury, it is thought that his spleen will be good for people who have fallen, like him, from trees.
4 Or ‘Sambar’ (Rusa aristotelis).
A man bent with age, whose [leg] was ulcered, 1
'Twas he that became yon sacred Sambhur,
Yon many-tined Sambhur, yon vast-bulked Sambhur,
Yon Sambhur of palm-twigs, yon Sambhur of palm-husks,
Yon Sambhur of palm-shoots, yon Sambhur of tubers,
Yon Sambhur that eats the shoots of the 'klorak,'
Yon Sambhur that feeds on the shoots of the 'cow-itch,'
That feeds on the 'cow-itch' till his head is itching;
When his head is itching he rubs his horn-points,
He rubs his horns and the horns drop off again—
The golden Sambhur, the stag of magic.
See now, how near to the toils he wanders,
Rouse him and drive him, for all his belling,
The Sambhur that roams among the leaf-heaps,
The Sambhur that couches among the leaf-heaps.
See, the Sambhur starts and the toils have choked him.
Oho, Sir Deer-wizard, spear me yon Sambhur,
And when you have stabbed him, cast out the Mischief. 2
Oho, Sir Deer-wizard, here's a Sambhur to quarter!

THE ROE-DEER.

Empep—empep! there calls the Roe-deer,
The Roe-deer that roams to the knoll's far-end there,
And wanders back to the knoll's near-end here.
That dwells mid the crags of the Upper Langat.
The Roe-deer that feeds on shoots of wild cinnamon.
Rise up, oho, there! Mamat the First-born,
Rise up, oho! and take your squailer, 3
Take your squailer and stab the Roe-deer.
Watch very carefully, the Roe-deer is running.
Oho! Lift him up, the Roe-deer has fallen!
Bear him now homewards and cook my Roe-deer;
And when you have cooked him, quarter my Roe-deer,
And give unto each an equal portion.
Come hither, my sisters, young ones and old ones,
And feast on the flesh of this my Roe-deer.
And when your belly is gorged with feeding,
Rise up, oho, there! Mamat the First-born!
Make merry with drink within the Balei,
The broad-floored Balei, the long-floored Balei.
'Tis the young folk's custom to 'dance the Roe-deer,'
To please the men-folk and please the women,
Young folk so many within the Balei,
To-morrow and ever be years of plenty,
Plenteous our fruit, our rice-crop plenteous.
Fruit . . . Fruit! Fruit! Fruit, oho!

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1 A Malay legend traces the origin of the deer from a metamorphosed man whose leg was ulcered—doubtless in allusion to the marks on the deer's legs. 
Cp. Malay Mag., p. 171.
2 I.e. the evil influence believed to be inherent in all wild animals, and which is driven out by spells before their dead bodies are touched (cp. Mal. Mag. 427).
3 I.e. the throwing-stick used by many of these tribes for killing small mammals. It is simply a short stick of some hard wood sharpened at one (or both) ends.
The Chevrotin (Bes. 'Kanchel').

Nyau—ganyau! there calls the Chevrotin!
The Chevrotin seeks the fruit of forest-trees,
The Chevrotin seeks the fruit of the 'fan-palm,'¹
The Chevrotin feeds when dew dries on the bedrock,
The Chevrotin eats the leaves of the 'ludai,'²
The Chevrotin eats the sweet-potato leaves,
The Chevrotin feeds upon the yam-leaves,
The Chevrotin shrinks from the falling thunderbolt,
The Chevrotin shrinks from the wild-beasts' on-rush,
The Chevrotin shrinks from the bite of the serpent,
The Chevrotin roams both by day and night-time,
The Chevrotin sleeps at the height of noontide,
The Chevrotin sleeps amid the brushwood,
The Chevrotin sleeps in the fallen palm-leaves,
The Chevrotin sleeps mid the tangled grasses.
Come hither, you there, to seek the Chevrotin.
Set ye the noose to snare the Chevrotin.
The catch has slipped, ho! we've caught the Chevrotin.
Now we have captured him, bear him homewards.
And when ye are home again, see that ye singe him.
When ye have singed him, cut him in quarters.
When ye have quartered him, make ye the cooked-meat,
And give unto each his equal portion.

The Mouse-deer (Bes. 'Pandok').

Krusau—krusau! there calls the Mouse-deer!
The Mouse-deer that eats the shoots of the 'ludai,'
The Mouse-deer that eats the fruit of the 'k'lledang,'
The Mouse-deer that eats the fruit of the 'fan-palm,'
The Mouse-deer that eats the fruit of the 'mangostin,'
The Mouse-deer that eats the fruit of the 'durian.'
On the Mouse-deer's scent a dog goes barking,
He has got the scent of a milk-white Mouse-deer,
He follows the scent of a milk-white Mouse-deer.³
The milk-white Mouse-deer descends to the water,
The dog has seized it within the water.
Lo now, he has killed the milk-white Mouse-deer.
Carry ye homewards the milk-white Mouse-deer,
And cut into quarters the milk-white Mouse-deer,
And give unto each his equal portion.

The Wild Pig.

Dret, dret, dret! there grunt the Wild-Pigs,
The Wild-Pig's litter that feed on sugar-canes,

¹'Kapau,' Livistona Kingii, Hook. fil. (Palmae), a fine fan-palm.
²The leaves of the 'ludai' are the favourite food of the two chief kinds of Tragulus ('p'landok' and 'kanchel'). They are caught by rattan noose-traps, or by tapping on the ground with a stick to imitate the stamping of the buck's forefeet in rutting-time. 'Ludai' is Sapindum baccatum, Roxb. (Euphorbiaceae).
³White is the sacred colour of these tribes, as among the Malayv.
That eat up our yams and our sweet potatoes.
Till utterly eaten is our plantation.
The Boar, whose feet are sharp and pointed,
The Boar, whose shoulders are sloping and slanting,
The Boar, whose bristles are stiff and stubborn,
The Boar whose eyes are crossed and squinting,
The Boar whose ears are pricked and pointed,
The Boar whose chaps are fat extremely,
The Boar whose tail is crisp and curly.
The Boar has gone down to feed in our rice-fields.
Take then your blowpipe scored with patterns—
Whiz—and it sticks, and the Boar goes floundering.
Watch very carefully, the Boar is running!

THE COCONUT-MONKEY.

*Kok, kok, kok!* says the Coconut-monkey,
The 'Gantang' monkey, the 'Rangkak' monkey.¹
The 'Buku' monkey, peering and prying,
The monkey whose muzzle is creased and crinkled,
The monkey whose fingers are curved and crooked,
The monkey whose haunches are bent and bow-shaped,
The monkey whose tail's like a bending sapling,
Who feeds on fruit, the fruit of the 'durian.'
He is shaking the trees, see, rise up again there,
Rise up, oho! and take your blowpipe.
Stalk him most warily, watch most carefully.
Whiz—and it sticks! The dart has hit him!
The monkey has run off helter-skelter.
The monkey has run off retching and vomiting—
Thud—thump—thump—the monkey has fallen.
Pick him up, oho! you, Mamat Solong,
And bear him homewards, with back bent double,
Bear him homewards and there throw him down again.
Aunt Solong, I pray you, singe me this monkey,
And you, Mamat Solong, cut up this monkey,
And give unto each an equal portion.
And when your belly is gorged with eating,
Rise up, oho! then, Mamat the First-born;
Rise up and drink within the Balei,
The broad-floored Balei, the long-floored Balei.
To-morrow and ever [be years of plenty],
Chant ye 'the monkey,' that fruit be plenteous,
Fruit . . . fruit, fruit, fruit, fruit!

THE SIAMANG ² OR GIBBON.

*Mong, mong, mong!* there calls the Gibbon!
The Gibbon that barks at the sun half-risen,
The Gibbon that chatters on the Upper Kali.
Up gets the Gibbon on the Upper Luar,
Crash! there he leaps through the sprays of 'méranti'!³

¹ Different kinds of *Macacus nemestrinus* — the difference is probably confined to the colouring.
² *Hylobates syndactylus.*
³ 'Méranti,' a name given to many Shoreas (*Dipterocarpus*).
Crash! there he flings through the sprays of 'ludan,' 1
Now the dry fruit-husk's we hear him munching.
Stalk him, there, warily, watch your sharpest,
Mamat the First-born, Mamat the next-born!
Warily, brothers, our Gibbon's escaping.
Warily, brothers, now pick up your blowpipes,
Your bamboo blowpipes, scored with patterns.
Try now, both, to plant the venom, 2
Try now, both, to insert the venom.
There, he is hit! the dart has got him.
Warily, brothers, now; watch our Gibbon.
Cough, cough, cough, just hark to his retching!
See, there our Gibbon goes tumbling downwards.
Warily, brothers, our Gibbon has fallen.
Carry him home, with back bent double,
Carry him homewards, our Gibbon yonder.
Seek ye and search for dry 'ludan' branches,
Seek ye and search for dry 'changgan' 3 branches,
Search ye for fire-logs to singe our Gibbon,
Search for and seek hot leaves of 'changep,' 4
Search for and seek the pungent 'jintan,' 5
The firewood crackles, now stir ye all merrily,
There, it is roasted, now carve it thoroughly,
And give unto each an equal portion.
See that the flesh for all suffices.
Let each have a portion, both big and little.

**THE APE ("UNGKA" OR "WA' WA").** 6

_Wong, wong, wong!_ just hear the Ape cry!
The Ape that plays mid the sprays of 'képong,' 7
The Ape that plays mid the sprays of 'séraya,' 8
The Ape that plays mid the sprays of 'jélotong.' 9
Crunch, crunch, crunch, the Ape is feeding.
On the 'anggong' 10 fruit the Ape is feeding,
On the 'rambai' 11 fruit the Ape is feeding.
And the fur of his body is white as cotton,
The fur of his face is black and silky,
His brow is trimmed as a maid's with the 'Bride-fringe,'
His stern is at once both hard and flattened.
Take now your blowpipe of 'Klampenai,' 12
Stalk him most warily, watch very carefully.
For the arms of the Ape are long and slender,
And the legs of the Ape go swinging together.
Rise up, oho, there! watch very carefully.

[The rest is the same as in the song of the Siamang.]

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1 Unidentified.
2 This, of course, refers to the poison on the dart-point.
3 Unidentified.
4 Unidentified.
5 'Jintan,' cummin.
6 *Hylobates concolor.*
7 'Képong,' *Shorea macroptera,* Dyer (*Dipterocarpaceae*).
8 'Séraya,' a name given to several *Shorea* (*Dipterocarpaceae*).
9 'Jélotong,' *Dyera maingayi,* Hook. fil., and *D. costulata,* Hook. fil.
10 Unidentified.
11 'Rambai,' *Baccaurea molleiana,* Hook. fil. (*Euphorbiaceae*), a common fruit-tree.
12 Unidentified.
THE Crocodile.

Wak, wak, wak! there bellows the Crocodile!
The 'bay' Crocodile to her mate of the reaches,
The Crocodile whose head is knobbed and lumpy,
The Crocodile whose tail is like a sword-blade,
The Crocodile whose teeth are clenched together.
In every river-pool there dwells the Crocodile,
The Crocodile that's fierce, the Crocodile that's savage,
That climbs up to bask on the bank of the river,
And enters the waters to search for sustenance.
The Crocodile that 'gazes,' ¹ at our reflections.
If our head is gone, he will get him sustenance,
If our head is there, he will get no sustenance.
There sits a monkey upon the timber,
The Crocodile sweeps him off into the water;
The Crocodile smothers him within the river-mud,
And when he is dead, it bears him shore-wards,
And batters him on timber, to kill him thoroughly,
And swallows him whole, when dead completely.

THE Lace-Lizard or Monitor.

The Lace-Lizard's head is knobbed and knotty,
The Lace-Lizard's eyes are small and narrow,
The Lace-Lizard's snout is sharp and pointed,
The Lace-Lizard's belly sways and swagger,
The Lace-Lizard's footprints are spreaded widely,
The scales of its back are like the sting-ray's,
The Lace-Lizard's tail is like a sword-blade,
The Lace-Lizard's teeth are thorns of the screw-pine.
The Lace-Lizard's tongue is a tongue that's double,
Like to the man's that speaketh falsehoods.
The Lace-Lizard's chief is now the crocodile.
He was once the crocodile's younger brother.
The land crocodile, with the salt-sea crocodile,
One upon land, and one in the water.
Watch very warily, and slay the Lace-Lizard.

THE Python.

Seng, seng, seng! there calls the Python!
The Python coiled in the tops of forest-trees,
The Python coiled on the topmost brushwood,
The Python coiled in the tangled grasses,
The Python that enters the hollow tree-trunk,
The spotted Python that men call 'Sawa,'
The Python whose tail is like a peg-top,²
The Python whose tongue resembles garlic,
The Python whose teeth are thorns of the screw-pine.

¹ 'Gazes,' in allusion to the belief that the crocodile ascertains the identity of the human beings destined to become his prey by 'gazing' or divination. Whenever this process reveals to him the figure of his prospective victim without the head, he knows he can safely attack the person thus designated.
² I.e., 'gasing-gasing.' But 'gasing-gasing,' = Cissampelos Parvura, L., also Pericampylus igneus, Miers (Mensi spermacae). Slender climbing plants, used medicinally.
The Python whose cheeks with fat are swollen,
The Python whose head is like a ladle,
And on whose head the scales are golden,
That walks on ribs one hundred and forty,
Whose body is big as the stem of the coco-palm.
The hungering Python that swallows the wild-boar,
Swallows the wild-boar and seizes the mouse-deer,
Swallows the mouse-deer and seizes the samblur,
Swallows the samblur and seizes the tiger.

The silk-skinned Python, the bediamonded Python,
The silk-skinned Python that growth sacred,
The Python that came from the springs of water,
Whose body is big as the stem of the coco-palm.
'Tis he that we call the Horned Serpent.
'Tis the silk-skinned Python that crept down seawards,
And fought against the old Sea-Python,\(^1\)
Until the broad seas turned to narrow.
The old Land-Python since time's beginning,
That is the Python that was defeated,
The old Land-Python that fights no longer,
The old Land-Python that craved for pardon,
'Tis he, that came from the land, was vanquished,
And he, that came from the sea, was victor,
'Twas he that possessed the stauncher spirit,
But the dead Land-Python ascended skywards,
And turned to the Fire we call the Rainbow,
For his horn was ta'en by the old Sea-Python.
Watch very carefully, step not over it,
For if you do, you'll be crushed as a rebel,
Round your limbs will twine the Python-sickness.
Be sure that you this in your soul remember.
To-morrow and ever may Fruit be plentiful!

THE TARTOISE.

Tortoise! Tortoise! Tortoise!
Tortoise whose fore-paws are bent out sideways,
Tortoise whose hind-feet are shaped like adzes,
Tortoise whose head is sharp and pointed,
Tortoise whose back is like a spice-block,
Tortoise whose liver is black of the blackest,
Tortoise whose fat is green of the greenest.
Rise up, oho! now, Mamat the First-born,
And take your knife and your bamboo blowpipe,
And take your throwing-spear\(^2\) to roam the forest,

\(^1\) This battle of two snakes, serpents or dragons, is one of the most fruitful themes in Oriental art. In China it appears as two dragons fighting for a pearl. In the Malay region it is sometimes a couple of dragons as in China, and sometimes a couple of snakes engaged in fighting for a magical snake-stone. It is also common in India and elsewhere, e.g., "The Legend of Merlin," by Dr. M. Gaster (Folklore, xvi. 414, 422). In the present case it furnishes us with this fine Jakun myth of the origin of the rainbow.

\(^2\) I.e. the pointed hardwood stick or 'squailer' used for killing small game.
And search for the Tortoise; see, here are its footprints!
This is the feeding-ground of the Tortoise.
The Tortoise that feeds on the shoots of the 'chemeh.'
There, did you see it, Mamat the First-born?
There, did you see it, among the buttresses?
Now you've expelled it, Mamat the First-born,
Carry it homewards, Mamat the First-born.
Mamat the First-born, now cut up your Tortoise,
Chop it up small and let it be roasted;
And when it is roasted, serve it on leaf-plates,
And give unto each an equal portion.
Ho, Mamat Solong! ho, Mamat Alang!
Come, now your belly's full, drum on the Hall-floor.

The Toad.
Kok, kok, kok! that's a Toad that's croaking!
A Toad that's croaking his very loudest,
The Toad that dwells at the foot of the forest-trees,
The Toad that dwells on the Upper Langat,
Jumping up-stream, and jumping down-stream.
There goes the Toad, whose waist is so tapering,
And whose chest is one of the very deepest;
The Toad whose eyes are mightily goggling,
The Toad whose fingers are crushed and crumpled,
The Toad whose feet are spread and splaying,
The Toad whose skin is rough and knobbery,
The Toad whose body with slime is venomous.
The 'Rengkong' Toad that feeds on centipedes,
The 'Rengkong' Toad that feeds on scorpions,
The 'Rengkong' Toad that swallows gravel,
Eat ye not then the Toad called 'Rengkong',
For poisonous to eat is the Toad called 'Rengkong,'
Chop then with a knife at the Toad called 'Rengkong,'
And if he walks off again, be not frightened.
From the times of old till to-morrow and ever
May there remain this rite and memorial,
This rite remain that Fruit be plentiful.

The Kite.
Sek-sok-leau! there mews the Fishing-Kite!
The Kite that soars above the cloud-belt,
The Kite that glides above the cloud-belt,
The Kite that nests in the tall 'jelotongs,'
And seeks to breed in the tall 'jelotongs,'
The Kite that nests in the sprays of the 'kempas,'
And seeks to breed in the sprays of the 'kempas,'
Soon as begins her children's sickness,
High and low the Kite goes soaring,
And catches the 'siakap' fish to feed her young ones,
And catches snakes to feed her young ones.

1 Unidentified.
2 I.e., leaves used as plates—generally those of the banana-tree.
3 I. p. 153, n. 9, ante.
The Kite glides past to the Rock of Lalau,
The Kite glides past to the Hill Precipitous.
The Kite glides past to the crag called 'White-Rock,'
The Kite glides past to the Rock Perhambang—
At Perhambang Rock the Kite sinks earthwards,
To search for the 'Love-plant' upon the mountains,
Thus we find the 'Love-plant' upon the mountains,
And our spirit yearns within our body—
The Kite's own 'Love-plant,' go bear it homewards,
To make you well within your spirit.
Rise ye then warily, [watch] the Kite's young ones,
This heart of mine is ravished greatly.
Now that I know where to seek the simples.
Do not hesitate, do not dally,
But fly direct to the Garden of Fruit-trees.
So shall remain, as from aforetime,
Unto the Kite's young a debt of gratitude,
And this be a token to childing women.

The Jungle-fowl.

Nang chènangkas! there crows the Jungle-fowl!
The Jungle-fowl upon the knoll there,
Whose name is called the milk-white Jungle-fowl,
By strange Malays who set bird-nooses,
Fly hither then, O milk-white Jungle-fowl,
No fowls of the Jungle can resist you,
The milk-white Jungle-fowl now flies homeward.
Nang chènangkas! there crows the Jungle-fowl!
Hark to a tale of days that are gone by.
To-morrow and ever may Fruit be plenteous.

The Flying-fox.

lē . . . lompè-lompè! there flaps the Flying-fox!
That is the flip-flap of the Flying-fox,
The Flying-fox from o'er the water,
The Flying-fox from the side of the forest,
The Flying-fox from out the islets,
The Flying-fox from o'er the channel,
The Flying-fox that eats the fruit-buds.
That goes about to search for tree-fruits;
And flies unto the upper reaches,
And flies unto the lower reaches.
The Flying-fox tribes are many and various.
That feed upon the fruit of the 'rambutan,'
That feed upon the fruit of the 'duku.'

1 I.e. the 'chinduai,' the most famous love-charm of the aborigines,
2 'Btan' (Mal. 'rambutan'), Nephelium lappaceum, L. (Sapindaceae), a common fruit-tree.
3 'Duku,' a well-known fruit-tree.
That feed upon the fruit of the 'durian.'
Flip-flap go the wings of the Flying-fox,
Fish-flash go the wings of the Flying-fox.
This we call the 'Rite of the Flying-fox.'
Take now your blowpipe scored with patterns,
Take your blow-pipe and shoot the Flying-fox.
Whiz—and it sticks! The dart has hit him.
Rise up, oho! the Flying-fox has fallen!
Plimp-plump! the Flying-fox has fallen!
The Flying-fox vomits mightily retching.
Carry the Flying-fox home and singe him,
And when you have singed him, cut him in quarters,
And call ye every one to the Balei.
Feed ye your sisters, both young and old ones,
Give ye to each his equal portion.
Then when your belly's full, stand ye upright.
O Mamat Solong, O Solong Sidai,
Step ye forth for the drinking and singing,
And drum with your heels on the long-floored Balei,
Drum with your heels on the broad-floored Balei;
Let all in the Balei make them merry.
Fruit of all kinds, may Fruit be plenteous,
Every day may Fruit be plenteous,
Every month may Fruit be plenteous,
Every year may Fruit be plenteous.
Such a year is a year of plenty.
Fruit . . . Fruit, Fruit, Fruit!

The Kledang Fruit.

Take your knife, O Mamat Solong,
Such to you is Aunt Solong's message,
Such to you is Aunt Tengah's message:
They yearn to eat the fruit called Kledang.
Climb then the tree, O Mamat Solong,
Where the Kledang fruits are swaying o'er you.
The Kledang fruits, lo! are strewn and scattered.
Each of you, children, go gather a little
The Kledang fruits that are ripe to bursting.
Go bring the Kledang fruits, bring them homewards,
And throw them down upon the hut-floor.
Come hither ye gaffers, fathers, uncles,
Come hither ye sisters, aunts, and cousins,
These Kledang fruits are for you to feast on.
Crave ye no more for the bursting Kledang,
Crave ye no more for the crow-black Kledang.
Rise to your feet, then, Mamat Solong,
And unto your hut go summon the little ones.
Let the little folk drink within the Balei;
That is the token of fruit that's plenteous.
Plenteous be 'durians,' plenteous the 'rambutans,'
Plenteous the 'rambai' and plenteous the 'pulasan,'

1 'Durian,' *Durio zibethinus*, L., (Malvaceae).
2 'Kledang,' *Artocarpus lanceolata*, Roxb. (Urticaceae).
3 'Pulasan,' *Nephelium mutabile*, Bl. ( Sapindaceae), a well-known fruit.
Plenteous the 'tampoi' and plenteous the 'kundang',
So may all manner of fruit be plenteous,
So, for nine years may fruit ne'er fail us.

The Redan.

Take your jungle-knife, Mamat Solong,
And climb yon tree, yon tree called Redan.
Lop off its branches, and glide down groundwards.
Let every one gather the fruit of the Redan,
Gather the fruit of yonder Redan.
When you have picked it up, bear it homewards,
And serve it up for all the people.
May the Redan fruit feed both big and little.
To eat the Redan is our little ones' custom.

The Kabau Tree.

The Kabau tree waves this and that way,
The tree whose stem creak-creaks so loudly,
The tree whose bark is grey and mottled,
And with whose bark are made our choppers,
And mid whose twigs are bred the borer-bees,
And mid whose leaves are bred the swallows;
Whose blossom falls like scattered rice-meal,
Whose blossom falls like rain in sunshine,
The tree whose fruit must not be eaten,
Whose fruit is poisonous when eaten.
Do not forget this in the telling,
But chant of the Kabau now and always.
Then hie to drink within the Balei,
Tramp-tramp, make merry within the Balei,
The Balei that's broad, the long-floored Balei.
Let all the little ones be performers,
Along with all the men and women,
'Tis this that pleases all the people.
Plenteous is the year and fruits are plenteous,
Let us then eat the fruit of the 'rambutan',
Fruit of the 'mangostin', fruit of the 'durian';
Thus eat we Fruit, both big and little,
Eat we, O sisters, both big and little,
Make you merry now, O Mamat Solong,
And Fruit be plenteous every season.

1 'Tampoi,' Baccaurea malayana, Hook. fil. (Euphorbiaceae); also a common fruit.
2 'Kundang,' B. macrophylla, Griff. (Anacardiaceae), a kind of small plum.
3 'Redan,' Nephelium maingayi, Hiern (Sapindaceae).
4 Unidentified.
5 The meaning of this, and the next two lines, is very obscure.
6 'Rambutan,' Nephelium lappaeum, L. (Sapindaceae), a well-known fruit.
THE GABANG FRUIT.¹

Take now your chopper, O Mamat Solong,
Take it to lop off the fruit of the Gabang,
The Gabang fruit that is scattered earthward.
First lop ye off the bending twig-ends,
And lop off next the midstmost branches,
And after lopping glide down earthwards.
See, we are gathering the fruit of the Gabang,
Bring me your baskets, and bring me your wallets,
And bear ye home the fruit of yon Gabang.
Then go and call our folk together,
And give to each an equal portion.
When you have eaten the fruit of yon Gabang,
Rise to your feet, O Mamat Solong,
And drink and make merry within the Balei,
As was the custom of your grandfathers.
The little ones sport within the Balei,
And all the men-folk are fain to watch them,
And all the women are fain to watch them.
Come hither then with unbound tresses,
And take your combs and smooth your tresses,
And make your tresses as fine as possible.
To catch the eyes of all the men-folk:
Then take ye rice and take the rice-pot,
And cook the rice for all the people.
Take too a pan to make you cooked meats.
That is the work that falls to women.
Eat ye last the rice that is left for you,
Eat it, nor be o'er-slow in eating,
And when you are filled, lie down and slumber.

THE SOLITARY BERTAM-PALM.²

The Single Bertam at Langkap Berjunlei,
The Single Bertam on the Upper Langat—
'Tis the Bertam whose fruits bend over outwards!
We have gathered them and brought them homewards,
We have split them and given to each his portion.
Be there Bertam fruit both now and always,
From the Single Bertam upon the Hill-tops,
That is the token of fruit that's plenteous,
That is the sign of a year of plenty.
Come ye, my little ones, make you merry,
Make each of you merry within the Balei,
And when you have eaten and gorged your belly,
Rise to your feet, O Mamat Alang,
Drink and make merry within the Balei,
The Balei that's broad, the long-floored Balei.
And call our folk to dance and make merry,
And call our folk to drink and make merry,
That is a year when fruits are plenteous.

¹ A kind of wild ' rambutan.'
² 'Bertam,' Eugenieosa tristis, Griff. (Palme).
The Merbau Tree. 1

Plak-plau/ there falls the Merbau!
The ‘ivory’ Merbau, the ‘cabbage’ Merbau,
The ‘saffron’ Merbau that’s split with wedges.
Chentong the Carpenter, ho! fell me this Merbau.
Loftily sways and falls the Merbau.
Bring me a chisel, and bring me the planing-adze.
Now we have split it, make we a grating,
Make we a gallery, make we a deck-house,
Make we oars, and make we an awning.
Load we our ship with wax and eagle-wood, 2
Load her with benjamin, 3 load her with resin,
Load her with gutta, with ‘gutta taban’. 4
Hoist up your mast and sail forth seawards,
And shape your course to the sea of Mambang;
Drop your anchor and climb up shorewards,
And barter your goods at the people’s houses.
See, our boat points to the land of Malacca,
Our anchor drops just off Malacca,
To barter wax and barter resin,
To barter benjamin, barter gutta,
And salt and rice to take as cargo.
Now points our boat towards our country,
And off our own land drops the anchor.
Now call we comrades, big and little,
To carry our wares up to the houses,
And give of them to each his portion.

The Pulai Tree. 5

Kik, kik, kik! there creaks the Pulai!
Its bole a-rock with the brisk-blown breezes.
Thick, umbrageous, pendulous, wavy,
Are its leaves and airy streamers,
Roots in the earth, and roots on the surface,
Its surface-roots like struggling serpents,
Its buds that rival a virgin’s nipples,
Its leaves with sap like milk of a virgin,
Its stem whose hue is grey and mottled,
Its shoots that are like the peak of a head-cloth,
Its shoots that look like scroll-work finials,
Its buttresses whose height is dizzy,
Its blossom strewn like scattered rice-meal,
Its blossom strewn like rain that drizzles.
Thus men are wont to sing the Pulai.

1 ‘Merbau,’ Aseelia paleniiana Bak. (Leguminosoace), one of the finest timbers in the Peninsula, used in boat-building.
2 Eagle-wood or ‘gharu,’ Aquilaria malaccensis Lam. (Thymelaeaceae), produces the well-known incense wood lign-aloes, which fetches a remarkably high price in the Far East.
3 Benzoin or ‘kêmnyan,’ gum benjamin, Styrox benzoin L. (Styraceae). The gum is obtained by cutting the bark.
4 ‘Gutta’ (or ‘getah’) ‘taban,’ Dich-opsis gutta Benth. (Sapotaceae), the best kind of gutta-percha.
5 ‘Pulai,’ Alstonia scholaris Dr. (Apocynaceae), a tree whose surface-roots furnish the cork used for the floats of fishing-nets, etc., in the Peninsula.
We take an adze and fell the Pulai,
And build a canoe to trade to Malacca;
To barter goods and sell our coconuts,
Then homewards turn our boat of Pulai;
Beach we it then, and o'erhaul it thoroughly,—
Sell to a Chinaman for a hundred dollars!

THE FISH-TRAP.

_Ting, ting, hât!_ that's the small-waisted Fish-trap!
The trap that was made by Mamat Alang,
The trap that is set in the river yonder
For the fish, the scale-clad fish, to enter.
Fish so many and fish so various!
The 'tapah' fish, and the fish 'sabarau',
The 'ruan' fish, and the fish called 'bujor',
The 'lembat' fish, and the fish 'pêpuyuh',
May all of them enter the small-waisted Fish-trap.
Bear them home, throw them down on the hut-floor,
And slice them up, these fish so many;
Stew them and cook them very very carefully,
And when you have cooked them, call your comrades,
And give to each his equal portion.
And when your belly is gorged with eating,
Rise to your feet, O Mamat Solong,
And drum on the long floor of the Balei,
Drum on the broad floor of the Balei,
Big sisters and little are fain to watch you.
That is our rite of the small-waisted Fish-trap.

CHILDREN'S BATHING SONG.

Go, little people, go a-bathing,
So may you cool your heated bodies,
So may you cleanse your little bodies,
And rub with care your little bodies,
And leave no stain on your little bodies;
Then haste back home and take your hair-combs,
Take your combs and comb your tresses,
Comb them until they be smooth and glossy—
Such is the way at small folk's bathing.
Go, little people, into the Balei.
_Creak-creak!_ there sounds the floor of the Balei
The long-floored Balei, the broad-floored Balei.
For all the women are fain to watch you
Dance, little folk, within the Balei.
And fruits be plenteous, the season plenteous,
Fruits be plenteous, fruits that are various.
Every day shall be fruit in plenty,
Every month shall be fruit in plenty,
Every year shall be fruit in plenty.
Go not back from the solemn promise,
From the rites that within the book are written.
Fruit ... fruit, fruit, fruit, fruit!

1 Of these six fish I have only been able to find record of two as being identified, the 'sabarau,' probably = _Laleo boggia_, and the 'ruan' or 'aruan' = _Ophiocephalus punctatus_.

_MUSIC, SONGS, AND FEASTS_ PART III
Such is the custom of jungle-dwellers,  
Our custom when we with drink make merry.

**The Bangkong Fruit.**

*Hong Kau Barak Hong!*
Thus we pluck the Bangkong,  
Reach for them, Father Tunang,  
Reach for them, Father Sayang,  
Reach for them, Father Odong.  
Thus we pluck the Bangkong,  
We pluck the 'Bangkong kudes,'  
We pluck the 'Bangkong kateb,'  
We pluck the 'Bangkong mengoh,'  
We pluck the 'Bangkong palas.'  
Go forth, O Father Odong.  
Go forth, O Father Tunang.  
Go forth, O Father Sayang.  
Go forth and pluck the Bangkong.  
Now we've got the Bangkong,  
Haste we to bear them homewards,  
And call to Mother Tunang  
[And call to Mother Odong,  
And call to Mother Sayang]  
To haste and split the Bangkong.  
Take a chip-edged rice-pot—  
That's to boil the Bangkong,—  
Don your palm-leaf tassels,  
And follow, follow homewards,  
Follow us, Friend Gento,  
And wave your palm-leaf tassels.  
I wave them round, I wave them,  
I wave the sprays a little.  
The holy Basil's planted  
Within a hollow tree-trunk;  
If Love desert the body  
It then remaineth lonely,  
And what remaineth further?  
'Tis our grandparents' custom  
That all the younger people  
Make merry in the Balei;  
All, all, both men and women,  
'Tis our grandparents' custom,  
And that of Mother Kalis,  
For sharp was Mother Kalis,  
Yea, sharp—and very stupid,  
Stupid was Mother Geboi.  
Rejoice then in the Balei,  
And what remaineth further  
For all now go rejoicing  
For joy that fruits are plenteous,  
For a season that is plenteous;

1 This song in the original is of a different metre to all the preceding ones, having but three beats to the line, as in the translation.  
2 'Bangkong,' a wild fruit-tree, unidentified.  
3 *I.e.* the tassels or bunches worn in dancing.
Though many are our people,
Yet fruitful are our rice-fields,
And fruitful all our fruit-trees.
Then tread we all and trample,
And drum upon the Hall-floor,
The Hall-floor made of Bertam,
Of Bertam. What remains else?
And what shall we do further?
To-morrow still be plenteous,
Be plenteous all our fruit trees!
He-e-e-e!

The following song, in irregular metre, exhibits other moods—the first part is pathetic, the second joyful:

**The Song of the Sick Child.**

Expanded are the buds of the ‘bharu,’
And thick and ever thicker grows the ‘tembesu’ blossom
Give no thought more to me, ah Granny:
Cast me away, me the outcast!
Make no more mention of me, ah Granny!
Nought but the fruit-calyx is left, ah Granny!
Nought but the print of my hands is left, ah Granny!
Nought but the print of my feet is left, ah Granny!
Nought is left me but to sing my chant, ah Granny!
My heart yearns for the Hills, ah Granny!
Hearken to my chant in the hut, ah Granny!
I will get me up and go, Granny, wrap up my rice-bundle,
I will roam the forest and snare me wild-birds!
Lo, I have set my snares but have caught nothing, ah Granny!
I have nothing to hope for, ah Granny!
Your child is not strong enough to climb aloft, ah Granny!
I have brought my wallet, but even its cords are broken, ah Granny!

Lo, I have picked up a Hornbill and brought it home,
'Tis a fat bird and a heavy one, oh Granny!
Now I am home again, cook me the Hornbill, oh Granny!
And partake of the Hornbill, oh Granny!
And give to each one a little portion.
Go a-craving no more for the Hornbill’s flesh, oh Granny!
But partake of the Hornbill, oh Granny!
Come and partake, oh little sisters and big ones, brothers- and sisters-in-law.

**The Besisi Trumba.**

A song of a very different sort was the Besisi Trumba or Song of Tribal Origin, which has a special

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1. ‘Bharu,’ *Hibiscus tiliaceus* Linn. (*Malvaceae*), a common sea-shore tree.
2. ‘Tembesu,’ *Fagraea fragrans* Roxb. (*Leguminosae*).
interest of its own as representing an attempt on the part of this race of jungle-dwellers to keep some sort of record of their history.

The Besisi who gave it me was an old man named Bedôh, of Sepang Kechil. Part of this Trumba at least seems to preserve the traditions of old tribal boundaries, and I believe it really supplies the clue to the long strings of (generally contiguous) place-names that are so often described as occurring in the songs of the Semang and Perak Sakai. The following version is a little freer than that given elsewhere in this book:—

Besisi Song of Tribal Origin.

From Gobang Gubin,¹ from 'Buluh Bohal,'
From the land of Jati,² to the land of Endau,³
We came to the land of Johor the ancient,
To Tengki-tengkel and olden Jeram.
At Naning-naneng⁴ dwelt chieftain Baruis,⁵
And chieftain Banggai⁶ at the hill of Nuang,
At Boatpole Hill⁷ and the Hill of the Elephant
Dwelt chieftains Mara, Barai, Suntai.
Then chieftain Galang⁸ came down from inland,

¹ 'Gobang Gubin' is very obscure. One explanation given me by the Besisi was that it stood for 'lobang Gubin di-buluh Bohal,' i.e. the hole of 'Gubin' in the Bamboo of Bohal, this latter being explained as referring to the (mythical) giant Bamboo from which the founder of the race miraculously issued, and which apparently gave its name to part of the insignia of the Jakun chiefs. A further explanation was that 'Gubin' meant a dog, as indeed it does in the Blandas dialect of Selangor, and that the passage therefore meant 'The Dog's Hole in the Ancestral Bamboo,' in which case the explanation doubtless rests upon the traditions which connect the dog with the mythical ancestor. It is probably a place-name, either of some place in the south of the Peninsula or Sumatra. For this song see also notes to App.

² 'Tanah Jati' is a place-name, though I cannot say where it is.

³ 'Tanah Hendau' is the district of the Endau river (on the borders of Pahang and Johor).

⁴ 'Naning' is the district of that name near Malacca, best known from two (British) punitive expeditions which were sent against it, the first of which proved abortive.

⁵ 'Batin Baruis' (= Newbold's 'Batin Breyk') is here mentioned as the founder of the Naning tribes.

⁶ 'Batin Banggai' is locally famous as the founder of that branch of the Besisi tribe that dwelt near Sepang Kechil in Selangor. We learn that he came from Bukit Nuang or Benuang, a hill near the headwaters of the Labu, an important tributary of the Langat.

⁷ 'Bukit Galah' was said to have taken its name from a boat-pole near its foot, to which the Chinese used to moor their boats 'when the sea washed the base of the hill,' now far inland.

⁸ 'Batin Galang,' i.e. B. Mêrak
And pushed to the sea, and made the Sea-Folk, and the Sea-Folk grew into the Pirates. The Coco-palm chief dwelt at Selayan, The Betel-palm chief dwelt at Selayan, With Cherteng, Perting, Tągun, Bregò, And the 'Watcher's-Stump' on the Upper Langat, With Ching, Beránang, Pejam, Gebok, The Hanging Langkap-palm, Bangkong Menggoh, The Ivory Bangkong, Kechau, Lang-lang,

Galang, was a well-known Jakun chief frequently mentioned in tradition. He was said to be a son of Moyang Siamang. [Mérak has been conjectured to be the old Cambodian title Preâh (Brâh).]

1 'Selayan,' v. / 'Sarayon.’ This is obscure. Selayan (? Selayang) is the name of a place, possibly an abbreviation of Pantéi Layang-layang, a Jakun settlement in the same district, ‘Batin’ dropping out owing to its similarity to the word 'Batang.’ Or it may well be that we have here a reference to the two chiefs (Batin Gomok and Batin Mahabut) who are connected with the legend of the poisonous coco-palm and the betel-palm of Bukit Nuang and Bukit Galah respectively in this very neighbourhood (ep. i. 687, n. 1).

2 'Cherteng' and 'Perting' (or 'Paten') are names of places on the Ulu Langat River. 'Pateng is no doubt the same as Perting, a name which has been given to several rivers in various parts of the Peninsula.

3 'Tągun' was said to have been the name of a Batin in Ulu Klang, but if so, it here refers to a river which was named after him—no doubt the Tarun, near Bergul, on the Selangor-S. U. frontier.

4 'Bregò' was explained to me as = 'Batu Ber-grak,' or the 'Rocking Stone,' the name of a rock in Ulu Klang; but I think erroneously. It is probably a place called Bergul or Bregul in Ulu Langat, for which see n. 3, above.

5 'Tunggul Si Jaga,' the 'Stump of the Watcher,' was the name of a stump in a commanding position, near the River Langat (a little above Subang Hilang), from which a look-out used to be kept by pirates in the days when they infested the Langat River. The spot is still well known.

6 'Ching' is the name of a small stream flowing into the Langat near the mouth of the Beranang. It was said to be short for 'Kuching' or the 'Cat,' and that the name was given in conjunction with that of 'Beranang,' or 'the Swimmer'; the two streams getting their respective appellations from a cat that once swam across there. This story, however, is no doubt a plausible piece of popular etymology.

7 The 'Beránang' is a well-known tributary of the Upper Langat, giving its name to a portion of the district.

8 'Pejam' or 'Batang Pejam' and 'Gebok' (or Ribok) are said to be the names of two small streams near Setul, a place in S. Ujong territory quite near the Selangor frontier. The first is beyond Setul, the second just below it (3 m.).

9 'Langkap Berjuntei.' The 'Pendulous Langkap'-palm, a spot a long way up the Langat River.

10 'Bangkong Gadeng.' There are two or three spots connected with various kinds of Bangkong, which is a kind of wild 'chêmpédak' fruit—(1) Bangkong Menggoh, or the place of the 'Bangkong Menggoh' fruit; (2) Bangkong Gadeng, the place of the 'White (lît. Ivory) Bangkong' fruit, near Bukit Tonggoh, at K. Labu; (3) Tegar-Bangkong (or Tegâbangkong), the 'Bangkong Rapids.'

11 'Kechau, Lang-lang.' According to one version these two place-names were also given in conjunction = Kechau 'Lang-lang or the 'Place of the Quarrelling Kites.' This explanation, however, is no better than the Kuching and Beranang one, Kechau and Lang-lang being the names of two streams in the Ulu Langat district, the latter now better known as Sungai Lalang or 'Jungle -grass River,' though it was formerly known as Lang-lang.
The Rock of Jamun, Rock of Lalau,\footnote{\textquoteleft Batu Jâmun\textquoteright and \textquoteleft Batu Lalau\textquoteright are the names of two inaccessible \textquoteleft peaks\textquoteright among the hills of Ulu Klang; cp. the lines \textquoteleft Ada chengkui di-atas Bukit, Batu Lalau di-ulu Klang,' \textit{i.e.} \textquoteleft There grows the Love-plant upon the hills, At Lalau Rock in Ulu Klang.'  
\textquoteleft Pra\textquoteright Chârek,' the name of a hill, said to be near Ulu Têkar. A somewhat similar name, \textquoteleft Pra\textquoteright Lantei, is that of a Besisi settlement on the right bank of the Klang River, quite near the town of Klang. \textquoteleft Batu Bergéntel\textquoteright means Elephant Rock, locality uncertain, but probably in Ulu Klang.
\textquoteleft Merbau Ber-subang\textquoteright or \textquoteleft Merbau Karawang\textquoteright. There seems to be a spot called Merbau Ber-subang (the Pierced Merbau Tree) as well as one called Merbau Kârâwâng (the Merbau-tree with the laced bark), both near the banks of the Pejam, already referred to. Sometimes one form is used in this context, sometimes the other.
\textquoteleft Lêbah Bergoyang,' the \textquoteleft Swaying Bees\textquoteright-nest,' said to be the name of a spot where a bees\textquoteleft nest, depending from the branch of a tree, swayed miraculously to and fro without even a wind to rock it. \textquoteleft Bertam Tenung,' Name of a place called after a solitary (lit. `brooding\textquoteright) Bertam - palm, locality uncertain.
\textquoteleft Ginting Pauh.' \textquoteright Wild Mango-tree Divide,' and Lantei Nibong are said to be near Bangik, on the Upper Langat, not far from P\textquoteright rentian Rimpun.
\textquoteleft P\textquoteright rentian Rimpun\textquoteright is given as in the Ulu Semunyih, not far from S. Lalang (in Ulu Langat district), and said to be a point on the S. Ujong boundary.
\textquoteleft P\textquoteright rentian Tinggi.' Described as on the boundary between Rembau and S. Ujong (?). There are, however, several places of the name, and it is said to be one place name for the Ginting Bidei Pass from Selangor into Pahang.
\textquoteleft Tanjong Batu Berdaun\textquoteright is described as being in Malacca territory.
\textquoteleft Adek Ber-têchâp.' A better reading is Nyai Têchâp (or Tichap), Nyai being an old Malayan title (now obsolete) which was applied to respectable women. Nyai Têchâp was the younger sister of the Mosquito-net Chief (To\textquoteright Klambu), the latter of whom \textquoteleft now lives at Durian Châbang Tiga, beyond Rahang\textquoteright; Nyai Têchâp herself resided near Pantei Layang-Layang, or \textquoteleft Swallow Beach\textquoteright (=Selayan or Selayang), which is now the residence of the To\textquoteright Klana of S. Ujong.
\textquoteleft Round coat.' This seems to be a Jakun nickname for the undivided coat, \textit{i.e.} a loose jacket with the opening a very short way down the front, just enough to admit of the garment being easily put on and off. The \textquoteleft Baju blah\textquoteright or divided jacket, on the other hand, is one which is divided all the way down the front. Evidently the legend here refers to the different costumes of two separate Malay tribes whose customs they severally borrowed, possibly those who followed the customs of the Temenggong and Perpati respectively.

The Besisi to this day wear the divided jacket commonly worn by the Malays of Selangor and Malacca (who...
The songs hitherto given are more or less definite compositions recognised by all the members of the tribe;¹ I will now give a specimen of what I believe to have been an actual improvisation, and which certainly possessed no recognisable metre:—

**SONG OF THE MONKEY-HUNTERS.**

Go now forth into the forest,
Taking with you a blowpipe,
A poison-case, and seven darts,
For shooting young coconut-monkeys.
One has been shot, struck to the heart,
And has fallen to the ground.
Cut a creeper wherewith to bind it.
Bind it on to your back and carry it home.
On reaching home, singe off its fur,
And poke off its skin.
Quarter it and give a portion to everybody,
And go craving for cooked meat no longer.
Put not in the 'asam kēlubi' fruits, for they are poisonous,
Put in 'kulim' leaves, turmeric, ginger,
'Kayu-k'lat' leaves, and spices, and 'kēsom.'
Take a rice-spoon and skim off into a palm-leaf,
And let every one eat together, each taking a little,
And go craving for the coconut-monkey's flesh no longer.
After eating your fill, rise and get cigarettes,
And when you have finished them, lie down and rest,
And when you have rested, sleep.

**Mantra.**—We are informed by Logan that the musical instruments used by the Mantra were the 'salong,'² and the bamboo 'guitar' or 'kēranting.'³

The tambourine ('rēbana') and drum ('gendang') were, however, also employed by them, and their only

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¹ Although somewhat modified by interpolations and omissions, and also occasionally by alteration in the order of the lines, the general tenor and form of these songs does not appreciably vary.

² *Sir* = 'suling' (?).

³ On this latter instrument, Mr. Blagden informs me, a special tune was played by the Mantra of Malacca to attract their game. Similarly the Jew's harp ('rēgoin') was used for imitating the note of the 'chēbau' bird.
resource, when troubled in mind, was to comfort themselves by singing.\(^1\)

But by far the best and most complete account of a Mantra festival is that given by Logan, who tells us that, at these feasts, a large Balei having been constructed, and abundance of Tampoi wine\(^2\) prepared, all the members of the tribe from the whole country round were invited,—all the families under one particular Batin being the feast-givers. A string made of rattan or some similar material, with knots tied in it to indicate the number of days assigned to the feast, was sent to each of the other Batins. Each of these Batins then assembled all his own people, men, women, and children, who repaired in their best clothes to the place of the feast. If any Batin failed to attend, he incurred a fine of twenty rupees.\(^3\) The Penglima received them at the door of his Balei or Hall with a cup of Tampoi wine, and took from them their spears and other weapons. They then entered the Balei, and danced round it thrice with their arms akimbo, after which they sat down and partook of betel-leaf. A meal of rice, yams, and the flesh of wild hogs, monkeys, fish, coconuts, etc., was then served. When this banquet was over the Tampoi wine was again brought forward, and all partook freely of it, with the exception of children under six or seven years of age. Dancing then commenced, and was kept up all night, and often to the middle of next day, those who were exhausted lying down to sleep in the Balei, husband and wife together. During the dance they were cheered with the music of tambourines, drums, and flutes. The

\(^1\) *J. I. A. vol. i. p. 330*.
\(^2\) The fermented juice of the fruit of the Tampoi tree.
\(^3\) *Sic, quære ‘dollars.’*
women danced together in the centre of the Balei, each grasping the arm of her neighbour, and the men danced round them. One of the men sang or chanted a stanza, generally impromptu, and one of the women answered. The dancing consisted of a peculiar shuffling and stamping of the feet, and the only noticeable difference between that of the men and the women was that the latter kept swaying the hips to and fro at every step. An abundance of sugar-canes and plantains were hung round the Balei, and every one helped himself when he chose. These feasts were kept up for weeks, and even for months, and, in fact, only came to an end when the supply of Tampoi wine failed. Guests came and went while it lasted. Parties daily repaired to the forest in search of game and fruits. During the Tampoi feast many matches were made, and as little negotiation, and less ceremony, was needed, it sometimes happened that a pair who had no thought of marriage in the morning, found themselves at night reposing side by side in the chains of wedlock, while the dance and song were kept up beside them.¹

M. Borie adds, that the favourite instrument among the Mantra women was a sort of guitar called 'k'rantı,' and which, in practised hands, gave forth sweet and varied music.² They also play the (Malay) violin.³

But no account of the musical instruments of the Mantra would be complete without some mention of the ingenious 'Æolian bamboos,' already mentioned in the account of the Besisi. On this point M. Borie says, that the month of January was the one

Model made for me by a Besisi Chief to illustrate the Songs, and in that respect perhaps unique, representing the pursuit of game (hornbills, pigeons, monkeys, etc.), by Besisi with the blowpipe. The man on the right is supposed to be using the blowpipe, and the man on the left to be climbing a tree after a wounded bird or monkey. (See Besisi Songs, pp. 147 et seq.)
Group of Aborigines with Fiddles, Charau, Malacca.

The man in the centre is the Malay Penghulu of the village.

Group of Aborigines with Fiddles, Charau, Malacca.

Pâ' Makam (on the left) is the "neenck" (i.e., "grandfather") of the community. Pâ' Linggi, with the gun, is a tiger hunter.

in which the Mantra gave themselves up to the enjoyment of music. At that season the wind blows strongly, and the Mantra would place on the tops of the highest trees in the forests long bamboos with holes of different size between the nodes, so that the wind passing over these holes might produce musical sounds of various tones. The stronger the wind, and the larger the bamboo, the louder was the music. At other times they would make a kind of fife, with small pipes of bamboo, which they would also place on the tops of the trees, after the manner of a weather-cock.¹

M. Borie adds that on their days of rejoicing (after sowing or gathering in the rice), a festival would be given, at which, after the banquet, two men, armed with long wooden swords, would engage in mock fight; advancing, retiring, thrusting, parrying, and making the most ludicrous gestures and contortions. At other times they would simulate a hunt of monkeys.²

Jakun of Johor.—The Jakun had some knowledge of music. They had several songs which they had received from their ancestors, or which they had made themselves, entirely by the ear, for they had not the remotest idea of any musical notation. These songs of theirs were generally rude, and agreed perfectly with the austere aspect of their habitations; they might even, too, be heard singing in a melancholy tone during the night. But these songs, though rude, were not altogether disagreeable to European ears, if the latter were not too delicate. It was surprising to find that though they were entirely

² Ibid.
ignorant of European music, which they had never heard, yet, in a great many of their songs, they proceeded by thirds and fifths, assuredly without being aware of it, but guided only by the ear; a fact which confirms the opinion of those European musicians who hold that the third, the fifth, and the octave are found in nature itself. Some authors speak of a kind of violin, and of a rude flute used by the Jakun, who also use two kinds of drum resembling those of the Peninsular Malays.¹

**Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.**

0. Laut Akik.—The only remark that I have met with in reference to the music of the Sea-Jakun is that of Newbold, who states that the Orang Laut (of the ‘Akik’ tribe) were passionately fond of music, especially that of the violin.²

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² Newbold, loc. cit. ii. 413, 414.

On the above passage Mr. Blagden writes me that, “speaking generally,” he thinks “the Jakun tribes, and particularly the Mantra, have a greater love of and aptitude for music than the Malays, and that the tunes they play are more pleasing to the European ear than most oriental music. Their tunes would be worth collecting and studying.”
CHAPTER VI.

NATURAL RELIGION AND FOLK-LORE.

The question of the religious beliefs of these races, subjected as they have been to such a fire of cross-influences, is surrounded by so many difficulties, that I may perhaps be excused for stating these first before setting down my own conclusions. At present the information that we possess on this most intricate of questions is not only very partial and incomplete, but also, in some cases, self-contradictory.

Many discrepancies must, I fear, in the first instance be attributed to ignorance of the value of the scientific terminology which has in recent years grown up around the subject of religion, using that word in its widest sense. Ignorance of this kind often prevents the ordinary untrained observer from recognising as a God anything that does not exactly correspond to the monotheistic conceptions of Christianity. On the other hand, a no less serious difficulty is created by those who (generally, I am sure, in all good faith) read into their observations the religious ideas by which they are most interested, or who rely upon informants who are simply saying what they think will please. The most remarkable instance of this kind is that of M. Borie (a French Roman Catholic missionary at Malacca), who stated of the Mantra, that "their religious books,
which had long since been lost, appeared to have been in all particulars according to the religion of Raja Brahil (still called by the Malays ‘Nabi Isa,’ or ‘Tuan Isa,’ the Lord Jesus).” Raja Brahil, however, which is a corruption of “Raja Jēbrail,” is in reality the Archangel Gabriel (who is sometimes regarded as the special protector of these tribes), the phrase being borrowed directly from the Malays, and indirectly from Arabic sources. It is also impossible to believe, from what we know of them now, that the Mantra (in spite of M. Borie’s ingenious supposition) ever had any religious books, or that they even knew the use of the alphabet, whilst the idea of pronouncing them to be a broken sect of Christians is nothing short of absurd. An additional difficulty lies in the extraordinary shyness and timidity common to all the Peninsula races, which in many cases is scarcely surpassed by anything of which we read among savage tribes in other parts of the world.

It is therefore hard to devise any analysis that will show at a glance the state of the case, but I believe when all the evidence is weighed and the errors eliminated, it will be found that generally speaking—

(a) The Semang religion, in spite of its recognition of a “Thunder-god” (Kari) and certain minor “deities,” has very little indeed in the way of ceremonial, and appears to consist mainly of mythology and legends. It shows remarkably few traces of demon-worship,

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1 See Vanhille on “Radja Bērāl,” (Ind. Gids, 1902), and compare the Arabic “Fīrman” (“Decree of God”), which (say the Malays) takes the form of “Firman” or “Pirmal” among some of these tribes, and the obvious “Allah Ta‘āla,” mentioned by Mr. Bellamy. Similar corruptions of the Arabic attributes of Allah occur in Borneo, and corruptions of words of Sanskrit origin are also occasionally found in the Peninsula, e.g. the Jakun “Jewa·jewa” (= Malay “Dewa·dewa”), which is used in the sense of a minor deity. The tradition of a lost book is an idea common among the tribes of Indo-China; cp. vol. i. pp. 378, 391, 536, and infra, 347.
very little fear of ghosts of the deceased, and still less of any sort of animistic beliefs.

(δ) The Sakai religion, whilst admitting a great quasi-deity, who is known under various names, yet appears to consist almost entirely of demon-worship; this takes the form of the Shamanism so widely spread in south-east Asia, the Shaman or Medicine-man ("hālā") being the acknowledged link between man and the world of spirits. In the words of Mr. Hale, it is a form of "demon-worship in which demons (Hantu) are prayed to, but not God (Allah)."

(ε) The religion of the Jakun is the pagan or pre-Mohammedan (Shamanistic) creed of the Peninsular Malays, with the popular part of whose religion (as distinct from its Mohammedan element) it has much in common. It shows no trace of the tendency to personify abstract ideas found among the Semang, and its deities (if they can be so called) are either quite otiose or a glorified sort of tribal ancestors, round whom miraculous stories have collected. The few elements that it has in common with the Semang religion are no doubt due to cultural contact.

Of this pagan creed J. R. Logan has remarked that there can be little doubt that the Benua have derived their theistic ideas from a Hindu or Islamised race. The basis of their religion and religious practices is Poyangism, in itself a species of milder Shamanism, and this they have united in a very remarkable manner to a mixture of theism and demonism; the one either of Hindu origin, as is most probable, or borrowed from the Arabs through some partially converted tribe of Malays; and the other having a considerable resemblance to the primitive allied religions of the Dayaks of Borneo on the one side, and the Bataks of Sumatra
on the other. The mode in which the three systems have been united so as to be amalgamated into a consistent whole is deserving of consideration. Poyangism remains almost unimpaired, or rather the Poyang, while assuming the character of priest, and to a certain extent abandoning that of wizard, retains in effect his old position. He still commands the demons by incantations and supplications, and their power rather than his own has been subordinated to the deity. At the same time this idea of an ultimate and supreme creator has not greatly altered their conceptions of the demons. Originally, impersonations of the vital and destructive forces of nature—or the recognition in nature, through the first union of reason and imagination in faith of a spiritual power which animates, destroys, survives, and perpetually renews the visible forms and forces of the world,—their presence was still allowed to fill the sensible; and nature herself both material and spiritual was subjected to God. That extramundane theism which pervades many higher religions, adapted to the ancient belief, left the demons in the possession of the world, and if it rendered their power derivative instead of self-subsisting, it also entirely excluded men from the presence of the deity. While by his supreme power and omniscience he could control all things, he remained to them a God afar off.¹

Similarly amongst the Berembun tribes we recognise a pure Shamanism, with its accompanying charms and talismans; a living faith fresh from the ancient days of eastern and middle Asia—preserving

¹ *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 280. As regards the Indian element, Vaughan-Stevens' editor, Grünwedel (one of the greatest living authorities on Buddhism), in his Introduction and notes to the *Materialen*, points out all the facts which appear to him to indicate Buddhist influence.
its pristine vigour and simplicity even in the present century,—untouched by the Buddhistic deluge which has passed over the vast regions of south-eastern Asia, and has sent so many waves to different parts of the Archipelago, and resisting the pressure of the Islamism which surrounds it.¹

The Poyang and Pawang of the various Jakun tribes, the B’lians of the Dayaks, and the Dato’ and the Si Basso of the Bataks, are one and all the Shaman, the Priest-medicineman, in different shapes.²

**Analysis of Chief Deities of the Three Races.**

The most important points in the description of the character of the chief god of each of the three races may be stated as follows:—

I.—**Kari.**³

(1) He is of supernatural size and has fiery breath, but is now invisible (?).⁴

(2) He is not described as immortal, though a belief of this kind may perhaps be inferred from the fact of his having existed continuously from before the creation.

(3) He created everything except the earth and mankind, and when Ple had created the latter Kari gave them souls.⁵

(4) If not omniscient, he at least knows whenever men do wrong, and his will is omnipotent.

(5) He is angered by the commission of certain acts, but sometimes shows pity and pleads with Ple on man’s behalf when the latter (their actual creator) is angry.⁶

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¹ The following remarks by Logan apply to the Jakuns in general:—"Here I only remark, with reference to the incantations, charms, and other superstitions of the Mantra, that the greater part appear to be essentially native [the Arabic portions having been added or substituted by Malays]—that is, they have not borrowed from the Hindus or Arabs, but have assumed their peculiar form from the state in which the tribe has existed on the Peninsula from time immemorial, while, in substance, they have been transmitted directly from the same common source to which a large part of the inhabited world must refer its earliest superstitions. The religion of the Mantra is the primitive heathenism of Asia, which, spreading far to the east and west, was associated with the religions of the eldest civilised nations, for it flourished in ancient Egypt, before the Hebrews were a people, in Greece and Rome, and bids fair to outlast Hinduism in many parts of India." (Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 329*, 330*, and cp. *ibid.* pp. 279-282).

² *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 282, 283.

³ Another form is "Karē" ("Thunder"), but V.-Stevens has "Kayee" (= "Kayi").

⁴ Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 132, 133.


⁶ Vol. i. p. 421, *supra.*
He is the supreme judge of souls, and as he is the giver of life, has however also to destroy it. When he is angry he slays men by means of lightning direct, or by means of a beast called Tinjui.

This, however, appears to be of very rare occurrence, as he usually leaves the killing to be done by his messengers.

He requires at intervals the sacrifice of blood, but does not, however, make any use of it. For the offering of this sacrifice a form of address is prescribed, though this is the only direct example of any sort of prayer being addressed to him.

His servants are Sentiu and Chini (which pace Vaughan-Stevens may possibly = Chin-oi), "Tā' Pōnn" and "Minang."

To sum up, Kari possesses many attributes usually ascribed to a deity, but since he lacks (with one doubtful exception) an actual cult, it would perhaps be best to regard him as a mythological person, analogous to the patron saints of Europe.

Of Ple much less is known than of Kari. Ple was, however, the creator of the earth (under Kari's direction), as well as the first actual creator of the human race (as represented by the Semang), on whose behalf he pleads with Kari when the latter is angry. Unlike Kari, Ple has no acknowledged form of cult whatever, unless perhaps we may recognise in the story of the woman who when a tree was falling upon her shrieked to Ple to save her, some faint reminiscence of a cult that has long ceased to exist. In addition to the foregoing there are several other great spirits of whom the chief are Tā' Pōnn and Minang.

II.—TUHAN.

An analysis of the character of the Sakai "God" under his various names (Tuhan, Pirman, or Peng), shows that he occupies very much the same place in

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1 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 117.
2 Vol. i. p. 421 supra.
3 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 107-109.
4 Ibid. pp. 132, 133.
5 For this whole description cp. Man's description of Puluga, the "God" of the Andamanese (Man's And. p. 80 seq.).
6 "Peng"—sic Vaughan-Stevens. It may be doubted whether the first two names at least are not rather of Malay or Malayo-Arabic origin.
the Sakai cosmogony as is occupied by Kari and Ple in that of the Semang.

(1) He is of supernatural size and invisible (?).
(2) He is immortal (?).
(3) He is not definitely mentioned as the creator, but presides over the existing universe, having the power of life and death over the human race and the spiritual world alike; he appears as the champion of man against both demons and wild beasts.
(4) No statement is made as to his omniscience, except that he invariably knows when man does wrong.
(5) He is angered at the commission of certain acts ("the Sakai think they must have done wrong before he lets the demons attack them"), but may also show mercy.
(6) He is the supreme and final judge of souls (Granny Long-breasts applying the preliminary test by washing the souls in hot water). He alone has power either to grant life or refuse it both to man and demon.
(7) His punishments are inflicted by means of his agents, the demons.

III.—TUHAN DI-BAWAH.

The more advanced in civilisation the tribes with whom we have to deal, and the closer their connection in particular with the Malays, the harder becomes the task of eliciting from them any definite statements with regard to their own belief in a deity. For by far the most part of the Jakun tribes when questioned upon this subject are accustomed to reply that there is a God whose name they give as "Tuhan" or "Tuhan Allah," the God of their Mohammedan neighbours the Malays. Among the Mantra, however, and doubtless among other Jakun tribes, if the matter were more thoroughly investigated, there does undoubtedly exist a belief, shadowy though it be, in a deity, and this independently of Arabic sources. There are in fact, as among the Semang, traces of a dualistic system, wherein two great mythological powers are

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1 Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 131. This account and the name "Gendui Lanjut" are Malayan (Jakun) in character, but the general lack of precision and the mixed nature of Vaughan-Stevens' material, which in more than one case is admitted, precludes the drawing of a hard-and-fast line between the races in his case.
2 Ibid. p. 163.
3 Ibid. pp. 130, 131.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid. p. 131.
6 I.e. "Lord of the Lower World."
recognised, a Lord of the Upper and a Lord of the Lower World. It is the latter to whom the creation of the earth is attributed, and who intervenes to protect mankind from the starvation consequent upon their own over-rapid increase, a result which he eventually achieves by the creation of Death.

Summary.

To sum up, it is evident that the deities recognised by these three races do not by any means adequately fulfil the common definitions of deity; for to take the test of "worship" alone, the only one of the three religions apparently possessing anything approaching a form of prayer addressed to a deity is the Semang, and even this only happens in a single instance (that of the Thunder-charm addressed to Kari). There is a tradition, but no proof, of an appeal to Tuhan on the part of the Sakai, but of prayers addressed either to Allah or Tuhan Di-bawah on the part of the Jakun there is hardly even the tradition. Yet there does not appear to be any reasonable doubt that three of these great spirits (at least Kari and Plē and possibly Tuhan Di-bawah) may, in consideration of the wideness of the gulf that separates them from the lesser spirits and demons (who are always dependent on and are in one case at least actually described as being created by them), be dignified (otiose though they are) by the higher title of Gods. But taking into account the effect of cultural influences, the most probable explanation of the present state of things may perhaps lie in the fact that the pressure of alien religions introduced by more strenuous races has driven the old heathen religion into the background, and that where
it has partially at least stood its ground, it has been first neutralised and then welded into one with the pervading elements of Hinduism and Islam. There have no doubt been other contributory causes; there may even have been a general tendency, as amongst many other races, to increase indefinitely the number of spirits who might be invoked, in the hope of obtaining more powerful succour, but in the medley of races that have gone to fill the Malay Peninsula, the former cause has probably been the more important.

**Analysis of Chief Spirits and Demons.**

We now come to the question of demonology, in which the souls or ghosts of the deceased still play a considerable part, since both the Sakai and Jakun are in the habit of deserting their encampments, and even in some cases their standing crops, upon the occurrence of a death from any violent sickness, so great is their terror lest the ghosts of the deceased should prey upon their own living bodies.

In this respect there is a wide gulf between the religion of these two races and that of the Semang. Among the latter demonology takes such a very mild form that it might be practically non-existent for all the effect that it has upon their movements. Vaughan-Stevens indeed declares in more than one passage, that the Semang do not believe in spirits at all, and though such a statement goes beyond the truth, it may at all events be safely said that the Semang very rarely allow themselves to be terrified by them.

In the following table an attempt is made to classify the spirits and demons of all three races according to their nature and origin:—
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Semang</th>
<th>Sakai</th>
<th>Jakun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Atmosphere-spirits—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jin Angin or Wind-Demon [Hale, 300].</td>
<td>Bes. — Jin Angin, the Wind-demon (Mal.) [W.S.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Wind-spirits.</td>
<td>Jin Maktok [Swett].</td>
<td>(not specified) [Hale, 300; V.-St. ii. 135].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Earth-spirits—</td>
<td>(kind not specified) [Swett].</td>
<td>1. H. Siburu [V.-St. ii. 135].</td>
<td>2. Bes. — H. Tinggi, or the Tall Demon (Mal.) [W.S.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Spirits of the soil.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. H. Tinggi [V.-St. ii. 135].</td>
<td>3. Bes. — Orang Bunyan [W.S.], also connected with shrines in different places [W.S.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Spirits of hills and mountains.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3. H. Baunan [V.-St. ii. 135].¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Spirits of the swamps.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Bes. — H. Gharu, or the Eaglewood Demon (Mal.) [W.S.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Bes. — H. Kapor, or the Camphor Demon (Mal.) [W.S.].</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Bes. — H. Gētah, or the Gutta Demon (Mal.) [W.S.]. (not recorded.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bes. — H. Sungei, or &quot;River Demon&quot; (Mal.) [W.S.].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Sīc ? Bunyan. It may be questioned whether these spirits of Vaughan-Stevens are not rather Malayan, as their names appear to show. On the other hand, in several cases they agree with those recorded by Hale, who writes of undoubted Sakai.
## GENERAL REMARKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Semang</th>
<th>Sakai</th>
<th>Jakun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II. Man-spirits—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Birth-demons.</td>
<td>(not recorded.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Demons of sinful lusts (of the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>dead, etc.)</td>
<td>(not recorded.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Demons of sickness and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>discomfort.</td>
<td>(not recorded.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(d) Ghosts of the dead.</td>
<td>Pang.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Myths.**

**Creation of Man.**

In some cases the Semang and Jakun legends bearing on the creation of man show a common impress, which is probably mainly due to the same “savage-Malay” element, of which there are such abundant traces in the dialects of both races. Among
both races, for instance, we find the idea that man at first multiplied so fast as to make the earth too crowded. Kari the Thunder-god (in the Semang story) slays them with his fiery breath, and thus reduces the number of mouths to be fed. In the Jakun legend, on the other hand, Tuhan Di-bawah, the Lord of the Underworld, turns half of them into trees for the same purpose. In both stories this check to the population proves insufficient, and Death is accordingly instituted by way of relief. By both races the same proverb is worked into the argument, viz., that it is better for the parents of each generation to die "like the Banana-tree," leaving their children behind them, than to have them increasing continually like the stars of the sky for multitude, as they are supposed to have done before the institution of Death.

This particular creation-legend is one of great interest, as it may possibly contain certain elements of real Semang mythology disseminated among the Jakun of Johor by the Semang tribes now largely absorbed by the Jakun in the south of the Peninsula. It is at all events interesting to note that, as far as the evidence of our records goes, the Semang are in the habit of personifying abstract ideas, such as Death, Hunger, Disease, and so forth, but that the pure-bred Jakuns (i.e. Malayans) are not. The racial factor in the two types of legend is in fact so different, that if only a sufficiently large number of both kinds could be collected, I am confident they could as a rule be separated without much difficulty.

A few legends will of course always be difficult to classify, and amongst these may perhaps be included the Jakun story that the mother of the first pair of men (Mërtertang and Bëlo) was called "Clod of Earth"
("Tānah Sa-kēpal"), and their father "Drop of Water" ("Ayer Sā-titek"), of which all that we can say is that it seems to have originated in some story to the effect that the first parents of the human race were formed from clay.

Ostensibly Semang, on the other hand, is the legend that Kari created everything but man, whose creation he desired Ple to effect, and that when Ple had done so, Kari himself gave them souls. The Semang story of the dialogue between the baboon and the first parents of the human race may quite possibly be distantly connected with the widely prevalent Jakun legend ascribing the origin of mankind to a pair of white apes.

Another interesting legend on the same subject was the Land-Jakun (Mantra) myth that in the early days of the world man did not die, but grew thin with the waning of the moon, and waxed fat as she neared the full.¹

In yet other Jakun stories, which however are probably, in the main at least, of Malayan origin, the founder of the race is described as a person who "fell from heaven," or who was discovered in some miraculous way, e.g. in the interior of the stem of a giant bamboo.

Before quitting this subject, I may perhaps mention the Jakun references to miraculous forms of birth, such as the Mantra tradition of a certain race of Demons ("Setan") whose children instead of being born in the ordinary way, were "pulled out of the pit of the stomach." Akin to this was the Jakun legend of the first woman "whose children were produced out of the calves of her legs."

¹ J. R. A. S. No. 10, p. 190.
World-Cataclysms.

The same remarkable parallelism that we found in their legends of the creation appears in other Semang and Jakun traditions of floods, which though at first sight might be thought to be Deluge-legends, may be more correctly classed as myths of the "origin of the sea" type. According to the Semang legend of the Rainbow, a great dragon or snake in ancient times broke up the skin of the earth, so that the world was overwhelmed with water. According to the Mantra it was a giant turtle that brought the water up from below through a hole in the ground, from among the roots of a "pulai" tree, thus causing a flood which developed afterwards into the ocean.\(^1\) A Benua account, which is the fullest of the three, refers besides to a kind of vessel in which the first parents of the race are alleged to have effected their escape from drowning. According to the traditions of both Semang and Benua, moreover, it is the mountains that give fixity to the earth's skin.

It is perhaps worth remarking that the various allusions to the destruction caused by fire seem to point to the former prevalence of some myth of an universal conflagration from which the ancestors of mankind escaped with difficulty, and which was more or less analogous to the tradition of the flood.\(^2\)

Natural Phenomena.

The firmament or sky, in the opinion of the Semang and the Jakun, is built in three tiers, the two

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\(^1\) For the Mantra version see p. 339, infra. The Benua version (p. 356) ascribes the breaking up of the skin of the earth, and the consequent deluge which ensued, to Pirman, i.e. Tuhan.

\(^2\) Of Last-Day beliefs, we have the Moon-Man's nooses and impending fall of the sky-pot of the Mantra (319, infra), the hatching of the stone eggs of the Sakai World-eagle (237, infra), and perhaps the Man v. Demon battle of the Tembeh (App.).
Upper tiers, which are regarded as the Paradise of the blest, being filled with wild fruit-trees, whilst the third or lowest tier contains the low and brooding clouds that bring sickness to mankind.

All three races have versions of the widely-spread tradition of the Paradise-bridge, which leads across a boiling lake into which the souls of the wicked are precipitated.

The entrances of heaven and hell (according to the Semang legends) are close together in the west, and a third place (a species of Hyperborean region) which is also found in them, is described in the traditions of some Jakun tribes as well. There are separate hells for various races of mankind, and yet others for animals and snakes.

As might be expected, a good deal of the mythology of these tribes is taken up with the traditions of the heavenly bodies, all of which are alike personified, many of the stories dealing with the marriages or conflicts of the sun and moon, and the chequered fortunes of their children the stars.

In one of the Mantra stories the sun is described as not having been created till after one of the floods to which I have referred.

The moon is by some of these tribes (e.g. the Besisi) identified with the Island of Fruit (the Jungle Paradise), which, if we take the evidence of one of the songs of the same tribe, is preceded by a "Garden

1 "Kelonsong Awan" (p. 207, infra).
2 A form of this Bridge-myth is found among the Andamanese, who describe it as a bridge of invisible cane through the sky (see Man's And. p. 94).
3 The chief of the Heaven of Fruit-trees is called Penghulu by the Semang, but this clearly corresponds to the Granny Long-breasts of the Semang, a dog among the Jakun, etc. The choicest heaven is reserved not for the good, but for the old and wise.
of Flowers." It is the moon, again, into which Gaffer Engkoh is said to have climbed, and which in several traditions is described as the habitation of the Jakun "Man in the Moon" ("Nenek Kabayan").

Fire.

The Sakai regard Fire as a mystical emanation from the power of Tuhan, which owing to its divine origin is the destroyer of evil. The Sakai point of view is best expressed by their tradition of the washing of the wicked souls\(^1\) in boiling water. They have learnt that whilst Fire annihilates, Water softens and purifies, and hold therefore that Tuhan showed mercy in mitigating with Water the effect of the Fire, which would have destroyed the soul itself in destroying its sin-spots. As things are, however, the Fire only destroys the collective wickedness of the souls washed in the copper, which latter resembles, according to the Sakai, "a red-hot cauldron, in which a remnant of Upas-poison is burning away."\(^2\)

Animal Myths and Beliefs.

Of the tiger's origin we have no account from the Semang side, though several different stories are told by the Jakun of the way in which it was metamorphosed out of various inferior animals. The most usual version of the story appears to be the Jakun one, which derives the tiger's origin from a dog belonging to a chief (the dog being, as a rule, the only animal domesticated by the Jakun).

So too Hervey in his *Mantra Traditions* relates

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\(^1\) According to the Besisi it is only the souls of those who commit incest ("sumbang") that are thus treated.\(^2\) Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 130.
that Bëlö (one of the first ancestors of mankind) kept a dog at his house; from this dog came the tiger that devours mankind (the "Smooth-skinned" race) as contrasted with animals (the "Furred" or "Rough-skinned").

To the wild bull (Seladang) there is a solitary reference in the collection of Mantra traditions which we owe to Hervey. The same remark applies to the mouse-deer (Kanchil), who was promised by To' Entah (as its reward for rescuing him from the giant turtle), the leaves of the sweet-potato (K'ledek). The tapir and the manis are referred to in the Semang legends, the crocodile in the Blandas account of the origin of the tiger, and many other animals in the Besisi songs.

We find among the Jakun a curious pre-Darwinian version of the evolution of man from the ape, the ape selected for this distinction being the *Hylobates syndactylus*, which, as a matter of fact, is really nearer to man than *Macacus* or even than the "Orang-outang."

Borie informs us that he had several times been "quite seriously" assured by the Mantra that they were all descended from two white apes ("ungka putih"). These white apes, having reared their young ones, sent them out into the plains, and there they "perfected" themselves so well that both they and their descendants became men; whilst others, on the contrary, who returned to the mountains, still remained apes.

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1 A grosser fable ascribing the origin of the tiger to the frog and Baginda Ali is also given by Hervey (*J.R.A.S.*, S.B., No. 3, 110-112).  
2 Page 73.  
3 An identical story is given by Newbold, who relates that their children were four in number. "White among the Benuas appears to be regarded . . . as a sacred colour. The former have their white siamang, their white alligator, and their white ungka " (Newbold, ii. 395, 396). Cp. also the Semang story of the baboon and the first parents of mankind.
The white siamang or "ungka" is, moreover, one of the embodiments in which the soul of a deceased chieftain is believed by the Sakai to take refuge.

The *Macacus* or baboon is also referred to in Semang traditions. There is, for instance, the baboon who acted as adviser to the first parents of mankind, as well as the gigantic baboon which by some Negrito tribes is believed to guard the Paradise-bridge, and which according to another Semang account was "as big as a hill" and prevented unauthorised souls from entering Paradise to steal the fruit.

Of the smaller animals may be mentioned the dog (a reddish-furred wild dog, *Canis rutilans*), which is not only believed by the Jakun to have been the prototype of the tiger, but is also among some Jakun tribes (*e.g.* the Besisi of Selangor) believed to guard the bridge that leads to Paradise.

The big old "monitor" or "lace" lizard, which is called "Bagenn" by the Semang, is credited by them with being the originator of a proverb which among the Jakun is assigned to Bêlo, one of the first progenitors of the human race. Moreover, according to a Jakun tradition (given by Borie) it was on the skin of a monitor that their (mythical) sacred books were said to have been written. One of the small grass-lizards or skinks (as we are told by Hervey in his collection of Mantra traditions), is connected with the returning to life of this same Bêlo, the reptile being mutilated by Mërtang, Bêlo's brother.¹

Of the squirrel ("tupai") there does not seem to be any special tradition, though tufts of squirrel tails

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¹ This may be a Malay idea, or be held by the Jakun in common with the Malays. It evidently refers to the belief that the lizard is somehow connected with the soul (*e.g.* of a deceased medicine-man or magician). Cp. *Malay Magic*, p. 325; and see also Birth-customs, p. 26, *ante.*
are worn on necklaces, probably for reasons of magic.

To the flying-fox there are also one or two references. It is when roasted a favourite dish of the Sakai, and it forms the subject of one of the tribal songs of the Besisi. The bone of a flying-fox was also included in a list of royal insignia belonging to the hereditary Chief of Jelébu, who was said to be descended in part from Jakun ancestors.

There is no trace of totemism among the Semang.¹

Transformation.

The power of self-transformation (into the tiger) claimed by a few of the more accomplished medicine-men, as in many other parts of the world, is probably not to be connected with the transmigration theory, whereby it is held that the soul of a dead chief may enter a tiger. The B'lian is the tiger in the Peninsula as in Africa the hyena is the wizard. There does not appear to be any trace of such a belief among the Andamanese, but as it is almost universal among the other tribes of the same region, I am inclined to ascribe this merely to the absence of tigers from the Andaman Islands. On the other hand, it is a fact worth noting that a small "tiger's-claw knife," called "b'ladau," such as is used by the "leopard-men" of Africa, is still in use both among the Sumatran and the Peninsular Malays, and it may possibly be that these wild (Peninsular) tribes first "made believe" to be tigers with the object of impressing their more civilised neighbours with all the fear they could, an object in which they obtained a considerable measure of success.

¹ See p. 260, infra.
**Birds.**

But the most interesting of all the Semang myths are those representing various birds as vehicles for the introduction of the soul into the new-born child, a full account of which will be found under Birth-customs. The Argus-pheasant, on the other hand, is connected by the Sakai with lunacy,¹ the ground-dove appears in one of the Semang creation-myths, and finally there is the white cock into which the soul of a deceased ancestor is believed by the Jakun to have migrated. But taking all references to birds into consideration, it is certainly remarkable that so little in the nature of divination by birds or augury has yet been recorded of any tribes whatever in the Malay Peninsula.

**Legends and Ideas about Plants and Trees.**

Among the Semang plant-legends is that of the flowers that were planted by Pie to serve as models for the designs of Disease patterns. Another is that of the epiphyte, upon which the Diseases were laid by the Winds who were carrying them. Yet another is the Semang legend of the origin of the blowpipe patterns explaining why some trees have smooth and others prickly fruits, and why some fruits are sweet and some are acid. To these may be added the Mantra tradition of the period when one-half of mankind were turned into trees by Tuhan Di-bawah, and the Semang "birth-tree" and "name-tree," for which see "Birth-customs."

In the legends of the Jakun we are told that the

¹ Z. f. E. xxvi. 169.
ark was made of "pulai" wood. This is a very light wood obtained from the roots of a species of *Alstonia*, which forms the native substitute for cork in these regions, and is used by the Malays for the floats of their fishing-nets.

It is upon a "pulai" tree, moreover, that the Birth-demons called "Lang-hue" are supposed by the Blandas to sit at night.

The proverb about the banana-tree ("pisang") should be referred to here. It is found both among the Semang and the Jakun.

The Semang practice of wearing leaves and screw-pine blossom upon the head as a safeguard against falling trees is explained by an appropriate myth.

In the legends of Kari we are told that the Semang soon got numerous by living on fruits.

Of Ple it is related that he ate fruit and threw away the seeds, which grew up into trees and bore fruit in the course of a single night, and this is not the only story connecting the name of Ple with fruit. Elsewhere, for instance, he is associated with the account in which the origin of certain red and white jungle fruit is described.

The "kēnudai" fruit is connected in the traditions of the Blandas with the origin both of the tiger and the crocodile.

The large, prickly, uneatable fruit with which the giant baboon pelts the would-be invaders of the Land of Fruit-trees, is a kind of "false" (i.e. "valueless") durian called "durian aji."

Other ideas about plants which may here be mentioned are the belief that the breast-painting (of a Sakai man) represents a sort of *Polypodium*, the

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1 See p. 184, ante.
2 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 132.
sporangia of which were bruised in water and squirted over the happy pair on the occasion of the wedding ceremony; and also that the patterns of the face-painting represented another fern, with the juice of which the Sakai youths were sprinkled at adolescence.

The Soul.\(^1\)

The Eastern Semang (Pangan) of Kelantan informed me that each man possessed a soul which was shaped like himself, but that it was "red like blood"\(^2\) and "no bigger than a grain of maize." It was passed on by the mother to the child, but in what way they could not explain.

The Eastern Semang further informed me that the soul of a B'lian (priest, chief, and magician) entered after death into the body of some wild animal, such as an elephant, tiger, or rhinoceros. In this embodiment it remained until the beast died, when it was admitted into the Upper Heaven (of Fruits).

The souls of ordinary people were variously represented as being compelled to cross the boiling lake by means of a tree-bridge (from which the wicked slip off into the lake below them), and as being sent to a different and a far less inviting Paradise.\(^3\)

But the most novel soul-theory ascribed to the Semang is that recorded by Vaughan-Stevens, who states that according to the Semang belief all human souls grew upon a soul-tree in the other world, whence they were fetched by a bird, which was killed and eaten

\(^{1}\) Not the soul as understood by modern Christians, but the soul of magical (pre-Christian and extra-Christian) ideas, which may be seen in old English woodcuts escaping in the form of a mannikin from between the neck and shoulders of the dying. It is the Malay "sémanvat."

\(^{2}\) Cp. Man's And. p. 94: "The colour of the soul is said to be red, . . . and though invisible, it partakes of the form of the person to whom it belongs."

\(^{3}\) Man's And. p. 94.
by the expectant mother. The souls of animals and fishes were conveyed in a somewhat similar way, i.e. through the eating by the parent of certain fungi and grasses.

Of Sakai beliefs concerning the soul our records are of the scantiest description. It will probably be, however, found that the Sakai conception of the soul does not appreciably conflict with that of the Semang, and that the real difficulty in treating Semang and Sakai religion will be to discover their points of difference.

“To ask whether the soul is immortal appears,” says Letessier, “the height of strangeness—‘And how could it die? It is like the air!’” was the answer of an old Jakun of Bukit Layang, to whom he put this question.

The Sakai, like the Semang, attach much weight to dreams, and are firm believers in metempsychosis. The soul after death is repeatedly washed by “Granny Longbreasts,” in order to purify it from its stains, in a cauldron of boiling water, after which it is made to walk along the flat side of a monstrous chopper with which she bridges the cauldron, the bad souls falling in and the good escaping to the land of Paradise.1

The beliefs of the Jakun and Orang Laut appear to be very similar to those of the civilised Malays, but very little indeed has been hitherto collected about them.

In a Besisi legend both people and animals are described as having seven souls, a number which agrees exactly with Malay ideas on the same subject.

The same tribe closely connect the soul with the shadow, and build little hutches beside the grave for the soul to dwell in when it issues from the earth, and

1 Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 130.
in other ways certainly carry to a far greater degree than the Semang, and perhaps even further than most Sakai tribes, the arrangements believed by them to be necessary for the soul's maintenance and comfort throughout the period during which it lingers in the neighbourhood of the grave.

The Priestly Office.

As among the Malays, the accredited intermediary between gods and men is in all cases the medicine-man or sorcerer. In the Semang tribes the office of chief medicine-man appears to be generally combined with that of chief, but amongst the Sakai and Jakun these offices are sometimes separated, and although the chief is almost invariably a medicine-man of some repute, he is not necessarily the chief medicine-man, any more than the chief medicine-man is necessarily the administrative head of the tribe. In both cases there is an unfailing supply of aspirants to the office, though it may be taken for granted that, all else being equal, a successful medicine-man would have much the best prospect of being elected chief, and that in the vast majority of cases his priestly duties form an important portion of a chief's work.¹

The medicine-man is, as might be expected, duly credited with supernatural powers. His tasks are to preside as chief medium at all the tribal ceremonies, to instruct the youth of the tribe, to ward off as well as to heal all forms of sickness and trouble, to foretell

¹ "They have neither a king nor a chief, except that title be applied to a person called Poyang ('Puyung'), who decides on every case laid before him, and whose opinion is invariably adopted. Having no religion, they are destitute of priests (sic), their only teacher being the Poyang, who instructs them in all matters pertaining to sorcery, evil spirits, ghosts, etc., in which they firmly believe" (Begbie, pp. 13, 14).
the future (as affecting the results of any given act), to avert when necessary the wrath of heaven, and even when re-embodied after death in the shape of a wild beast, to extend a benign protection to his devoted descendants.

Among the Sakai and the Jakun he is provided with a distinctive form of dress and body-painting, and carries an emblematic wand or staff by virtue of his office.

Sacred Spots and Shrines.

We have as yet no record of the use of "high places" or shrines among the pure Negritos, and perhaps naturally so, since the idea of regarding a specific locality as sacred could only grow up with the greatest difficulty among tribes who are so essentially nomadic that they never stay more than four or five nights in a single spot.

By the Sakai and Jakun, however, such sacred spots are certainly set apart, incense being burnt there and vows registered, invariably, I believe, in the hopes of obtaining some material advantage.¹

In addition to these shrines, however, there are also to be seen, in the districts inhabited by the Sakai and Jakun, what may be termed medicine-houses. These houses either take the form of solitary cells erected in the depths of the forest (in which case the magician keeps a selection of his charms and spells in them), or (more frequently) that of diminutive shelters made from the leaves of a palm called "dèmpong," which are built to screen the medicine-man

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 141.
and his patient from view during the performance of the ceremony of exorcism.¹

*Nature of the Rites.*

The main divisions of the magico-religious ceremonies of these wild Peninsular tribes may be enumerated as follows: prayers and invocations, sacrifice, abstinence, possession, divination, and self-transformation.

*Prayers and Invocations.*

Among all the Peninsular tribes both prayer (in the wider sense) and invocations still remain in the un-ethical stage in which material as distinct from moral advantages alone are sought for.

Among the Semang, however, with the rarest exceptions,² they appear to have scarcely reached the stage of fixed forms, the petitioner generally contenting himself with expressing his wish in a quasi-conversational phrase, addressed to the great spirits or deities of the tribe.

Among the Sakai the conjuration of the spirits of deceased ancestors and demons of all kinds is more freely employed; but most of all among the Jakun, the Bēsisi addressing invocations not merely to animals but even to insects and inert objects which they believe to be the embodiments of the spirits whose aid they are invoking.

All branches of these tribes, as is usually the case with autochthonous races, are credited by the immigrating Malays with the knowledge of charms of the most marvellous potency.

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 142. ² E.g. that of the Thunder-charm, q.v.
Their love-charms in particular (such as that used in the "Chinduai" ceremony), are believed to be quite irresistible, and they are credited with the power of making themselves supernaturally beautiful or invulnerable at will. By means of "sendings," or rather "pointings" ("tuju"), they are believed to be able to slay their enemies at a distance, and many a Sakai has paid the penalty for sickness and trouble falsely ascribed to his malevolence by excited and not over-scrupulous Malays.

Offerings.

The only common form of offering, which consists in the burning of incense (benzoin), is found among all branches of these tribes, other kinds of offering being comparatively rare. The practice of drawing blood from the region of the shin-bone and throwing it up to the skies is a Semang sacrifice addressed to Kari. On the other hand, many of the Jakuns (especially the coast tribes) expose in the jungle small sacrificial trays upon which are deposited various kinds of food (boiled rice, meat, and fruits), together with small vessels containing water. These trays are called "anchak" ( Vaughan-Stevens, "anchap"), and correspond very closely both in name and form to the sacrificial trays similarly employed by the Malays.

I have also seen among the Besisi, on the occasion of their rice-harvest feast, a small quantity of boiled rice deposited on the top of a low tree-stump, and offered by way of a compliment to all the enemies of the rice, as represented by noxious insects and the wild beasts of the jungle. Here we see the idea of sacrifice in one of its most rudimentary stages, that
of a mere complimentary present intended to establish a truce with avowed and acknowledged foes.

**Abstinence.**

Of fasting and other forms of abstinence among these races not very much is known, though instances do undoubtedly occur. One of the most usual forms of abstinence occurs at Sakai child-births, when the mother is required by the unwritten laws of the tribe to refrain from eating various kinds of food.

Sakai and Jakun medicine-men also to some extent practise abstinence in order to acquire the power of seeing visions.

**Possession and Exorcism.**

About the forms of possession practised by Semang medicine-men we know next to nothing. It would appear, however, from a ceremony that I myself witnessed among the Semang of Kedah that some form of possession is certainly believed in by them, though I am inclined to think that it is probably of a more simple kind than that practised by the Sakai and Jakun; and that whereas among these latter the magician invokes the aid of a friendly demon to enable him to overcome the demon that is tormenting the patient, the Semang magician trusts rather in the strength of his own spirit to exorcise the adversary.

**Divination (Diagnosis).**

Of divination among the Semang our records are again almost non-existent, though among the Sakai and Jakun divination is clearly employed as the counterpart in magic of our own medical "diagnosis."
There appear to be two distinct ways of performing divination, one being by means of a tribal ceremony such as our latter-day spiritualists might perhaps call a séance, and the other undertaken by the medicine-man alone. Divination in either case frequently only forms part of an exorcising ceremony, as the possessed medicine-man, after replying to the usual questions concerning the origin and nature of the patient's malady, and prescribing the remedies required to restore him to health, is frequently asked questions of more general import, which need not necessarily have anything to do with the condition or fortunes of the patient.

_Dreams and General Beliefs._

Both Semang and Sakai, but especially the latter, appear to attach much weight to dreams.

Thus we are informed,\(^1\) for instance, that among the Sakai the new-born infant receives its name in accordance with a dream.\(^2\)

A similar strong belief in dreams is also found among the Jakun.

_Amulets and Talismans._

Amulets and talismans form a fairly numerous class of objects among all the wild tribes.

Among them may be reckoned coins strung on necklaces (as charms for the eyes). The custom of stringing on necklaces tufts of squirrels' tails, teeth of apes, monkeys, and wild pig, small bones of birds and various animals, and similar objects, which De Morgan calls "trophies of the chase," may be com-

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\(^1\) _Z.f. E._ xxvi. 161.  
\(^2\) _Ibid._ p. 158.
pared, their use being probably due, as in other parts of the world, rather to magical ideas than the mere pride of capture. The bristles, teeth, and claws of tigers are all certainly used much more for magical than for merely ornamental or decorative purposes.

I.—Semang.

The Heavenly Bodies.

The sun is believed by the Semang to possess an actual human figure (that of a female), and is further alleged to possess a husband, whose name was given me as "Ag-ag, the Crow."

On reaching the west the sun falls suddenly, it is believed, into a great hole or cavern, which according to some Semang legends is identified with hell. According to another version, it goes down behind a range of mountains on the western border of the earth, which is believed to be flat, and there gives light to the Senoi.

Similar ideas were entertained about the moon, the name of whose husband was given me (in Kedah) as "Tā' Pōnn," a mythological personage of whom more will be said later.

The stars were regarded, I was told, as the moon's children.¹

¹ Swettenham says (p. 228): "They" (the Negritos) "call the sun a good spirit." In J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 5, p. 156, he mentions a "good female spirit in the clouds."

Newbold (pp. 377-379), in speaking of the Semang, says: "They worship the sun." He appears to have taken this statement from Anderson's Consid. (App. xxxvii.), where the Semang are described as "offering up a hasty petition to the sun or the moon," though it certainly has not the least foundation in fact. A similar and equally inaccurate statement (from Symes) was quoted by Anderson (ib.) about the Andamanese (v. Man, p. 93, for the dementi). In both cases the idea probably arose from the same cause, viz. the ceremonial treatment of an eclipse. Cp. also J. I. A. iv. 427.
Eclipses.

Among the Semang there is the greatest fear of eclipses, which are believed to be due to the attempt of a gigantic serpent or dragon to enfold or swallow the obscured luminary. The name of the serpent that is believed to enfold the moon was given me as “Hūrā”; but I was told that, although it assumed the guise of a serpent, it is in reality the moon’s own mother-in-law, and is only attempting to embrace and not to swallow it. The moon, however, shrinks from the proffered embrace, from whence we may perhaps conclude that the moon is sometimes also regarded as a man, the confusion being probably due to the conflict of cultures. The only alternative is to suppose “mother-in-law—daughter-in-law avoidance” of some kind. The serpent that swallows the sun is “a different one,” and is believed to attack it in deadly earnest.

The Rainbow.

According to my Semang informants, the rainbow is called “Hwē-a’.” It is believed to be the body of a great serpent or python, and the spots where it touches the earth are regarded as very feverish and bad to live near.

We are further told (by Vaughan-Stevens) that the sun on setting behind the western mountains gives light to the Senoi, and that under the heaven called Tasig, beneath Kari’s seat, begins the gigantic body of the rainbow-snake, “Ikub Huyā” or

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1 According to the Khasia the moon is a man whose mother-in-law throws ashes in his face when he pursues her once a month (Latham, i. 119). And according to the Eskimo the (female) sun smears with soot the face of her brother, the sun, when he presses his love upon her (Peschel, p. 256).
'Hoyā',' a place which extends to the regions of hell. It lets water from the nether deep through to the earth at Ple's command for the Semang to drink by pushing its head through the flat earth-crust, and thus causing springs of water ('met bětiu') to rise. The light drizzling rain that falls when a rainbow is visible is the sweat of the reptile, and if it happens to fall upon any one who is not wearing a particular kind of armlet, it causes the sickness called 'lininka' (?). Women wear by way of protection armlets of Palas (Licuala) leaf, and men wear armlets of the "Rock-vein" fungus ("tēmtom," or Mal. "urat batu") on the left wrist. These bands are called "ching-ing-neng." 2

**Storms.**

During a storm of thunder and lightning the Semang draw a few drops of blood from the region of the shin-bone, mix it with a little water in a bamboo receptacle, and throw it up to the angry skies (according to the East Semang or Pangan, once up to the sky and once on the ground, saying "bö", *i.e.* "stop"). On my inquiring further, one of the women offered to show me how to do this, and drawing off a drop or two of blood into a bamboo vessel by tapping with a stick the point of a jungle-knife pressed against her shin-bone, she proceeded to perform this strange 'libation' ceremony in the manner just described.

If a man is in the least degree too familiar with his mother-in-law, thunderbolts, said the Semang to me, will assuredly fall. For this reason (if for no

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1 "Jēkōb" = snake in the Semang dialect, and "hwēːŋ" = rainbow.
2 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 126.
other!) the contingency never arises. But they also assured me that they of the jungle were far more distant and circumspect in their dealings with their mothers-in-law than was the case with their neighbours the Malays.¹

To the foregoing I may add that according to the Eastern Semang, the ghosts of wicked (or ignorant?) tribesmen, on leaving the dead body, fly up to the sky

¹ Vaughan-Stevens’s account is as follows:—The so-called “Kor-loi-melloi,” or “Blood-throwing” ceremony, is now completely forgotten on the west coast of the Peninsula [I did not find it so.—W.S.], and even in Perak, but is quite universal in the east coast states. In order to appease the angry deity men and women (of all ages) are in the habit of cutting the skin covering the shins to obtain a few drops of blood. One cut is usually sufficient, so that on the whole very little blood is drawn. The cuts are made diagonally across the axis of the leg, are from 6 to 10 mm. in length, and are said to have been formerly made with a stone knife (?), though now with the ordinary iron jungle-knife or parang, which was knocked with a piece of wood until blood was drawn. The blood—it need only be a drop—is either sucked out or dropped directly into a long bamboo receptacle, and a quantity of water (sufficient to half fill the bamboo) is poured in with it. The Semang then turns in the direction of the setting sun, and doling out the liquid with a special bamboo spatula, throws it straight up into the air, calling out with a loud voice, “Blood, I throw towards the sun; I draw blood, curdled blood; I throw blood towards the sun,” or words to that effect, the invocation being repeated each time that the liquid is thrown, up until all is finished.

When the storm is very severe the bamboo may be refilled with blood and water and a fresh ceremony take place. The bamboo vessel used for the purpose is, as a rule, fresh and roughly cut, and was usually not decorated—doubtless owing to the fact that there would be no time to do so during a sudden tropical storm, the vessel being cut for the purpose on each occasion, and thrown away after use.

Kari himself makes no use of the blood thus sacrificed, but is pacified by this sign of his children’s repentance and ceases to hurl thunderbolts, and to continue his complaints of their misdeeds to their creator Ple, at least until they again give him occasion to do so.

Ple, however, employs the blood of the Semang in order to create certain red jungle fruits which serve as food for man, such as, for instance, the well-known “rambutan” (Nephelium lappaceum).

The Puttos themselves did not cut themselves, but instead of doing so threw their secret remedies (which they preserved in bamboo cases), into the air. From these Ple created certain white jungle fruits.

When the periodical wind or monsoon brings no rain, very few fruits appear, and the Semang then say that this is because they had not thrown up enough blood, since the frequency of the blood-throwing has an influence on the quantity of rain. [From this it would appear that the ceremony may after all perhaps be mainly a rain-making ceremony.—W.S.].—Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 107-109. Cp. Newbold, ii. 386, 396; and J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 4, p. 48, where women only are stated to draw blood.
(along with the vital principle, or "Nyawa") and become storm-spirits (i.e. spirits of thunder, lightning, etc.). Hence, in the blood-throwing ceremony, part of the blood is thrown upwards, in order to propitiate them and persuade them to return to the upper heavens. Sometimes, however, the ghost, on leaving the body, proceeds downwards and becomes a water-spirit. And hence, in the same ceremony, part of the blood is thrown down upon the earth.

A remarkable explanation of the phenomenon of lightning was given me in Kedah by an aged Semang, who explained it as the flashing (in heaven) of the top-cords of the dead medicine-men (or B'lians) of the tribe, who were believed on such occasions to be engaged in the diversion (which in the East is shared by adults) of top-spinning. To the same cause was attributed the sound of thunder, which was believed to be the murmuring noise of the tops as they spun. Other informants of the same tribe, it is true, admitted sharing in the almost universal fear of Heaven's anger caused by thunder and thunderbolts; it is hard, however, in such cases to distinguish the original ideas from those obtained from foreign sources, though the less original and unique the idea, the less likely it is to be indigenous.

Lightning is produced by Kari when he is wroth. He takes a flower and shakes it over the sinner and the lightning darts forth. The bell-like flower-cups of the (unknown) plant strike each other and cause thunder. The echoes are Ple's answer.¹

Winds.

Kari's servant Sinai is himself one of the winds, and carries a whip in either hand to compel the obedience of the other winds. The monkey Aii chastises the winds when they are too slow in their movements.¹

The Heavens and Paradise.

The Kedah Semang informed me that the heavens² consisted of three tiers or layers. The highest heaven is filled with fruit-trees which bear luxuriantly all the year round, and is inhabited by certain of the greater personages of Semang mythology.

The second or central heaven also contains wild fruit-trees, and is defended against unauthorised pilferers by a gigantic baboon, which pelts all would-be stealers of the fruit with certain hard, prickly, and uneatable fruit (of the kind called false durians).³

The third or nethermost heaven, on the other hand, contains nothing but the low and brooding clouds⁴ which bring sickness to mankind.

When I asked the Eastern Semang (Pangan of Kelantan) about the fate of the soul after death, they declared that the souls of the old and wise proceeded to a Paradise in the west wherein grew fruit-trees of

¹ Cp. vol. i. pp. 451, 457.
² Called in Semang, according to Vaughan-Stevens "Seap." Sed qu. "Seak" or "Seap." There is no such combination as "p" in any Semang or Sakai dialect, and if "Seak" is right, it perhaps = "Sean" or "Seng" (pr. "Sek") in "Seng Ketok," which means "west" in all the Semang dialects of which I have had experience.
³ I.e. the "Durian Aji." According to Vaughan-Stevens, it is a gigantic figure resembling a Semang, named Kanteo, that keeps the door of Paradise, and has animals as assistants. Cp. vol. i. p. 453.
⁴ Cp. the Malay phrase (used by Sakai tribes) "Kélonsong awan" (the "husks" or "hulls" of the clouds) (V.-St. iii. 106, 125). See p. 187, ante.
every kind (those mentioned as examples were the Bangkong, Rambutan, Durian, and Tampoi), but in order to reach it they had first to pass across a bridge consisting of the fallen trunk of a colossal tree. This tree-bridge would have been easy enough (for a Semang) to cross, but for the fact that at the further end there sat a gigantic figure ("Bērḥālā'," i.e., idol or image) with only a single nostril, huge ball-less eye-sockets, two immense tusks in each jaw, exceedingly curly hair, and enormously long finger-nails crossed upon its breast. Many of the souls were scared by this horrible demon to such an extent that they straightway fell, panic-stricken, into the vast boiling lake beneath it, up whose sheer smooth sides they tried in vain to clamber. Here, therefore, they swam desperately about, clutching at the sides, for three long agonising years, after which, should the Chief of the Heaven of Fruit-trees then think fit, he would let down his great toe for them to catch hold of, and so pull them out! The old and wise (e.g. the B’lians) were for this very reason buried in trees, viz., so that their souls might be able to fly over the head of this fearful figure.

According to the Western Semang, whilst the souls of the dead B’lians proceeded to the Island of Fruit-trees, those of the lay members of the tribe went a long way across the sea, to a Land of Screw-pines and Thatch-palms,¹ where was the hole into which the sun fell at night. If they had committed any wicked act, however, although they started by the same road, they did not arrive at the same destination, but were compelled to turn northwards aside across the sea to

¹ Nipah = Nipa fruticans, low-growing palms found only in salt-water swamps.
a land which had two months of day and a month of
night\(^1\) alternately.

The account given by Vaughan-Stevens is as follows:

All souls, whether of Semang or of beasts, go straight to Kari to receive their
sentence. Good souls proceed to the region of sunset, but the entrances both to
Paradise (Scap\(^2\)) and Purgatory (Belet) are close together.

The entrance to Purgatory is called Sunset ("Met-katok blis"). Purgatory
itself is a vast cavern, shut in by rocks, in the mountain-chain ("Hūyā")\(^2\) which
forms the world's end. Good souls pass these ramparts of rock and reach the
other side of the world, where they dwell with the Chinoi, the servants of Kari.
The ruler of Purgatory is one Kamoj (a black, gigantic, and frightful form), who
beats wicked souls as they wander, cold, hungry, and thirsty, with a heavy
club.\(^3\)

The door-keeper of Paradise is a spirit resembling a gigantic Semang. His
duty is to prevent the souls belonging to other races of mankind from entering
into the Semang Paradise.

By his side stand Kangkung, a beast of immense strength, which keeps watch
to prevent the entrance of the souls of tigers; Jelābo, a beast whose duty is to
keep out the souls of wicked Semang; and Kangkeng, a beast which keeps out
the souls of snakes and scorpions.

In addition to the foregoing are Champa and Chalog, two brother giants, of
whom Champa is the elder, and who are represented as the guardians of Tuhan's
(sic) Paradise called "Tasig."

These two are armed with bamboo-spears, and keep watch over the "light-
ning-hiding" (blitzbergenden) flowers which belong to Kari.\(^5\)

The Semang Deities.

Although I had many conversations with the Semang (both Western and Eastern) on the subject
of religion, they continually pretended entire ignorance of any supreme Being, until one day when one
of them exclaimed (in an unusually confiding mood)
"Now we will really tell you all we know," and im-
mediately proceeded to inform me about Tā' Pōnn
("Gaffer Pōnn"), a very powerful yet benevolent

\(^1\) Probably a slip on the part of the speaker for "a month of day and two
months of night."

\(^2\) Hūyā is Vaughan-Stevens's way
of writing "Hwēā" or "Hwēyā"
= the Rainbow-snake, q.v.

\(^3\) Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 117.

\(^4\) Tuhan is usually the name given
to the god of the Sakai (V.-St.).

\(^5\) Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 122-124.
All these guardians of Paradise are
represented on one of the bamboos
called "gu," for description of which
see "Decorative Art" (vol. i.).
Being who was described as the maker of the world. This information was accompanied by the statement that Gaffer Pönn was "like a Malay Raja; there was nobody above him." In addition to this, I was informed that he was the moon's husband, and lived in the eastern heavens, together with "Ag-āg," the Crow, who was the "husband of the sun." "Tā' Pönn" (said my informants) looks "just like a man," but is "as white as cotton" (Mal. "kapas").

"Tā' Pönn has four children, two male and two female, whose names are Rayādd and Harau (male); Rāhh-rāhh and Brua' (female). ¹ When you hear the noise of the Riang-riang (cicada or 'Knife-grinder insect') in the jungle, that is the voice of Tā' Pönn's children. Tā' Pönn's mother is called Yāk (Yā') Takell. She is the old Earth-mother, and lives underground in the middle of the earth." According to the account of another informant, Tā' Pönn's father was one Kukā', about whom, however, I could find out nothing further.

Tā' Pönn has, moreover, a great enemy named Kakuah, who is very dangerous and who lives in the West.² He (I was assured) is "very black, blacker than we are,"—as black, in fact, "as a charred fire-log." "That is why the east is bright and the west dark." The heavens are in three tiers, the highest being called Kakuah. In the heaven where he lives, there is (according to a Pangan of Teliang) a giant coconut-monkey ³ (B’ro’), "as big as Gunong Baling" (= Tiger Peak, a big limestone hill in the neighbourhood of

¹ Probably different kinds of insects (cicada, etc.).
² But Kakuah is the name of the highest tier (of the heavens), and there may have been some confusion here between the name of Tā' Pönn's adversary and the place where he lived.
³ The coconut-monkey (Macacus nemestrinus) appears in the Besisi Songs (vol. i. p. 152).
Siong in Kedah), who drives back any one who is found (as the B'lians sometimes are) attempting to enter the heavens in order to help themselves to the fruit which grows there. This monkey-monster, on discovering any such would-be pilferers, pelts them with a large prickly jungle-fruit (already mentioned), by means of which he hurls them down headlong. I was further told of this monkey that when the end of the world came, everything on earth would fall to his share.

The account of the Semang religion given by Vaughan-Stevens includes, however, not only Tă' Pŏnn (disguised by Vaughan-Stevens as "Tappern"), but two superior divinities named Kari (spelt Kiee, = Kayee, by Vaughan-Stevens, and Keii by his editors) and Ple, neither of whom I was able to identify among the Semang of whom I made my inquiries. Nevertheless the fact that one person out of these three (viz. Tă' Pŏnn) was so readily identifiable, establishes, to my mind, a presumption in favour of the general accuracy of the rest of Vaughan-Stevens's account of the Semang religion. At the same time, the fragments of Semang religious belief that I was able to rescue, in spite of all difficulties, exhibit such interesting variations from the accounts related to Vaughan-Stevens, that it is evident that a rich mine of information still remains to be worked.

Legends of the Semang Deities.

Legend of Kari the Thunder-god.

"Kari created everything except the earth, which he ordered Ple to complete for him. When, therefore, Ple had created man, Kari gave them souls." . . .

When Kari (sic) had created men, they were very good. Death was not yet established, and the Semang living on fruits prospered and soon got numerous. But Kari saw they were getting too numerous, and came down to the Jelmol Mountains to look nearer, and consider what was to be done. The Semang
crossing the mountain did not see him, for none can see him, and ran over his foot like ants. He blew them away, but his Breath was fiery and burnt them all up throughout the neighbourhood. Seeing this, he ordered his Breath to collect and conduct their souls to heaven. He then continued his meditations, and seeing their numbers were still too great, he commissioned his Breath to go and kill more Semangs whenever they again became too numerous. Kari's Breath had now separated into the winds, and these were to be watched by Kari's two servants, Sentiu and his wife Chini, with Tä Pönn ("Tappern"), and Minang ("Minnung"). Sentiu now begged that his own servant, or the latter's wife, should alone remain active on earth, and kill only a few Semang; for if he himself and his wife did so, none would be left. Kari, however, refused this, and Sentiu himself remained with his wife, and they killed all they could reach, Kari being wroth at the disobedience of mankind. So the race dwindled away. For Kari had sent the wicked souls to the infernal regions (Belet), and had created Diseases to destroy them in his wrath. Ple, however, pitied them, and, having come to an agreement with their chiefs (Puttos), got Kari to turn these winds into lightning (Kelos), and stopped them from slaughtering the Semang, except in special cases when Kari's wrath was provoked. When Kari sends them now, they kill the Semang in a body, but the death-messengers only kill certain individuals by Kari's command. Ple also arranged with Kari in what cases souls should be sent to Paradise (Seap) or to the infernal regions (Belet), whence arose the system of burial bamboos. Ple himself (and in his stead the Putto of the district) was to write his decision upon the burial bamboo to be shown to Kari, by whom it was executed. Ple also got power given him to avert Diseases by charms. These were good against every Disease, so long as the sin which provoked the Disease was unintentional, or had been forgiven by the Putto. Ple had taken, as already related, the flowers growing near Karih's dwelling and planted them on the mountains (Jelmol), and assigned them as remedies for the various Diseases. He also brought the drawings of each flower, and instructed the Putto about its use. He also agreed with Kari that his Breath should be substituted for Kari's (since it was less fatal), and should only kill individuals.

Thereafter when the winds waited for the burial bamboo to be given to the deceased (before which time the soul could not leave the body), they laid the Diseases on a parasite on one of the trees, because its roots did not enter the ground, and the Diseases waited there until the soul was ready to go to Kari. Ple also created a wind which sat on the mistletoe, and told Ple all that passed.¹

Now that Ple no longer dwells upon earth, this wind goes, according to the opinion of the Semang, who are not, however, unanimous about it, either to Kari or perhaps direct to Ple. When Ple had thus apportioned the Diseases, the vegetable kingdom was exhausted. But soon afterwards some very deadly Diseases, which had been sleeping whilst Ple had been breathing upon others, tried to obtain a resting-place upon various epiphytic plants. The plants, however, had all been given away, and that is the reason why to the present day smallpox, cholera, and other epidemics, of which the Semang stand in the greatest terror, but which are hard to identify from Semang descriptions, have no rest, but as soon as they have killed one man, fall straightway upon another even before the soul of the first has left the body.²

Legend of the Firebrand.

According to the views of the Semang, when Kari selected Belet (in the "Sunset" region) as the abode of the damned, he gave Kamoj a firebrand. This brand was burnt in two before Kamoj had nearly had time to arrange Belet as his

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 109, 132, 133.
² Ibid. pp. 133, 134.
sphere of action. Therefore Kamoj hung one portion with the charred end downwards before Belet, and kept the other as an emblem of his power and jurisdiction. The brand hanging over the entrance stopped the once-entered souls from returning, the upper uncharred end allowing the souls to come from Kari's judgment-seat. Hence a charred stick serves as a protection against Diseases. The Disease which caused a man's death was fetched by the winds at Kari's command; and the winds had to accompany the soul and the Disease to Belet, but dared not enter, since if they had, they would not have been able to return (for fear of the brand). The Puttos then adopted, as emblem of their power, a charred stick about six feet long. With this stick they could expel Diseases, and if they could not go themselves, would send it by a servant to the sick man, upon whom it was laid. But if a Putto wanted to kill a man, he touched him with the unburnt end, and all the Diseases near by entered the man's body. If to heal, he touched him with the burnt end, and all diseases were driven out of him. A Semang will still close up a path by suspending a charred stick across it, though he himself could not inflict Diseases with it, and only the Putto could—by marking his stick in charcoal with his secret sign, which varied with the object he had in view. Thence in time were derived the charm-bamboos (Gar's), which at first were sticks marked with charcoal, but later sticks which had designs incised upon them, into which the charcoal was rubbed. For these finally were substituted light and convenient bamboos, which were also available for the flowers and herbs appropriate to the charm in question. The original marks on the fire-sticks have disappeared with the Puttos who employed them, but the old patterns are revived in the quivers and charm-bamboos, the magic combs of the women, and the blowpipe. At the end of the Semang quiver is a spot where the skin of the bamboo has been scraped off, and the place blackened with charcoal. The end thus marked, which hangs downwards, represents Kamoj's fire-stick, and hence serves as a charm against Diseases. If a Semang is unlucky in hunting, he stands still, makes a fire, and rubs a little charcoal upon the mouthpiece of his blowpipe, and upon the conical butt-ends of his darts. Sick persons mark themselves with charcoal where the pain is felt. Formerly this was the duty of the Putto, who employed a special sign which always healed.

Legends of Ple.

Ple and his sister are "the central figures of Semang mythology."

Kari created everything except the Earth. He told Ple to complete this part of his work, and Ple did so; Ple made men, and Kari gave them souls (life), and Ple lived among them with his sister Simei in the Jelmol Mountains in Perak. Under Ple and Simei were the Puttos, each of whom ruled a district.

No one knows who Ple's wife was; but his sister did the work of one. They both resembled the Semang in shape. Simei gave light to the fire-flies, so that they might accompany her by night when she visited sick Semang women, especially those in travail. In those days the men only awaited the advent of her messengers the fire-flies, and then withdrew into the jungle, leaving the place free to her and the women. Since Ple and Simei disappeared, the fire-flies keep seeking for them among the bushes. They must therefore never be harmed. Simei was accompanied by day by a bird called Me-el, apparently a kind of crested dove, and either she or Ple was always at home when the other was out.

1 Vaughan-Stevens relates (p. 131) that frequently when he was resting at night in the jungle, one of the old Semang people would hang a firebrand near his head, to drive away fevers, etc.

2 Vaughan-Stevens considers that the full development of the Semang magic designs did not take place until after they had had dealings with the Sakai (ibid.).

3 Vaughan-Stevens, iii, pp. 131, 132.

4 It was believed that in former days, when Simei was on earth, this bird
Kari retained his power of punishing mankind, wherefore Ple, who pitied them, went to the land of the Chinoi, the servants of Kari, on the other side of the world. These servants had the task of making hanging flower-ornaments, and Ple collected all the flowers and planted them near the mountains, and therefore evolved the patterns which are now in use as charms against Diseases.

Simei helped him. She it was who invented the special set of designs which serve as charms against the sicknesses peculiar to her sex, and which are copied on their combs.

The Puttos copied the patterns on bamboo, and Ple then deposited them in a cave, and turned them to stone, so as to be always ready when wanted. The Puttos also prepared another set for each Sna-hut, whose duty it was to see that every man had the proper kind of charm that he required. At the same time the Puttos inscribed a set of charm-bamboos with the mythology of the Semang, and Ple turned these also to stone; the Puttos alone knew where they were.

Of the leaves and blossom of the screw-pine (pandanus) worn on the head as a charm against falling trees, the following is related:

Ple (in the form of an old man) and Simei would appear when called, and after helping, disappear, the former helping the men, the latter women. Ple used to ask for fruit and throw away the seeds, which grew up into trees and bore fruit in a single night. Thus, and thus only, the Semang knew that Ple had been present.

Ple once met a man and woman carrying fruit, and asked for it. The woman denied having any, and as usual (when Ple caught a Semang lying) a tree fell upon her. As it was falling she shrieked to Ple (not knowing of his presence), and he threw some pandanus leaves upon her head, whereupon the tree returned to its erect position as soon as it touched them, leaving only an impression on the leaves where it fell. Ple subsequently ordered all women to wear leaves, thus marked, as charms against falling trees. The Puttos therefore designed patterns for various trees which easily fall. These leaves are stuck in the hair-combs of the women, but no pattern is used on the pandanus leaves if the wearer feels innocent, unless a twig falls on her head, when it is at once added.

Ple often appeared as a Semang, but with long thick bushy hair covering his body. Some say he returned to Kari with Simei, others that he sleeps in the Jelmol Mountains, and will yet return.\(^1\)

To the foregoing may be added (from various portions of Vaughan-Stevens’s account) the following allusions to the history of Ple:

Like Kari, Ple appears to require blood-sacrifices. Thus in his account of the blood-throwing ceremony Vaughan-Stevens says\(^2\) that Ple uses the blood (thrown up to the skies to dispel the thunder) for making the red jungle fruit called Rambutan. And a little further on he says that Ple made white fruit of the storm charms which the Puttos threw into the air for a like reason. Vaughan-

\(^1\) Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 109-112.
Stevens describes how I'le turned himself into a stick-insect and sat on a twig, and when the elephant tried to destroy his plantation of magic flowers, caught it by the nose so that it stretched and became a trunk.  

A little later he describes how I'le turned himself into a manis (Mal. "tenggiling") to defend the Semang against the elephant, and how his scales ran into the elephant's foot and wounded him.

Again he describes how I'le was attacked by the tiger and the snake, and how he put his foot upon the snake's hood and told the rhinoceros-bird to drive away the tiger.

In the Legends of Kari we learnt how I'le got the winds (Kari's Breath) turned into lightning in order to stop their indiscriminate slaughter of the Semang; how he arranged with Kari the system of burial bamboos as a means of deciding whether souls were to go to Paradise or to the infernal regions; how he got power to avert Diseases by charms; and how he brought the flowers from Kari's dwelling and apportioned them as antidotes to the several Diseases; and how his Breath was substituted for Kari's as being less fatal, and how he created a wind to sit on the mistletoe and tell him all that passed.

The Semang Soul-theory.

According to the Eastern Semang or Pangan, each man has a soul which is shaped exactly like himself, which is "red like blood," and as small as a "grain of maize."

According to Vaughan-Stevens, the Semang suppose that souls are supplied in a variety of ways to the young of human beings, tigers, and other noxious and harmless wild beasts, night-beasts (as a separate class), birds, and fish.

The "Til-til-tapa" and the "Chim iui" need no souls; for they are the souls of human beings in the form of birds; when they need life for their eggs they eat of fruit of the male or female birth-trees. If one of these birds dies a natural death, it is because an unborn

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1 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 137.
2 See below, p. 222.
3 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 133.
4 Evidence is required in support of these statements. Cp., however, the Malay superstition which connects the Burong Pingai or Pingai bird of the Malays with the soul; and our own nursery make-believe of child-bringing storks and other animals (Cp. Folklore, xi. 235). The Bahnar have a ceremony called "Hlómdon"; they believe an infant has no soul, and hang a wax puppet up in the forest. As soon as a stick-insect (?) settles on it the sorcerer wraps it in a cloth; the insect is shaken out on the child, which then gets its soul.—Missions Cath., 1893, p. 140.

According to the Guarani (South America) the humming bird brings the souls and takes them back after death. —Alencas, O. Guarani, ii. 321.
foetus has died. Some say these undeveloped souls go into another bird, and the woman who eats it becomes the mother of twins, just as if she had eaten a bird with its egg.¹

An expectant mother visits the nearest tree which happens to be of the species of her own birth-tree and hangs it with fragrant leaves and flowers, or lays them beneath it (avoiding the place where, in her own tree, the after-birth was buried), “because her child’s soul (embodied in the bird) will recognise the tree by it.” The bird which conveys the soul sits on the tree and is killed and eaten by the woman. The souls of first-born children are young birds newly hatched, the offspring of the mother’s soul-bird.²

Fish-souls come from grasses, bird-souls from their eating certain fruits. Each species of animal has a corresponding soul-plant. The “susu rimau”³ contains the soul of an unborn tiger cub. The tiger eats it, and thus the soul is conveyed. When the soul-bird (human) falls upon one of these fungi the souls fight and the child is crippled or dies. But in any case the human soul is victorious.

Souls of beasts noxious to men are conveyed by poisonous, and harmless by non-poisonous, fungi. Phosphorescent fungi convey souls of night-beasts. The idea of the soul-bird, however, is obsolete except among the Pangan. The Malays, Siamese, and Chinese are thought to have different birds, to convey their souls.

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 116. This can of course only refer to children of the same sex. ² Supra, pp. 4-6. ³ The “tigress-milk” fungus, or “susu rimau,” is the sclerotium or resting-stage of a fungus, which has been identified by Ridley as Lentinus sp. (Tuber Regium) of Rumph. (Herb. Amboin. vi.). It is largely used in native medicine, e.g. for consumption, and was supposed by the Besisi to wax and wane with the moon, so that it was thought best to gather it when the moon was full.
The new souls sit in a great tree behind Kari's seat till he sends them forth. They never return to him after death, after they have become human. "She has eaten the bird" is the expression used by Kelantan Semang of a pregnant woman. The soul-bird is not eaten up all at once, but sometimes kept in a bamboo called "tahong" (? "tabong").

The bird which conveys men's souls is the small Argus-pheasant ("Til-til-tapa"); the bird which conveys women's souls is "Chim iui."

Twins result (as above indicated) from eating the soul-bird with an egg. They have the same birth-tree.

With the dead was interred the "pĕnitâh" or burial bamboo, which had to be produced by the soul when it came before Kari, on penalty of condemnation. Both by Semang and Pangan the soul was believed to cross over into Paradise by means of a tree-bridge, from which the souls of the wicked fell into a boiling lake beneath, through fright of a monstrous figure that mounted guard over the bridge. A fuller account of this, however, has already been given.

The ideas of the Eastern Semang (Pangan) with regard to death and the future life are as follows:—

There are two Death-spirits, one for men which is called Sentiu, and one for women called Chin-ni. Sentiu has a male servant ("hâlâ") called Tâ' Pönn ("Tappern"), and Chin-ni, a female servant called Min-nang. All these are invisible spirits. Of their own unaided power they cannot take away life from any one, but on their wanderings among the Eastern Semang they see here and there persons who in their opinion are fit to be called away from life. In such a case either Sentiu or Chin-ni send their servants to the Putto of the district, and the latter sends his servant to the Sna-hut, and sets forth everything that concerns the life of the Semang in question. The answer returns by the same road until it reaches Ple, who proceeds to bring the matter before Kari by word of mouth. If Kari decides that the man should die, Ple then commissions his servant to inform the Death-spirits about it. These latter (Sentiu or Chin-ni,

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1 Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 112-114.
2 Ibid. p. 116.
3 Cp. vol. i. p. 460; and vol. ii. p. 93.
4 P. 208, ante.
as the case may be) then send forth the "Death-wind" ("Bēwā kābis"), which blows over the doomed person, causing death. No spells have the power to ward off the Death-spirits, as Diseases may be warded off. On the other hand, when Kari is wroth with any one he slays him with a flash of lightning, and not through the agency of the Death-spirits.\(^1\)

In Paradise the souls eat fruits alone, and the children's souls are able to move about unassisted. All the souls are visible to each other though invisible to mortal eyes. They do not change, nor do they marry, but remain for ever in Paradise and never return to earth again. The bodies of the dead do not rise again.

The souls of innocuous beasts go after death to a place near Paradise which is called "Kena-luong"; but the souls of tigers, snakes, scorpions, etc., go to Purgatory (Belet), where they torture and feed upon the souls of the damned. According to a different tradition, however, the souls of tigers go after death, like the souls of all other beasts, to Kena-luong, which is an immense cavern. There they are no longer able to feed upon flesh, but on fruits and plants; and have no power of harming the souls of the harmless beasts that are with them. Only, along with snakes and scorpions, they take pleasure in showing themselves at an opening of the cave called "Belet,"\(^2\) and thus scaring the souls of men.\(^3\)

Common people were buried in the ground, but Bēlians (the great chiefs who were believed to have the power of turning themselves into tigers), were deposited in trees.\(^4\)

**Legends and Ideas about Human Beings.**

The Semang say that the first woman, seeing that all other animals had children, was desirous of having children of her own, but did not know how to obtain them. At length she and her husband took to carrying a brace of fire-logs under the armpits by way of "make-believe." One day the coconut monkey (B'ro') noticed what they were doing, and gave them advice, as the result of which they obtained two boys and two girl children. In the course of time these four grew up and had children likewise. One day, however, the ring-dove ("tēkukor") met them and warned them that they had married within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. It was, indeed, then too late to undo the mischief already done, but the ring-dove advised them, nevertheless, to separate and marry "other people," in which case (it said) the

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\(^1\) Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 117.

\(^2\) From this it would appear that Kena-luong and Belet are contiguous.

\(^3\) Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 117-118.

\(^4\) Cp. page 91, ante.
children of these fresh marriages might intermarry without impropriety.

Among the Semang vague ideas about a big conflagration seem to take the place of the widespread myth of a big flood.

Thus, in explanation of the "fuzziness" or "frizziness" of their hair, they told me that a very long time ago their ancestors were near a clearing in the forest together with the ancestors of the Malays. But one day some Siamese priests ("Sami") set fire to the clearing (which was overgrown with jungle-grass), the result being a conflagration from which both they and the Malays escaped with difficulty. The Malays, however, were a trifle the quicker in getting away, and in the confusion which followed contrived to annex both the clothes and the rice-spoons of the Negritos. The latter, on the other hand, only succeeded, with great difficulty, in saving their blowpipes and quivers, and in effecting even this their hair got so singed by the fire that it has never since recovered from the crispimg that it then received. ¹

This same story, with a few variations, is recorded by Vaughan-Stevens,² who suggests that it

¹ Among themselves I believe they really admire a thoroughly woolly head such as not a few of them possess, but in meeting people of a higher grade of culture, such as the Malays, they are perhaps naturally somewhat ashamed of it, just as they would be of their blacker skins.

² The account given by Vaughan-Stevens (iii. 99), runs as follows:—

"In ancient times they had straight hair and lived in Kampongs. Their Rajas were the gigantic Gergasi's. "Pram" (Siamese, Phra Ram), a Siamese Raja, wished to destroy the Gergasi's, and for this purpose led an army into Kedah. In this army were also the Kra and the B'ro' (two kinds of monkey—the ape-kings Hanuman and Sugriwa of the Indian poem). The battle began. "Pram" fastened firebrands to the tails of the apes, which ran over the leaf-roofs of the jungle-men's houses and set them on fire. The fire reached the jungle, and the jungle-men fled into the forest. As, however, they ran through the burning jungle their hair curled, and remained curly ever afterwards. But after they had once fled into the depths of the primeval forest they never returned to the civilisation which they had once possessed. During their flight the coconut-monkey called
may be taken from a Siamese version of the *Ramáyana*.

**Other Semang Traditions.**

One of the Semang traditions given to De Morgan was to the effect that an officer of the Raja of Johor, named Nakhoda ("Nada") Kassim, exiled by his master, and setting sail, arrived after a few days at the mouth of the River Bruas, and there landing, proceeded on foot through the jungle till he struck the Perak River near Kuala Kangsar. Here he met with a Semang village and exchanged presents with the inhabitants, and stayed there for some time. One day, however, two little daughters of the Semang chief were quarrelling over a stick of sugar-cane, each of them attempting to break it in turn, when another child snatched up a knife and severed the sugar-cane, at the same time, however, cutting the hand of one of his sisters, at which milk-white blood immediately issued from the wound.

Nakhoda Kassim, who was a spectator of the scene, thereupon demanded the sale of the child from the Semang chief, in order that he might make her his wife. The chief agreed, but persuaded Nakhoda Kassim to remain with him, and in course of time the marriage came off, but for four years they had no children. One day, however, his wife going down to the river to bathe found upon the bamboo raft a new-born infant couchèd in moss. She therefore took the child back to her husband, who adopted it and gave it the name of Putri Busu ('Poutch Buisseth').

Now about this time a dog belonging to one Gaffer Long-nose ("To' Hidong"), a relation of the Raja of Pahang, took to barking every day at the same hour in the direction of the sunset, and one day Gaffer Long-nose let the animal loose and followed it. In seven or eight days he reached Yang Yup in Ulu Plus, and the dog coming to a clump of bamboos began barking all round it. Gaffer Long-nose took his knife and slit up one of the stems, and therein found, to his great surprise, a new-born (male) infant, which he at once extracted and took along with him on his journey.

A few days later Gaffer Long-nose met with the Semang, and hearing from them of Nakhoda Kassim, went to meet the latter, and showed him the child, whom he had named Mouse-deer Hill ("Bukit Pandok.") A few years later the two children were married, and Nakhoda Kassim died. Mouse-deer Hill having discovered by looking through his father's papers that his father had received from the Raja the right to select for his own whatsoever part of the country he would, proceeded to Pahang, but finding himself incapable of governing it, he went to Johor and requested the Raja to appoint one of his sons in his stead. The Raja first sent his two youngest sons, the elder of whom, however, slew the younger and then himself at Tanjung Batu. The Raja then sent a godson of his, named Salam Balik, to take charge, but shortly afterwards a son being born to Mouse-deer Hill, Salam Balik had the child killed, and a desperate conflict ensued with the Semang, who employed poisoned arrows. The struggle out angrily, 'Dia lari sarupa Semang.' They run like Semang.'

Vaughan-Stevens says he could not find out what this allusion means. [It is probably a pun on Siamese.—W.S.] (V.-St. iii. 99, cp. ii. 99, 100.)

For the firebrand incident, cp. Judges xv. 4; Hyde, *Vet. Pers. Religio*, p. 255; and the account in Livy, as well as the *Ramáyana*.

1 In addition to this legend, which is clearly from Malay sources, a very incoherent account by Vaughan-Stevens of Semang wanderings is to be found in Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 128, 129, but is not worth quoting.
lasted some years, and Malays from the Nicobars came over to assist the Semang, among the latter being Megat Terawis ("Meccah Travès," *sic*), who had brought with him a wonderful gun, on the bullets of which he wrote his name. Salam Balik being wounded by one of those, agreed to make peace, and gave his daughter to Megat Terawis in marriage. In course of time Megat Terawis obtained a daughter, and Mouse-deer Hill having married again and obtained a son, the two children were wedded, and their offspring became the royal family of Perak.¹

*Legends and Beliefs about Animals.*

The elephant, as being one of the largest and most important of the animals, is naturally one into which the souls of chiefs are believed to migrate after death, and has euphemistic and propitiatory names by which it is known to the Semang and other wild tribesmen. The following story in explanation of the strained relations now supposed to exist between the elephant and the stick-insect and the tapir is told by the Semang:—

The elephant originally had no trunk and instead four big teeth, and greatly harassed the Semang by stealing the fruit out of their back-baskets or dossiers, even turning up the flowers that Pile had planted. The Semang therefore begged Pile to help them, and he turned himself into a stick-insect and perched on a twig, and when the elephant came to feed on the fruit of the tree on which he sat, he knocked the elephant's lower teeth out and caught him by the nose. At this the elephant naturally drew back, so that his nose got stretched and became a trunk. The elephant, however, then begged for mercy, so he was allowed to go, but was obliged to keep his trunk by way of a reminder.

The elephant next met the tapir, who could not refrain from expressing his surprise at seeing the elephant's altered features, whereat the latter tried to bite him as if he still had his teeth, and would have done so but that the tapir slipped behind a rock. The elephant caught at the rock and used his tusks like a boar, but the tapir said that he would have nothing to do with a "pig." At this the elephant stretched out his trunk, caught the tapir by the nose, flung him down on the ground, and said if he met him again on the hills he would tear his head off. Since then the tapir has stayed by the river-side, avoiding the elephant that lives in the hills. And the elephant has a long trunk, and curved teeth in the upper jaw only, and he gets angry whenever he is called a "pig"; and strikes every branch that he eats either against a tree or his own foot, in order to drive away any chance stick-insect that may have settled on it. If he fails in doing so and eats the stick-insect, he goes mad at once and goes to search for the tapir.²

This story is on the lines of local Malay stories in some parts of Kedah and also on the east coast,

¹ De Morgan, i. 59-61.  
² Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 137.
where the stick-insect is called by the curious name of "elephant's fish-poison," the east coast Malays firmly believing that if an elephant accidentally swallows a stick-insect with any leaves that he may be eating, he will die as certainly as if he had eaten the well-known fish-poison called "tuba."

On one occasion when I was travelling by elephant in Kedah my mahout referred to this story, and in order to test it I got him to give the elephant some wild ginger leaves (of which the elephants are fond) on which a stick-insect was sitting. The elephant looked them over, and seeing the stick-insect, promptly tossed the leaves aside.

The story of the breach between the elephant and the pangolin or manis is told as follows:—

The elephant once attacked some Semang sleeping in the jungle, who called to Ple for help. Ple turned himself into a manis, and meeting a pair of young elephants, rolled himself up and was kicked out of the way by the male. The female called to the male to follow, but the male replied, "Wait till I have killed this thing." "What thing is that?" replied the female. "A live stone," said the male. "Swine," said the female, "stones are never alive, bring the thing here." "I am afraid to do so," said the male. "Swine!" cried the female, and the male, losing his temper, seized the manis with his trunk to fling it at his wife's head. But Ple rolled himself up and fastened on to his trunk, and the elephant trying to shake him off, and failing, trod upon it, so that the scales ran into his foot, Ple meanwhile shouting "Kro-o-o-ok." The elephant recognising Ple's voice, asked and received mercy, but the elephant since that day has a finger at the end of his trunk, and fears the cry of the manis and always holds up his trunk when he meets anything likely to hurt him.

The inland Malays say the elephant cannot endure the manis, and are hard to ride when they hear it, and Semang elephant-hunters drive him by imitating the cry of the same animal.

The tiger (like the elephant) has many names, and is one of the more important animals into which the souls of dead chiefs are supposed by the Semang to migrate after death.

Tigers and snakes had always been good friends, and when Ple once drove off a tiger which was attacking a man, the tiger henceforth became the enemy of Ple

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1 Mal. "tuba gajah" or elephant's tuba ("tuba" = *Derris elliptica*).  
2 Mal. "tënggiling."  
3 V.-St. iii. 138; cp. p. 293, *infra.* Vaughan-Stevens' editor compares the Kakkaṭa Jataka, B. iii. pp. vi. vii.
and the mistletoe, and tried to destroy the latter. The snake took the part of the tiger. But the rhinoceros-bird seized the snake by the nape of the neck and flew away with it. Then came Ple, and the bird beginning to speak, the snake fell to the ground and Ple put his foot upon its head and ordered the bird to drive away the tiger. The broad hood of the snake was produced by Ple's treading upon it, and the marks in its neck came from the bird's beak. Hence the rhinoceros-bird now kills the snake when he sees it, and makes a great noise when he sees a tiger, to drive it away. That is why the feathers of the rhinoceros-bird are used for tiger-arrows (as charms) and for those only.\(^1\)

Vaughan-Stevens states that the dead bodies of tigers (as well as of poisonous snakes) were sometimes ceremonially treated on animistic principles. The Pangan of Kelantan, according to his statement, would formerly deposit a charred stick either upon the body or before the jaws (of a dead tiger or snake), and in the case of a tiger the stripes would even be touched with charcoal in several places. This was to prevent their souls from going near the Semang on their way to their own place.\(^2\) On the other hand, tigers were sometimes said to show themselves (with snakes, etc.) to souls in Belet in order to frighten them for their wickedness. And yet other accounts declare their souls to be admitted even to Paradise, when however they are believed to change their habits and become graminivorous, or in some other way to be prevented from attacking their natural prey.

From what I myself heard, I may relate that, according to the Semang, if forest leeches (Sem. "lawai"), such as are abundant in the jungle, are picked off from the person and burnt in the fire outside the shelter, tigers will be sure to scent the burning of the blood and will hasten to the spot.

Another certain way of provoking the aggressiveness of the tiger-folk is to follow after any member of the tribe who has started on a shooting expedition in the jungle with his blowpipe, no matter whether with the object of accompanying or of recalling him.

**Monkeys.**

The coconut monkey is the subject of more than one tradition. It is a gigantic coconut monkey, for instance, that is one of the guardians of Paradise, and it is a coconut monkey too that is represented as offering advice to the parents of the race.

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\(^1\) Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 134.  
\(^2\) Ibid. p. 132.
Snakes.

Snakes and serpents of various kinds (more especially the python and the cobra) have a fairly important rôle to play in the mythology of the Negritos. The most important is the python, which the Semang connect with some of their ideas about nature, e.g. with their theory of eclipses (in which they distinguish a python enfolding and seeking to devour the sun and the moon), and Ikub Hwēā’ (Vaughan-Stevens’ “Huya”), the great world-snake of which the rainbow is believed to be the visible portion.

The origin of the cobra’s hood and of the cobra’s quarrel with the rhinoceros-bird has already been related in connection with the tiger. The same ideas are held about the souls of snakes as are held about those of tigers.

Birds.

Birds also occupy a somewhat important position in the religious life of the Semang, as will be seen in the chapter on the soul, though they do not appear to be regularly watched for purposes of augury. They are, however, believed to convey the souls of new-born children, and among the Kelantan Negritos a mother who has hope of offspring is required to eat this soul-bird; and the phrase “she has eaten the bird” has become tantamount to saying “she expects to become a mother.”

The bird which according to some Semang versions conveys men’s souls is the small Argus- pheasant. Besides this, there is the bird which conveys women’s souls, and the bird Me-el, which is the inseparable companion of Simei.
Yet another bird which figures in Semang mythology is the ring-dove ("têkukor"), which is represented as admonishing the first ancestors of mankind.

Insects.

Of insects, the stick-insect is perhaps the most important from the point of view of Semang folklore, and the strained relations between the latter and the elephant have been set forth above. It is called (as by Malays) the Malacca-cane Spirit, but the noise attributed to it is probably made by a small frog. Fireflies again are connected with the Pie traditions (as given above), and the noise made by the cicadæ is said to be the voice of Tä' Pönn's children.

Beliefs about Trees.

In accordance with Pie's command, a tree is believed to fall on a Semang who tells a lie. The leaves of the screw-pine are employed as a charm against falling trees.¹

Children's names are derived from trees near the place of birth. The after-birth is buried under the birth- or name-tree. The father then cuts notches in it, and Kari does the same with the tree on which he leans.²

Any tree can be a name-tree. The family (birth-) tree is taboo; it is not injured, nor is its fruit eaten except by an expectant mother. A woman with hope of children among the Eastern Semang (Pangan) used to visit the nearest tree belonging to the species of her birth-tree and decorate it with flowers. The soul-carrying bird always sits on the same kind of tree.³

The birth-tree on which the notches are cut dies soon after the death of its owner, but should the tree die first, its death forbodes that its owner will soon die also. The tree of a murdered man is believed to fall on the murderer.⁴

N.B.—There appears to be some confusion in Vaughan-Stevens' account between the name-tree and the birth-tree; except by chance they cannot be identical.

The soul-bird is said to rest only on trees of the same species as the birth-tree, all of which are regarded as identical.

Magic—The Medicine-man or B'lian.

Among the Semang by far the most important member of the tribe was almost invariably the Shaman or Medicine-man (called B'lian).⁵ These

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¹ Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 112.
² *U. Supra*, p. 3.
³ Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 113.
⁴ Ibid. p. 117.
⁵ Sem. "hālä." "B'lian" is of Malayan origin.
B’lians are of course of varying status, but I believe that under ordinary circumstances the chiefs of the Semang tribes are always B’lians of more or less repute, who take (among tribes more or less in touch with Malays) the Malay titles of Pēlima (= Mal. “Pēnglima”) or Pēngulu (= Mal. “Pēnghulu”). The chief of the Kedah Semang (at Siong) was called “Pēlima,” but would not admit that he was a B’lian until I had seen him charm the evil spirits out of one of the women, when he admitted that he knew something of the medicine-man’s art.\(^1\) One of the men seen by Mr. Laidlaw and myself on the east coast had also the reputation of being a notorious B’lian, who had moreover the power of turning himself into a tiger at will.

The B’lians themselves obey certain prohibitions which are not observed by the lay members of the tribe. They will not eat goat or buffalo flesh, and but rarely (it is said never, but I have seen it) that of fowls. I was further informed that the oldest and “best” of them, that is to say, in their own words, “those who know all the magic of the tribe,” receive a special form of burial, the body being deposited in a rude tree-shelter built among the branches, together with a modicum of food and water, a jungle-knife, etc. This method of tree-burial is believed to enable them to enter into Paradise (which is not the Paradise of their lay fellow-

\(^1\) B’lian is naturally a title of respect (as Bomor and Pawang are among the Malays), and as such is occasionally used by the Malays, the result being that confusion sometimes arises as to its exact meaning. The name B’lian again may be applied both to the man who can become a tiger and to the tiger into which he is believed to have turned. Thus we read in Newbold (ii. 416) of the “treacherous” B’lian “that watches over the tigers, and which is supposed on rainy nights to visit the abodes of men, and under pretext of asking for fire, to seize and tear them into pieces with its enormous claws.” In Sarawak the word is always female, it appears. Cp. p. 149, n. 1, ante.
tribesmen), by flying over the demon that scares the latter. They are moreover believed to be able to proceed, in trances, to the Fruit Paradise and bring fruit back with them; they can drive out devils; they alone know the love-charms which never fail; and they are able to slay men at a distance by means of their "sendings," which are more feared by the Malays than any magic of their own.

Above all, they can turn themselves into tigers during their lifetime, and after death their souls not infrequently enter into wild beasts, such as the elephant, tiger, and rhinoceros, and there abide until their animal embodiment dies, when they duly proceed to their own Paradise.¹

The Were-tiger Ceremony.

One of the most interesting episodes of the Cambridge Expedition in 1899-1900 was our meeting, at the little Malay hamlet of Ulu Aring in the far interior of the Peninsula, with a B'lian named Pandak who possessed a great reputation as a dangerous were-tiger.

The Malays waited for his departure before giving me this information, but although I was not aware of his reputation at the time, I had fortunately asked him a good many questions about B'lians and their reputed powers, and he had given me a good deal of interesting information. From what he told me...

¹ Mr. N. W. Thomas writes me that most probably this common feature of Shamanism first arose from the belief that animals are cleverer than men. The Shaman's magical powers are supposed to be due to the aid of the animal, and he takes its form to put them into practice. The manito (individual totem) is another case. The man does not, it is true, take the form of his manito, but practically the familiar is the manito of the Shaman. At all events this power that the B'lian claims of becoming a tiger seems clearly to account for the painting of his face, on solemn occasions, with the tiger's stripes, which are supposed to make other tigers [and men?—W.S.] afraid of him.
it appeared that he had (or believed that he had) the power of turning himself into a tiger at will, in which guise he would feast upon bodies of his victims (whether dead or alive), always, however, excepting and burying the heads.\(^1\) "When a B'lian wishes to become a tiger," said Pandak the B'lian, "he takes a handful of incense (\emph{i.e.} benzoin) and says, 'I am going to walk' ('Yê chöp'), and sets off into the hilly parts of the forest, often two or three valleys distant from his shelter of leaves. There he kindles the incense, and dipping his right hand into the smoke (to collect the fumes in it), he holds it just above the level of his right shoulder funnel-wise, and blows the smoke through the funnel thus formed. This process he repeats a second time in front of the left shoulder, and again just in front of his face,—at the same time invoking the spirits of the mountains to grant his wishes. He then recommences, and collecting more smoke in his fist, blows through it as before—this time, however, close to the ground. He next squats on his haunches and leans forward on his hands, turning his head quickly to left and right.

"Presently" (I tell the tale in his own words) "his 'skin changes, fur grows, and a tail appears.'\(^2\) Thus he remains from seven to twelve days, during which time he raids the neighbouring cattle-pens till his craving is fully appeased, when he returns to the spot that he started from, squats down as before, and turns himself back by means of saying simply, 'I am going home' ('Yê wet'). Throughout the period of his absence, however prolonged, his wife,

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\(^1\) This claim of the Semang medicine-man is evidently the foundation of the atrocious custom attributed by the Malays to the Udai; see "Burial Customs," p. 95, \emph{ante.}

\(^2\) According to Mr. H. N. Ridley, the tail, in one version of the story, is the first part to appear.
Pandak the Were-Tiger (on the Right).

(Ulu Kelantan.)
sitting at home, must keep the fire always burning and from time to time burn incense. Otherwise he would disappear entirely. On regaining his human form, he is usually extremely sick and vomits up the still undigested bones that he had swallowed in his tiger-shape." It is, I was told, impossible to shoot him, as would otherwise be done, in this stage, as he invariably disappears before there is time to fire a shot.

**Medicine.**

We now come to the subject of medicine and exorcism, which latter forms the most important part of the Semang medicine-man's ritual. In the estimation of the Semang, Diseases are not caused by demons, but are demons, and require to be exorcised as such.

I will therefore describe an actual case in which I was by good luck enabled to see one of the Semang methods of "casting out devils" from a person believed to be possessed.

One of the women in the Semang encampment at Siong in Kedah suffered terribly at times from severe pains in the limbs, and one day while I was there she was seized with one of her paroxysms, and after much weeping and crying suddenly got up and rushed out into the jungle at the back of the encampment, shrieking as she went. The sight was a very distressing one, as I could not make out anything for certain from her exclamations except the fact that she had great pain in her limbs, and as I had come over from the nearest Malay village, which was some miles distant, early in the morning, and had left my medicine-case behind me, I had no means of alleviating the poor woman's sufferings. However, when all the Semang in the
encampment had one by one slipped out after her, I too followed in order to see whether anything could be done for her, or whether she was about to die in the jungle, as some of her tribe assured me. On reaching the spot I found her sitting down with her legs stretched out in front of her, whilst the chief (Pelima) was digging away as if for dear life with a pointed stick to try and uproot the stump of a sapling a few yards away from her back. After a good deal of hard work, which caused the perspiration to stand out upon him like beads, he succeeded in uprooting the stump, and thereupon taking some soil from the hole he rubbed it upon her back and stomach. He then showed me the identical stump, the stem of which was pinched in—a sure sign, he declared, of the late presence of the demon of which it had been the embodiment.\(^1\) He then dug up a second root, which proved to be that of a creeper whose roots had grown across each other in a manner suggestive of the mandrake; this too he declared to be the habitation of a dangerous demon, and soil taken from the hole from which it had been uprooted was rubbed on the woman in the same manner as before. By this time his patient had commenced to recover, and he informed me further that the cleared space where she happened to be sitting had been the site of a previous encampment, and that he had thus been exorcising these two evil spirits from the spot where she used formerly to bathe (the inference being that they had attacked her while bathing). The roots being extracted, the Pelima proceeded to perform the peculiar rite known

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\(^1\) One of these roots (the stump) belonged to a sapling of the "Pengling" tree, called by the Malays "jang-gut kli" (="Beard of the K'li fish"), and the other that of a creeper called "awe kembong"("k. creeper").
to the Malays as "sembor sirih,"¹ and to conclude the ceremony two of the audience picked up a couple of dead and fallen saplings and hurled them forcibly into the surrounding jungle, in order (as they explained) that the evil spirits might go with them. By this time the woman had, strange to say, for the time, at all events, perfectly recovered, and in the course of about half an hour she was able to walk back to the encampment, two males of the party working off their emotion by running up a couple of forest trees (placing the flat of the foot against the trunk), and shouting for joy.

On coming away I begged of the Pelima the two queer stumps which had given him so much trouble to uproot, which are now at Cambridge.

According to Logan, the Semang not infrequently imposed upon the superstitious Malays, when they wished to procure a supply of tobacco and had no products to barter, by presenting them with medicines which they pretended to derive from particular shrubs and trees in the woods, and which they represented as efficacious for the cure of headache and other complaints.²

I may add that we learn from Vaughan-Stevens that charred sticks and the blackening of the feet with charcoal were regarded as effective charms against disease,³ also that the body is painted for magical purposes.⁴

The women also wear combs inscribed with magic patterns against disease.⁵ The wind-demon is believed to deposit the disease upon the forehead, hence the importance of having the charm upon the head. In the huts the combs are not worn.

¹ "Sembor sirih." To perform this rite the Malay medicine-man ejects chewed betel-leaf accompanied by a charm upon some part of the patient's person, which in this case was the stomach and small of the back.
³ Cp. supra, p. 59.
⁴ Cp. supra, p. 38.
⁵ The Pangan women of Ulu Kelantan wear "huchong" leaves stuck in their combs as charms.
The men had a corresponding set of charm-patterns for their quivers and charm-holders, the latter having been substituted, as more convenient, for the partly charred sticks originally given by the Putto.\(^1\)

The women also had the "tahong," or birth-bamboo worn for magical purposes during pregnancy.\(^2\)

**Love-charms.**

I now come to the famous love-charm of the wild tribes which is called "Chinduai," and appears to be very widely if not universally known to them, though its actual origin is quite uncertain.

The Chinduai is said by the Semang to be the name of an exceedingly small and rare plant, a few inches only in height, and possessing a very small white blossom of extraordinarily powerful fragrance.

When the plant is met with it is pulled up by the root (and burnt?), and a few drops of oil are dropped upon it, after which a little of the oil from the plant is smeared upon the forehead and breast, and the following mystical formula repeated:—

\[
\text{En-en Bonn,} \\
\text{Tå-tå' noi,} \\
\text{Nai ka-bleh,} \\
\text{Chuang boi,} \\
\text{Chépöö dóöi,} \\
\text{Tug-tug loi.}
\]

I spent a good many hours in endeavouring to discover the exact meaning of the words, with, however, only partial success. It may therefore serve as a problem to be worked out at leisure by those who enjoy such linguistic enigmas. It is only fair, however, to say that I doubt whether it is in the ordinary Semang dialect. The Siong people told me that they themselves could not explain it properly, because the language of their charms was harder to understand than what they usually spoke. It quite possibly

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\(^1\) See vol. i. p. 437. \(^2\) Vol. i. pp. 458, 459.
belongs (as do so many charms in Malay and most other languages) to a more archaic dialect.

A tentative version runs as follows:—

Look, look, comrade!
As this oil drips,
Alone by yourself
Approach towards me,
(And) yearn towards me
(As this) oil spreads upwards.

Sendings or “Pointings.”

The following information concerning the bamboo sendings or rather “pointings” (“tuju”) used by the B’lians of their tribe was furnished me by the Semang themselves.

The ordinary “tuju” is a mere slip or sliver of bamboo about two inches long. This is laid upon the right palm, and commanded to go and kill its intended victim. It thereupon flies through the air, and on reaching its victim pierces him to the heart. The “tuju” with the nick in it was (they told me) far the more deadly than the one without, as on reaching its victim it would “twist itself round his heart-strings.”

One form of the ceremony is as follows:—Wax from a deserted bees’-comb is taken and fashioned roughly into a taper. This taper is lighted, and a little incense burnt. The sliver (“tuju”) is then commanded to proceed directly, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left until it reaches its destined victim.

When I asked some members of the tribes at how

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1 The nicked “tuju” may very probably, I am inclined to believe, represent a degenerated bamboo arrow, the nick still carrying on the tradition of the barbs. It must be remembered that in the version of the Ramayana, as modified by Malay shadow-players, the arrows of the combatants are represented as a kind of small serpents or dragons which did not require to be shot with the bow, but flew of their own accord to the mark, directed merely by the magic power, or will, of those who owned them.
great a distance one of these sendings could be expected to take effect, I was told "as far as from here (Siong) to Ulu Selama," a distance of probably two days' journey across country.

The Malays especially fear the power of these "pointings," which are, they believe, almost invariably fatal.

II.—Sakai.

The beliefs of the Sakai, whether concerning celestial or terrestrial phenomena, have been very imperfectly described, and the scanty details that have been collected on this subject, except perhaps for the materials collected by Luering, are in no way characteristic, though they appear, so far as they go, to be very similar to those of the Semang.

Sakai Legend of Early Man—Origin of the Blowpipe Patterns.

Originally man and beast lived on fruits alone, and every tree and plant (even rattan and bamboo) bore sweet and wholesome fruit. Demons ("Hantu"), however, dwelt in all of them, and hence men, whenever they desired to fell a tree, used to knock upon its trunk to warn the Demons to leave it. The land, however, was full of apes, who used to break off twigs at random through mere wantonness and thus incurred the wrath of the Demons; so that many trees took to bearing seeds only, or protected their fruit by means of hard or prickly shells; or else bore but sour or noxious fruits. Then famine commenced, and Tuhan ordered the people to slay wild beasts also for food, and taught them the use of the blowpipe. Whereupon certain trees and plants offered to make their sap poisonous and lend it to man, so that they might be revenged upon the apes. The bamboo Demons, however, soon became wroth with man as well, because so many stems of bamboo were used, and entering the blowpipes either diverted the darts, or licked off the dart-poison to spoil their shooting. Then they applied once again to Tuhan for help, and Tuhan grasping in his red-hot hands a clump of "Seven Bamboos" (into which the Demons had crept), forthwith turned the Demons themselves into stone.

The Batin, who had fallen asleep, now awoke, and Tuhan (seeing the Demons in his blowpipe stretching out their necks) called to him and told him to put the Demons into the fire by means of a long rattan (cane). So did the Batin, and so did they all, and thus many demons were killed.

After that Tuhan had annihilated the Demons, he observed, on his way, that the Batin and his people were suffering greatly from hunger and thirst. Therefore he touched the ground where the Seven Bamboos had been growing, until there shot up a number of fresh young bamboo sprouts, such as are willingly eaten by

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1 Tuhan is of Malay or Malayan origin. The title of Batin, too, points to southern (probably Jakun) influence.
2 See Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 128, 129.
the Sakai, and indeed by all native races of the Peninsula—as well as full-grown bamboos, which contained water. Thus all the chiefs obtained enough to eat, and henceforth they cooked the sprouts of bamboo in the internodes of the full-grown stems themselves. And since the thorns of the rattan had scratched the interior of the tube, each headman gave his own tribe the marks which had appeared on his own bamboo, as a magic design to protect them against the Demons, and hence each clan derived its own so-called “pichod”-mark.

Then each of the headmen made a quiver for himself out of one of the internodes of the Seven-fold Bamboo, and out of the abnormal growth, by drilling a hole through it, a buckle for his own girdle, in which he carried the quiver. Later, people took to burning into their quivers patterns representing the various marks that had been left by Tuhan's red-hot hands upon each separate part of the bamboos, no two tribes selecting exactly the same pattern, since each demon was most easily quelled by the particular design which had slain his own relative.

And when Tuhan had given them a complete series of charm-patterns, each tribe followed the graining (“Baris hidup”) of the node which fell to its chief.

This is the reason that the “Orang Sakai” are fond of ape's flesh.¹

World-beliefs.

The Sakai of Ulu Bertang say that Rahu is a monster which appears to resemble a dragon, since it “swallows like a serpent.” It is seen to crawl across the heavens, and its colour is at once both green and black (“bla-ûr bl-äk”). The moon sees Rahu approach and becomes very red (“rëngăn”), perhaps from fear. To help the moon, people strike drums and bamboos (“awäd”) together, and scream out to frighten Rahu. This is what they shout and sing:

The moon has been eclipsed by Rahu,
We call out to the moon, we call out to Rahu,
O Rahu, let loose my moon, oh ! ²

“Then the moon is let loose ('bër hôl’) by the monster, and we are all glad, for if the moon were not it would be very dark. We do the same when Rahu tries to swallow the sun.”

World-legends—“K'lang B’lok,” the World-eagle.

On the east side of Gunong Renduài, in Ulu Bertang, in the Kinta district of Perak (near Sungei

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 128, 129.
² Ya kilip gîchâ ya Rahû, O Rahû bërhôl gîchâ eng, oi !
Siput), the low-lying reaches of which are now known as S. Batu Putih, or "White Rock River," there is a hollow ("gugup") in a steep and inaccessible wall of limestone, at about half its height. This is the nest of the "K'lang B'lok," a giant eagle, which at one time nearly succeeded in destroying all human beings. Only two persons had managed to escape, both the youngest members of their respective families, a boy called Bā-lut (i.e. "youngest son"), and a girl called Wā-lut (i.e. "youngest daughter"). These two owed their safety hitherto to the possession of a magic knife (called "jēhud paung"). When they found that they had alone escaped with their lives, the youth approached the maiden saying, "Marry me?" The girl replied, "All right! if you will cause the K'lang B'lok to die, I will be your wife." The boy replied, "I will kill the K'lang B'lok." After saying this he climbed to the cave and waited for the return of the giant bird. It was then about noon, but suddenly the sky became dark, and the sun disappeared behind the wings of the bird, the rustling of which was like the sound of thunder ("'ngkuh"). Bā-lut then stretched out his right arm with the magic knife, which proved to be so sharp that in its flight the approaching bird cut its own neck against it and died. Then Bā-lut married Wā-lut, and they two became the ancestors of all the people now living in this world.

To this Dr. Luering of Perak, who sends me the foregoing tale, adds that he was informed, not by the

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1 "Mai lik gi-chā" (Mal. "manusia habis di-makan").
2 "Giy ru eng" = "live (lit. sit) with me."
teller of this story but by a third person, that there could be no doubt that the cave which was pointed out to Dr. Luering himself was really the nest of the K'lang B'lok, because many years ago, no one knows how many, a man succeeded in climbing up to it, and there he saw two very large eggs of the K'lang B'lok, which, however, had been turned into stone, and could not therefore be hatched. "Oh, if they ever were hatched, this world would come to an end, and we should all be eaten up. No one can withstand the might of K'lang B'lok." This was the exclamation made by Siamat, the man who recounted the story, when asked whether he had ever heard of the eggs of the K'lang B'lok having been seen. The cave can only be reached by rope-ladders.

Another bird connected with Sakai beliefs by Dr. Luering is the Coucal ("but-but" = Mal. "bubut"), which has the power of healing the broken legs of its young ones. People go and find the nest, if they have good luck, for one may search for a lifetime and never find it. When the bird has young, if you break the leg of one of them, its cries will attract the mother, who will come and see what is the matter, and when she has found it out she will fly into the jungle to find the plant called "akar tēmu urat," or "creeper with the meeting leaf-ribs," which she will rub upon the injured limb. Next morning if one returns to the nest it will be found that the young bird is quite well again. This medicine has sometimes been obtained by frightening the mother-bird so that she drops the plant, but the Sakai know how to find it in the jungle, and some Malays also know the plant.\(^1\) To prepare it for use you have but to steep it

\(^1\) Cp. p. 157, ante.
in oil, and rub it upon the affected part, when it will join even broken bones and heal all manner of wounds. Dr. Luering’s authority said that he was shown the plant some years ago, but unfortunately had never found it since, and his informant had died, but he remembered distinctly that his informant broke the growing plant about two inches from the ground, and joining the broken pieces again, tied them with a string. The next morning the two pieces had again grown together, so that there was no sign of them ever having been broken. It was also impossible to break them at the former place, though they could still be broken elsewhere. Seeing this was believing.

To return, the Sakai are said to indulge in a ceremonial exorcism of the spirits of thunder, during the prevalence of which they go out of their houses and brandish their poles and arms, to frighten away the evil spirits.1

The forces of nature are thought to possess the souls of certain evil spirits or demons, which cause them to harm people. The forces themselves are not demons. The harm which is sometimes caused by wind and lightning is the work of demons. If a demon is banished by a powerful charm, he dare not in such a case cause (for instance) the lightning to deviate from its destined goal, e.g. to set the jungle on fire, in order to do harm of another kind by striking a man. The winds are believed to be seven in number, each one lying above the other; seven, like three, being a mystic number to the Sakai. The whirlwind—a product of several meeting winds (called “Angin Puting B’liong”)—is cone-shaped like the haft of an

adze ( = Mal. “puting”). This name is said to be taken from the cone-like shape assumed by leaves when they are being rolled up by the wind in question.¹

The earth, moreover, is regarded as a thin, flat crust floating upon a nether ocean. The heavens consist of several layers or tiers, the lowest of which may probably be identified with the traditional region of “Kêlonsong Awan” (lit. “Husks, or Shards, of the Clouds”), beyond which lies the Sakai Island of Fruit-trees.²

The inhabitants of the upper heavens consist of Tuhan or Peng,³ the “god” of the Sakai, and a giantess named “Granny Long-breasts” (“Gendui Lanyut”), whose task of washing human souls will be described more fully in the succeeding section. Both men and women go to this Paradise, but children, instead of undergoing the ordeal, are allowed to go and play in a place called “Noon,” ⁴ which lies underneath the aforesaid “Cloud-husks.”

Sakai Soul-theories.

About the appearance and attributes of the soul as conceived by the Sakai, we have at present no information whatever.

After death, however, the Sakai say that “Granny Lanyut” or “Long-breasts” (“Genowie Lanyoot”), the Queen of Hell, washes their sin-blackened souls in hot water.⁵ All men’s souls must be purified,⁶ and after death they proceed to Nêraka (the Infernal Regions),

¹ No. It is really from the Malay word for water-spout (from its conical form). The passage may perhaps refer to “B’landas” beliefs, at least to some of Malayan origin.—Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 148, 149.
² Ibid. These too are Malayan beliefs.
³ Perhaps to be identified with the Semang Ponn, q.v.
⁴ The original has “Tingha Howi,” which I take probably to = Mal. “Têngah Hari,” i.e. “Noon.”
⁵ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 130.
⁶ Ibid. This is also Malayan.
where they come before the aforesaid personage, who is described as a giantess with pendulous breasts, which she throws over her shoulders. Elsewhere she is described as sitting in the usual posture of a Sakai woman, sideways, with the feet drawn up to the left, and with her hands resting on her knees, except when she was engaged in washing the souls. She makes the souls (after their purification) walk along the horizontal edge of a monstrous chopper, which hangs with point turned away from her over a big vessel, to the middle of which it nearly reaches. The water in this vessel is kept at boiling point, Granny Lanyut herself stoking the fire. A block of wood ("tras lèpong"?) juts out from the opposite side of the copper so as nearly to meet the point of the blade, and the souls have to spring across the intervening gap. Bad souls fall in, good ones escape, the latter proceeding along the block of wood in the direction of the Island of Fruit-trees. Here they wait till Tuhan sends them a friend of the same sex to show them the way to the "Husks of the Clouds."

If they have no friend, they must wait for the arrival of another soul who has a friend there. Upon this journey the two sexes are separated, and none but adults are allowed to proceed; all children ("without limit of age or sex") stay with Tuhan instead of proceeding to Granny Lanyut. When eventually they go to the place called "Noon" (?) they spend their time in play, and (like their elders) do not require to eat.

The souls that fall in are fished out by Granny Lanyut as soon as they are clean enough, when they are rubbed, and set upon the block of timber. If they then require further purification, they are
thrown in a second time, and if necessary a third time, and so on up to seven times, when if they still remain black, they are cast out by Granny Lanyut to wander on earth again as demons (of the kind most appropriate to the sins they have committed). Two such "lost-soul" demons are the Dëgup Demon and Grave Demon, to both of which we shall presently revert.

The Sakai Deity.

Tuhan, the Sakai ("Blandas") god, and Kari, the Semang Thunder-god, are (says Vaughan-Stevens, without, however, giving any proof) quite different persons.

About Tuhan we are unfortunately told very little. We gather, however, that he is the supreme judge of the souls of men, who are sent before him by Granny Lanyut, and that the demons are the agents of his punishments. And elsewhere we are told that whenever the Sakai have done wrong, Tuhan gives the demons leave to attack them, and that against his decree there is no contending. He is not prayed to, as his will is unalterable.

The name of the chief spirit or god of the Sakai is, however, in other places given by Vaughan-Stevens as Peng; e.g. in that writer's account of the "tuang-tuang" ceremony, where Peng's power over the demons is described.

Spirits and Demons.

Of Sakai demons ("Nyani") in general we learn from Vaughan-Stevens that there are both male and female demons, but that there is no intercourse between

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1 Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 131.
2 Ibid. Note that the name at least of "Tuhan" is Malay. The name of "Peng" is uncorroborated.
3 Ibid. p. 132.
4 Z.j. E. xxvi. 163.
them, and consequently no propagation of the species. They prefer, nevertheless, to live in pairs like human beings. Peng (or "Allah") is able to annihilate them, and can also increase their numbers, but nobody (else) can kill them. The magician alone is in a position to keep them at a distance, when they want to inflict injury upon any one, and that only if Peng himself has no reason for permitting them to cause it, as otherwise the power of the magician is ineffectual. We are also told that demons, especially the male ones, are not afraid of women; and that at the "tuang-tuang" ceremony they enter the ring from above and pass out of it through the ground.¹

Of other spirits and demons Vaughan-Stevens gives the following information:—

The demons into which the souls that cannot be purified are changed vary from those which are merely shut out of the "Cloud-Husks" to the Hantu Dégup or Ghost Demon, which suffers from cold, thirst, and hunger.

The Sakai think (as has been already mentioned) that they must have done something wrong before any demon (with the exception of the Dégup Demon) gets permission from Tuhan to attack them. In any case, however, they consider that all demons should be avoided "like the tiger," and when sick (though not when dying) they seek to frighten them away (or oppose them by means of spells), just as if they were human beings.²

¹ Z.f. E. xxvi. 163.
² Hence when Vaughan-Stevens declares (ii. 132) that there is no trace of demon - worship, he is evidently using the word "worship" in its narrow (and popular) sense. So too on pp. 135, 136, his remark that "the idea of prayer is quite foreign to the Orang Hutan" is due to a similar employment of popular phraseology. See J. A. vol. iv. p. 430.—"The Sakai deprecate the Nyani or superior spirits, and the Pateh or inferior ones, which are male and female."
There are four chiefs of the world of demons, viz.: a Batin, Jinang, Jurukrah, and Penglima.¹

The symptoms of a man killed by the Dégup Demon resemble those caused by snake-bite in the foot. Men can easily escape from a demon by running, because both its feet are reversed. If, however, they are overtaken, the demon shakes them and they soon fall dead. All deaths by demons are permitted by Tuhan, who decides how long each man ought to live.

The Dégup Demon.

The Dégup Demon is a lost, but immortal soul, which being so spotted that Granny Lanyut is unable to purify it even after seven times bathing it in boiling water, has been expelled by her from hell, and is undergoing punishment on earth for its sins. It is visible, and always slays² all whom it meets, without, however, causing them pain. It cannot go far from the spot where its body is buried, but seeks for warmth and comfort in the vicinity of the grave. Even, however, when it finds what it seeks, it derives no benefit. "Unbearably tormented, it seeks relief and finds none, except on the grave, and when it fails to find the latter (the grave) it may be heard at night shrieking "Gup! gup! gup!" (Vaughan-Stevens declared that he had often heard it, by night only, but attributed the cry to a small owl or gecko.) When it finds the grave, it cowers down upon it, taking the form of an old man or woman whose feet are turned backwards (as is the case with other demons).³

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 134. A proof of Malayan influence.
² Yet (pp. 133, 134) V.-St. says that though (unlike other demons) it had power from Granny Lanyut to kill whomsoever it met, it might only frighten them.
³ In his account of the "tuang-tuang" ceremony, after stating that the soul of a magician could not be damned, whilst that of a Batin could, Vaughan-Stevens
The Sakai will leave any place at once where even a single evil-doer dies, the whole tribe moving on and rebuilding their village, and never returning to the deserted site. The number of deaths, however, does not matter if the deaths may be attributed to other causes (than the Hantu Đēgup), nor if all the deceased bore good reputations. Hence the Sakai avoid Malays, who always have (with them) a bad reputation, although they maintain that dead Malays go to a different place.

The Grave Demon.

Of the Hantu Kubur (or Grave Demon) Vaughan-Stevens says \(^1\) that the use of the anchak ("anchap"), or sacrificial tray, which is suspended over Sakai graves, is to receive food and water destined for the Grave Demon.\(^2\) It is again for the Grave Demon that the fire on the grave is lit. The soul (Mal. "sēmangat") of the deceased has already gone to the nether regions ("Nēraka"), but his wicked deeds continue to wander about near the grave in the form of a grave demon in order to find some human embodiment into which they can enter. A good man gives them no opportunity, but a bad one allows them to enter, and becomes worse in consequence. If the Grave Demon finds no such new place of abode, it continues as follows: — "If the soul of a Batin was damned, the punishment consisted in this, that his soul was turned away by Granny Lanyut as unwashable, and returned to the earth as a Ghost Demon or Hantu Degup. Anhungered, he saw an abundance of fruits on every side; thirsty, he saw water everywhere, yet could not reach it either, so that his soul wandered about continually in order to find somebody who would bring it nourishment (since as a Batin he was accustomed to having food brought to him). But ordinary people fled before him, and the magician, whenever he came upon him, struck at him with his fearful stick: the stick with the triple tiger's claw-like growth, from the stem of a kind of rattan, which the Malays call Dahan, and which inflicts exceedingly painful wounds" (Z.f. E. xxvi. 148).

\(^1\) Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 141.
\(^2\) Cp. supra, p. 98.
must return to the grave in three days' time. The use of the fire is to show it the way. If after the three days it finds no new home, it sits by the fire at night, eating and drinking the contents of the "anchak" or tray, and sleeping throughout the day-time, and having continued in this state for seven days, it dies outright and vanishes for ever. Hence after seven days no more food is put in the tray. While it is alive and being fed it is harmless, and does no harm to the survivors, who visit the grave either to bring it food or to attend to the fire. As the Grave Demon is invisible, no one can tell whether the deceased left behind him a Grave Demon or not. Therefore the fire is lit and the food offered on behalf of all the members of the tribe, both big and little.¹

**Demons of the Atmosphere.**

In Vaughan-Stevens' class of invisible demons there are many kinds of demons of the atmosphere which work through the agency of rain, heat, mountains, lakes, stones, and trees. These are, however, not very dangerous, and seldom kill.

The Demon Huntsman (Hantu Sêburu) is a lost soul that has been excluded from the "Cloud-Husks" ("Kêlonsong Awan"), and sent back to earth by Granny Lanyut. Like the "Lofty Demon," it resembles a jungle-man, and disappears from sight the moment it is seen. It is never far from water, and is sometimes swallowed in drinking and thus introduced into the blood. It also resembles the Baunan Demon, except in form, which in the case of the latter is that of a huge black human figure.

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 141. Cp. ib. 83 n., for a "Hantu" with "vampire" proclivities.
The Mati Anak (or Stillborn-child Demon) has two forms, that of a frog and that of a bird. Like the other three demons, it is a soul expelled from Paradise by Granny Lanyut, and resembles such souls in all other respects.

The Jēmoi Demon resembles a black dog, which disappears as soon as it is met with. It is seen in bushes after a long day's journey, and seems a sort of personification of fatigue, the sight of it bringing great bodily prostration, and the legs of the victim swelling up until he is unable to move from the spot. In other respects it resembles the foregoing.¹

There are also many tree-spirits which belong to the class of invisible spirits, but are not very dangerous, and seldom kill.² Also the crop-spirits belonging to the same class, chief of which is the Hantu Juling or Squinting Demon, which is exorcised with so much care at the harvesting of the rice.³

Before leaving the subject of demons, reference should be made to the Sakai custom of hanging up the jaws of apes (that have been shot with blowpipe

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¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 135.
² Before a tree is cut down, a Sakai taps three or four times on the trunk with the back of his implement. The legendary explanation is that this ceremony is a notice to quit to the Hantu of the tree. Vaughan-Stevens could never get a satisfactory explanation.—V.-St. iii. 128.
³ The process has already been described, but may here, for convenience' sake, be in brief recapitulated. Before felling the trees for a padi-clearing all the tools had to be charmed. Women and children might not be present on account of the dangers from evil spirits. Saplings were cut and erected at sunrise and the handle of a hatchet hung from them. After repeating a number of charms the magician replaced the head of the hatchet in the helve and returned it to its owner, subsequently doing the same for the other tools. The ceremony of burning the felled timber was likewise accompanied by magical ceremonies. At the planting of the rice the magician performed various ceremonies intended to make the rice grow short, to protect it from wild animals and evil spirits, and to make the seed fertile. Care had to be exercised not to awake the mouse-demons.

Before the commencement of harvest a magical ceremony was performed to secure the soul of the rice; this was followed by a feast, after which the labours of the harvest, till then in the hands of the women alone, were continued. Supra, vol. i. p. 344 sq.
darts and eaten) from the roof of the house.\textsuperscript{1} This is done in order to keep away the ape-demons, which cause epileptic fits. This form of madness ("gila"), as the Sakai call it (\textit{i.e.} the grinning and showing of teeth that is seen in apes as they fall from the tree after being shot, and before the hunters kill them with the parang or chopper), is inflicted upon the hunter by the ape-demon, if the latter is not diverted from the object of its revenge.\textsuperscript{2}

Dr. Luering of Perak writes me, that the spirits which most afflict the Sakai of Ulu Bertang are the following:—"Nyani' manus," the tiger spirit; "Nyani' s'rāk," the jungle or forest spirit; "Nyani' tiu," the river or water spirit. These three spirits can more or less be overcome by the skill of the Sakai, either by charms or medicine, but another spirit called "Nyani' jēhū'," or the tree spirit, is so quick in working mischief that no help is possible. He comes down from the trees when no man knows, and before any one suspects it, has slain his victim.\textsuperscript{3}

Dr. Luering inquired after the elephant spirit, which is so much feared by the Perak Malays, and which, the Malays believed, had quite recently killed one of the greatest chieftains of the state (the Dato' Penglima Kinta, who died of dropsy), but the Sakai knew nothing of any such spirit. Questioned as to small-pox (Mal. "champak" = Sak. "ginas"), they said that it was a "Nyani' gop" or Malay spirit, which was very hostile to the Sakai, while it treated the Malays kindly. The chieftain of the Sahum tribe remarked that he used to estimate his tribe at about three

\textsuperscript{1} The Perak Sakai similarly suspend the (lower) jaws of civet-cats ("musang") and other animals, as well as bunches of hornbill skulls.—\textit{J. R. A. S.}, S. B., No. 21, p. 162.  
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Z. f. E.} xxvi. 169.  
\textsuperscript{3} For the offerings made in expelling these spirits (the "Balei Nyani"), \textit{v. Fasc. Mal.} p. 46.
hundred souls, but within the last year twenty-four had
died of small-pox. Dr. Luering's informant added:—

"We believe in 'kramats' or sacred places, at
which we worship like the Malays, burning incense
('kėmēnyian'). We learnt this from our ancestors.
Of course, some of these sacred places belong to
Malay spirits ('Nyani' gop'). In case of sickness we
make vows there ('bērkaul'). We have no other
word for making a vow.

"These spirits have sometimes been seen: Malay
spirits look like Malays, others look like ourselves.
There is a sacred spot on Gunong Banglang,\(^1\) near
the steep rock-wall there. I have never seen it, but
our people go there to make vows. Another is on
Gunong Renduwai, where the K'lang B'lok was
killed. Of course there are many more, and some
are very powerful, but there is no name for them
except that of the place where they dwell."

According to Vaughan-Stevens (in his account of
the "tuang-tuang" ceremony), the term "physic" is
somewhat misleading, for it is only in very few cases
that the magicians act to any extent as physicians.
They are really magicians pure and simple, the correp-
sponding profession in the case of the southern tribes
being rather that of medicine-man (or "Poyang").
As the latter, however, has not been formally initiated
into the mysteries of the magicians, as preserved by
the wilder tribes of the jungle, a new profession has
arisen there, viz. that of healing diseases with infusions
of herbs applied inwardly.

The ancient demon- or devil-man is something
quite different. Through the magic power bequeathed
to him by his ancestors, he exorcises all kinds of

\(^1\) Or "Balang" (Malay), south-east of Batu Pipis.
demons and diseases, and the few plants that he employs are applied outwardly either in pressed form or in that of an infusion.¹

The Sakai magicians in ancient times exercised an influence far exceeding even the prerogative of a chief. On every occasion their counsel was required, and even the Batin² did not undertake any action of importance, such as a migration or a war, without their approval. Moreover, they filled an important rôle both at births and at marriages, though not (it appears) at funerals.³

The chief power of the magician consisted in his universally recognised attribute of being able to assure the health of his clientèle, and to provide for them the means of nourishment and the like by virtue of his charms. The magician of the wilder tribes is distinguished from his colleagues of the south by the fact that he still believes firmly in the power of his charms.

Besides this, the magician could punish any persons who offended him by permitting the demons to torment them and make them ill, this result being attained by his refusing them his protection against the demons that were always ready to torment mankind. He had, moreover, the right to step into a house and take away the charms that were hung up in the house, and any one who hindered him from so doing was compelled to suffer the penalty of being killed by means of his club. The supreme god (Allah, Tuhan, or Peng) alone had the power and the right to dictate to the demons on whom they should inflict their injuries. No demon could injure a magician, and the latter’s death (no matter from what

cause) was regarded solely as the act of heaven. The chief reason alleged for this belief was that the power of the magician had been developed to its utmost (i.e. that he had learnt everything that magic had to teach him), and that he was therefore entrusted by Allah with the charge of caring (in an unrecognised way) for the souls of the dead, whether in heaven or the Isle of Fruits. The soul of a magician could never be damned, but that of a Batin could.\(^1\)

The trappings of a Sakai magician consisted of his headband, necklace, girdle, kneebands, and staff.

His headband was painted "in black colour and without dots" (to distinguish it from the red pattern with black dots worn on ordinary occasions by all members of the tribe).

His necklace ("koy-iss") consisted of a "string of seeds of a kind no longer procurable,"\(^2\) to which was attached a tortoise-bone pendant, with tiger's teeth or beads on both sides.

His girdle consisted of tassel-like bunches of "s'lowk" (?) leaves.

His kneebands consisted of "linok" or squirrel-tails, strung as closely together as possible.

His hair was allowed to fall down to its full length (for it was never cut!) over his face, so that his features were all but hidden.

His loin-cloth (unlike that of his fellow-tribesmen) was entirely plain and undecorated.

The emblem of his dignity—a staff—was made from Sātambun ("Tamoon") wood, and was said to have been originally the emblem of a Batin,\(^3\) which was

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1. Z. f. E. xxvi. 147. V. n. 3, infra.
2. This statement is scarcely credible. It is not at all likely that the seeds could have belonged to plants or trees that had died out, nor is it likely that any formerly imported seeds have ceased to be imported.
3. This and similar statements ap-
adopted at the time of the first influx of Malays, in place of the ancient mark of the magician, viz. a rare deformed growth or "sport" of the bamboo, which was incised with powerful charms for quelling evil spirits. None but the magicians might bear this staff, which it was believed would injure any one else who tried to do so.¹

One of these staffs which was collected by Vaughan-Stevens measured 62 cm. in length, and bore, firstly, a charm designed as a protection against the “P’wlli” (?), or "Vampire of Shake-Net Island" (which was the traditional first home of the race); secondly, a charm against the ape spirit or epilepsy; and thirdly, a charm against the argus-pheasant spirit or lunacy.²

In addition to his staff, the Sakai magician also occasionally employed a sprinkling-brush named “chen-ow,” with which, in the performance of certain ceremonies, he sprinkled the demons.³

It may be here further noted that all the Sakai, whether magicians or not, whenever they find themselves compelled to handle any magical object, are in the habit of taking a leaf into the hand, to prevent the demon (Hantu) that resides in the said object from passing directly into their persons.⁴

I may add that iron may not (according to Vaughan-Stevens) be used for cutting either the hair or the finger-nails.⁵

¹ Z.f. E. xxvi. 166-169.
² Ibid. p. 169; cp. p. 264, infr.
³ Ibid. p. 166.
⁴ Ibid. p. 167.
⁵ Ibid. xxix. 178.
Medicine-huts.

We are also informed that a special type of medicine-hut was formerly owned by the Sakai magicians (in addition to their own private dwelling-hut),¹ that the latter stood "deep in the forest," that it was built on the level of the ground, and that it was protected against intruders by means of a post, which was planted in the ground in front of it, and hung about with a medley of bones, leaves, and flowers.

The shape of these huts is said to have originally been round, and none but magicians were allowed to enter them, or to see their contents, which consisted of bamboos incised with special charms.²

Vaughan-Stevens was only allowed to enter such a hut once (and that only after a sort of ceremony of admittance into the tribe, which consisted in fern-seed bruised in water being poured over him). The walls and roof of the house were hung with tufts of dried plants, and bamboos of all sizes lay scattered about upon the ground and in every corner, all of them being covered with incised patterns.³

Exorcism or "Tuang-tuang" Ceremony ("Kuwet-niss").

"Kuwet-niss" is, as it appears, the older name for

¹ Vaughan-Stevens adds that the Sakai magicians of the present day employ their own dwelling-houses as medicine-huts; though even now a cave will sometimes be fitted up to do duty for this purpose.
² Z.f.E. xxvi. 145. Strong confirmation of this statement of Vaughan-Stevens with regard to the Sakai medicine-huts is to be found in J. I. A. vol. iv. p. 439: "They (the Sakai of Perak) practise a sort of Sibylism. An arbour of thorns is framed, into which a man and his wife are put. The neighbours perform a chant outside, and a strange noise is then supposed to be heard, which is believed to be a sign that the spirit they have invoked has possessed the pair enclosed in the arbour. The latter then come forth, and whatever they utter is regarded as an expression of the will of the spirits alluded to."
³ Ibid. p. 144.
the ceremony of exorcism, which is also called "tuang-tuang." The first expression is employed by the Sakai among themselves, and the second appears to be especially used by the civilised (i.e. Malayising) tribes. The latter is applied not only to the act of exorcism, but also to the bamboos employed for that purpose. Since only a thoroughly skilled magician is in a position to bring the ceremony to a quite successful completion, it is now somewhat rare, the magicians who possess the old tradition sedulously avoiding the Malays on the ground that their "medicine-hut" would be defiled if it were entered by a stranger.

The ceremonial headbands of the men, or "lat," as distinguished from those of the women, "rib" ("reeb"), were stiff bands of bark-cloth, and were always worn, whereas the headbands of the women, though made of the same material, were only worn on occasion. The hair of the men was allowed to fall down after the example of the magician, and was merely bound by the headbands, whereas the women bound up their hair in some kind of knot, which they employed the headbands to fix.

The patterns painted upon these headbands were alleged to represent the owner's name in each case.

These patterns, as has been said (together with the face-painting and blowpipe patterns), might not be employed until the Sakai youths were married and had thus been admitted into the tribe.

Since the painted headbands might only be worn on special occasions, the black patterns were not

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1 These "tuang-tuang" were bamboos decorated with magical patterns and struck on the ground during magical ceremonies, so as to produce musical notes. They were intended for use as amulets against disease, spiders, drought, etc., or as rain-charms. Supra, vol. i. p. 472, seq.

2 Z. f. E. xxvi. 144.
retained on the headbands of the lay members of the tribe, and only the red pattern with black dots was allowed.

The black patterns were called "demon" patterns, because they afforded protection against the demons, who, as soon as they saw them, were obliged to flee.

The magician who presided at the ceremony wore his own pattern in black and without dots. The object of this was partly to hinder the demons (who had been invoked by the bamboos of his servant) from entering the circle in the middle of which he himself stood, and partly so to lead the demons round the circle as to confront them with the patterns of all who were present, so that during the ensuing chase they should know which persons might not be injured by them. But in order to avoid terrifying them too much, and thereby hindering them from imprinting the patterns on their memories with sufficient exactitude, the Sakai purposely let fall their hair over their faces, so as to prevent the black stripes in their face-painting from becoming too noticeable. The magician and his attendant did the same. In this way it was possible for the demons to approach the headbands and observe the patterns. In order to make them plainer to the demons, the dots of the red pattern were made black instead of the recognised white, since white dots against the dull "anatto" red were difficult to distinguish. In former times, when a species of red ochre was employed, the dots were white, as in the case of the face-paintings.

These preparations having been made, the magician after a short silence strikes the end of his bamboo

1 For the customs of face-painting ployed for purposes of magic), cp. and body-painting (which were em. supra, "Maturity Customs.

2 Z.f. E. xxvi. 162.
("tuang-tuang") a few times upon the ground, the pupil accompanying him with one of the decorated bamboos in each hand. Soon after this all the men join in with due solemnity, and continue for about an hour; so long, in fact, as the magician himself continues. As soon as he ceases, all of them stop, and laying their bamboos behind them, proceed to the particular business (whether hunting or fishing or whatever it might be) for which this strange ceremony was preparatory.

Meanwhile not a word was spoken, and little, if any, gesticulation was used. In some cases two bamboo sticks called "sok-yet" (38 cm. x 3 cm.) were used at the ceremony; one stick being held in each hand and struck upon the other in the air.

In former times the women might use none but "smooth" (i.e. undecorated) bamboos in contradistinction to the men.¹

Women and children were obliged to attend the ceremony, since it was considered unsafe for them to be far from the men when so many demons were being invoked.

The women took their places in the circle, each woman sitting behind her husband, with her children in turn behind her. Between the two circles (of men and women) there was a broad space left vacant for the passage of the demons, so as to enable the latter to look at the headbands of both men and women simultaneously. The demons, especially the male ones, are not afraid of women, and hence the women did not allow their hair to hang down over their faces, the black stripes on their face-painting being thus left visible. This device prevented the

¹ Z.f. E. xxvi. 172.
demons from breaking through between two women and attacking the unprotected children.

The demons entered from above into the space between the men and women, but as soon as the beating of the bamboos was at an end, and escape was possible, they went down through the earth in obedience to the magician's will.

It was alleged that the women wore no designs on their headbands, but were recognised by the demons who had previously seen them in their husbands' company, and protected by the charms inscribed upon their husbands' headgear.\(^1\)

The idea that lies at the bottom of the ceremony is the following:—

The painted bamboos of the pupil are to call together all the demons to see what the magician is doing. The decorated bamboos of the other men are intended by means of their patterns to render the demons powerless for the ensuing day. At the same time, if Allah (i.e. Tuhan or Peng) intends a man to be injured, there is no remedy against it. Each individual man now knows how to cut the charm-pattern to suit his particular case, but he may not employ the general charm-pattern for himself alone, as he would then conjure up all the demons against himself, without any chance of self-protection.

On the other hand, if a man should (as he properly might) incise either the tiger or snake-charm for himself alone, and thereupon sound it, he would certainly be safe if the tiger and snake-demons heard the sound, but as certainly not if they did not hear him. Since, however, the chase was only undertaken as a rule by fairly large parties, there was usually little

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\(^1\) Z.f. E. xxvi. 163.
danger for any particular individual, so that the charm if employed was almost uniformly successful. And since every member of these hunting parties had to be equipped with the charm-leaves, the prizes and rewards that fell to the magician were great.¹

Another Form of Exorcism (Sawai).

This consists of an incantation, or rather spell, which is performed on behalf of an invalid when all else fails. The exact words employed are not known as yet, but the form of the ceremony itself is known to every Sakai.² The patient is laid with the head towards the west under cover of a roof or screen made from the fresh leaves of a palm, which resembles the areca-palm, and is called "dampong." An opening is left through which the magician (or Pawang) enters. This entrance can be closed so as to conceal both the patient and the magician from observation. The latter takes a censer ("sungkun" or "sangkun"?) with him, which consists of a half coconut-shell containing burnt resin (benzoin). He then squats down at the feet of the invalid, and raising himself breast high swings the censer seven times over the patient's couch. Next he seizes a leaf of the "dampong"-palm, and therewith belabours the invalid, or rather the demon by which he is possessed, with the object of driving it either into the network of loops or a cage which hangs over the head of the patient.³

The loopwork varies greatly, both as to form and material, probably according to the demon it is intended to catch.

¹ Z.j.E. xxvi. 173. ceremony shows more Malayan influence
² In orig. "Orang Hutan." This than the last.
³ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 141, 142.
The magician now stamps his feet and dances wildly, shrieking and shouting until the demon, to escape its chastisement, takes flight by entering into the cage. The magician then stops and murmurs certain magic words, which are believed to prevent the demons from escaping.

Then he goes out with the loopwork, which he takes home and hangs up there. If it comes in half, the demons escape, and return to their original dwelling place. This particular process is called "Tēkan Badan Sawai." Yet another spell, called "Tēkan Badan K'luar," or Birth-blessing, belongs to the original duties of the magician's profession, and as it is not kept secret, it can be performed by any man or woman who chooses. The magician generally imparted this incantation (like that for the dying) to the Penglima of the place and his wife, so that in urgent cases they might be able hastily to take his place.¹

**Alleged Totemism.²**

Unfortunately Vaughan-Stevens does not seem to have found any consistent theory on the subject, and his notes, which, as his editor tells us, were gathered on many different occasions, so often confuse the clan with the tribe that it is impossible even to gain any clear conception of the Sakai traditions on the subject. It seems, therefore, useless to attempt any reconstruction. The only facts to be gathered are the following:—

In dealing with the face-patterns of the Sakai, Vaughan-Stevens gives an account of an alleged clan-system. The Sakai are said to compose five original

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¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 142, 143.
² Cp. pp. 32, 62-64, *ante.* I am indebted for this summary to Mr. Thomas, an expert in Totemism. I must add that to me the evidence (?) appears to be of the text-book order and to conflict with all we yet know of the Sakai.—W.S.
groups, which formed sub-groups, when the tribe ceased to inhabit a single locality, each of which adopted a name closely allied to that of the parent group. The alleged five main groups, found among the Senoi, the Kenaboi, and Besisi, were the Snake, Fish, Leaf, Thorn, and Tiger clans. The sub-groups of the Snake clan take as their eponymous species the Python, the Cobra, the Hamadryad, and so on. The original purpose of the crest of the sub-groups was as a property mark on blow-tubes and as a pattern for face-painting, according to the account given by Vaughan-Stevens. He does not, however, seem to have been able to collect any examples of the former sub-groups.\(^1\) As to the latter, which he distinguishes from the patterns, none of which he gives, he says he was able to get them from the magicians, though they were no longer used owing to the clan ("tribal") assemblies having fallen into desuetude.\(^2\)

The Sakai marriage regulations were said to be based on this clan-system, but instead of being exogamous, they were strictly endogamous, marriage outside the clan involving expulsion from it, a practice that gave birth to new clans—Civet-cat, Crocodile, Scorpion, etc., which soon attained a numerical superiority.

In the absence of any information as to the sacrosanctity of the eponymous species, it is premature to use the term totemism in speaking of this system. At the same time the fact that a quasi-totemic nomenclature is found in conjunction with a marriage system resembling that of the mythical period of the Arunta, renders even this alleged Sakai organisation of extraordinary interest and importance.

\(^1\) Probably because there were none to collect.—W.S.

\(^2\) *Z.f. E.*, xxvi, 150-152.
Among the Semang there is no trace of totemism.

As to the Jakun, the only fact pointing in the direction of totemism is one recorded by Favre,¹ that some “tribes” of Jakun abstained from eating elephant flesh, alleging that it caused sickness. This, in form, very totemistic belief, is, however, an isolated case. In the absence of further information it is simpler to suppose that some Jakun groups had, owing to contact with Malays or other tribes, given up one of their old tribal beliefs, or, possibly, that those which respected the elephant had acquired from outside a belief in its sacrosanctity.

**Charms against Wild Beasts.**

**Sakai.**—A charm against tigers is made in the following way:—A bundle of “s’lowk” leaves is rolled up to represent the tiger’s body; this is transfixed with imitation bamboo arrows made of thin strips of bërtambark, on the ends of which are tassels of split “s’lowk” leaves. To the “tiger” is fastened a strip of rattan, on which is hung a leaf painted with magical patterns in dragon’s blood.² After various other magical additions, including a water-vessel, a flower of the Latoom-plant, etc., had been made, the whole was hung up in the house. When a man fell ill of dysentery or colic, it was attributed to the tiger-spirit. He was sprinkled with water from the water-vessel, and the spirit was believed to be thereby transferred to the Latoom-flower, in which it was believed to be imprisoned by the “s’lowk” tassels. Vaughan-Stevens found these charms among the Central Sakai (Senoi), Besisi, Kenaboi, but not among the Jakun or Benua-Jakun.³

¹ Favre in Ann. de la P. de la Foi, xxii. 393.
³ Eth. Notizblatt, i. 1-4.
Interpretation of Dreams—the Dream Ceremony.

The Sakai attach great importance to dreams, bringing formal reports of them to the magician or the midwife; the man to the former, the woman to the latter. The dreams of the lay members of the tribe are of no special interest, but the magicians in dreams receive inspiration from spirits that are well disposed. Of special significance are those dreams regarded which are awaited by all magicians and the whole tribe on important occasions, the Batin being the chief person involved. These gatherings were held on the highest accessible mountain summit in the territory of the tribe, and occupied several days' time, since it was required that each of the dreams should be repeated upon three successive nights.

There has been no such gathering since the disappearance of Berchanggei Besi; all that the present magicians know with regard to such ceremonies being that the Batin invoked the help of Tuhan in some form now forgotten, and that the Batin then fell immediately asleep and the dreams came to him in a disguised form, and after his awaking were interpreted by the magicians.

Sakai children are named in accordance with dreams, in which there appeared the track of a tiger, a tree, an insect, etc.

Use of Love-philtres.

The Sakai, like the Semang, have a great reputation (especially among the Malays) for love-philtres,

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1 Z.f.E. xxvi, 158 (c). The mention of these officials suggests Malayan influence. For "Berchanggei Besi" (lit. "Iron Claws"), v. p. 265, infra.
2 Ibid. p. 158.
3 Cp. supra, p. 12.
the most famous of which is made from a plant called "Chinduai," which grows on the Perak mountains.\(^1\)

It is with this plant that a tale collected for me by Dr. Luering among the Sakai of Ulu Bertang in Perak is connected. It runs as follows:—

Dato' Jaja' (? Yahya) was the wife of a Malay trader living in the Kampong of Sungei Siput, Kinta, which then was near, or nearer than now, to the sea. As is still the case, the Sakai, on arriving from the far-off Bertang, were accustomed to drop in and call at Malay houses to chew "betel." One day when Jaja's husband had gone to sea, some Sakai from Bertang came to the house, when Jaja', repelled by their ugliness and dirtiness, received them in a very unfriendly mood. She told them that she could not afford to give them any "betel," for her husband was away, and she did not know when he would return,—in fact she had not the means to feed her own children, and how could she be expected to supply "betel" to outsiders, especially to Sakai? The Sakai went away crestfallen, but vowed that they would revenge themselves. One of them who was a medicine-man ("Pawāk"), as soon as he had returned to Bertang, made "chenduwai" or witchcraft, which caused the Malay woman Jaja', though so far away, to

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\(^1\) Cp. Wray in *J. R. A. S., S. B.*, No. 21, p. 127: "On the rocks near the summit, a quantity of a plant called "Chimbuai" (sic) grows. This plant is much valued by the Malays, as it is supposed to act as a love-philtre. It probably belongs to the *Ophioglossaceae*, and is a delicate rush-like plant about three inches high, having its spores in little tassels on the tops of the leaves." And cp. also the same writer in *ibid.* pp. 158, 159, where, in referring to the plant called "buluh perindu" or "yearning bamboo," he says: "The small bamboo called by the Malays 'buluh perindu' is, on the other hand, extremely plentiful on Berumban, and comparatively scarce on the other hill. I was fortunate in being able to collect flowering specimens of this elegant little bamboo, which is credited with mystic properties by the natives, and is in much request by love-lorn swains, whose mistresses are cold and irresponsible."
fall violently in love with him. She seemed to have lost all her reason, for she fled into the jungle calling for her Sakai lover, whom, after days of wandering in the wilds, she at length found at his home in Bertang. Jaja' had had two children by her Malay husband, called Kulop Perak and Si Mat respectively; and now by her Sakai husband she in due time had two children, who grew up in Bertang as Sakai. When her Malay husband returned from his trip to the sea, he at first made vain endeavours to have his wife restored to him, but failing to recover her, he gave up the search. Nevertheless her Malay sons, Kulop Perak and Si Mat, felt the reproaches of the villagers, that their mother had gone to live as a Sakai, very much. They therefore went to Bertang where they found their mother with her Sakai family. It took a great deal of persuasion to bring her away from there, but at last they succeeded, and she left in the company of Kulop Perak and Si Mat, leaving her Sakai husband and children (whose names are now forgotten) behind. But the nearer she approached her former home, the more reluctant she became to proceed. The thought that the villagers would reproach her for her escapade began to be more and more oppressive to her, and therefore, when almost in sight of her former home, she drowned herself in a little rivulet which they had to cross. Her body was easily recovered by her children, and she was buried close by, but her name is still attached to the river, which goes under the name of Sungei Jaja'. Her Sakai children became the ancestors of the Sakai, who related this story, and who attribute the high standing of their family to their partly Malay descent through Jaja' the Malay.
The woodlouse (?) is related by Vaughan-Stevens to be used as a charm by the women for impairing a man's virility.\(^1\)

The Sakai ("Blandas") Traditions.\(^2\)

The following traditions are assigned to the Sakai ("Blandas") by Vaughan-Stevens, though (by his own admission) they were taken from very mixed sources. They "depend," says Vaughan-Stevens, "upon accounts given by some hundred individual members of the races concerned, and only those accounts which are practically universal have been retained"(!). In parts they resemble the Mantra legends.

The oldest of these traditions concerns an island called Guntong Penyaring ("Shake-Net\(^3\) I."), said to be situated across the sea in the direction of the rising sun. In the interior of the island was a mountain with two summits. Between these lodged at night great flocks of fruit-bats, which were in the habit of repairing to their feeding-places on both sides of the mountain from thence. By day they remained suspended from the trees near the saddle of the mountain. The Sakai drew nets across the entrance to the gorge in a diagonal direction by means of long cords, and shook them down during the daytime. Frightened, and blinded by the sun, the bats flew into the nets, and the Sakai ate them. The

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\(^1\) Cp. supra, p. 67. Probably a large millipede ("gonggo"). The Malays have a similar idea.

\(^2\) The name "Sakai" stands for "Blandas" throughout these legends. In part they are certainly Mantra, but the numerous references to Selangor and Perak, and especially the statement as to the many settlements of "Kenaboi" (counted as "Blandas" by Vaughan-Stevens) "near the sources of the great Perak river," show, I think, that Vaughan-Stevens has here tried to compile an eclectic account covering all the "branches of the race from Johor to Kedah" (p. 279), in conformity with his views (vol. i. p. 26). They form a considerable part of Vaughan-Stevens' work, and as such have been included, in preference to omission.

\(^3\) = Malay, "guntang"; i.e. "guncang [pén-jaring]"—a folk-etymology. Vaughan-Stevens has "Guntong Pen-jarring."
tradition terminates by describing how a great ship
was wrecked upon the island, and how the water sank
and left the ship stranded high and dry upon the rocks.
The captain and crew got to land and were kindly
received by the Benar-benar, or Benua, a branch of
the Orang Laut, or Sea Tribes, who lived upon the
coast, whereas the Sakai dwelt in the forest. The
Orang Laut belonged (according to the Sakai) to
an inferior branch of their own tribe, though others
say they originally formed a separate race which mixed
with the Sakai by intermarriage. All accounts, how-
ever, agree in saying that they stood in some close
sort of relationship to the Sakai. This tribe informed
the Sakai Batin, who allowed the shipwrecked people
to come and hospitably entreated them.

Nevertheless, it is related, some of them went off
in the ship's boat, and were heard of no more.

The captain and the rest, however, remained and
were well cared for, and soon after the old Batin him-
self died, leaving no son.1

The Sakai then assembled to elect a new chief,
and choosing the captain of the shipwrecked vessel,
gave him the title of Batin Berchanggei Besi (lit.
the Chief with the Iron Claws).2

This name is said to have been given to the Batin
on account of his great personal strength. He once
(it is said) called twenty people together to cut down
a certain tree, and when they failed to perform it, he

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1 V.-St. ii. 83, 84. Other Sakai
traditions are given in V.-St.
iii. 97-100, but they are of no real value.

2 Or "nails": "changgei" = a long
finger-nail, which has been allowed
to grow to an abnormal length (as by
Chinese mandarins). They were
formerly worn by Malay chiefs.

Artificial finger-nails of great length
are still worn by Malay women when
performing with a theatrical troupe, and
also occasionally by highly connected
women at weddings, as in the case
of the late Haji Gayah of Selangor.
They are made of various metals—gold,
brass, or as here, of iron.
felled it unaided, splitting, however, his long fingernail in doing so.

Batin Iron-claws built a novel kind of house for his subjects upon the summit of a hill, its roof being made of fire-burnt earth, and its foundation-posts, in some cases of exceptionally hard wood, and in others of a giant grass which was as thick as a man's leg, and which possessed a hard outer cuticle, but a soft interior—a form of timber unknown in the island. The roof-tree was not straight, but depressed in the centre, and it had greatly projecting gable-ends. Finally, the walls were of glass.

Sometime afterwards it happened that the son of a Raja fell from heaven, and, staying with the Batin, married his eldest daughter. Later on this prince persuaded many of the Sakai to give up eating swine's flesh altogether.

Now the old Batin, the predecessor of Iron-claws, had a brother who had died before Iron-claws came, and who had left two sons, the eldest of whom was called Abang ("elder brother"), and the younger, Adik ("younger brother"); and Abang ought to have been Batin. But once the two were crossing a stream by means of a tree-trunk, the eldest in front as was customary. Half-way across the trunk broke under Abang's feet and both fell into the water, the elder in an upright posture, the younger in a sitting attitude. And when the younger found he was unhurt he called out in the Sakai ("Blandas") dialect, "Usul."

The brothers continued their journey, but inquired of a medicine-man when they reached home what this omen meant. The medicine-man said that the elder should always be on his feet and never find rest, whilst the younger should be seated like the Malays and give
up wandering. The younger brother then determined to seek a place where he might be enabled to fulfil the prophecy, and went to Menangkabau. But Abang remained in the country.

But before the younger son's departure Iron-claws prepared a banquet of all kinds of flesh, and at the banquet the younger son and a number of his friends remarked that although the meat was cooked with swine's fat, the head had not been served. On inquiry they found that through some neglect the head had not been cooked. They then went to the Batin and asked for it to be given them. But Iron-claws finding it had been forgotten made excuses. At this the guests were very angry and said that if the Batin kept back dishes for himself they would not eat any of his banquet, and went away. Then the younger son and all his friends who had refused to eat the swine's flesh went to Menangkabau. Hence arose the custom of exhibiting the produce of the three days' harvest to the guests in order to prove that the entire amount of the rice has been prepared for them.

When Iron-claws heard that the grave demons ("Døjup") had taken to killing the Sakai, he convened an assembly and proposed to found a new settlement. His son-in-law (the prince who fell from heaven) and a number of the Sakai would not agree to this, but the others assented. Iron-claws then broke up his house on the hill, and re-erecting it on the sea-coast, fenced it with a palisade and called it Pagar Ruyong (Palm-stem Fence). He then gave a great feast. At one end were the dishes containing swine's flesh, at the other end those that did not; the whole tribe was invited. Those who did not eat swine's flesh sat in one place together, and vice versa, and after the
feast Iron-claws and all who ate swine's flesh proclaimed their determination to leave the island. The son-in-law received the Batin's house at Pagar Ruyong and there remained, no further mention being made of him in the traditions. But when the building was ready the elder brother died, and Iron-claws desired the Benua (or Benar-Benar) to complete the palisade. Afterwards, however, he left it and built a number of boats, in which he, his friends, and all of the Benua who ate swine's flesh and obeyed his orders left the island.

In due course Iron-claws and his people arrived at an uninhabited island, to which they gave the name of Pulau Pasir ("Sandy Island"). Many of his party stayed here, but Iron-claws and the rest went still further, and on reaching a second uninhabited island, called it Pantai Layang. Here too some of the Sakai were left behind.

Next Iron-claws reached a yet larger island (which was also uninhabited) and called it Jawa ("Jowar") or Java. Here his youngest daughter remained with several of her following of Sakai, and Iron-claws and the rest, proceeding still further, arrived at Malacca, which was then uninhabited (as was all that region) and covered with thick forest. Here they made a clearing and called it Pengkalan Tampoi, and Iron-claws, setting off with his Penglima and some companions to explore the interior, arrived at the place where Klang now stands. Here Iron-claws vanished from the sight of men and was seen no more, his people returning to Pengkalan Tampoi.

In view of his own departure, Iron-claws had made Hang Tuah the Batin of Pengkalan Tampoi, and the latter proceeded to build a house on the hill overlooking the present town of Malacca. A great
colony soon grew up here, and in a few years had spread to Mount Ophir (Gunong Ledang). A marshy place was used by the new settlers for yam-culture, and thence called Paya Kladi. Not far off stood a large orchard ("Dusun Besar"), whose fruit, which was in full bearing, had been planted by the Sakai a few years before.¹

When Hang Tuah saw that the country was too small to contain the Sakai, he went southwards one day to Johor to have a look at the land there. The Benua had spread southwards along the river Muar, which debouches a little south of Malacca. Hang Tuah here looked round for a little, and then made a great clearing near the place where the town of Muar now stands, and called it Benua Dalam, and a smaller one on the sea-coast, a few miles south of the large one, the smaller receiving the name of Benua Laut Jagun.²

Many of the forest-dwelling Sakai went to Benua Dalam, but the Benua (Benar-Benar) spread themselves partly in the forest-clad country and partly on the coast. One day a Malay prahu was proceeding up the coast from Kedah. They were looking for new land, and when they saw the clearing at Pengkalan Tampoi they landed and begged for water and vegetables. They were well received by the Batin in his house, and when they departed one of them asked the Batin to tell him the name of the colony. As the question was asked both were standing near a large tree. The Batin thought he was being asked for the name of the tree, and answered "Kayu Lāka" ³ (or "Laka Tree"), giving the name by which the tree in question was known to the Sakai.

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 85, 86.
³ A popular derivation of "Malacca." There is a Pengkalan Tampoi near Jugra (Selangor).
The Malays then went on board their vessel and returned to their own country, though only to give their own Raja a glowing description of the beautiful land they had seen. They soon reappeared with a flotilla of prahus, and their leader demanded the land possessed by the Sakai. As this was refused, a battle ensued, in which the Sakai were beaten. They fled to the country where Malaka Pindah now stands; next morning they continued their flight in a northerly direction.

At Dusun Besar the Batin rested on a great stone and took food. To show that the land was his own, he called a medicine-man, and made, deep in the stone, an impression of his foot and also of the bottom of his betel-leaf pulper, both of which may be seen to this day. The Batin had two full-grown sons, called Hang Jebat and Hang Ketuwi (i.e. Kasturi) respectively; these sons were Jenang, or subordinate chiefs, and were in charge (under their father) of the surrounding settlements east and north of Pengkalan Tampoi. At Muar dwelt Batin Alam, a grandson of Batin Iron-claws.

The fugitive Sakai now arrived at the place where Johol now lies, and here a daughter\(^1\) was born to Hang Tuah.\(^2\)

Hang Tuah now wished to make provision for all his children, and as he intended to give the colony of Johol to his daughter by way of inheritance, he left the child in the care of his Penglima and went to what is now Sungei Ujong. On the way, Hang Jebat and Hang Ketuwi quarrelled as to who should

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\(^1\) Vaughan-Stevens here remarks that this Hang Tuah, his daughter, and his two sons are the "Undang Yang Ampat," or four great lawgiving chiefs of the Negri Sembilan. Hang Tuah, however, is really the celebrated Malay hero mentioned in the \textit{Malay Annals}.

\(^2\) Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 86, 87.
possess the country through which they were then travelling, and the dispute ended in a combat which proved mutually fatal. As Hang Tuah was thus deprived of both his sons, he declared he would not wander further to seek a new dwelling-place, and therefore called the river by which he stayed Sungei Ujong ("River of Termination").¹ For a time indeed he tarried there, but again in fear of the ghosts of his dead sons he proceeded to Klang, and here a son was born to him.

There is no account of any attack after that upon Pengkalan Tampoi.

Some years later this last-born son of Hang Tuah was crossing the river by means of a tree-trunk, chewing sugar-cane as he went, and blowing the trash out of his mouth. Some of the latter fell upon the tree and some into the stream, the latter being carried away by the current, so that it was eventually seen by the son of a Menangkabau Raja, who was coming upstream at the time in a little boat, the ship in which he had arrived being at the mouth of the river.

Now this new prince had brought a casting-net for fish, but had caught nothing, and was therefore suffering from hunger. A chief who was with him saw the trash floating down the river, and concluding that some people or other must be dwelling in the vicinity, pushed on until he reached the tree-trunk. Here he observed the rest of the trash, and following up the track, came at last to the house of the Batin. One of the people who accompanied him proved to be a descendant of one of the younger brother’s com-

¹ This is a popular etymology. The real name of the country before the British entry seems to have been Semu-jong, a name which is still sometimes heard, and which I have seen on old official seals.
companions, who had gone to Menangkabau, and this ensured a friendly welcome to the new arrivals.¹

As, therefore, they were sitting in the verandah and chewing sugar-cane, the Malay prince turned his eyes to an opening in the side-wall of the house, and through it was able to distinguish one of the Batin's daughters.

With the idea of making her his wife, he asked the Batin if he would exchange presents with him. The Batin, however, said he was a poor man, driven by the Malays from his rightful possessions, and that he now had no possessions. The guest, however, replied that he possessed a daughter, whom he would much like to make his wife. The bargain was quickly concluded, in accordance with Sakai custom, and the guest sending his Penghulu to the ship for his own presents, went home again, and in a few months returned to marry the Batin's daughter.

Sometime afterwards the pair had a son, and according to Sakai custom the mother inquired of the father what name the child should bear. The father answered that if it were a boy it should be called To' Mantri. So the boy was named To' Mantri, and since that time the Sakai of the west coast near Sungei Ujong and Malacca have been called Mantra.

The girl who was born to Hang Tuah in Johol remained there till she was of marriageable age. According to Sakai custom she became Batin (or chief of the tribe) for a whole year, after which she married a Malay from Menangkabau. From the time of her Batinship arose (so say the Sakai) the title of Pangku (i.e. "Vice-") Penghulu.

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 87.
The story runs on in this way to a great length.

The Penghulu of Inas (a small semi-independent district of Johol) came into possession of the wooden chopping-board on which the bats were cut up at "Shake-Net Island," and a spoon of old Sakai make, manufactured from the skull of a bat.¹

The Sakai at that time had no fixed boundaries, such as now exist. These are of later date, and were originated by the Malays.

Eventually the last-born son of Hang Tuah became Batin of Sungei Ujong, and since that time the Sakai consider all the land which now belongs to Sungei Ujong, Klang (Selangor), Johol, and Malacca as their own especial fatherland.

After Hang Tuah and his race had died out the Sakai never had a regularly elected Batin again. When a number of Sakai wished to found a new settlement they chose a Batin for themselves; there was, however, no head Batin who could confirm the new appointment, and thus the power of the Batin shrank and his duties also, so that at last each man of the community was almost his equal.

From another side arose a power superior even to that of the Malays, viz. the Beduanda, who very quickly became the masters of the Sakai.

As the Malays flocked into the country in increasing numbers to seek for land, they merely communicated with the chief of the Beduanda, between whom and the Sakai Batin there was at first still some sort of understanding, but after a time the Beduanda chief ceased to consult the Sakai Batin, and gave his Malay kinsmen all that they wished by virtue of his own authority.²

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¹ V.-St. ii. 87, 88. Cp. the Jelebu regalia, p. 291, infra.
² Ibid. p. 88.
Only in three districts (Sungei Ujong, Klang, and Johol) did any bargaining take place between the Sakai Batin and the Malays, and even these did not relate to the land, but to the fruit-trees, which, according to Sakai custom, each member of the tribe was required to plant on the land that he possessed. This custom still exists. It is most closely followed by the dwellers in the jungle, but even in small stretches of waste land, here and there, the Malayising Sakai, though they know well that in the course of a year or two they will be far removed from their present home, still plant coconut-palms and fruit-trees of various kinds, the fruits of which they will never gather. This custom was due to the care taken by the old Sakai laws for the welfare of the future race, and the only terms that the Sakai made with the Malays were (1) that no tree planted by a Sakai might be felled by a Malay, and (2) that, later on, no Sakai who wanted fruit from the trees should be prevented from having it.

Thus the Beduanda obtained the extensive territory to which they naturally afterwards laid claim. But they do not belong to the original Sakai stock, although they are connected with them by blood. They are a mixed race, and are considered as such both by Malays and the purer-bred Sakai. They exhibit, moreover, all possible stages of admixture, varying from people who are almost like Malays to people who cannot be distinguished from the Sakai. These Beduanda lay claim to a definite fixed territory, whereas among the nomad Sakai tribes each man desires only so much land for his own as a cock's

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1 This statement is open to question. The coconut-palm is very seldom, if ever, planted by these tribes.  
2 Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 89.
crow can be heard over, and that only for so long as he stays; and, moreover, he lays claim only to the products of the trees that he happens to have planted during his temporary sojourn.¹

Before the battle with the Rawa men, the Bataks, or the Lubu men ² (as the Sakai called them), an attack was made on the Sakai from outside.

The Sakai had spread out alongside of the Malay settlements when the attacks of the Bataks began. These latter lasted for some years, and the outer settlements in Perak had encountered them first. The Sakai now report that their kinsmen were eaten by the Bataks, and that it was from fear of this enemy that they fled hither and thither in the jungle.

In this hasty flight their various tribes and families were united. The pursuing Bataks went east to the sources of the great Pahang river. Here lay many settlements of the Kenaboi, and the Batin of the latter determined to expel the heathen interlopers. He therefore called all his fighting men together, hid most of them in ambush in the jungle, and then entered into negotiations with the leader of the Bataks, and invited him and his companions to a great feast. The Bataks came, but the crafty Batin had mixed the poisonous fruit of the P'rah-tree ³

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 89.
² The Rawa men, the Bataks, and the Lubu men are all Sumatran tribes, the Bataks being cannibals.
³ The fruit of the P'rah-tree, which resembles that of the Spanish chestnut, is certainly not poisonous under all conditions, and it is in fact a favourite food of the Jakuns, though I myself was one day warned by Jakuns of its "poisonous" properties when tasting it. I believe the fact is that it is extremely liable to produce violent indigestion or colic; but probably this danger is lessened when it is cooked.

Mr. L. Wray also writes that he was warned by some Batang Padang Sakai not to eat "buah p'rah." They said it was poisonous unless it was cooked. Mr. Wray adds that he had eaten them roasted many times. The P'rah-tree belongs to the Euphorbiaceae, many members of which order are poisonous. The bright red young leaves of the P'rah-tree are cooked and eaten by the Sakai as a vegetable.
among the dishes which were placed before the Bataks, so that many died immediately. The rest succumbed to a hail of javelins rained on them by the ambushed Kenaboi. The rest of the Bataks in consequence left the country, and the Batin was called Batin P’rah in remembrance of the event.¹

The second attack came from the Bugis, whom the Sakai call Rawa,² and who are described as having come from an island situated not very far off.

The story runs that one Guntar (?) was at that time the Batin of the Beduanda in Sungei Ujong, and the Sakai used to bring their wares out of the jungle and sell them to Guntar, who thus became a middleman between them and the Malays, one Kelanong being named as the Malay chief. After a time the Malays went further west from the Pahang in order to trade with the jungle tribes of the interior, especially in eagle-wood and ivory, which they in turn sold to the Chinese and Siamese of the eastern seaboard. And as the eastern Malays offered the Sakai much higher prices than Guntar, they therefore sold their goods to him no more.

Being vexed at this, he threatened the Sakai, who called to their aid the fighting men of the Senoi, Kenaboi, and Besisi, and went in a crowd to Guntar’s house. Frightened at the crowd, the leader of the Beduanda dissembled, and invited the Batins of the Jungle-folk to a council.³ These agreed, and leaned their blowpipes against a coconut-palm, and the tree was thrown down by their great weight. As Guntar

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 91.
² *Sic.* The “Bugis” are inhabitants of Celebes, which is a very long way off the Peninsula. The Rawa really came from Sumatra, which is only just across the Straits.
³ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 91.
yielded in every point and withdrew his threatenings, the Sakai again dispersed.

Raging at this check, Guntar, while he simulated friendship for the Sakai, made secret overtures to the Rawa, who for a long time had carried on trade with the west coast, without having any regular settlement. Guntar promised to give the Rawa the land of the Sakai and certain presents if they would drive them away. The Rawa accepted, and soon many of them came to the Peninsula and attacked the Sakai in their own homes at night, thrusting their spears up through the floor and killing the men as they hurried out. Women and children they sold to the Malays, who must therefore have known of the design. The Sakai sought to drive the intruders out of Selangor. Many battles took place, in one place with success. They had taken up a position at Bukit Guling Batang, and rolled rocks and stones from the scree down on the attacking Rawa, who were obliged to retreat. Since the Rawa had better weapons, they killed many and took many into slavery, and in the confusion the Sakai fled in all directions into the jungle, where the Rawa did not venture to follow them.

This is the cause of their wide dispersal, the destruction of their race, and the difference that shows itself in the customs of the separated branches of the race.

Here and there one finds in the remote hill-country small settlements of Sakai of comparatively pure race, but on the whole their original mode of life and early customs have either been given up or very much modified.¹

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 92. These legends cannot, of course, be taken as history.
end between Guntar and the Rawa, after which all the Sakai men who had not been made slaves fled far away. Guntar is said to have broken his word, on which the Rawa attacked the Beduanda, and took away many of their children to be sold. Then most of the rest sailed back to their land, only a few remaining in Perak and Selangor.

The example once given was not forgotten, and for many generations the Malays of the Peninsula were wont on occasion to take the children of Sakai parents and sell them as slaves, although they made no further organised attack on them.

Here follows the history of the “Orang Jakun” (!). When the Malays of Kedah attacked Pengkalan Tampoi, the Benua united themselves both with the Benua Laut Jagong and with the Benua Dalam people, and Batin Alam withdrew with them to the mountains of Johor. When he heard that the Sakai men had not been again attacked, but had settled in Sungei Ujong, Johol, and Klang, he decided to unite with them; but this plan was opposed by the Benua. In the end, however, he set off with those who wished to follow him, and united himself with the Sakai at Klang.

The Orang Benua who had remained behind in Johor resolved to go southwards, while the rest of the Sakai who could not bring themselves to unite with Batin Alam’s people returned to Muar, where soon afterwards wanderers arrived from Menangkabau. Tradition mentions them no more.

The Orang Benua arrived at Batu Pahat in Johor, which was then unoccupied. Here they were afterwards attacked by men in boats. These were not Malays, and it is not known who they were.
The Orang Benua fled along the coast, and reached the east end of Johor. As they found the country unoccupied they turned towards the interior, and settled on the river Sembrong. Here they lived long in peace, working their way step by step through the forest towards the north-west. Here they met with some people who were fleeing from the Bataks. The fugitives were received as friends, and stayed with them for a time. A few years later came a great host of Sakai fleeing from the Rawa towards Johor. Many of them stayed with the Benua.

The Benua themselves afterwards took their way westward along the Strait of Johor, and fell in with a race of the Orang Laut, and intermarriages took place. Physical proof of the mixture is said to exist in the projecting teeth which can be seen in so many of the Benua, and through them also in the Mantra of Malacca.¹

The Benua dwelling on the west coast of the Peninsula belong just as much to the main Sakai stock as the other branches of the race from Johor to Kedah. On the east coast the type of the people is more deeply marked, and the various branches differ less from one another.²

The traditions of the Benua themselves are very poor, but agree in the main with the usual stories of the Sakai.

The Kenaboi folk had wandered far both from the Sakai ("Blandas") of Sungei Ujong, when they found themselves checked in their march by the Kenaboi river, one of the tributaries of the main stream of the Pahang.

¹ This is, of course, a mere tradition. ² Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 93.
They found the country attractive, and settled at Kenaboi (the Mengiri river, where the best bamboos grow for blowpipes being not far away). This circumstance determined their choice of a settlement for a long time, when they pushed gradually further down the Pahang to the Pekoi, or, as the Malays called it when they reached it, the Senoi ("Sinnoi") river.

These two settlements perished through the invasion of the Bataks and the Rawa; their inhabitants were dispersed, and united afterwards with other tribes.

From Klang a great host of Sakai ("Blandas") including those who had attached themselves to their companions after the attack on Pengkalan Tampoi, had gone to a place east of Sungei Ujong, which they called Kring, as their first settlement. Later they spread to the north and east. In consequence of the attack of the Bataks this section of the race—known merely under the name of "Blandas"—went further towards the north.

When, however, the Kenaboi men under Batin P'rah had beaten back the Bataks, the greater part of the now so-called Besisi came back.

Broken up, however, into separate family groups in the time that followed, they ceased to form a separate race, and scattered themselves among the Besisi at Sungei Ujong, Perak, and especially Selangor. Their countrymen in these places remarked that half of the new arrivals brought with them a foreign dialect. In addressing the inhabitants of Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong they all spoke the Sakai tongue; among themselves they talked half Sakai,

1 *Sic,* Nenggiri. 2 Probably Triang or Tring. 3 One of V.-St.'s characteristic inaccuracies. There are no Besisi in Perak.
half an unknown language, whence they were called Besisi, which means "a foreign language." 

[The remainder of the chapter is taken up with the merest speculations as to the origin of the tribes and their distribution.] 

Legend of the Origin of Sakai Face-painting.

When the Senoi had decided to leave the main stem of the Sakai stock in order to seek a new home in the eastern part of the Peninsula, the magicians took counsel together to decide what form the new patterns of body-paintings (which were to distinguish the Senoi) should properly take. A decision with regard to the breast-painting was soon reached; but this was not the case with regard to the face-painting, some magicians wishing to change the pattern at the eye, others not. At this stage, however, the wife of one of the magicians who had hidden herself to hear the discussion, put her head into the room uninvited, and took part in the discussion. Her husband, who stood near her, had smeared his fingers, like all the others, with "anatto," in order to be able to apply the red streaks. Incensed at his wife's intrusion, he struck at her with his red-dyed fingers, and as they left five marks upon her face, the assembly decided that the women should in future bear five lines upon their face, but the men only three.

Traditions of Abnormal Races and Cannibals.

The "Orang Ekor," or Tailed Men, who are

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1 Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 93, 94. This derivation of "Besisi" is certainly inaccurate.
2 See Vaughan-Stevens, vol. ii. pp. 94 to end.
4 Ibid. p. 155.
spoken of all over the Malay Archipelago as if they were real human beings, are described as appearing from time to time in various parts of the Malay Peninsula. They are said to resemble human beings, and are not believed to be dangerous; but they will have nothing to do with men, and vanish at once into the forest as soon as they are seen. They wear nothing but a loin-cloth of tree-bark, beneath which may be seen a short tail. Both the men and women have tails, but they are not numerous, and their children are never seen.\(^1\)

Other traditions of abnormal races are as follows:—

1. A race of gigantic women, or Amazons, who live unmarried. The Sakai, it is said, sometimes find beautifully decorated blowpipes of great length belonging to one of these Amazons, either lying on the ground, or leaning against a tree. In some cases they have been rash enough to carry them away, but had not gone far before they were struck down from behind. Those who were not killed and could observe their aggressor, described her as a gigantic woman who vanished immediately upon the recovery of her property. Nothing more is known of them, though they are described as being real human beings.\(^2\)

2. The Sakai (the "Blandas" of Vaughan-Stevens) apply the name "Sakai" to a fabulous race of little, hairy, desert-dwelling people, who are now but rarely

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\(^1\) Cp. M. Maclay in *J.R.A.S.*, *S.B.*, No. 2, p. 216; and the explanation given by Treacher, who in No. xxi. pp. 101, 102, of the same journal refers to a tribe of the Muruts, in Borneo, who in addition to the usual loin-cloth wear on their backs only the skin of a long-tailed monkey, the tail of which hangs down behind so as to give the impression at a short distance that it forms part and parcel of its wearer. Cp. *Z.f.E.*, Index, s.v. "Geschwänzte Menschen." I may add that when the Malay members of the staff of the Cambridge Expedition went on board ship at Klang (on their way to Bangkok in 1899), they were warned by their Malay friends to take care on reaching their destination that they were not eaten up by the Tailed Bataks (Batak bêrekor).

\(^2\) Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 82.
seen, are very shy, and possess so fine a sense of smell as to know when a human being is approaching. ¹

These "demon Sakai" (Hantu Sakai) have a sharp blade-like bone in their right forearm which they use in the felling of trees. To gather the fruit from the topmost sprays of a tree they climb the stem, and seat themselves upon a branch, whilst they cut the spray through with this sharp blade. Although they fall to the ground together with the branch they never hurt themselves. ²

De Morgan states that he was informed by one of his men (Ibrahim) and the Sakai Penghulu ("Pā' Pinang"), who was travelling with him, on reaching Sungei Kandis, that the part of the country through which they were passing was too cold for the Sakai to live in, but was inhabited by other tribes who were short of stature, and whose only garment was a cincture of leaves attached round the waist. They

¹ It is a curious fact that meat-eating Europeans are said to have a (comparatively) strong rank smell, in this differing from that of (and noticeable by) the rice-fed native.

² This agrees with the Malay traditions of the "orang-outang," or "Mawas," sometimes called Hantu Mawas. Begbie (pp. 5, 6) speaks, however, of the Mawas as a wild tribe of human jungle-dwellers whose chopper has been confused with the arm that wields it.

Cp. also Anderson, who states that, according to Malayan legends, there is a race of wild people said to be found in the interior of Bernam ["Burnam," the boundary between the states of Perak and Selangor], designated Tuah Benua [sic? Hantu Benua] by the Selangorians, and known in Kedah by the name of "Mawas." They are represented as bearing a strong resemblance to the Mawah, or long-armed gibbon, but instead of having a bone in the lower part of the arm, they have a piece of sharp iron which serves the double purpose of an arm and a cleaver for cutting wood. Anderson mentions another savage race, according to the Malays called B'lian, who are covered with hair, and have nails of extraordinary length. Their principal occupation is said to be tending the tigers, which are their peculiar flocks, as the buffaloes are of the Malays. They are represented by the Malays as sometimes coming to their residence on rainy nights and demanding fire, which those who are acquainted with their savage disposition prefer to hand them upon the extremity of the sumpitan, or blowpipe, or on the point of a sword, since were they to present it with the hand, they would inevitably be seized and devoured by the savage monster, a fate which the Malays firmly believe has befallen many. See pp. 225-229, ante.

A "mawas bone" obtained by the Expedition, proved to be part of an old iron implement of peculiar form.
were further described as having frizzled hair, and as talking an incomprehensible dialect, as living in caves and feeding on wild plants, and as being entirely ignorant of metal, for which they substituted stone implements. The entire range of mountains between Perak, Selangor, and Kelantan was said to be inhabited by them. They were alleged to flee from the approach of men. De Morgan was unable, unfortunately, to obtain confirmation of this statement, but says that he considers it to be probably true.  

3. There is also said to be an invisible, huge, man-like being, who, though never seen, leaves footprints a yard (or "metre") long on soft and clayey ground. This, however, is all that is known of it, and Malays in the Peninsula maintain that otherwise normally formed jungle-folk have been known to possess these huge feet.

4. The giants ("Gergasi") are believed to be represented by two huge black men with projecting tusks in both jaws. They are said to devour those who lose their way in the mountain chains of the north of the Peninsula.

Fuller accounts assert that southern Siam was once invaded by man-eating giants with dark skins.

1 De Morgan, vol. i. p. 19. The description appears to answer best to that of the pure-bred Semang, as they might be described by the Sakai.

2 Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 82. Cp. M. Maclay in J.R.A.S., S.B., No. 2, p. 216: "The Malays of Pahang relate that the wild men on the river Tekam have feet half a metre in length." The idea of wild men with abnormally long feet is a widespread tradition among Mohammedans, and probably reached the Sakai through the Malays, although Vaughan-Stevens has elsewhere suggested a way in which he thinks the tradition may have arisen, viz. through the practice (common to many of these wild people) of binding leaves or branches onto their feet when crossing swampy ground, either for the purpose of preventing themselves from sinking in the mud, or of concealing their tracks from possible enemies.

3 Vaughan Stevens, ii. 81, 82. Cp. M.-Maclay, who in J.R.A.S., S.B., No. 1, p. 216, describes the "Gergasi" as dwelling on the borders of Kedah and Singora. Their (Sanskrit) name points to Indian (Hindu) influences.
and two projecting teeth resembling the canine teeth of tigers. The Raja fought with them, and in a single battle killed all but seven, who fled to Southern Kedah, where each of them sought for a hill for himself to dwell in. Here they henceforth dwelt in caves. According to some they had many heads, or elephants’ ears, or large wings. By the poorer Malays they were believed to bury treasure, and in many parts of Kedah a Malay who has dreamt of such a treasure will go and dig for it. At length, however, they died out, and if they were killed and their blood fell on the earth, leeches arose, but if it fell upon the grass it turned to mosquitos.¹

The stories of cannibalism perpetrated by Bataks in the Peninsula are very common, and although probably much exaggerated, it is not unlikely that such traditions may possess some remote foundation of fact.

The charge of cannibalism may possibly have been transferred to the wilder jungle-folk from the Bataks of this invasion.² None of the former, however, are cannibals, and there is no proof at all that cannibalism has ever, at least in historical times, occurred among them.

TEMPBEH.

Gods and Natural Phenomena.

The Tembeh give the name “Sam-mor” to the Supreme Being, of whom as a God they seem to have very vague notions. The custodian of the region to whom “Sam-mor” sends wicked souls is called “Naing-Naing.”³

¹ Vaughan-Stevens, ii. 100.
Heaven lies "somewhere on the other side of the world"; Hell ("Ni-nik") in a cavern or dark region in the interior of the earth. The chief of the nether regions does not altogether correspond to our own "Devil," for though he is a friend of Darkness and cannot endure Light, yet as receiver of the souls of the wicked Tembeh he appears rather to fill the place of some lesser divinity. To him (i.e. to "Naing-Naing"), who continually seeks to injure mankind when they do not humbly obey him, the Tembeh address fair words, praying him to stay far away from them, etc., whereas they never pray to "Sam-mor" who always remains (they declare) friendly-disposed towards them.

Before the creation of the Sun, the Earth was like a flat board, beneath which centipedes, ants, and scorpions swarmed. In a hole beneath this board (the earth) dwelt Naing, whilst Sam-mor was enthroned high above it. Sometimes Sam-mor descended to the board (the earth) in order to take exercise, and on one such occasion Naing let him be stung by a demon in the shape of an ant.

Then followed a battle between Sam-mor and Naing in which the latter was defeated; Sam-mor threw Naing back into his hole and piled up the biggest rocks which he could find like a mountain on the top of him and over the hole, so as to make it impossible for him to come out again. Finally Sam-mor threw the whole board, mountain and all, into the air, wherein the whole world has since remained suspended. Afterwards he rolled fire which he had brought down with him into a ball (the sun), which still revolves

1 The reduplicated form "Naing-Naing" does not appear to have any specific meaning, the form "Naing" being indifferently employed by V.-St.
round the mountain (i.e. the earth) to keep watch over Naing.¹

Magicians.

Among the Sakai each magician could perform any charm that he wished, but among the Tembeh, on the contrary, the magicians were divided into the seven following classes, with the proviso that the members of each class should only learn and be allowed to practise one particular form of magic.

1. The three Demon-charmers or Head Magicians.
2. The Disease-charmers or medicine-men who banished sickness by means of charms and drugs.
3. The Field and Forest-charmers (for agriculture, hunting, and fishing), with whom should be classed the Weather-charmers.
4. The Diviners of Dreams, who interpreted the dreams of the uninitiated as well as individual dreams of supernatural events.
5. The Diviners of Omens, who interpreted omens, and knew the auspicious and inauspicious days, etc.
6. The Diviners of Crimes, who tried charges of felony and decided whether the accused was innocent or guilty.
7. The Assistant Magicians or pupils, who carried out the magician’s orders, and lived in closer communication with the laity.²

Traditions.

The following is the gist of the Tembeh traditions given by Vaughan-Stevens:³—

¹ *Globus*, ixix. 118 (1896), H. V. S.
² Ibid.
³ Vaughan-Stevens, iii. 98.
The Tembeh were of the same stock as the Sakai when the latter dwelt in Pulau Guntong Penyaring, although they themselves (the Tembeh) dwelt upon another island, called Tembeh ("Tumior"), which was far distant from that of the Sakai (Blandas). Long before the time of Batin Iron-claws, the Tembeh had been attacked by the inhabitants of another island, who were cannibals, and the survivors had fled to Borneo (Negri Brunei).

For their subsequent departure from Borneo various reasons are given; e.g. a quarrel, the hostility of the Dayaks, and the dream of a white bird which they were to follow. The upshot, however, was that they reached Perak and wandered inland. A foreign conquest of the Peninsula followed, driving them permanently into the mountains.

Exorcism of the Cholera Demon.

The cholera charm here described was alleged by the Tembeh to have been identical with one formerly practised by all the Sakai tribes, at the time when there still existed among them a real hereditary class of magicians. The fact that the Sakai magicians were once acquainted with a special charm against cholera was frequently asserted by them, but none of them were able to state for certain whether it was or was not identical with the ceremony practised by the Tembeh.¹

The ceremony commenced by the magicians giving a signal, at which every one but himself was compelled to withdraw into the small tree-huts in which this particular tribe was living. After their retirement he proceeded to enclose, by means of four shallow furrows drawn with a pointed staff [at right angles to each other], an open space, the size of which depends on the (anticipated) number of spectators—in this case it measured about 30 m.—and which has previously been cleared and levelled for the purpose.

It is here that there takes place the expulsion of the Cholera Demon, who is called "Rak" and is apparently exorcised like the Smallpox Demon by

¹ *Globus*, lxix. 118 (1896).
Markings of Men representing Demons in the Tembeh Ceremony for exorcising the Cholera Demon.

Plot of ground marked out for the Ceremony of exorcising the Cholera Demon.
(For explanation see Appendix.)

N, E, S, W. Points of the compass.
V= Corner at which the spear-bearers entered the plot, their track being denoted by dots.
♀ = Bamboo sprays planted in centre of plot, from which spears were fashioned.
○ ○ = Positions taken up by spear-bearers to await attack of the white-striped men (demons).

means of a dance, during which certain magic formulæ are chanted by the magician.¹

SAKAI OF SELANGOR.

Ceremonies and Charms.

Records of the religion of the Selangor Sakai are extremely rare. It is therefore very interesting to learn from the late Mr. J. A. G. Campbell that the Sakai of the Ulu Langat district “had a ceremony at which they used all to sit down, blow bamboo pipes, and sing to demons (or ‘Hantu’),” though whether to drive them away or to ask blessings of them he had not, when writing, been able to learn.²

Yet more interesting is the Ulu Langat version of the famous love-charm called “Chinduai.” According to Campbell, the plant called “chinduai” “is extremely rare, and almost unobtainable. The charm is a white flower of three petals, which is supposed to be only procurable in almost inaccessible places, such as very steep cliffs. It grows out of the rock and possesses no leaves or stem, but exhales a strong perfume. If placed in a house it is supposed to make all the inhabitants so enamoured of the owner that he can do anything he likes with them.” Mr. Campbell continues, “I am told that there is a hill in the interior of Malacca where a ‘chinduai’ is supposed to grow. The Sakai are said to be able to climb these steep cliffs by the aid of devils. I have never seen the ‘chinduai.’”³

¹ *Globus*, lxix. 118 (1896). The detailed description of this ceremony (from *Globus*, lxix. 137-141) is given in the Appendix to this volume.
² J. A. G. Campbell, p. 240.
III.—Jakun.

Jakun of Sungei Ujong.—The following story of the transmigration of the soul of a deceased tribal chief, or “Batin,” of a Sungei Ujong tribe was contributed to the Selangor Journal by a French Roman Catholic missionary, the Rev. Charles Letessier:

“On the summit of the Hebang mountain, at the foot of which dwells the Batin Lepeng, there lives in solitary retirement a beautiful black ape of the Siamang species. It is known to all the Sungei Ujong tribes under the name of ‘The Sacred Ape’ (‘Siamang Kramat’), a title which recalls its mysterious origin. A Batin having died, the mourners repaired to his tomb as was customary seven days later in order to make it up, but on their arrival were unspeakably astonished to find no traces remaining of the deceased save his clothing and his shroud, when suddenly they perceived a ‘Siamang’ swinging from branch to branch of the great tree that overshadowed the grave. As a ‘Siamang’ had never been seen at Bukit Hebang before, they came to the conclusion that it could be nothing else but the deceased Batin, especially as they never succeeded in their attempts to drive it away. They assert that on a subsequent occasion, when wounded by the dart from a blowpipe, he transformed himself for a moment into a tiger, striking such terror into his would-be assassin that the latter expired not long afterwards. This ‘sacred ape’ is of the size of a child of six years,
and is covered with long jet-black fur. It is never known to descend to the ground, but whenever one of its tribe climbs the mountain it hastens to meet him, springing from tree to tree, and accompanying him to the summit, expressing its delight the while by means of cries and gestures; and in conclusion those who relate the story never forget to say that it foretells, three days in advance, the approaching death of their existing Batin."  

Jakun of Jelebu.—It is an interesting fact that the ancient Malay regalia of Jelebu, one of the states of the Negri Sembilan, are declared by Malay tradition to have been of Jakun origin.

The list of articles composing it was given me as follows:—

1. The ivory ear-studs, or "Subang Gading."  
2. The ebony-wood ear-studs, or "Subang Kayu Arang."  
3. The "monkey" bone, or "Tulang Chikâh."  
4. The "flying-fox" bone, or "Tulang Këluang."  
5. A mouse-deer's eye-tooth, or "Taring P'landok."  
6. A slip of "male" rattan, or "Sëga Jantan."

The following tradition is also told about the origin of these Jelebu tribes:—

Batin Salengkur 'Alam (the ancestor of the tribe) descended from heaven. He is said in Malay tales to have been the hero of the "bamboo episode." There once grew a giant bamboo (which according to one account was called Buluh Bohal), upon Gunong Hijau, transformed itself into an ape. Such at least was the legend which I myself heard on the Tahan, but on my mentioning it to Mr. H. N. Ridley (one of the leaders of the expedition in question), he wrote: "It was rather a demon which was believed to turn itself into an animal at will, and became a man when fired at." 

1 Letessier, p. 101.
2 "Subang" is a Malay word signifying the ear-stud, which is worn by Malay maidens as a sign of virginity. See also p. 313, infra.
and the Batin is said to have stirred it thrice with his foot, in spite of the mysterious protestations which issued from it each time he did so. On the third occasion a Princess, Lindong Awan, issued out of it, and was married on the spot to a Prince of Johor named Raja Ma'atham. The ceremony was performed by a mosque official ("Kathi") and the requisite number of witnesses (four), all of whom descended from heaven for the purpose of performing it. Subsequently, we are told, the Batin "disappeared," and the young prince and his miraculously provided spouse together ascended the throne of Johor.\(^1\)

BLANDAS.

Natural Phenomena and Paradise.

**Blandas of Selangor.**—According to the Blandas of Kuala Langat the earth was originally the shape of a particular kind of betel-box, which is called "sodoksodok" by the Malays, and which is flat and oblong. The nether deep or ocean was the shape of a tobacco receptacle of the kind called "lopak-lopak" (i.e. globular), and the heavens which were round and over-reaching were like an umbrella (= Mal. "payong”).

The traditions of the Blandas Paradise are very similar to those of the Besisi in the same district, which latter will be set forth more fully below. A well-known old Blandas chief told me that in the "Island of Fruits" (the Blandas Paradise) the souls of "old people" became "young" again;\(^2\) that there was no pain or sickness there, and that there was such an abundance of "well water” there that it formed seven ponds or lakes.\(^3\)

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\(^{1}\) Cp. pp. 343, 344, infra. (di-Pulau Buah.)

\(^{2}\) "Orang sudah besar balik kecil

\(^{3}\) "Ayer telaga bangun kulam tujoh."
He added that it was possible for a medicine-man to send his soul to visit the Island of Fruits in a trance ("bēr-sawai"), and that if he and his people “sat down in a line” that extended all the way there, any one who thus visited it could bring back enough “rambutans” (a favourite jungle fruit) to feed every one of them. He added that the way to it led along a plank (“mēniti papan”), and that any great medicine-man, if he wanted to kill an adversary, could do so by “sapping the plank” in question (“tētas papan”).

_Animal Beliefs and Traditions—the Elephant._

One of the nicknames given to the elephant by the Blandas of Selangor is that of “Babi Rēbong,” or bamboo-sprout (v. p. 222) boar, _i.e._ the wild pig that lives on the young bamboo shoots, these being the favourite food of the elephant in the Malay Peninsula.

A form of the “manis” story, as related by the Semang, also occurs, for I was one day told by an old Blandas chief of the same district that once when the elephant had incautiously pushed his trunk through a hole (in a tree), a manis caught hold of the tip of it, and thus effectually prevented the elephant from withdrawing it again. This, no doubt, is the reason why the elephant’s trunk has become so elongated, as it is also the reason why the elephant still goes in fear of the manis.

The story here told is the counterpart of numerous stories very familiar to the Malays. In some of these the manis bites the elephant’s foot, in others it rolls itself round the elephant’s trunk and so suffocates it; in yet others the manis licks a wild banyan-tree (“jawi-jawi”), and the tainted tree is for ever avoided by the elephant and all his descendants.
The same (Blandas) tribe also had a story about an elephant-stone which possessed certain magic virtues, and which had been obtained by a member of the tribe from an elephant killed by a spring-spear trap ("b'lanterek"). The stone was called "Batū' Badui," or "Elephant-stone," and appears to be an analogue of the magic stone which the Malays believe may sometimes be obtained from the head of a snake (cp. our own "toad-stone").

The Tiger.

The tiger's stripes are believed, among the Blandas, to have resulted from contact with the "kēnudai" fruit, which fell upon the tiger's skin and caused its markings. But this effect was only caused by the "kēnudai" fruit that fell upon the land; and that which fell into the water is believed to have been in some way connected with the origin of the crocodile.

The following is a Blandas charm which is believed to have the power of crippling a tiger. It was given me by a member of the Kuala Langat tribe:—

**Tiger-crippling Charm.**

Trong wet! Trong wau!
Stick fast i' the tree-stumps, where thou prowlest;
The weighting charm is said already.
Refuse thou then men's heads, O Tiger.
And be your hind-feet slow, earth-loaded,
And slow, stone-loaded, be your fore-feet.
A sevenfold rampart now surrounds me,
The weighting-charm I've just repeated.

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1 Mr. H. N. Ridley calls this fruit "kēnīdai," which may be Malay, but "kēnudai" was the name used by the Blandas. Mr. Ridley tells me that it is a *Glochidion* (possibly *Brunnium*), and that it is a "shrub with pulpy fruit growing on wet river-banks." The pulpiness of the fruit may doubtless have helped the story, as the result of its falling would naturally be to break and leave a stain or smear on anything with which it came in contact.

2 The exact connection was not explained, but I believe it to have been that they developed into the knob-like projections on the top of the crocodile's head (over his eyes), which are very conspicuous, and are alluded to in Malay stories of the crocodile's origin.
A second Blandas tiger-charm, which ran as given below, consisted of a couple of stanzas of the Malay "pantun" type:

**Tiger-charm.**

Though the young tobacco bends in the breezes
'Tis planted in a rock-walled cranny,
Pull ye the cord, clap hands together,
So from the sun the moon's defended.¹

Grant me a ladleful of water,
A ladleful ta'en from the wellside,
It shields me like the king's umbrella;²
It shields me like unto a Fairy.

A charm for snaring the souls of monkeys has already been given.³

**Exorcism.**

Exorcism is called in the Blandas dialect "bērsawai," which is the equivalent of the Besisi "bērsalong" or "tisi."

The directions for exorcism of the Blandas magicians, given me by themselves, were as follows:—

Make a shelter with Nibong-palm leaves, big enough to contain the Pawang or magician and any one else who wishes to be present. Lay the sick man inside it on his back. Burn benzoin or incense,⁴ and summon the spirits (Hantu) of either tigers or elephants or monkeys ("lotong") and the like, to descend and enter into your body. Wave ("bērlimbei") a bunch of "licuala" leaves, and as soon as he (the spirit just invoked) descends and "twins" with you,⁵ brush the patient downwards

¹ The allusion in the fourth line of the first stanza refers of course to the belief that the sun is, on the occasion of an eclipse, bent upon devouring the moon, from whom he has to be frightened away by the din raised by the inhabitants of the earth.
² The umbrella of Malay royalty is, of course, the one here meant.
³ Supra, vol. i. p. 215.
⁴ Called "cho'ong" (or "cho'okn") in both the Blandas and Besisi dialects. "Cho'ong" lit. means to "burn" or "kindle,"—"incense" being understood.
⁵ "Kalau dia turun bēkēmbaran kita."
from head to foot seven times in succession (with the bunch of leaves) repeating at the same time the following charm:

**Exorcising Spell.**

One, two, three, four, five, six, seven!
All seven heads of you, begone now.
But let not go the soul i’ the shadow;
Let go the demons and the devils
That dwell within this flesh and sinews,
And let the Hot grow cold and frigid.
Descend ye now, all Venoms,
Ascend ye, Neutralisers.
Lo, thus I neutralise all Venoms,
Ascend ye, Neutralisers.

Another form of exorcism practised by the Blandas consisted in casting out demons by means of a ceremony called “bêrjin,” which appears to be analogous to the Malay ceremony which goes by the same name.

The requisites (“kalangkapan”) for the ceremony consist, they told me, of “sêrdang” leaves, for making the so-called ear-studs or “subang” (which is the name given to the pendent leaf-ornaments used by these people in all their ceremonies); “bêrtam”-palm leaves, for waving (Mal. “pêlimbai”); and lastly, “lêgum” leaves to make the leaf-chamber (“salong”) itself in which the performance takes place.

The charm runs as follows:

**Spell for exorcising Diseases.**

O Spirit-guides, both all and sundry,
Both big and small, and old and young ones,
I crave your help in healing some one
Who’s sick i’ the veins [or] bones, joints, or soul, etc.

By the Blandas charms and spells are employed against the Langhui (birth-demon), the Polong, the Pontianak,¹ and the “Uri”² demon.

¹ Cp. supra, pp. 13-15. By many with the Langsuir, and not, as it authorities the Pontianak is identified should be, with the Matianak.

² Lit. “afterbirth.”
The Blood-throwing Charm.

The Blandas informed me that they did not now practise the actual throwing of blood, but always threw water instead. At the same time, however, leaves of the "bunglei" were burnt, and the following charm (which is principally directed against the Spectral Huntsman) repeated by the magician:

CHARM AGAINST THE WILD HUNTSMAN.

Oho, thou Demon Hunter,
Accept this bowl of blood we offer,
And use it up to cook your mushrooms;
But go a-hunting here no longer.
Hunt only in the Slough of Ali,
And in the Swamp of the Mahang trees,
With your good hound whose name is Tampoi, 1
Your hound whose name is Köing,
Your hound whose name is Sukum,
Your hound whose name is Langsat.
Lo, here I draw my jungle chopper
To cut the Neutralising Creeper,
To cut in twain the Giant Creeper,
And snuff out thus the Demon Hunter.
Come thou a-hunting here no longer,
But hasten back to where thou cam'st from,
Return unto the Slough of Ali.

CHARM AGAINST CRAMP. 2

Crack-crack! creak-creak!
That's the banyan with its streamers!
Your beard is long, your eyes are scarlet.
The web hangs down: why, children, bring it?
E'en as I snap this staff of rattan, 3
Be snapped and broke your jaws, O Demons!
And like to them be yours, O Giants!
Like hammered iron, like Indian iron,
Be snapped and broke your jaws, O Demons!
Be all to-broke your jaws, O Giants!
I neutralise your jaws, O Giants!
It is not mine, this Neutraliser,
But it is that of Malim Putih.
For your jaws is it meant, O Giants!

1 The dogs' names are those of certain wild jungle-fruits.
2 Mal. "Semut Buta."
3 Lit. "snap this 'Rotan manau,"' this being a special kind of rattan specially used for staffs, etc.
The Blandas also attribute souls to maize and banana-trees, and also, like the Besisi, bring back the soul of the rice, and suspend it from the rafters,\(^1\) holding a great feast afterwards.

**BESISI.**

*Celestial Phenomena.*

Concerning the ideas of the Besisi on the subject of heaven, Mr. G. C. Bellamy reported in 1886 to the Selangor Government that the souls of the departed, according to their own notions, passed away to an Island of Fruit-trees, where they spent eternity. This Fruit Island was, as far as he could ascertain, nothing more or less than the moon, and on the occasion of an eclipse they considered the shadow of the earth on the moon’s surface to be a spirit or demon (Hantu) annihilating their moon-ancestors ("Nenek 'Bayan"). This belief occasions the greatest possible terror in their minds, and they proceed into the jungle with great lamentations and beating of tomtoms, and, striking the trees with their jungle-knives ("parangs"), beseech the God of the Malays ("Tuhan Allah") to release their moon-ancestors. All this I can myself confirm from inquiries made in the same district, but they are very shy about referring to it in conversing with a stranger, and in such cases usually remark evasively that they cannot say where this island lies, since nobody has ever seen it. Yet to those who have gained their confidence they will insist upon its reality readily enough, their descriptions of it forcibly recalling the poet’s island-valley of Avilion,

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\(^1\) Supra, vol. i. p. 362.
“where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow, nor ever wind blows loudly,”—a land unfailing of durians and rambutans and mangostins and all the varied fruits of the jungle;¹ a land therefore of perpetual feasting, where the simple jungle-men may lie reclined, playing upon their rude instruments of music. None but the good will be admitted to it, the bad will have no place there, but mourn, “blown along a wandering wind” (as was the ghost of Gawain). It is only reached by crossing a fallen trunk which serves as a bridge, and from which the ignorant and wicked when they go the wrong way fall into a great water, generally said to be a boiling lake, contained in a vast caldron. This only happens, however, to those who allow themselves to be frightened by a big and fierce dog which sits at the parting of the ways by which the souls must go.

Another account, from the Besisi near Sepang in the same district, was to the effect that as soon as the survivors retire seven paces from the freshly-dug grave in which they have laid a newly-lost comrade, there comes a sound of thunder, which is the reception accorded to the soul of the deceased as it ascends the heavens and reaches the Island of Fruits. There is to be found every kind of fruit that grows, and there, too, are many straight roads planted on each hand with avenues of banana-trees and pine-apples. Here, also, said my informants, are tigers and other wild beasts, but Gaffer Engkoh withholds them from molesting any one who goes there. The magicians of the tribe are reputed to be able to visit the Fruit-tree Paradise in a trance and bring fruit back with them.

¹ Mr. Bellamy rightly remarks that this is just what one would expect from their way of living, one of the great features of which is their passion for fruit (cp. the loud shout of "Plé" = "Fruit," with which many of the songs of the Besisi conclude). I should add that “Nenek 'Bayan” = Mal. “Nenek Kábayan.”
Of the divine ancestors of the Besisi this Gaffer Engkoh (or Jongkoh), of whom the following interesting story is told, is the chief. Gaffer Engkoh, I was informed, once upon a time fell from heaven (together with his dog) in the neighbourhood of the Besisi settlement at Sepang Kechil, on which occasion one Porang Atiyau became possessed and remained unconscious for seven days and nights. In this unconscious state he plaited a festoon, which soon became a ladder reaching to the moon. By this ladder Gaffer Engkoh reascended, and when he had gone up, and Porang Atiyau with him, the latter quietly slipped down again and pulled down the festoon with him. And thus Gaffer Engkoh now dwells in the moon and protects from wild beasts dead souls that visit the Island of Fruits.

Now Nenek Kâbayan ("Si Bayan") dwelt in the (upper) tier of the heavens in which the sun is, and he cursed Gaffer Engkoh because the latter (when on earth) had felled the sea-coconut palm ("pauh janggi"). Then Gaffer Engkoh in wrath (as he could not retaliate) adjured his dog, whom he had left behind, saying "Thou shalt eat the Rough-skinned (lit. 'furred') and the Smooth-skinned shalt thou devour." And with that Gaffer Engkoh's dog became a sacred tiger, whose footmarks may to this day be seen at Bukit Bangkong near Sepang Kechil. And so to this day Gaffer Engkoh is chief of the Besisi Paradise, and the guardian of the soul-bridge among them is a dog.

A number of other beliefs and traditions, such as

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1 *Sic,* "Poyang."
2 "Pauh janggi," the coco-de-mer or double coconut-palm, found in the Seychelles, and believed by Malays to grow on a sunken bank in the midst of a great whirlpool in the Heart of the Seas.—Cp. Malay Magic, p. 6, *note.*
3 "Yang bēr-bulu."
4 "Yang ta' bēr-bulu."
the myth of the origin of the Rainbow, and beliefs connected with various animals and reptiles, will be found in the Besisi Songs.

Spirits and Demons.

The following notes on the spirits and demons of the Besisi were collected by the writer among the Besisi of Selangor:—

The Wind-Demon (Jin Angin) lives on a white rock near Tanjong Tuan (Cape Rachado). "It is a male spirit and harmless, and once came to me" (the speaker) "in a dream and invited me to visit its abode."

The "Legion of Demons" or "Demonic Legion" (Bes. "Jin Sä-ribu") dwell in the earth and feed when possible upon human victims. They are as tall as the loftiest trees, and measure more than a fathom across. They have scarlet eyes, and very long black hair, which in the case of males is grown down to the waist, but in the case of females falls down below their feet ("lēbeh kaki"). They have conical heads, and walk with the greatest swiftness, as swiftly, in fact, "as a fire-ship (i.e. steamer) can sail." As they go, they make a shrill whistling noise, "that sounds like shi-i-i-i." At the full of the moon their bodies are perfectly white, as white, in fact, as a sheet.

The demon garrotter (Jin Sa-rapat) lives in the hills. He is of the size of an ordinary person, but carries a small pocket-knife ("pisau b'landa") with which he slits the weasand of his victim.

In addition, there are the Hantu Kêmbang Buah ("bagei lanjut") and the Jin G'rotak, of which nothing more than their names is known.

There is also a strong belief in animal spirits and in vegetation spirits of various kinds as well as in
spirits of inert objects. As regards vegetation spirits, I have seen a fruit-tree (mangostin) decorated with palm-leaf festoons which I was told were used in a ceremony for promoting the fertility of the tree, and there was also, as among the Malays, a strong belief in the spirits inhabiting trees yielding gutta (Hantu Gĕtah), eaglewood (Hantu Gharu), and camphor (Hantu Kapor), all of which were treated ceremonially and surrounded with taboos.

The "Orang Bunyan" live in swampy places. "I" (the speaker) "once met two of them near the Pelkun in the Siak district (Sumatra). They wore madder-coloured jackets and flowered skirts of the kind called 'batek'; beautiful women they were, both of them, with pale skins, open features, and black hair rolled up on their heads, and trimmed with a fringe (like that of a bride) over the brows. They asked me what I was doing, and I said I was 'collecting gutta.' They replied, 'All the gutta here is ours. If you collect any, give it to us.' At this I turned back, and when I had gone but two paces, they vanished. When I got back, my comrades said, 'Why did you abandon all that gutta?' So I told them of the two women I had met, and what they said. And that night my two comrades died without a trace of sickness. Afterwards I met a gutta-tree magician and told him my story. So he would try too. He got as much as two pikuls and sold it, and had just returned to get more when his son-in-law died.

"One of these same 'Orang Bunyan' called Gaffer Blue-Heron (Bes. 'Dato' Si Puchong’) lives at a Sacred Place near Sungei Kroh (close to Sepang), and another at a Sacred Place on the way to Labu (Bes. 'K'ramat To' Kĕmarong’). Whenever we pass
their shrines we have to burn incense there and say, 'Grandfather, harass me not, I am your grandson,' or we should be destroyed by their attendants. Each has two attendants, an elephant and a tiger, both of whom have one of their feet formed like the foot of a man."

The Demon (or "Spectre") Huntsman (Bes. "Hantu si Buru") is full ten feet high, and his face is very hairy (with beard and whiskers). From nightfall onwards at the full of the moon he goes hunting deer and pig. He has two hunting dogs, both of them small and with reddish fur. One of them, the redder of the two, is called Sokong (Mal. "Sukun"), and the other Ko'ing (? Mal. "K'ruing"). He carries a spear with which he stabs people, and its shaft is six cubits long, and as big as two hands may grasp ("bēsar dua tangan"). He whistles as he hunts, and his dogs go barking "weh, weh!" "Relatives of mine" (i.e. of the speaker) "have however repeatedly made friends with him. If they want to meet him, they restore to its erect position a half-snapped tree-stem. (Any but a gutta-tree will do.) At this he appears, and says 'What do you want?' And they reply, 'I want my father.' To this he answers, 'I will be a father to you; if ever you are sick, send for me and I will come to you.' This promise he keeps, and when they are sick they invoke him, and he comes and cures them with his charms."

The Spectre Huntsman described above, dangerous as he is, corresponds in scarcely anything but name to the terrible Demon who is regarded as such a scourge to the forest-dwelling Malays in the same district.

The River Spirit (Bes. "Hantu Sungei") haunts the sources of the rivers.

The Demon of fatal Birth-sickness (Bes. "Jin
Mati Anak,” with which however it has scarcely any points in common), is of two kinds. The one which is harmless is called Kuwak. It is believed to resemble a dwarf human being, being only three hand-spans high. It has a white body and goes naked, “barking like a deer” (“ke-e-e-eng”) in the very dead of night. The more dangerous kind has long nails (like claws), is covered from head to foot with long bushy hair, and goes lolling its long tongue out “like a thirsty dog.” Sometimes it enters people’s bodies, and then they go mad; at others it enters into water, and no harm is done. This demon sprang from a woman who died in giving birth to her youngest child.

Of the Hantu Lang-hwē (Mal. “lang-suier,” which is often associated in Malay mythology with the Mati Anak) very little was told me. I learnt, however, that it lives in the Pulai-tree, is about the size of an owl, and makes a noise which sounds like “kok-kok-kok-kok.”

Of the Grave Demon (Hantu Kubor) there are two kinds. The first enters into the bodies of wild beasts, such as deer and tigers. When you see a deer or tiger with its head turned round (looking backwards), it is because its body has been entered by the Grave Demon.

The other kind, which is called “Kēmuk,” has a globular body like the fruit of the wax-gourd (“kundor”). It is pallid in colour, and chases people at sight, rocking itself after them, and making a noise which sounds like “nuh-uh-uh-uh.” When it enters people they get “all abroad” and feverish, and little by little it “steals their life.”

Before leaving this part of the subject I may perhaps as well record the fact that among the Besisi,
it is "pantang" (prohibited) to gather quartz, and that the practice if persisted in was believed to cause both fever and a swelling of the legs.

Transmigration of Souls.

In addition to the foregoing information, I may add that the transmigration of souls is also one of their religious tenets, and they firmly believe that the souls of their deceased Batins now find a resting-place in the bodies of tigers, deer, pigs, and crocodiles. ¹

This testimony extends the list of animals into which the transmigration is believed to take place beyond the limits of mere beasts of prey, and shows that the idea is based on more general grounds than might otherwise have been supposed. To the foregoing list, again, monkeys or apes, the elephant, and the rhinoceros should be added.

The Tiger.

The Besisi had several names for the tiger, whom they used to call "Tūēh" (Tuweh) and "Mālāp" as well as "ā'ā." They told me that the tiger had a song of its own, and that what it said was:

Teng wet bong
Teng wet bong
Mērutup kāpala chuchu ;

which might almost be translated, on the analogy of one of our own nursery rhymes:—

Fee foh fum!
Fee foh fum!
Crack goes your head, my grandchild!

¹ I may mention in this connection that I myself well remember being shown a grave near Sepang in Selangor of which the earth had partly fallen in, leaving a hole in the centre of the grave or mound out of which I was told a wild pig (in which it was implied that the deceased's ghost was embodied) was believed to have issued. This idea, was I believe, due to the Chinese, but it is perhaps worth quoting as a local parallel.
These lines evidently afforded them considerable amusement. They may very possibly be one of their own children's rhymes, in which case they would naturally amuse the grown-ups.¹

The wooden "scapegoat" images of the Besisi will be dealt with later (pp. 374, 375).

*Divination ("bër-sawai").*

The most usual form of medium-making among the Besisi is the ceremony called "Sêoi," or more commonly, perhaps, "Sawai" (Mal. "bër-sawai"); *i.e.* the "chanting" ceremony.²

I was once present at a performance of this sort near Ayer Itam, in the Kuala Langat district of Selangor. The ceremony is performed usually for the benefit of sick persons, but there was no sick person in this case, and the Besisi informed me that the use of the performance was not confined to cases of sickness, but that the medium who falls into the trance in such cases was able to answer any questions affecting the welfare of any individual or individuals for whose benefit the ceremony was performed.

The ceremony took place about an hour after sundown. All lights having been carefully extinguished, so that the house was plunged into complete darkness, the assembled company, which included women as well as men, sitting in a wide circle close to the outer walls of the hut, commenced to chant a weird kind of incantation, to the accompaniment of bamboo "stampers" ("ding tengkheng"), which were played

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¹ Two more lines about the tiger, of which I could not, however, get the exact meaning, were—

"Chawong abang, abang-nya,
Chawang adik, adik-nya."²

Lit. "Chawong the elder, is his elder brother, Chawong the younger, his younger brother."

² "Sêoi," lit. = to sing or chant (in Besisi).
by performers sitting in their midst. Two of the performers, each holding one of these “stampers” (in each of his hands), struck these instruments in rapid succession upon the central beam of the house-floor, producing thereby a musical rhythm by no means unpleasant to listen to. At the same time incense (benzoin) was kindled in an improvised brazier of coconut-shell. As the incantation (which consisted of an invocation to the spirits) proceeded, one of the spirits commenced to give evidence of his descent, by taking possession of one of the company, who presently fell down apparently unconscious. While he was in this state (of possession) questions were put to him, apparently by anybody desiring to do so. The required information having been given, the possessed person was restored to consciousness by the inhaled smoke of the burning incense, which, I was assured by one of the company, will always “restore him immediately.”

I only succeeded in obtaining a portion of the words of the incantation, which proved to be a description of the preparations required for the ceremony.

I would attempt to translate it, somewhat roughly, as follows:

**Part of Charm used by Besisi Mediums.**

“Right,” we cry, One, Two, Three, Four!
“Right,” we cry, Five, Six, and Seven!
Hang up the ivory ear-studs,
Hang up the leaf-fringed pendants,
Stretch out the leafy festoons,
Stretch out the festooned fringes,
Count up your “smooth-coat” lime-fruit,
Count up your “rough-coat” lime-fruit,
Stamp on the leaf-cell’s flooring,
The flooring of the Balai.

To the foregoing a few words of explanation should perhaps be added.

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1 For this ceremony, cp. pp. 257, ante; 359, infra.
The use of the word "right" (Bes. "hööl" or "nahöl" = true, ratified, or approved, i.e. "right!") together with the short numerical formula or category which follows, is clearly parallel to the use of the same word at a Besisi wedding, described at p. 74, ante.

The "ivory ear-studs" are ring-shaped decorations or nooses made of white (dried) licuala-palm leaf, which together with long fringed festoons of leafwork, are hung about the house by the Jakuns at all their religious ceremonies to snare the spirits.

The words "stamp (or drum) on the floor," etc. refer to the beating of time by means of the "ding tengkheng" or "quarrelling bamboos" just described.

The reference to the leaf-cell or leaf-chamber is important, owing to the rarity of any such allusion. I was however told by the Besisi (independently of this statement), that for the purpose of divining a person's sickness the magician often makes a small leaf-chamber or cell for himself, called "Balei bumbun." This cell is erected close against the walls of the sick person's dwelling, and the magician conceals himself within it during the performance of the ceremony in which the treatment required for the patient is divined.

The Malays firmly believe that the performance of this "bërsawai" ceremony (as they call it) on the part of these tribes is infinitely more efficacious than any ceremony of which their own medicine-men are capable. Hence the Besisi kept it a very close secret.

The following charm is employed by the Besisi for exorcising the Demon of Pain, or as they call it, Venom ('Tawar Bisä'):

**Charm for neutralising Venom.**

Dishevelled are your locks, O Demon,
Your spear too, sire, is weak and fragile.
Harm you the shoot, I'll show the Antidote,
Harm you the leaf, I'll show the Antidote,
Cross me, and I'll display the Antidote,
Point at me, I'll display the Antidote,
Enter, and I'll display the Antidote,
Oppress me, I'll display the Antidote,
Strike me, and I'll display the Antidote,
Harm me, and I'll snatch forth the Antidote.
Descend, O Venom! ascend, O Antidote!
It is not I that am skilled in Antidotes
It is my Masters, the old magicians.
O Bird men call Chinchili', bring me
Wherewith to foil attacking Demons.
O skilful Master, bring the flour-paste
To heal this Anguish in the sinews.

Inwalling Charm.
The following is one of the so-called "inwalling" (i.e. prophylactic) charms used by the Besisi (= Mal. "Pendinding").

Spell for Self-protection.

Të' Krusau! On Batu Putih, on Ladun the lofty,
I tread the lemon-grass,¹ the Iron Pestle,²
To inwall me against foul fiends so many.
The Seven Hill-crags have I uprooted.
The long cane's split; walk ye o' the one side,
O fiends, whilst I walk on the other.
Comrades, may Light become your rampart,
Be mine a rampart of thick Darkness.

Charm for driving out Devils.

One, Two, Three, Four, Five, Six, Seven!
Be cool, O Fever, cool and frigid,
In flesh and bones and joints and sinews
Pluck-forth, expel all Fiends and Devils,
Be opened, loosed, ye Fiends and Devils,
Drive forth, I beg, all Fiends and Devils.
Busu, bring thou the sucking Flour-ball,
Busu, bring thou the flour-paste Antidote,
To allay these pangs i' the flesh and sinews.
And thou, O Fever, be thou cooled,
And all the Fiends and Devils forth-driven
From out the heart, from out the spirit.
Busu, bring thou the Tenglang blossom,
And chant in the leaf-cell, the leaf-chamber.
Bring, Busu, all these Fiends together,

¹ Doubtless in allusion to the legend of the seven magical clumps of citronella grass which are believed by the Malays to grow upon the peaks of some of the highest mountains in the Peninsula.
² This no doubt refers to some special geological feature of this particular crag. There are places so named in the mountains in other parts of the Peninsula. Cp. p. 344, infra, n. 4.
And drive them forth before your knife-blade
Unto the Rock that's called Perimbun,
And there remain they, at Perimbun;
Foul be Perimbun with them ever.

**Charm against Devils.**

Hong Hang become Foam,
And Foam become Rock,
And Rock become Foam!
Dash them down, to left and right,
Dash them to ground, these devils divers,
Hong Plesé,¹ that from the first wert Plesé,
The pot's a-boil, the copper's boiling,
And lo, to left and right I brim it,
I brim it up with devils divers!

The following charm is used by the Besisi for exorcising the Spectre Huntsman (*v.* p. 303, *ante*), an Oriental counterpart of the "Wild Huntsman" of the Harz mountains, so familiar to us in European literature:

**Charm against the Spectre Huntsman.**

Headlong I fly to seize a peeling-knife
Wherewith to peel yon hairy betel-nut.
I've drawn my sword and walked the tree-trunk,
And sharpened me seven stakes of bamboo
To pierce thy chin, O Spectre Huntsman!
Avaunt to the left, avaunt to the right hand!
Avaunt, avaunt, thou Spectre Huntsman!

**Love-charms.**

The Besisi have two or three very famous love-charms, which are, however, sometimes confused in native accounts. The first of these, the "Buluh Périndu" (Bes. "ding dioi")² is described as a kind of dwarf bamboo, which grows, like its no less famous rivals the "Chinduai" and "Chingkwoi," on the steepest and most inaccessible mountain peaks.

It is said that in former days the members of the travelling theatrical troupes, still a feature of the

¹ The *Plesé* (= Mal. "P élect") is also called Pemprât by the Besisi, who describe it as a kind of vampire, which sucks the blood from its victim's body.

Peninsula, were in the habit of obtaining from the Jakun some minute splinters or slivers of this plant, and of slipping them in between their teeth, in the belief that this would render their voices irresistibly melodious; when successful they kept all their hearers at their mercy, and made use of their power to extort anything and everything that took their fancy. Hence in some parts of the Peninsula the mere possession of a splinter of the "Yearning Bamboo" was formerly an offence punishable by death.

The Chingkwoi, which may or may not be identifiable with the Chinduai, is a fragrant rootlet about a palm's-breadth long, which has minute efflorescences and fine threads about it, and is said to possess a more delicate and refined fragrance than any other flower in the world. The most widely accepted version of the story says that it grows underneath the ledge of an overhanging crag on the top of one of the mountains in Ulu Klang (near the sources of the Klang river),¹ and that a Jakun when he wishes to obtain it has to ascend this hill and there build a shelter wherein to keep his fast beneath the crag until a kite, which builds upon the crag and uses the Chinduai as medicine for its young, drops a piece of the plant in flying over him. I have in my possession two minute rootlets which purport to have belonged

¹ According to Campbell, the Chinduai is also reported to grow in the interior of Malacca, but is not equal to the Chingkwoi.

According to another account, it is the Chingkwoi which grows upon a crag called Batu Lalau in Ulu Klang. It is described, like the Chinduai, as a root about a palm's-breadth long, with fine threads about it.

A local quatrain of the Selangor Malays ran as follows:

"Chop not at the 'Telang' Bamboo,
If you chop at it, its splinters will strike you.
Set not your foot upon the Klang mountains,
If you do so, their love-charm (lit. yearning) will strike you."

The story reminds us of old English legends of the cinnamon, a plant of wonderful virtues got from the nest of the phoenix.
to the Yearning Bamboo and the Chinduai respectively. Unfortunately they cannot be identified, as they possess no leaves or stem, but it is noteworthy that one of them at least answers to the description which is given above, and a faint and indescribable perfume always seems to arise whenever the bamboo receptacle wherein they are kept is opened. In any case, the Chinduai of Ulu Klang has a wide reputation as the rarest and most potent love-charm known in the Peninsula. It is usually carried in a pouch attached to the girdle.

Besisi Traditions—Si Nibong.

One of the most remarkable of the legends told by the Besisi, though unfortunately I could not succeed in getting anything like a perfect version of it, was the following story of Si Nibong, which, from what I was told by the narrator, an old Besisi man, was founded upon a story known to the Blandas.\(^1\)

The story relates to a Jakun chief named Si Nibong, (or "Nibong-palm"),\(^2\) who lived apparently in a house constructed entirely of materials obtained from the palm after which he was named.\(^3\) This house was described as being situate at or near the village and holding of his overlord, Busu Bābā' (Mal. "Babā," the youngest born), who was described to me as having been in former days the greatest chief of all the Jakun

\(^1\) As the story is incomplete, I only propose to give here a short sketch of the several portions, but a completer version will be found in the Appendix.

\(^2\) A Sungei Ujong Malay informed me that in a Malay version of the same story there were three brothers called Pōdang Salei, or the "Single Sword-blade," Sa-bōntak Alang (?), and Sama-

\(^3\) The posts, thatch, and flooring of the house were all to be of nibong, and it was constructed by Jakuns at the order, apparently, of Busu Bābā'.
chiefs of Johor. The village in question, with its seven betel-palms, seven betel-vine props, and betel scissors made from a mouse-deer's eye-teeth,\(^1\) was deserted, it would appear, in consequence of certain incidents related in the tale. At the opening of the story Nibong-palm's younger brother, Bujang Semangan, is represented as urging him to don his best apparel, in order to pay a visit to the house "of certain people," the reference being to an "aged Jukrah," the father of two princesses, one of whom Nibong-palm at the time evidently desired to marry. Before he sets out on the journey, however, he has to make an inspection of the "Five Times"—in other words, he must divine, by astrological means, the most propitious moment for his departure. This performance is, it may be presumed, satisfactorily completed, and he afterwards completes his attire, amongst which prominently figures a head-cloth of the finest silk, the value of which is expressly stated to be one hundred and ninety-five dollars,\(^2\) as well as a sword called "Sweeper of the Courtyard" (because he wore it trailing on the ground), and a kris or dagger called "Sweeper of River-reaches" (because it was stuck in the belt at his side).\(^3\) The journey is then described, and halfway they meet with the two sister princesses, Princess Tepong (or "Rice-flour") and Princess Adah (the aged Jukrah's daughters), who are being escorted by the Mantri (a minor chief) on their way to the house of the aged Jukrah.

\(^1\) The regalia ("*kabesaran*") of Jelebu is said to have been first derived from an old Jakun chief, and to consist of the eye-tooth of a mouse-deer ("*taring plandok"), together with several other magico-mystical objects, a list of which will be found at p. 291, *ante.*

\(^2\) This number points doubtless to Malay influences.

\(^3\) The first of these reasons is clear enough; the second is one that was also given me, but is not so obvious.
The party now arrives at a place where there are five cross-roads,¹ one of which leads to the Garden of Flowers, and another to the Island of Fruit (the Jakun Paradise). Opposite the house of the aged Jukrah they find two different species of lime-trees growing, and "by the hot ashes lies a savage dog," which for the time (like the dog on the road to Paradise) effectually bars further progress.² They escape from their dilemma, however, by requesting the Mantri to give them some "medicine" to harden the skin of their hands, by which means they think to grasp the glowing embers, and throw them at the dog so as to drive it away. Their request is granted, the Mantri providing them with certain stones called "dew-stones" (probably hail, which is occasionally, though rarely, seen in the country), by using which they are able to pick up the embers and dispose of their adversary.

In this way they get to the house of the "ancient Jukrah" and sleep there, Nibong-palm pairing off with Princess Rice-flour, and Bujang Simangan presumably with Princess Rice-flour's younger sister.

Next morning, however, desolation reigns supreme,

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¹ In the usual version there are only two, or at the most three, cross-roads, and it would be interesting to ascertain whither these five roads were supposed to lead. Moreover, the first part of the road takes the form of a bridge or fallen log, which is said to be called Batang Kelandan.

² I may add that this reference to the Garden (lit. compound) of Flowers occurs elsewhere, and may point to some further subdivisions of the Jakun "Eden," as in some Irish myths—the "Island of Fruits," "Island of Flowers," etc., of Tennyson's poem, the "Voyage of Maeldune."
for in the early morning "Big Brother Nibong" is found to have stolen away from his lady-love during the night, and to have sailed away for ever, directing his course towards the Sea of the Burning Island. The reason for this sudden desertion is not given, and this is perhaps the most obscure part of the story, but on his way the faithless lover suffers shipwreck, his vessel going aground on "the island of Kèdong,\(^1\) which is off the sea of Pahang." Like Dido, the princess is "left lamenting," and the tears she sheds are "as big as the stones that support the cooking-pot."

\textit{An Upas-tree Legend.}

In the Labu district (Selangor) I came across a form of the upas-tree legend now long regarded as a typically daring attempt to "gull" the home-staying Briton.\(^2\) There were once two Jakun chiefs or Batins, one of whom (Batin Gomok) was called the "One-Cocopalm Chief," and the other (Batin Mahabut) the "One-Betelpalm Chief." The former took his name from a solitary coconut palm, which is still alleged to grow in the depths of the forest on Bukit Galah (or Boatpole Hill). It is described as possessing a black stem, and its fruit is poisonous; indeed, it is believed to exhale so poisonous an effluvium as to kill every green thing that grows within a radius of ten yards around it. Its nuts are so plentiful and look so tempting that on one occasion a Jakun persisted in eating one of them, in spite of all the remonstrances of his friends, the result being that

\(^1\) "P. Kèban" or "Kaban," just off the Endau.

\(^2\) The Upas-tree Legend has ranked so long with the Sea-serpent and the Giant Gooseberry that I feel it is almost sacrilege to suggest that it may possess some germ of foundation in native experience; see above, and vol. i. p. 263, for instance.
before he had gone ten yards from the tree he dropped down dead. There can be no doubt that the other chief (Mahabut) derived his name from this same legend, but unfortunately I was unable to obtain further information, except that his full name was Batin Mahabut, and that he was still living (in 1895). He had resided all by himself on Bukit Nuang, ever since Batin Banggai abandoned it for Sepang Kechil. I may add that this legend came to me through a Besisi source, and that for want of other evidence I have classed it as a Besisi tradition.

Besisi Tradition of early Migrations.

The following tradition of the early history of the Besisi was taken down by me from a young Jakun who was credited with knowing all the traditions of his tribe, though this knowledge, on being put to the test, did not carry him very far:—

"We came from a land at the edge of the sky, in the country where the sun comes to life ('matahari hidup'), beyond the country of Siam, at a distance of more than a man's lifetime ('mati balik hidup'). Thence we went south till we reached Johor, whence, however, we returned hither again, through fear of a cruel Malay Raja. At the edge of the sky ('tepi langit') stood one of our ancestors, who was a great giant, and whose duty it was, by order of Tuhan Allah, to guard the pillars of the sky ('tongkat langit'). By way of food he devoured the clouds which kept falling downwards at the edge of the sky, cutting off the over-

1 But "tongkat langit" (lit. pillar or prop of heaven) is in many of these dialects also the name for the sun itself, possibly through some popular confusion.
hanging "sprouts" with his knife.\textsuperscript{1} In those days we were taller than we are now, and slept in caves of the rocks. The country then was a plain and was called Padang Masah;\textsuperscript{2} it had no grass or trees growing on it, as no rain fell there and it contained no rivers. In this country there lived besides the Head or 'Prophet' of our own Religion (Nabi Mēlaikat), the 'prophets' (Nabi) respectively of the White Man, the Chinese, the Indian, and the Malay, but this was a very long time before Mohammed, and even before the founding of Mecca. In the sky there were then to be seen no less than seven suns, seven moons, seven stars, and seven rainbows, but the seven rainbows were only the seven snake-souls of the serpent called Naga Mēlaikat. This snake lies there with his head reaching to the gate of Heaven. There too were seven birds of the kind called Roc ('gēruda'), and a solitary elephant of immense size. This latter, however, was not really alive, but only an elephant-soul.

"The plain itself did not resemble earth, but shone like silver."\textsuperscript{3} The 'prophets' of the different races could, in those days, still understand something of each other's language, and they all called the earth 'mēnia.' The 'prophets' who got on best together were those of the White Man, the Malay, and the Jakun; the White Man's 'prophet' (Nabi Isa) was the elder brother of the 'prophet' of the Jakun (Nabi Mēlaikat) and protected him accordingly as his younger brother. The Malays were sea-folk and came overseas from Rūm and Stambul, Sham (\textit{i.e.} Syria), and Mecca!

\textsuperscript{1} Cp. the Mantra tradition given below, p. 319, which shows it to be a "Last-Day belief."
\textsuperscript{2} Padang Masah. This, according
\textsuperscript{3} One of the salt plains of Central Asia.
"The next place we came to was Padang Berimbun ( = P. Bērambun, 'the plain of dew'), where the surface of the earth was covered with deep dew, which was bitterly cold. Here also we slept in caves of the rocks. Next we reached the mountains of Keluntong (which were very near the sky, and had no trees or grass growing on them). Here there were the souls of a sheep, a saddle-pony, and a 'gajah mena,' as well as the dragon whose head lay at the gate of Heaven and whose tail reached to Keluntong, a distance of about ten years' journey, reckoning like a Malay. All these animals had seven souls shaped like themselves (Mal. 'tujoh sēmangat'). From the mountains of Keluntong we next proceeded to the hills of Kelantan and thence to the hills of the Giants (Gunong Gasi-gasi), the Seven Hills (Gunong Mentu-joh), Bukit Saguntong Guntang, Ulu Pahang, and finally Johor. And in Johor we first encountered the Malays.

"The titles of our chiefs (Batin, Jinang, Jukrah) were first given among the seven hills (Gunong Mentu-joh) which lie beyond the country of Siam. Before we came to Johor we passed Ayer Tawar, and there a Raja called Lumba-Lumba Putih ('The White Dolphin'), who came from Pagar Ruyong, drove out our Batin Siamang Putih ( 'The White Ape'); wherefore our chief fled to Sungei Ujong, and there his daughter married and became the mother of the Toh Klana of Sungei Ujong.

"From Sungei Ujong we continued our journey to Selangor, where we then settled and have ever since that time remained.

1 Lit. a sea-elephant or leviathan.
2 "White Ape" is the title of an officer of the Sultan, of lower rank than Penghulu, and still used in Sri Menanti and Negri Sembilan. So, too, probably was "White Dolphin."
“Our language and customs have not changed much since we arrived here, but the Malay Peninsula has greatly altered, the straits extending in old days as far inland as Ulu Klang; Bukit Galah and Bukit Menuwang were both formerly on the sea-coast, and the former took its name from a post to which a Chinaman, named Si Pakong, made fast his boat during a storm which occurred on his way to Riau. At the same time there was dry land where the straits are now.”

MANTRA.

Beliefs concerning Natural Phenomena.

The Mantra have not, to any great extent, acquired any of the Malayan ideas respecting the form of the earth, motion of the sun, etc. The dark spots in the moon they believe to be a tree, beneath which sits the Moon-man, Moyang Bertang, who is the enemy of mankind, and who is constantly knotting strings together to make nooses wherewith to catch them, the only reason for his not succeeding in doing so being the fact that some pitying mice are no less diligently employed in biting through the strings.¹ They do not know how or whence the winds arise, but believe that through their incantations tempests are made to subside. They do not, like the Malays and Chinese, believe that eclipses are caused by the attempt of a dragon to swallow the sun or the moon, as the case may be, but, like some of the Polynesians, that an evil spirit is devouring or destroying it. Many of them, however, have a different notion. They believe the sky to be a great pot suspended over the earth by a string. The earth around its foot or edge

¹ Cp. Malay Magic, p. 13. This is properly a “Last-Day” belief.
NATURAL RELIGION AND FOLK-LORE

part in ("kaki langit"), is constantly sending up sprouts which would join the sky and entirely close it in over us if an old man did not cut and eat them. On the other hand, should the string by which the pot is suspended break, everything on the surface of the globe would be crushed.¹ The sun is a woman who is tied by a string which her lord is always pulling.² The moon is another woman who is named Kundui³ and is the wife of Moyang Bertang,⁴ who dwells in the moon and is the maker of the nooses for snaring mankind. The stars are the children of the moon, and the sun had formerly as many. But since they feared that mankind could not support so much brightness and heat, they each agreed to devour their children. The moon, however, instead of eating her stars, hid them from the sight of the sun, who, believing them to be all devoured, ate up her own.⁵ No sooner had she done so, however, than the moon brought her own family out of their hiding-places, and the sun on seeing them was filled with despair and rage, and gave chase to the moon in order to kill her. This chase has continued ever since, the sun sometimes succeeding in getting near enough to the moon to be able to bite her, and thus causing an eclipse. The moon still hides all her children during the day when her pursuer is near, and only brings them out at night when she is distant.⁶

From another source we learn that, according to

³ = Besisi "Gendui," i.e. "Granny."
⁴ Doubtless the same as Mertang.
⁵ Identically the same myth is found among the Hos and Uraons of Chota Nagpore (Latham, ii. 422; Trübner's Record, 1889, p. 75).
an old belief of the Mantra, the sun was once surrounded by an army of stones, and when it had eaten them up, it took to pursuing the moon, which conceals its children from the sun, but during eclipses runs the risk of being bitten by it.¹

To this we may add that both fogs and clouds are the sweat of the sea at flood-tide.²

The Future World.

Unlike the Benua of Johor, who apparently have no belief in the existence of the soul after death, the Mantra possess a peculiarly positive faith in another world. The sêmangat, or in other words the soul (i.e. the unsubstantial but sensible body which is permeated by the spirit, and which, according to some informants, may be preyed upon by demons), leaves the gross earthly body at death, and is carried by Bayang Lasa,³ through the air to a place called Ngangnari⁴ or Pulau Buah (Fruit Island), which lies far away in the region of the setting sun. There the souls (sêmangat) of all the dead dwell together in constant harmony and enjoyment, for the great island is full of trees, of which there are none that do not bear pleasant fruits. There, too, the souls marry and have children, as in the present world, but pain, disease, and death are unknown.⁵ The souls of men who have died a bloody death do not, however, go to Pulau Buah, but to a place called Tanah Merah (Red Land), which is a desolate place and barren, and

¹ Ausland, 1873, p. 534.
³ Cp. Besisi Nenek Kâbayan or Nenek 'Bayen, the Man (or rather "ancestor") in the Moon.
⁴ Probably the same as "Nyayek,"
⁵ J. I. A. vol. i. pp. 325*, 326³.
thence the souls that inhabit it repair to the Fruit Island to procure their food.\(^1\)

The Mantra Deities and Demons.

The traditions of the Mantra (collected by Hervey) give Tuhan Dibawah, or the "Lord of the Underworld," as the name of the creator of the earth. His dwelling is, in fact,\(^\text{beneath}\) the earth, and even below the "Land of Nyayek" (Tanah Nyayek),\(^2\) which represents the underworld, and by his power he (Tuhan Dibawah) supports everything above him.

The first two men belonging to the human race were Poyang Mertang and B’lo (or Bēlo) his brother, and the former had so many children that he complained to their creator, who turned half of them into trees. Later on, at B’lo’s suggestion, when this proved too mild a measure, Tuhan Dibawah institutes Death, to give some relief to overcrowded humanity.

Borie says the Mantra recognise a Supreme God (Tuhan Allah), at whose command Raja Brahil [\textit{i.e.} "Gabriel"] created all living things, God himself creating the firmament. They have also a "day of judgment" belief, yet their religion is mainly Shamanistic.

All diseases are believed to be caused either by spirits\(^4\) or by the spells of men. Amongst the spirits or demons of disease ("Hantu Pěnyakit") the most powerful are the Hantu Hamoran, Barah Sisip demon, and Barah Tēr̄kilir demon.\(^5\) These demons are those

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\(^1\) It is the \textit{slain, not the slayer,} who is excluded from Ngangnari; for the pagan Mantra have no belief in future rewards and punishments.\(^2\) Cp. p. 321, \textit{ante.} \(^3\) \textit{Misc. Ess. rel. Indo-China, sec. ser. vol. i. pp. 298-301.} \(^4\) It would be more correct to say that all Diseases are believed to be Spirits. \(^5\) The Malay phrase "barah sisy" means an "abscess under the ribs," and "bara tēr̄kilir" external ulcers (which spread over the surface).
that cause the greatest mortality. The Smallpox Demon (Hantu Ka-tumbohan) is held in such dread that the Mantra have a repugnance even to mentioning it by name. The Swelling Demon (Hantu Kębong) haunts the abodes of men whom it afflicts with pains in the stomach and the head. The "Craving Disease" (Mal. "Kępunan") causes pains and accidents to persons who have had a desire to eat of any particular article of food, and have not been able to get it. The Hantu Sa-buru, or Demon Huntsman, dwells in lakes and river-pools. His body is black, and he has three dogs named Sokom, or Black-mouth. When any one of these dogs passes a hut, the inmates make a great noise, by beating pieces of wood together, to frighten him away, and the children are caught up and held tightly by their elders. This Demon Huntsman causes his dogs to chase men in the forest, and, if the victims are run down, drinks their blood. At the upper extremity ("ulu") of every stream dwells the Lofty Demon (Hantu Tinggi). In the ground lives the Hantu Kamang who causes inflammation and swellings both in the hands and feet, so as to deprive his victims of the power of locomotion. The Hantu Dondong resides in caves and the crevices of rocks, and kills dogs and wild hogs with the blowpipe, in order to drink their blood. The Hantu Penyadin is a Water Demon, with the head of a dog and the mouth of a crocodile. It sucks blood from the thumbs and big toes of human beings, thus causing death. From

1 This = V.-St.'s Hantu Saburu, though he (V.-St.) "was not told about his dogs" (V. B. C. A. xxviii. 307).
2 The Malays have a similar belief. But with them Sokom is preceded by a night-bird named Berek-berek. Whenever it is seen near a house as much noise as possible is made.
3 Sic, ? "Penjadian" or Protean Demon of the Malays.
the time when it first leaves its watery abode, it wanders about incessantly in search of food, until it is at length satiated, when it returns home.\(^1\) The Wood Demons (Hantu Kayu) frequent every species of tree, and afflict men with diseases. Some trees are specially noted for the malignity of their demons. The Hantu Dago\(^2\) haunts graves, and assumes the shape of deer, and whenever any one happens to pass, it calls to them. When a person is wounded, the Hantu Pari fastens upon the wound and sucks the blood, and this is the cause of the blood's flowing. Amongst the other demons are the Hantu Chika, (who produces yet more excruciating pains in the abdomen than the Hantu Kêmbong), the Hantu Jimoi,\(^3\) Hantu Salar, and Hantu Swen.\(^4\) To enumerate the remainder of the demons would be merely to convert the name of every species of disease known to the Mantra into that of a demon or Hantu. If any new disease appeared, it would be ascribed to a demon bearing the same name.\(^5\)

The Malayan demons called "P'leset," "Polong," "Bajang," "Pontianak," and Penanggalan," are not demons among the Mantra, although the latter, from intercourse with the Malays, are in many cases acquainted with their names and attributes.\(^6\)

**Animal Beliefs.**

The tigers are the slaves of the magician or Poyang. Although the Mantra believe in this, as well as in the immortality of tigers, they nevertheless do

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\(^1\) *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 307.  
\(^3\) Probably the "Hantu Jëmoi," *cp.* Vaughan-Stevens, p. 246, ante.  
\(^4\) *Sic, ?* "Sawen" (Mal. "sawan"), convulsions.  
\(^5\) *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 308.  
not scruple to kill and eat the cubs whenever they find them.\(^1\)

From Father Borie, Cameron learnt that the Jakun (by whom M. Borie probably means the Mantra) have a fixed and singular superstition concerning tigers, ninety-nine men out of every hundred believing it, even in the face of their Christian teaching. They believe that a tiger in their paths is invariably a human being, who having sold himself to the Evil Spirit, assumes by sorcery the shape of the beast to execute his vengeance or malignity. They assert that invariably before a tiger is met, a man has been or might have been seen to disappear in the direction from which the animal springs.\(^2\)

**Omens.**

Much attention is paid to omens when a new clearing is to be made, and charms are used for the expulsion of evil spirits. The head of the family cut a little of the new rice and after the feast of the "New Year's Day of Rice" each of the guests received a little to take home.\(^3\)

**High Places of the Mantra.**

We now come to the sacred or "high places" of the Mantra, concerning which we are told in an account from Logan, that there is a famous Wishing Rock in Klang called Batu Tre, to which the Mantra have, from time immemorial, been in the habit of resorting. A person going there must not carry fire

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1 Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 277.
2 Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions*, p. 394.
3 Cp. *supra*, vol. i. p. 365 sq.
with him, because if a spark should fall upon the rock it would immediately take fire and be consumed.

On the rock grows a flower called "chingkwi" (sic, ? "chingkui"), which is not found elsewhere, and can only be gathered by women. Whoever possesses even a little of this plant acquires great power, since if a woman, she is followed by men, and if a man, by women. It is carried in a small bamboo vessel, which is kept in the ear lobe or fastened by a string round the waist. If any person wishes to obtain a portion he must sleep with the woman who has it, and take it by stealth, and in the morning he must place eight or ten silver rings upon her fingers. When she awakes and sees the rings, she knows that the flower is lost beyond recovery. If the flower be carried to sea, its virtue is lost. It is much sought after by the Malays, who are greatly addicted to the use of aphrodisiac charms and substances.¹

There is also a Wishing Place on the summit of Gunong Berembun, which is much resorted to by the Mantra in the neighbourhood. Other mountain summits are also Wishing Places, because each has its good spirit. When a person goes to a Wishing Place he carries with him a couple of white fowls, and samples of various articles of food in use. The latter he places in a sort of flat tray or basket² made of rattan, which he either suspends from a tree or places on the highest peak of the summit. He then kills one of the fowls and deposits it in the tray, setting the other free. He next silently addresses to the spirit of the mountain the wishes that he has most at heart.

¹ J. I. A. vol. i. p. 319.
² The "anchak" or sacrificial tray of the Malays (see Malay Magic, p. 414).
This done, he prepares and eats a meal upon the spot. If what he has desired at the Wishing Place does not come to pass, he revisits it a second and even a third time; after which, if his wish still remains ungratified, it is considered that the spirit is not favourable to the wisher, and he therefore repairs to another mountain.\(^1\)

*The Mantra Magicians.*

The magicians (Poyangs), and a few others only, have the power of afflicting and destroying men by spells. These latter are of various kinds, and operate in different ways, in some cases rapidly, and in others slowly. The most noted form of these is the Tuju or Pointing Ceremony.\(^2\) The magician first takes a little wax that has been found in an abandoned bees' nest ("Lilin sambang"), and after muttering a spell over it awaits his opportunity to perform the ceremony ("mēnuju"), because to ensure its success he must not only be able to see his intended victim, however distant, but there must be a strong wind blowing in the direction of the latter's residence. When such a wind arises, the magician takes the wax, places a vessel of water, with a lighted candle or two, before him, mutters an incantation and fixes his eyes intently on the water [until he discerns therein the image of his victim], after which he throws the wax into the air, and the wind instantaneously transports it to the victim, who feels as if he were struck by something. Sickness follows, which is either prolonged or induces speedy death, according to the exigency of the spell.

But it is not upon every one that the spell will

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\(^1\) J. I. A. vol. i. pp. 319, 320. Cp. Misc. Ess. rel. Indo-China, sec. ser. vol. i. p. 301, which is clearly based on Logan's account, to which it refers.

\(^2\) Mal. "tuju," "mēnuju," literally, to "point."
operate. Many persons, by supernatural skill, or by counter-spells or charms, surround themselves with an invisible fence or wall, which not only renders the spell inoperative, but even prevents the magician from seeing their image in the water. The use of invocations and charms of this and other kinds to avert evils and counteract evil powers, both natural and supernatural, to nullify incantations, to inflict maladies and calamities, and to excite love and regard, is common. The first kind of these invocations consist, in general, of "Inwalling" charms (Mal. "pëndinding"), called by the Malays "Do'ai pëndinding," or Inwalling prayers\(^1\)—from the Malay "dinding," a wall—which must be repeated seven times at sunrise and seven times at sunset. Examples of these charms as used for protection against the maleficence of various enemies are given below.\(^2\)

*Forms of Disease, Medicines, Drugs, Amulets, etc.*

The fatal diseases most prevalent among the Mantra are sickness from "pointing" ("sakit mati di-tuju orang"), sickness from unsatisfied "cravings" ("sakit punan"), sickness from "barah sisip," and sickness from "barah têrkilir" (two kinds of abscess).

Mineral medicines are unknown, and the only animal substance used as a remedy is the oil of the boa-constrictor.\(^3\)

Amulets are much used. They are composed of pieces of turmeric ("kunyit") or "bunglei," and other substances which are strung on a shred of *artocarpus* ("t'rap") bark, and worn round the neck, wrists, or

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\(^1\) The proper meaning is "the in-walling invocation or charm."  
waist. They are regarded as prophylactics against demons, bad winds, and generally against all kinds of evils.

There are also spells which are believed to have the power of rendering the person who uses them invulnerable, though the fortunate possessors are careful not to impart them to others. There were (in 1847) several men amongst the Mantra, e.g. Luit at Semunyih, Pre at Beranang, Hambang at Lobo, the Batin at Klang, Tongging at Semantan, the Penghulu at Jibba, Kaka and Mempis at Pengawal, who were reputed to be “invulnerable.”

The following are specimens of actual spells used by Mantra magicians:

(1) Inwalling Spell.

Hong! O Horn, Shoot of Iron, offering of the wise to the forest in solitude. I am walled round with rock, I recline walled round by the earth with my face downwards. Cover me, O Air; may my enemies be ever as the Selaguri plant. Tear off the husk within. Hang a thick mist before the eyes of him who looks at me. Come, thick mist, the concealer, and render me invisible to all enemies, opponents, and assailants. Thou that art the true and holy instructor, descend, and pray that I may touch,

1 J. I. A. vol. i. p. 319. Semunyih and Beranang are in the Ulu Langat district; Lobo may be for Labu or for Lubok Batu, the old Malay name of Sepang. Klang and Semantan are well known. There are no Mantra in Selangor.

2 Logan here remarks: “Hong! no Malay can explain the meaning of this word, further than that it is used in original Malayan invocations in the same way as the Arabic Bismillah in the modern or modified ones. It is deemed a very unhallowed word, of great power, and so panas (hot), that if any man uses a Hong invocation three times nothing that he undertakes for himself will succeed, and he will live powerful and miserable, able to afflict or assist others, unable to help himself. It appears to be considered as a recognition of an Essence or First Principle beyond God, and an appeal to it for power which God has not granted to man. It is used in Javanese invocations, and a Javanese explains it to mean Embryo of Being, Primeval Essence, so that Sir T. Raffles’s conjecture that it is the Hindu Om (Aum) is probably correct.” — History of Java, vol. ii. p. 369.

Hong. Chula (instead of tandok) is the name given to hard horns or horn-like parts of animals, believed to possess magical or medicinal properties. The Malays cannot affix any definite meaning to the first two lines. Instead of the rendering given above a better one would perhaps be “(magical) science for protection when alone in the forest,” or “to make the offerer alone as when surrounded by a forest.” [The latter is probably correct.] — J. I. A. vol. i. p. 309.
by the invocation of invisibility, all the eyes of my enemies, opponents, and assailants.

(2) **Inwalling Spell.**

Ho, Iron, thou that art named Pisamin. I dwell within a fence of Angels, eleven on my left. I dwell within a fence of Angels, eleven on my right. I dwell within a fence of Angels, eleven behind me. I dwell within a fence of Angels, eleven before me. If Muhammad be oppressed, then will I be oppressed. If the sun, moon, and stars, be not oppressed, may I not be oppressed either. And if earth and heaven be not oppressed, may I not be oppressed either. If the corpse within the grave be oppressed, may I be oppressed also [but not otherwise], by virtue of the granting of the prayer of my religious instructor. Grant it, Muhammad! Grant it, royal Prophet of God! and grant, too, that by virtue of my using the prayer of a thousand lives, I may not be oppressed at all by anything that breathes within this world.¹

Charms to gain the affection or goodwill of the person charmed are also much used. They are termed “Pëngasih” (Mal. “kasih” = love or affection). The following is a specimen:—

**MANTRA LOVE-SPELL.**

Oil I stir and stir. I pour it out. May I stand erect like the royal Umbrella. May I be greater as I walk than the sons of all mankind, by virtue of my using the prayer that causes affection! Love (me) entirely all mankind, who have two feet and are five-fingered. Speak not of men, when even grass, twigs, and trees of all kinds, both of Earth and Heaven, bow down in sheer affection. Let all so bow in affection, bow in love, towards me.²

The “Pëmanis” (from “manis” = sweet) renders the person using it universally agreeable.

**DULCIFYING SPELL.**

Dulcifying shoots, dulcifying leaves, I cut, running the while. Even as I sit may I be exceedingly sweet; as I stand may I be exceedingly sweet; sweet in the sight of all mankind, two-footed and five-fingered, even as the moon and sun together. Exceedingly sweet to look upon be the brightness of my face. Grant that I, through using this dulcifying spell, may have a sweet lustre rise over my face.³

**SUBJUGATING SPELL ("Pënundo").**

A nail, a low nail I deposit in this kerchief ("sibei"). Though I sit amongst many may I be counted among the greatest, O Prophet of God! Grant me the good fortune to cut that which is called Mamu.⁴ When I am

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¹ *J. I. A.* vol. i. pp. 309, 310.  
⁴ Qi. "Sëmambu" (Malacca cane), for which this would be the Mantra form, and the stem of which, when misgrown in a particular manner, was credited with the most considerable magical virtues.
seated, may all mankind who breathe bow in complete subjection. Make them bow, O God! Make them bow, O Muhammad. Make them bow, O royal Prophet of God! Grant that I, by using this subjugating prayer, may cause to bow down all men, two-footed, five-fingered. Grant it, O God! Grant it, O Muhammad! Grant it, O royal Prophet of God! Grant that I, through using this subjugating prayer, may stand and confront the living (ones) of all mankind, two-footed, five-fingered.1

Pacifying Spell ("Chucha").

Seluso' padang sélasa.  
My throwing-stick is of holy basil.  
May the heart that is angry be shut.  
May the heart that is kind be opened.

Aje eje eche echa.  
As the young jungle-grass springs up in moist ground,  
Though I am wicked, may I be applauded.  
Though I do wrong, may I be reverenced.  
Speak not of mankind,  
Two-footed, five-fingered,  
When even the white elephant,  
The streaked elephant from beyond the sea,  
Reverses its hair, reverses its tusks,  
Reverses its trunk, reverses its feet,  
Reverses its flesh, reverses its blood,  
Bows down reverentially to the little toe of my left foot.  
My oil is pressed out and runs down at the side of the door.  
Though the young hornbill sit upon the topmost bamboo spray,  
May I yet hit it with my blowpipe.  
For the sun is lifted upon my eyebrows,  
And my tongue is as the swell of the ocean,  
And my lips are as ants pursuing each other.  
Abase them, O God! abase them, O Muhammad!  
Abase them, O royal Prophet of God!2

Tongue-breaking Spell ("Pematah lidah").

Dry betel-nut, seed betel-nut,  
Split by the foot of an elephant.  
His heart’s blood I lock, his bones I break, break.  
Hail, O God! Hail, O Muhammad! Hail, O royal Prophet of God!  
May this tongue-breaking prayer be granted  
That I may break the tongues of my enemies, foes, and assailants.  
May they be soft, may I be hard.  
There is no god but God, by virtue of my use of the tongue-breaking prayer.3

Mantra Hate-spell ("Pebinchi").

Shoots of the Hate-plant, leaves of the Hate-plant, I pluck seven stalks of you, seven leaves of you. I cut them seven times, and cut the heart of

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1 J. I. A. vol. i, pp. 311, 312.  
2 LOGAN here has a note: "This bird frequents the upper branches of the highest trees, and is probably in general beyond the reach of the blowpipe." [This, however, can hardly be the meaning, as the tree here mentioned is a bamboo, which never grows so high as to be beyond the reach of a blowpipe dart.] 
3 J. I. A. vol. i. pp. 313, 314.  
4 Ibid. p. 314.
the son of Somebody. Look upon that person as you would look upon ashes, as you would look upon a swamp. Sitting, hate! Sleeping, hate! Walking, hate! Eating, hate! Bathing, hate! Drinking, hate! Come, shadow of Somebody. Until three days are past, hate to look upon Somebody. Look upon me alone as surpassingly sweet, as if you saw that which shone brightly in my face. Twelve days, when the sun descends, let your soul descend together with it, and when the sun rises, let the soul of Somebody rise together with it.²

Another Hate-charm.

Shoots of Beruwang intermix with leaves of the Hate-plant. By faith and sacrifice carry away the heart within with excessive hatred. Standing, hate Somebody! Walking, hate Somebody! Sleeping, hate Somebody! Speak not of mankind, when even grass, twigs, and trees altogether hate to look upon Somebody! May brightness descend upon my face. If the night brighten, then indeed shall the face of Somebody brighten. But if the night do not brighten, then shall not brighten the face of Somebody! I make descend the oil of sweetness. I make to rise the invocation of hatred. Hate! all ye people, all mankind! Descend! O Sweetness of Somebody! Rise! O prayer of Hatred in the face of Somebody! Hate entirely, all ye things that breathe, to look upon the face of Somebody, yea, to hear the voice of Somebody.³

Spell for driving out the Mischief.

Hong! Quake, O Mischief, quake! I wish to cast down. I wish to strike. Swerve to the left. Swerve to the right. I cast out the Mischief, quake. The Elephant murmurs. The Elephant wallows on the opposite side of the lake. The pot boils, the pan boils, on the opposite side of the point. Swerve to the left, swerve to the right, swerve to thy wallow, Mischief of this our Grandfather,⁴ I unloose the finger of my hand.

Another exorcising Charm.

My Grandfather's to me, mine to my Grandfather; my smell [be only the] smell of water; my smell [be only the] smell of leaf; my smell [be only the] smell of earth; my smell [be only the] smell of mud! Through eating this areca-nut mixture, I close thy nose, O Grandfather. If you raise your hind foot, be your hind foot heavy; if you raise your fore foot, be your fore foot heavy, as [heavy as] if it were a split rock; suspended, as if it were a suspended water-jar. When this rock moves, then and then only move thy feet, O Grandfather! Move ye all together! move, O entrails; receive the hand and fingers of thy grandchild, O Grandfather!⁵

Storm-quelling Charm.

Rambong pĕranggo'an batang! The Elephant gathers all in together. If the Elephant should wallow, may it wallow on the opposite side of the sea! Withdraw to the right, withdraw to the left! I break the hurricane!⁶

¹ Here the name of the person against whom the charm is directed should be mentioned by those who repeat it. ² J. I. A. vol. i. p. 315. ³ Ibid. pp. 315, 316. ⁴ I.e. the Elephant. ⁵ J. I. A., vol. i. pp. 316, 317. ⁶ Ibid. p. 317.
Demon-quelling Charm ("Tangkal").

Swerve to the left, swerve to the right, all ye my enemies, opponents and assailants! May your gaze be thrust aside away from me. May I walk alone.  

Charm for exorcising the Wild Huntsman.

For protection against the Hantu Sâburu, or Demon Huntsman, the following charm is repeated:—

SPELL FOR BANISHING THE WILD HUNTSMAN.

What is your name, O dog? Sokom is your name, O black dog, and your master's name is Water. Your master's name is Rêdâng.² Your master's name is Forest. Begone, depart, and take away your dog. What do you hunt here? There are no hogs, no deer. Your nostrils are shut, the smell of your nose have I charmed. My smell the wind carries away.³

Charm for exorcising Fever Demons, etc.

The Kapialu Demon and the Kêmbong Demon are exorcised by means of the following spells:—

CHARM AGAINST FEVER.

HONG! First of Fevers. Fever that flest as I pluck out this beluntok-shrub, may the counteracting charm be uttered. I cast this charm for Fever upon my head. I throw it upon my head. As the Fever is lost may it too be thrown away from above my head.⁴

ANOTHER FEVER-CHARM.

First essential life! Primitive life! The devil's life have I counteracted. The life that lodges have I counteracted. The life that is affected have I counteracted. I cast out the hard-souled (evil) life. Let your spirit, the spirit of your life, rise and be lifted up; and may all the life in your belly, in your body, spring up, and be drawn out. Lo, I replace all your life [or, cast away all spirits].⁵

Madness.

When a Mantra becomes mad, his parents are obliged to kill him, in order to prevent him from killing other persons. A sharp sword of wood must be employed.⁶

Traditions of the Mantra.

The Mantra do not appear to possess any more

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¹ J. I. A. vol. i. p. 317.
² Lit. "swampy jungle."
³ J. I. A. vol. i. p. 318.
⁴ Ibid. The reading of the second sentence is doubtful, v. Appendix.
⁵ Ibid. pp. 318, 319. Sic Logan, but "jiwa" (here trans. "life") probably = Mal. "dewa" (an inferior deity or spirit).
⁶ Ibid. p. 255.
precise traditions respecting their origin than other tribes such as the Besisi. They all believe, however, that they are the original occupants of the country. "You know," once said a Besisi, "that this is the Great Island ('Pulau Besar') which belongs to us, and not to the Malays, who have intruded into our country." The Mantra have the same notion as the Besisi, and some of them add that the "Great Island" is of such vast size that in former ages their ancestors were for many generations employed in endeavouring to circumambulate it, but since each new generation met with a new country, the last of their nomadic forefathers settled where the race now lives. They were not now, therefore, in continual motion, but each generation, after advancing a considerable distance, rested, and the succeeding one, when grown up, resumed the journey.

The Mantra possess the following tradition respecting the origin of their Batins or great tribal chiefs. The first of all Batins, and indeed of all rulers, was Batin Changgei Bēsi, whose nails, as his name imports, were of iron. He lived at a place called Guntong Penyarong in the Menangkabau district of Sumatra, and by him a Raja was placed over Menangkabau, a Bendahara over Pahang, and, at a later period, a Penghulu over Ulu Pahang. Batin Iron-nails, in the course of time, died, leaving in his place his son Batin Krat Tiga, or Chief Cut-in-Three-Pieces, who derived his name from the following circumstances. The Bendahara of Pahang was greatly offended at the fact of a Penghulu having been placed in charge of Ulu Pahang, but dared not show his resentment openly during Batin Iron-nails' lifetime. The latter was

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1 Or Penyaring (?). Cp. Vaughan-Stevens in *V. B. G.* *J.*, xxviii. 307.
well aware, however, of his feelings, and on his deathbed enjoined Batin Three-Pieces not to receive any complaints nor seek anything from him. The Bendahara therefore, finding that Batin Three-Pieces, on succeeding his father, was not disposed to afford him any opportunity to open intercourse or provoke a quarrel, resolved to take the initiative himself. He therefore sent to the Batin some of his Penglimas or war-chiefs, and these having requested presents of various kinds from him, and having received a refusal, set upon him and cut him down. But every wound which they inflicted immediately closed, and the Batin remained alive and scathless. The war-chiefs therefore reported the circumstance to the Bendahara of Pahang, who hastened to Menangkabau in person, and there ordered the war-chiefs, in his own presence, to cut the Batin in three. This having been done, each piece as it was severed was carried to a little distance and there deposited. But no sooner were they placed on the ground than they flew together and became reunited, whereupon the living Batin stood before them uninjured as before. The Bendahara therefore took counsel with the Raja, but the latter advised him to desist from his attempts to molest the Batin.¹

The best aboriginal traditions yet published in the Peninsula were those related to D. F. A. Hervey, formerly of the Straits Civil Service, by Batin Pa' Inah, who claimed to be the head of all the Batins of the Mantra tribes. He had resided in Johol for fifteen years or so. His original name was Koloi, and his native place was Tanah Tasek in Jelebu. They are given in the following pages.

¹ J. I. A. vol. i. pp. 326*, 327*.
The Creation of Man.

The Lord of the Underworld (Tuhan Di-bawah) made the earth, and lives beneath it. The earth is supported by an iron staff, which is strengthened by iron cross-bars; and beneath these again is a place called the Land of Nyayek\(^1\) (Tanah Nyayek), which is inhabited by a race of fiends (Sētan), whose children are not born in the ordinary way, but pulled out of the pit of the stomach! This interesting race was visited by Mertang, the First Magician (Poyang), who brought back this account of them.

The Lord of the Underworld (Tuhan Di-bawah) dwells beneath the Land of Nyayek, and by his power supports all above him.

It was through Mertang, the first Poyang, and Bēlo (or B’lo), his younger brother, that the earth was first peopled. Their mother was called “Handful of Earth” (Tanah Sā-kēpal), and their father “Drop of Water” (Ayer Sā-titik).

They came from a place called “Rising Land” (Tanah Bangun) in the sky, and returned thither, taking back with them, however, a house from the sources of the Kenaboi river, on the further side of Jelebu, which flows into the Pahang. B’lo having died and been buried, a skink or grass-lizard (“mēng-karong”) approached the grave, and Mertang threw his jungle-knife or parang at it and cut off its tail, whereupon the skink ran away leaving its tail behind, and B’lo came to life again forthwith, and left the grave and returned home to his own house.\(^2\)

When Mertang took his house away with him

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\(^1\) Cp. Tanah Nangnari, p. 322. Mērtang or Bērtang is the Moon-man, cp. p. 319, ante.

\(^2\) Hervey in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, No. 10, pp. 189, 190.
to "Rising Land," a dog, the first of the species, appeared on the spot where the house had formerly stood, but was prevented by Mertang's power from attacking mankind. Then a dog appeared at the house of B'lo; and from this dog came the tiger, which devours mankind as well as animals. We are also told that when Mertang left the earth for "Rising Land," he flew away, house and all, through the air.

When B'lo went to "Rising Land" he crossed the sea on foot; for he was so tall that the water only just reached to his knees.

Originally the sky was very low and near to the earth, but B'lo raised it with his hands, because he found it stopped his pestle whenever he raised the latter in husking his rice.

Mertang took his youngest sister to wife, and from them the Mantra are descended. B'lo married the other sister, but they had no offspring.

In course of time the descendants of Mertang multiplied to such an extent that he was forced to go to the Lord of the Underworld and represent the state to which things had come, and the Lord of the Underworld remedied it by turning one-half mankind into trees.

In those days men did not die, but grew thin at the waning of the moon, and waxed fat again as she neared the full, and hence when their numbers had again increased to an alarming extent, To' Entah, a son of Mertang and the First of the Batins, brought the matter to his father's notice. The latter wished things to remain as they were, but B'lo said it would be better if they died off like the banana ("pisang"), which leaves its young shoots behind it, and die leaving their children behind them, and the matter
was submitted to the Lord of the Underworld, who decided in favour of the view held by B'lo, so that ever since men have died and left their children behind them as B'lo proposed.

In the earliest times there used to be three Suns—husband, wife, and child—and hence there was no night, since there was always one Sun left in the sky when the others had set. In those days, too, people slept as they felt inclined, and there were no divisions of time.

After a long time To' Entah thought the heat was too great, and he devised a plan for reducing it, in pursuance of which he went to the Moon, which in those days gave no light, and told her to summon Bintang Tunang, the Evening Star (her husband), and the other stars her children, and to put them into her mouth, but not to swallow them, and to await his return. When she had carried out his wishes, he then went to the Female Sun, and by representing that the Moon had swallowed her own husband and children, induced her to swallow (in reality) her husband and child—the other two Suns—likewise. "Lord-knows-who" having thus gained his end, returned to the Moon and told her that she might now release her own husband and children, which she did by flinging them out into the sky again.

As soon as the sole remaining Sun discovered the deception that had been practised upon her, she waxed very wroth and withdrew in dudgeon to the other side of the heavens, declaring that when the Moon came across her path she would devour her, a promise which she still performs at the season of an eclipse.  

It was from this period—this separation between the Sun and the Moon—that the present division of time between day and night, and the rule of the Moon and the Stars over the latter first took place.

The Origin of the Sea.¹

Till the time of Batin Lord-knows-who men never used to drink, no water was to be had, and the sensation of thirst was quite unknown. It came about in this way. One day Lord-knows-who having shot a monkey with a blowpipe, made a fire, at which he cooked and ate it. Some time after he became sensible of a desire to imbibe something, and went about in search of water, but found none, not even a water-giving liana or monkey-rope ("akar"), for lianas did not produce water at that time. At last, however, he came upon an old stump of a tree called "jëlôtong," and on listening at a hole in it he heard the sound of water trickling down below. He therefore fastened a liana (of the kind called "rōtan manau"²) to the top of the tree outside, and by this means let himself down into the hole until he reached the water, where he slaked his thirst. He then made his way out again by means of the creeper, and just as he was leaving the spot saw a large white river-turtle ("lē läbi" or "labi-läbi") issue from the hole, accompanied by

¹ This is really a form of the "water-reservoir" myth, and not a deluge myth, or at most intermediate between that and a deluge myth. Cp. Dawson, Australian Aborigines, p. 106. For a deluge myth of this type, cp. Brett, Indian Tribes of Guiana, p. 378 seq. Several Welsh and Irish lakes are said to have been formed by a cover being left off a spring or well (Rhys, Celtic Folklore, p. 367 sq.). Lough Shulin (loc. cit. p. 394) was formed by the waters of a well on which a woman forgot to replace a flagstone. She fled from the deluge and was cut down by a man, after she had run seven miles, in order that the water might advance no farther.

² "Rōtan manau" is a large rattan which is often used by the Malays as a sort of walking-stick.
a vast body of water, and begin to chase him. Lord-knows-who therefore ran for his life, and called to the elephant for help, but they were both driven back by the rush of water. Lord-knows-who then encountered a tiger, whose help he likewise begged, and the tiger attacked the turtle’s head, but failed to produce any impression. Lord-knows-who therefore continued his flight until he met a wild bull ("sēlādang"), whom he implored to come to his rescue, and the bull proceeded to trample upon the turtle, but all to no purpose. Lord-knows-who next begged the aid of the rhinoceros, but equally without effect, as both of them were compelled to fly from the turtle. At length Lord-knows-who was forced to apply for the intervention of a mouse-deer ("kanchil"), which is the smallest of all the deer kind,\(^1\) and not so large as a hare—whereupon the mouse-deer said: "What good can be done by small creatures like ourselves?" Lord-knows-who said: "I have asked all the others and they have been able to do nothing." Then said the mouse-deer: "Very well, we will try; do you therefore get to one side." But the mouse-deer forthwith called together an army of mouse-deer, in fact the entire race, and said: "If we do not kill the turtle, we all perish; but if we kill him, all is well."

Then they all jumped on to the turtle, which was of great size, and stamped on him with their tiny hoofs until they had driven holes through his head and neck and back, and thus killed him.

But meanwhile the body of water which accom-

\(^1\) The mouse-deer or "kanchil," a small chevrotin, is very prominent in many of the tales told by the Peninsular tribes. It is, in fact, a sort of "I'er Rabbit," and is called in Malay "Mentri B'lukar," or the Vizier of the Underwood. The "Brer Rabbit" of Uncle Remus cannot, of course, be a true rabbit, but either an American hare, or, perhaps, as the late Miss Mary Kingsley once suggested, the African tree-cony.
panied the turtle had increased to a vast extent and formed what is now the sea.

After the destruction of the turtle, the mouse-deer asked Lord-knows-who what was to be his reward for the service he had performed, upon which he replied that he would take for his part the root of the sweet potato ("kledek"), and the mouse-deer could have the leaves for his share, wherefore they have ever since been the food of the mouse-deer.¹

To' Entah’s Descendants.

From the sources of the Kenaboi river Lord-knows-who proceeded to Pagar-Ruyong² (in Sumatra), and his son To’ Terjeli came across again thence and settled in Jelebu.

To’ Terjeli had eight sons—Batin Tunggang Gagah, who settled in Klang; Batin Changgei Besi (or Iron-nails), who lived in Jelebu; Batin Alam, who settled in Johor; Batin Perwel, who crossed the Straits to Pagar-Ruyong; Batin Siam, who went to Siam; Batin Minang, who crossed the Straits to Menangkabau; Batin Pahang, who settled in Pahang; Batin Stambul, who went to Stambul (Constantinople); and Batin Raja, who ruled over Muar.

Penghulus, or tribal chiefs, were first appointed by To’ Terjeli, who placed one in charge of Beranang in the Klang (i.e. Selangor) country; the To’ Klana Putra in charge of Sungei Ujong; To’ Aki Saman³ in charge of Jelebu; and in charge of Kuala Muar To’ Mutan Jantan (Male Rambutan), a woman, whose

² "Ruyong" was explained as signifying the "nibong" or hard palm wood, of which the fence round the Raja’s palace was made (Areca nihong).  
³ = "Akhir Zaman," a N. Sembilan title?
husband, Jauhan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa, he removed to Johol. Hence, to preserve the memory of the first female ruler of that state, 'he Dato' of Johol always wears his hair long, down to the waist.

The To' Klana Putra of Sungei Ujong established the States of Rembau and Naning, placing his sons over them.

Lukut was also established by the To' Klana. And the Dato' of Johol founded Terachi, Gunong Pasir, Gemencheh, Jempol, and Ayer Kuning. Jelei originally formed part of Johol, but afterwards broke away from it.

After the death of "Male Rambutan," the female ruler of Johol, the succession passed to her nephews, and has since been held by males, though always passing through the female side, as in Naning. To' Mutan Jantan was succeeded first by To' Ular Bisa ("The Poisonous Snake"), then by To' Maharaja Garang, and then by To' Tengah, To' Nari, To' Bunchit ("The Pot-bellied"), and the present Penghulu, To' Eta.

The first Raja ever appointed was Salengkar Alam of Bukit Guntang Penyaring (in the interior of Menangkabau). The name Guntang Penyaring was said to be derived from "guntang," which was explained as signifying the shaking of the "jaring" (or fowling-net), which was used to catch the flying-fox ("kēluang") for the feast at which Salengkar Alam was proclaimed Raja. After the feast they descended the hill (of Guntang Penyaring) and cleared the settlements of Menangkabau for the Raja. But the

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3 These etymologies appear to be merely popular. Guntang Penyaring is really a Malay legendary name (cp. the "Séjarah Malayu," or Malay Annals, where we find Mount Saguntang Mahameru). See p. 264, ante.
Batin Minang previously mentioned remained in the jungle.

The Bamboo Princess.

Khatib Malim Seleman, the son of Salengkar Alam, once came over to Bukit Peraja (in Ulu Jempol) with a jungle-knife ("parang"), an adze ("patil"), a chisel ("pahat"), and a pair of betel-nut scissors ("kachip"), in pursuit of a beautiful princess, and after searching in vain for food, went to sleep beside an enormous bamboo whose stem measured a fathom in diameter. During the night the princess for whom he was seeking appeared and cooked him some food, and passed the night with him, but disappeared at dawn.

The Khatib attempted in vain to cut open the bamboo (in which the princess had told him he would find her), using each one of his implements in turn. The one that he last tried was the pair of betel-nut scissors, which he used upon the topmost shoot of the bamboo with success, after which he was able to split it downwards, whereupon the princess fell out of the stem and he secured her. She did not disappear again, but was escorted on horseback by many followers in company with her husband to Bukit Peraja, where, however, they both disappeared together. And there they both live invisible to this day, and their horses in full trappings are occasionally visible at certain favourable seasons. If their aid is invoked by the burning of incense ("kēmnyan") they will come and perform whatever is required of them ("bēchāra"), and then disappear again. The princess (it was added) was quite fair in complexion and her hair was white and measured seven fathoms in length.
All the different tribes of aborigines were said to be merely subdivisions of an (assumed) original Mantra stock, who were also alleged to exist in the country of Menangkabau, unless (says the Batin) they have possibly turned Malay.¹

Another Version of the Creation of Man.

According to another version of the creation (recorded by Borie), the Mantra were all descended from two white apes ("ungka putih"). These having reared their young ones, sent them forth into the plains, where for the most part they developed so rapidly that they and their descendants became men. Those, however, who returned to the mountains still remained apes.² Others say that apes are degraded men.³

Legend of the Peopling of the Peninsula.

In an age gone by, of which they do not even know the century, a Mantra chief, named Batin Alam ("King of the Universe"), constructed a large and beautiful vessel and set sail for (sic ? from) Rûm (i.e. Constantinople).⁴ This ship not only sailed with great rapidity but possessed the wonderful property of propelling itself. It anchored, after several days' voyage, in what was then a small port (since named Malacca). In this ship had been brought all the requisite materials for founding a colony. The immigrants built by God, which was set floating on the waters of the earth. The ship sailed with fearful rapidity round and about the earth till it grounded on one of the mountains of the peninsula, where they declare it is still to be seen."—Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India, p. 113. A limestone cave legend. Cp. Hervey in Man, 1904, 14.

² Borie (tr. Bourien), p. 73.
⁴ Of a "Mantra tribe behind Mt. Ophir" John Cameron writes: "They say their fathers came originally from heaven in a large and magnificent ship
were divided into five parties; one of which was directed to the foot of Johol and Rembau; another ascended the river Linggi to its source, and there settled; and two others, penetrating still further into the interior of the country, established themselves at Klang and Jelebu respectively.

Batin Alam (with the fifth party) established himself upon the sea-coast, but reserved for himself the sovereign power, the chiefs of the other four parties being only his vassals. It may be remarked that the chief Batin, when visited several years ago, still assumed to himself the rights of a suzerain.

Batin Alam's ship was not destroyed, but still exists (they say) underneath one of the mountains of the Peninsula. As long as Batin Alam lived, the Mantra remained in undisturbed possession of the country. It was not till long afterwards that the Bataks came over from Sumatra and slaughtered and destroyed a great number of the Mantra. There was, however, among the latter a courageous chief who succeeded in re-uniting his scattered countrymen. In great haste he constructed a ship, in which he embarked with the remainder of his people. They made sail for Rûm, where they arrived in a few days. The Batin, whose name was Merak Galang, here disembarked his people in safety and started for Malacca once more by himself. The news of his return to Malacca spread like lightning; the Bataks gathered together once again in great numbers, in order, as they said, to roast the old man. The latter, however, had become invulnerable, and when Merak Galang threw himself among them they were never able to arrest him or wound him. Upon this he turned towards his enemies and said to them, "Even
your arms respect my person; tie your weapons together in bundles and throw them into the air, and if they are able to fly, I will admit myself to be your prisoner for ever. If, on the contrary, your weapons fall down upon the earth, and if mine only have the privilege of flying, you will obey the laws of your conqueror." This challenge by Merak Galang was accepted; but as soon as they had put it to the test, it was found that his weapons alone could fly. They, however, flew by themselves, felling the trees in the neighbouring forests, and then returning to the astonished Bataks, whom the chief forthwith cut to pieces. Indeed, all the invaders perished, with the solitary exception of one individual, who saved his life by making his submission. Left in undisturbed possession of the country after the defeat of the Bataks, Batin Merak Galang returned to Rûm, whence he returned with his people a short time afterwards. These he divided, as Batin Alam had done, into five colonies, over each of which he appointed chiefs, on the understanding that they should continue his vassals. A long time after the death of Merak Galang the Bataks again invaded the Peninsula, and this time Batin Changgei Besi, or Iron-nails, who was then governing, was completely driven back, with all his following, into the interior.¹

Tradition of Lost Books.

In addition to the foregoing, the Mantra possess a tradition relating to the loss of certain religious books, said to have been lost during the reign of Batin Alam or Měrak Galang; but most of the Mantra agree

¹ Might this be some faint tradition of a boomerang?  
² Borie (tr. Bourien), pp. 73-75.  

that some fragments existed in the time of Changgei Besi. These, however, only served as a reminder, since at that time they had forgotten how to read. The only record which then remained was the skin of a lace-lizard ("biawak"), on which there were certain characters written, which, however, nobody could understand. It was Batin Changgei Besi who destroyed this skin, and thus destroyed the religion of Raja Brahil, alleging as an excuse that that religion had become incompatible with their mode of life. According to other informants, however, Batin Iron-nails respected this monument, which was destroyed after his time by a dog.  

**Mantra Doom-myth.**

The following doom-myth is possibly of Christian origin. The human race having ceased to live, a great wind will rise, accompanied by rain, the waters will descend with rapidity, lightning will fill the space all around, and the mountains sink down; then a great heat will succeed. There will be no more night and the earth will wither like the grass in the field; God will then come down, surrounded by an immense whirlwind of flame ready to consume the universe. But God will first assemble the souls of the sinners, burn them for the first time, and weigh them, after

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1 M. Borie has, as already shown, quite misunderstood this name, which is borrowed from the Malay form Raja Jebrahil (or Jibrail = Gabriel, ante, 174; Mal, Mag. 638, n., and ibid. 641, cclii.), which is taken from Mohammedan sources. It should hardly be necessary to add that the expression has nothing whatever to connect it with the worship of Nabi Isa (Jesus Christ), or with any form whatever of the Christian religion, of which the Mantra know only what they have picked up (not always perhaps very intelligently) from the Roman Catholic missionaries, of whom M. Borie himself was one.

2 Borie (tr. Bourien), p. 83. Similar traditions are current in various parts of the Malay Peninsula and are not confined to the Mantra alone. See vol. i. pp. 378, 391, 536; and cp. the Karen practice of eating dogs in the hope of regaining the lost knowledge.—See J. L. A. vol. v. p. 346; cp. vol. iv. p. 316.
having collected their ashes by means of a piece of linen cloth. Those who will have thus passed the first time through the furnace without having been purified will be successively burned and weighed for seven times, when all those souls which have been purified will go to enjoy the happiness of heaven, and those that cannot be purified, that is to say the souls of great sinners, such as homicides, and those that have been guilty of rape, will be cast into hell, where they will suffer the torments of flames in company with devils—there will be tigers and serpents in hell to torment the damned. Lastly, God having taken a light from hell, will close the portals, and then set fire to the earth.¹

**BENUA-JAKUN.**

**Benua-Jakun of Johor.**—It is a curious fact that the fables relating to the personification² of the sun, moon, and stars are identical amongst the Benua of Johor and the natives of Macassar and several other eastern races, as well as amongst the Kols of India.³

**Beliefs concerning Natural Phenomena.**

The Benua believe the world to be globular in shape and enclosed in the sky. “The sun and moon,” once remarked a Benua, “move round the earth, so that now, whilst we are in darkness, it is light on the other side of the earth where the sun is shining.” Clouds and rain they believe to be produced from the waves of the sea by the action of the wind. When thunder is heard to the north or south, the Benua say,

¹ Cameron (Trop. Pass.), p. 122. Here, but of such a fact there is no trace whatever.
² Logan uses the term deification whatever.
"The North" (or South) "tree is sounding." The only explanation that they could give of this was that in the extreme north and south were the two extremities of a great beam; the northern extremity being twenty days' journey beyond Boko, where there was a great hill from which the north winds issued.

Belief in a Deity.

Speaking of the Benua belief in a deity, Logan remarks that, so far as he had been able to ascertain, the Berembun tribes had no idea of a Supreme Deity, and he had taken it for granted that he would find the Benua equally atheistic. His surprise therefore was great when he discovered that they had a simple and, to a certain extent, rational theology. They believed in the existence of one God, Pirman, who made the world and everything that is visible, and at whose will all things continued to have their being. This Pirman dwells above the sky, and is invisible. He is unapproachable, save through the mediumship of Jewa-Jewa.

Intermediate between the human race and the heavenly powers are the Jin (or Genies), the most powerful of whom is the "Jin Bumi," or Earth Genie, the minister of Pirman. He dwells on earth, and feeds upon the lives of men and all other living things. It is the Earth Genie who sends the various kinds of sickness and causes death; but his power is entirely

1 "Berbunyi pokok Utara" (or "Selatan"). "Poko\(^1\)" = (1) main body or principal part of anything, as in "poko\(^2\) wang" = the principal (of money laid out at interest); (2) especially as here in the phrase "poko\(^3\) ribut," or "poko\(^4\) angin" = the body of the storm (or wind), i.e. cloud-rack.

2 J. I. A. vol. i. p. 283.

3 "Pirman" was derived through Malay from "Firman" (the Decree or Word of God). Cp. 174, ante.

4 J. I. A. vol. i. pp. 275, 276.
derived from Pirman. Each species of tree has its Genie. The rivers also have a spirit connected with them, but this spirit is the Earth Genie, who haunts them with his power. The mountains are similarly animated by him. He does not, therefore, appear to be entirely a personification of the destructive power of nature, but is, to some extent, identified with its living force also.¹

The Soul.

Although the Benua have a conception of the spirit (or rather the soul) of man as distinct from the body,—and their belief that the souls of their magicians are carried in music to heaven,² whilst their animate bodies remain beside them, even shows a high degree of immateriality in their conception of its nature,—they appear to be without any glimmering of faith or hope in its permanent indestructibility, or rather in its retention of individuality.

It is believed to be fashioned by Pirman of air, and when the Earth Genie is commissioned to dissolve its union with the body, it relapses once more into the airy nothing from whence it came.³

The Magician.

To avert death recourse is had in sickness to a

¹ J. I. A. vol. i. pp. 275, 276. It should be noted that though the word "Jin" is of Arabic origin, the spirits to which the name is applied by the Jakun are almost certainly of native origin, in spite of their thin disguise.

² Newbold, writing of the Benua, says:—"The better informed of the Benua have a confused idea that after death the spirits of good men travel towards the west and are absorbed into the effulgence of the setting sun, 'the eye of day,' as he is poetically termed by most of the tribes of the Indian Archipelago. It is to prepare the traveller for this journey that the weapons and cooking utensils used by him in life, and a pittance of food, are buried along with the corpse. The souls of the bad are to be devoured by spectres, who approach the graves for that purpose on the seventh day after interment, on which fires are kindled to drive the evil spirits away" (ii. 389, 390).

³ J. I. A. vol. i. p. 279.
magician (Poyang), no other person being supposed to have the right of imploring mercy from Pirman. These magicians are an order of men combining the functions of priest, physician, and sorcerer. The Malays (who appear to be more superstitious than the Benua) have a greater faith in the efficacy of the supplications of these Poyangs, and a greater dread of their supernatural power. They are believed not only to be able to cure the most virulent maladies, but to inflict disease and death upon an adversary,\(^1\) and the Malays have recourse to them for both purposes.\(^2\) Even the tigers are believed to be subject to them, and every magician has one in constant attendance upon him.\(^3\) When a man falls a victim to a tiger he

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\(^1\) By means of the Tuju (or Pointing ceremony). "The Poyangs are imagined to be adepts in the Tuju, or the art of killing an enemy, however distant, by the force of spells, and by pointing a dagger or sumpitan in the direction of his residence; in performing the incantations termed Bërsawai ("Besawye") and Chinduai ("Chinderwy"); and in discovering mines and hidden treasures. They are imagined to be endowed with the power of curing the most grievous sicknesses, by causing their familiars to appear and minister to the sufferers. The incantations are carried on by night: fire, incense, together with many herbs and roots of peculiar virtues are employed. The Bërsawai (ceremony) consists in burning incense, muttering midnight spells over a variety of herbs and plants, among which are the Palas, the Subong Krong, the Lëbar, and the Bërtam, and in calling upon the spirit of the mountains. Should the process be successful, the spirit descends, throwing the exorcist into a trance, during which the knowledge he wishes to obtain is imparted" (Newbold, pp. 389, 390).

\(^2\) *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 275, 276.

\(^3\) Compare the account given by Newbold, who says that the soul of a Poyang after death is supposed to enter into the body of a tiger. This metempsychosis is presumed to take place after the following fashion. The corpse of the Poyang is placed erect against the buttress or "strut" at the root of a large tree in the depth of the forest, and carefully watched and supplied with rice and water for seven days and nights by the friends and relatives. During this period the transmigration (believed to be the result of an ancient compact made in olden times by the Poyang's ancestors with a tiger) is imagined to be in active operation. On the seventh day it is incumbent on the deceased Poyang's son, should he be desirous of exercising similar supernatural powers, to take a censer and incense of Kënnyan wood, and to watch near the corpse alone; when the deceased will shortly appear in the form of a tiger on the point of making a fatal spring upon him. At this crisis it is necessary not to betray the slightest symptom of alarm, but to cast with a bold heart and firm hand the incense on the fire; the seeming tiger will then disappear. The spectres of two beautiful women will next present themselves, and the novice will be cast into a deep trance, during which the
is supposed to have been sacrificed to the malevolence of some magician whom he has offended. When the aid of a magician is sought on behalf of the life of a sick person, presents are carried to him, and he repairs to the house where his patient lies, taking with him a musical instrument named "gelondang," which consists of a long bamboo suspended in a horizontal position under the roof and struck with small sticks. When night comes on, the magician commences to chant his incantations, at the same time waving a white cloth to and fro, whilst one of his attendants (frequently his wife), beats the "gelondang," and another burns incense (benzoin). The chants are invocations addressed to Jewa-Jewa, who resides in heaven, and through whom alone Pirman can be approached. They are chanted to different airs the whole night long, and sometimes for three or four nights in succession, until the magician is able to announce either that he has received medicine to cure the disease or that the deity is inexorable. The more powerful magicians do not need to prolong their invocation beyond one or two nights. The explanation given of the object of the invocations, and of the mode by which they reach the deity, is this. Whenever a person becomes sick, it is believed that Pirman has ordered the Earth Genie to "eat his life" ("makan dia-punya nyawa"), and that death will certainly ensue unless Pirman revoke his mandate. But as Pirman is

initiation is presumed to be perfected. These aerial ladies thenceforward become his familiar spirits, "the slaves of the ring," by whose invisible agency the secrets of nature, the hidden treasures of the earth, are unfolded to him. Should the heir of the Poyang omit to observe this ceremonial, the spirit of the deceased, it is believed, will re-enter for ever the body of the tiger, and the mantle of enchantment be irrevocably lost to the tribe" (ii. 387-389).

1 Sometimes pronounced Dewa-dewa. It is, of course, a plural, from the Sanskrit "Deva" (through Malay).
inaccessible to mortals, Jewa-Jewa must be supplicated to intercede with him. The fumes of the incense rise to the heavenly abode of Jewa-Jewa, who, pleased with the fragrant smell, is disposed to welcome the spirit or soul of the magician which ascends to him in the music of the "gêlondang." Jewa-Jewa inquires of the magician's soul what his errand may be. The latter then informs the minister of heaven of the condition of the sick person, and solicits medicine. If Pirman pleases, Jewa-Jewa gives medicine to the magician to cure the disease, e.g. the juice or root of a plant, a flower, etc. The Malays outside the limits of the country of the Benua, were not aware either that the Benua believed in a God, or that the magician's power was considered to be derived from Him and entirely dependent on His pleasure. On the contrary, they declared that they had no religious belief, and that the magicians cured diseases and inflicted calamities by means of spirits which they kept.

The Benua (as has already been remarked) are much less superstitious than the Malays, and the more sensible among them even doubt whether the Poyangs of the present day can really attain supernatural power

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1 F. J. A. vol. i. p. 276.
2 Of Herbalism among the Benua, Newbold writes as follows: "The Benua are celebrated among Malays for their skill in medicines, and, it is said, know the use of venesection in inflammatory disorders. The following is a specimen of their rude receipts: A person with sore eyes must use a collyrium of the infusion of Niet-niet leaves for four days. For diarrhoea, the decoction of the root of Kayu yet, and Kayu panamas; for sciatica, powdered Sandal-wood (?) in water, rubbed on the loins; for sores, the wood Kambing. If the head be affected, it must be washed with a decoction of Lawong-wood; if the chest, the patient should drink a decoction of Kayu tikar leaves. Such recipes as these, of which there is abundance, are not, however, supposed to be fully efficacious without the incantations of the Poyangs. Guligas, stones extracted from the heads and bodies of animals, particularly the porcupine, and the Rantei Babi, which is imagined to be endowed with powers equivalent to those of the celebrated Anguinum of the Druids of Gaul and Britain, hold a high place in the Materia Medica of these rude tribes" (ii. 408-411).
3 F. J. A. vol. i. pp. 276, 277.
or aid. "Not one in a hundred reaches Jewa-Jewa," said an old man. "The only one I ever knew to do so was a Poyang who died when I was young. His spirit was seven days in heaven. I have never had recourse to them in sickness, but always allow diseases to take their course. If Pirman is determined that a man shall die, he must die. If Pirman thinks fit to grant him an extension of his life, he must recover."¹

**Treatment of Diseases.**

To ascertain whether fever exists, the patient is directed to take "Chuping" ² leaves mixed with lime, rub them together in the hand, and squeeze the juice into a cup. If it hardens, the patient is pronounced to have fever. The most common of the remedies are for fever the leaves of the "Sēdingin,"³ and for fever and ague the growing shoot ("umut") of the "Sēmambu." The "Akar Butut" is used for jaundice in the case of young children, and the "Akar Balaksini" for pains in the loins.⁴ After child-birth a decoction of "Puar"

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¹ *J. I. A.* vol. i. p. 277.
² Unidentified.
³ This is probably *Bryophyllum calycinum*, Salisb. (*Crassulaceae*). According to Vaughan-Stevens, "on the breaking of an arm or a leg, the Benua magicians are in the habit of killing a large black bird with brown wings" (whose name was not given). The patient is fed with some of the boiled flesh; and one of its bones is then moistened and grated upon a stone, and the liquid applied to the injured part.
⁴ The gall-bladder of snakes (e.g. of the python) is worn round the neck in order to heal fever. Also the wood of certain trees (e.g. the "Pèradang") or orchids (e.g. the *Dipodium paludosum*) is boiled and the fluid drunk. When a thorn has entered the flesh, the tooth of a wild bull ("Sèladang" = *Bos gaurus*) is grated with water upon a stone and applied to the injured part.

For cuts a fruit called "Langyang" is used in the same way.

For diarrhoea, benzoin ("Kèmnyan") is scattered on a fire, and the region of the stomach fumigated with it.

For indigestion the fruit of a kind of rattan called "Jèrnang" or Dragon's Blood (*Calamus draco*) is boiled and the liquor drunk. Or the tooth of a porcupine is grated with water upon a stone and applied to the region of the stomach.

For abscesses the bark of a tree called "Samung" is boiled, and the infusion rubbed on the inflamed part by means of a piece of bark in place of a brush.
leaves is administered to the child, the mother being treated with an infusion of various kinds of “Mérian,” such as “Mérian api,” “Mérian padi,” “Mérian batu,” and “Mérian igi.”

The Orang Laut believe that small-pox is a separate malignant spirit which moves about from one place to another, and those of the tribe that were located on the east side of the island (Pulau Tinggi) closed all the paths that led to the western with thorns and bushes, for, as they said, he (the spirit) can get along a clean pathway, but he cannot leap over or pass through the barrier that we have erected.  

**Traditions of the Benua-Jakun.**

The origin of the country and race of the Benua was thus related: “The ground on which we stand

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3. According to Newbold, “there are many idle tales current among Malays of the existence in the woods and mountains of malignant races, half men, half monkeys, endowed with supernatural powers; such, for instance, as the Pikats of Java, who are said to dwell on the summits of hills, and to intermarry with the Siamangs; the Pangans and the cannibal Benangs, who, like beasts, cohabit with their nearest relatives; the malignant Mawa that mocks the laugh of a human being, with its iron arm and body covered with shaggy hair; and the treacherous B’lian that watches over the tigers, and which is supposed on rainy nights to visit the abodes of men, and under the pretext of asking for fire, to seize and tear them into pieces with its enormous claws” (ii. 4:6).

Elsewhere we are told by Newbold that “in the beginning of the world a white Ungka and a white Siamang dwelt on a lofty mountain; they cohabited and had four children, who descended from the mountain into the plain, and became mankind. From them sprang four tribes. In after times the heads of these tribes, Nenek Tukol, Nenek Landasan, Nenek Jelandong, and Nenek Karah, were invested
is not solid—it is merely the skin of the earth (‘kulit bumi’). In ancient times Pirman (the Deity) broke up this skin, so that the world was destroyed and overwhelmed with water. Afterwards he caused Gunong Lulumut, together with Chemundang and Bechuak (hills in Johor), to rise out of the water this low land which we now inhabit being formed later. These mountains in the south, together with Mount Ophir (Gunong Ledang), the mountains of Kāf (Gunong Kap), ‘Flute-pillar’ Hill (Gunong Tongkat Bangsi), and Gunong Tongkat Subang (lit. ‘Earstud pillar’ Hill) on the north, give a fixity to the earth’s skin. The earth still depends entirely upon these mountains for its steadiness. The Lulumut mountains are the oldest land. The summit of Tongkat Bangsi Hill is within a flute’s-length (one foot) of the sky; that of Tongkat Subang Hill is within an earstud’s length; and that of the Hills of Kāf is in contact with it. When Lulumut had already emerged, a ship (‘prahu’) of ‘pulai’ wood, completely covered over and without any opening, was left floating on the waters. In this Pirman had enclosed a man and a woman whom he had created. After the lapse of some time the vessel no longer progressed either with or against the current, and ceased to be driven to and fro. The man and woman therefore, feeling it to be motionless, nibbled their way through it, and standing upon the dry ground, beheld this our world. At first, however, everything was obscure. There was

by an ancient king of Johor with the honorary titles of To' Batin Kakanda Unku, To' Batin Sa-ribu Jaya, To' Batin Johan Lela Perkasa, and To' Batin Karah. The first founded the state of Klang, and possessed the canoe Sampan Balang; the second ascended the Samawa or Linggi river, and founded Sungei Ujong; the third proceeded to the hill of Lantei Kulit, and founded the State of Johol; and the fourth to Ulu Pahang” (ii. 376-378).
neither morning nor evening, because the sun had not yet been created. When it became light they saw seven small wild rhododendron ('Sendudo') shrubs, and seven clumps of the grass called 'Sambau.' They then remarked to each other, 'In what a condition are we left, lacking both children and grandchildren!' Sometime afterwards, however, the woman conceived, not however in her womb, but in the calves of her legs. From the right leg came forth a male, and from the left a female child. Hence it is that the issue of the same womb cannot intermarry. All mankind are the descendants of the two children of the first pair. When men had much increased, Pirman looked down upon them and reckoned their numbers with pleasure.'

In addition to the foregoing, Logan further remarks that in crossing the Lenggiu at the upper part of the ravine in which it rises, a long flat granitic slab covered with thickly-growing moss, and called "Batu Bekachong," is pointed out as the first couch of the parents of the human race.

They look upon the Gunong Lulumut group with a superstitious reverence, not only connecting it with the dawn of human life, but regarding it as possessed of animation itself. Lulumut is the husband, Chemundang his old wife, and Bechuak his young one. At first the three lived together in harmony, but one day Chemundang, in a fit of jealousy, cut off Bechuak's hair. The young wife retaliated by kicking Chemundang's head with such force as to force it out of its position. Lulumut, seeing his mistake, stepped in

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1 J. I. A. vol. i. p. 278.
2 Hervey in quoting this tradition verbatim from Logan, remarks that his own inquiries enable him to confirm Logan's account (v. J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 3, p. 105).
with his huge body between them, and has ever since kept them separate.  

From an old Portuguese writer comes the following interesting passage:—

"Queen Putri ("Putry"), spouse of Permiçuri, founder of Malacca, was said to inhabit a cavern on Mount Ophir ("Gunoledam"). Here the Benua were said to learn magic. Without seeing any one they heard the magical qualities of plants revealed by mysterious voices. They drink a decoction of the Erba vilca in order to put themselves into communication with the evil spirit or with Putri, who was said to take the form of beasts and birds. The Benua by the same spells and charms transformed themselves into tigers, lizards, crocodiles, and other animals; they then became gifted with divination and communicated with persons at a distance. The Benua were said to come to Malacca at night in the form of tigers, and to kill women and children."  

"In the forests of that country [Johor] dwelt the Benua, wild races who . . . lived on Mount 'Gunoledam' (i.e. Ophir, or Gunong Ledang), where resided a certain Queen Putri, a magical enchantress who . . . collected herbs and plants possessing medicinal virtues, and transformed herself from the human form (of a woman) to that of a tigress, and of other animals and birds."  

"Putri" is the Fairy "Princess" of Mount Ophir legend.

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1 J. J. A. vol. i. pp. 278, 279.
2 Goudinho de Eredia, p. 326.
3 Ibid. p. 11; cp. Malaca, L'Inde Meridionale et le Cathay, MS. . . . de G. de E., reproduit en facsimile et traduit par Léon Janssen. Bruxelles, 1882. Goudinho de Eredia wrote in 1613. He also speaks of a "cannibal" (!) race called Saletes, inhabiting Malacca before the Malays. Of the Malays he says: "The witches employ many roots, plants, trees, and animals for their charms, and above all spells, especially those who kill children before baptism, on the fifth day after birth, or in some cases before birth. The
BEREMBUN TRIBES.

The Berembun tribes, like the Malays, attribute the magician's power to his command over spirits which possess and inspire him. The spirits of the rivers (Hantu Sungei) are evil, inflicting diseases, and feeding on the human soul (or "sĕmangat"). On the other hand, the spirits of the mountains (Hantu Gunong) are harmless. Every magician has several disciples who attend him when he visits a sick person. A small hut called "sawai" is constructed near the house, and in this the incantations are performed, everybody being excluded save the magician himself and his disciples. Incense is burned, and invocations chanted to the accompaniment of music, until the magician is possessed by the spirit, which answers through his mouth the questions put by the disciples respecting the mode of treating the disease. When a river spirit enters a man and he begins to waste away through its evil influence, the magician has power to exorcise it. The tigers are his slaves.¹

JAKUN OF JOHOR.

Belief in a Deity.

A great part of the Jakun know and acknowledge

¹ J. L. A. vol. i. p. 277. "Sawai" is the name of the ceremony, not of the hut in which it is performed.
the existence of a supreme being, whom they call by the Malay name "Tuhan Allah," the Lord God. Many of those in Johor also admit their belief in a punishment for sin. With some of them it is only a general admission, and they have no idea by what means it is to be executed; but some few others declare openly that sinners will be thrown after death into the fire of hell, though even these do not know of any reward for good men and good works. Those of the Menangkabau States, probably on account of their more frequent communications with the Malays, have more knowledge of religion, some of them speaking of God as the creator of everything, of Adam as the first man, of Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon, though very confusedly, and there was not to be found amongst them any real knowledge either of Christ or the Christian religion. The more learned of them are called magicians or "Pawang," and those of Malacca are the most ignorant of religion. They do not worship the sun or the moon or any idols.

Spirits and Demons.

In demons (or "Hantu") the Jakun devoutly believe, but unfortunately little or nothing has been collected on the subject. Hervey's account of the Jakun belief concerning the "Hantu Sëmambu" is however, I think, worth quoting here. "The noise," he says, "that a certain species (of cicada) makes is almost unearthly and quite disagreeable. There is only one other sound in the jungle at night—time which, though otherwise different, resembles it in this peculiar way—it is that made by the 'Hantu

1 Favre in J. A. vol. ii. p. 249. Abraham, Moses, David, and Solomon are known to all good Moslems.
Sêmambu,' which is very weird, consisting of three or four long-drawn notes rising and falling slightly; but the effect it is impossible to describe. The Jakun say that it is a weather guide."

We are further told that some Jakun regard jellyfish as human souls waiting to be born.

The offerings of rice laid on graves to appease the demons have already been mentioned.

The Magician.

Of the paraphernalia used by a Jakun "Poyang" or magician, Hervey writes that the "Kayu këlon-dang" (or "Gëlondang," as it is also called), which is struck by the magician’s attendants when the latter is exercising his skill on behalf of a sick man, must among the Jakun of the Madek people be made of wood from the Mërawan tree, and no other. Whilst his attendants are striking the instrument in question, the magician waves a spray of a tree called "Chawak," and at the same time proceeds with his incantations.

Treatment of Diseases.

The knowledge of the Jakun in the art of physic is very limited. They use very little medicine, and the sick lack almost every form of assistance, the sickness being ordinarily abandoned to the ordinary course of nature. Notwithstanding, the Malays consider them clever physicians, and in their stupidity believe themselves very fortunate when by giving them either money or clothes they succeed in obtaining from them some medical prescriptions.

1 The noise is probably made by a small frog.  
5 Hervey, J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 8, pp. 119, 120.  
though not very many, and only those who are styled "Pawangs," pretend to some knowledge in physic as well as to a knowledge of the secrets of nature; but their actual acquisitions in that respect are not so great as is ordinarily reported, and in fact they are very little more clever than the others.¹

We are also told that some "tribes" of Jakun refused to eat the flesh of elephants, alleging that it would occasion sickness.²

The Malays believe that when a Jakun hates any one, he turns towards his victim's abode, and strikes two sticks together, one upon the other, and that in such a case, no matter how great the distance between them, his victim will fall sick, and even die, should he persevere in this performance for a few days.³

H. W. Lake, in writing of two Jakun who had been brought in very badly mauled by a tiger, remarks that, according to their statement, they had been attacked whilst asleep on a sandbank some distance up the river. One man's scalp-wounds appeared to be of a fatal nature; the other, a youngster, was badly bitten in the fore-arm. Both refused to be treated by a European, and later in the day they could be seen lying in the blazing sun with their wounds well smeared with wood ashes and wrapped in leaves.⁴

**Fire-making.**

In addition to the foregoing, an account of ceremonial fire-making among the Jakun is given in Vaughan-Stevens:

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¹ Logan in *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 251.  
³ *J. I. A.* vol. ii. p. 274.  
Whenever a company (of Jakun) were on their travels and desired either to change their camp or to prepare for a longer stay there, a new camp-fire was lighted "for luck" by an unmarried girl with a fire-drill. The girl selected was usually the daughter of the man who happened to be acting as the leader of the company. Such a selection was regarded as specially fortunate; but the leader's daughter could only be chosen if she were of an age just before puberty. And this custom is especially remarkable, since the Jakuns on their wanderings always carry with them a smouldering rope-end of tree-bark.7

Here, however, we have a survival of an older custom. The fire is obtained by means of the drill from a block of soft wood of the kind which the Jakun use for making the handles of their choppers ("parang"). A small block of this wood is generally carried either on the person, or more especially inserted in the headband of tree-bark, "exactly like the charm on one of our own watch-chains." It was shaped like the marine bivalve which they say their ancestors employed before they had learned the use of iron to cut up their fish, as well as for determining the spot for their encampment when they happened to be upon a journey.

When the fire was about to be kindled the girl took this block of soft wood and held it on the ground, whilst her father or some other married man worked the vertical shaft which served as the drill. When the spark appeared she fanned it to a flame either by blowing upon it or by whirling the block round in her hand, for which purpose she surrounded the spark with a heap of shredded cloth and exposed it to a current of air.3

From the fire thus kindled were lighted the other fires, for every successive night, and to it were ascribed good-luck in the matter of cooking, and a greater power of warding off wild beasts (e.g. the tiger) than was possessed by the first fire of an encampment when it was kindled by means of the smouldering rope-end of tree-bark. At the same time there was no hard and fast rule that this fire-kindling must be performed by a girl, since any person whatsoever, man, child, or woman (unless, in the case of the latter she were having her monthly discharges) might do it if it happened to be more convenient.3

Taboo Languages.

Amongst other industries the collection of various forms of gutta and camphor obtainable in the forests of the Peninsula is practised by the Jakun, who, whilst

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1 A specimen was sent with the notes (Bartels).
2 Z. f. E. vol. xxviii. pp. 168, 169. [Bartels here remarks that it is not clear from the context whether it is the block of wood used for kindling the fire that is shaped like a shell, or whether it has no special shape. According to Vaughan-Stevens the leader's daughter obtained the block of wood from her father, for the blocks carried by the unmarried girls and boys for fire-making have no special shape; and although the men and women generally carried such shell-shaped blocks about with them, there was no obligation for them to do so. From this passage it would appear that it was the shell-shaped block that the girl used in this case for fire-making. On the other hand, Vaughan-Stevens says later that these shell-shaped blocks are of extreme rarity, and are now never carried for their original purpose, viz. that of fire-making, since the custom had long become obsolete.]
at work in this way, employ a peculiar dialect usually called the Camphor (or Gutta) Taboo language ("Pantang Kapur," etc.). As to the origin of this dialect there has been a good deal of speculation, but whatever its origin, the Jakun attribute great efficacy to its employment, as well as to certain strange ceremonial practices. Logan, for instance, mentions the eating of earth as a concomitant of the use of the Camphor Taboo language, as well as complete abstention during the prosecution of the search both from bathing and washing. Without these accompaniments of the superstition the "Pantang Kapur" would hardly be complete, and they would readily be suggested by the magicians themselves, to whose cunning and influence over the Malays Logan bears striking testimony. As some proof of the complete confidence the Malays possess in their powers, it may be recorded that the Malays at Kuala Madek, for instance, asserted of the Juru-krah resident there, that he used to walk round the village (or kampong) at night and drive away the tigers without any weapons.

I may add that many restrictions as to diet (or "food-taboos") were observed by the parents in the months preceding a birth, and that divination was employed to determine the probable sex of an expected child.

The Jakun Traditions.

The following is a Jakun tradition entertained by several tribes, and formerly related by a Batin of Johol:

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1 This question of the Taboo dialects will be fully treated of under "Language."
3 Cp. pp. 21, 23, ante.
God created in heaven, in former days, a man and a woman. They were Batins (that is, a king and a queen) of course, but had no kingdom or subjects. History does not say how long this couple remained in heaven; but only that one day they descended to earth and were discovered in the neighbourhood of the river of Johor, in the southern part of the Peninsula. There this celestial Batin and his consort begat a numerous family, who peopled all the Peninsula. Those of them who embraced Islamism are now called Malays; and those who remained faithful to the manners and customs of their ancestors retained the name of Jakun.

Another legend (collected by Hervey) is that of Bukit Penyabong, near Kelesa' Banyak. The legend is that a cock-fighting match once took place here, between Raja Chulan and another Raja of old times, that the defeated bird flew away to his house at Bukit Bulan, whilst the victorious bird was turned into stone and still remains a mute but faithful witness to mark the spot where the tremendous conflict took place. The Dato', or chief of the tribe, stated to Hervey that he had himself seen the figure on the top of Bukit Penyabong; it was a good deal above life-size, he said, and just like a cock in white stone; he added that the top of the hill was bare and that a good view was to be had from it.

A similar legend is told of a Jakun Batin whose soul migrated into a white cock.

The “Batu Hampar,” or “outcrop rock,” which

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2 Hervey suggests that the hill itself may possibly have been limestone, in which case it would be the most southerly limestone hill known in the Peninsula.
3 Hervey in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, No. 3, p. 110; cp. Man, 1904, 14, and supra, p. 344, n. 3.
gives its name to this place, is a shrine ("kramat"), a sacred rock in the river, on which the devout spread the mat of prayer; it owes its sanctity, according to the legend, to the execution carried out upon it (by order of the Sultan of Kota Tinggi) of one Jit, a Jakun chief, who had been detected in necromantic practices. When they came after the execution with the burial garments to take away the body, it had disappeared. Three months after Jit was met by his son on the same spot alive and well, which from that period onward he used to haunt. He was also said to assume at times the form of a white cock; and when met in human form he disappeared, and a white cock was seen vanishing in the distance.¹

Tradition of Tribes with Great Feet.

Finally it may perhaps be worth while to refer to the explanation given by Vaughan-Stevens² of the huge foot-prints attributed to certain of these jungle tribes, more especially the "Eastern Jakun." According to Vaughan-Stevens, the great size of the footsteps of these Jakun, at certain seasons, is due to their binding the leaves of the Bērtam-palm upon their feet, in order to avoid sinking in the deep mangrove mud when they are forced to traverse it in search of jungle produce, etc., the bad land which requires this special provision to be made being said to extend in patches as far north as Pahang. There may be something in this explanation; on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that, as has already been pointed out, this legend of tribes with great feet is a widely spread Mohammedan legend, which is found

² Z. f. E. xxix. 195 seqq.
in other countries besides the Malay Peninsula, and this is perhaps the more probable explanation.

Orang Laut or Sea-Jakun.

Principles of Religion.

Orang Laut, Sabimba.—The statement that the Sabimba have no religion, believe in no demons ("Hantu") or other supernatural beings, hardly any medicines, and no magicians ("poyangs")\(^1\) can hardly be accepted as final, even if the word "religion" be confined to the narrow sense in which it was, till recent years, so frequently employed. The converse statement would probably come nearer the truth. The present writer has on more than one occasion, without going out of his way to look for them, met with a variety of demons and charms believed in by the Orang Laut, and he thinks there is very little doubt that when it is adequately investigated the Sabimba religion will prove to be the old religion of the pagan (pre-Mohammedan Malays) which was most probably a form of demonology or Shamanism, overlaid with a slight Hindu veneer.

Dreams.

Dreams, we are informed, are greatly dreaded, and, when bad, suffice to keep the dreamer in a state of uneasiness for several days. A Sabimba man of old is said to have dreamed that he would be killed by a tiger, and within two days his dream was fulfilled.\(^2\)

Again, they declare that their ancestors were

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\(^1\) J. I. A. vol. i. p. 298. Cp. also ibid. p. 348*.
\(^2\) Ibid. p. 298.
warned in dreams that if the race took to bathing they would be visited by tempests. Hence they abstain as religiously from bathing as they do from eating the fowl. The only punishment which the Malays threaten them with, or ever inflict, is to duck them in water, and of this they have so great a horror that they say they would prefer being killed at once.¹

Sabimba Traditions.

Before the Sabimba were transported to Johor by the Temenggong of that State, they inhabited that portion of the island of Battam which is traversed by the stream called Sabimba and its tributaries.

They are entirely a forest people, having no clearings or cultivation of any kind, and also (we are told) no boats. They are therefore in a lower plane of civilisation than the Benua. According to their own traditions, however, they have not always been so rude of habit. They declare that they are of Malayan race, and give the following account of their arrival at Battam. Their forefathers lived in the land of the Bugis (i.e. Celebes), and were, like the Malays, of agricultural and maritime habits. In voyaging, however, from Celebes to the westward, a vessel containing a party of them and a Bugis Raja was lost off the coast of Battam. Some of them succeeded in reaching the shore, and having no means of returning to their native country, remained on the island. In the course of a few generations their numbers increased, and they lived in comfort, making clearings in the forest and gradually regaining the easy condition in which

¹ J. L. A. vol. i. p. 297.
their shipwrecked ancestors had lived before they left their native land. At this stage, however, they unfortunately attracted the attention of pirates and their settlements ("kampongs") were ravaged. New clearings were made and their houses rebuilt, but once again they were visited by the pirates. They then removed to another locality, but their merciless and persevering assailants yet again discovered them, and continued to repeat their attacks every few years. At last, when their settlements had been destroyed for the seventh time, they gave themselves up to despair, abandoned their ancient habits, and sought safety by wandering in the forest and restricting themselves to such food as it yields spontaneously. To prevent any desire to return to the comforts of civilisation from exposing them again to plunder, slavery, or death, the whole tribe then and there made a vow that they would never again form any clearings, live a settled life, or even eat the domestic fowl, the crowing of the cock having sometimes betrayed their dwellings to the pirates.

Whatever be the foundation of this tradition, it is certainly descriptive of the condition in which they now live.\footnote{\emph{I. L. A.} vol. i. pp. 295, 296.}

0. Laut, Sletar.—To the impulses which govern the actions of the Sletar, only a long acquaintance with their prejudices and domestic feelings could afford a clue. Of a Creator they did not appear to have the slightest comprehension, and even when the greatest care was taken over the investigation, the result was still entirely negative. They neither knew the God nor Devil of the Christian or Mohammedan, though they confessed they had been told of
such, nor any of the Hindu demigods, many of whom were recounted to them. In the three great epochs of their lives (i.e. at birth, marriage, and death), we consequently find no rites or ceremonies enacted. Of the Pari, Dewa, Mambang, and other aerial spirits that are assigned to every mountain, rock, and tree in Malay mythology, they did not even know the names, nor had they anything to be afraid of (as they themselves said), except the "Gallang Pirates," who were men like themselves.¹

O. Laut, Biduanda Kallang.—They have a Bomor or physician who chants in order to summon the demons to give them medicine.

For swellings they bruise the leaves of the "Baru,"² and rub them over the affected part. Cuts or wounds are rubbed with the juice of the "Akar lale urat." For pain in the bowels they employ ginger. For headache they drink the juice of a tree called "Kapielu (sic, ? Kapialu) angin."³

O. Laut, Muka Kuning.—The Orang Muka Kuning have derived some obscure and distorted notions of a Creator from the Malays, but otherwise appear⁴ to have no religion or superstitions. Allah Ta'ala (the God of the Mohammedans) is the creator of all living things, and Nabi Muhamad (the Prophet Mohammed) is his wife,⁵ who destroys all living things. They dwell together above the sky, and have two children, a male and a female, whose names and functions, however, are unknown. The Orang Muka

¹ J. I. A. vol. i. pp. 343, 344.
² "Baru" = Hibiscus tiliaceus, Linn. (Malvaceae).
³ J. I. A. vol. i. p. 300.
⁴ The italics are mine. For the same remarks apply to them as to the Sabimba already mentioned.
⁵ This idea is perhaps the most striking proof that could be imagined of that absolute superficiality of the Mohammedan element for which I have contended.
Kuning have no idea of the soul as existing separately from, or surviving the body. It is probable that their belief in a male creating and preserving, and a female destroying, deity was derived either from Hindus or Hindu Malays in the pre-Mohammedan era, and that the Muka Kuning have merely altered the names, a practice which appears to be common in the Archipelago, and one, indeed, of which the history of almost every nation furnishes examples.¹

0. Laut, Temiang.—A special form of arrow-release is said to be employed by the Orang Temiang in shooting fire at the spirit of sickness. According to the description the bow is perforated in the centre (the "handle" of the bow), and the arrow has a shoulder near the distal end, which prevents it passing through the hole, and the nock is fastened to the string.²

A ball of inflammable material is loosely placed on the end of the arrow, and when the arrow is released, it is suddenly checked by its shoulder striking the

¹ Logan here remarks, in a quaint note, that in the eastern parts of Bengal, which have a distinct ethnological connection with the Indo-Chinese peoples, instances of this kind occur. The successive changes that the religion of Europe has undergone were accompanied by a similar confusion of names. "The memory of the pagan (classic) creed was not speedily eradicated in the extensive provinces through which it was once universally received; and in many particulars it continued long to mingle with, and influence, the original superstitions of the Gothic nations. Hence we find the elves occasionally arrayed in the costume of Greece and Rome, and the Fairy Queen and her attendants transformed into Diana and her nymphs, and invested with their attributes and appropriate insignia" (Sir W. Scott's *Introduction to the Tale of Tamline*). "Christianity never succeeded in rooting out the ancient creed; it only changed many of the subjects, which maintained, and do still to this day maintain, their place among us. What had been religious observance subsists as popular superstition; the cross of the Saviour only replaced the hammer of Thor, and the spells which had once contained the names of heathen gods were still used as effective, having been *christened* by the addition of a little holy water, and the substitution of the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Tobit, St. Peter, and St. Paul" (J. M. Kemble's *Introduction to the Anglo-Saxon Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn*, p. 7).—F. L. A. vol. i. p. 338.

² Mr. L. Wray informs me that the form of bow here described is employed by Malay Pawangs, or magicians, in Perak, and that there are several specimens of it (that came from Larut) in the Perak Museum.
bow, the fire-ball being projected into the air by its momentum.

To effect this "release" the first finger is passed above the string and under the arrow,¹ the thumb being straightened, and the arrow grasped between the thumb and finger.²

Traditions of the Orang Akik.

O. Laut, Akik.—Dato' Klambu,³ a man of some power in former days, employed a number of Jakun in the building of an Astana or palace. He had an only daughter, a young and beautiful damsels, who, once upon a time observing the primitive costume of one of her father's workmen, was seized with an uncontrollable fit of merriment. Thereupon the irritated Jakun commenced the incantation "Chinduai," and pursued their way to the forest, followed by the spellbound princess. Dato' Klambu despatched mes-

¹ Professor Morse adds, "This is a most awkward and inefficient release, and as the description of this and the previous release were given me by an old man, it is possible that they may have been incorrectly described."

² [The fact that these releases were described by an old man some years ago is, however, rather in favour of their being correctly (not incorrectly) described. It is the younger (town-bred) generation in the Peninsula that is the less reliable. Is it not possible, too, that the weakness and inefficiency of the release may have been intentional, as a strong release could hardly be required by the circumstances?] Internat. Archiv f. Ethn., vol. iv. p. 278.

³ Lit. Mosquito-net Chief. "About two and a half miles up the Linggi, after passing the mouth of Sungei Bésar, the voyager arrives at the 'Kubur,' or tomb, of Dato' Klambu. This was a Mohammedan saint of considerable odour, who crossed over from Achin to the Malay Peninsula, and who, during his lifetime, selected this spot for the inhumation of his remains. It is situated on the summit of a steep mound near the bank of the river, and having a small stream winding round its foot. The structure has nothing peculiar in it, being built after the usual fashion of the Malayan Mussulmans; it is about twenty yards long by two broad, and is visited by most Mussulmans passing up the river, who repeat a prayer and offer an oblation for the peace of the Marhum. There is neither date nor inscription on it, with the exception of a few sentences of the Koran, and the names of some of the devotees, which have been rudely scrawled on it in charcoal."—Begbie, pp. 400, 401.
sengers to bring back his daughter, but she refused to return, and eventually became the spouse of one of the Jakun chiefs. Dato' Klambu, on receiving intelligence of this occurrence, dissembled his resentment, and invited the whole tribe to a sumptuous entertainment on pretence of celebrating the nuptials. In the midst of the feast he fired the palace in which the revels were carried on, and the whole of the Jakun, except a man and a woman, perished in the flames. These two Jakun fled to Rawang, a marsh near the seashore, and from them sprang the Rayat Laut, sometimes termed Orang Rawang or Akik, who, not daring to return into the interior, have ever since confined themselves to the coasts and islets. The truly characteristic tradition among the subjects of the sea themselves, is that their first parents were a white alligator and a porpoise.¹

Belief in Spirits.

Orang Laut (unspecified). — The Orang Laut, for instance, believe (we are told) that the flying lizard looks out for births and causes the soul to take up its abode in the new body. It is the subordinate of the mythical lizard, the guardian of the Stone [of Life], and can leave the earth to go to its master. If an Orang Laut killed one of these lizards, the others would refuse to bring the soul of his new-born child. The flying lizard can transform itself into a crocodile; the crocodile and the shark are brothers and carry out the death sentence on a man whose Stone of Life is soiled and buried, if the lizard does not do so in person.²

¹ Newbold, ii. 412, 413 [cp. J. I. A. vol. ii. p. 278].
² Z.f. E. xxviii. 187. The name of the tribe is not stated. For the belief in the power of the Jakun to change into lizards, cp. p. 358, ante.
Again, the time from birth to the cutting of the umbilical cord is the critical period, and all present unite in shouting to drive away the evil spirits.¹

The Orang Laut do not fear sharks. "They are our own brethren, they are Sea Pirates ('pērompak laut') like ourselves," said one of them to Thomson.²

*Use of Wooden Images.*

Before leaving the Orang Laut I must not omit to mention a valuable contribution to the *J. R. A. S.*, *S. B.*, in No. 41 of the Society's Journal, by Dr. Abbott, who writes that in July 1903 he discovered among the Orang Mantong of Sanglar Island, two wooden images representing women, in a cave near the seashore, not far from Kampong Telok Lanun. Each image was about 3½ feet high, and one of them had three wooden horns about 6 inches long projecting upwards from the head. These horns were serrated along one edge. This figure also had straight rudely-carved arms of soft wood much decayed.

The teeth were represented by pieces of broken shell. A blackish line extended diagonally across the chest, meeting a horizontal one extending across just above the breasts. The region of the heart was marked by a blackish spot. The other figure was very rudely carved of soft white wood, and was without arms.

The figures were lying face downward on the floor of the cave, and had evidently not been disturbed for months, as roots were growing over them, and the wood was beginning to decay.

No information in regard to the use of the images could be obtained. Everybody questioned by Dr.

Abbott denied the existence of such things, not knowing that Dr. Abbott had already found them.

No true Malays live on the island, and all the inhabitants eat pig.

Dr. Abbott concludes, I think quite rightly, that these images cannot be regarded as true "bérhala" or idols, and that most probably they are a form of scape-goat ("sakat buang") for use in sickness. Dr. Abbott adds that when an Orang Laut is ill, a wooden figure of a bird, snake, fish, or other animal is made, and as soon as the medicine-man ("pawang" or "bomor") has exorcised the demon ("hantu") in the sick man, and has driven it into the figure, the latter is then carried out to sea and thrown overboard. In the same locality (during the previous year) Dr. Abbott picked up the floating image of a bird. Very likely (says Dr. Abbott) these human images were similarly used. They resemble the "adu-adu" of the Nias Islands.

To this (already mentioned) testimony I may add my own, for I myself once picked up on the Kuala Langat coast, close to the regular haunts of the local group of Orang Laut or Bēsisi, a large wooden figure representing a coconut-monkey or "b'ro." As in the case of Dr. Abbott's specimens every kind of information was rigidly withheld, but in view of these later discoveries, I have now little or no doubt that my own specimen should be explained in the same way. As somewhat analogous, I may add that at a shrine on the Bird's Nest Islands in the remarkable "Inland Sea" (Tălē Săp) of Singora, visited by the Cambridge expedition under my guidance in 1899, a (human) image of wood occupied a central position, between the skull of a rhinoceros and that of a crocodile (this,
however, being the nearest approach to an idol that I have seen among the natives of the entire Peninsula, offerings of edible bird's-nests and broken clay images of animals, etc., being placed before it). During the same expedition, at a later date, I picked up on the river bank near Jambu in Jering (one of the seven modern subdivisions of Patani) a large wooden elephant (with mahout), which had been used, in place of the more usual "lanchang" or spirit-boat, during the ceremony of casting the spirits of evil out of the village in the preceding year.

Summary.

As is evident from the foregoing, the religions of these native tribes are made up of mixed elements, in which native notions greatly preponderate and form the basis, with details from Indian and Mohammedan sources superadded. (For the former see especially p. 176, ante.) Much of the Indian element seems to have been introduced direct, but some of it also appears to have come through an Indo-Chinese channel, though the exact manner of its introduction is still uncertain, in view of the vagueness of our knowledge of the early history of the Peninsula.

A detailed comparison is outside the scope of the present work, but still it has to be largely kept in view in forming an estimate of the extent to which even these rude jungle tribes have been influenced by their more "civilised" neighbours in the obscure twilight of their unrecorded past.
CHAPTER I.

PRESENT STATE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

The languages spoken by the aboriginal tribes of the Malay Peninsula present various problems of uncommon interest as well as of exceptional difficulty. They are split up into a large number of dialects, all of which are of course unwritten, as these tribes have never attained to the level of civilisation which a knowledge of the art of writing implies; and in the greater part of the Peninsula each of these dialects is confined to a relatively small area, and it often happens that a little clan, or even a single family, uses a form of speech which, though more or less related to the dialects of its neighbours, is nevertheless sufficiently differentiated from them to be practically unintelligible to all except the members of the little community itself.

A necessary consequence of this state of things (which itself results from the natural segregation of the tribes into small clans nowadays to some extent cut off from one another and surrounded by settled Malay communities) is that most of the aboriginal dialects are now, and have been for some generations past, in

1 In the neighbourhood of Malacca a few individuals have been taught to read and write by the Roman Catholic missionaries; but Newbold’s hearsay statement (op. cit. vol. ii. p. 417), that some of the Perak tribes write on leaves, remains unconfirmed.

process of decay. Being of no use except for the very restricted intercourse for which they serve, they have hardly ever been thoroughly learnt either by Europeans, Chinese, Malays, or even, it may be supposed, by members of other tribes or clans: and nearly all communication between the aborigines and the outside world has therefore, for a considerable time past, been carried on in the general lingua franca of the Peninsula, that is to say, in Malay, more or less modified by the national and personal idiosyncrasies of the speaker.

Accordingly, in such parts of the Peninsula as have been at all exposed to outside influences, the dialects of the aborigines have for some generations been maintaining a precarious existence in constant competition with the invading Malay language, and in some parts they are now almost entirely superseded by it. All the dialects, so far as they are known to us, contain a considerable, though very varying, proportion of Malay loan-words, and the number of these is daily increasing. There can be no doubt that this tendency has been accentuated of late years by the establishment of peace and order in the Peninsula. The aborigines, who, in many districts, were formerly hunted like wild beasts, and whose well-founded distrust and fear of their Malay neighbours kept them in the jungles, have now learnt that the existing government will protect them. The consequence is that they now often visit Malay villages for purposes of trade and barter, and naturally they learn to speak Malay and imitate Malay customs.\(^1\) The number of aborigines who are thus bilingual, having learnt enough Malay to carry on a limited conversation on

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\(^1\) Cf. Luering in *J.R.A.S., S.B.*, No. 35, pp. 91, 92.
ordinary subjects, must be increasing in most districts, even where the tribes to which they belong are stationary or dwindling in numbers.

The way is thus being prepared for the gradual absorption of these wild tribes by their more civilised neighbours, and it must not be forgotten that this process is for them really a rise in the social scale, so that they are under a constant temptation to cast themselves adrift from all that is most characteristic in their customs and language. Accordingly there is a strong tendency for these dialects to die out and to be replaced by a Malay patois, differing little from ordinary Malay.

This process of assimilation, though accelerated in recent times, has been at work for several generations, and in the extreme south of the Peninsula it has reached such a pitch that almost all the dialects of that region are now practically obsolete. Already in the middle of the last century, when Logan\(^1\) made his exploratory journey through Johor, he found that the Jakun aborigines of that State used Malay even in speaking amongst themselves, and that the only traces left of their extinct dialects were a broad and rather uncouth pronunciation of Malay, a few words which appeared to be survivals of their older tongue, and a peculiar, half-artificial jargon used by them while engaged in the search for certain jungle products (especially camphor), when the use of their ordinary Malay vernacular was for the time being tabooed.\(^2\)

Miklucho-Maclay,\(^3\) Hervey,\(^4\) Lake and Kelsall,\(^5\)

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\(^1\) *J.I.A.* vol. i. p. 289.
\(^3\) *J. R. A. S.*, *S. B.*, No. 1, p. 39.
and Machado,\textsuperscript{1} who have since Logan's time reported on these southern tribes, all agree with his account of their condition in the matter of language.

Similarly Emeric\textsuperscript{2} states that the Sakai along the Klau river in Pahang speak only Malay, with "a faint 
soupçon of the guttural brogue that enables one to recognise aborigines within earshot, even if dressed like Malays and speaking Malay"; and Clifford, in his manuscript notes communicated to me, records having met a clan of Sakai between Tras and Bentong, in the same part of Pahang, who spoke only Malay even amongst themselves, and explained it by claiming to be descended from a Rawa\textsuperscript{3} Malay ancestor, who, being invulnerable from his birth, could not be circumcised and had therefore to go and live in the jungle with the wild aborigines. No doubt the legend was invented to account for the fact of their speaking only Malay, but curiously enough some members of the clan were themselves circumcised, though it is not stated (and does not appear likely) that they were converts to Islam.

So too Lawder\textsuperscript{4} in 1887 wrote, with reference to Kuala Selangor, that the very few Sakai in that district spoke only Malay; and about the same time Turney\textsuperscript{5} wrote of the Klang Sakai, that they themselves asserted that their language was Malay. Similar statements have also been made as to the Ulu Selangor Sakai.\textsuperscript{6}

Yet words have been recorded quite recently in the last-named district which prove that the old dialects

\textsuperscript{1} J.R.A.S., S.B., No. 38, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{2} Calcutta Review, January 1904, No. ccxxxv. p. 59.
\textsuperscript{3} I believe these Rawa people come from an inland region in Sumatra, situate about lat. 0° 40' S., long. 100° E. (of Greenwich), adjoining the Mandeling Batak country.
\textsuperscript{4} Sel. Journ. vol. iii. p. 224.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.  \textsuperscript{6} Ibid. vol. v. p. 398.
are not entirely extinct there; and the present writer can vouch for the fact that some at least of the Klang aborigines speak a dialect closely allied to, if not identical with, Besisi, for he obtained similar words to the Malacca Besisi, which he knew, from a planter whose acquaintance with Sakai was limited to a few words of the dialect of some of the aboriginal coolies employed on his estate near Klang.

In fact, the assertion that a particular clan of aborigines speaks Malay exclusively is often rashly made on evidence which really only goes to show that the members of it all know Malay, but does not negative their having a special dialect of their own as well. The aborigines like to be thought civilised, and are extremely shy of displaying any of their tribal characteristics to an outsider who may be unsympathetic. Moreover, in the south of the Peninsula the matter is complicated by the fact that there may often be some doubt whether what is spoken by the aborigines is really a roughly pronounced form of Malay or a closely allied dialect of separate development, influenced by, but not directly derived from, the civilised Malay language of the country.

Nevertheless the process of decay which these dialects are undergoing is now in most parts of the Peninsula advancing at such a rate as to justify the presumption that in a few generations there will be little or nothing left of them, except, possibly, in the two or three remote tracts where at present bilingualism has hardly begun to appear.

It follows that any research that is to be made into these peculiar forms of speech, must be made at once before the inevitable extinction with which they are threatened makes all further collection of materials
for ever impossible. These tribes, surrounded as they are by men of different faiths and alien races who despise them and regard them as little better than brute beasts, have no recorded history; barely a few allusions to their mere existence are to be found in Malay literature, and practically nothing whatever is on record that can throw any light on their origin and antecedents. It is to their physical structure, their customs, and above all to their languages that we must turn if we would gain any insight into their past.\(^1\)

Such is the somewhat pathetic interest which attaches to the languages of these forest-dwellers; and though the study of them is not likely to be of practical use to any living soul, yet, embracing as they do the modes of speech of some of the least developed and most thoroughly wild and uncivilised members of our race, it is perhaps natural that they should form a fascinating subject of inquiry.

Apart from this, however, they are of considerable importance in relation to the study of language in general, and of the languages of South-eastern Asia in particular, for they are connected in a peculiarly intricate way with several groups of these languages, some of which have hitherto been almost entirely neglected or at least very inadequately studied. Situated at the extreme end of a vast continent, these "aboriginal" tribes of the Malay Peninsula represent the *disjecta membra* of several distinct portions of the human race, and their languages are a curious blend of the most strangely amalgamated constituents.

\(^1\) Cf. Logan, *J. A. A.* vol. i. pp. 290, 291.
Classification and Distribution.

Before, however, dealing with this point, it will be advisable to explain how the different dialects are distributed within the Peninsula, and to give some few specimens of the differences which exist between them. The terms Semang, Sakai, and Jakun will not be used in this section of the work to indicate merely the languages spoken by the tribes which anthropologically fall under these respective divisions as defined in Part I. of this work, but will bear a more strictly linguistic meaning. In arranging the materials which are embodied in the Comparative Vocabulary appended to this volume, it soon became evident that there was a typical Semang group of dialects, best represented by the speech of the aborigines in Central Kedah and the adjoining state of Raman, and contrasting strongly with a typical Sakai group, of which the best specimens came from Southern Perak and the adjoining parts of Pahang. These two types clearly differed in some important points, of which the most obvious were a considerable divergence in phonology, and the existence in the Semang type of a whole series of quite common words which appeared to be entirely absent in the Sakai type. Around these strongly contrasted types have been grouped the intermediate and outlying dialects, and thus the dialects of the north and centre of the

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1 This classification has been admirably done by Schmidt in his excellent article "Die Sprachen der Sakei und Semang auf Malacca und ihr Verhältnis zu den Mon-Khmer-Sprachen," in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 6th Series, Part 8 (Part 52 of the whole), pp. 528-537, which for the first time established on purely linguistic grounds the existence of a Semang group distinct from the Sakai group.

The new material given in the present work confirms and justifies Schmidt's classification in its main lines, while extending it in some particulars.
Peninsula have fallen more or less satisfactorily into a series of groups and subdivisions.

In the south there are not the same clear distinctions; for reasons which have already been in part indicated, there is no such good representative of the Jakun type as still exist in the case of Sakai and Semang. Nevertheless, the remaining dialects of the Peninsula have been classified and will be referred to as Jakun, both for convenience and because they may be ultimately derived from a common stock, and are at any rate distinct from both the Sakai and Semang types.

The pages of the Comparative Vocabulary will amply illustrate the leading differences which exist between these types; but for convenience, and as some indication of the divergences which occur, I here subjoin a short list of words which will serve as a specimen.¹

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<th>Semang</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ant</td>
<td>kēso’</td>
<td>läish</td>
<td>pha’</td>
<td>mērēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>kāwōd</td>
<td>chēp</td>
<td>sābu</td>
<td>burong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>wong</td>
<td>kēnon</td>
<td>chaāi</td>
<td>enek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>kēto’</td>
<td>jīsh</td>
<td>sēri</td>
<td>hari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egg</td>
<td>mākā’</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>buntat</td>
<td>kēpoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>begjag</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>rāyap</td>
<td>ikan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>chās</td>
<td>tōkə</td>
<td>rāwet</td>
<td>tangan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>ekob</td>
<td>tāju</td>
<td>līlīh</td>
<td>ular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunder</td>
<td>kārē</td>
<td>ēngkuh</td>
<td>ābū</td>
<td>gērēntah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tooth</td>
<td>nyus</td>
<td>lēmoṅ</td>
<td>chērāh</td>
<td>gigi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>tom</td>
<td>tēu</td>
<td>par</td>
<td>ayer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ It must be understood that these words are selected, in some cases, from a number of variants, for which reference can be made to the Comparative Vocabulary. The list is intended to be typical, but by no means exhaustive. Further, it often happens that the “Sakai” word appears (generally with some modification of form) in a number of Semang and Jakun dialects; while there are several series of words, belonging to several distinct families of speech which run more or less through all three groups, These will be discussed later; the above short list merely illustrates a few of the verbal differences between the groups.

In view of the apparent internal diversity of the Jakun group, it is here represented by two lists.
SKETCH MAP showing the distribution of the Languages of the Aborigines of the Malay Peninsula.

The small circles indicate the chief ascertained Localities where vocabularies have been recorded.

Approximate boundaries of groups and subdivisions are marked, and outlying dialects underlined, thus:

Semang — Sakai — Jakun
SKETCH MAP showing the distribution of the Languages of the Aborigines of the Malay Peninsula.

The small circles indicate the chief ascertained Localities where vocabularies have been recorded. Approximate boundaries of groups and subdivisions are marked, and outlying dialects underlined, thus.

Semang — Sakai — Jakun
As a matter of fact, the relations which exist between these different types are exceedingly complex, and cannot be satisfactorily discussed without referring to the other families of speech in South-eastern Asia with which the dialects of the Peninsula are connected, or by which they have been modified. But before entering into the consideration of these difficult problems, it is desirable to explain the geographical distribution of the dialects, and to indicate at the same time the subdivisions into which they fall; for these subdivisions, though based on linguistic data, do in fact agree to a considerable extent with the territorial arrangement and geographical relations of the several tribes.

Roughly speaking, then, the dialects fall into groups which correspond, though not accurately, with the anthropological varieties of the aboriginal races. In the north of the Peninsula are the Semang dialects (called on the eastern side of the main mountain range by the name of Pangan); in the centre the Sakai; and in the south the very mixed and broken-down dialects which are here grouped as Jakun.¹

**Semang.**—The Semang dialects, including those of the Pangan tribes, are spoken in an irregular tract extending from at least as far north as lat. 6° 30'² to about lat. 5° 5' on the western side of the Perak river, and about lat. 4° 45' on the eastern side of the main range in the States of Kelantan and Trengganu; and lying between longs. 100° 40' (though a century ago

¹ A reference to the map here given will illustrate the relative position of these groups. The boundary lines drawn on the map merely indicate roughly their limits as evidenced by the actual data of dialects recorded. It is quite possible that others exist outside these lines, while within them some of the recorded dialects may have become extinct.
² Except where otherwise stated, all latitudes are north. All longitudes are east of the Greenwich meridian.
the limit was near the actual coast-line, about long. 100° 20' and 102° 45'. Outlying members of the group have been recorded beyond these limits: Miklucho-Maclay¹ heard of Negritos, presumably Semang-speaking ones, though nothing is said on that point, as far north as the mountains of Patalung (probably about lat. 7° 35', long. 99° 45'), and he also saw two captured boys of that race in the house of the Raja Muda of Singgora. Again, Warrington Smyth² states that a small tribe of about four hundred Negritos inhabit the district of Chaiya (lat. 9° 20', long. 99°), but he too says nothing as to their language; on the other hand, Clifford records the presence of a single Semang-speaking family, apparently not of pure Negrito stock, as far south as Sadang (lat. 4° 30', long. 100° 53'), and in Pahang, though no specimens of their dialects have been recorded, it is probable that a few Pangans wander at least as far south as this, if not farther.³

Throughout almost the whole of its very extended range, the Semang language is curiously uniform as compared with the Sakai. This may with much probability be ascribed to the relatively more nomadic life of the Negritos, which leads them over a considerable tract of country, keeps up communication among the several clans, and checks the process of local differentiation. There is no clear linguistic line of demarcation between Semang and Pangan; in fact, the Semang speech of Central Kedah and the Pangan of Southern Kelantan, though more than 120 miles

³ Emeric reports, on the authority of Frost, District Officer, Pekan, that they go as far as Pulau Tawar (lat. 3° 51', long. 102° 27'), and a pén-ghulu informed Emeric that they were to be found on the tributaries of the Semantan (about lat. 3° 30' or 3° 40', I presume); but this awaits confirmation.
apart, resemble one another more closely than do some Sakai dialects which are near neighbours.

The following short list, which could be considerably amplified if necessary, will suffice to illustrate this close resemblance:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semang of Kedah</th>
<th>Pangan of Kelantan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>beltek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>chas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lip</td>
<td>tenuad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoulder</td>
<td>klapah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stomach</td>
<td>chong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>balog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunder</td>
<td>kaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beltek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tenoyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>klapah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>balu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, the Semang and Pangan dialects have a long border-line where they march with members of the neighbouring Sakai group, and on both sides of that line there has been some intermixture and mutual influence. While all Semang dialects, so far as at present recorded, have many words in common with Sakai, several of the Semang dialects near the Sakai border, especially the dialects of the Plus and Galas valleys, contain a few Sakai words and forms which do not occur in the more typical Semang further to the north. But this is only what might have been expected, and it does not amount to much.

In a few instances the Pangan dialects seem to prefer a different word from the Semang; but in such cases it usually happens that one or both synonyms occur also in Sakai:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cold</th>
<th>Semang</th>
<th>Pangan</th>
<th>Sakai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hangit</td>
<td>tengked</td>
<td>sengat, dekat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>mabe</td>
<td>yalu</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot</td>
<td>pedih</td>
<td>bekud</td>
<td>bekat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>bctu, ho, gel</td>
<td>tom</td>
<td>tctu, hong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
show that the Semang dialect of the Plus is distinct from the Sakai dialect of the same valley:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semang of Plus</th>
<th>Sakai of Plus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Big</td>
<td>böö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>wong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>'od</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>böded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To give</td>
<td>eg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even when, as in the last instance, the Semang and Sakai languages use the same word, there are, as a rule, characteristic differences of form which show that the phonetic tendencies of the two races diverge considerably. The following are a few instances:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semang</th>
<th>Sakai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>iyeng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>med</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>chan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaf</td>
<td>hali'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>kēche'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin</td>
<td>kēti'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tail</td>
<td>hatek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorn</td>
<td>hili'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>litl'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Low-country Semang.**—A more substantial exception to the general uniformity of the Semang language consists in a small group of dialects, now probably extinct, but formerly spoken in the extreme south of Kedah and in the upper part of the valley of the Krian, the boundary river between the States of Kedah and Perak. This little subdivision seems to correspond with the Semang Paya, or low-country Semang, of Anderson and others; and, in spite of its probably very limited range, it appears to have constituted a distinct subdivision of the Semang family, for it sometimes differs from the other dialects even when these agree with one another. It appears to

\(^1\) Perhaps this should be chuō.
have more words in common with Sakai than the typical Semang has; thus for "hand," it uses tong, Sakai tök⁵, instead of the typical Semang chas; and yet it occasionally has a different term where most of the other Semang dialects have a word corresponding with the Sakai equivalent, e.g. "ear," pol (pul, pun) as compared with the usual Semang ōntōng (inteng, anting), Sakai kěntok (ntāk, etc.). Sometimes, though it has the same term, it differs somewhat in form, e.g. "to eat," chio', as against the usual Semang chi', Sakai cha'; "shoulder," kapuch (kapweh), as against klapeh (klapōh), Sakai gēlpāul, etc.

Pangan-speaking Sakai.—Included among the more typically Semang dialects are two, collected by Clifford in the Lebir valley in Kelantan, and the Kerbat in Trengganu respectively, which are spoken by tribes whom the collector, a careful observer, describes as being physically Sakai. If that is so, it is clear that these tribes must have adopted the speech of their Negrito neighbours, or they may have been originally Negritos whose physical type has been modified by crossing with a Sakai strain.

Sakai-speaking Negritos.—Conversely, the Negritos of the region of Kenderong, Kenering, Sungei Piah, and Temongoh (or between lats. 5° 25' and 5° 5', and longs. 101° and 101° 20') in Northern Perak speak dialects which, though containing a few Semang words, must nevertheless be classed as Sakai. In this district it is evident that the Sakai speech has encroached at the expense of Semang, a view supported by Semang tradition, which, according to Clifford, lays claim to Mt. Korbu (lat. 4° 41', long. 101° 20'), as being part of the old Semang territory.

It will be noticed that, with slight exceptions in
Perak (and formerly Province Wellesley), all the Semang dialects hitherto recorded are comprised within the States politically subject to the Siamese suzerainty; that is to say, Kedah, Raman, Jalor, Teluban (or Sai), Lige, Kelantan, and Trengganu.

Sakai.—The Sakai group occupies the central mountain tract of the Peninsula, with the headwaters of its principal rivers, and extends, approximately, from long. 101° in Perak to long. 103° in Pahang, and, on the western side of the main range, in Northern Perak, from lat. 5° 25', and, on the eastern side of the range, from lat. 4° 50', to lat. 2° 25', approximately, where it ends in a few outlying and obsolescent dialects on the Pahang-Johor border. Almost the whole of the group is comprised within the limits of the Federated Malay States under British protection; that is to say, Perak, Pahang, Selangor, and the Negri Sembilan.

With such a wide range it is not surprising that this group of dialects should be characterised by considerable internal diversity, especially when it is born in mind that the tribes which speak them are for the most part broken up into small clans inhabiting the upper parts of valleys in a mountainous country, and to some extent confined each to its own little district. Unlike the Semang tribes, the greater part of the Sakai clans are no longer engaged merely, or even mainly, in hunting and in gathering wild fruit. They tend to settle down into small temporary villages, and to practise a rude kind of agriculture;

1 The only exceptions I know of are the Sakai of the Nenggiri valley in Kelantan, a straggling tribe in the Ketiar valley in Trengganu, another which occasionally resorts to the head-waters of the Dungun river in the same state, a few Besisi in Malacca, and the above-mentioned tribes along the northern frontier of Johor.
and though they do, from time to time, change the location of their clearings, it is probable that they hardly ever shift into a valley inhabited by another clan, for such an act would be regarded as a form of trespass; nor are they always on perfectly friendly terms with their neighbours.

Apart from this, the Sakai group borders on two long frontier lines with the Semang and Jakun groups, both of which, especially the latter, it overlaps and has probably encroached on, so that it is in part made up of dialects which have retained or absorbed elements derived from one or both of these two alien sources.

It is only, therefore, in a relatively small tract, approximately between lats. 4° 30' and 4°, and longs. 101° 15' and 102°, that the really typical Sakai is spoken; while just to the north of this is another region, extending to the Semang - Sakai frontier, where the dialects, besides differing in some other respects from their southern neighbours, are evidently somewhat affected by Semang, and appear to be spoken by tribes of mixed descent, with a considerable though varying percentage of Negrito blood.

The map here given shows with sufficient precise-

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1 Leech in J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 4, p. 29, says: "The common idea that they wander at large over all the hills is certainly a mistake; each particular tribe keeps exclusively to its own valley . . . their habits are migratory in their own districts, but . . . they seldom leave their own valley."

2 Leech, loc. cit., speaks of them as being frequently at feud with their neighbours on either side. I do not think, however, that actual fighting occurs nowadays, if it ever did.

3 The Semang influence is more traceable in their phonology than in their vocabulary; but they have a few special words (which do not seem to occur in Central Sakai) in common with Semang; e.g. "alive," goish, Tembi; goš, Sakai of Korbü; "arrow," loig, Sakai of Plus; "bow," ñg, Sakai of Plus; "pig," napaz, Semang (so-called, but really Sakai) of Kenering; for which compare the Pangan gas; Semang loig (and loy;), ñg, and napaz. This last appears to be a typically Semang word, being recorded only in dialects that are undoubtedly Semang and two others that adjoin the Semang area.
ness the localities where the chief Sakai dialects have been recorded in the central region where these two subdivisions adjoin. This is described by Clifford as
the one true Sakai district of the Peninsula, the only permanent inhabitants being all of aboriginal race, and comprises the headwaters of the rivers Jelai, Telom and Serau in Pahang, Batang Padang, Bidor, Kampar and Plus in Perak, and Galas\(^1\) and Nenggiri in Kelantan.

**Northern and Central Sakai.**—I shall call the two subdivisions of the Sakai group which are represented in this region by the names Northern and Central Sakai, which correspond respectively to the Tēm-be' and Sēn-oi of Clifford, who was the first to point out the distinction between them.\(^2\) They are separated by a line\(^3\) drawn from the neighbourhood of Blanja (lat. 4° 30', long. 100° 55') on the Perak River, in the direction of east by a little north, passing between Ipoh and Gopeng, then north of the Sungai Raya valley but south of Tanjong Rambutan, Ulu Kinta, and Mt. Korbu (and probably of Mt. Chabang) to the Serau valley in Pahang, across which it seems to run somewhere about lat. 4° 35'. According to Clifford, the line continues to Kuala Nenggiri, lat. 4° 45', long. 101° 53', but I have no data as to the nature of the dialect spoken by the relatively numerous Sakai population of the Nenggiri valley; probably it falls into the northern subdivision of the Sakai group.

The dialects of Blanja, Sungai Raya, and the Serau valley are border dialects falling into the central subdivision; those of Tanjong Rambutan, Ulu Kinta, Korbu, and the dialect specifically called Tembe' (or Tembi) are their immediate neighbours.

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\(^1\) Part at least of the Galas valley is inhabited by Semang-speaking aborigines.


\(^3\) This is Clifford's line, slightly modified, and with additional detail supplied from more recent data. It is noticeable that this line cuts straight across the main mountain range of the Peninsula and has no relation to any political or physiographical frontier.
on the north; and it is certain that Northern Sakai is unintelligible to the clans speaking the central dialects,\(^1\) just as Semang is unintelligible to the Northern Sakai.

To the south the Central Sakai extends continuously as far as the Slim valley in Southern Perak, probably about lat. 3° 50', after which there is a gap in the record, the only other known specimen to the southward being the dialect of the Orang Tanjong, or "men of the river reaches," in the Ulu Langat district of Selangor, about lat. 3° 10', long. 101° 50'. As to this outlying clan, one can only wonder how it got so far away from the main body to which it belongs and from which it is now separated by tribes speaking dialects of a different type.

**Southern Sakai.**—The tract of country extending from lat. 3° 15' or thereabouts to about lat. 2° 25', and between longs. 101° 20' and 103° 15', is pre-eminently a mixed district inhabited by a motley crowd of tribes, some of Sakai and others of Jakun speech. Some aborigines in this region (e.g. the Besisi) speak Sakai, but are physically Jakun, and *vice versa* some (e.g. the Belandas) appear to be of Sakai origin, though they do not speak Sakai dialects. This puzzle may perhaps be in part explained by the habit which these clans have of seeking their wives from a stock different from their own; anyhow, it is a very mixed district.

With the exception of the Ulu Langat dialect mentioned above, the Sakai dialects here spoken constitute a distinct southern subdivision which is more allied to the Central than to the Northern Sakai, but is quite distinguishable from both. They are best represented by the Besisi of Southern Selangor and

---

\(^1\) Luering, *J. R. A. S.*, S. B., No. 35, p. 92; Clifford, *I. C.*
the Negri Sembilan (especially Sungei Ujong), a scattered tribe speaking a relatively uniform dialect, and extending even into the British territory of Malacca. Other cognate dialects have been recorded in the Serting valley of the Negri Sembilan, the Bera valley in South Pahang; and also on the Upper Palong and Endau (or Indau) in Northern Johor, where, however, they are obsolescent, if not extinct.

This southern subdivision of Sakai can be further split up into two subgroups, a south-western and a south-eastern one, the former comprising, in addition to Besisi, the dialect of the Orang Bukit (“hill men”) of Ulu Langat and the somewhat mixed dialect collected somewhere in Selangor by Daly, the latter subgroup including the remaining dialects just mentioned, and perhaps also the so-called Beduanda dialect of Chiong in Johor, which, despite a considerable Jakun element, seems to have a larger percentage of words in common with Sakai than with the Jakun dialects with which its name would incline one to classify it. Of the occasional differences that justify this division of Southern Sakai into two subgroups the following words (not all of which are really of genuine Sakai origin) may serve as specimens:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South-western Subgroup</th>
<th>South-eastern Subgroup</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Besisi</strong></td>
<td><strong>Beduanda of Chiong</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sering</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bera</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ulu Indau</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>hěntok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belly</td>
<td>čôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>mǎt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>dong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>dōo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>gadó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Besisi collected at Nyalas (Malacca) has *yök*.  
\(^2\) Also in Ulu Palong.  
\(^3\) Also in Ulu Palong. The Ulu Indau dialect also has *diau*; Orang Hutan of (Northern) Johor, *diau*.  

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Occasionally the south-eastern subgroup has forms more nearly akin to those of the other Sakai subdivisions than the Besisi equivalents: e.g. "big," Serting thoï, Senoi ēntoi, but Besisi kadui; "nail," Serting chërōs, Korbu cheros, Orang Tanjong of Ulu Langat chinros, Besisi kokāt (a Malayan word common in the Jakun dialects). But, as a general rule, the two subgroups agree pretty closely together.

Probably all the tribes of this southern subdivision know Malay and speak it pretty frequently, and their dialects have been much mixed with Malay and Jakun elements. Dealing, as we often have to do, with mere lists of words without specimens of sentences or grammatical information, it is impossible to draw a hard-and-fast line here between Sakai dialects and Jakun, as the two seem to have influenced each other to a considerable extent, and many mixed vocabularies are recorded.

**Eastern Sakai.**—Returning now to the northward, we find in Pahang, to the east of the central subdivision, a number of dialects scattered over a tract extending between lats. 4° 40' and 3° 30', and longs. 102° and 103° approximately. The dialects here recorded, which I have classed, somewhat tentatively, as the eastern subdivision of Sakai, fall into two subgroups, viz. an inner subgroup located in Central Pahang, comprising the dialects spoken about Kuala Tembeling, Pulau Guai, Kerdau, and the Krau valley; and an outer one, consisting of the speech of the Sakai tribes of Ulu Tembeling and Pulau Besar (who also occupy or resort to Ulu Dungun in Trengganu), and of the Sakai of Ulu Cheres in Ulu Kuantan.

---

1 A vagrant branch of the Krau tribe has wandered to the Ketiar valley in Trengganu, about lat. 5° 10' to 5°, long. 102° 35' to 102° 40'.
Both these subgroups, though having much in common with Central Sakai, occasionally favour the Northern type. They both contain a sprinkling of Semang words, which thus extend much further south in the eastern part of the Peninsula than they do on the western side of the main mountain range. It is curious, for instance, to note that whereas, for instance, in Perak the word for “sun” is the Sakai madysis (mat jīsh) as far north as lat. 5° 25' at least, in Pahang the Semang mat kētor (kētā probably) extends as far south as the Krau valley in lat. 3° 40'.

The outer subgroup also approximates in some particulars towards the Southern Sakai, e.g. “belly,” lēpoch, Ulu Cheres; cf. lēput, Bera; lēpot, Serting; lopot, Ulu Indau, as against the typical Sakai, kut: “sun,” mothri, Ulu Tembeling; cf. mothri, Ulu Palong, as against the typical Sakai mat jīsh: “tongue,” lēpes, Ulu Tembeling; lēpeh, Ulu Cheres; cf. lēpās, Serting; lipes, Ulu Indau; typical Sakai, lēntāk: “to climb,” yāl, Ulu Tembeling; hīal, Ulu Cheres; cf. yal, Besisi and Serting; typical Sakai, hūt: “to go,” suak, Ulu Tembeling; chūak, Ulu Cheres; cf. swag, Ulu Indau; chok, Besisi; this word apparently occurs also in the other Sakai subdivisions, and in Semang and Pangan, but the typical Sakai work is chip. As the above instances indicate, the connection is mainly with the south-eastern subgroup of Southern Sakai, while some of the words also occur in the Jakun dialects of the same region and possibly

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1 Perhaps this Semang element is traceable even in the Southern subdivision of Sakai, but the instances are not numerous, and it is not quite certain that they are specifically Semang words: e.g. “banana,” keikei, Ulu Palong; kukeau, Semang: “mouth,” nut, Ulu Indau; snut, Orang Hutan of Johor (2nd list); tênut, Semang: “nest,” gisūm, Besisi of Kuala Langat; kēsun, Bera; sum, sam, Semang; enso, Semang (really Sakai) of Kuala Kenering.
a few of them are Jakun loan-words, not originally Sakai at all.

With all this internal diversity, the two subgroups have perhaps enough in common, and are sufficiently distinct from the other forms of Sakai, to justify their inclusion in a subdivision of their own. In spite of their foreign elements they are undoubtedly Sakai dialects, though of a mixed and somewhat degenerate type.

I append a few words illustrating the sort of resemblances and differences which exist between the four subdivisions of the Sakai group:—

Comparative List illustrating the Main Types of Sakai.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ant</td>
<td>las</td>
<td>läish</td>
<td>pos</td>
<td>pëtom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>télui</td>
<td>télai</td>
<td>hëntok</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big</td>
<td>mêm(^2)</td>
<td>éntoi</td>
<td>kadui</td>
<td>mënä(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>cháp, chêm</td>
<td>chëp</td>
<td>chëm</td>
<td>chëm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>kuod, kôn</td>
<td>kénön</td>
<td>kénön</td>
<td>iwa', t énkön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>iis</td>
<td>jish</td>
<td>chóhoi</td>
<td>këtor, tëngngi, bri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>chuo</td>
<td>cho'</td>
<td>chau</td>
<td>cho'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egg</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>pélök(^a)</td>
<td>këpoh(^3)</td>
<td>ëntap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>mät</td>
<td>mät</td>
<td>mät, mot</td>
<td>mat, mot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>juk(^n)</td>
<td>jëk(^n)</td>
<td>jëng</td>
<td>jong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>tik, ting</td>
<td>tôkñ, tôk</td>
<td>tîh, tì</td>
<td>teng, ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>dâng, dêh</td>
<td>dôkñ, dûk</td>
<td>döng, dôn</td>
<td>sët</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaf</td>
<td>sëlë</td>
<td>sëla</td>
<td>plong</td>
<td>sëla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>sënoi</td>
<td>sënoi, mai</td>
<td>mah, sëma'</td>
<td>jah, ma', sëma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many</td>
<td>bigã, kup(^n)</td>
<td>jëoi, kôp(^n)</td>
<td>'non</td>
<td>ba'łö(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>moh</td>
<td>mûtë</td>
<td>moh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>gaur</td>
<td>gau</td>
<td>këtû(^3)</td>
<td>rap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>lëntäg</td>
<td>lëntâk</td>
<td>lëpäs</td>
<td>lépes, lëntak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>âg(^4)</td>
<td>tën</td>
<td>döö, dak</td>
<td>tô, tom(^1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jakun.—The Jakun\(^5\) group now to be considered

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2. Occurs also in some Pangian dialects, e.g. mêñë, Pangan of Belimbing.
3. Perhaps a Jakun word.
4. Occurs also in low-country Semang, e.g. hôh, Semang of Juru.
5. Though for convenience I call the whole of this mass of dialects by this name, I must point out that the name Jakun is really properly applicable to the tribes falling into the Jakun subdivision of the group, and would be repudiated by all the rest.
is the most difficult one to deal with; the materials available are far more fragmentary than those which represent the Semang and Sakai groups, and no previous attempt has ever been made to classify them. The one certain thing about them is that, though they embody some words of the Sakai and Semang types, they cannot as a whole be classified in either of those groups.

The group extends as far north as the neighbourhood of Rasa in the Ulu Selangor district, lat. 3° 30', long. 101° 37', but here, so far as our information goes, there is merely an outlying patch, perhaps consisting of a single clan, severed from the main body. The next members of the group are met with about lat. 2° 50', long. 101° 30', in the Kuala Langat district of the same State. From that point it extends in scattered communities known as Belandas, Beduanda, Mentra, and Jakun (intermixed down to about lat. 2° 25' with portions of the Southern Sakai subdivision), as far as lat. 2°, long. 103° 45', approximately, in Johor. A separate subdivision, so strongly differentiated from all the rest that it ought perhaps to be formed into a distinct group by itself, is found in several localities in the Negri Sembilan, but judging by its name of Kenaboi would seem to have had its real home in Jelebu, in the valley of the Kenaboi or Kenabui river, lat. 3° 10' to 3° 5', long. 101° 58' to 102° 8' or thereabouts.

The Jakun group is thus characterised by considerable internal diversity, so that much doubt must remain whether it can be considered as a unity at all.

1 Schmidt's classification, excellent (so far as it goes) as regards the Sakai and Semang groups, fails entirely to deal with Jakun, of which, however, very scanty materials were at that author's disposal.
In the mixed district north of lat. 2° 25', being overlapped by Southern Sakai, the dialects of the Jakun group are much mixed with that form of speech; to the south of 2° 25' very few words appear that have anything in common with the Sakai group. On the other hand, throughout its whole range, the Jakun group has been so much mixed up with Malay that it is often impossible to say whether a particular dialect is to be described as Jakun much overlaid with Malay elements, or Malay embodying a few remnants of Jakun. One consequence of this state of things is that collectors of vocabularies, on the search for the non-Malayan elements in these dialects, finding that almost all words in ordinary use were obviously of Malay affinity, were driven to push their inquiries further afield, and sought for out-of-the-way words, such as the specific names of particular trees, the less known animals, and the like. As they worked independently of one another, they naturally did not all inquire about the same species, etc., and so it happens that they have left us for the most part very fragmentary, scrappy vocabularies, which offer singularly few points for comparison.¹

South of latitude 2° (with one or two exceptions which will be mentioned hereafter) it is clear that practically nothing specifically Jakun survives in the speech of the Jakuns of the interior;² and almost the same is true of the dialects of the Orang Laut who

¹ Sometimes the jungle-men in response to a request for out-of-the-way words, have evidently given words of their taboo jargon, which have thus to some slight extent crept into several of the lists.

² Thus Hervey (in 1879) found that the old Batin of the Lenggini and Sayong Jakun (lat. 1° 45' to 1° 55', long. 103° 33' to 103° 43'), a man of great age (over eighty apparently, J. R. A. S., S. E., No. 3, p. 101) had no recollection of a dialect peculiar to his own race (J. R. A. S., S. E., No. 8, p. 108). Cf. Logan, J. I. A. vol. i. p. 289.
roam about in their boats among the little archipelago of islands south of Singapore to about lat. 1° S. (where they also have a few settlements on the Sumatran coast), and who resort from time to time at least as far north as lat. 1° 50' on the west coast of Johor, and 3° amongst the islands to the east of Johor and Pahang, if not farther.

The difficulty of dealing with the dialects of this group is increased by the fact that in part of the area occupied by them, inland of an irregular line running at some few miles’ distance from the coast in South Selangor, the Negri Sembilan, and Malacca, the Malay speech by which they have been influenced is the Menangkabau dialect (from inland and western Sumatra), which differs considerably from ordinary Malay, and has never been thoroughly studied in the Peninsula. Sometimes where the Jakun dialects differ from ordinary Malay, it is merely because they have adopted words or forms from the Menangkabau Malay of their immediate Malay neighbours.

Most of the Jakun tribes, then, speak dialects which, on the face of them are Malayan: they contain only small residuary percentages of words peculiar to themselves, and it is these small residues which offer the only basis of classification.

Kenaboi subdivision.—Kenaboi is recorded only in two vocabularies, representing apparently two different dialects, both collected by Hervey, the one

1 There are also Orang Laut, known as Sekah, in Billiton. They speak a Malay dialect, but are excluded from this work by reason of their geographical position. Their name Sekah is probably not connected with Sekai, but a special form of Seku (with the meaning “clan” or “tribe”).
2 One could, of course, arrange them in a series, with the almost entirely non-Malay Kenaboi at one end, and the practically unmixed Malay of Southern Johor and the islands at the other; but that would be no real classification.
3 I neglect Vaughan-Stevens’ scanty contribution, as it contains nothing distinctive.
numbering about 200 words, the other about 80, and amounting together (as the lists have a common element) to a total of about 250 words.

The specifically Kenaboi words common to the two lists include the important words of relationship, "father," sangkat; "mother," hōpet; "child," chaāi; "elder brother," mohōtok; "younger brother," tāk; "elder sister," tēmai; "younger sister," mōjong; "father-in-law," lahik, lahik; and also the words for "ear," chēliāh, chēliok; "gibbon" (monkey), jeun, jēngon, but hardly anything else. But as their divergences are due in most cases to one of them using a Malay, Sakai, or other identifiable synonym, these differences are not perhaps a sufficient reason for refusing to classify the two lists together as allied dialects.

Assuming, then, that they constitute a unity, we have about 250 Kenaboi words to classify; and of these I find that nearly half stand quite alone; at least, I have not succeeded in tracing a connection between them and any other language whatever.

Of the remainder, excluding words of Malay affinity and a few that are related only to languages outside the Peninsula, a greater percentage appear to be connected with Sakai than with Jakun, while a small minority appear to point to Semang. But Kenaboi is so thoroughly different in its general type from both Sakai and Semang, of which two groups we have a large mass of materials available for comparison, that it cannot possibly be classed with either of them. On the other hand, the other Jakun vocabularies are, as already stated, so fragmentary.

1 Excepting the last one, these words have no certain parallels in the other dialects.
that it is not surprising that a large proportion of the fairly long Kenaboi list should be incapable of being traced in them. Confining our attention to the fifty or sixty cases where the materials available enable a comparison to be made, I find that Kenaboi agrees with one or more of the remaining Jakun dialects in about a fourth or a fifth of these cases and differs in the rest from them all, even where some of them agree together.

As there is no striking divergence in general type and phonology between Kenaboi and the other Jakun vocabularies, and as no grammatical information whatever is available that would modify the position, I leave Kenaboi as a possible Jakun subdivision. It may be that before their decay, the other Jakun dialects resembled it more than they do now: paradoxical as it may seem, Kenaboi must be regarded either as the best specimen of Jakun recorded or else as not being Jakun at all; and I doubt whether, on the existing evidence, it is possible to be quite certain as to which of these two conclusions is the right one. The Kenaboi problem awaits further investigation on the spot; the collection of a few sentences and some additional words may perhaps solve it.¹

Beduanda subdivision.—I give the name Beduanda

¹ There is another possible suggestion, namely, that the Kenaboi lists embody either (1) a mere made-up jargon, or (2) something in the nature of a taboo language. This I reject, because (1) the (partial) congruity of the two lists, which were apparently collected separately, (2) the evidently genuine nature of the Sakai element they contain, seem to me to negative the suggestion that they are merely artificial, while (3) their dissimilarity from the recorded specimens of the taboo jargons, which show considerable uniformity amongst themselves, and (4) the fact that they were collected by a most careful observer, who would have recorded their taboo character if it had existed, go some way towards excluding this hypothesis in its alternative form. It must, however, be admitted that some of the Kenaboi words do look like taboo words; but then such isolated cases also occur in Beduanda and other Jakun dialects, as already stated.
to this subdivision of the Jakun group because, besides being the name under which two or three of the dialects have been actually recorded, it is claimed as of right by the Mentra as well. I am not aware that the Belandas, who are included in this subdivision, claim the title; but they are closely connected with the other members of this subdivision, which includes, besides the Belandas of Kuala Langat and Rembau, the Beduanda of several unnamed localities of the Negri Sembilan, and the Mentra who are the leading aboriginal tribe of Malacca territory.

The dialects of all these agree together sufficiently well to warrant their inclusion in one subdivision. They contain a variable percentage of Sakai words, but the Jakun element on the whole preponderates. Into this subdivision also falls the mixed dialect collected near Rasa, which (after excluding words of doubtful connection and words of Malayan origin) consists for the most part of Jakun and Sakai in the proportion of three to two approximately. The Sakai element in this dialect is apparently related more or less to all the Sakai subdivisions; but in general the Beduanda subdivision, when it agrees with Sakai, shows most affinity with the Southern Sakai spoken in its neighbourhood.

The following words will serve to illustrate this last point:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jakun Group</th>
<th>Southern Sakai</th>
<th>Central Sakai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>maham</td>
<td>maham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ear</td>
<td>tong</td>
<td>tōng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>ūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>tija</td>
<td>tijau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>dēlong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 It is also the name of the leading Malay tribe of "land inheritors" (Mal. waris) of the Menangkabau-speaking districts of the Peninsula, and claimed by them in virtue of their alleged descent in the female line from the aboriginal lords of the soil.
I append a short list of words showing the connection between several dialects of the Beduanda subdivision, and also illustrating the existence of apparently Jakun words in the Southern Sakai subdivision, which are not found in Central Sakai:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brother, elder</td>
<td>ge’k</td>
<td>geék</td>
<td>gec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egg</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kāpo</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Gibbon,&quot; monkey (Mal. ungka)</td>
<td>timo’</td>
<td>tēmō’</td>
<td>timō’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>gēnōi</td>
<td>gēnōi</td>
<td>gēnui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister, elder</td>
<td>ga’i</td>
<td>ga’i</td>
<td>gai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiger</td>
<td>mejē</td>
<td>majī</td>
<td>mejeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yam sp. (Mal. kēladi)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>yet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Jakun subdivision.**—The dialects specifically termed Jakun are spoken by the tribes to whom this name properly belongs. With the exception of the Malacca dialect, which, though its most marked connections are with the other Jakun dialects, yet agrees occasionally with Kenaboi and Beduanda, besides having a few words apparently peculiar to itself, the Jakun dialects are found only in Johor, and are more closely related together than those of the Beduanda subdivision.  

This greater uniformity is partly due to the Jakun dialects having fewer elements in common with Sakai than the other two subdivisions in general have, though some of the Mentra dialects are also relatively free from Sakai elements.

In this subdivision, on the slender evidence of two or three words, may be classed the remnants of the

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1 The Mentra claim to be the Malacca aborigines *par excellence*, and state that the Besi belon properly to Sungei Ujong, and the Jakun to Johor. The latter, on the point being put to them, did not dispute it.

2 "Come here," *ka-kian*, Orang Laut of Galang; *kiyan*, Barok; *kiyan*,...
dialects of the Orang Laut of Singapore and the islands to the southward. Here too, so far as it embodies relics of the obsolescent Jakun dialects, falls the taboo language of the Johor Jakun, which is used apparently throughout the greater part of the interior of Johor, even by tribes that no longer retain any trace of Jakun words in their ordinary speech. But this taboo language is a very mixed product, and cannot be classified among the ordinary dialects; it must be discussed separately.

Much the same observation applies to the taboo language of the Mentra, of which, however, only very few words have been recorded. One or two of these correspond with Beduanda, to which subdivision it probably belongs: but the list is really too short to admit of classification.

I append a list of words showing the connection of the subdivisions of the Jakun group amongst themselves, and with the Johor taboo language:—

**Comparison of the Jakun Vocabularies.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Komboi Subdivision</th>
<th>Beduanda Subdivision</th>
<th>Malacca Jakun</th>
<th>Johor Jakun</th>
<th>Taboo Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cold</td>
<td>sédék</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>sedēk, siap²</td>
<td>sédék</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come here</td>
<td>iná, máchan chian</td>
<td>kiani</td>
<td>kiah, kian</td>
<td>kian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>ánum, kētok amun</td>
<td>koyok</td>
<td>koyok, mângkhor,²</td>
<td>mângkhor³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>gëntül</td>
<td>gëntäl</td>
<td>gantar,² bringkil</td>
<td>segantül</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go away</td>
<td>songsang</td>
<td>chiu</td>
<td>kiu</td>
<td>kium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>ráwet</td>
<td>kōkōt</td>
<td>kokot</td>
<td>kuko⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fingr</td>
<td>ráwet</td>
<td>kokōn</td>
<td>kukat</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kalang; kian, Jakun of Kuala Lemakau; kiani, Jakun of Malacca; but chian, chan, Belandas and Mentra. Similarly "go there," "far off," is kiyun, kiyoh, in Orang Laut and Jakun, the Beduanda subdivision having chiuin or chuin.

¹ Logan found the same taboo language in use on the Sedili, Indau, and Batu Pahat rivers. It has been traced by Hervey in the Upper Lenggriu and Madek; and by Lake and Kelsall at Kuala Lemakau on the Indau, on the Madek, and at Simpai (Ulu Batu Pahat, Sembrong).

² Bena of Newbold.

³ Cf. Sakai chô'.

⁴ Only in the short unclassed vocabulary from Tanjong Sagentaing, as to which see pp. 411, 412, infra.
### Comparative Table of Jakun Vocabularies—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kenaboi Subdivision</th>
<th>Beduanda Subdivision</th>
<th>Malacca Jakun</th>
<th>Johor Jakun</th>
<th>Taboo Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nail</td>
<td>risik</td>
<td>kokát</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>jeun, jeng'ün</td>
<td>timó', têmo' je'ún</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tawok ²</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>roit ³</td>
<td>bâgéh</td>
<td>bageh</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>sêrói</td>
<td>risim, têbong, kêtû ⁵</td>
<td>résam, ¹</td>
<td>jökot ¹</td>
<td>jokút, ⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jôngkat, chongkor, têbông, ketur ¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcupine</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>puntû, joi bêhota</td>
<td>puntu, soñoi</td>
<td>sebuntu</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainbow</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>bohuta, kawat</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhinoceros</td>
<td>têkho</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>resêki sêngkrat</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>sêngkrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spider</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>têwówoh ⁶</td>
<td>têwówoh ⁶</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Summary of Classification and Distribution.**

The principal dialects and subdialects of the aborigines of the Peninsula, so far as represented in this work, may now be grouped under the main heads mentioned above.

### I. Semang Group.

**1) Main Semang and Pangan subdivision—**

Semang dialects of Kedah (Mt. Jerai, Yan, and Siong), Ulu Selama, Ijok, Jarum,⁷ Plus, and the Jehehr (or “Sakai Tanjong”) of Temongoh; Pangan dialects of Jalor, Sai, Ulu Patani, Teliang, Belimbing, Sam, Ulu Kelantan, Lébir, Galas, Kuala Aring, Ulu Aring, and Kerbat; also the “Hill Semang” dialect of the Maxwell MS., 29 of the Royal Asiatic Society’s collection.

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1 Benna of Newbold.  
2 Cf. Semang tawôh, Sakai of Serting fàwó; cf. “spider.” Is it so called because of its long and slender limbs?  
3 Besisi zôl.  
4 Perhaps cf. Sakai changgak.  
5 Besisi ketur.  
6 Semang tawôh.  
7 The Jarum dialect might with equal propriety have been called Pangan.
(2) *Low-country Semang subdivision*:

Semang dialect of Juru, Begbie's Semang, Semang words in Newbold's Orang Benua list, and the "Swamp Semang" dialect of Ulu Krian of the Maxwell MS.

Pupier's Semang words and those of the Semang of Sadang probably come into this subdivision, but are too few to admit of classification.

II. *Sakai Group*.

(1) *Northern Sakai subdivision*—

Sakai dialects of the "Semang" of Kenderong, Grik, Kenering, and Sungai Piah, of the Po-Klo (or "Sakai Bukit") of Temongoh, of the Sakai of Plus Korb, Ulu Kinta, Tanjong Rambutan, and of the Tembe' or Tembi.

(2) *Central Sakai subdivision*—

Sakai dialects of Blanja (Lengkuas), Sungai Raya, Ulu Bertang, Ulu Kampar, Mt. Berumban, Jelai, Serau, and the Senoi of Ulu Pahang; the Sakai dialects of Chendariang, Tapah, Ulu Gedang, Sungkai, and Slim; and the dialect of the Orang Tanjong of Ulu Langat.

(3) *Southern Sakai subdivision*—

(a) *South-western subgroup*—

Daly's Selangor Sakai, the dialects of the Orang Bukit of Ulu Langat, and the Besisi of Kuala Langat (Ayer Itam and Sepang), Negri Sembilan, and Malacca.

(b) *South-eastern subgroup*—

Sakai dialects of the Bera, Serting, Ulu Palong, and Ulu Indau (and perhaps also the mixed Beduanda dialect of Chiong, Johol).
(4) Eastern Sakai subdivision—
(a) Inner subgroup—
Sakai dialects of Pulau Guai, Krau and Kuala Tembeling, of the Krau men of Ketiar (Trengganu), and of Kerdau.
(b) Outer subgroup—
Sakai dialects of the Ulu Tembeling and Ulu Cheres.

III. Jakun Group.

(1) Kenaboi subdivision—
Two Kenaboi dialects (of the Negri Sembilan).
(2) Beduanda subdivision—
Dialects of the aborigines of Rasa, Ulu Selangor, of the Belandas of the Kuala Langat district and Rembau, the Beduanda of the Negri Sembilan and the Mentra of the territory around Malacca; to which may be added the Taboo language of the Mentra.
(3) Jakun subdivision—
Dialects of the Jakun of Malacca territory, Ulu Batu Pahat, Sembrong, Simpai, Kuala Lemakau, and Madek, Johor; and of the Orang Laut of Singapore, Galang, Temiang, and Barok (of Singkep, Lingga); to which may be added the Camphor Taboo language of the Johor Jakun.

Unclassed Dialects.

There remain two unclassed dialects, spoken by the Orang Laut of Muh Island near Trang, lat. 7° 24', long. 99° 25', and the Orang Rayat of Tanjong Sagenting, Johor, lat. 1° 48', long. 102° 54', respectively. These are recorded in two lists of about a dozen words each, and too short therefore for purposes
of classification. The most that I can say of them here is that, judging from the specimens recorded, these are both Malayan languages in the wider sense. They are not merely Malay subdialects, nor do they fall under any of the subdivisions of the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula, though they have, of course, by virtue of their Malayan element, more in common with the Jakun group than with the other two. The connection of the dialect of the Orang Laut of Trang with those of the Selungs of the Mergui Archipelago (who, as not being geographically appendant to the Malay Peninsula, are excluded from the scope of this work) would be worth investigating, if a more extensive vocabulary of the Trang dialect could be obtained.

Language Frontiers.

It is impossible to say with any approach to accuracy of statement how many different dialects and subdialects are included in the classification that has been given above. The materials are in many cases too scanty, and in some too inaccurate, to serve such a purpose. Having given the main lines of classification, I think it safer to avoid problematical subdivisions, and merely to point out that there are among the dialects of the Peninsula a number of striking instances of sharply defined linguistic frontiers between contiguous but mutually unintelligible forms of speech.

Such, in the north of the Peninsula, are the border lines separating, e.g. (1) Semang from Northern Sakai,

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1 See Anderson, Selunzi of the Mergui Archipelago (1890), especially pp. 39-47, and the Selung Language Primer (1846) mentioned ibid. pp. 18, 36, of which a copy exists in the India Office Library.
(2) Pangan from the outer subgroup of Eastern Sakai, 
(3) Northern Sakai from Central Sakai.

In the south of the Peninsula the boundary lines are less definite but more numerous; for instance, the absolutely distinct dialects of the Central Sakai of the Orang Tanjong of Ulu Langat, the Southern Sakai of the Orang Bukit of the same, the Belandas and, probably, the Kenaboi, are crowded together in an area which can hardly be more than 50 miles long and 35 broad. So, too, Besisi, Mentra, and Jakun jostle one another in the 660 square miles of Malacca territory; and again between the Sakai dialects of the Upper Palong and Indau and the adjoining Jakun dialects of Johor there must have been a strong line of demarcation, which, however, is probably now obliterated by the almost total extinction of both sets of dialects.

It is worth noting that nearly all the tribes still speaking peculiar dialects live at some distance from the coast and from the main navigable rivers. The only substantial exception in our own day, among the tribes whose dialects have been classified above, are the Besisi, who are in part coast-dwellers and even sometimes go short distances by sea and have relations with the Orang Laut of the Johor coast. This state of things is probably more marked than it was about the beginning of the last century, when a Semang clan lived close to Kedah Peak and another came down into Province Wellesley (at that time a strip of land extending only four miles from the seashore). At the present day, however, nearly all the tribes are essentially landsmen, and are even more cut off from communicating with one another and the outside world by sea than they are by land.
CHAPTER II.

TABOO AND OTHER SPECIAL FORMS OF SPEECH.

The Camphor Taboo language of Johor has often been referred to. It was first dealt with by Logan,\(^1\) after him by Miklucho-Maclay,\(^2\) then by Hervey,\(^3\) and lastly by Lake and Kelsall,\(^4\) who have contributed the greater part of the materials on which our knowledge of this curious form of speech is based. Hervey has also published a few words of the taboo language used by the Mentra of Malacca territory and the surrounding region when engaged in searching for eaglewood and gold.\(^5\)

Logan appears to have regarded the taboo language as a purely artificial production; Miklucho-Maclay considered it to be a survival of the otherwise obsolete Jakun dialects, stimulated by the fact (which is in itself probable) that the more primitive and remote tribes of the interior of Johor would be the most likely both to preserve their old language and to retain an intimate knowledge of jungle-craft. His inference is that these expert camphor-gatherers found it to their pecuniary advantage to keep outside competitors at a distance by consciously setting up

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\(^1\) J. R. A. S., vol. i, pp. 263-266.
\(^3\) Ibid. No. 3, pp. 112-115; No. 8, pp. 100-102, 118; No. 9, pp. 167, 168.
\(^4\) Ibid. No. 26, pp. 39-56.
\(^5\) Notes and Queries, No. 1, pp. 8, 9, issued with No. 14 of the J. R. A. S., S. B.
a fictitious connection between successful camphor-hunting and their esoteric knowledge of the obsolescent dialects, which thus became a sort of craft mystery whereon they deliberately traded.

Hervey and Lake and Kelsall, while recognising the partly artificial character of the language, agree as to its probably embodying some relics of the old dialects, and Hervey accepts Miklucho-Maclay's rationalistic explanation of such partial survivals.

While admitting that these views go some way towards explaining the Camphor Taboo language, I do not consider them an adequate account of the whole matter. This taboo language does not stand alone in the world; in many places, especially in Eastern Asia and the Indian Archipelago, there are analogous modes of speech which throw light upon its principles of construction.

**Linguistic Taboos in General.**

The Malays have several such taboo vocabularies appropriate to different purposes; thus there is a list of words which must be used in speaking to royalty and under no other circumstances; and there are linguistic taboos applicable to fishing, fowling, mining, warfare, and other occupations, besides a "spirit language" used by magicians.\(^1\) Closely resembling these last in principle, is the Sasahara, a jargon used by the Sangirese (of the islands north of Celebes) when at sea, to conceal their plans from the malice of the water-spirits.\(^2\) Somewhat less analogous are the

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\(^1\) Skeat, *Malay Magic, passim*: the references are collected in the Index, *s. v. Language*, and specimens of the spirit language are given on p. 646.

various forms, Krama\(^1\) and Krama Inggil, of the ceremonial, or rather “high chief,” language of the Javanese,\(^2\) and the Basa Sangiang or sacred tongue in which the Balian (priestesses and dancing-girls) of the Dayaks of Borneo chant their invocations and legends;\(^3\) and there are no doubt many other more or less similar forms of speech elsewhere in the Indian Archipelago.\(^4\)

I cannot therefore agree with Hervey\(^5\) when he says that the Jakun “may \textit{prima facie} be assumed to be unequal to the coinage of a special language,” and consequently can only have turned their own old dialects to account in the search for camphor by representing to their Malay competitors in the trade that without its use all search would be unavailing. On the contrary, if (as is almost certain) the Jakun are, at least in part, of Malayo-Polynesian ancestry, the presumption would be in favour of their having inherited the widespread and therefore certainly very ancient tendency of the Malayo-Polynesian races to specialise their language in particular cases of this kind; and it is by no means certain that in this instance the process began only under the direct impulse of Malay competition. It may have been going on from a very remote epoch, when the Jakun

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\(^{1}\) Pronounced Krâmà, in accordance with a rule of Javanese phonetics, whereby final -a, and a in a previous open syllable of a word ending with -a, are sounded as a.

\(^{2}\) See especially Brandes, \textit{Bijdrage tot de Vergelijkende Klankleer der Westersche Afdeling van de Maleisch-Polynesische Taalfamilie}, pp. 79-95. Crawfurd in his \textit{Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language}, vol. i. pp. xxvii.-xxxv., gives some specimens which may be of use to English readers unacquainted with Dutch.

\(^{3}\) Hardeleland, \textit{Versuch einer Grammatik der Dajackischen Sprache}, pp. 4-6.

\(^{4}\) Brandes points out the existence of “high words” in Balinese, Madurese, Sundanese, and Bolaing-Mogondou. There are also in Sangir certain “high words,” besides the Sasahara.

dialects were still generally spoken; or even before the Malays had gained a permanent footing in the Peninsula at all, when they perhaps merely visited it temporarily as traders. The search for camphor has been going on for many centuries; it was known at least as early as the sixth century,¹ and though the best known source of supply was North-west Sumatra, it is mentioned as a product of Johor in the Chinese history of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368-1643),² and may have been found there much earlier for aught that is known to the contrary. If the taboo language was used by the Jakun while their own dialects were still commonly spoken, it cannot in its original form have been identical with their ordinary speech, but judging by the analogy of other taboo languages, it is pretty sure to have been some modification of it.

The root-idea in all these taboo languages is simple enough: it is merely the avoidance, in an indeterminate number of cases, of the ordinary everyday word, and the substitution of something different and out of the common. The primary motive is not pecuniary gain or a desire to exclude possible competitors, but a respectful fear of the superior powers, human, natural, or supernatural, as the case may be, which creates and enforces as a matter of etiquette, amounting almost to law, the use in their presence, and sometimes even when referring to them, of a special honorific terminology.³ In the case of the

2 In some parts of the world, e.g. Polynesia, South Africa, and the Nicobar Islands, there is a converse form of taboo which enjoins that the names (or parts of the names) of high chiefs, relations by marriage, or deceased ancestors must not be pronounced in common speech. This, in some languages, from time to time...
Jakun it is the Camphor-tree Spirit which has to be propitiated; and the use of the taboo jargon is only one part of the necessary ritual, which also includes abstinence from certain kinds of food, and from washing and bathing, as well as the offering of portions of each meal to the spirit. Moreover, during the camphor hunts, the taboo language must be used not only by the hunters absent in the jungle, but also by the men and women left behind in the village or settlement.\textsuperscript{1} All this points to its being a genuine traditional usage of ancient date.

\textit{Methods of Formation.}

Speaking generally, the various devices by means of which these peculiar jargons seek to avoid the forms of common speech may be classified under the following heads:—

(1) Use of an archaic form of the ordinary word, where such a "doublet" exists.

(2) Deliberate modification of form, sometimes according to a definite system, perhaps originally based on the analogy of some particular pair of "doublets," and therefore in some cases not easily distinguishable from (1).

(3) Use of a rare or obsolescent synonym, entirely distinct in form and origin from the ordinary word.

(4) Use of a synonym derived from a foreign language; sometimes this is further modified by the application of the method of (2).

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item involves the temporary or permanent abandonment of many ordinary words in favour of synonyms coined or adapted to meet these exigencies. With this form of taboo I am not otherwise concerned than to point out that it is ultimately based on the same principle as the other, viz. the deliberate severance of sacred things from things of ordinary everyday life.
\item \textit{J. R. A. S., S. R.,} No. 8, p. 103; No. 26, pp. 39, 40.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
(5) Metaphor: this again it is hard to keep quite distinct from (3).

(6) Descriptive periphrasis: a method closely allied to (5).

(7) Lastly, a secondary form of metaphor or transference of meaning, sometimes adopted when a word, already imported into the taboo language by one of the preceding methods, has its application further extended by some strained analogy to cover a number of new significations more or less allied to its primary taboo signification.

No doubt Schmidt,1 when he complains of the Malay words and "mystifications" contained in Lake and Kelsall's Camphor Taboo vocabulary, is referring particularly to the forms which may be classified under Nos. (5), (6), and (7); but this peculiar feature is a perfectly genuine characteristic of these ceremonial jargons, and not due to any caprice or error on the part of the collectors or their native informants. It serves to show that we are not entitled to treat the Camphor Taboo language as if it were an ordinary aboriginal dialect, to be judged by the same standards as any other, for it belongs to a class apart from common speech.

**Descriptive Periphrasis.**

If one may hazard a conjecture, it would seem that the adoption of descriptive periphrasis is due to the want of other material and the poverty of invention; at any rate it is by far the most widely used method.

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1 "Die Sprachen der Sakei und Semang auf Malacca und ihr Verhältnis zu den Mon-Khmer Sprachen," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 6e Volgreeks, 8e Deel, p. 404.
Thus, in the Camphor Taboo language, to give a few instances out of many, the ear is "the hearer," the eye "the seer," the nose "the sniffer," the mouth "the chewer," fire "the heater," the wind is "the blower," mat and umbrella are "the thing that unfolds," salt "the saline," pepper "the pungent thing," tapioca "the poison-wood" (some kinds, as is well known, contain a poisonous element which has to be washed out before they can be eaten), the scorpion is "the pincher," the pig is "short legs," a medicine-man is "he who sees through (or sees straight)," the goat is "the be' animal," the buffalo "the wong animal" (no doubt from their respective noises), beans are "the fruit of the climbing rattan," rice is "the fruit of grass," and so on. Similarly in the Mentra taboo language the snake is "the long animal," the elephant "the big animal," and a fish is "the glistener of the sand."

In these and many other cases the expressions are perfectly intelligible, being derived from words of Malayan affinity (though not in all cases necessarily from Malay itself). In other instances, as in pêngayal, "the intoxicator," i.e. tobacco, pêmuntol, "the white thing," i.e. silver, the root-words themselves are not obviously intelligible through the medium of Malay, but their primary sense is preserved in the Camphor Taboo language itself or in some other Jakun dialect. So too it is pretty clear that the sea is "the salty water," honey "the water of the bees," and the elephant "big bones" (or "big and stout") in one periphrasis and "the big thing" in another. Similarly "to weep" is "to have water in the seer," and thunder is "the far-sounding noise in the sky."

In other taboo jargons precisely the same method
obtains: thus in Malay mining taboo the elephant is "the tall one that turns himself about," the cat is "that which turns itself about in the kitchen," and metallic tin is "white stone"; in fishing taboo the fish are "sea-rubbish"; in war taboo a stockade is a "transverse log (or shed)"; in the spirit language, as in the Camphor jargon, a pig is "short legs," fish, as before, are "sea-rubbish," and the cat is "the kitchen tiger." Similarly in Krama iron is "the hard thing," sugar-cane "the thing with knots," the duck is "that which floats," and the pig is "the black thing" or "the low thing"; in Krama Inggil the grave is "the flowery place" (flowering shrubs being usually planted there); and in Sasahara water is "the cooler," the dog "the hunter" and "the Barker," the pig "the long-haired thing," the cat "the scratcher," the goat "the bleater," teeth are "the flashers," hair is "that which is combed," and so forth, the examples being very numerous in this particular form of speech.

Metaphor.

Instances of the use of distinctly metaphorical language are less frequent. In the Camphor Taboo the scorpion is "the hoop," the snake "the climbing rattan," hair is "leaves," a coward "the intoxicated one," and "manner" or "conduct" is "a cutting," which is seemingly derived from the idea of a line cut through undergrowth or jungle, and hence a line of conduct or mode of procedure. Similarly in the Malay spirit language the eyes are "the stars," and betel-leaf is apparently "the soaring peacock"; in the fowler's charms his nooses are called "King Solomon's necklaces and armlets," and all his apparatus is given
similar fanciful names, while the birds themselves are addressed as princesses; in mining jargon the snake is "the climbing rattan" or "the live rattan," the centipede is "turmeric," and tin-ore is "the fruit of the grass" or "the flower of the grass"; in fishing jargon the fish are "tree-leaves," the snake is, as before, "the climbing rattan" or "the live rattan," and the crocodile is a "tree-log"; and in war taboo a bullet is a "white beetle," the ball of a swivel-gun a "black beetle," a cannon is a "trunk of bamboo (or of the cotton tree)," and a cannon-ball is a "coconut." So too in Krama, it would seem that the teeth of royalty are spoken of as "steel," and the eye of a king is a "gem"; while tobacco is "the cock" (which is a curious parallel to the "peacock" mentioned above). Similarly in Krama Inggil, nasal mucus is termed "ivory."

Secondary Metaphor.

Instances of secondary metaphor are very numerous in the Camphor Taboo language; thus a word bintoh, which apparently properly means "sick," has to do duty for "to hate," "angry," "tired," and perhaps also "to fight" (bëbintoh). Another word, pënakän, serves for the allied meanings of "back," "afterwards," "waist," "rudder," and "boat-pole." A third, bisan, stands for "woman," "bird," "the camphor-spirit," and, in combination, for "cat," "mankind," "marriage," "fowl," "mother," "widow," "child," and "musket-ball," so that it is difficult to attach any more definite meaning to it than "creature," with a tendency towards "female." On the other hand, in some cases where the primary meaning is distinctly traceable, the transference is also very remote; thus kuning.
"yellow," is used for "gold," which is an obviously descriptive periphrasis, sometimes further modified in form to pëmuning or pëchen kuning, "the yellow thing." Then, apparently, the word is transferred to the meaning "debt" and "order," while its presumed derivative muning means "to buy," and another derivative bërkuning "to swear" (perhaps originally "to wager money"), and the River Mas (which in Malay means "gold") is naturally called pënguning. As the instances of this kind of secondary metaphor are collected together under their several root-words in the Comparative Vocabulary, I need not further enlarge on them here, the more so as in most cases it is not possible to be quite sure what the primary meaning of these transferred words originally was. One thing which is very noticeable is that the transfer in meaning is often accompanied by a differentiation by means of Malayan formative prefixes and infixes, and, occasionally, suffixes.

Archaisms and Synonyms.

The methods of which examples have been given account for by far the greater part of the Camphor Taboo language. Of the use of synonyms it is difficult to speak precisely. It would seem that the Malay Taboo languages resort occasionally to Arabic (e.g. këlbu, "heart," for "life"), Sanskrit (e.g. bayu, "wind"), and archaic Malay (e.g. hulu, "head"; tohok, "spear"). Krama and Krama Inggil depend largely on Sanskrit, and considerably on archaic Javanese, and perhaps also on Malay. The Basa Sangiang adds Malay words to its native archaisms, and the Sasahara contains archaic words that no longer occur in ordinary Sangirese.
The difficulty in the case of the Camphor Taboo language is that we know too little of the ordinary Jakun dialects to identify with certainty the cases where an archaic synonym may have been used in the ceremonial vocabulary. While these dialects were still in common use it is possible that the Camphor Taboo was eked out with synonyms borrowed from Malay; at any rate it seems to contain a few words like buah, "fruit," and hadap anak, "a railing to prevent children from falling down the ladders of houses" (if these are really used in the taboo language), which have nothing to distinguish them from ordinary Malay, while others, like lepen, "eight," are at any rate derived from a Malayan dialect. On the other hand, when in any given Jakun tribe the old dialect had begun to be superseded in everyday usage by Malay (or a Malayan dialect closely resembling it), any obsolescent Jakun word, of whatever origin, would become qualified for admission into the specialised taboo jargon; hence, doubtless, the acceptance in the Camphor Taboo of such words as sengkrat "rhinoceros"; siap, "cold"; jokut, "pig," and the like, which are reported to be still preserved among some of the Jakun tribes in their everyday speech. Such words are relatively few in number, and to this limited extent only can it safely be said that the taboo language represents the old Jakun dialects.

In fact, however, it becomes at this point excessively difficult to draw a hard-and-fast line between the Camphor Taboo and the obsolescent remnants of the ordinary dialects. The circumstance, remarked on by Hervey, that Miklucho-Maclay's vocabularies, which purport to represent the old ordinary language not the Camphor Taboo, nevertheless contain one or
two undeniably taboo periphrases, is to my mind not evidence, as Hervey seems to have thought, that the taboo language is a relic of the old ordinary language, but rather that the two have become mixed up, and that collectors in search of out-of-the-way words amongst a tribe which in modern times and in its everyday life speaks only or mainly Malay, inevitably pick up a mixed lot of samples containing a few taboo expressions. The taboo periphrases tēlur sēmut, "ants' eggs," for rice, in one of Hervey's Beduanda vocabularies, and Miklucho-Maclay's padingo (i.e. pēningok), "the seer," for eye, illustrate the point clearly enough. As the old dialects dwindle into mere relics, no longer in everyday use, they tend, in fact, to become esoteric jargons and to be confounded with the taboo language.

**Doublets and Modification of Form.**

Some little assistance towards unravelling these knotty problems may perhaps be afforded by a peculiarity which has been more than once noted in some of the ceremonial jargons, namely, their use of words which differ from their ordinary equivalents by some definite modification of form. Sometimes this is due to the survival of a genuine old doublet, sometimes to the artificial creation of one according to more or less ascertainable rules.

I have not thought it worth while to point out how closely all the previously mentioned methods of

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2. On one occasion when I was trying to collect Jakun words in Malacca territory, I was at first given a few specimens of what was evidently a "back-slang," e.g. ngilah, "sky" (from Mal. langit, quasi ngil-la), nati, "earth" (from Mal. tanah, with a suggestion of the Besisi *ti*).
taboo usage correspond with phenomena observable in European languages; how, for instance, when we want to avoid words which are considered too sacred or too indecent for conversational use, we get round them by a periphrasis, a metaphor or a Latinised synonym. Sometimes, especially in oaths and expletory epithets, we merely modify the form of the ordinary word. ¹ Similarly in the Malayo-Polynesian ceremonial languages there is a system, carried out somewhat more consistently than in Europe, of modifying the form of common words to make them suitable for special occasions. In certain cases it would seem ² that there really existed two genuine forms of the same word, being either in different stages of development, or dialectically differentiated, and one has been selected to serve for ceremonial purposes, while the other was left for everyday life.

One set of these "doublets" in Javanese is differentiated by the vowel sounds which in the ceremonial form are ĺ—َا, while in the common form they are ُ—ُ, both being ultimately referable to a more primitive ĺ—َ (or َ—ُ). An instance is the word suruh, in Krama ščalah, which is equivalent to the Malay sirih, "betel." ³ Words of this class seem to have served as a basis for the analogous artificial creation of others by heightening one or more of the vowel sounds, in the order ُ, ُ, ُ, ُ, ُ, ُ; but in its origin this differentiation was, at any rate in some instances, quite unartificial.

Whether the same can be said for certain other

¹ I need only instance the expressions "by Jove," "by George," "Great Scott," "the deuce," "the Dickens," and the like in English, and "diantre," "morbleu," and "saprists," in French.
² See Brandes, op. cit. pp. 84-95, on which a good deal of what follows is based.
³ Here the consonants also happen to differ, but they also only represent different stages of natural variation.
methods of modification which involve a change or addition of consonants, I do not know. At any rate there are several such in Javanese. One only need, however, be noted here. Its formula seems to be this: given a word with an open penultimate syllable (and a final syllable preferably open and generally ending in -a), to turn it into a Krama form, close both syllables with a nasal (or the final one more rarely with a liquid), modify the initial consonant of the final syllable to suit the nasal which now closes the penultimate, and change the vowel of the final syllable (as a rule to ē, which, however, may become a, i, or u). As this is probably not very intelligible, I will make it clearer by examples:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Krama</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To think</td>
<td>kira</td>
<td>kintēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardon</td>
<td>apura</td>
<td>apuntēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea</td>
<td>sēgara</td>
<td>sēgantēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening</td>
<td>sore</td>
<td>soutēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut</td>
<td>kalapa</td>
<td>karambil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sēgantēn, being from the Sanskrit sāgara, is a good illustration of the fact that this change is, at any rate in some cases, made quite consciously and artificially.

But the curious thing is that in other Malayan languages similar forms occur, without, however, any ceremonial or specialised meaning. Thus in Sundanese, dantēn, "a hen that has not yet laid an egg," "a female buffalo that has not yet had a calf," corresponds with the Malay dara, "virgin"; and conversely it would seem that the Malay jantan, "male," is a quasi-Krama form of the Sundanese jalu, while the Malay words pantang, "taboo," and pantun, "eclogue," appear to be quasi-Krama forms of two words which appear elsewhere as p(lēm)ali and pali, and the same seems to be the explanation of such "doublets" as
the Malay antan and alu, "pestle." Evidently, unless these forms have been deliberately moulded on the Javanese Krama, which seems unlikely, this formula is either in its origin unartificial, like the method of vowel-modification, or at any rate it is of very ancient date.

The reason why I have mentioned, with perhaps too much detail, these two leading Javanese forms of doublet-formation is that both of them, the one with mere vowel change and the other with consonantal modification as well, are found in the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula (including the taboo language). Thus in Besisi the polite (bêhasa halus) word for "long" is jêlaŋg, and for "deep," jêrak, of which the vulgar (bêhasa kasar) forms are jêloŋng and jêrök respectively, thus affording a precise parallel, both in form and meaning, to the Javanese Krama and Ngoko differentiation by vowel change. Similarly "black" is presented by a double form hiraŋm and hirögm; and though in this instance we are not told that the one is considered politer than the other, yet it may be presumed that there is a shade of difference in their use corresponding to the slight difference in form. \(^1\) Probably further inquiries would result in the discovery of additional doublets. \(^2\)

Of the differentiation by consonantal change examples also occur, but no specialised meaning has been distinctly recorded in connection with them. The following, however, are so closely analogous to the Krama forms that it seems worth while to draw particular attention to them.

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\(^1\) The word, moreover, is Malayo-Polynesian, being identical with the Kawi hireg (originally probably hirem), of which the Malay hitam (from an older hitem) is, as Kern has pointed out, probably a mere variant.

\(^2\) Compare, for instance, the Besisi gentah and Beduanda gërentah, with the Malay guntur, "thunder."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Javanese (Krama)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wild cattle</td>
<td><code>sapi</code></td>
<td><code>sələpə̀n</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut</td>
<td><code>kələpa</code></td>
<td>karambil, kərəməl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crocodile</td>
<td><code>baya</code></td>
<td>bayul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td><code>əsu</code></td>
<td>(anjing), nyang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild dog</td>
<td><code>sərigala, səgala</code></td>
<td>sərənggil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td><code>gajah</code></td>
<td>gəntul, gəntəl,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td><code>putih</code></td>
<td>sagantel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quasi-Krama form for "coconut" also appears in Malay, whence it may therefore have been borrowed, but the other words in the third column are not susceptible of this explanation: even if `nyang` is the same word as the ordinary Malay `anjing`, it cannot be derived from it. I imagine that both go back to a form `anjəŋ` or `anyəŋ`, which may conceivably be formed from `asu.`

Although in the above cases nothing is definitely recorded which would justify us in attaching a ceremonial meaning to these forms, there is one circumstance which tends in that direction. Most of the larger animals have a variety of names, some of which are evidently honorific synonyms, while others must not be used while the animals are supposed to be in the neighbourhood, and especially while they are being hunted; the Comparative Vocabulary, particularly under the headings "elephant," "pig," "rhinoceros," and "tiger," illustrates the great variety of such animal synonyms. It may safely be said that the tiger must never be spoken of as "tiger" when he is supposed to be within earshot. Similarly the Mentra word `risim` must not be used of the wild boar by the hunters while engaged in tracking one. There is therefore some inherent probability in the conjecture that the quasi-Krama formation of the names

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1 These are words of Sanskrit origin. The Javanese Krama form of the first one is `səgawon.`
for "wild cattle," "wild dog," and "elephant," really had a ceremonial basis,¹ and though their formation is not absolutely according to rule, it seems to me sufficiently near to the Krama formation to illustrate the widespread tendency of this particular trick of language amongst the Malayo-Polynesian races and the tribes which have fallen under their influence.

In a few instances it would appear that the aboriginal dialects have retained forms which represent theoretical Ngoko (i.e. vulgar) equivalents of words which Malay possesses only in a quasi-Krama shape. I put forward this suggestion with some diffidence, but it appears to me to be a possible explanation of such forms as e.g. kēchô, kēchoit, "small," sēdōkon, "a little," and kochoi, "to urinate," when compared with the Malay equivalents kēchil, sēdikit, and kēnching. This, however, is hardly more than a mere conjecture.

Poetic Forms.

Too little is known of the poetic diction of the aborigines to enable us to make any very positive statements on the subject, but it is asserted by the Semang,² and I have heard it said of the Sakai, that in their songs they use words and forms differing from those of their colloquial dialects; all these points call for further inquiry.

¹ In the case of the "crocodile," the close analogy to the Javanese doublets baya—barul strongly supports this hypothesis.

² Thus teclœwil, in a Semang song, said to mean "turns round and round," is probably an amplified form of telœwil, from the root wil (in Sakai vail), "to turn," with the prefix te-, which in accordance with a recognised Semang peculiarity takes a final -/l to correspond with the final consonant of the root. The form has probably been amplified with tœil in cases of sickness recite incantations to the spirits in a tongue unknown to the uninitiated.
The upshot of the whole matter appears to be this: there are, throughout a great part of the Malayo-Polynesian area, traces of a tendency to specialise common everyday language to suit particular purposes. The aborigines of the Peninsula seem in some degree to have inherited a similar tendency. In the south it has taken the shape of a fairly elaborate jargon, which has been preserved and enlarged owing to its association with a special and more or less lucrative employment. Elsewhere the tendency has not been developed to the same extent, nor has it been as carefully investigated, but traces of it appear to exist especially in those dialects which bear other evidence of Malayo-Polynesian influence; and in some cases the actual mode of specialisation is strikingly analogous to that of the Malayo-Polynesian languages. That it is a mere modern imitation of Malay seems extremely improbable; it is far more likely that the tendency, perhaps inherent more or less in all races, has been fostered by the influence of the primitive Malayo-Polynesian tribes whose early presence in the Peninsula is attested by so much other evidence.
CHAPTER III.

PAST HISTORY AND RELATION TO OTHER LANGUAGES.

We possess no data regarding the past history of the aboriginal languages of the Malay Peninsula prior to the beginning of the last century, since which period they do not appear to have undergone any marked changes except in the way of further acquisition of foreign words and consequent gradual decay. We are unable, therefore, to compare their present condition with any preceding stage of development, and are thrown back upon a comparative study of their various dialects and an investigation into their relations with other languages.

Specifically Malay Element.

A good deal has already been said as to their relations with the Malay language by which they are being superseded. There is internal evidence that this process has been going on for a considerable time: it has repeatedly been observed that many Malay loan-words in these dialects are pronounced not as the Malays of the Peninsula pronounce them to-day, either in the standard speech of educated people or the various local dialectic pronunciations, but as they appear in the Malay written language, and as it would seem, from comparison with other Malayan
languages, they must have been pronounced at the period when Malay was first transcribed in the Arabic characters in which it is usually written.

Thus the final -a, which in standard Malay is heard as -č (or -ō), something like the last syllable of the English word better, and the local pronunciation of which varies from -a to -č, -ā, and -ā', is in the aboriginal dialects almost invariably a pure -a', with the abrupt ending so frequent in final vowels in these dialects. Similarly the final Malay ending in -k (or -k<sup>1</sup>), which in the spoken language of the Peninsula has dwindled down to the glottal check, is pronounced as a distinct -k in the aboriginal dialects, as it must have been when Malay orthography was first fixed, and still is in some places (e.g. Borneo) in spoken Malay. Similarly initial -k-, often silent in spoken Malay, is distinctly audible in the aboriginal dialects.

In these cases there is no reason to doubt that Logan was right in considering the aboriginal pronunciation to be a survival from the time when spoken Malay still preserved the old sounds that are stereotyped in the written language. Clifford's rejection of this explanation, in favour of a supposed phonetic law by which in these dialects final -č (or -ō) and the glottal check are necessarily transmuted to -a' and -k<sup>3</sup>

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1 ỳ in Arabic is pronounced further back than ħ. The adoption of the former, rather than the latter, letter to represent the Malay final -k points, perhaps, to the probability that even some centuries ago this final had no longer precisely the same force as a medial or initial ħ. But, as a matter of fact, the spelling varies, in some words, between -k and -ỳ; and anyhow, if the final -k in the spoken language had already become a mere glottal check, it seems likely that the Arabs would have represented it by the hamzah.

2 J. I. A. vol. i. p. 289.

3 J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 24, pp. 28, 19. In 1887 Clifford had accepted Logan’s explanation: see Notes and Queries, No. 4, p. 101, issued with J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 17, in which place he adds the interesting statement that a Sakai, when talking Malay, drops these peculiarities, but resumes them immediately when he has to use a Malay word in the middle of a Sakai sentence.
finds no support in their phonology, which frequently admits the supposed rejected finals in their own native words. It is, too, surely more reasonable to believe that the original sounds have persisted (as old sounds often do persist in isolated dialects) rather than to assume that they have been reconstructed. These dialects have retained much that is more archaic, by hundreds of years, than their Malay loan-words, and it cannot therefore be considered very remarkable that in some of these they should have preserved the pronunciation of a few centuries ago.

Of the Malay element in the dialects of the Peninsula it is not necessary to say more, save to point out that it is essentially foreign to them, and was originally foreign to the Peninsula itself. The Malay language has been introduced into the Peninsula from Central Sumatra, where the Malay-speaking tribes were trained under Indian influences into a more or less civilised condition before they sent out the successive swarms of colonists who made new homes for the race in the Peninsula. At what date this colonising process began is unascertained, except that it was before the final conversion of the Malays to Mohammedanism (a process which appears to have begun in Sumatra early in the thirteenth century and to have been completed in the Peninsula about two centuries later). The early emigrations appear to have proceeded mainly from the east coast of Central Sumatra. Subsequently to the complete establishment of Islam in the Peninsula there was a separate movement of colonisation from the inland parts of the island (where the Menangkabau dialect of Malay is spoken), directed mainly towards the territories just inland of Malacca; but the influ-
ence of this later stream has remained very much more local than that of the main stream from the Sumatran coast districts, though both continue, in diminished volume, even to the present day.

Together with the genuine Malay words thus introduced into the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula there have, of course, come in a certain number of words of Sanskrit and Arabic origin which have obtained a footing in the Malay language, under the successive influence of the Hindu and Mohammedan civilisations.

At the present day, as is obvious in almost every page of the Comparative Vocabulary, Malay loan-words constitute a large part of the language spoken by the wild tribes; but it seems unnecessary to illustrate them here, as they are after all relatively modern accretions on the aboriginal dialects, and do not form an essential part of their structure.

**Generically Malayan Element.**

It must, however, be borne in mind that Malay is only one of the languages comprised in the vast Malayo-Polynesian family, and it must not be assumed that every word of Malayan\(^1\) affinity found in the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula has come into them from or through Malay. In a great number

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\(^1\) For the sake of brevity I shall use this term instead of the somewhat clumsy "Malayo-Polynesian," when referring specially to the languages of the western subdivision of the family, which comprises Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, the Philippines, and a few neighbouring smaller islands, as well as Madagascar. The Malayo-Polynesian family extends from Madagascar to Easter Island and from Formosa to New Zealand; it is generally considered to be subdivided into the (1) Malayan, (2) Micronesian, (3) Melanesian, and (4) Polynesian subdivisions; but except as regards the first and last of these, this classification appears to be tentative and provisional—rather than strictly established.
of cases, where such words are as closely alike in form to their equivalents in a number of other Malayan tongues as they are to their Malay equivalents, their immediate source of origin is, for the present, doubtful. In a certain, more limited, number of instances, there is not the slightest doubt that, though of Malayan affinity, they cannot have come into the aboriginal dialects through Malay at all.

The following are examples of such words:—


I have instanced only such words as, in my judgment, are certainly of Malayan affinity. A number of others, as to the origin of which there may be some doubt, are noted in the Comparative Vocabulary, and it is very likely that a more extended comparison with the numerous Malayan languages of the Indian Archipelago would lead to the discovery of a good many which have escaped my notice.

These words appear to me to suggest the solution of a peculiarly interesting problem. While every part of the western division of the Archipelago has its local Malayan languages, varying in number inversely with the state of civilisation of the people, from the

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1 A Malayan origin independent of Malay may reasonably be suspected for such forms as enek, "child": bapai, "father": renā, "low": sēmpēt, "narrow," where the Malay equivalents are anaš, bapa, rōndah, sēmpēt.
two (or three) languages of the highly civilised island of Java to the numerous dialects of Borneo and Northern Celebes, the Peninsula, though situated within the area of this language family, seemed to form an exception, as its only known Malayan language, viz. Malay, was a foreign importation, not a local growth. It would seem, however, that the exception is more apparent than real.

These words, which are Malayan but not Malay, do not appear to be referable to any one of the existing languages of the Archipelago; while their affinities are mainly with the Sumatran languages, especially Achinese, they sometimes differ from these and come closer to the dialects of Borneo, and even occasionally to more distant branches of the family, such as Javanese, Madurese, and the mixed half-Malayan dialects of Southern Indo-China, of which Cham is the typical representative. Accordingly, I think they must be regarded as relics of a group of Malayan dialects locally differentiated in the Peninsula itself, for I do not think that their existence in the aboriginal dialects can be accounted for by any theory of borrowing from casual strangers coming from three or four different islands. There is no

1 Their existence in the aboriginal dialects was apparently observed by Logan, who speaks of Benua (i.e. Sakai and Jakun) dialects containing "non-Malay vocables—mostly Sumatran, but some have remoter Indonesian affinities" (J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 7, p. 86), but no particular attention seems to have been drawn to them until their peculiar importance was pointed out by the present writer in J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 39, pp. 50, 51.

2 Achinese and Cham being mixed languages, containing elements which are not Malayan, I have omitted in the above short list a number of aboriginal words which I have identified in these languages, but have not, as yet, traced in other Malayan languages. The following are some of them: "blowpipe" (outer case), tagu; "to break," bēkah; "cloth," ābah; "cloud," sagū; "quick," melagat; "river-bank," tērbis; "sand," anēy; "sleepy," lēbēd; "tame," lēgr; "very," tēket. Probably some of these will be identified as Malayan; but two or three of them are perhaps of Mon-Annam origin.
evidence of any intimate intercourse between such occasional immigrants and the wild tribes of the Peninsula; and nothing short of prolonged and intimate relations could have given these words a footing in their different dialects. They point, in my opinion, to the presence in the Peninsula, long before the Malay conquest, of primitive Malayan tribes (of whose existence there is other evidence); and as these Malayan words are found in all three language-groups, Semang, Sakai, and Jakun (though less in the purer dialects of the second group than in the other two), it seems a reasonable inference that these early Malayan tribes for the most part occupied the coast-line, and that their influence diminished towards the interior of the Peninsula.

Owing to the fact that in a great number of cases it is impossible to decide whether a word of Malayan affinity has been introduced into the aboriginal dialects from Malay or from this more archaic Malayan source, it is difficult to draw any inference as to the nature and extent of the influence exercised by these primitive Malayan tribes upon their Sakai and Semang neighbours. Perhaps the domestication of the dog, the introduction of the domestic fowl, and the use of salt and of spears, was in some parts of the Peninsula due to them; but the blowpipe, though included in the instances given above, has (as will be shown later) another and more usual name which is not of Malayan derivation at all; and the same is true of most of these words, which in almost every case have synonyms of non-Malayan origin.1

1 The relative importance of this Malayan element can only be ascertained by a careful collection of new material from the aboriginal dialects, which will have to be compared with the several Malay dialects spoken in the Peninsula, most of which still await systematic investigation.
Mon-Annem Element.

A still more important element in the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula is that which illustrates their close relation to the Mon-Annem family of languages.

This important family has, until quite recently, been almost entirely neglected, and the comparative study of it as a whole is still in its very beginnings. It includes, in the first place, the now almost extinct language of Lower Burma, which is properly called Mon, but is generally known as Peguan, or by its Burmese nickname, Talaing; Khmer, or Cambojan, the language of the kingdom of Camboja; and Annamese, the principal spoken language of Cochin China, Annam, and Tongking. All these are literary languages, the two former being written in alphabets of Indian origin, the last in a script based on the Chinese ideographic system. To these must be added an endless number of unwritten dialects spoken by more or less uncivilised tribes inhabiting different

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1 So called by Logan, who was, I believe, the first to point out its separate existence. More recent authorities, especially on the Continent, appear to prefer the name Mon-Khmer, a term that has the advantage, perhaps, of not prejudicing the position of Annamese, which stands in a somewhat peculiar relation towards the other members of the family. As, however, in spite of its abnormal development, Annamese cannot be severed from the other languages, it seems to me that the old name might well be retained for the family as a whole, while Mon-Khmer will serve to denote these languages, when, as often happens, it is desired to exclude Annamese from consideration.

2 A beginning was made by Forbes (Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India, 1881), and Kuhn (Über Herkunft und Sprachen der Transgangetischen Völker, 1883; Beiträge zur Sprachkunde Hinterindiens, 1889). The study is now being admirably pursued by Schmidt (Die Sprachen der Sakei und Semang auf Malacca und ihr Verhältnis zu den Mon-Kʰmɛr-Sprachen, 1901; Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache, 1904; Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Kʰmɛr-Sprachen, 1905). See also Cabaton, Dix dialectes indo-chinois recueillis par Prosper Odend'hal—Etude linguistique, 1905, and Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, vol. ii.
Sketch Map showing the position of the Mon-Annam dialects of Eastern Indo-China.
parts of the forest country of Southern and Central Indo-China, especially along the borders of Annam, Camboja, and Siam, the stretch of mountain country running east of the Mekong, mainly between latitudes 17° and 12°, and elsewhere in scattered patches amongst the now dominant populations of the alien, mainly Tai and Tibeto-Burman, races of these regions.

Taken together, these languages constitute a fairly distinct, and (with the exception of Annamese, which has been much modified by direct Chinese influence) a relatively uniform group. In the early centuries of our era, Mon and Khmer (with their allied dialects) were the dominant languages of Central and Southern Indo-China, long before the Burmese and Siamese had come down from the north; while the Annamese were confined to the Tongking delta and its immediate neighbourhood, and the south-eastern coastland, which is now Annam and Cochin China, was occupied, under the name of Champa, by a race called Cham, whose language, already mentioned, was a mixture of Mon-Khmer with Malayan elements.¹

Apart from the special interest attaching to them as having been the earliest indigenous vehicles of literary culture in Indo-China, the Mon-Annam languages are of unique importance in connection with the past history of South-eastern Asia. They are related in various ways to Nicobarese, Khasi, and the Munḍa (or Kolarian) dialects of India on the one hand; they present curious analogies with the

¹ This interesting language, together with a few allied dialects of ruder neighbouring tribes, still lingers on in S.E. Annam and part of Camboja. A dictionary of it by Aymonier and Caba-ton (which, by the courtesy of the latter, I have been permitted to use in proof) is in the press, and will shortly appear.
Sketch Map showing the position of the various groups related to the Mon-Annam family.
Malayo-Polynesian family on the other; and yet more strangely they have a certain number of points of contact with the northern languages of the great Indo-Chinese conglomeration which includes the Tibeto-Burman, Kareng, Chinese, and Tai families.¹

How much of all this is genuine original relationship, how much is due to mere historic contact or borrowings from some common source, it is, however, as yet impossible to say. So far as the connection with Nicobarese and Khasi is concerned, it would seem that the relationship is vital, entering as it does into the very structure of the languages. In the case of the Munḍa dialects this has not been proved; and their structure (especially their syntax) presents many marked differences from the Mon-Annam.²

¹ As to the connection with Nicobarese, see especially the grammar of Nicobarese by Temple, annexed to his report on the Census of 1901.

The best authority for Nicobarese itself is Man, Dictionary of the Central Nicobarese Language, 1889. The connection with Khasi is dealt with by Schmidt in his Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache, 1904, where it is also shown that the Palaung, Rumai, Wa, and Riang dialects of Burma and the Shan States are a connecting link between Mon and Khmer on the one side, and Khasi on the other. For the connection with Munḍa, see Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, vol. iv. pt. i. (by Konow), which by the courtesy of the editor I have been permitted to use in proof. Attention was called by the present writer in J. R. A. S., S. B., No. 38, to the analogies with the Malayo-Polynesian group. The relation to the Northern Indo-Chinese languages has never been worked out, but see Forchhammer, "Indo-Chinese Languages" (Indian Antiquity, 1882). That there is some common element in the vocabularies was perceived by Haswell, who in his Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language, p. 6, compares the Mon ch'a p'ung (pronounced chi' p'ung), "to eat rice," with the Amoy Chinese tsiah p'ung. See also the learned but not always quite accurate work, Terrien de Lacouperie's Languages of China before the Chinese, 1887. It must, however, be borne in mind that in the case of languages which are monosyllabic or quasi-mono-syllabic, the chances of accidental coincidence are much increased; and, until careful investigations have established the existence of regular laws of phonetic correspondence, no individual identification based on mere resemblance in sound and meaning can be safely accepted.

² The sketch map here given indicates the relative position, in modern times, of the language-groups most clearly connected with the Mon-Annam family, and illustrates the importance of the Mon-Annam races as links in a broken chain that extends from the district of Nimir in the extreme west corner of the Central Provinces of India all the way to Johor, or from lat. 22° long. 77°, to lat. 2°30' long. 103°, approximately.
Nevertheless it is certain that a considerable common element runs through Munḍa, Khasi, and Nicobarese, and this common element is identical with the main constituents of the Mon-Annam family. The connection of the Mon-Khmer languages with the Malayo-Polynesian family is most mysterious, as there appears to be a considerable resemblance in structure, accompanied (despite a certain number of common words), by a very distinct diversity in the actual materials.¹ Their relation to the Northern Indo-Chinese languages (including Chinese) would seem to point to long contact and considerable borrowing, but not to community of origin.

These peculiarly complex relations may perhaps be explained by the former geographical positions of these various races. In Indo-China there has been a great shifting of populations to the southward. It would seem that some two or three thousand years ago the southern coast-line was occupied by Malayan tribes, and the interior by tribes speaking Mon-Khmer languages.² To the north of these, in Southern China and the adjoining regions, dwelt the

¹ The syntax is almost identical, and there is a remarkable likeness in some of the prefixes and infixes in use in the two families. The Malayan languages also use suffixes, whereas the Mon-Annam languages do not; but, curiously enough, Nicobarese also to a limited extent uses them. When, however, De Lanessan (Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. xxvi. p. 513, 1902) styles Khmer a blend of Malayan and Chinese, he goes completely astray. There are in Khmer certain words which it has in common with Chinese and certain others which it shares with the Malayan languages, but the main substance of it is neither Chinese nor Malayan. One might as well call French a mixture of Gaulish and German, or English a blend of British and Latin.

² The Chams are sufficient evidence of this former state of things so far as the south-eastern part of Indo-China is concerned. As to the probability that the centre of dispersion of the Malayo-Polynesian languages was somewhere on the coast of Indo-China, see Kern, Taalkundige gegevens ter bepaling van het Stamland der Maleisch-Polynesische Volken, 1889. The islands off the coast of Tenasserim up to about lat. 13° are to this day occupied by a Malayan race, the Selungs. But as these are mere sea-gypsies, their present haunts do not help us much to determine their early location.
ancestors of the Tai and Tibeto-Burman races, which within the last fifteen centuries or so have flooded Indo-China with successive swarms of conquering immigrants, who after receiving through Mon and Khmer channels a varnish of Indian civilisation, broke up the political organisation of the older races, and isolated their various fragments from one another.

The Annamese, unlike their relatives, fell some two thousand years ago within the sphere of Chinese political and cultural influence, and, thus strengthened, they have taken part in this conquest, the eastern coastlands, which constituted the old Hinduised Kingdom of Champa, having fallen to their lot.

It would seem probable, therefore, that for ages together the Mon-Annam races occupied a central position between the Northern Indo-Chinese in the north and the Malayan races in the south. But it is also a fairly safe assumption that all three families had their original locations still further to the north, and probably outside Indo-China altogether. As each in turn sent out colonising swarms to the southward, it may well have left a remnant behind which was absorbed by the next group of races, and thus each family would be influenced to some extent by the one that had preceded it in its southward march. We know that this has actually happened in some parts of Indo-China, and we cannot at present say from how far north a similar process may have been going on in remoter ages.

Such an hypothesis would not, I believe, be inconsistent with ascertained facts, and might perhaps serve to explain the curiously complicated entanglement of languages which South-eastern Asia presents. To attempt to discuss it here would, however, be
entirely out of place. I have only mentioned the matter in order to draw attention to the special importance of the hitherto much neglected Mon-Annam family of languages, and must confine myself here to its relations with the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula.

**Mon-Khmer Structure.**

The structure of the Mon-Khmer languages\(^1\) consists, to put it briefly, in a system of monosyllabic root-words, to which can be added prefixes and infixes for the purpose of expressing modifications of the original idea. This system is best represented in Khmer, and may be illustrated by the following example:\(^2\)—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kāt} & \quad \text{to cut} \\
\text{khnāt} & \quad \text{measure} \\
\text{kūmnāt (kūnāt)} & \quad \text{piece} \\
\text{tkāt} & \quad \text{pain} \\
\text{tāmkāt (tākāt)} & \quad \text{suffering} \\
\text{skāt} & \quad \text{to cut off} \\
\text{sāngkāt} & \quad \text{division} \\
\text{pāngkāt} & \quad \text{to cut, to divide.}
\end{align*}
\]

Here, if all these words are related, the root *kāt* is modified by the prefixes *l*, *s*, and *p*, and the infixes *-n* (*-n*, *-ng*) and *-m* and their combinations; and, besides these, other prefixes (such as *k*, *ch* (*j*), *l* and *r*) and infixes (such as *-p*, *-r*, and *-l*) occur in some of these languages.

All this contrasts with the Malayan system of structure, notably in the fact that in the latter, although the system of prefixes and infixes is somewhat analogous, the root-words are dissyllables; and

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1 In Annamese the structure is strictly monosyllabic, and the meaning of words is bound up with the particular tone, just as in Chinese.

2 From Schmidt, *Die Sprachen der Sakei und Semang*, p. 568.
though in some cases it seems to be possible to discern in them an original monosyllabic root, yet this does not stand out as clearly as in the Mon-Khmer languages; it is no longer (as a rule) capable of independent existence, and the normal type of the language is dissyllabic. If it was originally monosyllabic, it has long since passed out of that stage, and its dissyllabic words are now treated as independent roots for all purposes of composition by means of the addition of prefixes, infixes, and suffixes.\(^1\)

The point, however, which mainly concerns us, is that a great part of the constituents of the Sakai and Semang dialects agree closely with the Mon-Khmer languages both in the monosyllabic character of their root-words and in the method of composition by prefixes and infixes.\(^2\) When we exclude the Malay and other Malayan elements, we find that the words which are common to Sakai and Semang are in the main monosyllabic, or capable of being reduced to monosyllabic roots. Thus, in Sakai, from the root cha' (Semang chi'), "to eat," we get the verbal formations āni-cha', en-cha', ka-cha' (and in Semang ma-čhi'), and the substantival ănčha (Semang ąnči) and čhānča', "food";\(^3\) from yut, "to return," i.e. to go back, the transitives tyut and tenergyt, "to return," i.e. to give back, and so on, quite in accordance with Mon-Khmer methods.

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\(^2\) See especially Schmidt, *op. cit.*, where this fact was first pointed out. Skeat (in the *Selangor Journal*) had already drawn attention to the prefixes in Besisi.

\(^3\) Probably an infix formation (= čh-ăn-ă').
Ordinary Mon-Annam Words.

But not merely is there this close correspondence in structure: there is a very large common element in the vocabulary itself. The number of words in Sakai and Semang which can be traced in the Mon-Annam languages (and in some cases also in Nicobarese, Khasi, and Munḍa) is very considerable, and includes many of the most important words of everyday life. It would be impracticable to set them out here at length; and I have illustrated this connection, as fully as circumstances permitted, in the Comparative Vocabulary. But the following list of the names of the principal parts of the body will serve as a specimen of the extent to which this common element runs through the ordinary speech of these tribes:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semang</th>
<th>Sakai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>bêling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back</td>
<td>krâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>mahôm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>iyeng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast</td>
<td>têndo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast (female)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin</td>
<td>'ngkē'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ear</td>
<td>pol, ēmpong, 'ntōng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>mād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flesh</td>
<td>seg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>chan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gall-bladder</td>
<td>kēmōd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair</td>
<td>sog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>tong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>kui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knee</td>
<td>kaltong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liver</td>
<td>rūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth</td>
<td>ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose</td>
<td>māh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thigh</td>
<td>bhō'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>liti'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tooth</td>
<td>lamoing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above list is not exhaustive, but includes the
principal words of this category that can be safely traced to a Mon-Annам origin. Besides these, a number of quite common words such as "sun," "moon," "darkness," "rain," "water," "fire," "earth," "stone," "forest," "tree," "wood," "flower," "fruit," "leaf," "thorn," "rattan," "banana," "centipede," "fly," "louse," "mosquito," "spider," "leech," "fish," "bird," "egg," "rat," "tiger," "elephant," etc., and a number of adjectives and verbs (as well as some other parts of speech) have one or more identifiable equivalents in the Mon-Annам languages; though most of them also have synonyms, which have not, as yet, been traced to that source.

**Mon-Annам Culture Words.**

More interesting, perhaps, than the foregoing are the relatively few words which throw light on the stage of development attained by the aboriginal tribes independently of any Malay influence: the following representative list of these is confined to such as appear to be of Mon-Annам affinity:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semang</th>
<th>Sakai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To bathe</td>
<td>muh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blowpipe</td>
<td>bêlau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blowpipe dart</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To boil</td>
<td>totâh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bow</td>
<td>ig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloth, clothes</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comb</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To cook</td>
<td>'nchîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To dance</td>
<td>kengseng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghost, spirit</td>
<td>kêmoyd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchild</td>
<td>kanchâ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>yâ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>dông</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Found in Cham and Bahnar, this word may be of Malayan origin.

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Somewhat doubtfully identified are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semang</th>
<th>Sakai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adze</td>
<td>jëck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areca nut</td>
<td>blëk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat</td>
<td>kupon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chopper</td>
<td>choká', weng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt, price</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiddle</td>
<td>krik'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To plait</td>
<td>dendan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Too much stress must not be laid on these words; the word for "clothes" probably meant no more than the wisp of bark-cloth which still constitutes the main article of apparel among some of the wilder tribes, the "house" was no doubt always a small and rudely-built hut, the "dog" may conceivably (though not probably) have been the wild, not the domesticated, variety, the word for "ivory" by no means implies that it was an object of traffic, the word for "pillow" is perhaps derived from the word for "head" and may have been independently invented, as may the

1 These primarily mean "food" only.
2 If rightly identified, this is a Sanskrit word which has passed through a Mon-Khamer channel.
3 Pillows do not appear to be in very common use: see supra, vol. i. pp. 178, 180; and Martin, Inland-stämme der malayischen Halbinsel, 1905, p. 977.
word for “flute,” which has a different prefix from its Mon-Khmer equivalents (some of which differ amongst themselves) and may have been newly formed from a common verbal root. But nevertheless there is here sufficient evidence that some at least of the aboriginal tribes of the Peninsula do not owe their primitive agriculture and general semi-civilisation to Malay influences exclusively, but must have retained them at least from the time (now some eight or nine centuries back if not more) when they were finally cut off from all relations with the Mon-Khmer civilisation of Southern Indo-China.

Therefore I cannot agree with Martin when he suggests that the Sakai house on piles is borrowed from the Malay style of architecture, or that the planting of cereals, especially rice, is due to Malay influence. The house on piles is the typical structure in the greater part of Indo-China as well as of the Indian Archipelago, and even if the words for “rice” originally meant some other cereal, which I do not see any particular reason to believe, they are at any rate evidence of some, however primitive, cultivation, which in itself negatives the view that all planting on the part of these tribes is due to Malay influence. The true inference, in my opinion, is that, like many of the ruder Mon-Khmer tribes, some of the wild tribes of the Peninsula have from time immemorial planted rice in their jungle-clearings. But they have never made the great advance to planting in irrigable swamp-land: that, in South-east Asia, is the Rubicon which a barbarous tribe must cross before it can fulfil the conditions precedent to real civilisation, first in

2 Ibid. p. 731.
the material sense of the word, and ultimately in its social, moral, intellectual, and other connotations.

The only possible alternative is that the aboriginal tribes have in some past age lived in close contact with a more civilised Mon-Annam race, who did plant rice and so taught them the words if not the practice. But that view also does not find favour with Martin, who cannot discover any evidence that they were ever under such influence.¹

**Double Relation with Mon-Annam Languages.**

This leads us to the question whether the relation of the Mon-Annam languages to the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula has been one of mere external influence or whether the latter can be classified as true members of the family. Logan, who was the first to notice the presence of Mon-Annam words in the aboriginal dialects,² propounded a very complicated theory of the relations of the Mon-Annam languages with the Malayan family, which it would be out of place to discuss here, but apparently held that their influence on the aboriginal dialects was external. His view was that a civilised Mon-Khmer race colonised the Peninsula in early days long before the Malay immigration from Sumatra had begun, and that during this Mon-Khmer era that people occupied towards the aboriginal tribes the same position which the Malays now occupy. "The language of the Mons and Kambojans," he says, "would become the lingua franca of the districts round their colonies and of the rivers on both sides of the Peninsula which their praus"³ frequented for barter with the natives.

and it would ultimately, in a large measure, displace the older dialects of the latter.\(^1\)

This view was again advanced by the present writer in a paper dealing with a number of, mainly verbal, analogies between the Mon-Annam languages and the dialects of the Peninsula.\(^2\) The possibility of their ultimate genuine relationship was not excluded, but put aside as not being proved by the evidence then under consideration. On the other hand, Kuhn, in a very valuable paper on the relation of the Mon-Annam languages with the Muṇḍa languages, Khasi, Nicobarese, and the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula, had already, though only on similar evidence, inferred the existence of a common substratum, but still did not quite go the length of classifying these diverse tongues in one family.\(^3\)

More recently Schmidt, in his excellent work already referred to, has devoted a much more thorough investigation to the question, and has arrived at the conclusion that the close correspondence in phonology, structure, syntax, and a considerable percentage of the vocabulary between the Semang and Sakai dialects and the Mon-Khmer languages cannot be accounted for except on the view that they are essentially members of one family of speech.\(^4\)

It is to be observed that these two views are not mutually exclusive; these dialects may well be distant relatives of the Mon-Khmer languages separated from them in a remote prehistoric age, and long afterwards again influenced by renewed direct contact with a Mon-Khmer population. There may be two

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3 *Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde der Sakei und Semang,* p. 581.  
4 *Die Sprachen der Sakai und* Hinterindiens, p. 220.
distinct Mon-Khmer sources, just as there have been two of Malayan origin, entering into their com-

position. That this is really the case seems to be indicated by the diversity of the numeral systems which are found in the Peninsula.¹

¹ In the sketch map here given, numerals of Malayan type are neglected: they occur occasionally, especially on the outskirts of the area inhabited by the wild tribes. The boundary lines between the four systems are more or less hypothetical. The Arabic numbers refer to the following dialects:

1. Semang of Mount Jerai; 2. Semang of Ulu Selama; 3. Semang of
It has often been remarked that the purer dialects of the centre of the Peninsula do not possess any native numerals for higher numbers than "three"; the following short lists will therefore suffice for a general comparison of the different types that exist:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>II.</th>
<th>III.</th>
<th>IV.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>nai</td>
<td>nei (or nè)</td>
<td>nanu</td>
<td>nui (or mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>bie</td>
<td>nar</td>
<td>nar</td>
<td>'mbår</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>(various)²</td>
<td>ne'</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>'mpé'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type I. represents the Semang group of dialects; Type II. the Northern Sakai and the inner subdivision of the Eastern Sakai; Type III. is co-extensive with the Central Sakai; and Type IV. includes the Southern Sakai, one or two mixed Jakun dialects, and the outer subdivision of the Eastern Sakai.

Now it is clear that (with the exception of the first numeral of Type II. which it has in common with Type I.) Types II. and III. are really one system; and this system cannot be derived from Type I. or Type IV., nor can these be derived from it.


One or two dialects, of which the numerals are imperfectly recorded, have been omitted.

¹ For higher numbers some of the aborigines nowadays use the Malay numerals.
² The various forms given are diu, pat, and mpandbox. Most of the typical forms above have minor variants.
We have therefore at least two, if not three, different systems of numerals to deal with.

But Types II. and III., which on the face of them are so closely allied, are also relatively central, while Types I. and IV., especially the latter, are distinctly peripheral in their geographical positions in the Peninsula. *Prima facie*, therefore, the true Sakai types, II. and III., have the best claim to represent the old Sakai numerals, while the rest may be suspected of having been due to outside influences.

Now Type IV. is the only genuine and authenticated non-Malayan numeral system in the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula that extends to higher numbers than "three" (or at most "four"), which fact in itself suggests its derivation from a more civilised race than the wild tribes of the Peninsula; and there is no shadow of doubt that it is of Mon-Khmer origin, as the following comparison will show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type IV.</th>
<th>Mon.</th>
<th>Suk.</th>
<th>Huei.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. mui (or moi)</td>
<td>muai</td>
<td>mui</td>
<td>mui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 'mahr</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>bar</td>
<td>bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 'mpe'</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. čmpun</td>
<td>pan</td>
<td>puon</td>
<td>puon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. masok¹</td>
<td>māsun</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 'pērū'</td>
<td>tārau</td>
<td>trou</td>
<td>treu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. tempo</td>
<td>thāpah</td>
<td>pho</td>
<td>pha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ It is doubtful whether the Semang equivalents for "two" and "three" can be derived from the Mon-Annam type, though with the exception of the anomalous *diu*, "three," it seems likely enough. It is possible, however, that they are of independent origin. There is, unfortunately, no properly authenticated Semang word for "four" except *sa-beh* in the Sadang dialect, which is clearly derived from "two," and probably means "double two."

² The geographical position of most of the tribes which use numerals closely resembling our Type IV. can be seen from the maps which have been given above. It is important as giving a clue to the region from which this particular influence proceeded. This, as I conjectured in *J.R.A.S.*, S.B., No. 27, was probably the Menam valley.
But the numeral systems of the languages of the great Mon-Annam-Muṇḍa-Khasi-Nicobarese alliance (saving only those of the mixed subfamily, best represented by Cham, which have numerals of Malayan origin) are distinctly divisible into two different groups:—

1. The Mon-Annam-Muṇḍa group (of which the above Mon type agreeing so closely with our Type IV. is one subdivision only).  

2. A group comprising (a) Khasi; (b) the dialects, such as Palaung, Riang, Wa, and Lemet, which are intermediate between Khasi and Mon-Khmer; and (c) Nicobarese.

The following specimens will sufficiently illustrate the peculiarities of this second group:—

1 The first four numerals are practically identical in almost all the Mon-Annam languages; at “five” the differences begin, and the family, regarded from this point of view, splits up into a number of subdivisions, none of which, however, except the one of which Mon is typical, need concern us here.

It is remarkable how closely the Muṇḍa dialects (where they have not borrowed Aryan or Dravidian numerals) agree up to “four” with the general Mon-Annam type and differ from the intervening Khasi, thus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. mit</td>
<td>miya</td>
<td>moí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bar-ea</td>
<td>hāriā</td>
<td>ubar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See the Linguistic Survey of India, vol. iv. part i., especially pp. 12, 24, and 242-245. In the higher numbers (which, however, do not directly concern us) two of the Muṇḍa dialects, namely Kharia and Savara, agree closely with the Palaung, Wa, Lemet, and Khmu dialects of the second group; a fact (first noticed, I think, by Konow in J. R. A. S., 1904, part iii. p. 429) which strongly supports the view that all these groups of languages are ultimately related.
Having regard to the geographical position of these languages and to their connection, as evidenced by a large common element in their vocabularies, it is impossible to believe that these resemblances in the numbers “two” and “three” are due to accidental coincidence, while “four” brings almost all of them into close agreement with the Mon-Annam-Munda type. If, however, the words for “two” and “three” throughout this group are connected, they must represent originally identical roots, merely differentiated by different prefixes k-, r-, and l-.

If that is so, we get back to something like ar for “two” and i for “three” as ultimate roots, and these will then explain not only the Mon-Annam-Munda types b-ar and p-i, but also the Sakai n-ar and n-i

¹ As to Khasi, see the Linguistic Survey of India, vol. ii. p. 38. The Lemet numerals are of the dialect of Chieng Khong (about lat. 21° 30′, long. 100° 30′), see Voyage d’Exploration en Indo-Chine (1873), vol. ii. p. 516. For the Nicobarese numerals, see Man, Dictionary of the Central Nicobarese Language (1889), pp. 240, 241. For all the rest see the Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States (1900), part i. vol. i. pp. 626-727.
(or \(n-e\)), the roots being in each case the same but
the prefixes differing. A similar explanation would
then attach the Mon-Annam \(m-wai\) and the Semang
\(n-ai\) (Sakai \(n-ei\)), "one," to the Khasi \(we\).

The Eastern Sakai forms \(n\-weng, \(n\-u\-e, \(n\-e,^1\)
and the Central Sakai \(nanu, "one," may perhaps
be the same \(nai\) (or \(nei\) with different numeral co-
efficients welded on to them, as has happened to the
Malay \(satu\) (from \(sa\+watu, \text{lit. "one stone"},^2\) and a
similar explanation may be given of the Central Sakai
variant \(nin\), "three."

If the above explanation holds good, practically all
the properly authenticated numerals in the Peninsular
dialects are accounted for; but it follows, as a con-
sequence, that they derive from two distinct sources,
both (though not in the same degree of affinity)
cognate to the Mon-Annam languages. This ex-
planation of our Sakai Types II. and III. is ad-
mittedly somewhat conjectural,^3 but finds some support
in the fact that in a certain number of cases where
words closely allied to the typical Mon-Khmer forms
occur in the outlying dialects (including those which
have numerals of the Types I. and IV.), they are
either not recorded at all in the dialects of the interior
(which have numerals of the Types II. and III.) or
else occur in them in forms differing more distinctly
from the normal Mon-Khmer type.

The following are representative instances:—

---

^1 On the other hand, it is not im-
possible that these forms may better
represent the supposed primitive \(n\+\(wai\;
(which may have been \(weng\ originally
and so connect with the Nicob-
ese \(heng\)). But this is a mere
guess.

^2 A form \(no\) is, however, reported
for "one"; this may either be an
abbreviation of \(nanu\ or, if the above
explanation is wrong, its root.

^3 It was first suggested by Schmidt
in \(Die\ Sprachen\ der\ Sakai\ und\ Semang,\ pp. 524, 580;\ and again in \(Grundzuge\ einer\ Lautlehre\ der\ Khasi-Sprache,\ pp.\ 759. 760.\)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typical Mon-Khmer</th>
<th>Outer Dialects</th>
<th>Inner Dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamboo</td>
<td>ding, diñ¹</td>
<td>ding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>chek ²</td>
<td>tôk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To bathe</td>
<td>hum</td>
<td>hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>maham, phăm,</td>
<td>maham, bahöm,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chham, chhım</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>tangai</td>
<td>têngngi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>tî, tai</td>
<td>tô, thi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>kejût, kajök, jük</td>
<td>kajôh, hênjut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>bönâm, manam</td>
<td>bênöm, bênum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mênun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>long, dêlong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>dák</td>
<td>dôô, dak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would seem, therefore, that there are really two distinct strains of the Mon-Annam element, the one ancient and remote, the other much more recent, in the composition of these dialects, or at least some of them; and in view of the relative importance of this element, which seems to run through their whole structure, the Sakai and Semang languages in their present stage of development, at any rate, may well be classified as outlying members of that family. It must be remembered that in the case of uninflected languages the problem of classification is necessarily very difficult, especially when, under the influence of alien tongues, the vocabularies have been much mixed. Such a language as Cham, for instance, can from certain points of view be classified as Malayan, while other aspects of it are distinctly Mon-Annam, and scholars have accordingly differed in their classification of it. Much the same difficulty besets the classification of the languages of the Peninsula, with the additional complication that they are numerous and heterogeneous, besides being very imperfectly known.

Uninflected languages can pass, almost impercept-
tibly, from one family into another; thus some of the dialects of the Peninsula at the present day are being more and more modified by the influence of Malay, and are being transformed into Malay dialects. When a language is in such a state of transition (or even when its condition is fixed but it is a hybrid product), the classification of it will vary according to the principles adopted: a hard and fast system which looks only to grammar and puts the vocabulary entirely aside can hardly meet the difficulty. What if the grammar, which may mean nothing more than the order of words in the sentence, is similar in the two languages of which the hybrid is made up? What if a mixed dialect uses the vocabulary of one language put in the syntactical order of another? A classification according to grammar only would lead to paradoxical results: the pidgin English of the China ports and the Malay of the Singapore bazaar would have to be classed as Chinese dialects, although there are very few Chinese words in either of them.

Viewed in this light, the problem of the origin of these languages does not, I venture to think, coincide precisely with the question of their proper present classification.

The phonetic tendencies of the Semang race have exercised a modifying influence over the Mon-Annam elements which their dialects have absorbed, softening their primitive consonantal hardness and moulding them into a more vocalic form.\(^1\) The Sakai dialects, on the other hand, and especially the purer members of that group, have better preserved the characteristic harshness of the Mon-Annam phonology; in fact they

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\(^1\) A few instances of this have been found in the Comparative Vocabulary given on p. 390 supra; others will be
are sometimes more archaic than even the stereotyped forms of the Mon and Khmer written languages.

In the Jakun group, so far as can be judged from the fragmentary evidence available, the Mon-Annam element is present in a much smaller percentage than in Sakai or even Semang, and is of merely secondary importance. The Jakun dialects share it in some degree with the Sakai dialects with which they are intermixed,¹ but there can be no doubt that it is not an essential part of their composition; and except that the forms in which it appears are sometimes modified by the peculiarities of Jakun phonology, which has perhaps also affected the neighbouring Sakai subdivisions, it seems to require no special notice here.

Unidentified Elements.

It is certain that the Semang dialects were not originally members of the Mon-Annam family. They still embody a number of words, of a distinct type, which have not been, and I believe never will be, traced to a Mon-Annam or Malayan source. Among such words are many quite common ones, relating to matters of everyday life. The following list may serve as a specimen:—“bad,” jëbeg; “bag,” chog, sëneng; “bamboo,” lëbeh, gënün; “banana,” kukceau; “bear,” tëlëbas; “beast,” āb; “betel-leaf,” bed; “big,” bôo; “bird,” kawód; “blind,” chû; “blood,” nyap; “body,” lëy; “brain,” lëkem; “broad,” men-ey; “calf” (leg), langut; “cloud,” ál; “coconut,” herpai; “day,” këto; “dog,” ek, woh, od; “earth,” kelyid; “to eat,” ya-gëy; “egg,” mûkâ;¹

¹ It is this element which has been referred to on p. 406 supra as the Sakai element occurring in the Jakun group.

The chief point about these words is that their use, so far as is known at present, is confined to tribes of the Negrito type. These words are therefore presumably remnants of the old original dialects of the Peninsular Negritos, such as they were before they became modified and transformed by foreign influences.² A comparison of these specifically Semang words, with their equivalents in the dialects of the Andamanese Negritos, is naturally indicated by the circumstances of the case; but so far as I have been able to make it, it has proved inconclusive, although in a few cases I have ventured in the Comparative Vocabulary to append the Andamanese equivalents, for what they are worth. Until, however, a much more extended series of comparisons reveals the existence of some phonetic laws connecting the Semang with the Andamanese words, their relationship must be considered as hypothetical. The structures and grammars of the languages at the present day are quite different, and can give us no help in this matter.

There are many words also in Sakai which have

¹ This probably really means the fungus-string of which the girdle is made.
² This was first pointed out by Schmidt in *Die Sprachen der Sakai und Semang*, pp. 563, 583.
not as yet been traced to any known source, and it may still be regarded as an arguable question whether the Sakai dialects were originally cognate to the Mon-Annam languages. Both groups must be more minutely examined than has been possible up to the present time before absolute certainty can be attained as to their original relations. But there does not appear to be in Sakai, as there certainly is in Semang, a substantial list of common words in everyday use which would betray an alien origin, and, on the whole, the evidence at present rather tends to the conclusion that the Sakai dialects were from the first related to the Mon-Annam languages in the same way as is apparently the case with Nicobarese, Khasi, and the Palaung, Riang, and Wa dialects. So far as I know, there is nothing in their grammar or structure which would negative this conclusion.

The Jakun group, after deducting the words which can be accounted for as Malayan or Mon-Annam, leaves us a considerable residue, the origin of which I am unable to explain. Some of these have been mentioned already, but it may be convenient to give a few specimens here. The following are typical of Kenaboi, which contains the largest percentage of unidentified forms: — "bird," sābu; "black," sāya; "breast," rāpang; "cloud," lingsā; "crocodile," tohol; "dog," kētōk; "fish," rāyap; "forehead," chālā; "head," tahat; "moon," linta; "pig," sērōi; "root," jēlār; "tooth," chērāk. The following are

1 If Sakai was originally descended from the same mother-tongue as the Mon-Annam languages, it might nevertheless possess words which the others had lost or which it had evolved since the remote date of its separation from the common source. The presence, therefore, in Sakai of some words which cannot be found in the Mon-Annam languages does not cause any difficulty, in view of the large percentage (in Senoi ±35 per cent) of important words in everyday use which it shares with them.

2 See pp. 386, 404, 407-409 supra.
found in various Jakun dialects, and some of them appear even in the neighbouring members of the Sakai group:—“ant,” mērōt; “brother” (elder), gcē; “dog,” āmun; “eyebrow,” lālis; “face,” rēmān; “grandmother,” gēnōi; “house,” chōrōng, jēkōt; “pig,” risīm; “porcupine,” puntu; “rhinoceros,” resēki; “sister” (elder), gaū; “snake,” jēlēle; “tiger,” mūjā, kohō, mēngkōlom; “tired,” kābo.

More words of this kind will be found in the Comparative Vocabulary. A few of the words of unknown origin in the Jakun group are also found in Semang, but are not recorded in Sakai: ¹ these words may perhaps be relics of dialects formerly spoken by Negritos of the south of the Peninsula and now absorbed into the Jakun group, but they are hardly numerous enough to support the view that the Jakun dialects were originally allied to Semang.

The origin of the Jakun group is therefore still in doubt. Very little is known as to its structure and grammatical system, but apparently the latter, at least in those dialects which contain a strong Malayan element, is of the Malayan type. It would seem that the Jakun group, if it is a unity at all, was originally of alien origin, but has been for centuries under the influence of Malayan dialects, with which it has been mixed up, so that it may now be said to be mainly Malayan in character and in process of becoming entirely so. In their present state, the Jakun dialects (with the exception of Kenaboi) may fairly be classed as mixed Malayan dialects: in fact, some of them have become mere subdialects of Malay.

¹ See, for instance, in the Comparative Vocabulary paragraphs C 267, L 139, and compare B 215 with B 217.
Language and Race.

I shall not undertake to correlate the complex facts of language here briefly sketched out with the physical relationships which connect the wild tribes of the Peninsula with the various races of South-eastern Asia. It seems to me somewhat premature to do so until these races have been more thoroughly investigated and more accurately described. But it must not be forgotten that in this region there are several originally distinct racial strata: first a stronger and dominant race, which though varying materially in different localities, has the common characteristic of being more or less Mongoloid in type, and, underlying it, fragments of two other races, which were both probably seated in this region earlier than the race of Mongoloid type. One of these older races seems to correspond with the Sakai type. The Mon-Annam languages are spoken to a great extent by communities of Mongoloid type, but also by wilder non-Mongoloid tribes, and it is still a question to which racial type this class of language originally belonged. It is somewhat significant that at the two ends of the great Mon-Annam-Munda-Khasi-Nicobarese alliance, viz. in the pure Sakai and the Munda region, the races should be of somewhat similar Dravidian or quasi-Dravidian, non-Mongoloid, type. It may be that the intervening populations have been modified by an intrusive Mongoloid strain, while nevertheless retaining their original language: that at present seems to be a tenable hypothesis.\(^1\)

\(^1\) This would appear to be Schmidt's view; see *Die Sprachen der Sakai und Semang*, p. 581, but he does not point out the fact that the great bulk of the populations of Mon-Annam speech are, in spite of slight specific peculiarities, substantially Mongoloid in type. This constitutes the main difficulty of the problem.
other submerged race above referred to is the Semang or Negrito type, which is much more restricted in area than the quasi-Dravidian one. It is still doubtful whether the Negrito type can really be traced elsewhere in South-eastern Asia than in the Peninsula and the Philippine and Andaman islands, and it seems to have had very little influence in building up the races of this part of the world.

Then there is the further complication that the Mongoloid race speaks languages, of various different families of speech, which have not yet been satisfactorily grouped under one head; while on the other hand the Malayo-Polynesian language-family (like the Mon-Annam) coincides with no racial group, but includes several diverse types, Mongoloid and non-Mongoloid. In short, the question of the relation between race and language in South-eastern Asia is an extremely complex problem, and all these matters still call for much more extended and detailed investigation before a really certain conclusion as to the early history of these races can be arrived at.

*Language and History.*

It would seem that fragments of these various races, probably in small numbers and in a very primitive stage of development, independently found their way into the Peninsula at various remote epochs. It may reasonably be supposed that the Sakai brought with them the habit of cultivating patches of ground roughly cleared on the hillsides, and so tended mainly to occupy the hilly country of the interior, while the more savage Semang hunted in the lower levels, and the Jakun tribes (or such of them, at least, as spoke Malayan dialects) settled along the coast-line.
At some period after the Mon-Khmer populations of Southern Indo-China had become more or less civilised through the medium of immigrants from India, the central portion of them, inhabiting the Menam valley, seems to have extended its influence to the southward and to have founded settlements in various parts of the Peninsula. This occupation, of which there is no distinct historical record,\(^1\) is evidenced by the local tradition which assigns such a great part in the past history of the Peninsula to the Siamese. Ancient mines and other workings, remains of forts and the like, are generally styled Siamese by the Malays; in fact, “Siam,” in the local popular topography, plays the part which in England is shared between Caesar and the devil: it serves to explain any ancient and striking landmark the real origin of which is unknown. As, however, there is not a trace of anything really Siamese, \(i.e.\) Tai, in the dialects of the aboriginal tribes or elsewhere in the Peninsula,\(^2\) and as the Siamese are relatively modern intruders in Southern Indo-China, it seems reasonable to suppose that these traditions refer to the Mon-Khmer race

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\(^1\) It appears from Siamese sources that the Mon race had occupied Ligor (lat. 8\(^\circ\) 24', long. 99\(^\circ\) 58') before the Siamese arrived there: see Low in \(J. I. A.\) vol. v. pp. 518-521; Bastian, \textit{Geschichte der Indo-Chinesen}, p. 197. Further south than this they have not been positively traced; Sanskrit Buddhist inscriptions in alphabets of South Indian origin have been found in Kedah, but it has not been shown that these \textit{were} the work of Mon settlers. The archaeological collections in the museums of the Peninsula have never yet been properly studied, and it is possible that they might throw some new light on these matters.

\(^2\) To avoid misunderstandings, I must add that this refers to the Peninsula from lat. 7\(^\circ\) (or thereabouts) southwards, that being the region within which the specimens of aboriginal dialects were collected. North of that region there has been a, more or less mixed, Siamese population for several centuries; south of that latitude there was, until quite modern times, no real Siamese penetration or occupation, but merely a traditional and persistent claim to suzerainty over some of the Northern Malay States. It is only during the last hundred years or so that this purely external suzerainty has been transformed in some cases into actual effective occupation, accompanied in a few districts by the settlement of a Siamese-speaking population.
which inhabited Siam before the Tai came down from the north of Indo-China.

The hypothesis of such a Mon-Khmer occupation of the Peninsula is strongly supported by the linguistic evidence. If the above attempt to unravel the tangled skein of language has proceeded on the right lines, it seems clear that the numeral system which I have termed Type IV. was introduced into the Peninsula by a Mon-Khmer race from the region of the Menam valley at a period which cannot have been very remote, inasmuch as these numerals have hardly diverged at all from the type still current in the adjacent parts of Indo-China. The precise date cannot be determined, but possibly the Mon-Khmer occupation, which may have lasted for hundreds of years, began about the fifth century A.D., or even earlier. It may have come to an end nearly a thousand years ago.\(^1\) Since the last seven or eight centuries (for here again the precise dates cannot be given) the Malays from Sumatra have colonised and occupied the Peninsula, and except in the dialects of the wild tribes and in the popular traditions already referred to there is little trace left of its former intimate connection with Indo-China.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) The Tai conquest of the Menam valley (as to the precise date of which I have no certain information), and the subsequent extension of the Tai race to the southward finally cut off the Peninsula from the Mon and Khmer regions.

\(^2\) There appear to be a few words of Mon-Khmer origin in the Malay dialect of Kedah, but the matter awaits further investigation. In the jargon used by the elephant drivers of Kedah and Perak in speaking to their mounts there are a few words which are almost certainly derived from a Mon-Khmer source. If these words have come direct into this jargon from a Mon-Khmer language, this is evidence that the Malays of these northern States have been in contact with Mon-Khmer-speaking individuals who had acquired the art of taming elephants and imparted it to the Malays. The latter do not appear to have learnt this craft in Sumatra, nor is it nowadays practised in the south of the Peninsula. This Malay elephant jargon, however, also contains some undoubtedly Siamese words and may have come through a Siamese channel.
Language and Culture.

While the heterogeneous composition of the languages of the Peninsula is evidence of the fact that the tribes which speak them, besides being of several different races, have been subjected to various alien influences, the number and diversity of the dialects into which the several languages fall is also eloquent of much. One sees at once that the Peninsula has not, in any period within our ken, been the seat of a great unifying civilisation, and that its aboriginal inhabitants have lagged behind in the progressive movement which has affected Southeastern Asia generally.

Here, as elsewhere, we seem to see the different stages of social evolution mirrored in the phenomena of language. First comes a stage of merely nomadic hunting and fruit-gathering, during which it would appear that there is comparatively little tendency to development or differentiation of speech among the several fragments of a roaming race. Then the gradual beginnings of agriculture bring with them somewhat less temporary modes of habitation, and restrict the wanderings of the clan or tribe within the narrower area of a few miles around the huts it now more regularly occupies. Its small patches of cultivated ground shift, it is true, from season to season, but only within a strictly limited range. This necessarily results in local differentiation of dialect and consequent difficulty of intercourse with other clans or tribes. Next, in the normal course, should come the practice of cultivating permanently occupied areas, partly planted with fruit trees, partly irrigated and periodically sown and planted with rice. This, in
South-eastern Asia, is the most momentous step in advance; accompanied, or soon followed, by the domestication of the buffalo and ox, it allows of a great increase and concentration of population in certain favoured localities, and thus tribes begin to differ in numbers, wealth, and power, according to local circumstances. Next come intertribal wars, ending generally in the predominance of the most numerous and powerful tribe over its neighbours, and the imposition of its language on the other tribes within a considerable area, thus welding the whole into a new unity and laying the foundations of a truly national existence.

But by the aborigines of the Peninsula this stage has never been attained: they never took the great stride from shifting cultivation to the permanent occupation of land, and while they have remained a tangle of more or less savage clans, the coasts and river-valleys of their native land have been colonised by immigrant aliens, who in their own island home had already passed this stage and gained the possession of a common language and some of the other elements which go to the making of a nation. Thus the aborigines of the Peninsula find themselves to-day in the position of scattered fragments dependent on a stronger and far more numerous race, in a distinctly higher state of culture. It requires no great stretch of imagination to foresee clearly enough that the only unity of speech they can ever attain will consist in the loss of their own and the adoption of a foreign tongue, while their other special characteristics will also soon disappear.

Many of the districts in which aborigines were formerly to be found have, even in modern times,
been deserted by them in their flight from their more civilised neighbours. In other districts they have been absorbed into the Malay population, which in several of the States of the Peninsula has a strong strain of aboriginal blood. This process has been going on for many generations, and will soon be complete. The tribes that have maintained their separate existence down to the present time are evidently mere remnants, which happen by favour of local circumstances to have escaped extinction or absorption: and even these few survivals of a past stage of human development will in no long time become absorbed by their somewhat more advanced neighbours.
APPENDIX.

PART III.—RELIGION.

Page 10.

In Z.f. E. xxviii. 189-196, Vaughan-Stevens (ed. Bartels) describes some of the birth-customs of the Sakai (whom he calls Blandas). Incantations (wrongly called "Powang" ¹ by Vaughan-Stevens) are spoken over the sufferer, who is also given as potion an infusion of "three plants called 'mèrian' ('mirian')." ² There is nothing very special to note in the methods of manipulation, which are, however, very fully described.

"Delivery is, as a rule, very easy, and the death of the mother in child-birth extremely rare, although still-born children are not uncommon."

"In the case of protracted delivery, which is generally rare, a second charm is spoken over the sufferer and her body rubbed with the fat of the big python, a small portion of whose fat is also given her to swallow."

"Haemorrhage and ruptured blood-vessels seldom occur, but where they do, nature alone must decide the result, since the Sakai know nothing of the art of the physician."

For a similar account of the manipulation employed by the Orang Laut, see Z.f. E. xxviii. 196.

SAKAÍ LOVE-CHARMS.

Page 67.

Vaughan-Stevens (ed. Bartels) describes the use of a particular plant by any Sakai man who wishes to make his wife indifferent to himself in order to further his own intrigue with some other woman. ³ This plant, which is laid under the sleeping-mat, is said by Ridley (who informs me that Vaughan-Stevens himself gave him a specimen of it) to be Lasianthus.

Sakai women are said to make use of cotton from a silk-cotton tree to secure their husband's fidelity. ⁴

THE CREATION MYTHS OF THE TEMBEH (ORANG TEMIA).

Page 287.

From the manuscripts of Hrolf Vaughan-Stevens, translated into German by H. W. Williams.

The author writes that in vol. lxix. Nos. 8 and 9 of Globus, this story of the creation has already been mentioned, in part reproduced, and that on account of its special interest he now gives a translation of the whole of the original. His version runs as follows:—

¹ "Pawang," spelt "powang" by Vaughan-Stevens, signifies a magician or "charmer" (the old-time "conjuror" of west-country folklore), not the charms by which he works.

² For "mèrian" see note to p. 10 of text.


⁴ Ibid.
"Before the sun was created the earth was like a board, lying on the ground, beneath which swarmed centipedes, scorpions, and ants, in a putrescent mass. These creatures are similar to the demons which then lived in darkness. In a hole under the board lived Naing, while Sammor had his dwelling high up above the board.

"Sammor often came down (to the board) to take a stroll. This displeased Naing, who ordered the demons to sting and bite the feet of Sammor (as ants do now when we tread on them).

"One day Sammor got very angry and lifted the board up to seize Naing. Then they both fought and tried to kill each other. Sammor got the mastery. Naing ran away, crawled down into his hole and hid himself. Since Sammor knew that Naing could not bear the light, he determined to keep him in the hole. During the fight both of them had torn great pieces out of the earth, in order to throw them at each other (hence originated the hills and mountains which we now see upon the earth). Sammor also sought the largest rocks which were to be found, and heaped them on the hole, in order to prevent Naing from coming out. Then Sammor went to his own dwelling-place, and took some fire out of it, and when he had rolled it into a ball with his hands, he returned to the scene of the strife. He threw the board up high into the air and ordered it to stay there, and he commissioned the fire-ball (i.e. the sun) to guard the mountain-covered hole, so that Naing might never come out again. That is why the sun always goes round the mountain, watching it from all sides. Although Naing has often tried to push away the mountain from the mouth of the hole, he is always obliged to let it fall again as soon as he has raised it slightly, because of his inability to bear the light.

"Now the sun discovered that Naing was doing this on that side of the mountain where she herself was not. But Sammor had gone back to his dwelling-place, and since the sun could not forsake her duty to obtain advice from Sammor, she kindled a fire at the place where Naing was making his attempts to escape. She then continued on her way.

"Every time, as soon as the sun has passed by, Naing stretches his arm out of the cavern and attempts to smother the fire with earth. When the moon, in the course of its motion, appears before the hole, Naing throws at it a handful of earth, until he has at length quite extinguished it, and the sun has then to kindle it once more.

"The stars are the hot embers which are scattered about by the fire every time Naing throws a handful of earth at it. These embers are driven towards the board, where they remain burning. The sparks thrown out from the embers are shooting stars. Naing has often been seen in the act of drawing out a fire-brand from the moon.

"Thus has it always happened ever since. When Sammor hurled the board up into the air, it took the form of the heavens above us, and what we see is its lower side.

"On the upper side of this board is the place (heaven) to which the good souls pass, but no one knows what sort of place it is, or what the souls do there. We only know that there is neither marriage, nor birth, nor death, nor change of any kind. Every one has there whatever he wishes.

"The place of Sammor lies far above this upper surface of the world.

"Naing, being unable to come out of his hole, dug a great cavern in the ground for himself and his demons. During the battle between Sammor and

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1 This comparison of the earth to a board or plank, which afterwards is apparently transferred to the sky, looks to me somewhat like a confused recollection of the so-called "tray" (Mal. "talam"), which is described in Malay folklore (2, Malay Magic, p. 3) as being representative of the original dimensions of the earth when first created, according to the account of Malay magicians.
Naing these demons had run away in a fright. Some ran down into the hole and had remained confined there with Naing. The greater number, however, hid themselves behind the hills thrown up by the two combatants. They are thus separated from Naing, and still dwell in the same place that is inhabited by men."

(Here follows the story of the creation of man.)

"When Naing found that he himself was prevented from coming out, through the strict watch maintained by the sun and moon, he tried to get the better of them by means of the demons which, at the covering of the hole, remained outside on account of the superincumbent mountain. This failed, however, because the demons were not strong enough. Naing, therefore, created a great number of demons (the Tembeh could not explain how this was done) which, however, succeeded no better in stopping the watchful course of the sun and the moon.

"Naing then commanded the demons that dwelt outside, in a body, to heave away the mountain from his place of captivity, so that he might come out thence by night in order, if possible, to destroy the sun. All the demons then joined their forces, and with the help of the demons that dwelt underneath, and of Naing, they heaved the mountain slightly upwards and shook it. But when Sammor noticed the shaking of the mountain, he came back to see what was happening. When the demons saw him they immediately ran away and hid themselves in the rocks, trees, and rivers. Thence it happens that the woods are everywhere full of demons, and every tree, every rock, every river, has its own demon. The demons, however, escaped in a body from the mountain on which Sammor stood. In order to prevent the demons from repeating their attempt, Sammor determined to create men so that they might fight against the demons. He therefore took some sparks of the sun-fire (stars), which Naing had broken off from the moon by throwing earth at it, and out of them made seven men. He then, however, reflected that the fire would never die, so he removed the seven men thence, and afterwards made them into the seven guides or messengers who show the good souls the way to heaven. He then took seven leaves which grew close by, and from them made men, whom he commanded to dwell on the mountain, and to prevent the demons from moving it again. Naing, however, went on increasing the number of demons, until it became impossible for the seven men to fight with them all. At their request Sammor returned, removed them thence, and afterwards made them into the messengers who had to lead the wicked souls to hell (because the men made out of leaves died within a fixed period, like the leaves from which they had been created).

"Then Sammor went back to his place and brought thence a man and a woman (no one knows of what material they were made), and placed them on the mountain to guard it. This pair had at one birth three sons and three daughters. When the children had grown up they were given names; the eldest son took the name (and the emblem) of a leaf, the second that of a star, and the third that of an ant. Each one married a sister.

"As the son who had taken the leaf-name was the eldest, he was chief over the others. From him are descended all the Tembeh Batins (chiefs) of the leaf-clan.

"The second son, who had adopted the star emblem, was very clever in every way and became a magician. All the Tembeh magicians are of this totem.

"The third son, who had taken the name of an ant, was the father of ordinary human beings. The ant-families have always been more numerous and more prolific than either of the others.

"The families of the three sons and their wives increased with great rapidity,

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1 These mountains separating man and the demons from Naing are probably the Caucasus, the "Kaf" Mountains of Malay legends. See Malay Magic, p. 2.
so that, with the help of the incantations and magic given to the second son, by the sun, the moon, the stars, and by Sammor himself, the demons were driven back to their hiding-places.”

(Since the first man was placed by Sammor on the mountain, the Tembeh always prefer to live in the hills.)

“When Naing discovered that men were guarding the mountain laid on him by Sammor, and that he himself could not get out, he tried to build himself a road up through some of the other mountains, which had been heaved up and torn from the flat earth in the great battle. These attempts have caused the huge caverns which are found in so many mountains.

“Since there were not enough men to guard all these mountains, Sammor brought yet more and more men and women from his habitation and placed them in various localities. These men who appeared later differed somewhat in form and appearance from the first-created Tembeh, hence it comes that in the world there are various races of men.

“The seven men created from leaves watched at first very carefully, but in the course of time they became weary of the constant watching and pacing up and down, and fell asleep. The demons soon discovered this, and slipped behind the trees, and hid in the brushwood, until they were again quite close to the mountain, when they began to push it away. When some of them had seen that the seven guardians were asleep, they divided themselves into seven companies in order to seize them and take them captive. The demons that found themselves among the attacking forces disguised themselves under the shapes of animals and insects—each party having a special form. The forms were as follows: millipedes, snakes, ants, tigers, leeches, and mosquitoes. These fought with the seven men, and the noise of the battle and of the demons which were trying to overthow the mountain brought Sammor once again on the scene of action. He drove the demons away, and condemned the seven guardians to serve as guides to the souls journeying towards Nenek (Hell) in the darkness.”

Page 289. DETAILS OF THE CHOLERA CHARM OF THE TEMBEH.

On leaving their tree-huts, they both painted themselves and helped each other to paint themselves with their totem emblems (leaf, star, and ant) on stomach and forehead. Three magicians were then chosen, who painted each other’s persons with white lines and devices, according to a prescribed pattern, behind a screen of leafy branches erected to conceal them. In this screen was a triangular opening formed by two converging uprights with seven rough horizontal bars fixed across them. Over these cross timbers were stretched the leafy branch of a plant resembling a palm and another resembling a caladium. The opening is supposed to represent the triangular figure intersected by horizontal cross-lines that the Tembeh are said to employ as a “message character” typifying “night” or “darkness,” but which here typifies “death” and the darkness dear to spirits. A screen that was erected on the eastern side

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1 There should be seven of these parties, one corresponding to each of the leaf-men.—W.S.

2 Or “Ni-nik.” This is possibly identical with the word that appears as the name of Hell or Purgatory in the legends of other tribes, in various forms, such as “Ngari,” “Nyayek,” and so forth; cp. vol. ii. p. 321 of text.

3 It need scarcely be repeated here, since it has been insisted upon in the text, that there is no proof of real totemism among these tribes.

4 For these message characters, cp. vol. i. p. 414 of this book.
resembled that on the west, except that the opening on the east formed a truncated triangle, typifying "day" or "light," this figure being supposed to represent the sun rising behind the mountains. Behind the screen at the eastern end stood a post of about 4 metres high, stripped of its bark, and beyond this again a roughly built round roofless hut, quite 3 inches high, so that nobody could see in except by the door, in front of which hung a mat decorated with the leaf emblem plaited in red on a ground of yellow, the natural colour of the undyed strips—a device the use of which was confined to the magicians. In front of this door was a fire composed of three converging fire-logs. The plot within which the people stood was then measured off by the magician, beginning at the north-east corner and proceeding westward. On its completion the magician proceeded to the round hut already described. After half an hour's wait he raised a fearful din in the hut by blowing into a bamboo of special construction. At this sound the men, each with his jungle knife, hurried to a spot in the plot where some days before had been stuck a number of bamboos, which were now sticking in the ground as though they grew there. Every one now took one of these bamboos and fashioned a spear from it. Meanwhile the women up above had begun wailing "Ah-wah," "Ah-wah," as soon as the blowing of the bamboo in the magician's hut had ceased. On completing their spears the men leapt forth brandishing their weapons, and looking in every direction as though they expected the attack of some enemy. The concealed magician now blew three deep booming notes, when there suddenly appeared from behind the western leaf-screen the white-striped men who took the place of the seven magicians of the seventh class, that in former times represented the demons. Each of them bore a long piece of liana, bent in the middle and forming a lasso, the two loose ends being held together. With hawks and yells the spear-bearers now turned round and took to running and proceeding first from west to east, parallel to the southern boundary of the plot, and then from south to north alongside the eastern boundary (along the line of the dotted arrow), finally entered the plot at the north-east corner and took up their positions in a row just within the plot's limits with their faces turned outward and their spears in wait for the attack of the white-striped "demons." These last ran in the same direction as that in which the boundary line had been drawn, all round this plot, and attempted at the same time to throw their liana lassos over the head of one of the men who were standing within the plot and using their spears to prevent the lassos from falling over their heads, and for that alone. Occasionally one of the three would let go one end of his liana so that it fell to the ground, and poked it to and fro over the boundary line in an attempt to touch therewith the legs of those who stood within. But as these latter leapt aside and deflected the pliant lianas with their spears, none of them were hit. This was a good omen, since any one so hit would soon after have been attacked by cholera. Silent themselves, but accompanied by the fearful yells of the men, shrill wails of the women, shrieks of the children, and barking of the dogs, the "demons" ran round and round the rectangular plot, until suddenly at the sound of the tooting of the magician who was in the hut the din ceased, except among the children and dogs. One of the three "demons" had thrown himself on the ground, twitching and writhing as if he were in bodily pain. His two companions dropping their lianas, ran to the magician's hut, and as they entered the magician came forth. The dress of the latter consisted of a bark loin-cloth, together with bracelets, neckband, girdle, anklets, and knee-hands, plaited from strips of tree bark, "as to which vide note to vol. i. p. 472 ante."

1 All fires as kindled by these tribes are commonly of converging fire-logs.
2 Probably a "tuntong" or "tuang-tuang," as to which vide note to vol. i. p. 472 ante.
3 By "liana" no doubt some kind of rattan (Calamus) is intended.
APPENDIX

The three burnt spots on his forehead were painted white, and on his breast the totem emblem in white clay. In one hand he bore a bamboo, presumably his staff, but this particular staff showed neither drawings nor patterns. He held the staff with the lower part uppermost; in the hollow part, at its lower end smoked some fragrant tree-gum, which, as I had not noticed it before, the magician no doubt must have kindled at the fire in front of his hut as he passed by. One of the three who had been left behind was evidently rehearsing a part for the first time, as he now quite simply asked the magician what more there was for him to do, and the magician had to pull him into the proper position with his hands. The magician slowly approached the man, who kept rocking himself to and fro as though he had the colic; he bent over him, squatted down, and applied his ear to the man's stomach. Next he knocked the burning tree-gum out of the end of his staff, so that it fell within the limits of the plot. One of the men who happened to be there caught up a handful of earth, collected the burning tree-gum, pressed it quickly upon the earth, and then bore the whole round to his comrades, so that each should get a little of the smoke blown over him. Meanwhile the magician had been apparently attempting to examine all over the inwards of the man lying on the ground for something or other; at last with one hand he applied the upper end of his staff to the mouth and nose of the man, and appeared by this means to bring pressure upon the thing in the man's inwards to come out at his mouth. When he at length had succeeded in this, he uttered a loud cry of joy, and at the same time the man who bore the earth and the tree-gum let this fall into the hollow part of the bamboo, right on to the cholera demon. The latter being induced to come out by reason of the challenge of the spears opposed to him, had, it seems, entered into the white-ringed belly of one of the assistant magicians, who then being unable, even with the aid of magic, to endure such an accretion, threw himself on the ground and rolled to and fro, till the magician [of class] No. 2, who in consequence of this proceeding now knew where the demon was, caught the latter and enclosed him in the hollow at the upper end of the staff, where the "damar" kept him imprisoned. The magician then went in company with all the other men (who up to then had remained within the marked-out plot) to the magic hut, laid his staff within, and announced to all present that the demon would stay there a month, until he died of hunger and thirst. However, in anticipation of that desirable event, all persons able to walk would have to leave the encampment for that period, and in the meanwhile reside on the summit of a distant hill.

1 Doubtless strips of the "palas"  
2 Mal. "damar."  
'PART IV.—LANGUAGE.

MATERIALS AND SOURCES OF THE COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.

The materials on which the study of these dialects must be based are in some respects fairly copious, but they are heterogeneous, and the different portions of which they consist are of very unequal value.

For the most part they are confined to vocabularies, some of a few words only, others of respectable length running into several hundred words; in a few cases only are there any sentences, and these are for the most part very short. Such as they are, these sentences (together with the songs and charms contained in the Appendix to vol. i. of this work) are the only means we have of arriving at the principles of syntax on which these dialects proceed.

The vocabularies and lists of words which have been embodied in the Comparative Vocabulary represent the collections of many different investigators, of various nationalities, including English, French, Russian, German, and, in a few cases, Malay. Their modes of orthography differ very considerably in consequence, and it is only by checking them inter se that it is possible to arrive at a clear idea of the sounds intended to be represented, for in most cases the collectors have omitted to give any key to their systems of orthography, and in many they have evidently been somewhat inaccurate either in their observation or rendering of the sounds. Moreover, not unfrequently, they have evidently blundered by giving a wrong meaning to the words they have collected. It must be remembered that, with hardly a single exception, the collectors had no personal knowledge of the aboriginal dialects, but had to work through Malay, a language which was often imperfectly known both to themselves and the aborigines with whom they attempted to converse. Sometimes the European collector appears to have been practically ignorant even of Malay, and to have gone to work through one or more interpreters; often, as in the case of Vaughan-Stevens, his knowledge of Malay is obviously very imperfect. Very seldom does it appear that a collector has even a fair knowledge of the aboriginal dialect on which he reports. Clifford is one of the rare exceptions to this state of things, and, though objections may be made to his rendering of certain sounds, his vocabulary of the Senoi dialect is probably a very close approximation to absolute accuracy.

The material embodied in the Comparative Vocabulary resolves itself into two parts, viz. : (1) published matter, which has appeared in various books or periodicals; and (2) collections in manuscript and as yet unpublished. By far the greater part of the Comparative Vocabulary is made up of hitherto unpublished matter, partly collected by the authors themselves, and partly contributed by others, by whose courtesy the authors have been permitted to include it in their collection.

The earliest of our sources for the study of the aboriginal dialects is a short list of words of the "Jokang" or "Jokang" (i.e. Jakun) language of Malacca.
compiled by Sir Stamford Raffles, and published by him, together with other matter, as a sort of appendix to an article on "The Maritime Code of the Malays," in the Asiatick Researches (1816), vol. xii. p. 109. It was reprinted in Marsden's Miscellaneous Works (1834), p. 87; and again, but apparently independently from the original MS., in the Malacca Weekly Register in 1840. A reprint of the last-named version is given in No. 3 of the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1879), pp. 6, 7. The versions differ slightly inter se. The list of words is of no particular importance except asconfirming the existence of the Jakun dialect in Malacca territory at the beginning of the nineteenth century. About half the words (including all the numerals) are identical with Malay. There are only about fifteen words that are not Malay.

The next vocabulary to be mentioned is contained in John Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago (1820), vol. ii. pp. 125-192 (which pages consist of a Comparative Vocabulary of some twenty languages or dialects, compiled from various sources). The Sëmang words in this collection are expressly stated to be a "specimen of the language of the Sëmang or woolly-haired race of the mountains of the Malay peninsula," collected for Crawford "by the minister of the prince of Queda" (i.e. Këdah), "a man of very superior mind," and corrected by Major MacInnes, who, according to Crawford, was, "after Marsden, among Europeans, perhaps the best Malayan scholar existing." They number about eighty-six, but a few of them are Malay loan words. In his dissertation to vol. i. of his Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language (1852), pp. clxii. clxxii., Crawford repeats about twenty of these words (with slight differences), but adds to them the numerals (all of which, however, except the first two, are merely Malay). On p. clxvi. of the same dissertation he also gives a short list of seventeen words, most of which are contained in his longer vocabulary.

Crawford's main object in adducing these specimens appears to have been to support his pet theory that there was no such thing as a Malayan family of languages by showing that inter alia the Sëmang did not belong to it. But his list is a very good one for all that, and very accurate, as comparison with other sources, even the most recent, sufficiently shows; and it does great credit to the Malay official who compiled it. But as it was almost certainly taken down in the first instance in the Arabic character, which is ill adapted to the representation of the highly differentiated vowel system of these dialects, not much weight can be attached to its rendering of these sounds, and it must be controlled by the more recent records made by Skeat in the adjacent region.

In the Journal of the Indian Archipelago (1848), vol. ii. p. 205, Crawford says that it was in 1811 that he got the list from the minister of the Raja of "Queda," and that it was a list of 176 words of the language of the Sëmang of Mount Jerai (i.e. Këdah Peak, a mountain visible from Penang, which fixes definitely enough the locality of the tribe speaking this dialect). He goes on that to this list he added 21 words 1 from Marsden's Miscellaneous Works (1834), and of the total 197 he finds that 156 are native, 15 Malay, 2 Javanese, 23 common to these two languages, and 1 word Sanskrit. The numerals, he says, are all Malayan, which, however, is not the case with numbers "one" and "two" of the list given in his Grammar. It seems evident that this list has never been published as a whole, and the unpublished words are no doubt lost altogether.

Adriano Balbi in his Atlas Ethnographique du Globe (1826), Tab. xxxvii., No. 103, gives a dozen words avowedly derived from the list in Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago. No account has been taken of these in the Comparative Vocabulary.

1 These are the "Juru Sëmang" words, of which, however, one is apparently taken from Crawford's own list in the History. The rest belong therefore to a different dialect from the Këdah dialect.
Klaproth in No. 12 of the *Journal Asiatique* (1833), pp. 241-243, gives a Sêmang vocabulary, which is for the most part a copy (with some omissions) from Crawfurd's longer list, but turned into the French spelling. That it is so copied is shown by the fact that he gives a Sêmang word *mos* as meaning "sans," *i.e.* "without"; but in Crawfurd *mos* is given as meaning "without" in the sense opposite to "within," as the Malay *luar* in the same column sufficiently shows. Moreover, for "gold" Klaproth gives as Sêmang a word *volesman*, which does not occur in Crawfurd as a Sêmang word, but under the form *volermaner* as a Malagasy word in the line immediately below where the Sêmang entry would be if there were one. Obviously the抄ist blundered. Probably it was not Klaproth himself, for he adduces the Malagasy word, in another spelling, as a form to be compared with his fictitious Sêmang *volesman*, which he could hardly perhaps have done with Crawfurd's Comparative Vocabulary before him to refer to. Anyhow, the indebtedness to Crawfurd is not acknowledged, and does not extend to the whole of Klaproth's words, some few of which (including some variant forms given in addition to those where the agreement with Crawfurd is close) are derived from some other, unknown, source.

The short lists of Kêdah Sêmang in John Anderson's *Political and Commercial Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (1824), Appendix, pp. xlv.-xlvii.; William Marsden's *Miscellaneous Works* (1834), p. 113; Edmund Roberts' *Embassy to the Eastern Coasts of Cochin-China, Siam, etc.* (1837), pp. 413-415; and T. J. Newbold's *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (1839), vol. ii. pp. 422-434, are confessedly drawn from the same source, viz. a vocabulary collected by MacInnes, of the Sêmang dialect of Ian (i.e. Yan, a village at the foot of Kêdah peak), and are substantially identical with Crawfurd's materials, or perhaps merely extracts from the "minister of Kêdah's" original list. Anyhow, the evidence of these sources is not cumulative, and differences between them are probably due mainly to printers' errors and to some of these authors making slightly different selections from the original source. Roberts, however, professes merely to reprint Anderson's list; and Marsden acknowledges his indebtedness to Anderson, but several words appear in his list which do not occur in Anderson's book. Of the whole set of sources Crawfurd is the fullest and best representative. Taken together, and compared with quite recent collections, these old lists tend to show that Sêmang, though the language of a very primitive savage tribe, has not during the last century undergone the rapid changes to which savage languages are commonly supposed to be subject.

A list of ten Sêmang numerals published on p. 113 of Marsden's already mentioned work, and there attributed to James Scott, is embodied in the Comparative Vocabulary; but the numerals are utterly unlike anything collected by other collectors, and the fact that they extend to "ten" is in itself suspicious. I attach little or no importance to them.

The next set of sources goes back to Anderson's list (contained in his already mentioned work) of some ninety words of the Sêmang dialect of "Jooroo," inland of the Company's territory (as it was in 1824) of Province Wellesley, compiled by Mr. Maingay, the Resident of that territory. "Jooroo" is evidently the Juru river in Province Wellesley, which territory now extends further inland than it did in Anderson's time. No Sêmangs are to be found there or anywhere in Province Wellesley nowadays, and there were none even in Logan's time, fifty years ago, nearer than Ulu Kêrian. Marsden and Roberts have reprinted this list, like the previous one, with due acknowledgements to Anderson. Newbold has drawn from the same source with acknowledgments to Maingay, but omits some of the words that Anderson gives. Here again, therefore, there is but one original, and differences are due mainly to misprints. Perhaps Roberts and Newbold have corrected a few of the misprints in Anderson,
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but they have, on the other hand, made a few new ones on their own account, so that there is not much to choose between them. Comparison inter se and with other sources is generally sufficient to show which is in the right when they differ.

All these versions have been included in the Comparative Vocabulary, but in estimating their value as evidence it must be remembered that each group is only one source, and that their weight is therefore not in any way increased by the number of the versions, which have only been reproduced by reason of the variations which occur in them.

A letter written by the Rev. Father Pupier, dated Penang, the 2nd October 1825, and printed in the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (1826), tom. ii. p. 303, contains a few Sàmang words and phrases also, apparently, from a district in or near Province Wellesley, but collected independently from the above materials and expressed in a French orthography. This source is of no great value, but has never been noticed hitherto, so I have thought it worth while to mention it. A diligent search in other missionary records may perhaps lead to the discovery of more such material.

P. J. Begbie, in his rather rare book the Malayan Peninsula (1834), pp. 14-18, gives a list of about 160 Sàmang words (including, of course, a few Malayan loan words) which was furnished him by an unnamed friend of his. It is not stated where the dialect was compiled, but it is undoubtedly a Sàmang dialect, and from a source quite independent of those already mentioned, but related more nearly to the Juru than to the Ian (or Kédah) Sàmang. The spelling appears to be rather good, but the list has been badly printed, so that in ten cases vowels are left out and represented by turned letters, thus –. This, however, is not due to Begbie's own printer, for Begbie apologises for it on p. xvii., at the end of the Errata, and explains that these blanks occurred in his original, which (having himself no knowledge of the aboriginal dialects) he was unable to correct. It appears, therefore, that Begbie's list is founded on a printed source, which I have been unable to trace.

The same list appears to have been reprinted in the Malacca Observer, in an article on the missionary journey of the Rev. Jacob Tomlin, mentioned in J. S. Vater's Litteratur der Grammatiken (2nd ed., by B. Jiül, 1847), p. 537, and a copy of this reprint is preserved in the Royal Library, Berlin. I have not had access to it, but from the words extracted from it in Grünwedel's Glossary and Schmidt's work it is evident that it is identical with Begbie's list; one or two minor differences are noted in the Comparative Vocabulary, but otherwise this so-called "Tomlin's Sàmang" is not embodied in it.

The next list to be considered is Newbold's Vocabulary, headed "Orang Benua," printed in his already mentioned work. This is a long list of about 450 forms (including some trilling variants) being the equivalents of about 250 English words. In some cases there are as many as five synonyms, generally there are two or three.

In point of fact this list is a heterogeneous agglomeration of at least three distinct dialects belonging to three quite different groups.

As Schmidt points out, one element in it is Sàmang, of a type so closely allied to that of Begbie's list that it must be referred to the same or at least a neighbouring dialect; but the spelling differs from Begbie's, and is somewhat less accurate, so that perhaps Schmidt is right in concluding that the two do not go back to the same written source. On the other hand, in a few cases

1 Probably the Rev. C. Thomsen, a missionary and scholar, of Malacca and Singapore, to whom Begbie in p. ix. of his Introduction makes his acknowledgments for a paper treating of the Aborigines.

2 In No. 27 of the Straits Asiatic Journal I wrongly expressed a doubt on this point. Probably the dialect was recorded in Southern Kédah.
Newbold appears to have based his version on Begbie or Begbie's printed original, with its printer's errors, which he neglected: so that it would seem that, at any rate in some words, Newbold's list represents Begbie's unknown original with the spelling recast into the common English style.

Another element in Newbold's Benua list is Besisi, and though Newbold's spelling (being mostly the old-fashioned English spelling) differs from that of the more recently collected specimens of Besisi, a comparison shows that this part of his list is fairly accurate and leaves no doubt as to its being really Besisi. It was probably collected by Newbold himself, for he mentions that he interviewed Besisi and Belandas; the latter may perhaps be represented by the strong Malayan element in his list; but this is quite uncertain.

Another element in his list is Jakun, which was collected for him by the Munshi 'Abdullah bin 'Abdulkader at Gunong Paunchor, near Alor Gajah, in Malacca territory, as related by 'Abdullah in his autobiography (pp. 381-391 of the Singapore edition of 1887).

'Abdullah's account of the matter is worth summarising, as it throws some light on the manner in which the words were collected, and goes some way towards explaining the fact that a good many of them are quite unintelligible and evidently wrong. The worthy Malay was not favourably impressed with his kinsmen of the jungle. Their squalor disgusted him, and their language in their conversation amongst themselves seemed to him "like the noise of squabbling birds," the general effect of it being graphically rendered by him by the cacophonous (and meaningless) words, "kakak-kakak kang'king cha'ku."

"Such was the sound of it," says he, "and I don't know what they were talking about, for I didn't understand it." The Jakuns were very much afraid of their visitors (especially of Newbold, who was wearing a red coat, which he had to take off in order to set them at their ease), but by dint of gifts of tobacco and arsenic, and the persuasion of a tame Jakun boy who acted as guide and intermediary to the little expedition, their fears were got over. Then Newbold said to 'Abdullah, in English, "Go and sit with them here and write down their language, numerals, and customs, and I will go and have something to eat," and then Newbold and Mr. Westerhout (the local official who had accompanied them from Alor Gajah) went to their lunch, and the Jakuns appeared to be relieved at their departure, and began to talk and laugh more freely amongst themselves. 'Abdullah, who had brought a vocabulary or list of words written down ready for the occasion in a pocket-book, proceeded to examine the Jakuns as to their language, asking such questions as, "What do you say for 'earth' and 'sky'?" and they answered him accordingly. Some of the words they gave him were "much the same as the Malay words, some were much the same as Portuguese," which last astounding statement 'Abdullah supports, however, only by the word Deus for "God," whereon he proceeds to found a theory that the Jakuns were of Portuguese descent. Then he got a good deal of information out of them as to their customs in such matters as marriage, birth, bringing up of children, religion, property, the ipoh poison, the names of the different aboriginal tribes, their dwellings, and their practice of magic and medicine. At 5 P.M. Newbold and Westerhout returned to 'Abdullah, who was still pursuing his inquiries, and as they were in a hurry to get back to Alor Gajah he bundled up his papers, pen, and ink, and they all left.

It is evident that Newbold himself took no part in collecting the Jakun words, and was not even present when they were written down, and it seems probable that 'Abdullah noted them down in the Arabic character, which he 1 Favre has a similar theory (Jour. Indian Arch. (1848), vol. ii. p. 243), and it is just possible that in the neighbourhood of Malacca a stray "Portuguese" half-caste or two may have contributed a new strain to the aboriginal stock.
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would naturally use as being the one most familiar to him, though he was acquainted with the Roman alphabet as well. If that is so, it may be readily imagined that when the words came to be transliterated into the Roman character, which may have happened some days or even weeks later, when 'Abdullah had probably quite forgotten what they sounded like, mistakes were very likely to be made. The Arabic character is such that the presence or absence of a dot over a letter may make all the difference: and Malays in writing hurriedly frequently put one rather large extended dot to represent two dots over one letter, and habitually use one dot instead of three over the letter $p$ (a modification of the Arabic $f$). As a rule, they do not represent short vowels at all. In fact, the Arabic character lends itself to errors of all sorts more readily even than shorthand or the Morse code of telegraphic signs, which circumstance, I think, goes to explain the anomalies of the Jakun words in Newbold’s list, a list that includes some quite extraordinary forms, the like of which are to be found nowhere else.

Probably the strange forms beginning with $t$amr- and $t$aml- represent the rough Jakun $r$-, which ‘Abdullah perhaps rendered by the Arabic letters $ghain+r$ and $ghain+lam$. In subsequently reading these off he could easily mistake them for $t$. $m$. $r$ and $t$. $m$. $l$ respectively.

The next set of sources are those contained in the Journal of the Indian Archipelage, a periodical publication which was edited, very ably, by J. R. Logan between the years 1847 and 1862, and of which he himself was the mainstay.

In vol. i. pp. 263-266, appears a list of the words of the "Camphor Language" of the Johor Jakuns, collected by Logan himself from tribes who except in the search for camphor used the Malay language exclusively. It is of interest as being the first recorded specimen of this ceremonial jargon.

In vol. iv. is a short paper by Colonel James Low on the Sakais of Perak, containing, on p. 431, a few words and sentences which have this special interest, that they were the first specimens published of a Sakai dialect (except the Bēsisi words of Newbold’s Bēlua list), and that they were till quite recent times the only specimen available of the Central or purer Sakai group.

It appears from a statement in vol. v. p. 230, that Logan had at his disposal specimens of the dialects of the following tribes: Bēlua of Johor, Bēsisi, Mēntēra, South Sakai, Jakun, Udai, North Sakai, and two dialects of Sēmang. The last two are, from the evidence of the few words he gives, pretty certainly the Kēdah and Juru dialects, and no doubt from the sources already mentioned, the South Sakai is doubtless J. Low’s tribe, and the North Sakai is presumably cognate to the Sakai dialects of Pius and Kērbu, of which we possess more recent records, the Iēwua and Bēsisi, and perhaps also the Jakun and Mēntēra, represent in part Newbold’s "Bēnuā" list, in part probably other collections made in the same regions, viz. Johor and the neighbourhood of Malacca. The Udai dialect is altogether unrecorded by other collectors. From other parts of the Journal it appears that Logan also had access to a few words of some other dialects, e.g. Sabimba, Bēduanda, etc.

Unfortunately, instead of publishing his materials in a full comparative vocabulary or a series of separate lists, Logan as a rule merely gives individual words here and there throughout his numerous articles dealing with ethnographical and philological matters, and in short comparative vocabularies intermixed with other words of more or less similar meaning and form, drawn from all manner of distant and alien languages. The consequence is that it is impossible, without sifting practically every page of his voluminous disquisitions, to collect the specimens which are scattered in them, few and far between as they are. I have been at great pains to gather as many of them as I could recover, but the result was so incommensurate with the labour involved that I had to abandon the task, which I can recommend to some future student endowed with ampler leisure than myself.
Possibly some of Logan's manuscript collections may still be in existence, either in the possession of his descendants at Penang, or in the Logan Collection in the Raffles Library at Singapore: if so, they would be worth publishing.

The short vocabularies of the Malacca Mantra or Mëntéra, collected by Borie and De Castelnau, call for no special remark. The first was first published in an account of the Mantra which appeared in the Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde (1861), vol. x. pp. 413-443, and of which a revised version was printed in vol. i. of the second series of Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago (1887), pp. 303, 304. I have preferred the revised version, but added the words contained in the earlier version, where the two differed. De Castelnau's vocabulary appeared in the Revue de Philologie et d'Ethnographie (1876), vol. ii. pp. 142, 143. The orthography of both Borie and De Castelnau is somewhat influenced by the French nationality of the two collectors.

Somewhere about this period, I think, must be placed the two Sëmang vocabularies contained in MS. No. 29 of the collection of Malay books bequeathed to the Royal Asiatic Society by the late Sir W. E. Maxwell.

Some account of this manuscript was given by me in the Journal of that Society for July 1902, pp. 557-566, and a further note (mainly by S. H. Ray) on its contents (other than the two Sëmang vocabularies) will be found in the number for January 1903, pp. 167-179. The MS. is partly made up of paper bearing a water-mark dated 1850, and I conjecture that it was probably acquired by Maxwell in Perak soon after 1875. At any rate it is rather a curiosity, being written entirely in the Arabic character, apparently by one or more Malays, and it contains a comparative vocabulary of Malay, two Sëmang dialects, Madurese, the Tuleh dialect of Amboyna in the Moluccas, and the Makua language of South-Eastern Africa. I came across it in making a rough catalogue of the Maxwell bequest for the Royal Asiatic Society, and subsequently, by the courtesy of the Council, was enabled to keep it for a considerable time with a view to deciphering and copying the two Sëmang lists for the purposes of the present work.

These Sëmang lists are mostly in pencil and rather badly written, but are fairly long vocabularies; they contain a great many repetitions, Malay loan words, and, probably, blunders. Nevertheless they are decidedly a valuable addition to the material in hand, and are of special interest, as one of them, a "low country" dialect of the "Sëmang Paya" of Ulu Kerian agrees on the whole very well with the type of Begbie's Sëmang and Jaru Sëmang (a type of which no more recent specimen exists, and which is now probably extinct), while the other, a hill dialect ("Sëmang Bukit"), agrees with the ordinary run of Sëmang as represented by the dialects of Kêdah, Jarum, etc. This second dialect has also a locality assigned to it: apparently the hill in question is called Bêranbar or some such name, but I cannot identify it on the map. Presumably it is in Northern Perak or in Kêdah. I do not think G. Berumban (lat. 4° 20') can be meant, for that is in the middle of the Sakai country, and not likely to have been occupied in recent times by a tribe speaking a Sëmang dialect.

As these two lists are in the Arabic character and roughly (sometimes illegibly) written, the transliteration is occasionally doubtful, especially as regards the vowel sounds. I have therefore given a double transliteration, which is explained below, and will enable the reader, if necessary, to reconstruct the original script and form his own idea as to whether my rendering of it correctly represents the sound intended by the writer.

Miklucho-Maclay, whose exploratory journeys in the Peninsula took place in 1874 and 1875, deserves special mention as the first to give us a specimen of a Pangan dialect.

1 It may have been compiled at the instigation of Logan, who seems to have succeeded in communicating his enthusiasm to others.
From the map appended to his second paper in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (1876), it is obvious that he never saw any Sakais, properly so called; his first journey was confined to Johor and the Kumpin district of Pahang, where he saw mixed tribes speaking dialects in which a fair number of words of Southern Sakai still survived, but who from his description were in the main Jakun in physical type; while in his second expedition he met with no aborigines on his way up the Pahang River till he got near the Kélantan border, where the Negrito element is already predominant. This explains his otherwise inexplicable identification of the Sêmang and Sakai as physical types: he had not seen the latter pure.

Linguistically he is fairly accurate: his two Pangan dialects are fairly pure and relatively well rendered. His Ulu Kélantan dialect was probably gathered near the Aring River, his Ulu Patani one perhaps at Jarum in Raman (since visited by Skeat), or else in Ligeh or Jalor: for, unfortunately, owing to his preconceived idea that these tribes are definitely nomadic, Miklucho-Maclay does not specify the localities where he gathered his dialects, though he does mark on his map the places where he met with aborigines.

It is to his credit that he noticed the common (Indo-Chinese) element which runs through his Pangan and Johor vocabularies, but he wrongly attributed it to the strain of Negrito blood which is probably present in the mixed tribes of the South of the Peninsula.

He has the further distinction of having collected the complete set of undoubtedly genuine non-Malay numerals found in any aboriginal dialect of the Peninsula: they extend to "seven" in his Ulu Endau dialect, and though the collector modestly queries the last three, there can be no question as to their substantial correctness. It is to be regretted that his vocabularies are all very short. They were in part reprinted in No. 1 (1878), pp. 41, 42, 44, of the *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, but I have preferred the lists as given in the *Tijdschrift*, etc. (1876), vol. xxiii. pp. 306-308, 311, 312, as being fuller and also containing fewer misprints. Miklucho-Maclay was a Russian, but his orthography is German.

Unfortunately the value of a good deal of the material contained in the *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society* is impaired by misprints. This applies to the vocabularies in No. 5 and to Hervey's vocabulary of the Camphor Taboo Language in No. 3 (1879), pp. 113, 114 (but not so much to his lists of Jakun words in No. 8 (1881), pp. 99, 106, 112-117, and of the Camphor Taboo Language in No. 9 (1882), pp. 167, 168). Hervey himself is extremely accurate in rendering the sounds of words, and he consistently employs the Romanised Malay orthography. He is especially good on the Malayan element, which is such an important factor in the Southern dialects. Hervey's hitherto unpublished collections, which he has been kind enough to permit me to embody in the Comparative Vocabulary, comprise no less than thirteen vocabularies, of varying length, of which three were collected from the Orang Laut of the Singapore island region, and the rest in the territory of Malacca and the adjoining parts of the Négrí Sêmbilan (especially Rêmbau and Johol, and to the exclusion of Sungai Ujong and Jêlêba, which for some years, from 1875 onwards, were administered separately from the rest of the Négrí Sêmbilan, though now reunited to that little Confederation of States). I am also indebted to Hervey for a short list collected by the late A. M. Skinner from coast aborigines near Batu Pahat, Johor.

The lists given in No. 5 of the *Straits Asiatic Journal* (1880) were collected by various persons at the instigation of the Society. They are unfortunately very incomplete, and the spelling is not consistent throughout. The Kénéring (Perak) "Sêmang" (though stated to have been collected by D. D. Daly) is in a partially French orthography (possibly "sub-edited" in MS. by the Secretary), as appears by comparison with the neighbouring "Perak Sêmang" dialect. This last has neither collector's name nor locality assigned to it, but from internal evidence it
is a Sakai dialect (with Sêmang admixture) from Northern Perak, and a reference
to the notes on pp. 153, 154 of No. 5 as compared with pp. 46-50 of No. 4 of
the journal, makes it probable that it was collected by the late W. E. Maxwell
at the Residency at Kuala Kangsar from aborigines who had come down from the
neighbourhood of Kéndérong in Ulu Perak in connection with the recovery of
some of their children, who had been abducted by Malays. Maxwell observes,
quite correctly, that in Upper Perak the Sêmang and Sakais of the plains appear
to mix, both being distinct from the men of the mountains, who are described as
fairer and better-looking than the others. The Sêmang of Ijok ("Ijoh") are
specifically described by F. A. (now Sir Frank) Swettenham (who collected words
amongst them) as being Negritos, and a rough sketch of the head of one of them
bears out the description. Linguistically, two of the six dialects, of which
fragments are recorded in No. 5 of the journal, are Sêmang (Ijok and Sêlama),
one Central Sakai (Chendariang), \(^1\) and the remainder Northern Sakai, the two
from Ulu Perak showing special Sêmang admixture. The original MSS. of the
two Sêmang vocabularies are extant, and were kindly put at my disposal by the
Straits Asiatic Society. They have served to check the printed record. It is
clear from the MS. that the Ulu Sêlama vocabulary (collected by R. D. Hewett)
was "sub-edited" by Swettenham (then Secretary of the Society), who turned its
old-fashioned English spelling into the modern "romanised" system.

Here should be mentioned three hitherto unpublished vocabularies preserved in
MS. in the library of the same Society, and dating from the same period, viz.
about 1878-1880. Like the above mentioned they are on forms issued by the
Society about that time for the purpose of recording dialects. One of them, a
vocabulary of the Sakai dialect of Blanja in Perak, collected by Swettenham, is
imperfect, the last sheet having become detached and lost; the other is of a
Sêlangor dialect, locality unspecified, collected by Daly. As in those early days
the State of Sêlangor was unexplored, and probably only the districts of Klang
and Kuala Lumpur had been visited, the dialect in question probably belonged to
one of these two districts, especially as it resembles Eêsisi pretty closely. The
spelling, however, unlike that of the Blanja vocabulary, is the old English spelling
and very erratic. A list of numerals is given, which except for the first three
numbers, is quite unique and probably spurious.

The third MS. contains a list of words of the Central Sakai dialect of the
neighbourhood of the Sungkai and Slim rivers in Southern Perak. The name of
the collector is not recorded, but the list is accurate and compares well with
neighbouring dialects.

As Brooke Low, Errington de la Croix, and Brau de Saint-Pol Lias all deal
with the same region, which they visited about the same time, it will be con-
venient to take them all together and to include also De Morgan, so far as he
deals with the same dialect as the others. All these explorers collected
vocabularies from Sakais of the Kêrbu valley in Perak. De Morgan, who was
last in point of time and who gives by far the longest list of words, penetrated
furthest into the interior of the district. Lias only met the Sakais on the out-
skirts of this region, near Lasak in the Plus valley, below Kuala Kêrbu, where
they came, by arrangement, to meet him in February 1881. He only gives about
a dozen words, a few phrases, and a fragment of a Sakai song (printed in the
Appendix to vol. i. of the present work) in his book, Perak et les Orangs-Sakés
(1883), pp. 270-273.

Brooke Low's vocabulary was printed in the Appendix to Ling Roth's Natives
of Sarawak and British North Borneo (1896), vol. ii. pp. xlv. xlvi. as the dialect
of a tribe in the Rejang district of Borneo. This mistake was detected by S. H.
Ray, who pointed it out in Man (1902), No. 42. There were some errors in it
as printed in Ling Roth's book, and it has now been revised with the original

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1 Or Chanderiang.
MS., kindly lent by Ling Roth for that purpose. Like some of the preceding ones, this MS. is written in pencil on a form issued by the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society soon after its formation (about 1878), for the purpose of encouraging the collection of aboriginal dialects. The form contains spaces for 115 words (including fifteen numerals), and Low supplied 110. He omitted, however, to indicate the locality and name of the tribe: hence the mistake, which was made, when, after his death, this vocabulary was found mixed up with his Borneo papers.

Low and Errington de la Croix in January 1881 went together up the Plus and Kerbu rivers, and a comparison of their vocabularies shows conclusively that they represent the same dialect. De la Croix gathered his words independently, but apparently supplemented them by adding some of Low’s, in which process he fell into a few errors. In Low’s manner of writing the letter / the cross stroke is often separated from the rest of the letter, and consequently De la Croix took it for / followed by a vowel with the mark of length over it; also Low’s final g is like a y: this I take to be the origin of De la Croix’s lanlāy for lantag, “tongue,” and láp for láp, “egg.” De Morgan (who visited these regions two or three years later) appears to have added some words collected by De la Croix to his own collection: for he also has lanlāi, “tongue,” but gives it in addition to the form lanlāth. I know of no authority for lanlāi or lanlāy except these two collectors, and Low’s rather roughly pencilled manuscript appears to be responsible for this mistake.

De la Croix has a few words not given by Low, but omits about twenty words that are to be found in Low’s list. His orthography is French. His vocabulary, and probably also Low’s, was collected at Kampong Chatang, De Morgan’s at Changkat Chano, both being places in the Kerbu valley.

De Morgan’s other two vocabularies are of the dialects of Sungai Raya, a valley to the south of Ulu Kinta and falling just within the Central Sakai group, and a Northern Sakai dialect which the collector calls Sēmang (“Sōmañ”), collected apparently at Changkat Chēbung (“Chōboñ”) in the Sungai Phāh valley. This last is to the north of the Kerbu region and the Plus valley, but not very far distant, being on the left geographical bank of the Perak river, above Kuala Kēnēring (which is on the right bank of the same). According to De Morgan the habitat of the Sēmangs is bounded on the south by the Plus river, though a detached clan of a few families remains in the hills south-west of Kuala Kangsar: evidently these hills are G. Arang Para and G. Bubu. De Morgan’s Sēmang is not a true Sēmang dialect, but must be classed amongst the Northern Sakai, though the tribe is probably in the main of Negrito descent.

He further enumerates the Perak Sakais, of whom he has heard, in the following order, viz. those of Sungai Kerbu, S. Kinta, S. Raya, S. Kampar, Bujang Malaka, S. Chanderiang, S. Batang Padang, and S. Bidor. And remarks that the Kerbu tribe is much larger than the next two; that the Kerbu and Kinta tribes speak the same language; that the S. Raya and Kampar tribes also inhabit Mt. Bujang Malaka, and that a detached fragment of them exists in the mountains south-east of Kuala Kangsar, between the Perak and Kinta rivers (these mountains are presumably Gunong Kledang and G. Iju, between Blanja and Ipoh), while the S. Bidor tribes inhabit the upper valleys of the Batang Padang and Bidor rivers. Then, says he, come the tribes of Bērnam and Sēlangoñ: but at this point, I fancy, he is getting beyond the range of his own immediate observations.

De Morgan’s spelling is based on the French system and is rather too elaborate. Unfortunately he does not carry it out with perfect consistency. Further, he has made some bad blunders in the rendering of some of his words, and his lists contain a large Malayan element. They are, however, very full, and he evidently took great trouble over them. His method of marking the accentuated syllable in the Sakai words is of considerable value. His specimens
of Sakai prose, consisting of translations of a page of his diary, will be found in the Appendix to vol. i. of this work. They are, however, evidently word for word translations from the Malay version, and of no great value as evidences for Sakai syntax.

De la Croix's vocabulary appeared in an article entitled "Les Sakais de Perak" in the Revue d'Ethnographie (1882), vol. i. pp. 317-341. De Morgan's vocabularies were first published in the Bulletin de la Société normande de Géographie (1885), vol. vii. p. 434 seq., reprinted as Exploration de la Presqu'ile Malais, Linguistique (1886). Some further remarks of his on these dialects, with specimens of words and sentences, are given in L'Homme (1885), vol. ii. p. 578 seq.

Hale's paper in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute (1886), vol. xv. pp. 285-301, contains very few words. His vocabulary of the Ulu Kinta dialect was deposited in MS. in the library of the Anthropological Institute in London, but although a search has been made for it, it could not be found.

Of Vaughan-Stevens' linguistic contributions I would merely say that in the aggregate they are fairly plentiful, but that this collector was no linguist, and his spelling is so bad that, except where he can be checked by other sources, the pronunciation of his words remains in much doubt. The meanings he assigned to them are also often wrong. But his editor Grünwedel has rendered good service by being the first to make a comparative vocabulary of these dialects. Stevens' worst fault, from the linguistic point of view (next to his imperfect acquaintance with the local vernacular), is his habit of jumbling up information gathered among different tribes without stating precisely the localities to which each part of it applies. His linguistic contributions are mainly Sémand, and will be found in the glossary and comparative vocabulary at the end of Part 2 of "Materialien zur Kenntniss der wilden Stämme auf der Halbinsel Malâka," in Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, Band iii. Heft 3-4, pp. 145-190.1

The next authority requiring special mention is Clifford, whose paper on the Sakai dialects in No. 24 of the Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society (1891), pp. 13-29, undoubtedly marks an epoch in the study of these dialects; first, because it gives us our first specimens of Pahang Sakai, and secondly, because Clifford was the first to point out the distinction between the Northern and Central Sakai groups. He also enters into a fairly full account of the characteristics of these dialects, giving sentences in illustration of their syntactical construction, and a good deal of other valuable information.

The relatively few words contained in this paper have now been supplemented by eleven vocabularies in MS. (including one collected by the late E. A. Wise), which Clifford has been good enough to put at my disposal for the purposes of the present work. Most of these are dialects from Pahang, a few from Perak, Kelantan, and Trengganu.

Clifford's orthography is carefully explained in the above-mentioned paper, and follows in the main the system of romanised Malay, modified, however, to suit the phonetic requirements of the Sakai dialects. In some of his earlier MS. collections, it is true, he has used the old English spelling for certain sounds, and these and other slight discrepancies have of course been noted where they occur. But taken as a whole, Clifford's material is of exceptional value, and I understand that he still has some MS. vocabularies in his possession, which (being packed up with other books and stored away) he was unable to lend for the purposes of this work. Among these is the short vocabulary of the Sémand of Sadang referred to in the above-mentioned article. It is to be hoped that all these will in due course be published, as their loss would be regrettable.

Lake and Kelsall's collection of Johor Jakun words in No. 26 of the Straits

1 The stray words in his other reports have not been collected.


**APPENDIX**

_Asiatic Journal_ (1894), pp. 41-56, continues the work of Logan and Hervey in this part of the peninsula, and includes a very full list of the Camphor Taboo Language, which amply illustrates the peculiarities of that curious jargon.

I pass over the Malacca words contained in my paper in No. 27 of the same _Journal_, and Skeat's very full Bēsisi vocabulary in No. 29 of the same, because these have all been revised and may be regarded as superseded by the Bēsisi, Mēntēra, and Jakun material now embodied in the Comparative Vocabulary. The same applies to Skeat's linguistic contributions contained in the _Selangor Journal_ (1897), vol. v. pp. 378-382. To these lists Skeat has added the text and translations of a great number of the jungle songs of the Bēsisi not before printed, as well as some prose specimens, proverbs, and some grammatical notes (e.g. he first noticed the existence of prefixes in this dialect).

The matter published in the _Selangor Journal_ (1895), vol. iii, pp. 227, 228, 244, 245, was collected by G. C. Bellamy and J. A. G. Campbell in 1886-87 in pursuance of official instructions; it is of some value, though the spelling is rather erratic. One of the vocabularies (that of the Orang Tanjong of the Ulu Langat district) is the only Central Sakai dialect recorded in Selangor, and probably marks the farthest southern extension of that subdivision of the Sakai family.

In No. 33 of the _Strait's Asiatic Journal_ (1900), pp. 248-250, Ridley and Skeat give a few words used by the Singapore Orang Laut, who now speak Malay only, with a slight residuum of their older dialect occurring in it.

Lucering's paper on the dialect of the Ulu Kampar Sakais in No. 35 of the same _Journal_ (1901), pp. 91-104, in addition to other valuable information, contains a vocabulary which is much the best specimen in existence of the Central Sakai dialects of Perak, being both full and extremely accurate. It has since been supplemented by some valuable communications in MS. on the dialects of neighbouring tribes.

In No. 38 of the same _Journal_ (1902), pp. 31-33, Machado gives a vocabulary collected from the Jakuns of the interior of Batu Pahat, Johor.

The long series of Sēmang and Pagan dialects collected by Skeat during the Cambridge expedition to the Northern States of the Peninsula in 1899 and 1900 forms a large part of the hitherto unpublished material embodied in the present work. His linguistic work in the Negrito region includes sentences, proverbs, some grammatical notes, and a number of Sēmang songs, some of which latter he also recorded on the phonograph, the first instance, I believe, of its employment in the collecting of aboriginal songs in the Peninsula. Skeat's work has been further supplemented, to a limited extent, by some short lists collected by N. Annandale and H. C. Robinson in their subsequent expedition. They have also furnished a few words of several Sakai dialects of Perak, and of an Orang Laut dialect of Trang.

From R. Martin I have received two vocabularies in MS., a very short one of Ulu Sēlama Sēmang (differing in some particulars from the one in No. 5 of the _Strait's Asiatic Journal_, and in one or two words resembling the type of the Ulu Kērān Sēmang of the Maxwell MS.), and a somewhat longer one of Sakai collected at Ulu Gedang, in the mountains some two days' journey from Bidor in South Perak. These appear also in Martin's own work.

The material collected by A. Grubauer and put at my disposal by W. Schmidt comprises a vocabulary of the Kērā dialect, useful for checking the other collectors in that district, one from the neighbourhood of Tapah, and another, collected on a subsequent visit to the Peninsula in 1902, near Kuala Kēnēring.

The spelling of Martin and Grubauer is German and suffers from the racial incapacity to distinguish between voiced and unvoiced sounds, but is otherwise good, and their material is fairly copious.

To C. D. Bowen of Kuala Kēnh I am indebted for a few words collected near Rasa in Ulu Sēlango; it is the only specimen on record of a dialect from the northern part of the State of Sēlango, and as it differs entirely from the Southern
Perak dialects, further investigation in this region would seem to be well worth while.

Last, but by no means least, a fine collection of words and phrases in four or five Sakai dialects of Pahang was forwarded to me by F. Emeric (then stationed at Kuala Lipis), when the Comparative Vocabulary was already set up in type (as indeed was also the case with Bowen's words and Martin's vocabularies). As far as possible, this additional material has been embodied in the vocabulary, the value of which is much enhanced thereby.

To all the collectors whose materials I have used in this work I would here express my great obligations. I know from personal experience something of the difficulties they must have encountered in making their records; and while I find it necessary to maintain a critical attitude with regard to parts of their work, I deprecate anything like disparagement of it, for not only do I realise how many hardships and how much trouble it has involved, but I find, on a comparison of their collections, that the discrepancies between them are in the main due to real differences existing between the different aboriginal dialects, not to inaccuracies on the part of the collectors. I may add that the somewhat carping attitude which some of these explorers have thought fit to assume towards their predecessors and colleagues seems to me regrettable and unjustified.

Perhaps it may not be without value to point out in what respects the materials here collected are deficient; it may guide future collectors in making good the deficiencies. In the first place, there is a good deal of uncertainty as to the niceties of pronunciation of the aboriginal words, because collectors often omit to give a key to their orthography. If they would only say, e.g., *ai* = English "ow" in "cow," *ai* = English "i" in "I," and so on, using the commonest English words as keywords, it would be far better than nothing at all. Secondly, there is often a doubt as to whether the meaning of the words is correctly given; this is especially the case when the aboriginal dialect has been collected through the medium of Malay and some of the Malay words used have a double meaning. Thirdly, there is a lamentable lack of sentences, the necessary material for the study of the grammar of these dialects.

All the above remarks have a general application, but must of course be qualified as regards particular collectors. A reference to the Comparative Vocabulary will show how carefully some collectors have recorded their words.

As regards the area covered by the vocabulary, some districts are very well represented, others scantily, some not at all. The State of Perak is most strongly represented, Pahang, Kedah, and Southern Selangor perhaps next, then Malacca and parts of the Negri Sembilan. As for the States (other than Kedah) under Siamese influence, the dialects collected there were to a great extent recorded by one man only, and no doubt much remains to be done. In Chaiya and Patâlung, where Sêmangs are known to exist, no record of their dialects has ever been made. In Northern Selangor there is a great gap, and there are blanks over a great part of Pahang and half the Negri Sembilan. I doubt if much remains to be collected in Malacca or Johor, where the aboriginal dialects are on their last legs.

But I would strongly urge every one, in any part of the Peninsula, who has the opportunity of collecting a few words of an aboriginal dialect, to do so at once, and to make a careful note of the locality and, if possible, the tribal name and physical characteristics of the aborigines speaking the dialect, and above all to get the facts he has recorded published without delay, however imperfect they may seem, taking care to distinguish with a query anything that seems doubtful. If this course had been uniformly followed during the last thirty years, we should know a vast deal more about these matters than we do at present, for there can be no doubt that much valuable material has been lost for ever by being left in manuscript, with the intention of getting it completed and published at some future date, which never arrived.
NOTE ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.

The system on which the vocabulary has been arranged is as follows:—An attempt has been made to classify the native words in accordance with their apparent relationships. Each separate paragraph so formed has then been arranged under English key-words, which latter are printed in the thick type known as Clarendon. These key-words alone are in strict alphabetical order, and for the rest, where the alphabetical order has been departed from, cross-references are given by adding the letter and number of the paragraph to be referred to. The numbering begins again with each letter of the alphabet. In the arrangement of the paragraphs the dialects, as far as consistent with the above principles, run (as a rule) in the order Sémang, Sakai, Jakun, ending with Malayan and Malay forms.

In view of the diversity of the materials drawn upon, it was necessary to indicate in the case of every word the source from which it was derived, and for this purpose the name of the source, in an abbreviated form, was put after every word. A list of these abbreviations is given below.

When a phrase occurs (of which only one word of course is explained by the paragraph in which it is placed) a cross-reference, by letter and number, has been given to the place or places where the rest of the phrase is explained in all cases where this appeared to be necessary.

With regard to the use of the vocabulary as an authority, while something has been said above as to the respective weight to be attached to the several sources, it need only be pointed out that words attested by one source only must for the present be regarded as doubtful, while those which are recorded by several distinct authorities can be received with a higher degree of confidence. By means of this criterion it will generally be possible to form a correct judgment as to whether a word can be considered as properly authenticated; the bringing together of the work of many collectors tends to eliminate their individual idiosyncrasies, and the Comparative Vocabulary so formed is therefore of far greater value than each and all of the several sources from which it has been compiled.

In its compilation the pre-existing Comparative Vocabularies of Grünwedel and Schmidt have of course been of much assistance, but reference has always been made to the original authorities from which they drew. These authorities have been reproduced in their own original spelling, but inasmuch as their systems of orthography differ considerably and no reader could be expected to remember them all, the standard orthography adopted in the linguistic part of the present work has been added wherever it differs substantially from that of the

1 The arrangement is, of course, in many cases merely tentative and necessarily, in the imperfect state of our knowledge of these dialects, provisional only. In some instances paragraphs have been recast while passing through the press; but to this proceeding there are obvious limitations. No doubt in many cases future research will throw new light on the subject and amend the present classification.


3 Sprachen der Sakei und Sémang auf Malacca und ihr Verhältniss zu den Mon-Khmer Sprachen (1901), pp. 415-488.

4 The only exceptions are the following: for Logan’s acute accent (‘), by which he indicates length of vowel, the sign of length (”) has been substituted. Emeric’s (explained as the sound of “ought”) has been rendered by á, and (in final syllables only) his é (explained as the sound of “her”) by ö.
original source. In that case the standard spelling is put first, followed by the original in brackets.° In cases of doubt a mark of interrogation is added.

The Arabic characters of the Maxwell MS. have been transcribed as follows (the true pronunciation being, as in the case of the other authorities, prefixed when necessary):—ā = fathah, a = alif, ā = alif + fathah; ī = kesrah, i = ya, ī = ya + kesrah; ă = damaanah, u = wau, ă = wau + damaanah; e = a hooked vowel mark below the line, ē = ya with this mark under it; ă = a similar mark (turned hook upwards) above the line; ā = alif with this mark over it; dī = the 15th letter of the Arabic alphabet; hā = ha (the 6th); kā = kaf (the 21st); rā = ghain (the 19th); 'ā = ‘ain (the 18th); ’ = hamzah; ch = cha; gā = ga; ‘u = nga; ă = nga (these last four letters appear in the Malay alphabet, but not in the Arabic). The other letters require no explanation, but it may be observed that dots are often omitted by the Malay who wrote down the words, so that ˈ appears for nga, kaf for ga, ha or jim for cha (and perhaps final wau for kaf).

Observations within square brackets are those of the compiler, while words enclosed in round brackets are part of the original; but the scientific names of plants, etc., have been added by the compiler, mainly on the authority of Ridley’s “List of Malay Plant Names.”

The Malay words which in many cases are added to the English equivalents are retained for the sake of precision, as the aboriginal words were of course collected through the medium of Malay. Moreover, in the case of the two dialects of the Maxwell MS. and a great part of Clifford’s and Emery’s contributions no English equivalents were given at all in the original MS.

On the other hand, the Malay words which appear in square brackets at the end of some paragraphs have been added by the compiler, and, like the other foreign words in a similar position, are intended to suggest the etymology of the aboriginal words or are given as probable cognates. A list of the languages and dialects which have been referred to for this purpose will be found below.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATED NAMES OF THE MATERIALS RELATING TO THE DIALECTS OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE PENINSULA EMBODIED IN THE COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.

Barok.—Orang Laut (‘men of the sea”) of Singkep, Lingga Archipelago (south of Singapore), c. 0° 40' S. x 140° 30'.—Hervey MS.

1 It is to be observed that Skeat frequently gives two spellings, putting the second, which is intended to indicate the pronunciation more precisely, in brackets preceded by the abbreviation pr. (which means “pronounced”). This system has been preserved by the compiler, so that in all such cases both spellings must be considered as original.

2 J. R. A. S., S.B. (1897), No. 30, pp. 31-283.

3 The determinations of latitude and longitude, which have been taken from the Straits Asiatic Society’s map of 1898, are given in order to enable the geographical position of the various dialects to be fixed approximately and to avoid error arising from the existence, in some cases, of two places bearing the same name. Those marked c. (for, circa) are for the most part merely rough approximations, correct, however, to within a few miles (perhaps 10 or 15 on an average) of the true position, and generally within the range of the wanderings of the tribe; those to which no c. is prefixed may be regarded as accurate to within less than 5 miles; a few have been queried as being of even more doubtful accuracy than the one to which a c. is prefixed.

Except where the contrary appears,
BEDU. Chiong.—Béduanda (or Bídauanda) of the region of the Chiong, a stream in Johol (Negri Sembilan), c. 2° 40' X 102° 20'.—Hervey MS.

BEDU. I.—Bédauanda (probably of Malacca territory), c. 2° 20' X 102° 20'—Hervey MS.

BEDU. II.—The like, another list of words.—Hervey MS.

BELANDAS.—Bélendás, a few words (from South Selangor), c. 2° 45' X 101° 40'.—Skeat, Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1900), No. 33, p. 248.


BEN. NEW.—Orang Bénua (but the list is a jumble of (1) Sémang, from the north of the Peninsula, locality unknown but probably c. 5° 20' X 100° 40', (2) Béésí, probably from Sungai Ujong, between 2° 50' and 2° 25' X 101° 40' and 102° 2', (3) Jakun, probably from Bukit Panchor, Malacca, 2° 22' X 102° 18', and perhaps (4) Bélendas, from the same neighbourhood as the Béésí.—Newbold, Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, etc. (1839), vol. ii. pp. 422-434.

BEN. STEV.—Orang Bénua (locality undefined).—Vaughan-Stevens, op. cit. (see Beland. Stev.).

BERA.—Aborigines of the Bêra river valley, South Pahang, between 3° 20' and 2° 45' X 102° 32' and 102° 40', collected by E. A. Wise.—Clifford MS.

BERS. STEV.—Bérsisi (= Béésí), locality undefined, but certainly between 3° 15' and 2° 10' X 101° 15' and 2° 35' or thereabouts, and probably from South Selangor, Sungai Ujong or Negri Sembilan. —Vaughan-Stevens, op. cit. (see Beland. Stev.), and ibid. Band. ii. Heft 3-4, pp. vi. vii.

BES. A. I.—Béésí of Ayer Itam (or Hitam), Kuala Langat district, South Selangor, 2° 50' X 101° 22'.—Skeat MS. (partly published in J. Straits Branch R. A. S. (1896), No. 29, pp. 13-31).


BES. HER.—Béésí, locality uncertain, but believed to have been collected near Jirat Gunjai on the northern border of Malacca territory, 2° 29' X 102° 10'—Hervey MS.

BES. K. L.—Béésí of Kuala Langat district (see Bes. Bell.)—Skeat MS.


BES. MALAC.—Béésí of Malacca territory, collected from aborigines in the mukims of Bukit Senggeh, 2° 23' X 102° 25', and Sébatu, 2° 10' X 102° 27', the latter being recent emigrants from Sepang, Kuala Langat district, South Selangor, 2° 35' X 101° 40', the former originally from Sungai Ujong (see Ben. New).—Blagden MS. (partly published in J. Straits Branch R. A. S. (1894), No. 27, pp. 27-40).

BES. SEP.—Béésí of Sepang, Kuala Langat district (see Bes. Malac.)—Skeat MS. (partly published with Bes. A. I.)

BES. SEP. A. I.—Béésí words where Bes. Sep. and Bes. A. I. (which are barely variations of the common Béésí dialect) agree in the lists as collected.—Skeat MS. (partly published, see Bes. A. I.)

BES. SONGS.—Béésí words extracted from the songs published in the Appendix to the latitudes are north of the equator; and the longitudes are east of the Greenwich meridian.

Of course the Orang Laut, or gipsies, have a much more extensive range than the forest tribes, and in fact some of them can hardly be said to have a local habitation at all.
vol. i. of the present work and not occurring in (or slightly differing from their equivalents in) Skeat's other lists (Kuala Langat district, see Bes. Bell.) —Skeat MS.

Besisi coll. Nyas.—Besisi words collected at Nyasal, Malacca territory, from aborigines in a Mëntëra settlement (see Mannr. Malac. Nyas.)—Blagden MS.

Blan. Rem.—Iblanas (="Bëlandas) of Këmbau, Negri Sembilan, c. 2° 30' x 102° 10'.—Hervey MS.


Buk. U. Lang.—Orang Bukit ("Hill men") of the Ulu Langat district, South Selangor, c. 3° 10' x 101° 50'.—Campbell, Selangor Journal (1895), vol. iii. pp. 244, 245.

Darat.—Sakai, known to local Malays as Orang Darat ("up-country men"); collected near "Jëral Star" and Tanjong Gahai, Ulu Jëlai mukim, Ulu Pahang, c. 4° 18' x 101° 37'.—Emerie MS.

Galang.—Orang Laut of Galang island, near Riau, south of Singapore, 0° 45' x 104° 15' (perhaps collected at Singapore).—Hervey MS.


Jak. Mad.—Jakun of the Madek river district, Johor, c. 2° 5' x 103° 38', perhaps collected near Chënda Bëmban, 2° 3' x 103° 39'.—Hervey, J. Straits B. R. A. S. (1881), No. 8, pp. 112-117.


Jak. Malac.—Jakun of Malacca territory, collected from Jakuns near Jasin, 2° 18' x 102° 24'.—Blagden MS. (partly published with Bes. Malac.)

Jak. Raff.—Jakon (=Jakun) of "the neighbourhood of Malacca" (Malacca town is c. 2° 12' x 102° 15': the Jakuns probably lived at least 10 miles away; Malacca territory lies between c. 2° 30' and 2° 16' x 101° 55' and 102° 36'), collected by Raffles.—Marsden, Miscellaneous Works (1834), p. 87 (a version, with minor differences, of the following).

Jak. Raff. As.—Jakun (=Jakun) of Malacca: the original version of the preceding.—Raffles, Asiatick Researches (1816), vol. xii. pp. 109, 110.

Jak. Sembr.—Jakun of the Sembong river district, Johor, collected at Kënalau, 2° 8' x 103° 20'.—Hervey, J. Straits B. R. A. S. (1881), No. 8, pp. 99, 100.

Jak. Sim.—Jakun of Simpoh, Johor, 2° 2' x 103° 17'.—Lake and Kelsall, loc. cit. (see Jak. Lem.)

Jak. Stev.—Jakun, locality undefined (probably Negri Sembilan or Malacca, as some of the words are allied to Besisi).—Vaughan-Stevens op. cit. (see Belond. Stev. and Bers. Stev.)

Jëühr.—"Jëühr" (by Malays called Sakai Tanjong, but speaking a Sëmang dialect), mixed Negritos of Temongoh, North Perak, 5° 17' x 101° 22'.—Annandale MS.

Jëla.—Sakai of the Jëla river valley, Ulu Pahang, c. 4° 20'? x 4° 10'? x 101° 31'-102° 13'?—Emerie MS.

Jak. Raff.—"Jokang" (=Jakun).—Raffles, J. Straits B. R. A. S. (1879), No. 4, pp. 6, 7, a reprint from the Malacca Weekly Register, 1840 (another version of Jak. Raff. As.)

Këna, L.—Kënaboi (or Kënabui), originally probably from Jëlënu, c. 3° 8' x 102°,
but collected at Alor Gajah, Malacca, 2° 22' x 102° 14' from a clan that had settled near Gunong Dato', Rémabau, 2° 32' x 102° 15'.—Hervey MS.

Kenau. II.—The like, another list, collected at the same place.—Hervey MS.

Kenau. Stev.—Kénaboī, locality undefined, but see Kenau. I.—Vaughan-Stevens, op. cit. (see Belend. Stev. and Bers. Stev.)

Kérbał.—Aborigines, stated by Clifford to be Sakai (but speaking a dialect which must be classed as Pangan) of the Kérbał river valley, Trèngganu, c. 4° 55' x 102° 40', but originally from the Kêndiam and Sat rivers, Ulu Têmêlêng district, North Pahang, c. 4° 35' x 102° 30', via the Lébir (or Lébih) river, South Kêlantân, 4° 55' x 102° 25'.—Clifford MS.

Kerdaù.—Sakai of Kèrdau, Têmêrôlo district, „about three hours above Kuala Sêmôntàn,” Central Pahang, 3° 32' x 102° 22'.—Emeric MS.

Krau Em.—Sakai of Krau river valley, Central Pahang, c. 3° 40' x 102° 14', but (from internal evidence) some at least of these materials were collected beyond Kuala Lipis, in Ulu Pahang.—Emeric MS.

Krau Ket.—Sakai of Ulu Kêtiar, Kérbał river district, Trèngganu, c. 5° 8' x 102° 35', claiming to have come originally from the Krau district, Central Pahang (see Krau Em.)—Clifford MS.

Krau Tem.—Sakai of the Krau (see Krau Em.) and Kuala Têmêlêng (4° 5' x 102° 19') districts, Central Pahang.—Clifford MS.

Lébir.—Aborigines, stated by Clifford to be Sakai (but speaking a dialect which must be classed as Pangan) of Ulu Chaling, Lébir (or Lébih) river district, South Kêlantân, c. 5° 10' x 102° 27'.—Clifford MS.


Mantr. Cast.—Mantra (= Mêntêra) of Malacca territory (see Jak. Raff.)—De Castelinau, Revue de Philologie et d’Ethnographie (1876), vol. ii. pp. 142, 143.

Mantr. Malac.—Mantra (= Mêntêra) of Malacca territory, collected mainly at Bukit Sênggeh, Malacca (see Bes. Malac.)—Blagden MS. (partly published with Bes. Malac.)

Mantr. Malac. Cha.—Mantra (= Mêntêra), collected at Chabau, Malacca, 2° 21' x 102° 31'.—Blagden MS.

Mantr. Malac. Nya.—Mantra (= Mêntêra), collected at Nyalas, Malacca, 2° 35' x 102° 30'.—Blagden MS.

Ment. Her. I.—Mêntra (= Mêntêra), as „given by two Mêntra men named Gâlang and Bêlum,” probably collected in Malacca territory (see Jak. Raff.)—Hervey MS.

Ment. Her. II.—Mêntra (= Mêntêra) „from a Mêntra man named Lang Panas,” probably collected in Malacca territory (see Jak. Raff.)—Hervey MS.

Mantr. Stev.—Mêntra (= Mêntêra; Stevens has Mantra), locality undefined, probably from the same neighbourhood as the preceding seven vocabularies. —Vaughan-Stevens, op. cit. (see Belend. Stev. and Bers. Stev.)

Or. Berumb.—Sakai, calling themselves Mai Dârât, and by Malays called Orang Darat („up-country men”) of Mt. Bêrumbân (or Bêrumbang), on the border of Perak and Pahang, 4° 20' x 101° 23'—Annandale and Robinson MS.

Or. Hu. Joh. I.—Orang Hutan („men of the woods”) of the northern part of Johor, c. 2° 45' x 102° 45' (only those words which do not appear in Pâl., of which this is seemingly but another version).—Mkhulho-Maclay, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde (1876), vol. xxiii. pp. 306-308 (also published in J. Straits B. R. A. S. (1878), No. 1, pp. 41, 42).

Or. Hu. Joh. II.—Orang Hutan of the northern part of Johor, c. 2° 30' x
Apparently, Orang Laut ("men of the sea" or "sea-gypsies") of Kampong Roko, Kalang, Singapore, 1° 19' x 103° 52'.—Ridley and Skeat, J. Straits B. R. A. S. (1900), No. 33, pp. 248, 249.

Or. Trang.—Orang Laut Kappir (i.e. Kafir, that is, "heathen sea-gypsies") of Pulau Mentia (in Siamese Koh Műh) off Trang (or Tarang), Ligor, 7° 24' x 99° 25' (the northernmost specimen of Orang Laut included in this collection, the Selungs of the Mergui Archipelago having been excluded as not being adjacent to the Malay Peninsula, which is usually considered to terminate about lat. 10°).—Annandale MS.

Pal.—Orang Hutan of the Palong and Ulu Rumpán river districts (or more probably the country lying between these rivers), Johor-Pahang border, c. 2° 45' x 102° 45'.—Miklucho-Maclay, op. cit. (see Or. Hu. Joh. I.), pp. 311, 312.

Pang. Belimb.—Pangan of Belimbing near Tomoh, South Lige, c. 5° 40' x 101° 38', but collected at Jarum (see Sem. Jarum).—Skeat MS.

Pang. Gal.—Pangan of Galas, South Kêlantan, c. 5° x 102° 10'.—Skeat MS.

Pang. Jalor.—Pangan (calling themselves Hami, i.e. "men") of Mabek, between Biserat and Tanjong Luar, Jalor, one of the "Patani States," 6° 23' x 101° 8'.—Annandale and Robinson MS.

Pang. K. Aring.—Pangan of Kuala Aring, Lëbih river district, South Kêlantan, 4° 56' x 102° 25'.—Skeat MS.

Pang. Sai.—Pangan of Sai (or Telubin), one of the "Patani States," c. 6° 30' x 101° 37', but collected at Jarum (see Sem. Jarum).—Skeat MS.

Pang. Sam.—Pangan of Sam, near Sungai Sokoh, Central Kêlantan, c. 5° 37' x 102° 5'.—Skeat MS.

Pang. Sket.—Pangan, dialect not specified, but one of those mentioned here.—Skeat MS.

Pang. Songs.—Words extracted from the Sëmang (or Pangan) songs printed in the Appendix to vol. i. of the present work, collected at Siong and Jarum (see Sem. Kodah and Sem. Jarum).—Skeat MS.

Pang. Stev.—Panggang (= Pangan), locality undefined, but in the north-eastern part of the Peninsula.—Vaughan-Stevens, loc. cit. (see Belend. Stev.)

Pang. Teliang.—Pangan of Teliang, locality unrecorded, but collected at Siong (see Sem. Kodah).—Skeat MS.

Pang. U. Aring.—Pangan of Ulu Aring (upper part of the Aring river), Lëbih river district, South Kêlantan, c. 4° 47' x 102° 20'.—Skeat MS.

Pant. Galh. Mant.—Pantang Gaharu (Agila-wood Taboo Language, but it applies also to the search for gold) of the Mantara (or Mentera) of Malacca territory (see Jak. Kaff.) and neighbouring states.—Hervey, Notes and Queries (1885), No. 1 (issued with No. 14 of J. Straits B. R. A. S.), p. 9.


Pant. Kap. Joh.—Pantang Kapur of Johor Jakuns (words which are not marked as being specifically of the Lêmakau, Madek or Simpai regions, but it is not clear whether they are to be referred to any or all of these).—Lake and Kelsall, J. Straits B. R. A. S. (1894), No. 26, pp. 41-54.


Pant. Kap. Log.—Pantang Kapur of Johor Jakuns (the same, according to Logan, on the Sdicili, Endau and Batu Pahat rivers; apparently, therefore, covering
Central Johor, between (at least) 2° 25' and 1° 50' x 103° and 103° 40'.—Logan, *J. Indian Archipelago* (1847), vol. i. pp. 263-266.


Po-Klo.—Po-Klo, mixed Negrito tribe speaking a Sakai dialect and known to Malays as Sakai Bukit, of Temongoh, North Perak (see *Jekehr*).—Anandalal MS.

**Rasa.**—Words collected from aborigines near Rasa, Ulu Selangor district, c. 3° 30' x 101° 38'.—Bowen MS.

**Sak.**—Sakai of Batang Padang, South Perak, c. 4° 20'-4° 5' x 101° 10'-101° 20'.—Wray, *J. Straits B. R. A. S.* (1890), No. 21, pp. 123-165 (there are very few, if any, Sakai words in this paper, which is a journal of an expedition in the Perak hill country).

**Sak. Blanj. Cl.**—Sakai of the neighbourhood of Blanja, Perak, 4° 30' x 100° 57'.—Clifford, *J. Straits B. R. A. S.* (1891), No. 24, pp. 19, 20.

**Sak. Blanj. Clif.**—The like, additional words.—Clifford MS.

**Sak. Blanj. Sw.**—The like dialect.—Swerthenen MS. in the library of Straits Asiatie Society.

**Sak. Br. Low.**—Sakai of Korbu (or Korbu) river valley, Perak, c. 4° 47' x 101° 16'.—Brooke Low MS. communicated by Ling Roth (printed, with some errors, in Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (1896), vol. ii. App. xiv., xlv.)

**Sak. Chen.**—Sakai of the Chêndariang river district, Perak, c. 4° 15' x 101° 15'.—Paul, *J. Straits B. R. A. S.* (1880), No. 5, pp. 129-149.


**Sak. Em.**—Sakai of Pahang, locality uncertain.—Emeric MS.

**Sak. Guai.**—Sakai of Pulau Guai, three miles below Kuala Témbéling, Central Pahang, 4° 3' x 102° 19'.—Clifford MS.


**Sak. J. Low.**—Sakai of South or Central Perak, locality undefined.—Low, *J. Indian Archipelago* (1859), vol. iv. p. 431.

**Sak. Jern.**—Sakai Jéram (so called by Malays, but calling themselves Sémang and being really Negritos speaking a Sakai dialect) of Grit (or Gérik), North Perak, 5° 27' x 101° 4'.—Anandalal MS.

**Sak. Korb.**—Sakai of the Korb (or Korbu) river valley, Perak, c. 4° 45' x 101° 19'.—De Morgan, *Bulletin de la Société Normande de Géographie* (1885), vol. vii. pp. 434 et seq., reprinted as *Exploration de la Presqu'île Malaise—Linguistique* (1886), from which reprint the words were extracted.

**Sak. Kinta.**—Sakai of Kinta, Perak, c. 4° 40'? x 101° 20'?—Speedy, loc. cit. (see *Sak. Chen.*).

**Sak. Kor. Gb.**—Sakai of the Korb (or Korbu) river valley, collected at Kuala Batu, 4° 53' x 101° 12'.—Grubauer MS., communicated by Schmidt.

**Sak. Kor. Lias.**—The same dialect, but collected at Kampong Lasak, 4° 59' x 101° 8', from Sakais who had come there by appointment.—De Saint-Pol Lias, *Perak et les Oranges-Sakêys* (1883), pp. 270-273.

**Sak. Lemg.**—Sakai of Léngkus, near Blanja, Perak; evidently the same dialect as *Sak. Blanj. Cl.*—H. C. C. (=Clifford), *Notes and Queries* (1887), No. 17 (issued with No. 17 of the *J. Straits B. R. A. S.*), pp. 102, 103.

**Sak. Martin.**—Sakai ("Senois") of Ulu Gedang, in the mountains two days' journey from Bidor, South Perak, c. 4° 7' x 101° 20'? (stated by Martin to be about 4° 2' x 101° 7', but that can hardly be right).—Martin MS. (also...
printed, with slight modifications, in Martin's *Die Inlandstämme der Malaiischen Halbinsel*, pp. 989-992).

Sak. *Morg.*—Sakai, but not stated whether *Sak. Kerb.* or *Sak. Ra.*—De Morgan, *loc. cit.* (see *Sak. Kerb.)*.

Sak. *Plus.*—Sakai of the Plus river valley, Perak, *c. 5° 3' - 4° 46' x 101° 8'/101° 28'*.—H. C. C. (=Clifford), *loc. cit.* (see *Sak. Lenšk.*).

Sak. *Plus Cliff.*—The same dialect, additional words.—Clifford MS.

Sak. *Ra.*—Sakai of the Sungai Raya river valley, Kinta district, Perak, *c. 4° 35' x 101° 10'*.—De Morgan, *loc. cit.* (see *Sak. Kerb.*).

Sak. *Sel. Da.*—Sakai of Sélango, locality undefined, probably Kuala Lumpur or Klang district, *c. 3° 15'-2° 57' x 101° 20'-101° 45'*.—Daly MS. in library of Straits Asiatic Society.

Sak. *Slim.*—Sakai of the Slim (Sélim) river valley, South Perak, *c. 4° 12'-3° 49' x 101° 22'-101° 33'*.—Clifford, *loc. cit.* (see *Sak. Blauj. Cl.*).

Sak. *Sung.*—Sakai of the neighbourhood of the Slim and Sungkai rivers, South Perak, *c. 4° x 101° 25'*.—Anonymous MS. in library of Straits Asiatic Society.

Sak. *Tam. Kam.*—Sakai of Tanjong Rambutan, nine miles from Ipoh, Perak (Ipoh = 4° 36' x 101° 5').—Luering MS.

Sak. *Taf.*—Sakai of the hill country about a day's journey from Tapah road, Perak, *c. 4° 15' x 101° 25'*.—Grubauer MS. communicated by Schmidt.

Sak. *U. Bert.*—Sakai of Ulu Bertang, near Mt. Berumban (or Êrêmban), Perak, *4° 24' x 101° 20'*.—Luering MS.

Sak. *U. Kam.*—Sakai of the Ulu Kampar, Perak, *c. 4° 24' x 101° 11'*. but also spoken in Ulu Pulai, Ulu Gopeng, *4° 28' x 101° 11'*, and the hills around Batu Gajah (Batu Gajah = 4° 29' x 101° 3').—Luering, *J. Straits B. R. A. S.* (1901), No. 35, pp. 91-104.

Sak. *U. Kampar.*—The same dialect, additional words.—Luering MS.

Sak. *U. Tap.*—Sakai of Ulu Tapah, Perak (see *Sak. Tap.*).—Luering MS.

Sem. *Besg.*—Sêmang, locality undefined, but probably *c. 5° 26' x 100° 30'-100° 55'*.—Begbie, *Malayan Peninsula* (1834), pp. 14-18 (it would seem that Begbie, who did not collect this vocabulary himself, was indebted for it to the Rev. C. Thomsen, see *op. cit.* p. ix.).

Sem. *Buk. Max.*—Sêmang of Bukit Bêrambah (?), North Perak (?)(the locality has not been identified; it cannot be Bêrambah or Èrêmban).—Anonymous Malay MS., No. 29 Maxwell bequest in library of Royal Asiatic Society.


Sem. *Ij.*—Sêmang of Ijoh (or Ijok), North-west Perak, *c. 5° 8' x 100° 40'-100° 55'*.—Swettenham, *loc. cit.* (see *Sak. Chen.*), and also his MS. in library of Straits Asiatic Society.

Sem. *Jarum.*—Sêmang (or perhaps, more consistently, Pangan) of Jarum, South Raman, "Patani States," *5° 51' x 101° 2'*.—Skeat MS.


Sem. K. Ken.—Sêmang (but really a northern Sakai dialect) of Kuala Kênêring, collected at "Kambahû - Ongbéi," North Perak, c. 5° 14′ x 101° 3′.—Grubauer MS. communicated by Schmidt.

Sem. Ked. And.—Sêmang of Ian (i.e. Yan, at the foot of Mt. Jêrai), Kêdâh (see Sem. Craw. Gram.), collected by M'Innes.—Anderson, op. cit. (see Sem. Jur. And.)


Sem. Ked. New.—The same.—Newbold, op. cit. (see Ben. New.)

Sem. Kêdâh.—Sêmang of Ulu Siong, near Bukit Sabêlah, Kêdâh, 5° 44′ x 100° 45′.—Skeat MS.

Sem. Ken.—Sêmang of Kênêring, Perak (printed as "Perak Sêmang"), (see Sem. K. Ken.), really a northern Sakai dialect.—Daly, loc. cit. (see Sak. Chen.)


Sem. Martin.—Sêmang of Ulu Sêlama (or Sêlamar), North-west Perak, c. 5° 16′ x 100° 51′.—Martin MS. (also printed with Sak. Martin).

Sem. Pa. Max.—Sêmang Paya (lit. "swamp Sêmans" or "low-country Sêmangs") of Ulu Kêrian, Perak-Kêdâh border, c. 5° 20′ x 100° 45′.—Anonymous Malay MS. (see Sem. Buk. Max.)

Sem. Per.—Sêmang (speaking a Sakai dialect) of (North) Perak, probably of the neighbourhood of Kêndêrong, c. 5° 29′ x 101°.—Maxwell (?), loc. cit. (see Sak. Chen.)

Sem. Plus.—Sêmang of the (northern portion of the?) Plus river valley, North Perak, c. 5° 6′ x 101° 15′-101° 30′? but collected at Ulu Siong, Kêdâh (see Sem. Kêdâh).—Skeat MS.


Sem. Sadang.—Sêmang of Sadang, near Blanja, Perak, c. 5° 29′ x 100° 54′.—Clifford, loc. cit. (see Sak. Blanj. Cl.)

Sem. Scott.—Sêmang (numerals only), locality undefined, collected by Scott.—Marsden, loc. cit. (see Sem. Jur. Mar.)

Sem. Skeat.—Sêmang, dialect not specified, but one of those mentioned here.—Skeat MS.

Sem. Stev.—Sêmang, locality undefined (but presumably Kêdâh or North Perak).—Vaughan-Stevens, loc. cit. (see Beland. Stev.)

Sem. Toml.—A few words where this source differs from Sem. Beg. (of which it appears to be a mere reprint).—Malacca Observer, article on Tomlin's missionary journey, 6 pp. Svo, copy preserved in Royal Library, Berlin (embodied in Grünwedel's Glossary, see Beland. Stev.)

Sem. U. Sel.—Sêmang of Ulu Sêlama (or Sêlamar), North-west Perak (see Sem. Martin).—Hewett, loc. cit. (see Sak. Chen.), and also his MS. in library of Straits Asiatic Society.

Sentiâla coll. Nya.—Sêmilai tribe, locality unknown, words collected from Mêntéra at Nyalas, Malacca territory (see Mantr. Malac. Nya.)

Sen. Cl.—Sênoi, i.e. Sakai of the Central group, precise locality undefined, but no doubt collected in Ulu Pahang between c. 4° 45′ and 4° 16′ x 101° 30′ and 102°.—Clifford, J. Straits B. R. A. S. (1891), No. 24, pp. 16-29.

Sen. Cliff.—The same, additional words.—Clifford MS.

Sen. Em.—The same dialect.—Emeric MS.

Serau.—Sakai of the Serau river valley, North Pahang, c. 4° 30′-4° 20′ x 101° 50′.—Emeric MS.
Serting.—Sakai (so-called) of Tinjau, Sërting river valley, Nëgrî Sëmbilan, c. 2° 50' x 102° 18'-102° 29'.—Hervey MS.

Serting coll. Nya.—The same dialect, collected from Mëntëra at Nyalas, Malacca territory (see Mantr. Malac. Nya.)—Blagden MS.

Sin. Stev.—Sinnoi (= Sënoi), locality undefined (but see Sen. Cl.)—Vaughan-Stevens, loc. cit. (see Belend. Stev.)

Söm.—Sömäñ (= Sëmang), a mixed Negrito tribe speaking a Sakai dialect, of the Sungai Päh river valley, North Perak, c. 5° 10' x 101° 8'.—De Morgan, loc. cit. (see Sak. Kerb.)

Tan. Sug.—Orang Rayat (“subject people”) of Tanjong Sagënting, Batu Pahat, Johor, 1° 18' x 102° 54', collected by A. M. Skinner.—Hervey MS.

Tan. U. Lang.—Orang Tanjong (“men of the river reaches”) of the Ulu Langat district, South Sëlængor (see Buk. K. Lang.)—Campbell, loc. cit. (see Buk. U. Lang.)

Tem. Cl.—Tëmbe', i.e. Sakai of the Northern group, precise locality undefined, but probably of North-west Pahang, c. 4° 40' x 101° 35'-101° 50'.—Clifford, loc. cit. (see Sen. Cl.)

Tembi.—Tëmbi or Tëmbe', the same dialect, of the Pahang-Këlantan borderland, c. 4° 42' x 101° 35'-102°? but collected at Kuala Beltek, Serau river valley (see Serau) from Tëmbe' who had come there to work for the Sënoi of that region.—Emeric MS.

Temian.—Orang Laut of Temiang (an island in the archipelago south of Singapore, 0° 18' x 104° 23'), probably collected at Singapore (see Or. Laut).—Hervey MS.

Tum. Stev.—Tummeor (= Tëmiä, the same as Tëmbe'), locality undefined, but see Tem. Cl. and Tembi.—Vaughan-Stevens, loc. cit. (see Belend. Stev.)

U. Cher.—Aborigines (speaking a Sakai dialect) of the Ulu Chëréë river valley, Ulu Kuantan, North-east Pahang, 4° 3' x 102° 57'.—Clifford MS.

U. Ind.—Orang Hutan (“men of the woods”) of the upper reaches of the Indau (or Endau) river, Johor-Pahang border (see Or. Hu. Joh. II.).—Miklucho-Maclay, loc. cit. (see Pal.)

U. Kel.—Pangan of Ulu Këlantan (locality undefined, but probably collected in the Aring or Lëbëh river valley, see Lebir, Pang. K. Aring, and Pang. U. Aring).—Miklucho-Maclay, loc. cit. (see Pal.)

U. Pat.—Pangan of Ulu Patani, locality undefined, but probably collected somewhere near Jarum (see Sem. Jarum).—Miklucho-Maclay, loc. cit. (see Pal.)

U. Tem.—Aborigines (speaking a Sakai dialect) of the upper reaches of the Tëmbling river, and Pulau Bësar, North-east Pahang, and the upper reaches of the Dungun river, Trëngganu, c. 4° 36'-4° 24' x 102° 30'-103°?—Clifford MS.

LIST OF LANGUAGES REFERRED TO AT THE END OF PARAGRAPHS OF THE COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY, FOR COMPARISON WITH WORDS OF THE ABORIGINAL DIALECTS.

Munță Languages.

Santali, Mahâ, Munțâri, Birhôr, Dhànggûr, Korwa, Kurku, Nahali, Kharia, Juang, Savara, Gadaba (a few words only), from the Linguistic Survey of India, vol. iv, pt. i.

Santali, Bhunij, Kol, Juang, Munțâri, Kurku.—Campbell, Specimens of Languages of India (1874), pp. 78-91, 94-107, 112-123.
Khasi and Mon-Annam Languages.\(^1\)


Palaeang (or Kunai), Kiang, Wa (or Wi), Wa (of Kengtung State), Danang, En, Son, Tai Loi Wa (or Wa Kii), Amok (or Hson-Hsun), Angku, Loi (or Tai-Loi of Mong Lwe).—Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States (1900), pt. i. vol. i. pp. 626-727.


Stieng.—Azémard, Dictionnaire Stieng (1887).

Bahnar.—Dourisboure, Dictionnaire Bahnar-Français (1889).

Ka (of the mountainous borderland between Laos and Camboja [apparently = Phnong]), Chong (of the district inland and east of Chantabun).—Crawford, Embassy to Siam and Cochill China (1828), ad fin.

Old Khmer, Samre, Xong (or Chong), Cedang (or Sedang), Huei (of Attopeu), Cat (or Kat, of Attopeu), Soue (or Sük, of Attopeu), Soue (or Sue, of Saravan and Phong), Hiu (of Saravan), Proons, Annamese, So (or Lakon), Nauang (or Nañang, of Sang Kon near Kemarat), Mi (of Xiang Cang = Chiang Kang), Khnous (Khmou ou Khoum, of Luang Prabang), Lenet (of Chiang Khong and Pak Ta).—Lagré and Garnier, Voyage d’Exploration en Indo-Chine (1873), vol. ii. pp. 498-517.

Saour, Pôr, Cvoi (Kui ou Kou), Phnong, Prou (also called Broa and Braou), Cancho (or Kanche), Rodé (also Rade ou Rañaih), Chvrai (also Jarai).—Moura, Le Royaume du Cambodge (1883), pp. 440-447.

Türeng, Kaseng, Kon Tii, Sue, Halang, Boloven, Cedang (or Sedang), Churu, Jarai.—Odend’hal, Vocabulaire Comparé (lithographed, since printed, with additions, in Journal Asiatique, Mars-Avril 1905, pp. 265-337).


Rade (or Rañaih), Kha Bi (or Kha Pi), Kuy Dek, Cham, Raglai, Chrâ, Churu, Braou; also Khmer, Bahnar, Siêng, etc.—Cabaton, MS. notes. See also Cabaton, “Dix Dialectes Indo-Chinois,” Journal Asiatique (Mars-Avril 1905), pp. 265-337.

Nicobarre.

Central, Southern, Shom Pê (Inland Southern), Teressa (and Bompoka), Chotara, Car Nicobar.—Man, Dictionary of the Central Nicobarese Language (1889).

Andamanese.


Aka Beada (or Rea), Aka Balé, Puchikwlar, Akô Jiwó, Kol.—Portman, Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes (1898).

See also Temple, “Grammar of the Andamanese Languages,” being Chapter iv. of part i. of the Census Report on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1902.

\(^1\) Schmidt’s Sprachen der Sakei und Semang (1901), Grundz. einer Lautl. der Khasi Sprache (1904), and Grundz. einer Lautl. der Mon-Khmer Sprachen (1905) have been of great assistance in connection with these languages.
British Borneo Dialects.

Sea Dayak (of Rejang and Batu Lapor), Kanowit, Kayan, Bintulu, Puman, Matu, Brunei Malay, Bisaya, Murut Tudos, Murut Trusan, Dali Dusun (near Limbang), Malanau (of Mukat district), Pulopetak Dayak, Karauangan Dayak, Sinding and Meralei Dayak, Kajem Dayak, Sau Dayak, Bulau Dayak, Meri Dayak, Lundu Dayak, Bintulu Dayak, Malanau and Muka Dayak, Berang and Sabungo Dayak, Bukar Dayak, Santan and Gurge Dayak, Sanau Dayak, Sampo Dayak, Budanok Dayak, Slang Dayak, Sibuyau Dayak, Tabuia Dayak, Sabutana Dayak, Serint, Gapu, and Matan Dayak; Kayan, Kenniah, Puman, Kalabit, Narem, Sibep, Kayan (of Bintulu and Rejang rivers), Sadong, Lara, Sibuyan, Salakan, Lundu, Malau, Pakatan, Idjean, Adang (Murut), Lanun, Dayak (of Sentah, Sarawak), Iruman, Dusun, Bulud Opie, Sielu, Kian Dayak (? Kayan), Puman Dayak, Melano Dayak, Bukutana Dayak, Land Dayak, Balau Dayak.—Ling Roth, Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo (1896), vol. ii. Appendix, pp. i.-clx.

Long Kitup (of Long Tutau, mouth of Tutau river), Naram (of Claude Town), Leluk (of Long Tru, formerly of Luak Lake), Puman (Bok, of Bok river, Tinjar), Sea Dayak (general in Sarawak territory), Barawan (of Long Tisam, Tinjar river), Tutung (lower and upper part of Tutung river), Sarawak Malay, Malang (of Long Simitan, Tinjar river), Sibep (of head of Tinjar river), Lepu Aran Kenayah (of Long Pangan, head of Tinjar), Bar Malig (of Mt. Dulit), Kalabit Buan (Bear, of Long Panah, Tinjar river), Lorong (Orang Lobok Bay, Upper Tinjar, Long Movai), Maloh Kalis (of Upper Kapuas), Tubun (of lower Madalam river, near Limbang), Kayan (Una Bittoba, of Baram district generally). Lepu Savaun (Long Pana, of Tinjar river), Long Ulai (Lepu Fun, of Baram river), Puman Nibang (of Nilong branch of Lobong river), LongPokun (Long Sulan, of Dopoi river); Madang (of Tinjar river), Kajaman (of Baloi), Murik (of Baram river), Brunei Malay, Miri (of Mira river), Bintulu (of Bintulu river), Muka (of Muka river), Una Pok Kayan (of Upper Apoh river, Baram), Lepu Tau Kenayah (of Silat river, tributary of Upper Baram), Bakatana (of Baloi river or Upper Rejang), Orang Bukit Bekian (of Tutung river, near Nyamok river), Lemchih (of Upper Balait river, formerly Maradi), Murut (of Trusan river), Dali (of Singallas on Sibut river), Greko (of Upper Sarawak river), Batu Blah (of Tutau river), Engau Dayak (of hills between Kapuas and Batang Lapor); Tanjong (of Rejang river, above Kanowit), Pliit (of Upper Limbong and Tutau originally), Lepu Pokun (Baram Kenyahs), Kadayan (Orang Bukit, of Upper Balait and Tutau), Madang (Badang of Silat—a doubtful source), Abe (Long Abe, of Baram river), Long Pola (of Baram river), Bisaya.—S. H. Ray, MS. vocabularies.


Dutch Borneo Dialects.

Sampit, Katingan.—Tiedtke, Woordenlijst der Sampitsche en Katingansche Taal (1872).

Bayau Dayak, Lawangan, Manyan (Maanjan), Siang, Tingum, Solok.—Den Hamer, Proeve eener Vergelijkende Woordenlijst van Zes in de Z.O. Afd. v. Borneo voorkomende Taalakken.

Tidung.—Aernout, Een Woordenlijstje der Tidoengsche Taal.

Ngaju Dayak.—Hardeland, Da’acksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, 1859.
Other Malayan Languages.


For Batak, Minangkabau Malay, Lampung, Sundanese, Javanese, Kawi, Madurese, Balinese, Bugis, Mangkasar (Macassar), Bisaya, Tagal, Malayasy, etc., various published authorities have been followed, including, besides vocabularies (or dictionaries) of some of these languages, Kern’s *De Fijitsjaaal vergeleken met hare verwanten in Indonesie et Polynesië* (1886), and the same author’s *Over de Verhouding van het Majoorsch tot de Maleisch-Polynesiësche Talen* (1884), and Brandes’ *Bijdrage tot de Vergelijkende Klinkerkleer der Westersche Afdeeling van de Maleisch-Polynesiësche Taalfamilie* (1884).

The Malay words added for etymological comparison have been checked for the most part with Klinkert’s *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (1893), but the English spelling usual in the Straits Settlements has been adhered to.

In general an attempt has been made to render the spelling of words from all these authorities uniform with that adopted as the standard for the aboriginal dialects, but in some cases (especially in cases of doubt) the original spelling has been added (in brackets) as well. The native spelling of Mon and Khmer is put in square brackets, to draw attention to it, as it usually represents an older stage of the language than the modern pronunciation.¹

Owing, however, to the diverse nature of these sources, and the fact that the systems of orthography used by the several authors are often left unexplained, it has not been possible to secure absolute certainty or uniformity throughout, especially in the vowels.

It need hardly be said that no attempt has been made to illustrate fully the relationship which the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula bear to all these other languages. Apart from the fact that this would have necessitated a much deeper study of these various tongues than the time at the writer’s disposal permitted, considerations of space would have made it quite impossible to embody within the limits of the present work all the results of such an extended research. Where the Malay equivalent of a word in an aboriginal dialect of the Peninsula seemed to be a sufficient explanation of it, no other has been added; but this must not be taken to imply that in every such case the word is a loan-word from Malay. In a very large number of instances, as mentioned elsewhere, there is a strong probability that some other local Malay language, now merged in the aboriginal dialects, is to be credited as the real source. Where the aboriginal word was a Malayan word not found in Malay, a small selection has been made from the cognate Malayan languages. Words connected with the Mon-Annam family have been somewhat more fully illustrated, but even here a selection had often to be made. It will be observed that in some cases where the Malayan and Mon-Annam families appear to have words in common, and it is doubtful to which of them the aboriginal word should be referred, both sources have been indicated. Nicobarese and Khasi, Munda and Andamanese have been drawn upon to a very small extent only. Altogether, it must be clearly understood that this part of the work has no pretensions to completeness, and does not claim to be an etymological dictionary of the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula.

¹ The cerebral letters are distinguished by a dot under them; ṇ in Mon) is a sort of nasalized b.
COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF

ABORIGINAL DIALECTS.
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ABORIGINAL DIALECTS.

A

1. Abandon, to: já (djé), Söm. D 123?
2. Abandon, to: pelá (pélá), Sák.
   Kerb. [Cf. Sedang, Jarai loi, “to
   abandon”; but more probably Mon
   bálnā, “to let alone”; Khmer leành
   [lá; lāh], “to quit.”] Cf. R 201?
3. Abandon, to: mèninggál (mùninggál),
   Sák. Ra. [Mal. mèninggàl].
   Ability: A 187.
4. Able: kahun (e.g. k. gâh, “able to
   fell trees”), Bes. A. I. To be able:
   hun; kahun, Bes. K. Lang. Can
   (vb.): kahun, Bes. K. Lang. Strong:
   hun, Bes. A. I. Weak: hun not,
   Bes. A. I. N 66.
   Able: C 20; C 48.
4A. Abortion (?); miscarriage (?)
   (Mal. tégugoran): bêhâk, Jeli âl.
5. Above: pe, Sem. Stev.; kepeng,
   Gram.; kapung, Sem. Stev.; M 199;
   W 30. Above, on top (Mal. di-
   atas): ha'-kêpeng (ha' k'îng), Sem.
   Pa. Max.; A 178. Top; that which
   is at the top (Mal. yang di-atas): atoh
   kêpeng (atuh kping), Sem. Pa. Max.;
   A 6. Formerly; first (Mal. dahulu):
   di-kaping, Sem. Buk. Max. Up-
   country (Mal. ulu): kêping (kping),
   [Alak püng; Niahôk núng ption;
   Bahnàr kôpông, “above”; Alak
   püng; Hâlung trong peng, “up-
   stream.”]
6. Above; towards the top of (Mal.
   ka-atas): ka-kêntök (ôr ba-kêntök?
   Sem. Jarum; ka-kêntök (ôr ba-
   kêntök ?), Sem. Pluç; A 178; A
   176. Above; on top; upwards (Mal.
   atas, di-atas, ka-atas): hâtnôk (hâ'nûk),
   (Mal. pada diu): hâ'tôh (hâ"hûn),
   Sem. Pa. Max. To precede; to go
   before (Mal. dahulukan, pêrûg dahulûk):
   chênh hâtnôk (chua hâtnûk), Sem. Pa.
   Max.; B 146. Headwaters of river;
   upstream (Mal. ulu sungai): hâ'tôh
   (hâ'huûn), Sem. Pa. Max. To ascend;
   to go upstream (Mal. mudûk): ya-
   tòg, (e.g. tög bâ-kêntök, “to go up
   (forwards?),) Pang. U. Aring; tûg
   (or tugg), Sem. Kêdah; tôt, Pang. U.
   Aring; bûtû, Pang. Belimb.; bêkêntök
   or bêkêntök, Pang. U. Aring; tóg
   (tûrg), Lèbir, Kerbat. Across; kentú
   (kn-tû), Sak. U. Kam. Inland; up-
   country: ta', Sen. CI.; méêa, Sak.
   Martin; mata' (matah), Darat,
   Jelâl. Upstreamwards (Mal. ka-ulû):
   ma' ta', e.g. èng hôt chip ma' ta', “I
   am going upstream,” Sen. Cl.; mata;
   (matah), Darat. To go upstream
   (Mal. mudûk ka-ulû): galâh mata
   (galâh matah), Sëran; U 26A; A
   176. To rise; tôtô (tè-tô), Sak.
   Kerb. “How far have you been up
   river?” hè chip ma' ta' sêng kat lor,
   Sen. Clîf. [Cf. Mon lûn, “above,”
   “over,” “upon,” “upper”; Ka
   unûte, “above”; cf. Bahnor ti, tôîî,
   “above,” “up there”]
7. Above: kêngkêm (kêngkêm), Sak.
   U. Kam. On; on the top of: kê-
   mil, Sak. Blanj. Clîf. Above: kemil,
   Krau Emp. Top of a waterfall: kemil
   jerep?, Sëran [or Tembi?].
8. Above, on (Mal. atas): (a) sû-i, Sen.
   Clîf. Above (Mal. di-atas): kên sû-i,
   Sen. Clîf. From above; from the


13. Abscess; ulcer (Mal. puru): cho-i (cho-i), Söm.; cho-i (choi), Sak. Korb. [cf. I 45.]


Absent: N 69.

Abundant: F 290.


Accept. to: C 48.

Accompany, to: C 221; C 228.

Accost. to: S 361.

Accurate: S 483.

19. Accuse, to: cheiyāg? (tsēyēg), Sak. Korb. [? Cf. Cham yak, "to accuse."]

20. ACCUSE, TO: tudoh (toudoh), Söm.: tudōh (toudōh), Sak. Ra. [Mal. tudoh].

21. Accustomed: baban (e.g. b. mērī, "familiar with the forest?"); Bes. A. I.


Ache: S 187.


ACID: S 349, 359.
Acquainted: K 61.
Across: A 6.
Act, to: D 135.
27. Add. to (Fr. "ajouter"); Mal. tambah; taboh, Sêm.; tabah (tabou), Sak. Kerb.; tamâh (tâmah), Sak. Ra.; tama', Sak. U. Kap. More still: antamabuk (hampatabouk), Sak. Kerb. [Cf. Mal. tambah; but cf. also Boloven, Niakov buok; Alak bâk; Lave buk, "to accumulate."]
Adolescent: Y 41.
32. Advice: counsel: buguru (bougourou) Sêm.; Sak. Ra.; bugorô (bougôrô), Sak. Kerb. [Mal. bêrguru, "to have a teacher"].
Adze (Mal. bêlîong): gîk (ghêk), Sêm.; kekâ, Tembî; jekâ, Tembî, Seraw, Jelai, Sak. Em.; jekâ, Darat; jek, Tem. Ch., Sen. Ch.; jek, Sak. Plus Clif., Tan. U. Lang.; jîk (dîk), Sak. Kerb.; jien (djen), Sak. Ra. Axe (Mal. kapak); jîk (dîk), Sak. Kerb.; nôh gîk (nôh ghêk), Sêm.; gâp, Sak. Ra. Chopper (Mal. parang), hêg (haig), Sem. Stev. [? Cp. Cham jîng, "hoe", châng, "axe"], Bohnor nîk (nhik): jorai öchông; Sué kachok, "hoe"; Nhîmêr chîhêk, "to cut in pieces"; and perhaps Bohnor hak, "to split, to tear"; Stieng hek, "to tear", jik, "to cut (e.g. brushwood)"; Nhîmêr chîk [jik], "to hollow out."]
Adze: tatok (?), Bes. K. L. [? = A 34].
Adze: [Mal. bêlîong], chai, Sem. Plus [? = A 33].
Adze: B 393; P 127.
Adze, shaped like an: patul-patul, Bes. Songs. [cf. Mal. patil; fav, petel, a kind of adze].
Affection: L 146-149.
Affectionate: mëcêl, Jak. Mad.
Afrail: F 48-51.
After: pintul, Kena. J.; B 5; F 125.
Afterbirth: N 42; P 121.
Afternoon: raös? (ra-erse), Bers. Stev.; D 17; D 19; D 33; D 39.
48. **Again**: pula, Serau [Mal. pula]; A 71; M 170-172. **Against**: A 178.

49. **Age**; lifetime: 'umor ('nur), Sem. Buk. Max.; (oumour) Sak. Ra. What is your age?: marok umor ha' (hak), Tembi. What is his age?: brapa tahutin li umâr (umâr), Jelâr; Y 23 [Mal. Ar. 'umor]; A 57; L 130; P 117; W 112.


**Agree to**: P 217.

53. **Aim**; to: nuju (noudyes), Montr. Cast.; toju', Sak. U. Kam. To procreate: mênjuju (m'nuju), Jak. Ba. Pa. Sending [Mal. pênuju]: toju or toju', a small slip or sliver of bamboo which is "sent" to go and injure or kill an enemy, Sem. Kedah [Mal. toju, "to aim"].

54. **Air**: hâwâ (haoua), Sak. Rs. Breath: hâwa', Bes. Sep. [Mal. Ar. hawâ]; B 256; B 389; S 479; W 109; W 111; W 113.

55. **Alight**; to; to perch [Mal. hinggap]: kéâb (knb), Sem. Pa. Max. [? = C 48].

56. **Alight**; to; to perch: C 52.

57. **Alike**; S 138.


62. **All**; together?: kênul (kônul), Sôm. It is enough (Mal. sudah chukup): hôi kênul (hôi-kônul), Sôm.

63. **All**; dik dik, Sak. J. Law; di-düt, Sak. U. Kam.; doyt (often pr. diyêt); nadôt (often pr. nadôt), Bes. Sep. A. I. Done; has; finished (Mal. sudah): dit, Sen. Clif.; di't, Jelâi. Empty: små dikâ, Serau; A 64. To finish: yadît, Sak. Ra. Finished (Mal. habis): bê dikâ, Sen. Clif.; doyt; nadôt, Bes. Sep. A. I. Done for: doyt, Bes. Sungs. No more; dit, Sak. Ra.; F 122. [? Cf. Bahnar di, "finished," "all," "entirely"; dik, "only"; Chom di, "only"; SIeng di, "one," "only"; dech, a particle indicating the past, the completion of an action. But cf. also Bahnar têt (töet), "end," "finished," "dead" [? cf. D 48]; Mon tôe [tôel], particle of completion; Ka ted, "all."]

64. **Alien**: sêma [sûma], Sak. Ra.; samo, Mantr. Malac. All to-
gether: sêmuhâ (sômouhâ; sômouhâ), Sak. Ra. [Mal. samuan].

All. I: A 79; F 117; M 42; W 102-103.


Alluvial deposit: W 30.


68. Alone (Mal. sa'orang) : lîrnom (lour-nom), Sak. Ra.

69. Alone: gênar, Bes. A. I.

70. Alone: deri (deri), Sak. Kerb. [Mal. diri, "self," as in sa'orang diri, "alone by oneself"]; E 3; O 27; O 34.

Already: F 123.

71. Also: kîâ, Bes. Sep. Again; and then; too: kîô, Bes. Songs. Again: kîâ', Bes. Songs; lîî, lîö, e.g. "he is well again," ya bor lîî, Sak. U. Bert. [? = M 172].

Also: M 172; T 83;

Alternately: I 29; T 257.

Altogether: A 61.


73. Always: ilâ-lîî; ilâlâî, Sem. K. Kem.; salalu' (salaluk), Serau; sêlâlu (sôlalou), Sôm; sêlalu (slalu), Sak. U. Kam.; sêlalo (sôlalo), Sak. Ra. Immediately or forthwith: sêlalu (slalu); ex. kêbûk birang pedböd slalu, "pack up (?) the . . . (?) fruit forthwith," Pang. Teliang [Mal. sêlâlu]=P 39; M 42.

74. Ambaloh (tree), (also known as balau, êmbalau): iyoh ambâlôh (aiuh ambaluh), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. êmbalau].

75. Among: 'ngüng, Sak. U. Kam.


Ancestor: G 86.


77. And; with: kî-kui (kl-kouï), Sôt mâm.
[? = A 178].

78. And; with: âyût, Sak. Kerb.

79. And; with: samâ (samâ), Sak. Ra.
To assemble; to bring together: samâ (sama), Sak. Kerb. All: chip samâ (chîp-samâ), Sak. Kerb. [means "to go with "]. Together; all: chip sama (chip sama), Sôm; G 42.


80. Anger: (a) chîncîng, Sem. Beg.; cheng or macheng, Sem. Jarum; kachi, Bes. Sep. A. I. Rage; to be angry; to rail at; to abuse: kachi, Bes. Sep. A. I.
(b) Angry: têkêh (têkêh), Jak. Mad.; têkeng (t’keng), Jak. Lem., Jak. Ra. Pa.; têken (teken), Jak. Sim. [Khmer kheng [kheng], "anger," "angry".]

81. Anger; angry: kilê (kîlé), Sak. Ra.


84. Angry; bilâs, Sak. U. Kam.

85. Angry; seah (së-ëh), Bes. Her.

86. Angry; ngérîn, Sertoing; ngérin, Bedu. II. Bad: ngérin, Kena. II. [Mal. ngérîn, ngérên, "angry."]


Angina pectoris: H 64.

Angle: B 175; C 244-245.


Angry: A 17; A 80-87; G 42; S 189.

89. Animal: jo-on, Kena. II.


COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF


107. Ant: bēt, Tembi; phak (p'nak), Kena. I. [cf. A 105 or 1067].


Ant: N 30.

110. ANT, WHITE (Mal. anai-anai): awun (ātum), Sem. Buk. Max.; run, Jak. Malac.; garui (gā-roui), Sōm.; garui (garou), Sak. Kerb. [This last is given with meaning "to hold" (bunir), but should be opposite the next entry, viz. "termites"]; groiti, Jīlāj. Ant (spec. Mal. kelungkāk); mēning, Jak. Malac. [Mon grun; Centr. Nicobr dāoin (pr. dāin)?, "white ant"].

111. ANT, WHITE: anai-anai, Mantr. Malac. inau, Serau [Mal. anai-anai]; B 143.

112. ANT, WINGED? (Mal. kalakatau): kikas (kiks), Sem. Buk. Max. [a Malay word?]


114. ANT-EATER: kondā, Bes. A. I.


117. Antidote (against ipoh poison): chuping (chooping); chupung, Ment. Sere.


120. Anxious: bimbang (bimbañ), Sōm.; bimbiañ (bimbañ), Sak. Ra.; bimbang (bimbañ), Sak. Kerb. [Mal. bimbang ḫati].

Any more: M 172.

Apart: B 145; O 62; S 104.


Ape: M 73.


Appleyx: F 155.

123. Apparently: bō, e.g. miṅg bō, "apparently near," Bes. Sep.

Appear, to: S 138.


Approach, to: C 217-225; G 42; T 86.


Approve, to: H 29; T 238; T 240.

Arched: K 160.

125. Areca nut: blīk, Sak. U. Kam., Sak. U. Bert.; blīk, blīk, blīk, Tembi; blek, Darat; blīk, Seraw, Jīlāj. [ Cf. Stieng mū; Khmer melā [milu]; Hluang lamū; Sàk malua; Kaseng bū; Mon jāblū; Bahnar bōlū (bōlū), "betel."]


Areca nut cutter: K 47; P 106.


Argus pheasant: B 216; D 181.


131. Arise, to: A 156; A 190; G 15; S 429-430.


A T A S


(c) Forearm: chêrîk (chêrêk), Sêm.; chêreng (chêrêk), Sak. Kêrê.; chêrîk (chêrêk), Sêk. Ra.; chêlêg or chêrêg (tcheîlêg or tcheîrêg), Sak. Kor. Gê.


töngán (the second word = Mal. tangan, "hand"); Cham popall "arm ").

(d) Upper arm: räpet, Kena. I.


ARM: F 111; H 15; H 18.


ARMLET: R 133.


ARMS: 136: K 47; W 65.


AROUND: O 67; R 160; R 192; T 256.


144. Arrange [?], to (Fr. ranger): uba-

manah (oubah-manah), Sak. Ra. Other: ubāh (oubah), Sak. Ra.; A 121 [Mal. ubah, "to change "]


148. Arrive, to: tilbā, Sak. Per. (Plus or Lēngk.) 4 N.Q. 101; tilbā (tilbā), Sak. Ra.; G 42; W 81 [Mal. tība].

ARRIVE, TO: C 217-225; G 29; G 42; T 86.

Arrow: B 261; B 263; B 291-304; B 354; B 356; B 360; E 83.

Arrow, point of: E 65.

Arrow, shaft of: B 183.


ARRROWS, quiver for: Q 17-29.

Arrow case: B 31: N 42; Q 20; Q 24; Q 26-27.

Arrow poison: P 163-175. Arrow poison receptacle, P 175.


ARTERY: M 219.


152A. Aruan: häuen (hauin), Sem. Pa. Max. [Mal. aruan; haruan].

Asam durian: D 189.


Asam paya (fruit): S 11.


(d) Ascend, to (Mal. naik): ya' hijahh (pr. hi-jahh), (of climbing a hill), Sem. Plui; hechhoi (hetchhoi), Sak. Kerb. To climb a hill; hechhoi (hetchhoi), Sak. Kerb. [cf. Khmer châu [jau], "to rise" (of the tide)].

(c) Climb, to (Mal. panjat): ya' chawad kêbôk, "I climb for fruit." Sem. Plui. To climb with feet straight: chidwâd (chidward), Sem. Stew. [p = A 136].


156. ASCEND, TO; to climb [go up a hill]:


(b) Ascend, to (Mal. naik): bi-hûj, Sem. Cliff; bi-hût; hût, Sem. Cliff. To ascend: to go up (Mal. naik): hûj; hût, Sem. Cliff. To climb (Mal. panjat): hûj, hût, bi-hût, bi-hûj, Sem. Cliff; hût, Sak. Roch. I climb: en hûtô Njelî. To go up a ladder: hût, Sak. Roch. [Hence the following: "May I enter this house? Yes, you may. No, you may not": bulé an hûtô (or hot) dông hê? bulé ha hût (or hût), Ga hût (or ga hôt), pe bulé (or pe bûlé), Njelî.] To go up: hûnû (hûn(d)), Sak. U. Kam.

157. ASCEND, TO: naî, Sak. Ra.; nak, Bedu. II. To climb: naî, Bedu. II. To climb (a hill): naî, Sak. Ra. [Mal. naik]: A 6; C 165-167.


158A. ASHAMED: hêsôl (hêsôl), Sem.; engsîl (ensîl), Sak. Ra. To be ashamed: ensâl (ensâl, "deep a"). Sem. K. Ken.; D 122.

158B. ASHAMED: sagtû, Tenûbî, Serâu [cf. and dist. D 122; F 49].


Aside: A 121; O 62; S 198.


163. Ask for, to (a thing): to beg: 

Ask paths, to (a thing): to beg:


166. Ask for, to: sôöi; chöoi; hōoi, e.g. chöoi kih-oi, "I ask for a little"; sôi; nööi, e.g. sôi uis ha'öyn, "asked us for a light"; kasoi, e.g. kasoi hangkîh, "ask him (for it)," *Bes. Sep.* A 1 *Tarung sê; Khôme sûâm [sum]; Kasen san'bôu, "to ask for"; but cf. Khôme suor; *Stieng chuor "to ask (questions)""]: G 29.


Aslant: S 241-249; S 265-266.
Asleep: S 250; S 257.
Asphyxiation: D 50.
Assault, to: S 493-497.
Assemble, to: A 79; Q 30.

170. Assemble, to: to bring together (*Fr. assemble*) nînput (nîmput), *Söm.* [*Mal. himpun].

**Assistance:** H 73.
**Assuredly:** V 12.


**Astonished:** D 56; S 522, 523.

172. Astonished, to be; to jump up (?): mäjâjat (mja'jrât), *Sem. Buk.* Max. [*cf. Mal. pérangan*].


177. At; in; on (*Mal. di*): kên; e.g. hè gûi kên tê nyûn dûkôn (*derk') jîh, "sit you upon the ground near this house," *Sem. Cl.* From (*Mal. dêri*): kên, e.g. èng pái hôl kên rê, "I have just arrived from downstream," *Sem. Cl.*; A 8.


(b) To: ka, *Jak. Stev.*, *Bes. Songs* [*Mal. ka, "to"]

(c) At; in; ha, *Bes. K. Lang.*; A 5. 6. To: ha, *Bes. Malac.*; ha, e.g. jô'n ha'öyn, "give to me"; (to indicate the object, in some cases) e.g. Batin padaos ha'öyn, "the Batin ordered me," *Bes. Sep.* A 1.; R 84. Towards: ha, *Bes. Sep.* A 1. With: ha, *Bes. Malac.? With: against; ha; hang, e.g. hang kîkê, "with him," *Bes. Sep.* A 1.; T 53. To want (?); ha, e.g. öyn ha-chok méri ha-nêchit chim, "I want to go to the forest to snare birds," *Bes. K. Lang.*

At: A 5.

**At once:** B 145.

Atap: R 164-168.


**Athwart:** A 26.


**Atrophy:** T 70.

183. **ATTACK, TO:** deri (dérî), Sak. Kerb.

184. **Attack, to:** lander; langger, Bes. Sep. [Mal. langgar].

**ATTIC:** B 100.

**ATTITUDE:** F 246; G 63.

185. **Augment, to:** to increase: toko, Munir. Cast. [Mal. tokok].

186. **Aunt:** gomó (gomôk), Bes. Her.; gomôh, Bes. Sep.; M 192-194; O 23; S 282.

187. **Authority:** sêgat (sögät), Söm.; sêgät (sögät), Sak. Kerb. Power; ability: sêgao; sêgaw, S. U. Kam. Because: sêgat (sögat), Söm.

187a. **AUXILIARY:** kuasâ (kouasâ), Sak. Ra. [Mal. kuasâ].

188. **Average** in size or looks (Mal. sêdêrhana): kîcê' mole (kihi' mulik), Sem. Buk. Max.; S 284 [?Mal. kêchil, "small"; molek, "beautiful"]; G 63.

189. **Await, to:** dêdöi; dudui, Bes. Sep. To wait: dudui; dêdöi, Bes. Sep. A. I. [?Mal. dudok, "to sit"]; W 5-9.


192. **Awake, to:** nguk, Sem. Beg. [Mon nguh, "to awake out of sleep"]; Kâmér phîcák [bhîcák], "to wake up with a start," from phîcâk [nîk], "sudden movement"; Alôk ngô, "to awake"]; A 131, A 156, W 10.


196. **Axe, stone battle:** /; san, Sem. Stev.


**B**

**Baby:** B 448; C 101-108.

1. **Bachelor:** unmarried; single (Mal. bujang): ju-leh, Sen. Clîf. [? Cf. Kâmér liv [liw]; Central and Southern Nicobar liû, "bachelor."]

2. **BACHELOR:** unmarried: lang-âsh, Kerbat.


c) Back: iyuk, Sem. Crawl. Gram. [perhaps a misprint for iyu?]


Backbone: B 4, 5; B 336; B 339.

Backwards: B 165.


(b) BAD: jōt (jiuēt), Galang; jiēt, Jak. Bo. Jēt, Bes. Sep. A. 1.; jēhät (jēhēt), Bes. Her.; jēhät (jēhēt), Bedu, II.; jahat, Jak. Malac.; (djēhāt), Sak. Kor. Gb. [Mal. jahat].


Bad: A 86, 87; G 653; G 67-68; S 190; W 103a; W 150.

Bag: S r.


Bake, to: B 468.


Ball musket: G 130.

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28. BAMBOO, kind of: semeng, Sem. Stev. A special kind, used for the outer case or sheath of the blowpipe (yā'), is called tēming (? = Mal. tēmi-


30. BAMBOO (a kind of): siwōr, Sem. Stev. Bamboo (the blow-gun kind); awen sōur (aouen sōur; aouen sōor), Sak. Kerb.; B 29.

BANANA; plantain: kélui? (gelui or ghlui), Sak. Kor. Gb.; teuli ou kélui, Sem. Jarum; télui, Sem. Kadah; (telui), Sak. Br. Low; (telonille)[2 misprint for telouille], Sem. Ken.; (télou), Sôm.; (télou), Sak. Kerb.; (tlai), Sak. Croiz; telui, telei, Tembi; telei, Serau; telei, Jelai; telii, telai, Darat; telli, Sak. Em; teigi, Sem. Per.; telii, telay, Sak. U. Kam.; tellai, Tan. U. Lang.; tla'i, tlay, Sak. U. Bert.; tlay, Sak. Sung; télè, Sen. Chiff; tla'i, Sak. Blanj. Stw.; (spec. Mal. pisang mas) te lei mas, Serau; (species unidentified) telui puntuk; telui Jelai [i.e. of Jelai], Tembi. [Southern Nicobar talku, "plantain"; Khmûs tut taloi (tut taloi), "banana tree" (tut appears to mean "tree"); Palaung kloai, "plantain"]))

42. BANANA; plantain: jóon. Rasa; tiök (têrk), Serîng; diök, U. Ind.; yok, Besisi coll. Nyu. [Khmer chek; Annam chuối, chuốk, "banana."]


47. BANANA (plantain): sênôyôn, Kena. II, Coconut: sênôyôn, Kena. II.

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Plus; tēlui jai (tōlōui djai), Sak. Kerb.; B 42; pisang jā (pissang dje), Sak. Ra.; B 49. [Bahñar jōi, ju; Siing ju, "wild banana." ]


Band (round the head): H 57.

Bandolier: R 133.


Bank (of river): R 145, 146.


55. Bark (of tree) kēlopak, Jak. Maj.; (k'upak), Jak. Lem.; [Mal. kēlopak]; S 234-237; T 211.


60. Bark, to: ūlak, Mantr. Malac. [Mal. salak].

61. Barter; exchange: nedchōt (nedtchōt), Sōm. [? cf. Khmer jnum or chnum, "to trade"].


63. Basket: chacl, Darat.

64. Basket, for carrying on the back: kin-bur, Sem. Stev.


70. Basket: bakul, Sak. U. Kam., Jelai; (bakoul), Sōm.; (bakoul), Sak. Ra., Sak. Kerb. [Mal. bakul]; C 34, 35; R 133; R 136.

71. Bast: S 149, 150; S 236.


74. Bat: pāleg? (palik), Sem. Buk. Max.; pāleg? (plik), Sem. Buk. Max.; pālāg? (balāg), Sem. K. Ken. [Cf. S 376; perhaps the word means "spider," there having perhaps been a confusion between the Malay equivalents "kēlawar" and "labalaba."]


77. Bat, Fruit-; (flying-fox); kompoi, Jak. Malac. [Mal. kolompang is noted as the equivalent in B 79; but I cannot find the word in the dictionary.]

78. Bat, Fruit-; (flying-fox); kuaŋk,


88. Be, to: mo-ah, Sem. Beg.; moa, Ben. New. To be; to become; being: mo' (mu'), Sem. Pa. Max. To become: mo, Sak. Kerb. To be; to have: mo, Sum.; mo, mo. Sak. Kerb. To be: moh, Tem. Cl. Is; has: moh, Sak. Plus Cliffs; mong, Sak. Blanj. Cliffs. To be: mëng? (mëng), Sem. Clf. To be; to have: mong (moa); mâng (mâng), Sak. Ra.; maung, Sak. Martin. To have (= past aux. = Mal. ada): mang (mëng), Sak. Ra. To be; there is (Mal. ada): moh, Tembi; mong, Serau, Darat, Jetii. Not to be; there is not (Mal. tiada): to moh, Tembi; to pê mongo, Jetii. Not to be; there is not; there is no more (Mal. tiada; habis): pe mong [original seems to read, he mong]. Darat. I have: éng maom, Sak. Taq.; To become: beng; beng, Sem. Cliffs. To be born: meng, Kena. I. Remain in the house: mang padaik, Sak. U. Kampar. To sit; moin, Tembi. [Kîmerian [mân], "to be, to have"; So mi, mai, mai, "to have"; Mon mâng [mëng], "to remain"; Naihôn mâng, "to stop."]

89. Be, to (Mal. jadi): ya-lâm (doubtful), Sem. Plus. Was (Mal. sudah) lim, Sem. Craw. Gram. Have (as sign of past tense = Mal. sudah or habs): lem, ex. lem yê chi' (= Mal. sudah sahaya makan, "I have eaten");
cp. lem hé' cheg ū' (=Mal. sudah kita tikam dia, "we have stabbed him")., Sem. Kadah; B 87; Y 41.


(b) To be; to have(?): ada, Sak. Ra. [Mal. ada; but the forms beginning with d- are nearer to Mon tah [dah], "to be"].

92. BE, TO; to have: loh, Mant. Bor. e.g., loh orang tai, "there are people." To have: laog, Mantr. Cast.

93. BE, TO; to have: issi, Mant. Bor. To be: issi, Mantr. Malac.

94. BE, TO; ha, Mantr. Malac., e.g. the master has come (or is here) tuan nin ha, Mantr. Malac. Here he is: nin ha, Mantr. Malac.

95. BE, TO; is; there is: ti, Sak. U. Kam.; R 67.

Beads: E 83.


Beads, black (in necklaces): sëli (söll; söll), Söm.; dilái (dilé), Sak. Morg.; dilé, Sak. Ra. [cf. Mal. jélai].


Beads, in necklaces: mani, Sak. Ra.; máník, Jelai. Necklace: manik, Darut [Mal. manik, "bead"].

Beak: S 329.


106. Bear: chêgüm, Jak. Ml. (Pant. Kap.). [cf. Chom chagau; Ačkin. chagée [chagu]; Bahnr hó-gâu, shó-gâu (xó-gâu); Chráu së'kâu (xkâu); Annam gau; Alâk châkao; Love chëgao; "bear."]


108A. Bear: talôk, Tembi.


112. Bear, to; to support (Mal. tahan): dák, Sen. Cl.; B 396; E 66, 67. To bear children: C
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101-103; C 106; C 109-111; T 108.


117. Bear: janghop (djanghop), Sak. Ra. [Cf. Mal. janggut, but cf. C 113]; D 98; H 1, 2; M 198.

118. Beast or brute (Mal. binatang); tiger (Mal. rimau): àb, Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal.


120. Beast, wild: merga, Söm. [Mal. mérja]; A 90, 91; B 110; F 218; T 139.

Beast, to: C 295, 296; S 495-497.

121. Beast, to; to spear; to prick: kéang (k'pang), Pant. Kap. Joh.

121A. Beautiful: oh, Sem. Pupir; G 63; G 65.


123. Because: sèhab (sóhab), Sak. Ra. [Mal. Ar. sèhab]; A 187; B 152; H 39; T 54; W 77; W 79.


126. Beckon, to; gamet, Montr. Malac. [Mal. gamit].

127. Become, to: jadi (djádi), Söm. jádi (djádi), Sak. Ra. [Mal. jádi]; B 87, 88.


(b) Honey: ayu lêbah, Blan. Rem.; ayer lebah, Bedu. II.; ayer lebah, Jak. Lem.; ayer lebêh, Barok; W 33; manisân lebah, Bedu. II.; manisân lebah, Jak. Semb.; H 122 [Mal. lêbah, ("bee").]

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Kap. Lem.; R 76; W 34. [Batak uwâni; Bugis awâni; Mangkasar bäni; Timor, Rotti fâni; Bima anî; Katingan banyi (banjie); Pampit binâni (binanie); Jarai honi; Achin. unoi, "bee"; Cham hani, haning, "honey."]


140. BEE, small wild: (sp. Mal. kélulot), Trigonia: shuht, Bes. A. I. [Bahnau shut (xut); Boloven, Nia-hön, Alak shut (söt); Sedang sut; Kasen sut; Halang sut; Sieng sut; Chrai shut (xut), shuêt (xuêt), "bee."]

BEE: B 110; H 155; W 25.


Bees'-wax: W 47-51.


143. Beetle: (a) kémor (kömôr), Sak. Kerb. Insect: kêmor (kömôr), Söm.; kêmor (kömôr), Sak. Kerb.; kêmor, Sem. Kerb. Insect; worm (Mal. ulat): kêmar, Tembi; kêmor; Serau. Maggot: kêmûng (kmûng), Sak. U. Kam. White ant: kemuan, Tembi; kemôt, Serau. [or Tembi]. (b) Caterpillar; worm: (Mal. ulat), kêmâi (kmai), Sem. Pa. Max., Sem. Bük. Max.; (spec. Mal. ulat bulu): kêmâi sok (kmai suk), Sem. Pa. Max.; kêmâi sog (doubtful), Pang. U. Aring; S i.; kamai (pr. kamaï) or kamai jélik, Sem. Jarum, Sem. Plus; ile kêmâi? (alli' kmai), Sem. Bük. Max., [this last must surely be for kêmâi ile', else it means "hairs of the caterpillar"]; T 94; [spec. Mal. ulat nangka], kêmâi nangkâ (kmai nangka), Sem. Pa. Max. Abscess of the teeth: kêmâi pénéc? (kmai pnik?), Sem. Bük. Max.; T 168; T 170. [There are a number of insect names which appear to be in some way connected with the above: e.g. Khmer khmhor [khmuru], "cricket"; khmut [khmût], "black winged insect which gnaws wood"; Bahnar kômôt, "moth" (Fr. cirion); Chrai kômôsh (kômôx), kômôh; Sieng kômiet, "maggot" (Fr. charançon); Sieng kômôonu, "beetle" (Fr. espèce de cerf-volant); Mon thâm; "beetle"; khâmâh, châmâ, châmâ, "insect"; Bahnar shamot (xamot), "bug"; Achin. kamuwê, "white ant"; and cf. M 180 and W 25.]

144. BEETLE: kumbang, Tembi, Serau, Jelat; kumbâng (kumbân), Sak. Ra. [Mal. kumbang; B 143 (a) may possibly be connected]; B 141.


Beg. to: A 162-168.

149. Beginning or foot (Mal. pangkai): tebong (doubtful), Pang. U. Aring. [? cf. Kmer dambuang (tāmpung), "first", "beginning","]


151. Beginning or foot: tof'm: tom, Bes. Sep.; tā'm or ta'm, Bes. K. L. [Probably identical with T 203, which see.]


BEGINNING: R 176; T 203.


155. Belandas ("untattooed Belandas"): au (ow), Sem. Stev. [This cannot be a name applied to real Belandas, as they live a long way off from the Sémangs. Probably it refers to Sakais of the northern group. Stevens appears to have misapplied the term Belandas to the Sakais generally.]


158. Believe; to believe: pāchāya' (pachā'), Sem. Buk. Max. To believe: ya 'chāyi or pāchāya', ex. yē mengid tēpāchāya', "I don't believe (it)," Sem. Kedah; pēsēria' (persiāk), Kran Em. To disbelieve: pe he perchaya (perchayak), Kran Em. Religious belief: pēchāya (petchaya), Söm.; pēchāya (petchaya), Sak. Ka.; pērēhāyo (petchāyo), Sak. Kerb. Doubt; to doubt: bē′ pāchāya (bil' pachā), Sem. Buk. Max.; F 121 [Mal. pēchāya, "to believe"]; M 71; T 77.

159. Belong, to: ìntérás; keraas, Darat.

Bellow, to: D 74.


Entails: chōng or chong (chōng or chāung), Sem. Buk. Max. Stomach: tchang (tehāung). 


(b) Belly: ratoan, Ben. New. [Cf. Cham tyan; tean; Canche, Kndê tean; Chreda kajean; Bisaya, SangÊr tian; Irayun, Dusun, Sulu tian (Sulu acc. to Haynes]

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(b) Belly : betêng, Tan. Sag. [Malang, Kenyah (Lepu), Kalabit bâtak; Malo. Lepu Samar bâtang; Bijou Dayak bentêng; Tidung banteng; Javan. wêtêng; Sunda. bântong; Bangi wêntang; Mangkasar bâtang; Lampang betang, "belly."]


167. BELOW : di bawa (di baoua), Sak. Ku. [Mal. di bawah]; B 400; E 12.

Belt : B 214; G 25-27; R 38, 39; R 183.
168. Belit, for blowpipe quiver: chäs (chors), Sin. Stev.
174. Bend, to (intrans.): yam; lang yam, Bes. Songs.
177. (c) Bent; crooked; wālākh, Tembi, Darat; wāk, Serau [or Tembi?]; biwōk, Serau. Curvature; uān (ouan), Sak. Ra. Hunchbacked: uān (ouan), Sak. Ra. [Cf. Ačkīn, kiwāng-kīwot; 'kiwōng-kīwot, 'to move in curved lines'; kiwet, 'bent'; Mon w'en, 'crooked', "to be crooked"; kāwen, "to curl"; waing [wauing], "a hoop"; Bakhon ʻūn, "curve"; pōūn, "to bend"; hauēn, "with distorted limbs"; uing, "turning", "moving in a circle"; uit; uit uing, "to roll into a round shape"; pōūt, pōūing, "to take a roundabout path"; uōng, "bend" (in a road or stream); Kamr on, "to bow"; vieng [wieng], "way round", "sinuous"; vien [vieng], "in coils"; khvēn [khvēn], "spiral"; Buyeaye tavan; Nia̍hōn tuwān; Aliak tāweh, "curve"; cf. V 24.]
181. (c) Covered with lumps; knobby: tungkō-tungku, Bes. Songs.
Beneath: B 165-167; F 12.
186. A. Bengku? (tree spec.): lembār, Bes. Songs.
187. Bent: B 175-181; S 226, 227; S 541; W 21.
188. Bōranan bābi (tree spec.): 'long brō; brēs, Bes. Sep.
190. A. Bērtam palm: pēlo (pēlo); belnop pēloq, Serau; pēlārt betāk, Sak. Rūm. ; B 184.
Beside: R 100; S 198.
Bespatter, to: S 409.
Best: G 65; G 68.
Betel: E 27. 
190. Betel: jé-rák, Sen. Cliff.; jērek7, jerak, Tembi; jērok, jelai; jerak, Seraw, Darat; jerák, Sak. Em.; jerag, e.g. "do you plant betel here?" mang he chød jerag peddi? Kran Em.
(b) Pepper (spec. Mal. lada china), Piper chaia: chābē (chabi), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. chabei, "pepper spec."]
Betel-bag: B 11-13; B 15.

Betel-nut: A 125-128. 
Betel-nut cutter: K 47; P 106. 
Betel wallet: B 11-13; B 15. 
Betrotted: F 90. 
Better: G 65, 66; G 71.

199. Between: M 100. 

200. Between: pā, Söm. [=A 175].
Beyond: R 83; S 198; T 51.
Biceps: A 134; A 135; E 42. 
Bidan (bird spec.): H 78.


Thick (Mal. kasar): na mënu' (namënük), Tembi. A big boy; a youth: mënû (mënük), Tembi. Forest (Mal. rihna): menang, Tembi [probably this should go under H 91]; see F 13. [Cf. Mon jëmnok (from jëmnok), 'great. ']


208. Big: ra-tul, Bera [? connected with B 205].

209. Big: large: bandong, Kena. 1. [connected with B 210].


211. Big: D 66; F 35.


214. Bind, to: jëköd (je-kerd), Knau Tem.; ya-iked or iket, Pang. U. Aring. To tie or fasten: ya' iked (pr. iked), Sem. Jarum. Knot in a string (of stringed instrument?): nekât, Sem. Stv. To tie: chëkat, Sak. U. Kam. Belt; ikat mambong, Pant. Kap. Joh.; H 116. Kattan binding of adze (Mal. krawat bellong): p'kut, Mantr. Malac. Nya. [Mal. ikat, "to bind," from which some of these words are certainly derived, while the others appear to be ultimately related. But cf. also Bahan kôt; kôt (kôt); Stieug ket; Sedong kôt; "to bind; Mon dâkat, "to tie in a knot."]

Binding (of axes, blowpipes, quivers, etc.): A 140; B 213, 214; R 39.

Binturong: B 113.


H 1; P 56.


216A. Bird: kalobok, Rasa [cf. B 215; but cf. also B 482].


221. Bird (sp.): kalau; chim kalau, Bes. K. L.

222. Bird (sp.): chim kalongkoit (described as the tiger's jackal): they say that if it sings "kalong-kalóng kwom" the tiger is at hand, but if "koit-koit chônggâ," it is only a pig. The bird is said to sit upon the tiger's back), Bes. Sep.

223. Bird (unidentified, perhaps = chim kwiyau): kûkêfû; chim kuukeu, Bes. K. L.


225. Bird? (sp.): seg-wog (a kind of bird?), ex. surau halug, surau segwog, "the lizard cries, the—bird cries," Pang. Sat.

226. Bird (sp.): tênabol, ex. kauaw tênabol wong babarr, "the tênabol bird has (?) young ones," Pang. Telfung.

Birth: C 101-106.

Birth demon: D 91.

Bison: C 34-58.

227. Bite, to (Mal. gigit): (a) ya' lahet (pr. la-hett), Sem. Plus [but see S 144.] (b) Bite, to: lihap, Kena. I. To eat: jahâp, Kena. I. [Por. yap; Old Kham. Xong hob, "to eat."]

228. Bite, to (Mal. gigit): ya' kâb (pr. ya' kâb), Sem. Jorun; ya-kab (also used of snake-bites, tiger-bites, etc.), ex. jekob 6'-kab chyas yê kêtê hûtât, "a snake has bitten my hand and I shall die." Pang. U.
BITE: To: gadn, Selting; kageng, Bes. Sep.; kage, Bes. Malac. [= B 228.]


BITTE, To (of a snake): katop; pátot, Bes. Sep. [Mal. patoh?]


(c) Gambier: kétét? (ketait), Ben.

New. [Central Nicobari tătk (tēk); ʔ cf. Rehëru, Stieng tāng; Mok kątang; Annam dăngg, “bitter.”]

BITTER: G 7


238. Black: sayā (sayā́), Kena. 1.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOCABULARY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charcoal: zémzéd? (zumzaid), Ben. New.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLACK: (a) heram, Bes. Bell.; hira'm; hiro'fm, Bes. Sep. A. I.; hirüm, Bes. Malac. [cf. Kawi hireng; Javan ireng].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black: hitam, Bes. New. [Mal. hitam, a variant of the last]; G 114.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black, black and blue: &quot;as a bruise (Mal. lebam): dûr, Tembi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black and blue: &quot;as a bruise (Mal. lebam): lûbam, Jelai [Mal. lebam].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blade: (of weapons, knives, etc.), (Mal. mata): em-pak, Sem. Cliff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?) = M 202.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind: buta', Sak. U. Kam.; butâ (butak); buta (butak), Tembi; buta, Serau [Mal. buta]; D 22; E 83; W 98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloom, to: babô, Sak. Kor. Gb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blossom: B 445; B 448, 449; F 186-193.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blotches: on the skin (Mal. panau):</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
255. **Blow, to**: nya (nja), Sak. Kor. Gr. \[B = 390.\]


(b) Blowpipe: sumpitan, Rasa. [Mal. sumpitan.]

257. **Blow, to** (a blowpipe): (a) lâlah; nälô, Bes. Sep. To shoot (with blowpipe): nälô, Bes. K. Lang.; lô, Bes. Song; sênhu (sonlu), Söm.; cháhu (chéh [lou]), Sak. Kerb.; cf. B 261? To fight: bâluh, e. x. chok bâluh (Mal. pârgi bêrlkha), "to go and fight"—in rapid speech abbreviated to "chobluh" (i.e. cho' bluh), Bes. K. L. To shoot with the blowpipe (Mal. mënynpipt): yâ' hâ-luh (pr. hâ-luhh), Sem. Plus; hâ-luh, Pang. U. Aring; hâ-luh, Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal.; nen-luh or hen-luh, e. x. aing,ooth hijoh hen-luh (or nen-luh), "this child knows how to shoot?" (alsohâluh?). Sem. Kadah; G 42. To go shooting: cho' näle, Bes. Malac. To kill: blu, Sak. Kor. Gr. To hunt: buluk, Bes. Malac. To pursue (chase); halau, Bes. A. I.; chok hâ-lu, Bes. A. I. [It seems doubtful whether all these words are connected. Cf. Bahnar blah, "to wage war"; Halang teblah; Se- dang bla, "war"; cf. Mal. halau, "to drive."]


259. **Blow the nose, to** (Mal. hingus), ya-batog (?), Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal. [Mal. batok, "cough"]). To blow: C 253; W 97; W 112. To blow up the fire: B 467.


261. **Blowpipe**: (a) belâu, Sem. Ij.;
538  COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF


"blowpipe" (apparently from phlô [bloh], "twin," "double," in reference to the mode of construction).] 


268. Blowpipe join (esp. the join of the outer case or sheath of the blowpipe); chênterim (pr. chennetrim), Sem. Plus.

269. Blowpipe tube (the bamboo tubing which is fitted over the two middle ends of the inner blowpipe tube to join them): chahom (pr. chahôm), Sem. Plus.


(ê) Wood for mouthpiece of blowpipe: têbông (tábông), Sak. Korb.
(c) Bracelets: ë-tëben (pr. ëtëben or ëtëden), Pang. U. Aring.
273. **Blowpipe**, carved ring - marks round the outer case or sheath of: nēr - nēr (or ngēr - ngēr) (pr. nār - nār or ngār - ngār), Sem. Kedah. Nick round the shaft of a blowpipe dart just above the ipoh, which enables the point to break off in a wound: ngēr - ngēr (pr. ngār - ngār), Sem. Kedah.


285. **Blowpipe wadding** (Jak. tukas): pasul (passul), Sem. Stev.; basul (bassoul), Sōm.

286. **Blowpipe wadding** (Mal. tukas): nāl; 'ndal; hēndal, Bes. Sep. A. I.


288. **Blowpipe**, tree yielding wadding for: jāk (diēk), Sak. Kerb.

289. **Blowpipe wadding**: gētē (gōtē), Sak. Ra.

290. **Blowpipe wadding**: kabong (ka- boon), Sōm. [Mal. kabong, Arenga saccharifera].


296. **Blowpipe arrow**, point of: ngo?; nyo? (ño), Sōm.


298. **Blowpipe arrow**, point of: ran-chap, Rasa.
298. BLOWPIPE arrow, shaft of: gögir, 
298A. BLOWPIPE arrow, shaft of: mendas, Rasa.
299. BLOWPIPE arrow, shaft of: (a) kenio'ong or kenio'sing? (kenlok'n; 
  kenoi'g n?), Sem. K. Ken. 
  Malac. Cha. [Possibly connected with Mal. hujong, E 65; cf. Cham 
  hajung, "point."
300. BLOWPIPE, wood of which the 
  arrow-shaft is made: langkap, 
  Mantr. Malac. Cha. [Mal. lang- 
  kap].
301. BLOWPIPE dart, lightwood head of: 
  brul (because made from awe brul=
  rotan lang), Sem. Plus; brul, Tum. 
  Butt of blowpipe arrow: beol, Sem. 
  Stev.; biol, Sem. K. Ken. A special 
  kind of rattan (Mal. rotan lang): 
  awe brul, Sem. Plus; R 39.
302. BLOWPIPE arrow, butt of: pahab- 
  Cha., Jak. Malac.; pahbung, Rasa. 
303. BLOWPIPE arrow, butt-end of: béli- 
  bok or bélibü, Pang. Belimbi; libü, 
  libü (libot; libot), Sak. Ra. 
  Adze-handle (explained as = Mal. 
  basong pérdah): pelibutn, Mantr. 
  Malac. Nya. Wood for mouth- 
  piece of blowpipe: lebut, Ben. 
  Stev., Materialien, pt. i. p. 103 
  [cf. Batak lebut].
304. BLOWPIPE arrow, butt of: basso, 
  Butt of blowpipe arrow (made of 
  pulal): pasuk (pasook), Tum. Stev.; 
  básukn (barsukan), Sin. Stev. 
  Mouthpiece of blowpipe: básong, 
  Mantr. Malac. Nya.; basung (bas- 
  soong), Ben. Stev., Materialien, 
  pt. i. p. 103 [Mal. basong, "a 
  soft kind of wood."]
BLOWPIPE arrow poison: P 163- 
  175. Blowpipe arrow poison spatula: 
  S 355-358. Blowpipe arrow poison 
  tray: T 201. Blowpipe arrow 
  quiver: Q 17-29; S 234. Arrow 
  cases in quiver: N 42. Cap of 
  quiver: S 234. To shoot with the 
  blowpipe: B 256, 257; S 163.
305. Blue (Mal. biru): letsat, Sem. 
  Kedah.
306. Blue: 'imper, Sak. U. Kam.; 
  her-oí, Sem. Plus; brau, Sem. Plus; 
  biru (birou), Som.; biru (birou), 
  Sak. Ra. Dark blue: biru bido' 
  Light blue: biru kējūh (biru kijuh), 
  Sem. Pa. Max.; Y 41 [see Y 251].
307. Blue: tras bátu, Bedu. II.; B 236; 
  R 54, 55; W 98.
308. Blunt (Mal. tumpul): belút (? or 
  bel-tt (?), Sem. Kidab; belút (blut), 
  Sem. Buk. Max.; (blut, bluh?), 
  Aring, Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal; 
  gilot'n (gilot'n), Sem. K. Ken.; bel- 
  oh, Sem. Plus; blogn, Tenbi; 
  blukn, Serau; belok (blok), Sak. 
  U. Kam. Smooth; greasy: béluh 
  (bluh), Sem. Pa. Max. (= F 261; 
  Bahnar löt; löt (lát), "blunt.")
  A. I.
  A. I.; chemphong, Bes. K. L. [cf. Mul. tumpul?]
  [Mal. papan].
  Mon k'bang (k'bang), "ship"; 
  Selung k'bang, kebang; and per- 
  haps Car Nicobar kopok, "boat."]
314. Boat: chikokoi (chee-lo-koh), Sak. 
  Sel. Da.
315. Boat: bidú (doubtful), Pang. U. 
  Aring; bidah, Or. Laut. [Mal. 
  biduk, "a kind of fishing-boat."
  Dug-out boat: pāhū jongkong, Bes. 
  Songs; B 319. [Mal. jukung, "a 
  kind of fishing-boat."
317. Boat: (Mal. prahu) lopēh, Pant. 
  Kap. Log.; (Mal. jalar, "dug-out 
  boat"), lupek, lopek, Pant. Kap. 
  Joh. Ship: boat: lōpek, Jak. Mad.; 
  (Pant. Kap.). [Mal. lopek, "a kind 
  of boat."
  (ampuau), Sem. Beg. [Mal. sampan].
  (pahak), Sem. Klapr.; pāhū, e.g. 
  yal, "to embark," Bes. Sep. A. I.; 
  pāhū, Bes. Sep.; pahu, Bes. Malac.; 
  pinya, Sem. Per.; pahu, Sem. U. 
  Sel.; diahu, U. Pat.; pra-hu', 
  Lobir, Kerbat; prahu? (pahuk), 
  Bes. Her.; pra-hū, U. Tem.; prahu, 
  Sak. Kor. Gb.; prahu, Sak. 
  Blang, Sw.; prahu, Sak. Br. Lou; 
  prahu, Serau, Dorat, Jak. Malac.; 
  prahu, Sak. Croix; prahunk, Jelai. 
  Ship: boat: prahu (prahoun, Söm.;

Boat-pole: B 6.


322. Body: lō-kū, Sak. Plus Cliff. [Cf. Mon chāku [jāku], "body"; numeral of coherent of persons; see T 5.]


Body (of musical instrument): M 228.

Boil: A 11, 12; A 15; T 248.


331. Boil, to (Mal. rébūs): tom (pr. to'mi) or hatom, Sem. Sêkan.; tohep, Sak. Ra. [Ajon to (pr. tôm); Kherer dām [tām'], "to cook by boiling"; Kon Tu dom, "to cook."]

332. Boil, to: vegetables: subāi; subīy, Sak. U. Kam. Dish of food; cooked food; curry [the original has "plat, cuisine," Mal. kari]; subāi (soubāi), Som.; subāi (soubāi), Sak. Kerb. [Chow thabai, "to cook a stew"; Jarat hebai, "to cook"; cf. Bahnor, Holong pāi; Sedang pē, "to cook," especially "to boil"; and see B 334.]

333. Boil., to: mā'hā; mo'oh, Bes. A. I.

334. Boil., to, (food other than rice): bus, Kena. I. To boil: rébūs (rébous), Som., Sak. Kerb. [Mal. rébūs; but, for the first word, cf. also Boloven, Niohōn buch; Alat būt; Mon bāh [yu], "to boil"; and B 332.]


comparative vocabulary of


341. Bore (a hole), to: (Mal. gerek); ya hor (pr. ya' horr), Sem. Plus.; (Mal. korek), hōr, Serau.

342. Bore, to (hollow out): puk (pouk), Sōm.; petpuk (jetpouk), Sak. Kērō.

[? Cf. Bahnar bök, "to hollow out"; and perhaps Siêng puk, "to peel"; &on put, "to excavate."]


(b) Branch of a tree: ráa, Ben. New. (c) Branch: echāk, Tan. U. Lang.; (Mal. dahan), ichāk, Darat; chang jehū, jelai; T 211.


349A. Branch: emphāti (tchempāti), Sak. Kērō.

349. Branch: rangkcing (rānkeiń); ranting (rantīn), Sāk. Ra. Twig; rantik, Jēlai [Mal. ranting].


358. Bow (without string): klepob, Sem. Stev..

359. Bow, long point of: neowâ (neowar), Sem. Stev. Short point of bow: neowâ-u (neowar-o), Sem. Stev. [This must be one of Stevens' blunders. The -u is probably the 3rd pers. sing. pronoun.]


361. Bow (feathered part of arrow of): prâg (prêg); prêg, Sôm. Bowstring: R 38; R 173; R 183.


363. Bowstring, to string a [?] mapping, Sem. Stev. To shoot with the bow: S 164.

364. Bow down, to: B 175.


367. Bracelet: B 272; R 133.

368. Erain (Mal. otak); ikem, Pang.

369. Brain: utak (outák), Sak. Re. [Mal. utak]; H 46; H 48; I 27. Branch: B 345-351; L 32; T 207; T 211; T 262. Branched: B 352.


(b) To break and scatter: pêchâl-tipit, Bes. Songs [Mal. pêchah]; C 296; R 40; T 112.


377. Break, to, out into buds (?); to swell (said to = Mal. bér-buku-buku or bérputik): telulptul, ex. telulpul wong bâkau, "the blossoms break out (or swell)," Pang. Teliang.


(c) Breast: dadô, Sêm.; da' da', Lebir, Kerbat, U. Cher.; dada,


Female breast: gnokampot, U. Ind.; P 67.


Woman's milk: ām; Sem. Stev.; H 119. To suckle: mā'ek ām; ām (ma'ik āmika m'am), Sem. Buk. Max.; G 29.
(c) Breast: mēm, Or. Berumb.
Female breasts (Mal. susu): mām, Tembl.; mem, Serau, Darat, Jelai; mēm, Sak. Martun.
To suck (Mal. isap): mem, Sem. Cliff.
[Bahanā mām, mām toh (mām, mām toh) (toh = "the teat"); Selung mam; Ačhin. mām, "female breasts"]; Cham mām; Mon mām, "to suck"; Selung ma-am, ma'am, "to drink."]

(d) To drink: mong, Rasa [? cf. 386].

Talon (Mal. susuk taji): bu, Sem. Pa. Max. [This is clearly a mistake.]
To nurse; to give suck: ek bu' (aik bu'; aik buk), Sem. Pa. Max.
bu, Sem. U. Sel. [in MS. originally "boo": this was intended to represent the ū sound, and was accordingly changed to bu by the Straits Asiatic Society's secretary] bu bateu? (bu-butsu), U. Kel.; bo-ēng, Bes. Sep. A. I. [? Cf. K̆hmer bau (pau), "to suck."]

387. Breasts, female: (a) tuh, Bes.
Malac.
Milk: teh, Bes. Sep. A. I.; thuh, Ben. New. [Mōn tāh [tē]; K̆hmer doh [tō];] Tęng tōh; Bahnar tōh; Central Nicobar tōh; Southern Nicobar tōh; Som pō tō; Tersessa, Cho Vera tōh; Car Nicobar tāh, "female breast"; Bōlōen, Niokhōn, Alak, Lave, Kaseng, Halang, Sedang tōh; Tęng kötōh, "teat"; Mon đālik tāh [dīkk tah], "milk."

Breasts, female: (b) susu, Mantr.
Breast-bone: B 146; B 336; B 380; S 198.

B 374: G 29. [Cham yukt, ayuk, "to blow"; Bahmir hiup, "to blow" (with the bellows); Stieng hip, "to breathe." ]


(b) To breathe: nihhue (nihhuih); nihhue (nihhuih), Sem. Pa. Max.; ying ma'hâi? (ting mîhîaï), hîhâi (hîhâai), Sem. Buk. Max.; nîshôs, Sem. Pa. Max. Alive; breathing (Mal. hidop bernâfas): nes-hus (nes-hus or nehus), Sem. Pa. Max. [I doubt the . . s in these two words: they are possibly a mere device of writing, for ih, eh.]

(c) To breathe: kaha, Bes. A. I. Air: kohoi (ko-hoi), Söm.; (ko-hoi), Sak. Kerb.


390A. Breathe, to: sîld, Sem. K. Ken.; B 388, 389; C 253.

Breathing: B 388.


391. Bridge: nesdûk (nes-dôukh), Söm.; (Mal. tìtû), òcurr, Sen. Cliff. To cross by a bridge (Mal. tìtû): he dår, Kraw Em.; "you can cross this way," mang hem dor rendâka di, Kraw Em.; B 393 [cf. Mon khâtûn [khâdûn], "bridge."]


393A. Bridge: jenoois (jenoos), Sak. Em. [cf. B 346.


Brightness: D 41; L 74; L 78.

395. Brightness: shining: lijâ' (lijak), Sem. Buk. Max. To dissolve: lijâ' (lijak), Sem. Buk. Max. Liquid (adj.): lijâ' (lijak), Sem. Buk. Max. [One of these meanings is doubtless a blunder: I do not know which is the right one, probably "brightness," Mal. chhya, which has been confused with Mal. chayer, "liquid."]


Bahmar iōk, "to take"; but see C 28.  
(d) To take; to take away (Mal. ambil); nyoting (ningar), Sak. Martin.  
Take (imper.), niang, Sak. Tōp.;  
G 42. [I am not sure that (a), (b), (c), (d) are all related, but cf. I 1 and I 3.] [I doubt the connection of Mon neang [nang], "to bring."]

397. BRING, TO: pitip (pētēp), Šōm.; ma' te', Sak. Plus Cliff. To take away: ma' te' chip, Sak. Plus Cliff; G 42.


401. BRING, TO: bah. Jak. Malac.; bawai (bawai), Menbr. Bor.; bawai (bawai), Beln. New. To carry (Mal. dukong): mābā (maba'), Sem. Buk. Max.; bā' (ba'), Sem. Pa. Max.; bo', Sem. Cliff; bō'? (bōgh), Tembi; bo'? (bōkh), Seraw. To take away: batē, Sak. Kerb., Sak. Ra. Phyllanthus urinaria (Mal. dukong anak): bā' wāng (ba' uang), Sem. Pa. Max.; C 101. [Mal. bawa, is related to some of these words; cf. Achin. ba, "to bring," "to carry"; Selung bah, bak, "to carry"; Cham bā, "to bring," "to give"; Slieng bah, "to give"; ba, "to carry (a child in the arms)"); Bahmar bāk, "to carry (hanging from the neck)"; K̍mher po [ba], "to carry in the arms."]

To bring: F 144. To bring together: A 79.

Brinjal: S 339.

Bristle: T 94; 95.


405. BROAD: bidang, Bes. Songs [Mal. bidang].


Broom: F 21.


**ARING**: bē (beh), Pang. Jalor.  
**Sister** (Mal. adik): bēr (pr. bārr).  
[? A combination of B 411 and B 413, or cf. supra ə -tē-bē = “he and his younger brother.”]  

414. **Brother**: pah, U. Pat.  
**Elder brother**: pāk or pā, Sem. Jarum; pā, Sem. Plus.  
**Elder sister**: pāk (pr. pā).  
Younger sister: pō? (per), Sak. Plus Cliff.  
[Perhaps two distinct words: cf. Khmer bong [pong], “elder brother”; and Khmer phâlun; phālun [phān; p’ān]; Mī pung (poung), “younger brother.”]  

Elder brother [perhaps also elder sister]: kēlōka, Tembi.  
[? Cf. Mon kālū [kālo]. “relative”; Khmer kēlō [kōl]. “friend,” “comrade.”]  

416. **Sister**: pertoye, Ben. New.  
[Is this for pō (per) tō ye, “my elder and younger sister.”]  
*B 414 + B 411 + 1?*  

Elder brother: elder sister: tenet, Jelat.  
Elder sister: tēnai, Kena, I., Kena, II.; tēnā knā’, Sak. U. Kam.; F 64.  

418. **Sister**: mā, Sak. Kor. Gb.  
**Elder sister**: mo’, Sak. Tan. Kam.  
**Elder sister-in-law**: ma-no’, Sak. U. Bert.  
Younger sister: mējong, Kena, I., Kena, II.  
[*B 419.*]  

Younger brother or sister: menang, Serau, jelai.  
Little girl: mēnāng (or mēnāng or mēnāng?) babō, Sak. Kor. Gb.; F 61.  
Younger brother-in-law; younger sister-in-law: mēnāi (mōnāi) (more distinctly) mēnāi (mōnāi) krāl; mēnāi krādol (mōnāi krādol), respectively, Sak. U. Bert.; M 15; F 63.  
Son: menāi, Sak. Kor. Gb.  

420. **Brother**: piāt, U. Ind.  

421. **Brother**: i-ēk, Serting; geāi (ge-ēk), Bedu, II.; gehēk, Ment. Stev.; kēngai, Bes. Malac.  

422. **Brother, elder**: moḥolok, Kena, I., Kena, II.  

423. **Brother, younger**: tāk (tānk), Kena, I., Kena, II.  

424. **Sister**: nau, U. Pat.; gahu (gahoo), Ment. Stev.; gahu (gow), Bes. Bell.  

425. **Brother**: abōng (abone), Galang; habang, Barok.  
Brother-in-law: ha’-bang, Lebir [Mal. abang, “elder brother.”]  

426. **Brother, elder**: kaka, Ben. New.  
**Elder sister**: kaka’, Jak. Malac. [Mal. kaka’.]  

ABORIGINAL DIALECTS

Martin; F 63 [Mal. saudara, sudara].


Brother: C 107; C 107; O 18; Y 11.

Brother-in-law: B 419; L 21; L 2528.


432. Eyebrow: dahi, Bud. Chiong; dahi, Bêdo. II. Forehead: dëi (dëi), Barôk; têgi (têr-gî), Sen.

433. brown colour: sût (sert), Sem. Stev. [Cf. Stüng such "black," "brown"]; Bahmar shut (xût), "red."] R 53.


Bruah: W 124.

436. Brush past. to: chok blechong, Bes. Songs; G 43 [cf. Mal. lintas].


440A. Brushwood (Mal. sêmak): yôb-yôb, Tembi.

442. Brushwood: chempok (chempok), Sak. Ra. [Mal. sêmak].


443. Brushwood: rambun, Bes. Songs. To clear away brushwood: C 149-152.

Brute: B 118

Bual pêrah (fruit): P 57, 58.


446. Bud; young shoot (of plant): kê-kêhâd (kkuhâd), Sem. Pê, Mâx.

447. Bud; chintol or chinatol (pr. chinatol), ex. bêkñmûng chintol lang rengal, "? the buds swell along the stalks," Pang. Tekbang.

448. Bud; blossom: pute' (pouté), Sëm., Sak. Ra. Small; young; putek,


466. **Burn, to** (roast); emperut (*empōrut*), *Sak. Ra.* To roast: pāra. *Sak. Kerb.* Smoke: mapohut (*mapōhu*), *Sak. Kerb.* Plant (? plantation): perut (*pērut*), *Sak. Ra.* [Does this mean to clear land for a plantation by burning?]


roast; choc’omng, e.g. choc’omng kah,
‘to roast fish,’ Bes. A. 1. [cf. Mon chéreiung, ‘to bake’].
(ê) Fire (Mal. api), bâchom (ba-chôm), er. ba-chom lê-bôo [meaning
not given: = ‘a big fire’], Sem. forum.
To light a fire: neîchôm
(nem-tchôm), Söm.; yâ châm (pr. châm) âs, Sem. Plus;
Gal.; chom os yeh 'ng, Sem. Stev. [Mon chang [châng]; Sieng chhu;
Bânhar xoh (pr. shoh), ‘to burn’ (trans.); Khmer chêh; ‘to
burn’ (intrans.);Alamat, Nia-hôn choh, ‘to light (a fire).’]

469. Burnt, to: C 237; F 124; S
42-44.

470. Burn, to: lagat; mêlagat
(m’lagat), Pant. Kap. Joh. To light
Quick; sharp: mêlagat (m’lagat),
Pant. Kap. Joh. [The connection
in meaning is obscure. For the
last cf. Achin. légat, ‘quick.]

471. Burnt (Mal. térbakar); rês (pr.
rés), Sem. Kédah.

Sep.
Burong siol (bird spec.) S 219.

Aring [Mal. tanam]; B 462; D 66;
D 107, 108; H 116; P 132.


475. But: tédo (têdo), Söm.


476. But: kétapi (kôtapi), Sak. Re.
[Mal. tétaapi].


21.

479. Butt, to (with a horn): H 126.

480. Butterfly (Mal. kupu-kupu): mä-

481. Butterfly: chêmenlom (pr. chê-
menlôm), Sem. Plus.

482. Butterfly: awak (aok or âuk),
Sem. Buk. Max. Large butterfly:
âwák, Bes. A. I.; awák or awâ’,
Bes. K. L.

483. Butterfly: bûgá (bêga), Sak.
Kerb.

484. Butterfly: tâwâg (pr. tâwâg),
Sem. Jorun; tâwâg, Sem. Plus;
tâwâg, Sak. Kor. Gb.; tâwâg
(tauuak), Söm.; tauuâng, Sem. K.
Keru. Any small butterfly: tawong,
Bes. K. L. Dragon-fly: tabông
(tabông), Sem. K. Keru.; ? cf.
S 378.

485. Butterfly: kôrbâk, Sak. U.
Keru.; (Mal. rama-rama) kôrbâ
(kôrbâ), Sak. Re.; kôrguap, Serau.
Large butterfly: klobok kâdui, Bes.
Sep. A. I. Small butterfly: klobok
kouâ, Bes. Sep. Moth: klabok,
Bes. A. I.

486. Butterocks (Mal. panggong): nyen-
tul, Sem. Clîfî; cîntal (enttal),
Serau; ta’dh? (dadn’), Sem. K.
Keru.; chantong, Mantr. Malac.

487. Button: N 57; G 39.

488. Button: buttona, Dorat, Kelai;
A 118, 119; L 127; T 5;
T 60, 61.

(Pant. Kap.); mënîlêh bësilîh
To exchange; to substitute; to
hire; to lend; to borrow; value;
reward; wrong: sôlek, Pant. Kap.
Keru. [In the sense of ‘wrong’ = B
10]. To reward: bësêle (b’sêlek),
Pant. Kap. Joh. To sell: bësêlei,
Pant. Kap. Hor. To shift: sôlek-
exchange for (Mal. ganti): sîleh
(pr. sî-leh), Sem. Plus; E 23.
[Mal. sîlîh, ‘to replace,’ ‘to
compensate.’]

490. Buy, to: mënîlî (mônlî), Söm.
bëli (bûli), Sak. Kerb., Sak. Ra.
bli, Sak. Kor. Gb., Sak. U. Keru.;
Tembi, Serau; bli, Bes. K. Lang.
Bought: tërblî (terblî), Bes. K.
Keru. To barter (Mal. tukar):
bûli (blik), Tembi. To sell: bëli
(bûli), Sak. Kerb. [Mal. bûli, ‘to
buy’; but cf. Cham blei, ‘buy,’
pablei, ‘sell,’ corresponding to
Achin. bloi, publoî, respectively.]
E 23; S 95; Y 26.

By: K 31. By reason of; W 129.


Cackle, to: C 281.

[Mal. sangkar]; B 69.


3. Calf (of leg): gehêl or gihêl?
Sak. Kor. Gb. Lower part of leg:
gihêl (ghi-hêl), Söm.; gor (pr.
gorr), Sem. Plus. Calf of leg (Mal.
jantong bêtis), seg gor, Sem. Plus; F 170 [cf. W 147 (a)].


9. CALL, TO: de or ya-de, "to call or summon," Pang. Belimb. [? Cf. Andamanese Kede um teî, "to call."]

10. CALL TO: chêrun (tehôruan), Sak. Ra.; en-chê-rêt, Sem. Ciff.; serhoi, Mantr. Cast. To call; to order (Mal. surôh têrâik); serue (serhoue), serhoî, Mant. Ior. To shout: cherikâ, Serum; chêrikâ, jelai; en-ekerkâ, Darat. We call out to the moon, we call out to Rahu: ha chêngru (chhôru) gîc'hâ, chêngru (chhôru) Rahu, Sak. U. Bert. [Khmer srêk, "to call out," "to shout."]

11. CALL, TO: inho, Sem. K. Ken.; ného (nôho), Sôm. To hail [call to]; paho, Mantr. Cast.

12. CALL, TO: bêkai; bekai, Mantr. Bar.

13. CALL, TO: (Mal. panggîl); to send for; to invite (Mal. jêmpût); yûmpût, Sem. Ciff. [Mal. jêmpût].


16. CALL out, TO: G 285.

17. CALL to mind, TO; to think of: ki', Sem. Buk. Max.

Calladium: V 1-12.

18. Calm: quiet (Mal. têdôh); sôt, Sak. Ra.; S 222; S 305.

19. Calm: quiver (Mal. têdôh); sôt, Sak. Ra.; S 222; S 305.

20. Calm: to be able to: (a) buôl (boulê), Sak. Ra.; bule (boulé), Sak. Kerb.; boleh, Sak. U. Kam.; N 69.

(a) To procure: mûnule (mûnoule), Sôm. [cf. Mal. buleh, "can"; bêruleh, "to get"; from W 129] A 4; G 14; N 66.


27. Cape: bend of a river: tanjou
Carrying-pole: P 177.

Cartilage (of nose): N 98.

39. Carve or decorate, to (Mal. ukır): ya-küchêd (e.g. a blowpipe or quiver), Pang. U. Aring, Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal. To write (e.g. on blowpipe). (Mal. tulis): kuchêd. Pang. U. Aring.

40. CARVE, TO (designs or objects): makai? (makkee), Sem. Stev. To cut rings (in something?): met-ti (met-tee), Sem. Stev. [cf. M 14 or C 295].

41. CARVE, TO, or scratch designs: din, Sem. Stev. Carve meat, to: C 299.

Carved design: B 194; D 157; R 133.

42. Carlyota (palm which produces blowpipe wadding), [Mal. mérdin “]: rî, Sem. Stev.


43A. Cash down (Fr. comptant): bor-sênî (borsënni), Sak. Ra. [? = G 65 + Q 16]; E 24; G 66.

Cast (in the eye): E 83.

Cast away, to: F 120; R 60; T 106-114.

44. Cast out, to: sunteng, Bes. Songs.

Casting-net: N 43. 44.

45. Cat (Mal. kuching): miu or mèu, Sem. jarum; méu or méo, Sem. Plus; M 98; nyau, U. Cher. [Onomatopéic from M 98; but cp. Cuai, ngéai; Kuseng, Kon Tû, Sûl, Halang, Boloven, Solang, Srieng, Chraû, Bahnar méo; Cham mâyâu; Chury, Javai mèo; Annamese kon (con) mèo; Selung meo, miâ (mean), miyauing (me-young), “cat.”]


Cat: W 132.
COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF

Cat, wild: T 129-133; T 135; T 140.

Cataract (in the eye): E 83.

"Cat's-eye" fruit: C 46; U 21.


(b) Catch, to (birds) (Mal. rachik): nēchīt, Bes. K. Lang. [cf. P 68.]

50. Catch, to: rot, Sak. Kor. Gb.; åhrod (ēh-rod), Sōm. To catch; to seize: krod, Sak. Kērb. To seize: rot, Sak. Kor. Gb.; åhrod (ēh-rod), Sōm.; krod, Sak. Kērb. To embrace: kērpā, Jelai, Serau. To draw towards oneself (?). (Fr. attirer; but the Mal. equivalent given is pākēn, "clothes"): kōt, Sak. Kērb.; cf. E 76; P 227 [cf. P 230]. [It is not certain that these words are all connected. Some may be formed with the infix -r- from other roots, e.g. C 48. Cf. Bahār krāp (krōp), "to hold in one's embrace (lying down).""]


52. Catch, to (Mal. tangkap): bāt (bort), Sen. Cl. To be caught
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60. Cause; motive: tegal; agal, Ment. Bôr. [Wal. tégal]; B 152; W 78, 79.


63. Catch: hole: humo (houno), Sak. Kerb.; C 296; D 66; H 107; H 111; M 199.

64. Centipede (Wal. lipan): sêd-à (doubtful), Sem. Kedah.


68. Ceremonial function?: gayã', Bes. Songs.

69. Ceremonial function?: gayah', Bes. Songs.


A certain (indefinite sense): T 51.


Chamber: R 170-172.


Chameleon: L 114, 115.

Change, to: T 257.

75. Changgan (tree): changgan, Bes Songs.

Changing: I 29; T 257.

Channel: T 103.

76. Character; disposition: tabi'at (tab't), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. Ar. tabi'at].


Charm: M 25; P 128; R 133.

Chase, to: H 176-178.

Chatter, to: menenteng, Bes. Songs.


Chattering (of the teeth): C 79; T 172.

Chaunt, to: S 211-213.

Cheap: E 23.

80. Cheat, to (Mal. tipu): gôm, Tembi; D 62; F 23; G 68.


82. Chêkk: kâmi, Sak. Ra.


85. Chêkmékian, buah, or buah patu (a species of plant): buah patu' (buah patu'), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. buah patu].

pīlītu (jupakh pīlītu), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. chēnīpaka].


Chēngal (tree spec.): D 188.


Cherish, to: A 57.


CHEST: B 380-387.


92. CHICK, newborn: nētas, Bedn. II. [Mal. tētas, "to break (the shell)."]

Chicken: C 102; F 255-258.

Chicken-pox: S 289, 290.


93A. Chief (Mal. pēnghulu): rana, e.g., bo' (bok) lī rana tedih, "who is the chief of this village" [probably simply "here"], Krau Em.


95. Chief; leader; captain: pānghulu (pānghoulou), Sōm.; pangulu (pāngoulou), Sak. Ra. to penghulu, Jelai [Mal. pēnghulu].

96. Chief, superior (Jakun and Bési): batin, Bes. K. Lang.; Superior and vassal chiefs: batin, Mantr. Bor. Chief; batin, Or. Laut, [Mal. batin, a title in the Sejarah Malayu applied also to Malay chiefs of the south of the Peninsula.]


Comparative Vocabulary of


104. Child: derunkt. Ben. New. [a misprint or corruption for démit, which in the Malay spirit language = "child" (Malay Magic, App. p. 646)].

105. Child: chaāt (cha-aā); Kena. I.; Kena. II.; [p cf. S 282 or S 283].


107. CHILD: budek, Bes. Sep. A. I., Bes. Malac.; bodo, Jak. Malac.; merbodo, Jok. Raff. Infant; younger brother: budik, Bes. New. Orphan: budék hâp n’uyu hâp gâde’, Bes. Sep., lit. a child (that has) no father (and) no mother. [The word for "father" (n’uyu) here is not the ordinary word.] [Mal. budak]; B 137; F 76; F 132; H 15.

107a. CHILD, female: keng oi, Rasa; F 76.


109. CHILD, male: leng, Rasa.

109a. CHILD-BEARING: C 101-106; C 109-111; P 209; T 198.

109b. CHILD-IN-LAW: L 35.

110. CHILDREN, TO BEAR: hi-öt; hi-oit, Sen. Clif. [Probably = P 209.]

110a. CHILDREN, TO BEAR: ya ma-bâr (pr. ma-bâr), Sem. Jarum; ya ma-bâr (pr. ma-bâr), ex. ja ma-bâr (p.p.); ma-bâr (pr. ma-bâr or mâ-bâr), Sem. Plus.; C 106?

111. CHILDREN, TO BEAR: ya’ len-inn, Sem. Jarum; C 101-106; P 209; T 198.


Chili: P 56.


(b) Chin: gengop; dengop, Bes. Songs.


Chinaman: M 23; M 28.


118. Chipped; the part where a piece has been chipped off: têlas (tls), Sem. Buk. Max.; lus, Sem. Pa. Max.

Chirrup, to: S 363.

Chisel, stone: S 466.


120. Choke, to; kêko’ (kiku’? klu’?), Sem. Buk. Max.

Cholera: V 22.

120a. Choose, to; chenlas, Serau.

120b. Choose, to; pilih, Serau [Mal. pilih].

121. Chop at, to; kabong (?), Bes. Songs; C 295-297.


(b) Chopper: bah, Sak. Em.


Kerbät; E 83. [Mon ḫun, "knife."]


126. Chopper: pahang, Or. Laut [Mal. parang]; A 33; C 152; H 21; I 36; K 47.


Chuchok (palm spec.): R 164.

Chunam: L 102.


Cicatrice: G 41; S 37.


130. Cigarettes: ro'-ko', Lēbīr. To smoke [i.e. tobacco]: nyor roko, Sak. U. Kam. [Mal. roko]; D 165; N 64; S 303.

131. Cinnamon, wild (?): pérachun, Bes. Songs.

Circle: R 160.

Circular: R 190.


133. Civet-cat (Mal. musang): (a) nicheg, Sem. Stev.

(b) kensing, Pang. U. Aring.

(c) chengkot, Blond. K. Lang.


Claw, N 3; S 53.


141. Clean: tā-kod or ta-kodd, Sem. Jarau; G 63; W 35.

142. Clean, to: sūd, Sak. U. Kam.; suud, Serau. To wash: suut, Serau; sut (sou); sōt, Sak. Ka.; ya' sāy (pr. sāydd), Sem. Kedah; ya' sāy or sāy (pr. sāydd or sāytt), Sem. Jarum, Sem. Plus; mēsūj? (māstūj), Sem. Buk. Max.; nīgsoi (nīg-soi); sūi (sou), Sōm.; esoi (essouī); chū (chōī), Sak. Kerb. To peel (Mal. kūpās): sot, Sak. Kor. Gb. To clear ground (for planting): pangsoi, ex. pangsoi rā' tek-ah, lit. "cleared at least ground-that," i.e. that piece of ground is thoroughly cleared, Bes. K. L. Clean; neat: tabichui-ōs? (dabidjūi-ōs; dabidjuuos), Sem. K. Ken. [? Cf. Bahnur shāt (xat); Mon sāh, "to clean"; Central Nicobar et-šāch-hanga, "to clean"; et-šāch-ngamat, "to wipe clean"; and R 194.]


146. Clear: transparent: jēranīb, chēranīb (jiranis, chranis), Sem. Buk. Max.; jèrneh (jermēh), Serau; W 30 [Mal. jērenīb]; G 66; W 30; W 98.


150. Clear away brushwood, to: tōmbas, Serau [Mal. tēbas].

151. Clear jungle, to: natau (natow), Mentr. Stev. [Mal. natar].

152. Clear, to (one's way), or cut (one's way) through the jungle (Mal.


155. Clearing (small): umpal (oom- pal), Mentr. Stev. [connected with the preceding?]


158. Clenched together: kanching-kanching, Bes. Songs. [Cf. Mal. kén- ching: "stiff", or kanching, "a bolt."]


163. Clever: tükang (tou-kañ), Sém. [Mal. tukang, "artificer"].

164. Clever: wise man: séniring (sneering), Mentr. Stev.; G 91; K 56-58; S 278; S 363.


170. Close together; to bring close together: yapet (iapit), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. rapat]; N 19, 20 ; S 280 ; S 234.


(c) Jacket: penyurup, Pant. Kap. Log. [Some of these words are possibly remotely related to Mal. kanchut, "a ragged old piece of cloth" ; cf. Central and Southern Nicobar kanyūt; Chonera hansūt; Car enyūt, "coat."]


White cloth [in orig. black, which must be wrong]: aban biok (aban biok), Serau. Skirt (Mal. sarong); abān kēbu, Serau. [Cham aban; Bāhnar hābān, "cloth skirt."]


(b) Waistcloth: chawat, Man. Malac. [Mal. chawat].

175. CLOTH: pembaloh, Ben. New. [Mal. balut; pēmbalut].


178A. Waistcloth: serat, Rasa.


182. Waistcloth: tidiako (said to be a Malay word), Mīklucho Maclay, 2 Straits J. 214.

183. Clothes: tun, U. Cher.; C 50;

185. **Cloud** (Mal. awan): yem-yem (pr. yem-ye'm), Sem. Plus.

186. **Cloudy sky**: mélêto (mi'tu or minu?), Sem. Buk. Max.

187. **Cloud**: língsá, Ken. 1.

188. **Cloud**: anchelik, Ben. New.


190. **Cloud** (awán (auăn), Söm.; (auăn), Sak. Ra. Rainbow: awan (unj.), Sem. Pa. Max. [Mal. awán]; A 8; B 16; D 16; D 22; D 39; R 168; S 242, 243.

191. **Clouded** over: D 16; D 19; D 22.


196. **Cockscamb** : chék (chık), Sem. Buk. Max.


200. **Coconut** : (a) karambil, Bed. Chiong; kéràm, Bedu. II. [Mal. kéràm, kéràmbil; a variant, on Krana principles, of kélapa; cf. C 57; D 149; E 51; S 285; W 50; W 101]; B 47; F 262-264; W 34.


202. **Coconut-shell** (used as a bowl): sêbô (sôbô), Söm., Sak. Ra. [? Mal. sabut; but this means the outer, fibrous husk]; S 153; S 236.

203. **Cohesive** : R 132.


205. **Cold** : aû (ôh), Ken. II.

206. **Colours** (a) ngiet, or ngit (ngit), Sem. Pa. Max.; henget, or hängit (hängit), Sem. Buk. Max.; hängit, Sem. Plus; hengid, Sem. J̱arum, Sem. Plus; henged, Sem. U. Sel.; sëngit, Sak. Chon.; singit (sinêt); singet (sînêt), Sak. Ra.; sëngit, Sem. Per.; sêngi? or sêngê? (sînêt, ei "nasal"), Sak. Martin; chántik (chántik), Söm.; sêneke? (sinêkêk), Tan. U. Lang.; S 66; W 30. Lake-warm: it' mali it' hângêh (la mali i'a hângêh), Sem. Buk. Max. [Dusun äsâgit; Salu hagkut; but also Bahnar tôngiet; Sue changêt, chenget, sêngät; Coct chêngak (chêngêc); Tung uchet; Tareng uchet; Kon Tu ngiû; Halâng nôtt, tûnôtt, teniet, "cold"; Siêng tôngêt, Bahnar xangigio (pr. xánggiô), "cold", "cool"; ? cf. also Bahnar ngách, "to get cold"; ngêt, "(rice) that has got cold."]

(b) Get well; in good health: hângât (hangit), Sem. Buk. Max. Well (Mal. ségar badan), hangit Pang.
U. Aring. Well (in health): ged-
êngêt? (ged'ngent), Sem. Beg. [These words seem to be connected with the preceding.]

c Cold: dekat, Darat; dé-kât, Sen.
Cliff.; dé-kât (dökât); dekat, Sak.
Kerb.; dekât, Sak. Kor. Gb.; dekad,
Sak. Br. Low; tekad, Sem. Ken.; te-
kât, Sering, Bedu. II.; (tökât), Söm.
tkat), Or. Hu. J oh. I.; t'eket, Buk.
U. Lang.; tékêt, Bes. Songs; teket,
Malac.; téngked, Pang. U. Aring;
tengked; temket, Pang. Sam, Pang.
Gal.; témêke, Pang. K. Aring;
témêkeh, Pang. Belimb. It is very
cold: singet dikit, Sak. J. Low.

(d) Fever (Mal. děmmam): tekat,

c To tremble: lêdëgt (lêd-ghi),
Söm.; dekat (dökât), Sak. Kerb.
[Kaseng takêt; Phong kakat (anceat);
Khumus kat (cat); Chräu ndkat,
tkat; Alak takâch; Kaseng tâkech,
"cold." Schmidt also gives Stieng
takatna.]

206. Cold: (a) sejët? (sedaje), Ben. Newe.;
sedek, Jak. Malac.; sedêk, Ken. I.
sêdek, sêdek, Jak. Sembr.; sidëk,
(b) siyai, Sem. Kendah; siap, Pant.
(c) sejop, Ben. New.; sëjok, Jak.
Mod.; sêsjuk, Jak. Malac., Mantr.
Malac.; sëjuk, Bes. Her.; hejuk,
Bes. Malac.; jök, Bes. Songs.
[Mal. sêjuk].

207. Cold: bingin, Bes. Songs; dingin:
[Mal. dingin]. [Perhaps ultimately
related to C 205?]; S 66.

Cold (in the head): N 98.

Colic: S 185; S 187.

Collar-bone: B 145; S 169.

Collide, to (?): têkang (tkng), Sem.
Buk. Max. [Mal. térakang is given
as an equivalent, but I cannot find
the word in my dictionaries.]

Colouring (of the face): F 1.

209. Comb (Mal. sikat, decorated with
"huchong" leaves, worn by women):
chtîlas (jr. chîn-las), Pang. U.
Aring.

Use of comb as a charm (?): telâ
(telar), Sem. Stev.

[Khmer set [sit], "to comb"; snet
[snit], "comb."]


211. Comb: shudîp (choudîp), Sak.
Kerb. [Mal. sudîp, "ladle."]

212. Comb: jëngko (djounko), Sak. Ru.;
jungkâsôg, Sak. Kor. Gb.; H I.
[Mal. jëngkêt; Iawen. jungkat;
Batak jôngkê, "comb."]

213. Comb: hikût, Bes. Songs; sikat,
Sôm.; sikat, Sak. Ru. [Mal. sikat].

214. Comb, decoration on (of the "pu-
hook rébong" or "chevron" orna-

215. Comb, crossing lines on: ten-wag,
Sem. Plus; ten-wag or ten-weg,

215A. Comb pattern (?): kênayt, Pang.
U. Aring [cf. S 159].

Comb, cock's: C 195, 196.

216. Come, to: nyong, Sak. J. Low;
W 78. Ford: nong nunun (noh
mounoun), Söm. Path: nung;
nong, Sak. U. Kum.; nong, Tem.
Cl., Sen. Cl., Darat. Krau Em.;
chën-dëring, U. Tem.; tô-pong, U.
Cher. Road: prok (prokn), U.
Ind. To walk: nong (noh), Sak.
Ra. To wade or walk through?
(Mal. harong): rokn, Sen. Cliff.;
P 155. [It is not certain that all
these are connected. For some of
them cf. Bahnar, Stieng trông;
Halang trông; Boloven truong;
Sedang tron, "path" or "road."
For others perhaps cf. Tareng
nyong, "to pass"; Bahnar nam,
"to come," "to go"; and possibly
Mon klung, "to come."]

217. Come, to; to arrive: yâk (yêk),
Sak. Ra.

218. Come: eng, U. Cher. Come here:
eng ga nor, U. Cher. To come:
ah-ing, Sak. Sel. Da.; W 85.

219. Come, to: (a) nahuul (nahouol);

nahuu (nahouol), Sak. Kerb.;
Cliff.; höl; ohöl, Sak. U. Kum.;
hau, Kerbat; chuel pai, Tembi.
I come; en höl, Jelai. I have come
[from?] there?], (Mal. datang situ):
ye hol nong nak, Tembi. whence
do you come?; krenong há höl,
Sak. Martin. Why haven't they
come? (Mal. mëngäp orang
bêlum datang): jati pë mehol,
Serau. To arrive: nahuol (na-
houol), Sak. Kerb.; hual? (bwal),
Sak. Plus or Lëngk. (?), 4 N. Q. 101;
höl, Sen. Cl.; T 10. To arrive at:
höoi, hoi? Bes. A. I. From
(= to arrive from): höi, e.g. höi
Johor, "to arrive from Johor," Bes.
A. I. To come back: nëlhulai (nöl-houal), Söm. To go away: nëlhulai (nöl-houal), e.g. aye (ayé) nëlhulal (nöl-huulal), "we go away"; mih nëlhulal (nöl-huulal), "I go away," Söm. To enter (Mal. masok), ya-höl, Pang. U. Aring, Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal. To recover (find again)?; to return: nëlhulal (nöl-houal), Söm. Towards: to (Mal. sampai); hot, Sak. Ra.; hol, Sak. Kerb. Until: belah-hulai (bel-ahoual), Söm. [cf. T 9].

(b) Come (imper.): o-höl; o-hok, e.g., o-hok siang, "come at once," Bes. Sep. A.I.; or sok, Orang Treng of Sungei Ujong [so stated by Besisi Sep. or A.I.]; hosok, Ben. New.; hini, Ben. New.; C 222 [but cf. T 85] [cf. Lement hol, "to go"].


221A. Come (Mal. mari): do, U. Pat.; da, Sen. Cl.; dorche-tu, Sen. Ken. [this last is clearly misprinted or corrupt; perhaps dāť tu?]; deno, Sem. Per. [connection of this last].

To come: Ḟo, Sem. Pupier. Come here!: yu [or ya?] da mado, Tembi; da mado, Sak. Em.; da madi (da madik); da madi, Jelai; da madi (da maddi), Serâu. [Cf. T 86; but I believe there is a true verb here besides the adverb "hither"; cf. also G 44, which seems to be a distinct word.] [Central Nicobar dōk-ta (ḏōk-ta); Kaseng dang, "to come."


225. Come: datang, Ben. I., Ben. II. To come; to arrive: datang (datah), Sak. Ra.; T 90 [Mal. datang]; A 164; G 42; R 83, 84; T 85, 86; T 90; W 81.

To come back: R 83-87.

To come down: D 95, 96.


To come out: 1 43. 44.

Comet: S 436.

227. Comfortable (or well in health); (Mal. sēnang); jē-mi' Kerbat; E 22; G 65.

Command: O 52-57.

Command. to: O 52-55.

Commencement: T 203.

Compact: N 42.


232. Complain, to: sélab (sölab), Sak. Kerb.

233. COMPLAIN, TO: adu (adou), Söm.; ado, Sak. Ra. [Mal. ado]. Complete, to: F 115-117; F 120.

234. Comprehend, to: U 14-17.


236. Consumption: to: Q 1.


239. Convulsions; to: F 115.

240. Cook, to: khoohi, Söm. [Cf. Kham chhmöi [chhau], “to cook by steaming.”]


244. Cooked meat; gulé, Bes. Songs. [Mal. gula’]; B 332: G 109; H 147.


248. Copulation; to: S 249.

249. Corner: angle (Mal. baliku); kédákut chah (kdakut chh), Sem. Pa. Max.


252. Corpse: pabâm (phban), Sem. Pa. Max.; cf. T 211; U 2; D 48; D 50; G 16; U 3; W 143.

253. Correct; to: S 483.

254. Cotton; kabu, Tenbi; kabu (kabuk), Jelai [Mal. kabu].


257. Cough; lâkûp, Bes. K. L. To
cough (as a consumptive person): lákip; lákip, Bes. A. I. [Bahnar akuk, "a cold."]

251. COUGH, TO: ya-ōh (pr. ōh), Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal. [Central Nicobar o-ōh; Southern Nicobar hoāh; Shom Pē ōāh, "cough"; see V. 22.]


Counsel: A 32.


Countenance: E 83.

255. Country: negri (negri), Söm.; negri (nōgrī; ngrī), Sak. Ra. [Mal. ngeri]; E 12, 13; H 153.

256. Cover, to: kōi (kōi), Söm.


Cow: B 457; C 57.

Coward: I 34; to be a coward: F 48.


Cramp: O 17; S 197.

Cranium: B 336.

261. Crash-crash (onomatop.): plak-plau, Bes. Songs.

Crave for, to: R 59.


Craw, to: rēsam, Bes. Sep.; B 175.

Crayfish: P 207.

Creak: C 259.


Creep, to: C 262.


Crescent: M 161; M 166.


Crimson: R 53.


268. Crocodile: sēhā? (shāk), Sering.


272. Crooked: rimbang-rimpang, Bes. Songs; B 175-177.

Cross, to: B 391; B 394.

292. Cure (medical remedy): hendek (?), Bes. A. I.
Cure, to: G 68.
Curly: B 175, 176.
Current: R 29; T 127.
Curry: C 332.
Curse: 1 31.
Curvature: B 175-177.
Curve: B 173.
Curved: B 175.
Cushion: P 90-102.


300. CUTF. To: kago, e.g. “to cut wood,” kago long (or log), Bes. Malac [ʔ= F 20].

301. CUT. To: kérât, Jak. Malac.; krat (grat), Suk. Kor. Gh. To cut (wood): krat, Suk. Kor. Gh. To chop (to cut across the grain = Mal. kérât): ya-krod (pr. krod)

302. Cut, to: pahuk, Mantr. Malac. To cut (Mal. potong): pót, Bes. Sep. A. I.; G 41; C 152; F 59; G 41; G 68. To cut notches: N 103.


Cutlass: I 36.

Cutting: T 103.


1. Dagger ([Mal. tumbók lada]): gulo[king], Bes. A. I. [? Mal. golok]; K 47.


4. Dam: bëntong, Bedu. II. [? Mal. benteng].


Damar ([Mal. damar]): K 72-86.

Damp: W 73.


10. Dance, to: kanyar, Serau; kë-nyar; kë-na-nyir; kë-nën-nyir, Sem. Cliff.; jadi; jaj (djad; djad), Sak. Kor. Gb.; da'-né, Sem. Cliff. To dance ceremonially (?): tender, e.g. bët-tenden or bërtenden, Bes. K. L. D 165; S 211.


Dance-stick: C 49.

12. Dandle, to; to hold in the arms and play with: mâchëdum (mechdum), Sem. Buk. Max.

13. Danger: bahâ, Sak. Ra. [Mal. balaya]; D 50; F 48; R 87.


Waving about: berjihai, Bes. Songs.

To sit with legs dangling: F 220.


(e) Cloud: sugub, Sem. K. Ken;

to
23. DARK; eclipse: jélûm, Kena. Shady; jèlueg; jèlueg, Seran [or Tembi]. [? = D 24 or D 29].
29. Night: klâm, Sak. Chen., Buk. U. Lang.; klâm, Sak. U. Bert. [Mal. kêmâm, connected with the following; and with D 24?].


Dark (colour): B 236; O 15.

Darkness: C 184.

Dart: B 291-304.


32. Daughter: jah, Ment. Her. II.; C 101-106; F 63.

Daun baru (tree spec.): L 32.

Daun payong (palm spec.): P 44.

Dawn: C 154; D 16; D 42.


38. Day: têng-ni, U. Cher.; tênyi, Serling. Daylight (Mal. siang): têng-ni, U. Cher.; tênyi, Serling. Sun: mat têng-ni, U. Cher. [110 t'ngoa (t'ngai)]; Kûmer thangai; Samrê, Por thangi; Cuoi tangai; Samrê tne; Xong tnei; Sedang menhi; Hui thany; Kat, Suk matany; Proons matani; Lemet nagy pri; Ka, Prou tangai; Chong tangi; Kay Dek ngay; Churu dngay, tangai; Boloven, Lave thangai; Nia hû nûi; Halang mat ngai. The connection of Pazang sengëi; Khasi sngi; Lakadong sngoi; Anwess jungi; Kolh singi, seems probable. All the above mean "sun." The following mean "day": Kaseng, Kon Tu, Sud, Boloven tangai; Tareng mingai; Annam ngay; Boloven thangai; Ak, Kaseng thangai; Love thangi; Halang ngai; Nia hû nûi; Churu dngai; Jarai yan ngûi; also the Mon and Khmer forms supra.]


43. DAY: (a) bri, U. Tem. Sun: mot bri, U. Tem.; mat bri, Pal. [Mi mat pri; Khuan mat pri; Lomen ngay pri, "sun."]


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tru (trou), "deep"; Baloven, jirong; Alak jirong; Niahon jirong; Love jirong, "high"; Mon slung, "high"; kling [glieng], "long"; jelings, "length"; Alak jirong, "long"; Bahnur sholtung (xolung), "ditch"; Khmer rôn [run]; roong [râng], "hole in the ground"; rông [rung], "big"; rûng, hûng, "to make a hole"; Stignon chôrôh, chôreh, "to make a hole," "to evacuate." But it seems that in Javanese there is also a word jéro, "deep," "inside." See V.1.]

DEEP: E 12; F 29; H 84; I 95.


72. Deer (Mal. rusa): chengkluu, Bes. A. I.; chengkluuu? (said to be used for the deer (rusa), but really the noise made by the deer), Bes. K. L.; Stang: chengkluu, Bes. A. I.


74. Deer, i.e.: keng berdingkeng, Bes. Songs. Bellowing: berdingkeng [Mal. dengkeng].


76A. Deer, i.e. roe deer (Mal. kijang): penantuntl, Rasa.

77. Deer, i.e. roe deer (Mal. kijang): klîl (?), Bes. A. I.; klîl? (probably the noise made by the kijang, and hence the kijang; doubtful in latter sense), Bes. K. L.


(c) Mouse-deer (Mal. napoh): chêla-châng (?), Bes. A. I.; chêla chang, the noise made by the napoh (and hence the napoh?), Bes. K. L. Mouse-deer (Mal. pêlandok): chöng (tchön), Sak. Ra.


84. DEER, i.e. mouse-deer: usau (?), Bes. A. I.; usau (? said to be used for the "pêlandok," probably on account of the noise it makes, "usau" being intended to represent the noise), Bes. K. L. Cry of pêlandok: krusau-krusau, Bes. Songs.


85A. Mouse-deer (Mal. kanchil): anyin, Rasa.


87. DEER, i.e. mouse-deer (Mal. kanchil): kikê (?), Bes. A. I.; kê-kê (?), the noise made by the kanchil (and hence the kanchil?), Bes. K. L.

88. DEER, cry of kanchil: nyau-ganyau, Bes. Songs.


39A. Defeated, to be (Mal. alah): alah, Serau [Mal. alah].

90. Delay, to: ga-'pa'-ji, Sen. Cliff.

Delude, to: F 22.

Demand to: A 162-168.

Demon: D 101; G 16-21; S 385-388.


92. Deny, to: to disavow; mungker; mâmungker (mungker; mungker), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. Ar. munkir; mungkir].

Depress, to: D 95.


95. Descend, to: chêlu, Bes. K. Lang.; chêlû; chêlû, Bes. Sep. A. I.; chêlo; chêlû, Bes. Malac. To come down: chilöö (tchiloh), Sak. Ra. To go down: chêlu, Sak. U. Kam.; chengöö, ex. chengöö beh hâtë = "to depress or lower" (Mal. buat rëndah), Bes. K. L. To bring back?: chêlo batê (tchîlo bate), Sak. Kerb., Sak. Ra. [This is a mistranslation; the true Malay equivalent is not "turun bawa," "go down and bring," but "turun bawah," "go below."] To fall down as a waterfall: chîlo batû (tchîlo batu), Sak. Kerb., Sak. Ra.; R 102 [cf. F 13 (b)].

96. Descend, to; to come down: regrik, Sak. Kerb.; rig mā tê (ríg-mätê), Söm. To descend: tra-ap, Sak. Hale. To go down (descend), (Mal. turun): chêrûö; chêrû, e.g. chibah chêrû, "come down," Serau; chêrû (chê-rêg), Sem. Cliff.

Downstream: rêh, Sen. Cl.; Tem. Cl.; rê, e.g. èng pai hîl kên rê, "I
have just arrived from downstream,"

97. DESCEND, TO: kētok, Kena. I. Downwards (Mal. ka-bawah): matik, Darat; matikē, Sak. Em. Down river: teh, Sak. Plus; 4 N.Q. 102. Downstream (Mal. hilir): top, Sak. Gwāi; gun-tog, Krau Tem. To go downstream: bē-tūh, Sen. Cliff; bētuk⁵, Jelat; bētuk (bētākǐ); bețuk (betuk); bētōk mari (bētōk marih), Seran; betok, Darat, Krau Em. To jump down (Mal. tērjun): tuuk⁵, Seran. [Akin. tob, "to fall," "let fall."]


Desert, to: A 1; L 108.
Design: W 146. To carve designs: C 40, 41.
Desire: B 388.
Desire, to: L 148; W 14-19.

99. Destroy, to: pāgai? (pāgahi), Sōm.

100. Destroy, to: pēnāsā (pōnāsā), Sōm.; pēnāsā (pōnāsā), Sak. Kerb.; bēnāsā (bōnāsā), Sak. Ra.; bināsā, Sak. Kerb. [Mal. bināsā]; C 296; D 7; S 395.
Determine, to: R 81.

Devour, to: B 228.


Diarhēa: S 187.
Die, to: D 47-55.
Difference: A 95.
Different: A 121.


(b) To dig: bigbōg-tī, Sak. Kor. Gō. To root in the ground ("wühlen"): ebok-tā, Sak. Kor. Gō; E 12. [Cf. Mon. thāpāing (thābing), "a moat; Khmer pōng (bōng), "to hollow out," (Andamanese has somewhat similar forms, derived from bāng, "hole," e.g. Beada bānga; Bāle bāông, "to dig up.")]

108. DIG, TO: (a) chōp⁵, Serau; chauk⁵, Krau Em.; kachohm, Bes. K. Lang.; chom; kachom, Bes. Sep. A. I. Dig some yams: chom bekōi, Krau Em. To bore (hollow out): chom (tchōm), Sak. Ra. To bury: chōm; hi-chōm, Sem. Cliff; Spade (Mal. pēnghāli), [presumably a digging stick]: chup lut, Tembi.

(b) To bury: kōpūn; kākōpūn, Bes. A. I. To plant: to implant: kakōm, Bes. Songs.


Diminish, to: L 61; R 58; S 280.

111. Dimpled: rimai-rimai, Bes. Songs.

112. Dip the arrow in the ipoh juice, to:
113. Dip the arrow in the ipoh juice, to: chulik; ëleh, Bedu. II. [cf. Mal. cholek, cholič]; F 164.


117. Dirty: charip (tcharēp), Sōm.

118. Dirty: sānul (sānōul), Sak. Kerb.; G 68; S 54; U 5; W 29; W 74.


120. Disappear, to; to lose (Mal. hilang): ya-jwel, ex. āwā' manog jelwel bō' (trans. of Mal. proverb, anak ayam hilang ibu, "a chicken that has lost its mother."). Pang. Galas; F 12; F 115; F 117; P 39.

121. Disaster (the word is also used as a"'swear word"): chilaka (tchilaka), Sōm.; chilakā (tchillaka), Sak. Ra.; chokoh (tchokoh), Sak. Kerb. [Mal. chilaka].

Disavow, to: D 92.

Disease: E 5; E 9; E 83; S 185-197; T 168; T 170; W 140.

Dish of food: B 332; C 239.


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chër$p), Lebîr; je', e.g. do not be afraid; jë kêntôg (jë ken-têng), Kerôt; je', U. Tem.; (jék), Tembî. No ("very precise"): nyênû (né-hou), Sak. Ra. Not to be; is not (Mal. tiâda): chi o', Sak. Gual. [?] = N 68; cf. Bahnar ngôn (ngônh), "to dislike"; cf. Stieng ach, "to disdain," "to refuse."]


Dissové, to: B 395.

Distant: E 76; F 29.

Distorted: B 180; B 373.

Diverse: A 95.

126. Divide, to; to split: ya-sih? (i-sih or b'sih?), Sem. Buk. Max.


128. Divorce, to: chêrăng lonan, Sêrtîng.

129. Divorce, To: lungkah, Kena, I.; D 130.


Do, To: B 90; M 14: W 138, 139.

Do not: D 123; F 121; G 42; N 72-76; N 85. Do not want: D 123.

Doctor: S 76.

136. Dodge, to: clâk, Bes. Songs [Mal. elâk.]


140. Dog: patek (patîk), Sem. Pa. Max. [found only in name of a bamboo spec., B 21, and the reading is doubtful], [Aladur. pate].
[?Mal. hidopan, in the sense of "food" if so, from A 59.]
143. Dog: (a) chök (chioke), Sem. Ken.; chöh, Sem. Per.; chau (tehuau), Söm.; chhâu (tehuau; tchohuau), Sak. Kerb.; chau (tchohu).  
chöhö, Bes. Bell.; chöhö, Sak. Blanj.  
U. Cher.; Krau Ket.; chöhö, Bes. Malac.; (chau), Buk. U. Lang.; (chöhö), Bedu. II.; (tchöö), Serting; chhau (tchöö), 
Bes. Her.; chöhö (chöö), Serau [or Tembi?]; chauö, Serau; chau; chöhö, Bes. Sep. A. I.; chau, Bes. Sep.; chauö (chauk), Tan. U. Lang.; chauwö (tehau); U. Ind.; 
[Sampé, Phnong, chha; Pron. Cauö; Chhauwö (chhau); Keö, Chhauö; Së, Halang, Boloven, Selang, 
Anum chöhö; Kasgö; Chhauwö; Tareng aöö; Odu Khmer, Selang chöhö (chöö); Huiö, Sëd, Hino; 
Chhauwö (xohö); Sëngö; Kha Bi; Radöö sau; Këö, Chhauö, Mi, Khus, Lënet so, "dog." Perhaps also of Ken Tu chök; Khmer 
chhök. But the Cham asau, Concho asau, and Jarra asäö=D 146. Are the Indo-Chinese and 
Malayan forms ultimately related?
144. Dog: köyok, Jak. Mod. (and Jehok Jakun generally), Jak. Stüb.; Ga-
lang; köyok, Jak. Malac.; Jak. Sim., 
Jok. Ba. Po., Or. Lauö; köyök, 
Baröö; (koyak), Ben. Newö.; koyop (koyopeö), Jok. Kaff. As.; kayap 
(kayapeö), Jok. Raff.; kööh, Ben. 
Newö.  [Lamp. kuyöö; Mal. köyök, (="cur").]
145. Dog: këtök (këtöök), Kenöö H.  
146. (a) Dog: nyang, Pang. U. Aring; 
nööng, Kerbat; nian, U. Ker.  
The dog walks: ler nyang, Saerau.  
Puppy: å-wa”nööng, Kerbat.  [This 
is possibly a variant of "anjing."]  
Sam, Pang. Gal.; å-söö, Lebör; 
asu, Tan. Sag.; (asu), U. Pat., U.  
Ker.  Dog (hunting), asüö, Sem. 
Plus.  Puppy: wong å-söö, Lebör;  
cf. M 148.  ["Asu" is the commonest 
Malayo-Polynesian word for "dog", 
e.g., Javanese, Bugis, etc. asu; 
Iranun, Buloh-Ofie åsu; Cham, 
Melano Dayak asau; Bakutan 
Dayak nhau; Dusun åsus; Nias 
näst; Achinese åsöö (written "asöö", 
etc. Possibly "asu" and "anjing" 
are variants of one word: see 
Brandes, Bijdrage, etc., pp. 87, 88.]  
(c) Dog: anjing, Mantr. Malac.  
[Mal. anjing].
147. Dog: åmun, Kenöö I.; åmun, 
Bed. Chiong. [cf. B 57?].  
148. Dog (wild): chëööng, Sem. Këdaöö, 
Sem. Jarum, Sem. Plus; (chëööng), 
Sem. Steöö.  Wild dog; jackal: 
chëööng (chëööng), Sem. Buk. Max.  
149. Dog (large wild): (a) sëgööö, 
Mantr. Malac.  
(b) Jackal (Mal. sëgöööla): sëranggil, 
Pang. U. Aring; asuöö sëranggil, 
sëgöööla, "jackal"].  [The Malay word 
is of Sanskrit origin. These 
two forms appear to bear the same 
relation to each other as "kelapa" 
and "karambil" (coconut); C 200.]  
150. Dog (wild): merteng; bööteööng, 
boöteööng, Bes. Sep. A. I.  Small 
wild dog: merteng, Mantr. Malac.  
A small dark-coloured wild dog: 
merteng; chau bööteööng, Bes. K. L.  

Dollar: M 142; S 299; W 101.  
Done: A 63; F 116; F 118; F 120;  
F 122, 123.  
151. Door; window: pintu Temëöö, 
(pintou), Sak. Ra.; pintuöö (pintuk), 
Seraröö [Mal. pintu, "door"]; B  
147; I 27; L 1.  

Dot: P 152, 153.  
Dotted: C 296.  
152. Doubt: sëöö, Sëöö, Sak. Kerb.; sëöö,


155. Draw, to: trek, *Bes. Songs* [Mal. tarek]; *P* 105, *P* 227; *P* 229; *P* 231. To draw towards oneself: *C* 50; (E *76*; *P* 227). To draw water: *B* 444.


161. Dream, spirit of: *al-on*, *Sem. Stev.* God: *sian*, *Sem. Klap.* [Schmidt compares *Stieng* jang, "spirits"; and Chom yang; Bahnor iâng; but these last represent the Malayen yang, "deity," and the connection is dubious.]


Drum: a species of primitive drum used by Sémangs at Siông consists of a bamboo joint (gênâm = bamboo), the open end of which is struck by a beater (pêmukol) made of "palas" leaves bent into the shape of a small fan and stitched together with rattan. They are called pen-ānh, Sem. Kedah.


176. Drum, to (on the floor): rentak, Bes. Song; [= F 52].


179. Dry: kesit, Mant. Bor. Ėbb: keset, Bes. A. I.; [see M 114].


Dug out (boat): B 316.
Dukong anak (plant spec.): B 401.
Dung: D 114.
Durable: H 31.

Ket.; sēmpά? (sēmbā), Sak. Martin; sempah, Tembi, Serau; sēmpa’ pēkata’ (smpak pēkata’), Tembi. Flower [probably a mistake]: sēmpa’ (smpak), Tembi. Asam durian: asap2 sempol, Serau. [The durian being a great source of food supplies for the aborigines, this word may conceivably be identified with Stieng sōmpa, sōpa, “food (to be eaten along with rice),” which is from sa, “to eat”; E 27: sed quare.]

190A. DURIAN DARAT: durian daun (fruit-tree), Durio oxleyanus: ngēl, Tembi; shanggel, Serau [or Tembi].
During: L 28.
191. Dust: chakah (tchakah), Sôm.; S 23, 24; S 26, 27.
192. Dusty: bēkōl, Bes. Sep.; bēkōl [dist. from W 68], Bes. K. L.
Dwell. to: I 18; L 108–110; R 63; S 221, 222; S 439; S 477.
Dwelling-place: H 151–159.
Dyeing, plant used in: P 130.
Dysentery: B 248, 249; S 185; S 187; S 468.

E
1. Each; every (Mal. tiap or tiyap): reng-sing or reng-seng(?), Sem. Plus.
Eaglewood: A 50–52.

(b) Ear: empong or 'mpong, Pang. Belim.; mpong, Pang. K. Aring. [Boloven pun; Halang pat, 'ear.]


(b) To hear: têngi (tîngî), Sem. Pa. Max.; ting-ôi, Krau Tem., Sak. Gnai; (tîngi), Sem. Bég. [final letter omitted in the original print].

(c) To hear: gér-têk, Sem. Cl. To hear; to listen: getûk, Sak. U. Kam.; getûk, Serau, Darat [?]. I hear: engertûk', Jelai; Deaf: ta-mûngantûk (or ta-mûngentûk), Sak. Kôr. Gb. [Bûnhuur tông; Kôtông; Siêng tuîr, 'to hear'; Central Nicolaar hateng, 'to hearken'; Sedâng tông (teung); Nonâng chong, 'to listen'; Alâk ton; Lâve nândong, 'to hear'.]

7. EAR: chêliôh (chêliôh), Kena. 1.; chêliô (chêliôk), Kena. 2. [Perhaps a variant of the next? but cf. S 78.]


Early: D 42; M 175-179.


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(b) below (under): guu-tê (?), Sak. guai. Below; beneath: hatê', Bes. sep.; datç; da-tî, Sem. k. ken. Below; underneath (Mal. di-bawah); ka-bawah): kate' (katk), Sem. buk. max.; kate' amik (katk amik), Sem. buk. max. On the ground (Mal. di-tanah): kên-tê, Sem. cliff; katek or têkatêk, ex. me' ngog takatek (Mal. nu dudok ka-tanah), "do you sit on the ground" (= "sit down"); Sem. jarum. Earthwards or groundwards (Mal. ka-tanah): ba-te, pang. belimb.; low (Mal. rendah), ka-tek, Sem. plus; katek or têkatêk, ex. yohh tani têkatêk (Mal. poko' itu rendah), "that tree is low," Sem. plus; kuti' (kutik), Tembi; kâtî (kâtik), jetal; ka'-ti', kerbat; ka'-te', lebir; kô-tê, Sem. cliff; pate', sak. u. ken.; hatê', hênte', bes. sep. a. l.; a-che', U. tem.; U. cher. Low or shallow (Mal. tohor): katek, pang. u. aring; pang. sam, pang. gal. shallow (Mal. tohor): katek, e.g. be toa; katek (Mal. ayer tohor), "shallow water," Sem. plus; ka'-ti', kerbat; ka'-te', lebir; a-che', U. tem.; a-che', U. cher.; en-cher', sem. cliff; S 282. Deep; bîo dêtî (bîo-dêtê), söm.; botâ (botêk), sak. kerb. short: kuti' (kutik), serau [or tembi?] kuti' (kutik), serau; kutikâ', sak. em. [ka tulbate; chong pata, "below"] and; cf. S 282 (e.) (c) in: kate, sak. u. kam.; katô; katu (katou), sak. ra. into (Mal. kadalam): ka'-te', Sem. cliff. In front of: ntô, sak. ra. to enter: môtakâno, sak. ra.; E 77. [It may be doubted whether these words (b) (c) are connected with the forms given under (a). For some of them, compare L 150 and S 282.] [Mon ti; khmer déy [tiy]; xong te; bahmar teh; stieng teh (short e); sue katê (catê); lemet kettê; khmous pette; sue, nanhang kothe (cothe); taren kotheak (cotheas); kon tu thiak (thiaze); bolowan thâ; ho, muandari otê; korku wate, "earth." It is not clear whether the forms kaseung tanéh; halang tanéh; sedang tâne, are to be considered infix-formations or to go (with the Jarat tânôh) with mal. tanah. Perhaps the latter (with its malayan equivalents) is also an infix-formation derived from the same root? For (c) cf. stieng tu, "at," "in."]

13. earth; land; country: têngge' (tngki'), Sem. pa. max.; têngge' or lônghî (lînghi'), sem. buk. max. The world; the earth: langî', sem. buk. max.


15. earth: kahu, tan. u. lang.


17. earth: làpang, galang. plain (Mal. padang): làpang, pang. u. aring; rapang? (zafang), ben. new. [Mal. lapang, "space."]

18. earth: tanah, mantr, malac., jak. malac. ground: tanah, sem. beg. [Mal. tanah].


Earthquake: E 12.

20. east: klen (very doubtful, as klen = Mal. kadalam, "inside," elsewhere), Sem. kedah, sem. plus; D 33; D 35; D 37; W 112.

21. easy: gaihîl (ghâhîl); gehâil (ghâhîl) sak. kerb. [doubtful; e.p. T 145].
22. Easy or comfortable (Mal. sénang): légō, ex. légō dah (= Mal. sénang sudah), "to be comfortable," Bes. K. L. [perhaps s 14].


EASY: sénang (sonāh), Söm.; (sonān), Seran. Cash down: sénang (sonān; sonān), Söm. Happy; lucky: sonang (sonān), Söm.

[Mal. sénang, "comfort."]


To drink: chucha, Ben. New.; cha' dōo, Bes. Sep. A. I.; cha-de-u, Bes. Her.; chadē, Bes. Malac.; chedo, Ben. New. [lit. "eat water," W 30]. Hunger: machi kēbes (machee kebess), Sem. Stev. Pregnant: machi kawau (matji kowau), Sem. Stev. [lit. "eat bird," i.e. the soul-bird; B 215]. [Mon, Tarenɡ chā; S'amrē chā; Cuol, cha; Phrang chha; S'teng, Chrá sa; Prou chā; Kaseng, Kôn Tu, Süe chā; Bahnar sha (xa); Khmer sī [si]; chey [ch'i]; chhey [chhī]; Ch'ewn shā, "to eat."]


COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF

Sag. Food (boiled rice): kankot, Ben. New. [Mal. makan, "to eat"; the root of which is kun; cf. Madurese, kakan].

Eat, to: B 228; C 129; F 124.


31A. Ebb, to: najö, Tembi; jö, Serau; for Tembi?]

Ebony: C 77.

Eclipse: C 257; D 23; D 33; D 43; M 161; M 164; S 242; S 526.

Eddy: W 30.


Edging, rattan: B 116.


(7) Mal. têlor; Selung kloen, Suluk klog, etc., "egg." These are variant forms of the same word as those referred to, and cited under (a). The word is exceedingly anomalous in its variations.


Egg-plant: S 339.

EggsHELL: S 236.

38. Egret; stork, Ciclonia capellata (?) (Mal. bangau): (a) bahau; chim bahau, Bes. K. L.; bangau, Mantr.


40. Eight: hó-it, Sak. Sel. Da. [Both probably fictitious; no other dialects have corresponding numerals.]


43a. Eldest (of family): solong, Bes. Song [Mal. solong]; N 50, 51.


COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF

16. B 206: B 210: B 212: T

52. ELEPHANT'S (AASF. E.507) SINGED

53. ELEPHANT'S (AASF. E.507) SINGED

54. EVOLUTION TO: D66

55. ELEPHANT'S (AASF. E.507) SINGED

56. EVOLUTION TO: 56

57. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

58. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

59. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

60. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

61. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

62. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

63. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

64. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

65. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

66. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

67. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

68. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

69. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

70. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

71. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

72. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

73. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

74. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

75. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

76. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

77. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

78. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

79. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

80. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

81. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

82. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

83. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

84. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

85. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

86. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

87. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

88. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

89. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

90. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

91. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

92. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

93. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

94. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

95. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

96. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

97. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

98. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

99. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

100. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

101. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

102. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

103. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

104. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

105. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

106. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

107. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

108. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

109. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

110. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

111. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

112. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

113. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

114. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

115. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

116. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

117. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

118. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

119. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

120. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

121. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

122. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

123. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

124. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

125. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

126. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

127. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

128. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

129. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.

130. EMPRITS TO: I.8, C.77, P.64.


77. ENTER, TO: a’moi (êmô), Sak. Kerb.; enmâd, Tembi; mait, Scraw. [Bahnar, Churu, Jorai, Prou. Cancho mut; Sul mût; Sâlang mût; Târunc hemôt; Cwâi môt, Annam mo’—“to enter.”] A 156; C 219; E 12; F 12; G 43; L 31.

78. Entrain(s) (Mal. tâli pérut): ëjuwed or ëjuwed, Sem. Kedâh; B 159. 

Entwine. to: B 213. 

Envelop. to: W 144, 145. 

Epilepsy: D 160; F 155.

Equal: A 79. 

Err. to: F 23. 

Escape to: R 198. 

Estimate. to: T 79. 

Estuary: H 149. 

Eternal: F 131. 

European: M 23; M 26; M 28; W 101. 

Evening: D 16; D 19; D 21; D 25-28; L 15; T 263. 

Evening star: S 436. 

Ever, for: A 72; O 21.

78A. Every: thâp, Bes. Songs [Mal. tiap]; F 1, 2.

Evidence: C 147, 148.

Evil-smelling: S 392.


Exchange, to: B 61; B 434; G 299. 

Excrement: S 468. To void excrement: S 467-472.

Exhale, to: C 253.

79. Expand, to: to open out (intrans.): yuwi or riwi? [juwi or riwi], Sem. Buk. Max.


Expensive: D 59.

Expire, to: B 329; B 388.

81. Explain, to (?): sêks’ (ski’), Sem. Buk. Max.

Explosion, noise of: V 15.

82. Extinguish, to: sèp’m, Jak. Malac.; B 256, 257; D 53.

Extract, to: P 231.

Exude, to: O 66.


**F**


2. **Face**: forehead: = F 228 and cf. F 277.

3. **Face**: sôjîl (sôd-jee), Sem. Kev.

4. **Face**: rémans, Bedu. II.; emen? (emain), Tan. U. Lang. [?= F 83].

5. **Face**: rangop? (tamlangop), Ben. New. Head: rangik? (tamlangik; tamlangjik), Ben. New. [These are inexplicable: probably they are faulty transcriptions of words collected for Newbold by a Malay in the Arabic character: cp. Hikayat 'Abdullah, chapter on the Jakuns; cp. F 211; T 166; W 11.]

6. **Face**: mûku (mouko), Sak. Karb.; mûka (moukâ), Sak. Ra.; muka, Sak. U. Kam., Sak. Sung., Mantr. Malay., Jak. Malay.; mukha' (muk'ha'), Serîng; mükî, Barok. Forehead: muka, Bedu. II. Impudent [by mistake given as impudent]: mûka (mouka), Sak. Ra. [The proper adjective has been omitted here; mûka only means "face."] [Mal. muka]; B 146, 147; C 81; E 83; F 277; M 202; N 99; S 85.

**Fade.**

7. **Fade**

8. **Fainting**:

9. **Fair weather**

10. **Fall**

11. **Fall.** To (Mal. jatoh): ya' dahes (pr. da-hês), Sem. Plus. To fall down: has? (h-s [sic]), Sem. Beg. To fall down; to stumble: hás (hauss), Sem. Stev. To fall; to spill (Mal. jatoh; tunapah): hes (his); haet (haut), Sem. Pa. Max.; mahâch (mahâch), Sem. Bûk. Max. To


13. FALL, TO: (a) keô, Sak. Kôr. Gô. To fall (of ripe fruit): kai (kai), Sem. Buk. Max. ; kâ, Bes. Malac. To fall down (Mal. rébah): kôl, Sen. Ct. ; (Mal. tumbang): kol, Tembi; kal, Serau? or Témbi?; koi, Serau; (Mal. jatoh): kuke' (kukek), Serau. To pour: ka (tâi), Sak. Ur. [sic: "tâ" probably = W 30]; koh, Serau. [cf. Bahmar kal; Siêng kol, "to fell "].
(b) To fall: këlo (kô-lo), Sôm. ; këlu (kôlu), Sak. Kôrb. [2 = D 93].

14. FALL, TO (Mal. jatoh): ya' tébol (pr. tébol), Sem. Plus. To fall (ot a tree): bo'ing, Bes. A. I.

15. FALL, TO (Mal. jatoh): ya-pö-ôp, Pang. Galas; ya-pôp, Pang. Sam; pôg (pér), Lebr; prôum, Bes. Songs. To fall to the ground: pôg ba te' (pér gâ te'), Lebr; cf. D 96 [Bahmar pôk, "to fall "].

16. FALL, TO (Mal. jatoh): yok², Serau; biák³, Kraw Èm.; yoh? or yon? Sak. Ra.; i-ok⁴, Sen. Ct.; i-ok⁴; i-ok⁵, Sen. Cliñ. To fall (of ripe fruit) (Mal. gugor; jatoh): ha' yioh? (ha' iiuh or ha' biuh?); Sem. Pa. Max.; (Mal. gugor): jîninjôl (jîninjêrl), Serau. Don't fall down (Mal. jangan jatoh): mongiok⁶, Jelal.

17. FALL, TO (of a tree): bedêkng; bedôk, Bes. A. I.; bêdôk, Bes. Malac. To drop; to fall: bedôk, Bes. K. Lang.; bèdôk, Bes. Songs. [cf. Mon tum [dô], "to fall" (as a tree).]

18. FALL, TO (Mal. jatoh): grûp, U. Cher.; gôk (gôk or gôk), U. Tem.; gôyn; grôn, Bes. Sep.; grun, Bes. Sep. To fall to the ground: grûp ga teh; grûp a-teh, U. Cher.; grôk a te (gôk or gôk a-te), U. Tem.; cf. D 96. [cf. Mon gorôh [gôrûh], "to fall down in pieces"; chôrôh [chôrûh], "to pour"; Khmer chrûh; chûs [chûs; jûs]; Bahmar ruh; Jorûh; Sêng jorûh, "to fall" (esp. of leaves); rûh, arûh, "to get loose and fall."]

19. FALL, TO (Mal. jatoh): chôrô? or choô? (chêr-êr), Kran Ket. To fall to the ground: chô gên te' (chêr gên-te'), Kran Ket.; cf. D 96. To spill (Mal. tumpah): sâru; suri, Serau [2 = F 18].


21. FALL, TO; to let go; to throw away; to spill; to live (at a place); loss: têlahor (t'lahor), Pant. Kap. Joh, Broon; pêñlahor (p'lahor), Pant. Kap. Joh. To go down: mêlahor (m'lahor), Pant. Kap. Joh. To remain; to shve; to throw; to spread out: lahor, Pant. Kap. Joh. To sink: têlahor kë sêmpêhor (t'lahor k's'mp'hôh), Pant. Kap. Joh.; W 34. [cf. Mal. labuh, "to fall," "to let fall" (especially an anchor); Sundan, labur, "to pour out."] To fall: D 96; P 147; S 119. To fall down: D 95, 96.

21A. FALL ON, TO; to strike: tempô, e.g. nahlôl tempô kôrêp, "it is true, or may (something) fall on my body"
[a form of asseveration], Bes. K. Lang. [Mal. timpaa].

   (b) False: boi (boî), Söm.; bûtân (bûtân; bût-âd'n), Sem. K. Ken. (Mal. karut): boiy (pr. boîdî), Sem. Jarum; mî-boydî (pr. mî-boîdî) (the mî may represent the 2nd pers. pron.), Sem. Plus. Lie (falsehood): li-bus, Tem. Cl. [Khner phût [bhût], "to lie."]

23. False; deceitful: (a) mélênum, Sak. U. Kam. To speak lies: linglod, Sak. U. Kam.
   (b) To deceive; to delude: gilhôit; gil-hôit, Sem. K. Ken. To cheat (Mal. tipu or keeche): pelot or p'lot, ex. jëbâh p'lot râ' (Mal. orung dagup tipu sahah), "the strangers do nothing but cheat," Bes. K. L. To err (Mal. silap); jëlift, Sak. Em.; jeraud, Tembl. [Bahnar lût, "to get cheated"; pôlut, "to deceive"; Siông luieh... "to cheat"; luieh, "theft"; Mon klat [klat], "to steal"; Kûmer luôch [luôch], "secretly," "to steal"; and perhaps Bahnar plach, "to lie."]
   (c) To lie: jài (djul-hâ), Sem. K. Ken. [Halang lêh, "to lie."]


Familiar: A 22.

Familiar spirit: D 91; S 387.


   B 153; D 66; E 76; O 21: T 51.
30. **Fashion**; manner: moi (moi), Sak. Korb.
31. **Fashion**; manner: macham (machi-

mam), Söm. ; machâm (matchâm), Sak. Ra. [Mal. macham].

**Fast**: Q 5-15.

32. **Fast. a**: God: penadah (p'ndah).

**Fast. to make**: B 213.

**Fasten. to**: B 213, 214.

33. **Fat** (subst.). (Mal. lêmak): toyldj

(pr. târdj), Sem. Kedâfah; toyld (pr.
toYd), Sem. Plus; toed (tôid (?)).


Max.; lentôtj, Bes. Songs. Fat

(adj.) (Mal. lêmak) : tutij (tutij).

Söm. Buâ. Max. (? cf. Khmer thôt (?)

[dhat], “fat” (adj.).

34. **Fat**: plump (of body): mëncho`

[mnju], Sem. Buâ. Max.; mëncha`

or mëncho`, Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal.;

mën-chok, Lebib; bêchôk or bêchô`,

Sem. Jarum, Sem. Plus; bê-chô`

Sem. Chiff; bê-chu`, U. Tem.; bêchô`

Bes. Sep. A. I.; bi-châ`, Kerbat;

bêchôk, Jela; ênchê`? (anchea),

Sem. Pu. Max. Plump; solid (Mal.

35. **Fat**: big: cheke (tché-ke`), Söm.

Large: cheke`? (chekai), Sem. Per.

Full moon: chëkä (tché-ke`), Söm.

36. **Fat**: plump: lohui (lohoutj),

Söm. Ra.; a-hû`n (a-hûd`n); ahu?n?

[ahud`n?], Sem. K. Ken; mahitn

[or mohitn?]. Darat.

37. **Fat**: plump; gêmû` : mû`, Bes.

Sep. A. I. [Mal. gémok]; B 204,

R 125.

38. **Father**: kân (kn), Sem. Pa. Max.


Bes. Malae; ikun (ekun), Buk. U.

Lang.; ikon (eekon), Bes. Bél.;


A. I.; ikun, Bes. Chiong; ikun, Bes.

New.; kûyn; kun, Bes. K. Lang.

Father in-law : ikugen, Bes. Her.

[Samrû, Por ku`n (ku`nh); Chong ku`

(kuny); Xong ku`n (koun); Cuô kiô

(koun); Lemô` un (ounh), “father,”

possibly connected with M 15?]

39. **Father**: dô (doh), Sak. Jer., Po.

Klo; (dô), Sem. Per. Father-in-

law: dô (doh), Po-Klo.

40. **Father**: buk (bouk), Söm.; buh

[bouh], Sak. Korb.; bu (bou), Sak.

Croîs.; bôu (boue), Sak. Br. Loa;

bô, Sak. Kor. Gb.; (bôr), Tem. Cl.,

Sak. Plus Chiff.; bô? or bô? (len),

Sem. Pupier; bôh, Tembi; bê? (lek),

Sak. Sung.; bi` (bik), Serau;

bi, Sen. Cl.; bi; bi, Sen. Chiff.;

beh, Tan. U. Lang.; abuah (abouh;

abouh), Sak. Ru.; abu, Sak. U.

Kam.; i-bê, Sak. Giui.; iha;

ihu, ibu kotol, Pant. Kap. Joh.;

êmbei; mbei, Jak. Sembr.; mbai,

Or. Hu. Joh. I.; mbai, U. Ind.;

bai, Jak. Íba. Pa.; mba, Pal.;

wa, Bes. Malac. Father in-

law: ba` ayah, Bantu. I. Grand-

father (Mal. dato`): bê` (?), Pang.

Sam, Pang. Gal. Title given to

married men: ba`, Or. Berumb. Pre-

fix used before names of men: ba`

Sak. Chen. Stepfather; adoptive

father; uncle; bah, Serau. Uncle

(Mal. pa` sudara): bah (pr. ba`h).

Pang. U. Aring; be`eh; ? bâh, Sem.

Jarum; bêh, Sem. Plus; ba`, Sak. Jer.,

Or. Berumb.; ba`, Sak. Ru.; ba`,


ibah, Bes. Her.; ibah, Bes. Chiong;

bô nyuk (bê-nyuk), Sak. Plus Chiff.

[Ch. Khmer apuk [abuk]; Phnum

ambok (amboc); Prou bok (boe);

Sue bê, apu, mpü; Annum phu;

Lave bô; Nakhôn bî; Ho-

lang, Bohmar bâ; Achin. ba;

“father”; Stie`ng ba, prefixed

used before names of elderly men,

cf. M 18; Bo`hmar bok, “grandfather,”

“male ancestor.” But the names for

“father” and “mother” are alike

in many languages.

41. **Father**: ita, U. Ind. [Ita was the

secret name of the late Dato’ of

Johol. It was never mentioned:

so stated by Mr. Abraham Hale, for-

merly District Officer, Tampin.]

Grandfather (Mal. dato`): tûk (pr.

tû), Sem. Jarum; tûk (pr. tû`); tû`,

e.g. tû` Poon or tû` Pôn (= grandsire

Poon), Sem. Plus; tû, Pang. U.

Aring, Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal.; tû`

(dû), Sak. Kor. Gb.; ta`ta`, Sak.

Plus Chiff.; tata`, Sak. U. Beri.

Old man: tata, Tembi [cf. G 86 or

G 83.]; [Hon ita, “father”; Khmer

tât `tâ`, “old man,” “male ancestor.”]

42. **Father**: sangkat, Kena. 1.;

Kena. II.

43. **Father**: mënî, Or. Berumb.; mën-

î, Sak. Blanj. Chiff.; menâh, Sak.


Chiff. [= B 203].

44. **Father**: (a) pha`? (phak). Sem.

Klapr.; pa` (pák), Temiang; pa`;


pa, Or. Trang; pa, Or. Berumb.;

pa`, Kerbat; i-pa`, U. Tem.; apâ`,


46. Father: shah, Sem. Beg.; raza, Ben. Nco.; yah? [he has; ay, yah: it is not clear whether they are two words or one], Sem. Klapr.; ayah, Mantr. Malac. [Mal. ayah].

Father of first-born child: F 132.

47. Faint: neglik (negh-lik), Söm.; B 10.

Fawn: D 68.


To tremble (with fright) (Mal. gémgur): ya ma' antung (ia ma' antung), Sem. Buk. Max. Danger; peril: hatu (hatou), Söm.; tō; tū to (tēk tō), Sak. Kerb. [Suku tuang; Lave aduông, "fear"; Samre' tuang; Por tuang; Coo' tuong; Prou dong; "to be afraid." ]


I am afraid to swim here: eng sēngoh (sengoh) bōh [or bōh?] meilih, Kran Em. Frightened: "gi" or hēndēgi, Pang. Belimb. [Mon sāmngā, "fear"; Bahnar shōnīt (sōni), "afraid," "to take fright"; Khmer norōk (nānōk); nōnōch (nānōch); nōnōt (hārōk), "afraid." ]


50A. Fear, to: pā, Sak. Martin. [Doubtful: the Malay equivalent given is tidak (= "no").] [Cf. Mon phēk, "to fear." ]


Feast, to: D 165.

52. Feast, to (with drinking, etc.): bēranta balei, Bes. Sēp. [lit. "stamp (on the floor of the hall)"]. [Mal. rentak = D 176.]


Feathered part of arrow: B 361.

Peeble: S 272; T 145; T 147; W 57-64.

Feed, to: G 29.


55. Feel, to: bō, Sak. Kor. Gh.

56. Feel, to: sī Sem. Cliff. [Sen. Clf. has sī', "to fell"; probably this last a misprint]; serīk, Serau [Cf. A 76].

57. Feel, to: iniasā, Sem. K. Ken.


Fell. to: A 4; C 296; F 11; F 20 (F 56?).


601

Festivity: A 76; G 74.


Feverish: S 187.

Few, a: Q 5; S 231.


93. Ficus, a large, with small leaves (Mal. jawi-jawi), Ficus rhodostaphylo: jenang, Res. K. L.; jenâng, Res. A.I.

Fiddle: M 226.

94. Field: sêlái (sêlái; slây), Sak. Ten. Ram., Sak. U. Kam.; e.g. “men and women work in the plantation,” ut slây krâl krâdol, Sak. U. Kampur. Field: garden; plantation (Mal. ladang): sêlái (sôlái), Sûm.; (sôlái); sôlái, Sak. Kerb.; sêlái; sêlái (sôlái; sôlâi), Sak. Ra. Clearing; plantation (Mal. ladang), sê-lâi, Sem. Cliff.; (slây, slây), Sak. U. Kam.; e.g. “to make a plantation,” bi slây, Sak. U. Kam.; sêlái; slây, Tembi; slây, Serau. To make a clearing; gan islái [?]; krai slái, jelai. Abandoned plantation: sê-lâi, Krau Tem. Age: sêlái (sôlái), Sûm. [An evident con-

fusion of the Malay equivalents: huma, “field,” and “uman, “age.”] [cf. Sûl sûray; Annam rây; Cham re, “field” (for dry rice cultivation).]


Fig: F 91-93.

Fight: S 189.

96. Fight, to: A 17.


100. FILED DOWN: lêntî (lu'tî), Sem. Pa. Max. [Mal. lêntîk].

Fill, to: F 170; F 290.

Filled: F 290.

Fillet: K 133.

Filthy: D 116.


Finch: S 354.
6o3
chere
jaras
having
habis)
ya-hod
jare'
yak,
nglng-
jare'
W
sudah
s
(djarastot),
jaras
to
sa,
finished
jos
hiit-hiit,
hand
hoi'
jari-jok”,
to
nglng-jihos
jaras
Mantr.
jaras
alaiak
Stieng
seh,
raan.
gng-
schSn
R
lohan
114.
113.
112.
jos?
jari
v
gng-
Finger,
Sak.
F
kik”,
aliaiak
Stieng
seh,
raan.
gng-
engolek
(p'ngolek),
jaras
hici
Sak.
F
G
kik
“finished.
“done”
“Steng
höi, a particle indicating the past
tense; cf. Kühmer huos, “to pass.”
(6) To disappear; to be lost (Mal.
hilang); ya-höd (pr. hödd), Pang.
U. Airing; ya-höd; ex. awá manog
höd nañ-ô (trans. of Mal. proverb,
anak ayam hilang iku, i.e. “a
chicken that has lost its mother”).
Pang. Sam. To disappear; seh,
Bes. Sap. To lose; seh, Bes. K.
Lang.; sib, Bes. Songs. To forget:
sép, Sak. U. Kam.; engsipn,
Saruy, hiséipn, Krau Em. To miss: się,
Sak. U. Kam. To miss (in aiming),
(Mal. ta' kena); sè, Sem. Cliff.
(c) No (” very precise “);” hoi,
Sak. Kerb. No (” vague “); hoi
(hoi, “with a nasal sound”), Sak.
Kerb. No: höt (hërt), Krau Tem.
Not yet: hát-hôt, Sak. Guat. To
lose; hoi; nahuí (naholu), Sak.
Kerb. [Cf. Central Nicobar, Teresa,
Chawari hat, ” not “; cf. Bahmar
hoi, ” no “;” it is nothing.”]

116. Finish, to: fák? (ailaik?),
Sem. Buk. May. To finish; to con-
sume (Mal. habiskan): yág, ex.
ná’ yé yag taoi’ (Mal. nak sahy
habis de’ rimau), or taoi’ on yág u
leau ná’ yé. (Cp. also yak kelyeng,
Mal. habis kadalim, which should
no doubt be yag kelyeng, the
having perhaps been
affected by the k of kelyeng), Sem.
Kedah. Done; finished: yak, Sem.
Croato. Gram. To finish or complete
(Manit habiskan): ya-jak (more
Done; done with; have (Mal.
sudah; habis): já’ (used as an
auxiliary verb; e.g. G 75; but also
used in an adjectival sense, e.g. ií
já”, “come here, will you,” Mal.
mari juga or mari sudah, Sem.
Kedah; já’, ex. já’ yé chi’ habi
Mal. sudah sahya makan nasi, “I
have eaten,” Pang. U. Airing
E 71; F 117; G 75; R 60; W 68.
Have (aux.); oáil, e.g. “I have
eaten,” ku oáil makan, Jak. Malac.
[Cf. Bahmar ji, auxiliary of past
tense; Steng jet (jét). “done.”
“finished.”]
### COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY


#### 118. Finish, to; to consume (Mal. habiskan): leau, ex. ni' yē leau ka-ong (Mal. mak sahaya habis de' rimau), "my mother was eaten up by a tiger," Sem. Kadah. Done; finished (past auxiliary): leau, Pang. Teling. [? Cf. Andamanese Binda ār-lā; Kol ā-īwa; Charter ārāliwū, "to finish."] See R 190.

#### 119. Finish, to; to make an end of: pédong (pdung), Sem. Buk. Max.; A 63; D 53; F 115.


123. Finished: (Mal. habis) : tēlas? (tela), fātax. Has; past; done (auxiliary). (Mal. sudah): tē-lās, e.g. ēhō tē-lās kū hā'ō jīh, "he has killed that fish," Sem. Clī; tēlāsh (tōlāsh), Sak. Ru. Just now (Mal. tēlēpas tādī): tēlas? (telas) anīni, Darōt. Already (Mal. sudah): lāh; sa?; Mong. Bor. It is enough: tēlāsh (tōlāch), Sak. Kerb.; tēlāsh (tōlā), Sak. Ru. (Achīn. tēles (pr. tēlē); Mal. tēlah, "already," auxiliary of perfect.)


Comparative Vocabulary of

Trang: Matches: chółek api, Sem. Fire-steel: api, Tembi; snapi, Sem. [or Tembi?]. [Mal. api].
128. FIRE, materials for making: ped-bied (ped-bee-ed), Sem. Stev. Fire: B 373; B 468; C 77; H 147; R 194.
Firebrand: F 124; F 126; T 214.
Firefly: S 437; W 121.
Fire-log: C 77; F 126, 127.
Fireplace: A 160.
Fire-steel: F 124, 125; S 444.
Firewood: B 372; C 77; F 124; F 126.
First: A 5; B 145.
135. FISH: râyap, Kena. 1.
136. FISH: chéréh (chérêh), Serting; chéré, Bol. Chiong. [2 cf. Khmer trév (triv)]; Ka tre; Tàreng trói; Prov tro; Hrei, Suk tró (trhu); So chia; Núhkang tea, "fish.
Fish: S 24.
141. FISH, fresh-water spec.: bègâhak, Jak. Mad.
142. FISH, fresh-water spec.: nôm, Jak. Mad.
143. Fish, fresh-water spec.: sengar, Jak. Mad.
144. Fish, to: kadô, Sak. Kor. Gb. ; C 49 ; T 107.
144A. Fish with a hook, to: têndroi, Tembi ; têndros (sic), Seran.
145. Fish with a hook, to: klikôt, Separing ; klikat (kibôt), Bedu. II.
146. Fish with a hook, to: ngedek, Galung.
147. Fish with a hook, to: ngûyel, Bedu. I., Bedu. II. [Mal. kail ; mênâil].
148. Fish with a spear, to: sêrapang, Separing [Mal. sêrapang].
149. Fish with a spear, to: sâmûk, Bedu. I. ; sâmûk, Bedu. II. ; S 369 ; S 373-374.
150. Fish with a " LANGKOR " (a kind of rattan net ?), to: pâlong, Kenan I.
151. Fishing-basket: sêgél, Jak. Mad.
151A. Fishing-basket: sêntapok, Jak. Mad. Fish-trap made with " onak " : sêntapok (s'ntapok), Jak. Sim.
152. Fishing-place: günû (gounû), Sak. Ra.
153. Fish-roe: E 34.
154. Fish-trap: F 151 ; F 151A.
155. Fish-trap made with rattan thorns (onak): basôk, Jak. Sim.
157. Fist, to hit with the: S 497.
160. Five: sâ jûmpà, Po-Kio. [Both this and F 156 are very doubtful.]
161. Five: më-sûmûn, U. Tem. ; më-chông, U. Cher. ; mësogn, Separing ; massok, U. Ind. [Mon. mân say or mësoîn [nàsan]], pàson, pësoîn [pàson]. [Côi song ; Hui, Sak. Sue, So sung (song).] Hui, Nau- hang chung (choung), Tarong, Kon Ta, Boloven sôn ; Sue sôn ; Pron châông ; Ka chang ; Boloven song ; Niahôm, Leve song ; Kêmûs phuong (pôuong), Lêmêi pan ; Pàlaung fân ; pôhon (and variant forms in neighbouring dialects) ; Khasi san, "five."]
The expression for "flea," in several of these is "dog-louse," as in Mal. kutu anjing is used. Central Nicobar shät, "bet." L 144, 145.


Flexible: S 336.

Flight: F 203-204.

Float: to: uit (auit), Sem. Buk. Max.

174. Float, to: têlamul (timul), Sem. Pa. Max. To arrive: nimul, e.g. a common form of salvation is mani nimul hino-kng, "where have you come from now?" Bes. Sep. [Mal. timbul, "to rise to the surface"]. [Perhaps = C 166.]

175. Float, to: to drift: lampong (impung), Sem. Pa. Max. [Mal. lampong]

176. Float, to: to drift: bêngkás (bangks), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. bingkas, "elastic."]


Float, to: L 79.


Flow: T 127; W 27.


188. Flower: hürū (?), Bes. A. I. [P = F 193].


195. Flute: jeníoli (jníoli, jníoly), Sak. U. Kam. [Cf. Bahmar tulió; Khmer khói (khlyú); Mon tâlot, "flute"; ? cf. Khmer sralay (sraléy), "trumpet."?


199. Fly (Mal. lalat): jeloi, Jeloi; roai, Tembi; roi, Tembi [or Serai?]; ruai, Seran; rûl, Sak. Em.; ruôi; rói, Sak. Kor. Gb.; roi, Bes. Sep. Eye-fly: yû, Bes. A. I. Insect spec. (Mal. lebah lalat): jeloil, Serau. [Ruai is also given as the equivalent in Seran of Mal. sañam, evidently by confusion with lalat.] [Hôn rui (ruai); Ràduik, Churu ruôi; Chhrân ruôy; Cham rui; Khmer rúi (rui); Siêng ruôi; Bahnar, Kaseng, Súê, Halang, Boloven, roi; Annam ruôî—to?fly, "house-fly." Perhaps also Jaraî jái, "fly"; and Central Nicobar yûe, "house-fly," belong here.]


204. Fly, to: (a) nég-heñ (nög-heiñ), Sim.; khìeng (keiñ), Sak. Ra.; heñhîk (heñhiñ), Sak. Kerb.; heñk, Tembi. [Cf. Khmer hò; Central Nicobar heñ-hông, "to fly."]


206. Foam: W 42.

207. Fold, to: R 87.

208. Foliage: leaves: tê-belkun, e.g. bis-lis këng tê-belkun (or têbel-kun), "disappear among the foliage," Pang. Téliang; D 98; F 12.


212. FOLLOW, TO: bësö (bëssö), Söm. To consent? (Mal. turut): bësush (bëssouch), Söm.

213. FOLLOW, TO: ikôt, Sak. Ra. (Mal. ikut).


217. Food: piknoi (plik-moi), Söm.; E 26, 27; E 30; R 113.

218. Food eaten along with rice (Mal. lauk): mënharár (mng-hår), Sak. U. Tap. [But the root meaning appears to be "beast," and it may perhaps be derived from H 176.] Animal; beast (Mal. bina-tang): mënhår, Serau; manahar, Serau [or Tembi’]. Pig: menahäl, Tembi’. Stag: mënghär (mng-här), Sak. U. Kam. Monkey (spec. "chingka" [sic = Mal. chikha]): benår, Sak. Em. [used before animal names, e.g. R 90].

Fool: S 506.


221. Foot: tōmén, Jok. Raoff. As.; tamén, Jok. Raof. Feet: tamarā; sakmarap, Ben. New.; S 141. [These words are very doubtful; perhaps they are to be interpreted as rāpōk, raptap respectively; cf. F 5].

221A. Foot: poh, Tin. Sag.


Footprint: G 41; P 118; T 195.

Footstep: P 21.


For ever: A 72; O 21.
C O M P A R A T I V E  V O C A B U L A R Y  O F

sylable in these last few words is probably A 176. This view is supported by the following: To the jungle (Mal. ka hutan): masrak^n, Darat. Country: land: masrak^n, Kraw Em. Land (Mal. darat): sérák (srak), Suk. U. Kan.; sérák^n, Sen. Cliff.; M 23. [Khmcr srôk [srûk], "country," "village"; Samrê, Pur, Cûoi srôk (srêc); Pron chrok (chroc), "country"; Sûe srük (srûc), "village"; Lave tshruk, "country"; cf. Mon krôp [grup], "forest.")

232. Forest: jungle: bûk, e.g. in the jungle; êm bûk, Sak. Ton. Thicket (Mal. hutan kêchil), bû, Sen. K. Ken.


235. Forest: lano [the word seems to be only used in the expression senghoi lano (sénhoi lano), which is said to mean literally "men of the woods" (hommes des bois)], Sûm.; M 26.


239. Wood [i.e. forest] (Mal. rîmbâ): blûkê, Sem. Bîg. [Mal. belukar, "secondary jungle" of relatively recent growth]; A 22; H 89; H 90; Q 16.

240. Forest = B 442.


244. Forget, to: lâlî, Pang. Sam, Pang, Gal. [Jav. Sund. lâlî; cf. Mal. lâlî.]

245. Forget, to: lûpâ (lupa'), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. lupa]; A 173; C 26; D 119; F 115.

246. Fork (of tree or stick): B 345; C 115.


248. Formerly: manginchoi? (mâhîntchoi), Sak. Ra.; A 5; B 145, 146; B 165; D 17; N 50; P 39; T 54.


251. Four, hêmupûn (hûpûn), Sorting; êm-pon, U. Tem., U. Chen.; npûn, U. Ind. Two: potn, Pol. [Clearly wrong; it means "four."] [Mon pûn [pûn]; Old Khmer, Samrê, Cûoi, Chong pon; Kuy Dek pon; Sud, Xong pon; Kaseng pon; Lemen pon (poun); pon, Samrê, Por phoon; Khmer buon [pûon]; Pron, Churu, Phnong pon; Sak, Sud pûn (poun); Chêru pûn; Stîng pûn; Hui, Hîn, So, Nanang, Khmus pûn (poun); Sodang pûn; Bahnar pûn; Tareng, Kon Tu, Halang, Boloven, Kô, Churu pûn; Annam bôn'; Lave pûn; Alôk pûn, Palaung pûn, pûn (pone), (and variant forms in neighbouring dialects); Santali pon; Malê, Birhû, Danggar pûn; Mâyôri pûn; pûn-ia; Kurkû uphûnia; Kharija i'pon; Central Nicobar foân; Southern Nicobar ñaat; Shom Pê fuat; Teressa, Chêuna foân (foûn); Car Nicobar ñân, "four."]

252. Four: lebêh (leâ), Po-Klo [Mal. lebêh, "more"; but see T 270].

253. Four: man-lang-kêh, Sak. Sel. Da. [D 251-253 are more than doubtful.]


256. **Fowl**: bē, Kenia. I.


Chicken: hukt manuk, Sak. *Tan. Ram.* Padi bird (Mal. *ayam padi*): manok-manok (manuk 2). Sem. *Buk.* Max. [iru, Dusun, Bulud Ofir, mānōk; Sul, Balau Dayak, Sāmpit, manok; Tagbenu, Dusun of Karimun, Katingan, Biaju Dayak, Solok, Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, manuk; Manyan or Maanjan (Borneo), manu; Nias manu; Achinese manok, ma'nu—"fowl." The word is found (with the meanings "fowl" or "bird") all over the Eastern Archipelago in dialects too numerous to be set down here. It occurs also in Indo-China, e.g. Cham, B̄ḡlai, Jarai mānu; Radaih mōnu; Cancho, Rodé mānu (menuc); Kha Pi menuk; Selung manok; manāk (may-nauk)—"fowl"; but is not in use in the Malay of the Peninsula.]


259A. Cry of jungle-fowl: nang chenang kas, Bes. *Songs.*

**Fox, flying**: B 74; B 76-78.

**Fracture**: B 373; B 375.

**Fragile**: B 402.

**Fragrant**: S 293.

**Frail**: B 374.

**Freckle, dark**: D 114.


267. Frog: lebāh-līk (lēbāh-līk), Sōm.


272. Frog: kata. Sak. Ra.; kata or katāk—four kinds are mentioned: (1) k. bētōng bēsar (described as of great size); (2) k. bētōng kēchil (small one with big note); (3) k. nyōk; (4) k. bua or bua, Bes. K. L.; F 268. Frog or toad (species various): katak bētōng; katak gārk; katak hārāng; katak kūk; katak ru-rūk; katak sēnggān, Bedu. II. [Mal. katak]; C 73.

273. From (Mal. dērī): yē, Sōm.

274. From: hātot (hētot), Sak. Kerb.


276. From: dērī (dōri), Sak. Ra.; dē, Bes. Songs. Since: dēl, Sak. Ra. [Mal. dērī, "from "].

From: A 177; B 396.

From above: A 8.

Front: R 178.

Front: F 1.


279. Front, in: ngār, Sak. U. Kam. (Mal. ka-dēpān); bā'ngar, Bes. K. L.; B 45-1417; B 380; G 42.

280. Fruit: R 22.


285. FRUIT; or bud?: kēpāl (or kēpāl), ex. ye sēwē ka-kēpāl, kēpāl chān, kēpāl gēmaling, kēpāl tāngkūl, kēpāl soyn, 'I chant of fruits (or buds?), the chān fruit, the gēmaling fruit,' etc., Pang. Teliang; B 445; D 190; F 170.

286. Fruit spec., prized by the wild tribes: dau, Pang. U. Aring. [For other fruits see the specific names.]

FRUIT-bat: B 74; B 76-79.

287. Fry, to: goreng, Sak. U. Kam. [Mal. goring]; C 239.

FULH, to: M 71.


(c) Full; full to overflowing; abundant: anpoh (amphu'), Sem. Pa. Max.


FULL moon: F 35; L 74; M 161; M 165.


COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF

gambir, kuala' w77. "eye"]; k. A
b Pay (spec. bSrupas cf. I
dusuf°, : Khmer
nya' G
Owl U
chep can, G
kachu, ch^p
kgmoyd S
kachu, ya'.
(spec, Bk. petho atse.
L R
def. s}
294.
295.
296.
294.
295.
296.
G

Gaharu : A 50-52.
2. Gain: utuk (outouk), Söm. Profit:
untok, Tembi; untong, Sak. U. Kam.
[Mal. untong].
Joh. Pay; wages: upah, Tembi.
[Mal. upah, "pay"]
Gale : S 478-480; W 109.
Buk. Max.; këmöd (pr. këmöd)
Max. [Bahar-kömät; 'Khmer
pamät [pamät]; pramät [prmät]; Steng
mat klöm (the second word is "liver"
and possibly the first is "eye").] Chhâu
klöm mat [sic], "gall bladder": Mon
klang klöm [khng klöm], "gall."]
5. Gambier: asé, Pant. Kap. Log.;
asné (ausé (nasal)), Pant. Kap. Her.;
Gambier leaf: kachü, Tembi, Darat;
kachü' (kachü), Serau; kachu, Jelai;
sekal kachiu, Tembi; L 32. [Prob-
ably the same word as "catechu,"
the Indian "cutch" (Mal. kachu);
but cf. Khmer chúw (jau), "sour."]
gamir, Tembi, Darat, Jelai; gambir,
Tembi, Serau [Mal. gambir].
U. Aring; H 116; P 139-142.
Gangrene: 1 45; U 8.
Gap: B 403; T 54.
Gape, to: M 199.
Grove (of fruit-trees): dusút, Tembi;
dusút, Serau; dusút, Jelai. Village
(Kam. campang): dusút, Darat
[Mal. dusun, "fruit-grove"]; F 94.
Gash, to: C 295.
11. Gather, to: pêthó? (put her), Pant.
12. Gather together, to (Mal. kum-
pulikan): gem-gam (or gomm-gam);
Sem. Kedah. [? Cf. Mal. genggam,
"fist, '" to hold in the hand."]
B 380]; G 65; G 71.
Gaze at, to: S 75.
Gecko : L 116, 117.
Germinating: E 34.
jidd), ex. jà' jid da' ye (Mal. sudah
bulih ka-aku), "I have got (it),"
Sem. Kedah. [Also = "can," e.g. J 8;
L 119; W 77. ? Cf. A/hin. jid, "to
15. Get up, to; to rise: bângkis(bângkis),
Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. bangkit];
A 131, 132; A 156; A 190.
Gharu : A 50-52.
Sem. Plus. Corpse (Mal. maiat);
(Mal. burong hantu): kawau sâra',
17. Ghost: (Mal. hantu): nyanâ,
(orney), Serau; nya'-ne', Sen. Cl.;
nya'-ne', Sen. Cl. Ifowl: chép
nya'-ne', Sen. Cl. ; chép nya'-ni,' Sak.
[cf. G 19; perhaps = S 197, diseases being identified
with demons.]
18. Ghost (Mal. hantu): këmoyd (pr.
këmoyd), Sem. Kedah, Sem. Jorun;
kë-moit, Krau Tem. The lord of hell: komoj, Sem. Stev. The grave:
këmût; këmuyt, Bes. Sep. A. I.;
këmît, Kena. I.; G 107. Good spirit:
këmût, Beru.; P 155.
"Kûmer kômôc, "corpse," "ghost;"
Châiw kômôc; Stîng kômôc,
"corpse"; Sû'k kamut (camit),
"devil"; Old Kûmer, Samîrê, Xong
kamol, "demon"; also (acc. to
Schmidt) Châm kamôt, "devil";
Tareg Kômui, "grave."]

19. GHOST; devil; spirit (Mal. hanutu):
ajes; ajeh, Bes. Sep. A. I. [=G 17.]

20. GHOST: sêkôk (s'kôk), Pant. Kap.
Mad. Oath: bêsêkôk (b's'kôk),
Pant. Kap. Joh. One hundred:
sêsêkôk (s'kôk), Pant. Kap. Joh.

21. GHOST; devil; hanutu', Bes. Sep.
A. I. A kind of ghost which haunts
graves: hanutu' dêguk, Bes. Sep. A. I.
Other ghosts are the hantû tinggi,
bajang, buru-buru, pontianak, lang-
weh, lanjung, and huton (the ghost of
a species of monkey (ungkla)), Bes.
Sep. A. I. Moon: hanutu jahat ("the
dsâd spirit"), Jak. Kâff. Evil spirit
(which blasts the produce of the earth),
hanu bilir, Jôk. Kâff. As. [Mal.
hantu].
Ghost: D 53; S 385-388.
Giddiness: H 46.

22. Giddy: sàlut, Kena. I.; F 7; S 187;
S 193.

23. Gills of a fish (Mal. ensang), kenyal,
Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal.; kënnyâ
(knìa); kënîjâ (knjâ), Sem. Pa. Max.;
kënîjâ (knjâ); knîjâ (knja), Sem.

24. Ginger, probably the wild kind=
Globba spp. (Setiâmânac), enten
with rice by the Bêsiisi: lâi', Bes. K. L.
[Mal. haliâ].

25. Girde, woman's (Mal. ikt pang-
gang): tentâm (pr. tentâm), (so
called when made of "urat batu"),
Sem. Kedah, Sem. Plus. The rhizo-
morph of a fungus, used for making
women's girdles and necklaces, etc.
(Mal. urat batu): tentâm, Pang. U.
Aringe; têntom (tun-tom), Sem.
Stev. Waist-cloth [for women, MS.];
têntom, Sem. Ij.

26. Girde (woman's girde, of twisted
fibre of "bêrtam" shoots), ndem,
Girdle (of coiled cane), 'ndem or
'ndem, Pang. U. Aring; ndem or

27. Girdle of têrap bark (or fibre?)
pênyall (pen-yalle), Sem. Stev. [Mal.
jalin?].

minâlô, Sak. Kor. Gb.; menâlô
(men-â-ler), Sak. Blanj. Clîf.;
na'-ne', Sen. Clîf.; nînng, Sak.
Tap.; F 63. Virgin: menâlô (men-
Clîf.; menâlêh, Jelài; na'-ne', Sen.
Clîf. Young (of females): menâlô,
Sak. Kor. Gb. Girl: B 365; B 419;
C 101. 102; F 61; F 64; F 72; F
76; M 6.

29. Give to (Mal. bêri): eg (pr. egg),
ya eg (pr. egg), ex eg ba-yê, "give
me," Sem. Kedah; ya eg (pr. ya
egg), Sem. Jarum, Sem. Plus; ya-
eg (pr. egg), e.g. eg ba-yê (or ka-yê)
(Mal. bêri-lah), "give me," Pang. U.
Aringe; ya-eg, Pang. Sam, Pang.
Gal.; eg, e.g., "give fire," eg yeh
os, Sem. Stev.; eôg, Tembi; og,
Seran; ag; og, Sak. U. Kam.; ek,
Lebir, Kerbat; ëk? (-k [sic]), Sem.
Beg'; ok, Sak. Kor. Gb.; (ock), Sak.
Giat, e.g. ók i-ôdz éng ma'hé, "give
my chopper to him," Sen. Cl.; (ôk).
(ôk = in sound Eng. "oak"
[âk]). Sak. Martin; (ôck).
Sak. Ra.; hok, nêghok (nôg-hôk),
Sêm.; â? (ôrrn), U. Tem.; ho, e.g.
"give all," ho dik dik, Sak. J. Lew;
hô, Sak. Kerb.; et (?), Pang. U.
Aringe. Give me: e.g. bi yek (êk bi
êk), Pang. Jalor; pênyak-ye (pêfak-
yê), Sak. Kerb.; ëk-en (ôck-en),
Sak. Ra. Give here! (Mal. bêri
casini): og manak, Tembi; og madî
(madik), Seran [or Tembi?]; (Mal.
unjok-lah): ëg-lah, Tembi; ã-gâ
(ôgâk), Seran [or Tembi?]. Answer!
ôgâh, Tembi; ã-gâ (ôgâk), Seran
[or Tembi?]; ohlah, Seran. I give
enyalêk, Jelài. I want to give you
tobacco: an (or en) og bakt ha hê,
Jelài. To give to people (Mal. bagi
ka orang): og mê-lumom, Kran
Em. To ask for: ek (aik), Sem.
Buk. Max.; ok (ôck), Sak. Ra.
To ask for: og, e.g., "I ask to be
allowed to use it," and im pakai,
Tembi. I ask for tobacco: o akau,
Tembi; auxg [?] bako, Jelài. He
asks for it[?]: og in ni [?], Tembi. [Ob-
viously the word, throughout, means
"give."] To divide; to split: ek (aik),
Sem. Pak. Max. To feed: aok; a-ôk,
Sem. K. Ken. Barter; exchange: ëk
hok, Sak. Kerb. Greedy: ëk (ôk),
Sak. Kerb. To give pleasure: màek
nêjuk (màîk nju'), Sem. Buk. Max.;
B 388; ek, Sem. Pa. Max. [means


country (Mal. ulu): chip ma-te (chim-
moïé), *Sak. Ra.* [= “go inland”].
Road: tib, *U. Pat.* Path: chechhip
(tchechtehp), *Sak. Ra.*; chechhip
(tchechtehp), *Sak. Kerb.*; (tche-
tehep), *Sak. Ra.*; nep-chip-chi kui
(nep-tch*tch* kouï), *Söm.* To walk
(Mal. jalan kaki): chip nip juk², *Sen.*
**Chiff.** To walk with a long stride:
chub bêtuih (chub btuid), *Söm. Bük.*
Max.*; L 130.

The following have come to hand too late to be inserted in their proper places: —To go: *ichip,*
*Sak. Sung.*; chip, *Darut,* chip⁹,
*Serun, Jelai.* Go! chip, *Tembi,
Darut,* chip⁹, *Jelai.* Go away!
chiplah, *Darut.* Go, young man!
yob kapi chip, *Darut.* Go quickly:
chip kakut, *Serun.* Come here:
chip lapo? (tchip lano or tchip
lano’n, “with soft resounding n”),
*Söm. K. Ken.* To walk: chip⁹,
*Serun,* chechhip, *Tembi,* chechhip,
chechhip, *Sak. Em.* I walk: en
chip⁹, *Jelai.* [1] want to walk:
To obey: chip lési, *Darut.* Where
are you going? echhip, *Tembi.*
They are going thither: bíchik mta,
*Jelai.* Slowly! echchip plahât⁶,
*Sak. Em.* I want to go to Telom:
en chi ma Télôp⁴, *Krau Em.* When
will the master (Mal. tuan = “you”)
go? hu lôlê hen chip⁹, *Darut.* Let
us go! koh loi (or-lah) hem chechhip,
maulâh hem chip⁹, *Krau Em.* Let
us go across (i.e. the river): lié
makati’ (makatik) chiblah, *Serun.*
I command you to go there: eng
surô chip he mati, *Darut.* [Mon
chöp [chip], “to arrive”;
Old Khmer, Samre, *Xong jib; Phnom
chhet, “to come,”] cf. Bahnar
chöp, “to walk on tiptoes,” and the
words under G 43.)

43: Go, to: chuk or yà-chuk, *Pang.
K. Lang.*; chok, e.g., “go there,
New.*; chukâ, *U. Cher.*; su-ak, *U.
Lem.*; jô [tjô], *Sak. Ra., Sak. Kerb.*;
bêjôk, *Jak. Mod.* (Pant. Kap.);
W 12; W 84. Go (imper.): cha?
(chau), *Bak. U. Lang.* To go or

44. Go, I; I am going; dûp, Sak. Tâp. To run: dah, Sem. Bej.; doh; dûh, Bes. Sep.; do' (du'), Sem. Pa. Max.; mão (maeu), Sem. BuK. Max.; didû, Sak. Kor. Gb.; dâdû (dadhû); dao' (dado'), in the phrases "run off!" em da dok [sic], and "don't run away," od da dok [sic], Tembi; du', Bes. Malac.; pé-la-do', e.g., bî kor pé-le-do' [sic], "do not run away," Krau Tem.; palo, U. Ind.; R 213; [Mon teau (dâu); Churuj doo; Stieng dû; Bahnar kôloû (kôlû); kôlû, "to flee," "to run away"; Boloven nû; Nàahn, Akâ du; Love trodu; Halang kadao,

"to flee": cf. also Boloven, Laze duk, "to walk," "to go"; Prou dak (dâc), "to go"; Khmer tou [dau], "to go away."]

45. Go, To: bà (bar), Jak. Stev.
46. To walk: kên (k'n), Jak. Stev.


52. Go away, to: pe, Bolov. (or Bers.) Stev.; gî (gee), Bers. Stev. [Mal. pêrgû].
53. Go, Inability to: chichul (chee-cheel), Sem. Stev. [Sêng chû, "to go lame."]

Go (imper.); T 51; T 53. Go, let us: W 14.
54. Go away, to: C 219; F 29; F 103; G 42; G 52; T 51. Go before, to: A 6; B 145, 146. Go down, to: D 93; D 95-97; F 21.
55. Go downstream, to: B 6; R 83.
56. Go first, to: B 145, 146.
57. Go home, to: R 83-87.
58. Go in, to: F 76; G 42.
59. Go out, to: D 93; G 42; G 43; O 40; O 66, 67; T 9.
60. Go shooting, to: B 257; G 43.
61. Go up, to: A 154; A 157.
62. Go upstream, to: A 6; A 9.

53A. Goàt: bèbèk, Pant. Gab. Mant. [onomatopoeic, cf. Cham pabnî; Khmer popô [bâbô]; Bahnar bôbê; Churu, Jarai, Kha Bi bè; Sêng leh, leh; Mon pâbê [bâbê]; also found in languages of the Indian Archipelago.

53B. Goàt: kamûkô, Tembi; kamûkô,}
Seraw, Darat, Jelal; kamibk\textsuperscript{b}, Sak. Em.; kembiap\textsuperscript{a} (or kembrap\textsuperscript{a}?), Tembi. Wild goat: kamibk\textsuperscript{b}, Tembi [Mal. kambing]. Goat: B 110.


55. God: bi-in (bee-in), Belend. Sto.

56. God: deus, Jok. Raff.; deos, Jok. Raff. As.; deus (dius) Jakun of Malacca in Hikayat Abdullah [Portuguese deos]; (D) 161; F 32; N 39; S 385, 386; 'T 116.

57. Goggly-eyed, with projecting eyes: pëlat (e.g. chin pëlat (a kind of owl)?), and the chin kuwayat or kalong kuwayat, which is also described as goggle-eyed), Bes. K. L. Squinting: pëlat-pëlat, Bes. Songs. Eyes (Mal. mata); pëlat-chut, Sen. Cliff. [Probably the epithet has been omitted in the Malay equivalent, by inadvertence.]


59. Gold: süe (sú'-ay), Sak. Sel. Da. [†] From Sanskrit suvañça, like the Burmese word for "gold," which is shwe. But in Khmer spean [Dan] means "copper."


61. Gold: voleman, Sem. Klapr. [cf. Malagasy vulamen; Bugis ulawing; Mangkasa buhayeng. This is almost certainly a mistake: in Crawfurd's list the Malagasy word (given as "völermauer") occupies the next line after the Sëmang, which is blank here. It may be assumed that the copyist who supplied Klaproth with his Sëmang words accidentally introduced the Malagasy equivalent. Klaproth himself notices the close likeness between his "Sëmang" word and the Malagasy word for "gold," which he append for comparison.]


### COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF

<table>
<thead>
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<th>English</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Sdm.</td>
<td>Sufficient</td>
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65. Good: well; ësöi, Kena. I.


71. Good: baik, Jak. Malac.; baik, U. Tem.; bê-ék, Barok. Good to the taste; to recover one’s health: bîhîhák (bêh - bék), Söm. Better: ubek (oub-ek), Söm. Gay (?): baik (bék), Söm. Gay (?). [Fr. parfait, toutours; Mal. sempêrâna; bîhîh (bêhê), Söm.; chabehi (lêchabêhîh), Sak. Kerb. Pretty: baik, U. Tem. It is well (Mal. baiklah): bâela, Sôm.; bâela, Sak. Ra. Wicked: chada baik, Jak. Stev. [Mal. tiada baik, “is not good”]. [Mal. baik, “good”; but see also G 75, with which some of these words may be connected, with the meaning “satisfied.”]


73. Good to the taste: bi-sa, Krau Tem.


Gourd: F 284; P 232-236.

Gout: R 88.

Grain: S 88-90.
77. Grain, a; globule: nai, Sem. Bak. Max. [? = O 27].
78. Grandchild: ya', Kerbat.
(c) Grandchild: chachok? (chachök), Tembi; chuchit, Sem. Kelad; chocchu, Mantr. Malac. [Mal. chocchu]. [The two types above appear to be in some way related to this last. One suspects a root "chau," which by means of the infix -en- gives rise to the (a) forms, and by a prefix ken- (possibly the word for child) the (b) forms, while the (c) forms are built up by simple repetition of the root. Cf. G 82. The supposed root appears in Mon chau, "grandchild"; Bahnar shōw (xâu), "grandson"; Sṭiṅgāṅ kṣāvu (sānu), "nephew," "grandson."]
82. Grandchild, great: (a) kinchet, Bes. Songs.
(b) Great-grandson: chihit (chitekhit), Mantr. Cast. [Mal. chihit.]
[See G 79, and cf. also Mon chalk [chāk], "great-grandchild."]
84. Grandfather: lē (lēh), Po-Klo. [Mon lea [la].]
95. Granite, chēnhā, Seriting.
96. Grass: (a) sē-tu, Krau Tem.; toyū? (tōu or tōid?), Sem. Pa. Max. (b) nō or nyōa (nō or nīo), Sak. Kor. Gb.; nyénān, Sak. U. Bert. [Bahnr nēt (nēt); Halang nāt; Setang nāt, "grass."]
98. Grass: hambun, Bes. Songs. Tangle of grass: hambun (or rambun) rumpun, Bes. Songs [cf. Mal. rimbrun or rumpun].


103. Grasshopper of the kind known as “hatnu sēmāmbu”: rlu, Ment. Her. I. [= the stick-insect, see S 455].


111. Greedy or glutonous: musak or musā, e.g. musak nēn mah-hā, “that man is very greedy,” Bes. K. L.; G 29; G 75; H 172.


(b) Green (Mal. hijau): rōgōi (rōgōi), Sem. Jarum.

113. Green: pādu, Kena. I.


Greenīf: V 201.

Greet, to: O 6.


Grey: B 233.


Grind, to (the teeth): T 168; T 170.

117. Gripping (of the belly): kēdāpulas (kēdāpulas), Sem. Pa. Max. [Probably this should be kēd (or kē) pula; B 160.] [Mal. pulaus.]


Groin: U 27.

Ground: E 12; E 18.

Grove: G 9.

119. Grow to (intr.), (Mal. tumboh): ō′-kanāh (pr. kēnāh or kanāhi), e.g. (?) ō′ kēnāh las, “the tubers are growing,” i.e. filling out, (of a particular kind of tuber called the Elephant’s head Tuber), Sem. Plus.


121. Grow, to: (a) ya-chambah, Pang. U. Aring.


Guava: R 184.

Guide: S 179.


Guitar: M 225.

Gulf: B 85.

Gullet: N 28.


Gunpowder: G 129.


Gutta: S 31, 32; T 1; T 211.

132. Gutter (on eaves): parchuria (pañchouré), SaK. Ra. [Mal. panchoran; panchoran].

Hail: R 12.

Hail (a salutation): P 44A.

Hail, to (= to call): C 11.


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Sak Blanj, Cliff; E 36. Moustache: sentol ninyoi, Serau, Jelai; sinto ho ninyon, Or. Berumb; M 201; sentol rên-tak, Sen. Clifl.; T 165; shentol (chentol), Sak. Kerb; shentar, Tembi. Whiskers (Mal. chambang): sentol ming, Serau; sentol ming, Jelai; C 84 [cf. T 3].


Hair: D 98; H 46; L 35; T 3.


8. Half (Mal. saparoch): 'ndut or 'ndut, Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal.; hndôl; hëndol; 'nol, ex. 'vak h'ndôl (Mal. tinggal sa-kérat), "there is half left," Bes. Sep. A. I. [There seems to be two words, in- and -ä: cf. Holang pënûot; Stiëng ngâl; Boloven nál; Lav nau; Niâhôu no, "half"; and of? Khmer kandal [kântâl]; Stiëng konol, "middle."]


10. Half (Mal. saparoch): sák (doubtful), Pang. U. Airing; B 146; M 100; S 168.


Hand. Bhand. Chiang; cham (?) ... 627


17. Hand; finger: ræwet, Kena. I.


Palm of the hand: P 19. To shake hands: C 49; E 57. To take in the hand: C 49.


Handle: A 9; B 345.


22. Handle, wooden of chopper (parang): kiong-u (kiong-oo), Sem. Stev. [Here, as elsewhere, the -u is probably the 3rd pers. pron. = "its"] [?= B 4].


25. Hang, to: (a) jol; jel-jol, Sem. Clif.; jel-jol, Sem. Cl.; mënjo' (mnju' or hmju'?), Sem. Buk. Max. To hang downwards (?): jinjōn or
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[Stieou jung; jung; Boloven yong; North yong; Mai yô; Lane dung yung, ‘to hang up.’]


27. HANGING: to let hang: mengulur (mungulr), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. ulur].


29. Happy: gêma (guma), Mant. Bor. To like; to approve of; gear, Mantr. Stev. [Mal. gêmar].

30. Happy (Mal. sukâ hati): ramâê kêlangez, Sem. Plus; H 64 (? = H 29); E 24; F 145.


[cf. Mal. têgoh; but several of these words are not derived from it.]


(c) Hard: kâras (krass), Söm.; kra, Save. Növ. [Mal. kâras]; F 168.


Has: A 63; F 115-123.

Haste: Q 5.

35. Hatch out: to (eggs): bënsâ’ (b’na’).


Hatches: A 34-37.


37. Hate: to: ya-külön or külön kêlanges (= Mal. bëncî hati): Pang. U. Aring; H 64.


[? Cf. Bahnor bôshe (bòshe), ‘to tease,’ ‘to vex.’]

(b) To hate: he menchik, Krau Em. [Mal. bëncî].

Hate: to: D 122, 123; H 64; S 189.

Have to: B 88, 89; B 91-93; F 116; F 123.

Hawk to: (in spitting): S 391.

Haze: C 184; D 16; D 22.


41. He: him; she; her: ilî; ilîy, Sak. U. Kâm.; halîy, Sak. U. Bert.

42. He: moh, Kerhat; i’mâ, Krau Kêt. He; she; it: mi, Sem. K. Ken.

43. He; she: lêngân, Kên. Iî.

44. He; she: hân? (hân), Sak. Kerî; hî (hê), Sak. Ka. He; she; it: hi, Bes. Sep. A. I.; héh, Sem. Cl.; hâm, Tem. Cl.; hë; hi [this last appears to be right], Bes. Songs. He; they: hi, Bes. Malac.; Y 34; hadî, Sak. Kor. Gb.; T 86 [Sêni, ‘he’].

45. He: (a) die (diê), Barôk; dia’ (diák), Bedu. I.; dia’, Mantr. Malac.; dia’ ikâ’ (dia’ ikak), Galang; T 93.

He; she: diâñ, Hlan. Rem. ‘They: dia’ itu’ (dia’-ituk), Galang [Mal. dia].

(b) He; they: ña, Jak. Malac.; ye, Jak. Malac. They: nya orhêng (nya okhêng), Barôk [Mal. nya’]; T 52, 53; T 86.

47. Head: F 228


49. Head: tahal, Kena. I.

50. Head: buj, Ben. New. [? Chrutan, Stien buk, "head."]


53. Head: kāpàwa, Jak. Malac.; B 28; kapāla, Mantr. Malac.; kepāle, Barok; H 4; P 195 [Mat. kapala].


55. Head: utah, Jak. Raff. As.; ulah, Jak. Raff.; (reatch), Jak. Raff. [I do not know whether B 369 or H 54 is intended here; but cf. Puan, Bukatan Dayak utok; Selung utah, atak, "head."] F 5; H 1, 2; H 4; P 100.


57. Head, band round the: pap-an, Sem. Stev. To carry on the head: C 38.

58. Headache: H 46; H 56; S 187.


60. Headkerchief: H 51; P 100.


63. Head-string, a: kafaul (?), Serau.

64. Headwaters (of river): A 6; W 30.


66. Healthy: C 206.


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(6) kéok, Sak. Kor. Gb.; kë-yok, Tem. Cl.; kayökà, e.g. kayökà ngöt bëh, "I can't hear," Bes. Malac.; N 66. [Central Nicobar yang; Southern and Shom Pë hang; Teresa heang; Chowa heang; Car Nicobar; hang, "to hear."]


(b) Heart (liver?): grës; grëh, Bes. K. Lang. Hate: grëh (or grës) gohup (lit. "heart-sick"), Bes. Sep. A. L. [see H 63]. [Mon kroh [grub], "liver."]


66. HEART: tungkul, Ment. Her. II.; B 380; B 388; F 170.

Heat: H 140-150.

Heavens: A 8; W 109.


70. Help!: kénôl, Tembi; kénôl jükä, Darat; kénôl jükä (ké-nurî jükä), Sem. Cliff.; tanyû, Kena. l. [Achín, kénôl (ké-nurî); Bahnar kénôl; Stięng kénôl, "help." \(=H\) 69.]


73A. Help! yo yo! Darat.


Hen: F 255; F 257, 258.

Hence: T 85, 86.


76. Here: ebân, Sem. Craw. Hist.; (ebán), Sem. Craw. Gram.; ebán, Sem. Klapr., Sem. Ked. New. [A doubtful word; it only occurs in these authorities, who all derive from one source.] R 84; S 439; T 51; T 85, 86; T 89, 90; W 78. Here and there: T 54.

Hereafter: F 296.


Hesitating: L 30.

79. Hiccough: sintak, Kena 1. [cf. Mol. sintak, "to snatch"].

Hide: S 233; S 236.


81. Hide, to: kende? (?), Bes. A. I.; A 42.

82. High: kangi (kahin), kanging (kahin), Sak. Ka.

83. High: tinggih, Ben. New. To raise: tinggikôn (tingikeun), Ment. Bor. [Mal. tinggi, "high"]. High: B 16; D 65, 66; F 29; H 84; L 130.

High water: W 30.


Shoulder: jel-mol, Sak. Plus Cliff. [\(?=S\) 169].

(b) Hill: gërbô or gërbó, Sak. Kör. Gb.; jërëbu? (jerreboo). Sak. Hale; ba (ba, the a is "guttural Bavarian a, very similar to o"), Sem. K. Ken. Hill; mountain: gërbë, Tembi. Mountain: gër, Tembi. Mountain (of earth): gërbë, Sak. Kör. Gb. [\(?=H\) 84; see also V 16].


Mountain : chong, Bes. Malac.;
ch'hogn, Seting; chôk (cheukn),
Sak. Bianj. Su.; seng, Jak. Sîm.;
ch'ogn chêrêgn, Bes. Her.; D 66;
Jâning (a particular mountain); seng
[Ph'ong juk (juc); Rodé chuk
(chuc); Chêtâi chik (chic); Cancho
chet; Cham chôk; Prou chentu [H
90+ H 100?], "mountain"; Sîtîng
sing, "hillside," "hill"; cf. Central
Nicobar chông, "high."]

91. HILL: bënâm, Sîrtîng. Mountain
(Mal. gunong); bënôm, Pâng. U.
Ari'ng; bënùm (benum), U. Kel.,
Or. Hu. Joh. II.; (bnum), Pal.;
(benun), U. Ind.; mînûm (mnum),
ûs (mnum aus), Sem. Pa. Max.; F
124. [Kther, phônûm [bhûnâm]; Sîtîng
bônâm (bônâm); Kû manâm; Churu
binom; Popeang panang; Old
K'mer, Samâri, Pôr, Xong, Chong
nong, "hill," "mountain."]

92. HILL: rûdâm, Kena. I.

pâu, Sem. Per.; H 95. Horizon:
pû, Sîm.

94. Mountain : kê-lêsh, Sen. Cl.; lôt,
Sak. Ta'; lôt, Sak. Martin; lo-ot,
Sak. Sûng; lôt, Tan. U. Lang.;
lûp, Sak. U. Bert.; lûp, Sak. U.
Kam.; je-logum, Sak. Sel. Da.;
longsing, Ben. New. Mountain;
mountain top: lun (loun), Sak. Ra.;
[? cf. S 489]. Hill: lôt machot?
(lôt madjot), Sak. Martin; S 282.

95. Mountain: buchak (butjak), U.
Pat.; tunjâk, Kena. I. Great moun-
tain: möjak-pao (môrdjak-pao), Sak.
Ra.; H 93. Mountain top: peak:
kâmuncha mînûm (kâmuncha mnum),
punchak; Achiûn, puchak; Mal. kê-
munchak, "top," "peak."]

96. HILL: bukit, Bes. Bell.; bukûn,
Bed. Chiong. Hill foot (?): bukau,
Kem., Bedu. II.; buhu, Sem. Li.
Peak (of a hill): obon bukit, Mantri.
Malac. [Mal. bukit, "hill"; (there is
also a form bukau).]

97. Peak; rocky hill; mountain (Mal.
gunong); goyal, ex. goyal Hî-
nass, Sem. Plîu; goyal, ex. temped
yê goyal Hînas (Mal. têmpat sahaya
Gunong Inas), "my place is Mount
Inas" (in Peru), Pang. Teîiang.


Jok. Malac.; (gunong), Sak. Ra.;
gunung (gounoung), Sem. Klapr.
[Mal. gunong].

99. Peak; rocky hill; mountain (Mal.
gunong); ten-lâ, Sen. Kedah.

100. Mountain: tuî (tûl), U. Pat.
Summit or peak of hill (Mal.
puchok): tûl, Pang. U. Ari'ng; H
101. [Cf. Mon to [duiv], "mount-
tain"; Khmer tuol [duul], "hilllock,
"ant-hill."]

HILL: V 18.

Hillfoot: H 96.

101. Hilllock; mound: màng (mang),
Max.; H 100. Hilllock: mong
alas? (moung-alas), Sak. Hale.

Hilt: A 9.

102. Hip: gâi, Sem. K. Ken.; sàkiel,

103. Hip-bone: awul or je'ing awul,

Hire, to: B 484.

104. Hiss: (onomatop.) seng-seng-seng,
Bes. Songs.

Cliff. [Cf. Khmer trôu [trû];
Bahnar trô, "to hit"]; C 15; C
296; S 495-497.

105A. Hît, to: kënà (kenak), Tembi
[kena], Sena. [Mal. këna].

Hither: G 43; R 83; T 52;
T 85, 86; T 88-90.

105B. Hoe: changkûi, Tembi [Mal.
changkuil].

Hog: F 222; P 73-90.

106. Hold, to: pëgâk, Sak. U. Kom.;
(pògàk), Sak. Kerb.; pë-gàk, Sen.
Cliff.; pë-gàgû, Sak. Ra.;
To seize: pëgâk, Sak. U. Kom.;
pë-gàkû, Sen. Cliff. To take hold
of: pëgông, Bes. Malac. To touch;
to finger: pëgasûng? (begag'ng),
Sem. K. Ken. [Mal. pêgàng];
C 49; F 111. To hold in the
arms: D 12. To hold up: C 32.
To take hold of: C 49.

107. Hole: hêndueng (hnduih); hên-
deng (hnding), Sem. Pa. Max.;
hêndueng (hnduih); hênueng (hnu-
ing), Sem. Buk. Max.; hênueng,
Sem. Kedah; seniûng (seniag'n,
"deep") & Sem. K. Ken. Hole;
opening (used of various orifices of
the body): hônieng (hning),
Sem. Pa. Max.; F 6; M 199; N 98;
U 27. Anus: hêndueng (hnduih),
Sem. Pa. Max.; hênueng kit (hning
kit), Sem. Buk. Max.; seniûng këd
(seniag'n kâd), Sem. K. Ken.
noun = "its."] [The word H 107 is probably a derivative from M 199; and perhaps Mon saing [suing], "hole," represents the root of the word.]


111. HOLE; cave: lubang (lōu-bān), Sak. Ra. [Mel. lubang.]

112. HOLE, deep (in a stream), (Mel. lubok): wal, Sen. Cliff; wāl, Serau.


114. HOLE under a waterfall: tuhīl (touhīl), Sdnm.


HOLE: C 63; C 296; D 66; M 199. Hole (in flute): F 197; M 199.

117. Hollow; empty: gāmu, Sak. Kor. Gb. [Cf. Mel. hampa.]

Hollow (of mouth): P 18.


Hollowed: B 175.

Home to go: R 83-87.

Homewards: H 153.

118. Honey (Mel. madu): (a) tajom (pr. tajŏ'm), Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal. (b) cheng chong, Rasa.


120. Honey: (a) sēm-pōk', Sen. Cliff. (b) sēdōt, Kena. 1.; sarak, Sak. Banj, Sw.

121. Honey: kūwah, Sem. Keda. [Mel. kuhah, "sauce."]


Honey: B 135-139; W 30.


Hook, to fish with a: F 145-147.

Hoot, to: S 178.

I hope; en hărap, Jelai; hi ber- 
haraplah, Dorai [Mal. harap].

Horizon: F 220; H 93.

125. Horn (of animal): (a) bālang (balang), Sem. Pa. Max.; B 41; D 188. To 
but with the horn: wāt bālang 
(ut balang), Sem. Pa. Max. [wāt = 
Stieng nat. “to but.”] 
Ivory: 
bāla‘h, Sem. Beg.; bāla, Ben. New.; 
bāla‘, Sem. Kedah. 
Ivory: 
bāla‘ (ba‘l), Sem. Buk. Max. 
[Khmer phŏk [thlök]; Stieng 
bāla‘; Kaseng bāla‘; Sut bōl; 
Halang mīlā; Sedang bōlā; Jarāi, 
Bahnar bōla; Cham bala; Tarent 
tālō; Kon-Tu pāb; Chrau bā; 
Boloven, Niākūn, Alok, Love blok, 
“ivory.”]
(b) Banana (spec. Mal. pisang tan-
dok): bālā’ bēdung (bla‘bdung), Sem. 
pēriā gading): bāla‘ (ba‘l), Sem. Buk. 
Max. [It is doubtful whether these 
words are connected with the above: 
cf. Kajaman bāla‘; Tanjung balat; 
Siāb, Ba Māli, Liōng balāk; 
Lepu Puhun, Punan, Panun Nibong, 
Long Pokun, Bintulu, Mātū, Kā- 
nowit, Milaanā balak, etc., all 
meaning “banana” or “plantain.”]
127. Ivory (Mal. gading): sēlor (pr. 
sel-orr), Sem. Plus.
HORN: P 100; R 98.

128. Hornbill (Mal. ēnggang): hālong, 

Hornbill (the lesser): tātē; tātēs, 
Bes. Sep.

130. Hornbill: ngāng, Sak. Kor. 
Gb. “Rhinoceros-bird”: yagāng 
(jagān), Sem. K. Ken. [Mal. 
ēnggang].

131. Hornbill. Pied (Mal. kekek): 
Kēlēkeng, Pung. U. Aring; kēng- 
keng; chin kēngkeng, Bes. K. L. 
[Mal. kekek].

132. A black bird (Mal. kekek): 
Karāi, Jak. Malac. A bird 
described as resembling the pied 
hornbill, but darker in colour 
karā; chin kara, Bes. K. L.

133. Hornbill, Rhinoploax (Mal. burong 
hēmng mēntuā): tekem, Pung. U. 
Aring; kawaw ēkut (pr. tē-kut), 
Pung. Sam, Pung. Gal. Rhinoceros- 
hornbill: tekub (tekoob), Sem. Stev. 
A kind of bird (Mal. burong bot- 
bot): kawaw ēkup, Sem. Plus (?) 

134. Hornbill, the rhinoploax (Mal. 
hēmng mēntuā): rangkāi; chin 
rangkāi, Bes. K. L.

Jaruim; awang? (auang); Sem. Pa. 
Max.; en (in), Sem. Buk. Max.; 
ēng (pr. ōng), Sem. Plus; eng- 
wātā [?], Tembī; ōkā, Sem. Clīf.; 
ōkā, Seran, Jelai; long, Bes. 
Songs. Young of bee: awang wa’ 
(aung u”), Sem. Buk. Max. [prob- 
ably corrupt, or cf. C 101 and B 
137]. [Bahnar ōng, “wasp”: 
Mon hāng [huang], “large hornet.”]

136. Hornet; a kind of hornet or wasp 
(spec. Mal. naning): nangjeng 
(nāng jing), Sem. Buk. Max.; 
naning or H 135A]; W 24-26.

Horrible: S 4; U 2.

137. Horse: kuda, Sem. Beg. Caltrop 
(Mal. ranjau): kuda‘, Bes. Sep. 
[Mal. kuda, “horse”; but Mal. 
sudar; Achi, suda, “caltrop.”]

138. Horse-fly (Mal. pikat): chāput 
(pr. chā-pūt), Pang. U. Aring.

139. Horse-fly: rājōb, Pang. Sam, 
joob, Tembī [and Serau?]; toyōkīng, 
Bes. A. L.; M 183.

Kedah; pēdis, Sem. Jaruim; pēdīh, 
Sem. Kedah, Sem. Plus; pēdīh 
Max.; pēdī (pedee), Sem. Jur. 
Rob.; pēdē [in the MS. originally 
peydey], Sem. U. Sel.; R 12. 
Dazzled (with light): pēdīh (pēdīh), 
Sem. Pa. Max. Noon: tengah- 
pēdi, Bes. Malac. [cf. S 185? and 
possibly B 196?]. [Cham padeak, 
Canche pedek (padea); (and per- 
haps) Mon ktau; Khmer kedau 
[ktau]; Cui khdaub; Boloven, Sud 
tkaou, “hot.”]

141. Hot (Mal. panas; hangat): (a) 
U. Long.; bukāt (boukāt), 
Sūm.; bēkāt, Sak. Martin; 
bēngkāt (bēkāt), Sak. Rā; bēkūk, 
Sak. U. Kam.; bēkū-d, Sem. 
Ken.; bēked, Pang. U. Aring; 
bēked or bēkūl, Sem. Plus; bēkūl, 
Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal.; bēkū or 


144. Hot: (a) miang, Bedu. II. [Cf. Mal. miang, a kind of itching.] (b) deing? or deing? MS. reading doubtful], Sak. Sung.


149. Hot, TO BE (?): iphehng or yx-ipheng, Pang. Belimud.

150. Hot, TO BE (of the sun); heat (of the sun): chênghek, Bes. Sep.


COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF

Kerb.; (Mal. tempat) dōl, Bes. K. L. Country; (place?): dol, Bes. Songs. Shed; hall (Mal. balai): dek, Sak. Plus Cliff.; dē, Sak. Blanf. Cliff. Village: dayak, Sem. Klapr. Homewards: ha dong, Bes. Sep.; W 77. [Annam dāng; Tarenq, Sāt dōng; Sak dōng (doung); Nanhang, Cuoi, Kon Tu dong; Samrī, Por tang; Old Khmer, Samre, Xong tông; Khmer pteah [phdāh], “house.” The connection of Sīntg tuk; Mon thān, “place,” seems doubtful, as also that of Cham thang (= sang); Chtrai chhang; Jāri sāng; Caucho, Kōdō sāng, “house”; these appear to go back to a form sunk, distinct from the words in d- and t- above; but cf. Mon dōng [dung], “city.”]


House: jekōt, Bedu. 11.


How: W 77, 78; W 89.

How far: W 78.

How many: W 78; W 80.

How much: M 169; W 77, 78; W 80; W 89, 90.

How much more: T 85.


Huge: B 202-212.


Hunchbacked: B 175; S 541.

166. Hundred, a: chūni (chū-nee), Sak. Sel. Da. [Very doubtful; probably fictitious.]


169. Hunger; (a) chērā (tchōrā), Sōm.; chērō (tchōrō), Sak. Kerb. [Cf. Bovoven, Niahōn tshra; Lave tshra tshro, “thin.”]

(b) Hungry: se-leh, Bera; sēl, Bes. Malac.; ūt sēlē, Bes. A. I. B 161.

170. Hunger: chuang (tchounān), Sak. Ku. Hungry: chu-āk, Sen. Clif.; chuam; chenāk, Tembi. [Bovoven mui' chōng; Niahōn ngui' chōng; Alak ui' chōng; Lave ngoi' chōng; Halang vah chōng; Sīntg ji chāng (jichāng), “to be hungry”; (ji = S 187).]

171. Hunger: lapar, Jak. Malac. [Mal. lapar]; D 50; F 27; F 34.

173. Hungry: got, Krau Ket., Krau Tem.; gât (gork), Sid. Gai.; pôgôt (pôr-gôt), U. Tem.; régôp (ré-gôp), U. Cher. [Bahiar pôngôt; Tarenq negot; Siâng pôngôt; Halang pongot; Boloven pongot; Sa$p'trig, "to be hungry."]


176. Hunt, to (Mal. buru): had, Sem. Bkg. [misprinted "hurt", as the Malay equivalent buru shows]; had, Ben. Nev.; had (pr. hadd), ex. bô' tenlad pî hadd, "gird on? your arrows and a-hunting," Pang. Teliang; hê-hor, Sid. Plus Kliff.; u-mal, Sid. Cliff.; am-orr, U. Cher. [This last word is probably rightly placed here, the Malay equivalent given being buru, but as it appears in the MS. list next to chontek, "pretty," it would seem probable that the collector intended it for burak, "ugly."] I hunt: him berumal, Darat. To hunt [with?] dogs: bérmùl cho' (chôk), Seran. [? = F 210]. [It is doubtful if all these are connected: for some cf. Cham amal, "to hunt."]

177. Hunt, to (?): sôp, U. Tem. [The Malay equivalent is buru, but I am doubtful whether there is not a confusion with bulu, "hair"; cf. H 11.]


Hurt, to: T 106-114.

Hurt, to: C 296; D 7; D 134.

Hurt, to be: S 186.

179. Husband: sôwa, Kena. I.; awa' (awak), Sid. Sel. Da. Wife: awa' (awak), Kena. II. [Kayan hawa; Dusun asowah, "husband," "wife." Tagal, Bisaya asauan, "spouse"; Milanau Dayak sawah: Kanowit sawan; Kian (Kayan?) oang-hawah; Tagbueva magasaw, "husband"; Sampit, Katingan sawah; Kanowit sawah; Salu asâwâ; Land Dayak sawa; Pulo- petak Dayak saw; Sempo Dayak sawan; Milanau sawa; Biaju Dayak sawe; Lawangan saw, "wife."]

180. Husband: oi, Kena. II. Wife: oi, Kena. I.; hô-ei, Sid. Sel. Da. Thou: you: ui, Mantr. Melac. [In colloquial Malay (Melacca) there is a word ui or uel used as a mode of address between man and wife,]

Husband: B 424; M 15, 16; M 19-22.

Hush: I 31; S 203.

Husk: P 47; S 236.

Hut: H 151-159; S 221.

Hydrocele: S 194.

Hydrosaurus: L 120.

Hysteria: D 160.


I


2. I: me; mih, Sôm.

Comparative Vocabulary of

Bes. Malay.; (ërn), U. Tem. 1; we:
eng; eng, Sen. Cl.; yun, Ben. New.
We: eng, Serai; ha eng, Krau Em.
Me: ain; eng, Sak. U. Kam. Mine:
yun punia, Ben. New. (Chong eng;
Khmer än; Békhar in [inha]; Alak
ai; Boiwen it; Lavei; Kaa; Mon
oa [a]; Sedang a; Niatán; Halang
ao; Stieng hî, i, "I")

1. ákâ (ákik), Galang; ak'ú, Bed.
Chiong, Bedu. II. (akut), Bedu. I.;
ak', Ben. New, Bedu. II., Jak.
Malac.; ko', Bed. Chiong; ako,
Tan. Sag. We: ak, Mantr. Malay.
[Sak. aku, "I"].

2. awak, Mantr. Malay. You (2nd
pers. sing.): awak, U. Cher; awah,
Mantr. Malay. [Mal. awak, which is
used both of the 1st and 2nd persons];
C 228; H 116.

6. Ibul palm, Orania macroelopus:
kitah (kith or kit? or kith)?, Sem.
Buk. Max.

hibol (tùmbo hibol), Söm. [Mal. ibul].
Idiot: S 206.

8. If (Mal. kalau): wag-bód, ex.
wagbôd beded, wagbôd brá (Mal.
kalau buik, kalau tidak, "if good or not"
[doubtful]), Sem. Kedah.

9. Ignorant: relus, Pant, Kap, Jok.
Iguana: L 118-125.
Ill: S 185-193; W 63.
Ill-humoured, to be: A 17; A 96.
Illness: S 185-197.

10. Immediately; in a moment from
now: sáberteh (sbnth), Sem, Buk.
Max. Presently: sebingte (sebingtag),
Mantr. Stev. [Mal. sabentar]. Im-
mediately: A 73; S 282.

Implant, to: D 108.
Important: H 68.

12. Impotent (sexually): këdi (kidi'),
Sem, Buk, Max. [Mal. këdi]; b 388;
P 53.

13. Impudent [by mistake given as
imprudent]: tengluh? (tegöluh),
Sak. Kerb.; E 83; F 6.

or sér? (hruk or sruk), e.g. hru'
té? (hruk té?), "in the ground,
Bes. K. L. Within: h'rú, e.g. h.
teck, "underground", Bes. Sep.
Near: rú (rou), e.g. rú osh (rou
osch), "near the fire", Sak. Ra.;
rú, Sak. Martin; tétaro, Sak, Tim.
Rum.

15. IX: dalam, Ben. New. Belly:
dalam, Ben. New. Deep: dalam
[dalam], Sak. Ra.; F 170; H 116
[Mal. dalam].
In: A 177, 178; B 90; D 66;
E 12; F 29; F 232; 1 27; Q 26.
In front: F 11; F 277-279.
In, to go: F 76.

[Mal. jampi].
Increase, to: A 185; B 202.
Indau, river: F 139.
Indian corn: M 8-13.
Industrious; diligent (Mal. rajin):
bí-gul or bér-gul, Pang, U. Airing,
Infant: C 101-108.
Inform, to: C 163; C 235; K 59;
S 560; S 365.

18. Initiate, to: (Mal. diami): ya, an,
Sem. Bég.

19. Inheritance: ishtabi (isch tabi),
Söm. To settle down? (Fr.
's'établir) ish tabi (isch tabi), Söm.

20. Inheritance: posaka, Sak. Ra.;
sák, Sak. Kerb. [Mal. pusaka].

Inland: W 30.

21. Insect (any little animal): chênit
(chênit), Söm. [Fr. 'entomo].

22. Insect: jangkau, Kena, I.

23. Insect: hûlat (hûlat), Bes. Her;
hûlát, Blas. Rem. ; hûlat, Bedu. II.;
ûlat (oulát), Sak. Ra. [Mal. hûlat,
"worm, etc."]; A 91; B 143.


25. Insert, to (?), (Mal. chëbur; sorong-
kan): mesoh (msoh), Sem. Buk.
[Mal. masok?]

26. Insert, to (?), (Mal. chëbur; sor-

26A. Insert, to: bënam, Bes. Songs
[Mal. bënam].

27. Inside (Mal. didalam): (a) kelyeng,
ex. "to be inside," ja-hab kelyeng
(=Mal. sudah habis kadalam); yak
kelyeng was also given, but is
doubtful: yâg seems to be the proper
form, Sem. Kedah; (Mal. kadalam):
kel-yeng, gen, abbrev. to këlong or
këlong, ex. pog kelyeng (=Mal.
buboh kadalam), "to put into,"
Sem. Kedah. The inside: ha'këlong
(hâkëlong), Sem. Pa. Max. To be
inside: yâ kelyeng (doubtful), Sem.
Kedah. Into: këlong (kling), Sem.
Pa. Max. Inwards (Mal. kadalam):
ka-këlong (or ba-këlong?), Sem.
Jaranum, Sem. Plus. In: ekélöi (ékélöi);
engkëlöi (éngkëlöi), Sak. Kerb.;
klukëm (klukëm), Söm. Between:
kēlo (kēlo), Sak. Ra. Door: kēlū (kēlō), Söm. [Stiepg kling, "middle," "between"; Kon Tu akalun, "inside." ]

(1) Brain (Mal. otak): kēlo (kelok), Serau; kolom kui, Jelai; H 46.

28. INSIDE (Mal. didalam): jendrōng, Pang. U. Aring. During; whilst (Mal. didalam pada): jendrōng, ex. jendrōng ye-chi bâh, Mal. didalam pada (i.e. satengah) sayah makan nasi, "whilst I am (or was) eating" (of past events), Pang. U. Aring. Inwards (Mal. déri dalam) ; nang (or ? lang) jendrōng, ex. bōt nang jendrōng, Mal. datang déri dalam, "to come from inside" (doubtful), Pang. U. Aring. [Mon jâreng, "in the presence of."] INSIDE: D 66; E 76; F 29; O 67.

Inspid : F 261; R 44; U 21.


30. Instead of: atu (atou), Söm.

Insdet : F 220; K 40.

Insufficient : F 71, 72; L 106.


32. Insult, to: màki, Sak. Ra. [Mal. maki].

Intellect : H 63.


Intercourse, sexual: C 242; F 66; P 219; S 249.

Internal Disease: S 192.

Interior: F 170; I 14, 15.

Interwoven: N 42.

Intestines: B 159.

Into: E 12; F 29; I 27; O 67.


Inundation : F 178; W 74.

Invite, to: C 13; E 27.


Inwards: I 27, 28.

Iphō : P 163-166.


37. Iron: pōt, Sem. Per.; pāt-pāt? (bāt-bāt), e.g. "the iron is rusty," pāt-pāt? a kayak nān (bāt-bāt a kajat nān), Sem. K. Ken.; pāh (pōh), Kena. I. (? Cfl. Alak, Nākhōn, Boloven pīt; Kasang piet, pīt; Lave pt; Kon Tu pī; Charu pīl; Khmer kombat [kūpīt]; Sieng pēh; Seleng pēt (pait), "knife."


Iron : C 89; C 152; S 466.

43. Issue to (Mal. kaluar): ya-bod, Pung. U. Aring; we' or bah-æ-aw, Mal. kaluar, "to issue or emerge" (probably to be explained as bah-ya-’we’ = Mal. hari hamba kaluar, "I run out," where e in the first example stands for yë or ya’=’y1’), Pung. Belimb.
II: H 39-45.
Itch: to: S 50.
Ivyory: H 126, 127.
54. Ixora (flower spec.): paw’r (paw-air), Sem. Stev.
together"; K'umper chang, chong, "to bind"; ?cf. Men ehak, "to join."

JOIN TO: B 213.


15. Jump, to: ma-hamo, Mantr. Malac. [Mal. mônghambor is sometimes used in this sense.]


20. Jump up, to: A 172.


25. Just now: F 123; N 50-52; N 114.

K

Kabong (palm spec.): S 516, 517.

Kajang (sort of covering made of palm-leaves): M 68; R 168.


Kêladi (yam spec.): Y 1-12.


9. Kêlasu, lurong (bird spec.): kâsu' (kâsuk); chim kâsu' (chim kâsuk), Bes. K. L. [Mal. kêlasu].


18. Kêlubi, asam (a thorny swamp-palm with very acid (edible) fruit eaten by the Bésisi with rice), Zalacca conferta: kapâs (or kpois) kùhî, Bes. K. L.; kubi, Bes. Songs [Mal. kêlubi]; cf. S 11.


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(b) chēgōg, Sak. U. Kam. (murhtendirang (mukh-tendiang), Barok [cf. Mal. têndang].

24. Kick, To; to trample: kūso' (kusu' ), Sem. Buk. Max.


Kidney: P 283.


30. Kill with a kris, to: salang, Jak. Sim. [Mal. salang].


Kindle, to (fire): B 467, 468; B 470; L 83-90; R 194; R 196.

King: C 94; E 46.

33. King-crab (Mal. bélangkakas) : ginchoh, Bes. A. I.

34. Kingfisher: bēkaka' (b'kakak), Jak. Lem. [Mal. pēkaka].

35. Kingfisher, big, or "halcyon" (Mal. pēkaka): salah; chim salah, Bes. K. L.

36. Kingfisher, small, or "aleedo" (Mal. raja udang): cheng; chim cheng, Bes. K. L.; C 94.


Kiss, to: D 165; S 294.

Kitchen-rack: B 100.

Kite: E 4.


Kitten: C 46.

39. Knead, to: blān or bien, Sak. Kor. Gb. [?= P 106 or P 2091].


(c) AnkLes (Mal. mata kaki): kātik, Tembi. [Cf. also C 6, but I believe, though there may be a distant connection between the words, the present grouping is justifiable.


42. KNEE: tēngkhu (tēngk'hu), Kēna. I. [Javan. dēngkui, Jēnk, "knee"; but Kaseng tōko, Kōn Tō trōkōl, Sud takol, have the same meaning; and the Bohmār has a word as to which
it is not quite clear whether it is to be read "tangkul" or "kultang." If the latter, it should no doubt be referred to K 40.

43. **Knee:** (a) toot, Jak. Mad.; toot, Jak. Sim.; toot, Jak. Lem., Jak. Ba. Pa.
   (b) Leg: lutat, Or. Hu. Joh. 1, [Achini. tuel (tueot), "kneecap"; Selung taot; Madur. toot; Siang tuut; Solo't tuhud; Sadog baq tuod, Idan'an, Tidung atud; Baiju Dayak utut; Mal. lutut, etc., "knee"—all variant forms of the same word.]

44. **Knee:** sejak, Ben. New. To kneel: geljuk (goldjuk), Sak. Kor. Gb. [Mal. Ar. sujul, "to genuflect."]

45. **Kneecap:** K 40; T 178.

46. **Knee-deep:** L 150.

47. **Kneel,** to: melangung? (mlangung?) kh? pias, Mal. Buk. Max. [Mal. ranggong?]; H 52; K 40; K 44.


49. **Knife:** (a) pisó (pissó), Sak. Korb. (b) Arms (weapons): hau, Bes. Sep. Chopper (Mal. parang): hau, Bes. K. Lang.; hau; 'sau, Bes. Sep. A. /; sau; hau, Bes. Malag. Also generically with specific names: e.g.: kéris: h. krás; sword: h. péda'bing; spear: h. tohok or tohó; dagger: h. baddik; peeling-knife (Mal. raut): h. pahut; cutlass (Mal. golok): h. golák (gólók); long knife with curved point: h. sèwạ; scimitar (Mal. chèngangkas): h. nurik; betel-scissors: h. kachip. The various knives known to Malays as pisau: (1) katok or pandak, (2) lidah abyam lipat, (3) bélaban, (4) chandong, (5) kéchul, (6) ali-ali, are respectively called "hau"—(1) katok, (2) katek, (3) bandá, (4) chándóng, (5) kénêmbing, (6) ali, the generic "hau" having been prefixed in each case, Bes. Sep. [Mal. pisau]; C 125-126; C 152; I 36.

50. **Knife:** stone: pànt (pan-neet), Sem. S'ev. [? Cf. Khmer bâmáek (pannák); preneak (prának), "knife to cut areca nuts with."]

51. **Knife:** H 6.


53. **Knock up against:** to: pënguhi (punguhi), Sem. Pa. Max.

54. **Knock up against,** to: mättádòng (mtadung), Sem. Buk. Max.


56. **Knob:** B 214; B 362.


59. **Knot of bamboo:** K 40.

60. **Knot of hair:** H 5, 6.

61. **Knot;** stick or wood with knots: bongkul (boñkoul), Sak. Ra. [Mal. bongkol, possibly connected with buku, bengko, bongko, bengkak]; K 40; T 211.

62. **Knotted:** B 175; S 541.

63. **Knotted string:** K 40; W 145.


66. **Know,** to (Mal. tahu): herób, e.g. o' hérób or o' tē-hérób (Mal. dia-lah tahu), "he knows," Sem. Kedah; srò, e.g. srò sgot, "I don't know," Bes. Sep. A. I. To understand: sèrō'; sérô; hérô, Bes. Sep. A. I. Very clever; really clever: h'ró nénèh; s'ró nénèh, Bes. Sep. A. I. [? Cf. Khmer chènap [gīm]; "to penetrate," "to learn."]


69. **Know,** to (Fr. connaitre): këndal (könal), Sak. Ra. To be ac-


To know: A 23; C 160-162.

64. Know, not to: lebhakan, Mantr. Bor.; F 219; N 68; N 77-79; N 86.

Knowledge: K 59.


Kuau chermín (bird spec.): A 130.


L

Labia pudenda: P 222A.


(c) Step: tālén, Ken. I.

1A. Ladder: stair: sēnrēp (snérēp; sōrēp) pip, Söm. [Probably a blunder caused by confusion between Mal. tangga and panggang; see R 154.]


Lake: H 116; S 59.


5A. Lame (Mal. tempang): tanjel, Tembi; kanjot [or kanjot?], Dara[t [or Tembi?]; [cf. D 124.

5B. Lame: lenghak, Serau; S 189.

Lamp: H 147; R 76.


Lance: S 367-372.


Land, to: A 154.


Landing stage: T 213.

Landwards: F 230.


10A. Langsat: langat, Tembi [Mal. langsat].


Large: B 202-212; F 35.

Larynx: N 26; T 102.


Last night: D 16; D 19; D 39.

15. Late, in the evening (Mal. pētang-pētang): nōëys, ex. ârē nōëys, Bes. K. L.; D 16; D 18.

Lately: N 50; N 108; N 114.


Bahnar hla; Stieng, Lemet, Khmus, Halang la; Annam la; Tarendong, Kaseng la; Si; Boloven hla; Jarai hola; Sawrê, Por ssa; Cuo ssa; Phnong loha; Praw chiha; Rode hala; Chráî hola; Chom hala; Cancho chélok (chelosc); Khmer slék [slık]; Khoa slak, "leaf." Possibly Bahnar hlàk, and Mal. hélai, numeral coefficients for "cloths," etc., are connected with these words.] [cf. H 151.]

33. LEAF: jétique (jaytong), Sak. Sel. Da.


36. Fallen leaves: sersap, Bes. Songs.

37. Leaves which are stuck into a woman's girdle (by way of a charm?): kêlawâ, Pang. U. Aring. LEAF: D 98; F 208; P 137, 138.

38. LEAF-cell: salong, Bes. Songs.


40. LEAF-shelter: H 152; H 159.

41. LEAF-snake: S 310.

42. LEAF: T 59.

43. LEAKY: H 116.

44. LEAN: D 182.

45. LEAP, to: J 13-18.

46. LEARN, to: G 48; T 30.

47. LEAVE, to: L 14; L 108; R 60; R 62, 63; W 78.

48. LEAVE off, to: L 31.


50. LEECH is (êês), Sem. Stev. Forest-leech (Mal. pachat): is (ais), Sem. Bak. Max.

51. LÉMBAT (fish spec.): dagon, Bes. Songs.
52. Lemon or citron? (described as smaller than the pummelo): biawas
Mantr. Malac. [This is a Malay fruit-name, applied to a kind of
guava, "jambu."]


[Mal. kubong].

55. Lemur, spec. "flying squirrel" (large kind); sanong, Jak. Malac.

56. Lemur, spec. white "flying squirrel": kanau, Mantr. Malac. Cha.;
B 70; S 417.

Lend, to: B 484; G 29.

57. Lębłaggadi? (tree spec.). Diospyros
Lucida or Langgadi? Bruguiera
parviflora: putat (putt), Sem. Pa.
Max. [? Mal. putat, various kinds
of Barringtonia.]

Length: L 130.

58. Lengthen, to: pēmanjang (p'man-
jang), Punt. Kap. J oh.; A 92,
[Mal. panjang, "long"]; L 130.

Lengthy: D 66.

59. Lepicr.: kusta (kust), Sem. Buk.
Max. [Mal. kustā]; B 202.

60. Leprosy: pēngundin (p'ngundin),
Jak. Ba. Pa.; pēngūndum (p'ngū-
dum), Jak. Lem.; A 15; B 202; S
239.

61. Less: kurāk (kourāk), Sak. Ra.
To diminish (trans.); to reduce: kuant,
Sem. Pa. Max. To want (i.e. to be
in want of): korang (koraḍ), Sak.
Ra. [Mal. korang]; M 49; N 69;
S 281, 282.

Let go, to: F 21.

Letter: W 149.

62. Level: (a) datar, Mantr. Malac.
(b) Level: flat; smooth: yata' (yat'a),
Sem. Buk. Max. Plain
(land): ratā (rat'ā), Sak. Ra.; E 12;
H 14. [Mal. datar; ratā; two
forms of one word.]

63. Level: smooth: rēmbalo (r'mbalu'),

Liaine: R 36-41.

64. Lick, to: būt (but), Sem. Pa. Max.;
bōt, bōt, Sak. Kor. Gb.; bōt-bud;
bōt-bud, K s. Kor.

Lick, to: lat (li), Sem. Buk. Max.
[? Mal. jilat; but cf. Khmer lit
[?], "to lick."]

Lie: F 22-26; L 31.

Lie, to: F 22-26.

66. Lie down, to: mālēng (ma-klay-
ing), Sem. S'ev. Prostrate (?):
mālē'eng? (mālī'eng), Sem. Buk.
Max.

67. Lie down, to: pēl-bah, Lebir.

67A. Lie down, to: juli; jajit, Serau;
F 11, 12; F 59; S 248-250.

68. Lie, to (on the back); supine, face
upwards: kēngai, Bes. A. I. [Khmer
phinga (phingā), "lying on the back"]; Mon lak tāng, "supinely."] S 520.

69. Lie, to (on the face): pēndōp,
Bes. A. I. Prone: pēdōp; pēndōp,
Bes. A. I. [? Cf. Mal. hadap,
"front"]; cf. L 70.

70. Lie, to (lying face downwards):
māhāyā� (māhā'hab), Sem. Buk. Max.
[cf. Mal. tiarap].

71. Lie, to (lying face downwards): sīlput
(sliput), Sem. Pa. Max. Prone:
kēput, Bes. A. I. [? Cf. Khmer
phākphāk (phākphāk); Bahnar shōkup
(xōkup), "lying face downwards."]

72. Prone (Mal. tērηtarap): bum-bum,

73. Lie, to (on the side): bēnak,
Bes. A. I.

Life: A 57; B 325; B 329; B 388-
390.

Lifetime: A 49; L 130.

Lift, to: B 396; B 399; C 28; T
10.

74. Light, i.e. daylight (Mal. siang):
pēnadeng, Sem. Plus. Moonlight;
full moon (Mal. bulan tērāng),
Light; brightness; to make clear:
pēdēng (p'ding), Sem. Buk. Max.
[cf. S 75]; [? Cf. Jav. padang,
"clear."] See P 124.

75. Light (Mal. siang): pēhēt, Sem.
Kēdak; pīhōi (pī-hēr-i), Lebir.

76. Light, day; sun: nyantang,
Kena. I. Sky: lengseng, Kena. I.;
jonjog, Sērting; ah-toign, Sak. Sel.

77. Light (adj., opp. to dark); pe-
muchot, Ben. Nēo.

78. Light; brightness: tātē (tātī), Sem.
Pa. Max.; C 154; D 33; D 38;
D 41; D 44; S 75.

79. Light (opp. to heavy), (Mal. ringan):
ha-tob, Sem. Javan, Sem. Plus;
hatōm (pr. hatō'm), ex. je-ing hatom,
kud hēnjut (trans. of Mal. proverb,
ringan tulang, bērat pērut, "if the
bones are light, the belly will be
heavy"), Pang. Gal.; hāi-ō'; hat-
ō', Sen. Cliff. To rise to the sur-
face; to float (Mal. timbul): ya-
hētob or hatōm (pr. hatō'm), Pang.
Sam, Pang. Gal.

80. Light (opp. to heavy): pēslā (psl).
Sem. Pa. Max.; pĕsoh (psĕuh),
Sem. Buk. Max. [ ? Achin. pĕhui,
"light."]
81. Light (opp. to heavy): hampong,
hémpa].
82. Light (of the wind): mer-gel
(pr. merr-gell or melli-gell), ex.
angin mer-gell wong békau, "in the
light wind (play) the fruit buds,
Pang. Telang.
83. Light, to: ehuk (ehouk),
Sak. Körb.
84. Light, to, a fire: pĕdar ás, Sak. U.
Kam.; pĕdar os, Sak. Tap.; F 124
[ ? Mal. putar, "to turn"; but cf.
Mou počen, "to light a fire."]
85. Light, to, a fire: rôop os, Sak. Tap.;
F 124.
86. Light, to, a fire: têhöl (tôhöl),
Sak. Ra.; [Mal. pasang]; tê-hol,
87. Light, to, a fire: tôngkun, Mantr.
Malac.; tôngkun; tôngkun (toung-
kon), Ment. Bor. [ ? Mal. tunukan].
88. Light, to, a fire: têkôb, Jak.
Malac.
89. Light, to, a fire: pasang (passãh),
Sak. Ra.; W 30. Flood (tide):
[Mal. pasang].
90. Light, to, a fire (by friction): ya-
pûsär ás, Pang. U. Aring; F 124
[Mal. pusar]; B 467, 468; B 470;
R 194; R 196.
91. Lightning (Mal. kilat): kâchâ' or
D 41].
92. Lightning: (a) luyau, Sem. Kedah;
la-icht [sic], Sak. Sel. Da. Lightning
flash: ? laech (læch or lāch or läch
Mon láli, "lightning"; and possibly
Khmer phûi [bi:], "bright," "light,"
or Bahnar glâih; Tàreng blâi,
"thunder-clap" (Fr. foudre).]
(b) Lightning: blèd, Sak. U. Kam.;
blit, Sak. Blanj. Sw.; (Mal. panah
hallîntar): blit kibēla', Sak. U.
Bert. Lightning (stroke) (Mal.
pètrî): kàbènî? (kàbèt or kàbît?)
kômlat, "lightning flash that comes
before the thunder" (but this prob-
ably = L 97).]
93. Lightning: menght [sic], Sak.
Chen.
95. Lightning: unga, Ben. New.;
singat, Kena. I.
96. Lightning: chilāu (tschilâu), Sak.
Kor. Gb. [Mal. silau].
97. Lighting: kelos, Sem. Stev.; kilad
(pr. kilad), Sem. Jawum; kilat,
Malac., Jak. Malac.; kilan, Rasa;
hênilar (pr. hênilarr), Sem. Plus.
To lighten: kilat, Seran [Mal. kilat];
cf. F 164.
gintal, Jak. Ba. Pa. [Mal. hallîntar];
D 39.
100. Like (Mal. sarupa): sêrah (doubt-
ful), Pang. U. Aring; T 51-54;
T 85, 86.
Like, to: H 29; H 116; L 17;
L 146-149; W 14.
101. Lime (Mal. kapor): (a) tâpun (pr.
tâ-punn), Sem. Kedah; kâpôr,
kapur].
(b) kâp, Sak. Ra.; kâp, Sak. U.
Kam.; kôp, Serau; kôp; kâb,
Temî; kâp, Sak. Em.; kôpa,
Jelâ; kôkâ, Darat. [ ? Cf. Mon
kaw: Khmer kav [kâw]. "ghee." ]
102. Lime (chunam): chunambu,
Ben. New. [Tamil chunâmbû]; S 151,
152.
103. Lime (fruit-tree): limau, Serau;
[ ? Mal. limau susu], Citrus acidâ:
limau amîkâu (limau amîkâau),
Sem. Buk. Max.; B 385 (?) ; limau bo'
(limau bu'), Sem. Pa. Max.; B 386;
pâmâmel (Mal. limau jambua),
Citrus decumana ( ? ) : limau têbû
(limau tbû or tû), Sem. Pa. Max.;
B 202; limau-abong, Jak. Malac.;
[Mal. limau, "lemon, lime"] ; F 284.
Lines (on the hand): H 19.
104. Lips: = M 201.
105. Lips: biber, Sak. Ra.; bibir; bibir?
(bibîr) [sic: a blunder?], Ben. New.
Lower lip; bibir mulit, Mantr.
Malac.; M 205. Mouth: bibir,
Sim. [Mal. bibir].
Lip: B 116; H 2; M 201; M 203;
S 236; S 329.
Lip, upper: N 100.
Liquid: B 395.
Listen, to: E 6.
Little: S 280; S 284; Y 40.
106. Little, a; too little; insufficient:
Sep. A. I.; M 46; O 34; Q 5;
S 280-282; S 285; W 73.


120. Lizard, monitor: tangan, Tembi.

120b. Lizard, monitor: payot, Seran; payan [or payan?], Tembi.

120c. Lizard, monitor: haring; grik, Seran [? = L 124].


122. Lizard, monitor (Mal. biawak ponggor): kabok, Bes. K. L.


125. Land iguana [sic]: kaharui; kakâu (kakâuh), Ment. Her. II. Loaded: F 290.

1. **Mad** (Mal. gila): maman, e.g. chau maman, "mad dog." Bes. K. L., Bes. A. I.


**Madness** : D 160.

4. **Maggot** : B 143; D 142.


6. **Maiden** : chēmōn (chēm-n), *Kerb.*; C 102; F 63; F 75; G 28; Y 41.

7. **Maimed**; mutilated: kēmpūt (kempūt), *Sem. Pa. Max.* [Mal. kumpūt is given as one of the equivalents, but I cannot find the word in my dictionaries].

**Mainland** : E 12.


10. **Maize** : klāhob or klā-hop (pr. klā-hobb or klāhopp), *Sem. Plus.*

11. **Maize** : kēmōng, *Kera. I.*

12. **Maize** : pēngūl, *Bedn. II.*


**Malacca cane** : R 36.

**Malay** : B 430; L 31; M 23; M 26; M 28; M 30.


To want (Mal. mānī): ya-pānī, *Pang. U. Aring.* [Perhaps these are corruptions of the Mal. equivalents berāhā?]


(b) **Low** : dekus, *Bes. Sep. A. I.*

(c) **Low** : ēm-pis, *Kran Ket.*


*Khmer* keley [kliy]: Mon kle' (gLé];

*Sting* gleh (gleh); Halang kelā; Niahōn, Alak lālā; Lave lālā;

*Bole<ve> lā: ‘short.’]


E 12; F 29; S 280; W 30.


**Lower, to** : D 95.

Lower waters of river: B 165.


155. **Ludai** (plant spec.), *Sapium bacatum*: ludai, *Bes. Songs* [Mal. ludai].

156. **Ludan** (tree spec.): ladan, *Bes. Songs* [Mal. ladan].

**Lukewarm** : C 205.

**Lyre** : M 225; M 228, 229.

Bridge of lyre: P 100.


(β) Man (male): chēlāki, Or. Tranq.

**Male**: C 122. 

**Man**: (i.e. male person, as opposed to woman): M 15-22.


24. **Man** (*Mal. orang*): mêmfi, *Sem. Martin.* Man (gen.); *Negrito*: menik (meneek), *Sem. Stev.*; menik; menik hôp, *Sem. Kodah*; F 231. [This is the name by which the Negritos (or some of them) call themselves.] [2 Cf. *Kâmer* menîis (*mun*); *Mon* menîih (*mun*); *Stîeng* binh; *Lâm* binh; *Hitang* mônô, mônô; *Bôlhâncu* paunt, phnuih; *Nîthôh* nuit; *Tôrêng* meina; *Sôl* mônâ, nêt, "man." But some of these are of Aryan origin.]

25. **Man**; i.e. *Negrito* (*Mal. Sêmang or Panggan*): mendrak (also mendrak hôp) = wild *Sêmang*, e.g. *Orang Plus*, whereas menik (*or menik hôp*) = *Panggan* (? tame tribes, e.g. *Orang Siong, O. Jarun*), (so explained by *Orang Siong*), *Sem. Kodah.* [Perhaps M 24 and 25 are derivatives from M 23.]


33. MAN-TIGER (Mal. jēdi-jādiān): kēnayau (described as able to speak, and as wearing bracelets (Mal. gelang), and as having teeth shaped like an adze-haft (Mal. puting bējong)), Sem. Kēdah. Mane: H 1.


34A. Mango, "horse-". Mangifera fētīda (spec. Mal. ēmbachang): sēpōpt, Tembi.


36A. Mangosteen: gamas, Seraw; gamush, Darat [cf. Mal. manggis].

Manis javanica: A 113-115.

Mankind: M 30.

Manner: F 30, 31.

Mantis, praying: kētiau, Serting.

Mantis, praying: kādōk, Bedu. II.

Mantis, praying: panchong, Kena. I.; bēlālang kanchong, Bedu. II.; G 102.


41. Many; much: pungkal (pungkI), Sem. Buk. Max.


(b) Much: bānyak, Jak. Malāc. [Mal. bānyāk].

43. Many; much: cha-tukn, Tem. Cl. Many; very; chan-teng; cha-tuk, Sak. Plus Cliff.

43A. Many; much: čhērōk (tscherōk), Sak. Martin [?= D 66].

44. Many; jeōi; jeōy; jēngoi (jigōy), Sak. U. Kan.; jēngoi (jigōy), Sak. U. Bert. Much; jēōy; jēngoi...
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Bes. Sep. [Alak, Kaseng jio; Lave on, “much.”]


Mark: C 152; G 41; P 118; T 169.

47. Market: pêkan, Sak. U. Kam. [Mal. pêkan].


51. MARRIAGEABLE (of boys): mawong (pr. mawông), Sem. Kadah.

52. MARRIAGEABLE (of girls): bale or balè, Sem. Kadah [Mal. Ar. bale]; Y 41.

53. MARRIED, newly (Mal. bâhâru nikañ): babê (or bâbêr) këman, Sem. Plus.

54. MARRY, TO; to be married to: piloi, Pang. Belimb.

54a. MARRY, TO: përgiök, Jelai; ampeřjök [or amperjèk], Darat.

55. MARRY, TO; ja-di, Krau Tem.

56. MARRY, TO: sàbit, Ken. I.

57. MARRY, TO; nikah, Bêl. Rem.; nikêh, Barûk [Mal. Ar. nikah]: F 63; 64; M 49.

Marriageable: M 51, 52.

Married: B 368; M 53.


Marry, TO: F 63, 64; M 49-57; S 222.

Mas, river: Y 26.


Mast: P 192.


(b) Mat: châphêng, Sem. Kadah; jémôs (jémôs), Kena. II.

64. MAT: lin-da (?liu-da), Krau Tem.

65. MAT: (a) chérûk, Jelai; cherukh, Serau [or Tembi]; chërû? (chern),
Comparative Vocabulary of


69. Mata daching (fish spec.): is' (aisuk?), Sem. Buk. Max.

70. Matches: gra'api, Sak. U. Kam.; F 125 [Mal. goris api].


73. Mawas: mias (ape spec.): mä bajäs (explained as meaning "the man with nostrils turned upwards," the belief being that the rain gets into them and forces him to make a screen of leaves), Bes. K. L.; mah bâjäs, Bes. A. I.; M 23 [Mal. mawas; mias (this last form is used in Borneo)]; M 140. May be: P 60, 61.

74. Measure. to? (Fr. alligner [sic]): entemwâch (emteônâch), Sak. Ro. [Khmer veâs? [wâs]; Nîköm wî; Alâk, Lâve wà, "to measure (the length of a thing)"); ? cf. Mon laêt [lât], "to measure with a rule or line."


78. Medicine-man (Mal. bomor): hîlî, Pang. Sam.; hî-la', Kerbat.; hîlî, Sak. Kor. Gh.; hîla' (halak), Tembi, Darat. Bèlian wangi (tree spec.), Dichopis obovata: hîla' (hal'), Sem. Buk. Max.; (spec. bêlian cêpis?): hîla' cêpis (hal' chps), Sem. Buk. Max. [These last are apparently due to confusion between the two meanings of the Mal. word "bêlian."]


83. Meet to: jumpâ (djpâmâ), Sak. Ro. [Mal. jumpa].


86. Melon (Mal. mëndikai), Cucurbita citrullus?; témkikai (tmikai), Sem. Pa. Max.; kemikai, Serau [Mal. témbikai, témkikai, etc.].

Melt to: B 395.
86A. Melt, to: tu (too), in the magic formula: tu (too) mahum (mahoum) ma-loi kaping metkatop, yeh ma-kor mahum (mahoum), tu (too) mahum (mahoum); yeh ma-loi mahum (mahoum) pe metkatop, rendered by “melted blood (I) throw up against the sun; I cut blood; melted blood, I throw blood against the sun,” Sem. Stev. (Mater. ii. 108). [*Sting tu, to melt (honeycombs).*]


Memory: K 62.

88. *Memélas* leaves, used as a substitute for emery powder (*Tetracera* spec.): chengat, Bes. K. L.


*Menses*: B 249; M 161.

89A. *Menstruate, to*: bohiji (bohija; “deep a”), *Sen. K. Ken.* [*=B 249 + F 16*].


*Mention, to*: S 360.


Méranti: pahioh (phiiuh), *Sem. Pa. Max.* [For the varieties which the Malays call m. puteh, m. benu, m. bunga, m. darah, *Sem. Pa. Max.* adds pita, benu (bunut), bunga, darah, and *Sem. Buk. Max.* pintau, benu (bunut), bunga, aun (au?) to the respective generic names, M 90 and M 91.]


95. Mérbau: long âpel (or âpell), *Bes. Songs.*

96. Mérbau, a forest tree, said to be: rempeg, *Sem. Kedah.*


*Miais*: M 73; M 140.

Midday: D 33-35; D 42, 43; H 140, 141; M 100.


In the middle of: S 198.

Midnight: D 16-18; M 100.

Midrib (of palm-leaf): B 294; B 336.

Midwife: D 181.


Mind: H 63.


108. Mind: in original "mine," but it comes directly after "body": eng, Sem. Jur. And., Sem. Jur. Rob. [Very doubtful; perhaps there is a misprint in the Sêmang as well as in the English rendering. I do not think it means "mine" or can be put under I 3: that paragraph contains no Sêmang forms.]

To call to mind: C 18.


110. Mine: kélian (klian), Sôm.; kéliàn (klian), Sak. Ra. [Mal. kélian; galian.]

111. Mine: parât (parêt), Sak. Kerb. [Mal. parit, "ditch"].


Miserable: H 138.


Miss, to: F 115.

Mist: B 236; D 16; D 22.

115. Mistake: B 10; F 24.

116. To be mistaken: silap, Sak. Ra. [Translated in original "to see," but this is clearly wrong.]. [Mal. silap.]


118. Mix, to: háro-galo, Bes. Songs. [Cf. Mal. haru, "confusion," and gaul, "to mix."]

119. Mix, to: (a) pachur, Serau. Do not mix (the things): ui pi pachur, Serau.


120. Mock, to: majeh (majîh), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. ajôk].

Moderate: T 43.

121. Molâr; lower jawbone: têmgim (tmgim?), Sem. Buk. Max.; T 170. [Khmer thkâm (dhgâm); Sieng gam, "jawbone"; Sieng gam (gâm); Chrâu tégâm, "molar."]

Mole: D 114.

Mollusc: S 151, 152.


Moment: B 145; Q 5.

Moment, in a: I 10.


126. Money: duit, Sak. U. Kam. [Mal. (from Dutch) duit].

Monitor lizard: F 138; L 118-125.


129. Monkey, coconut (Mal. bêrok): dôk, dok, Tembi; dôk, Jelai; Serau [or Tembi]; dôk, Sen. Cliff.; dok, Sak. Blanj. Cliff.; Darat; mênähar dok, Serau; dûk, Sak. U. Kam. Monkey: dôk, Sak. Korb. Lias; dok, Sak. Tai. [Sieng duk; Chrâu dôk; Bahnar dôk; Halang mûdok; Sedang dô, "monkey."]


132. Monkey, coconut (Mal. bérök):
133. Monkey, coconut (Mal. bérök):
(a) bawag (bowag), Sem. Stev.;
(b) Coconut monkey: bérök, Mantr. Malac.; béruk, Bed. Chiong [Mal. bérök].
134. Monkey (Mal. chipah [=kékah]):
(b) Monkey (Mal. kéra): taru, Sem. Plus; têrâu, Sering; mënâhar rauh, Serum; ra' (rak), Tembi; rauh, Serum [or Tembi], Darat, Jelai; rûh, Sak. Em.; rau, Sem. Cliff.; râl, Sak. Kor. Gh.; râo, Sak. Ru.; réuh (rêuou), e.g. aye (aye) mo ni réuh (rêuou), "we have a monkey"; míh mo ni réuh (rêuou), "I have a monkey"; míh réuh (rêuou) mo këbus (kóbus); "my monkey is dead," Sôm.; réu (rêuou), Sak. Kerb. Long-tailed monkey: râo, Sak. U. Kam. Monkey (Mal. monyet): rauh, Darat.
143. Monkey (Mal. longtong): báseng (basing), Sem. Buk, Max.; báseng,
Bedu. II. ; baseng, Mantr. Malac. 

149. Monkey (Mal. lotong) ; šerô, Ken. II. ; chêlôi, Sêrîng.


(c) Monkey, spec. “wawa” ; mawa’ (mawâk), Sak. Em.


154. Monkey (Mal. ungka) ; jêngôn, Kena. II. ; je’un, Jak. Malac. ; jeun, Kena. I.


156. Monkey, cry of ungka : wong-wong-wong, Bes. Songs.


158. Monkey (Mal. siamang) ; hol, Sem. Cl. ; hûl, Sak. Martin. [Khmer sva khol [swa (= “ape”) khul], “a species of monkey.”]


160. Monkey (Mal. siamang) ; untô, Kena. II. [cf. M 155].


160B. Monkey, long-tailed (Mal. monyet) ; bidûot ; bidûot ? Sak. Martin [? = M 134 or M 157].

Mons veneris : N 18.

Monsoon : R 14.

Month : M 161 ; M 164.


163. Moon: linta, *Kena. I.*
164. Moon: (a) buntāhak, e.g. pangkah buntāhak, “half-moon,” *Bes. A. I.*; New moon: bintāng (bintag’n), *Sem. K. Kend.*; [? = S 438]. [Mal. bulan, “moon,” and bulat, “round,” are apparently both represented by a form which is (possibly) capable of explanation on quasi-Krama principles. But see R 191.]
(b) Moon: bila’ (bee-lah), *Sak. Sel. Do.* [cf. Sibōp bilēk; Ba Mali bēlēk; Līrong bēlēlēk; Long Pokom bilēlēk; Puman Nibom bilēlēk, “moon.”]

Moon: D 39; G 21.

168. Moonlight: L 74.
169. More: dayop, *Sūm.* How much: 
doyop, *Sūm.*
170. More: jere (djère), *Sūm.* More? again? chērah (chôrah), *Sak. Ra.* [This last is very doubtful; it may mean “when it was daylight”; it is taken from De Morgan’s imperfect “text” of the Sakai Raya dialect.]
173. More: lōbē; lōbi (lōbē; lōbi); lōbe, *Sak. Ra.* [Mal. lēbēh].
174. More: still: lagi (laghi; lagl); *Sak. Ra.* [Mal. lagi]; A 27; N 40; M 42; N 67.
175. More, no: A 63; N 83.
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yahalup, Serau [or Tembi?]. [Cf. Mon phalaing-yeh [phalhäng-yah], "first dawn of day."]


Morning: C 154; D 33; D 42, 43.


(b) Morrow: isokông, Bes. A. I. To-morrow: isok, Jak. Malac.; bengsâk (bensôk), Kena. I. When: isok, Mantr. Malac. [doubtful, probably wrong] [Mal. esôk, besok].

Morning-star: S 436.

Morning: M 175-179.


179b. Mortar (Mal. klong): guul, Tembî; tergul, Serau [cf. H 113].


185a. Mosquito-net; mosquito-curtain: klamu, Jalaî [Mal. klambu].

186. Mos: toû (to-pô), Sak. Keb. [Cf. Central Nicobar pul, "moss."]


188. Moss: lâhêm (lêhêm), Sak. Ra. [M 186-188, especially the last, are doubtful, as the Malay equivalent is wrongly given lêmbat (lîmbaut), which means "soft." With M 188 cf. S 334: "moss" in Malay is humut.]

Moth: B 482.


190. Mother: gêndek (ghendek), Bes.
Bell.: gadè, gendè, Bes. Sep. A. I.;
gende', Bes. K. Lang.; gadeh,
Buk. U. Lang., Bes. K. Lang.;
gadek, Bes. bêt.; gëdëk, Bes. Her.,
Bed. Chiang; gadik, Bes. Malac.;
W 30 ; ga-dok; Sak. Sel. Dar,
gado, U. Ind.; idó? (i-ler), Sak.
Gurat. Moth. in-law: gadi' (gadik), Res. Her.; F 220; H 15
[cf. F 63; G 90].

191. Moth. : hápet, Kena. I., Kena. II.

192. Mother: bök or bù', Sem.
Jaram, Sem. Plus; bös, Sem. Plus;
Pa. Môx.; bôh? or bôk? (bôkhi),
Tembi; bo, Sak. Kor. Ch; bô,
Reb., Tem. Ch.; bêu (bêu), Jehoehr;
bâm, Sem. Beg.; ba, Ben. New.;
bi (bii), U. Pat.; H 14; O 23.
Aunt (Mal. mak sudara) : bô',
Pang. U. Arîng.; bôwâ (bôwagû),
Sâm. Thumb: tabô? (tabô), Sem.
K. Ken.; tabôkâ, Tembi.; F 220. [These words may possibly be
ultimately related to Mal. ibu; M 195; but words of relationship
are often so similar in different languages that the inference from
similarity of form is almost worth-
less; cf. F 61.]

193. Mother: nák (pr. ná'), Sem.
Kedôk; nák, Sem. Klâpr.; ná',
Kerbat; ná (n'), Sem. Buk. Môx.;
nah, U. Kol.; ngah, Sem. U. Sel.;
êndâ) Sëmang (Mal. colloq. phrase),
also êndôk Sëmang), Pang. K.
Gal.; nân, Leber; nau, U. Pat.;
nôyâ? (nîyôr), Po-Klo. Aunt: ngah,
Temiang; inâ' (inak), Serîng,
Blan. Kena., Ment. Her. I.; (inak),
Bes. Sông, Bedû. II., Ment. Bor.;
ôna' (ônâk), Bes. Songs. Younger
aunt: inâ' (inak), Ment. Her. II.
Mother-in-law: nyâ? (nîyôr), Po-
Klo; W 104. [Sulu inak; Ironian
nâ; Bulíd Opiê inâ; Melano Dayak,
Nis, Tagheuna inâ; Bukatan
Dayak inâ]; Balau Dayak indai;
Chau inôs, 'mother' (cf. Mal.
induk); F 132; but cf. also Mon
inâî (inâî); Bahnar na,'aunt'
(elder than the parent); and Sudâneu
(aneou); Lemet tie ni, 'mother.'
]

194. Mother: mak, Sem. Caw., Hist.,
Her. I.; ma'e Mantr. Malac.; ma,
Ben. New.; ma. Or. Tran; moî
(mê-i), U. Tem.; moî, Bedû. II.
(moî), Mantr. Bor.; moî, Bedû. III.;
Mantr. Malac., Jak. Malac.; moî,
Ment. Her. II.; mâ'; Blan. Ren.;
moî? (mâyôi), Ben. New.; moî?
(moî), Rasa; me? (mek), Sak.
Sung.; mek, Jelai; ameng, Seraw;
mô, Sem. Ch.; mâ' (mâm); Sak.
Ra.; amê, Sak. U. Kam.; âne,
Sak. Martin'; âne, Sak. Blan.; Sàk.
mek, Sem. Klâpr. Mother-in-law:
mak, Serîng; moî, Bedû. II.,
Bedû. III. Adopted mother;
foster mother: mak angiak.
Seraw. Aunt (Mal. ma' sudara):
Aunt: âmai, Bed. Chiang; amai,
Jak. Ba. Pa.; moî tuhâ' (moî
tuhak), Bedû. II., Bedû. III. Elder
aunt: ma' tuhâ' (mak tühak), Ment.
Her. II. [Mal. tuha, 'old'; ma',
ômak, 'mother.'] Aunt: moî
muda' (moîi) mudak), Bedû.
II.; ma' - anô (mak - aneuk).
Galang; ma' sudêrê (mak sudêrê),
Barok. Woman: maî, Pol.;
âmai (âmêi), Jak. Med.; moî,
Pang. U. Lang. [All these words are
no doubt ultimately connected, and
it is practically impossible to separate
the aboriginal forms into Mon-
Annam and Malay. Tentatively
it may be suggested that those which
have the vowels e and ai, especially
the Sakai and Béisi forms, are
probably to be classed more with
the Mon-Annam, while the forms in
a and ai are closer to the Malay;
but there can hardly be any certainty
in the matter. Mon mi; Khmer
mê; Siêng mî; Samré, Por mîn
(minh); Cuoi, Rodê mik (mic);
Canho amik (amîc); Phông mê;
Crèlà me (nes); Prow nok (mc);
Bahnar me (mê); Annam me;
Chông nûm (mûn); Hsei, Ka
mî; Chèu mê; Kuy Dêk mây;
Chura mê; Kôdâêh mî; Kha Bi
ant; Boloven mî; Mi mî; Alak
mî; Love, Kaseng, Sedang me;
Xong ming; Suk. Jarai mî; Sûc
mê; Sue mpe; Sô mî; cf. Mal.
ômak; mak, 'mother.']

Joh.; F 220 [Mal. ibu]; F 132;
G 86; O 23; W 131A. Mother of
first-born child: F 132.
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Mother-in-law: B 419; F 61; G 86; L 21-24; M 190; M 193.

Motive: C 60.

Mottled: béchang, Bes. Songs.

Mound: A 116; H 101.

Mountain: H 84-100; S 465.

Mountain chain or range: daka, Sem. K. Ken.

Mourn, to: dalāl, Sem. K. Ken.

Mouse: M 136; R 32-35.


Mouse-deer: D 75; D 81-88.

Moustache: misei (missie), Söm.; bissi (bissèfi), Sak. Ra. Beard: misai (missi), Sem. K. Ken. [Atal. missai]; H 1, 2; M 203.


(c) Mouth: ré-ang, Kena. II.; cf. H 107. [Chong raneng; Nîâkînh mruêh, "mouth."]

Mouth: jhê (jhêh), Kena. I. [cf. M 195].


204. Mouth: pengachap, Ben. New. [cf. Mal. uchâk, "to speak"].


208. Mouth, to keep in the (like a quiet): kâmâm (kamm), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. kêmâm].


211. Move to, to: 'lor, Bes. Songs [cf. Mal. undor].


218. Mud; dirt: lumpôr (lumpôr), Sak. Ru. Mud; slime: lumpôr (lumpôr), Sak. Ra. [Mal. lumpor]; S 228.


220. Muddy: M 215; W 30; W 36-38.

221. Multiply, to: S 541.

222. Murder: C 256; D 48; D 50.

223. Murder, to: K 28, 29.


226. Mushroom: F 293.


228. Bamboo musical instrument: haihau (hi-how), Sem. Stev.

229. Sit in the tube of the "hihow": ñîk-pek, Sem. Stev.

230. Crosspiece in the "hihow": tenuâ (tenoonar), Sem. Stev.


238. Musical instrument: M 221-230. MUSICAL INSTRUMENT, bridge of: P 100.

239. MUSICAL INSTRUMENT, stick to tighten strings of: S 450.

2. **Nail**: risik, *Kena. I.* [cf. Khmer kreichak [krachak], "nail."]


4. **Nail** *(of finger or toe)*: kuku, *Mantr. Malac.*, *Jak. Malac.* [cf. Mal. kuku]. [All these words are probably ultimately related together and to the Malayans forms. In some of the above the infix *-êl* is clearly present. Cf. *Madur*. köröt, "claw," "hoof"; *Achin*. kûkût (koëkoët), "hind foot of bullock"; *Selung* kekoe, kekoe; *Cham* kâkau; *Radaiah* kau; *Forsman* kalongkong; *Bulu*, *Bugis*, *Mangkasar kanuku*; *Jav. (Krama Inggil)* kênâkâ, "nail."] H 15; S 141; S 234; S 236.


8. **Naked** *(a)* chip-chip si-hâ *(tschip-tschip si-hâ)*, *Sem. K. Ken.*; G 42. *(b) siloy*: *Sem. Sep. A. I.*


10. **Name** *(ken or kunn, ex. mà-ken? or mà-kenn?)* *(Mal. apa nama ini? = "what (is the) name of this?)", *Pang. Belimb.*; ken-mah *(pr. ken-mâh)*, ex. mai-o' ken-mah net, "what is his (or your) name?" *Sem. Jarum*; kin-mâh, ex. alü kîn-mah dek *(Mal. apa nama ini)*, "what is this called?" *Pang. U. Aning*; kên-mâh *(kon-mâ)*; ton-mo, Söm.; N 9; kênôn *(könôn)*, *Sak. Kerb.*

yēmu?); Khmer chhmouh [jhmo];
Korku jūma, jūma, “name.”
10. NAME: isik, Pant, Kāp, Jōh. [? cf.
170]; S 359.
12. Narrow: (a) képid, Pang, Sam,
Pang, Gal.
(b) sēmpēt, Mantr. Malac. [Mal.
sēmpit].
[cf. Mal. sunthō, “narrow”]: so in
original, the word is not in my dic-
tionaries; cf. also Khmer sōng
[sōŋ]; “slender”; F 29; N 19;
S 280.
Sem. Buk. Max.; lus, Sem. Kedah; (loos),
Sem. Stev. Navel; centre: lus,
Sem. Pa. Max. Navel-string; um-
bilical cord: tāle? lus (nali?) lus,
Mon pōnglōt [pōnglōt], or ponglōk
[ponglik], “navel”].
17. Navel: pa-ring, U. Tem.; pa-ring,
U. Cher.; pa-ring (tan’g’n), Sem.
K. Ken.; pūnī, Bes. A. I.
18. Navel: (a) seg, Pang, Sam, Pang,
Gal., Lēbir; shōk, Sem. Cl.; swāwāk,
Tembi; soog, Seram; sōk a felai,
Mons veneris: sēt (sēt or sēt), Sem.
Pa. Max. Pudendum multibre: set,
Sem. Stev.; [F 170 is probably a
distinct word.
[Khmer phchet [phchet], “navel”;
but cf. also Khmer sōk [suk]; Mon
suk, “placent”; Mon kāsuk, tōw
suk, “navel-string.”]
(b) Navel; centre: puset (pusit),
Sem. Buk. Max. Whorl of hair:
puset (puset), Sem. Buk. Max.; pūstā
puset; but the meaning “whorl of
hair” is that of Mal. pūsaran.]
[These words, both Mon-Annam and
Malayan, appear to be ultimately
related, and probably they bear some
relation to the Malay words meaning
“to turn,” pusar (L 90), putar,
pusing.]
Navel: J 7.
Navel-string: N 42.
19. Near (Mal. dēkāt): pēd-āh or
pēd-ōh, Sem. Plus; pēd-ōh, Sem.
Jaran; pēdōh, Pang, U. Aring,
Pang, Sem. Pa. Max.; pēdōh
(pē-dērh), Lēbir, Kerbat; dādāi;
dā-dūi, Sem. K. Ken. Near or
close: pēdōh or pēdōh, Pang. K.
Aring; pēdih, Tembi. Near; close
to; in contact with: duih, Sem. Pa.
Max. Narrow (?); pēdī? (pēdī?),
Sem. Pa. Max. [M 100 is similar in
form and perhaps related. ] Cf.
Stieng nōdōh, dōh, “near.”
20. Near: close to: dapa’(dapa’, dapa’),
Sem. Buk. Max. Close; in contact
pamēn: miling, Bes. Sep. A. I.
Quite near: paming, Bes. Songs
[? Cf. C 84].
Neighbour: dēkät, Tembi [Mal.
dēkät]; B 153; I 14; S 198; S 280.
Neat: C 142.
New, ngud, Pang. U. Aring,
Pang, Sam, Pang, Gal. Edge:
Stieng ngun, “nape of neck”; see
N 27.]
(b) Neck: lēngōk, Sorting; lingeh,
Tan. U. Lang. Adam’s apple (in
the throat): laguk, Serau. [Theresa
en-lônga; Central Nicobar ong-
lônga; Andamanese Puchikwar lôngo-
da; Charitar ot-longo, “neck,”
are probably chance resemblances.]
(c) Neck: bāngong, Kena. I.; marokn,
U. Ind. Throat: ēgōk (ēgōk),
tāi leher) [generally of a creeper
called tentām]; G 25]; nēkōg, Sem.
Plus. Necklace made of fruit-seed:
ōgō, Sem. K. Ken. Apple of throat
(Mal. tēkūm): prēngong, Sem.
Jarum; prēngong (pr. prēnging)
Sem. Plus. [Cf. Batak (Dairi)
ērgēng; Sund. bōhōng; Bal. baong.
But there appear to be several dis-
tinct words in this paragraph.]
tā-bōg), Sem. Kedak; tabok, Sem.
Stev.; tēbak (tēbak), Sem. Pa. Max.;
S 186, 187; tabzan, Ben. New.
[This last form is doubtless corrupt;
quere taboan?]
Above; on top: amik, Sem. Buk.
Max.
(koua), Sōm. Neck; throat: sāgōk?
(sagōk), Sem. K. Ken. [P=N 23].
Max.; keō, Sak. Kor. Gh. Adam’s apple (in the throat): kōwōk,
Tembi. Larynx: sēngko’ (sngku’).
Sem. Pa. Max. [Mon kā’ [kā];
Khmer ka; Stieng kou; Bahnar ako; Annam kô; Churu kô; ?cf. Halang takue; Jarat tōkō; Cham takuē; Achin. takuē; cf. Siam khni, "neck."


32. Neck, back of the: jēngkeng, Kenia I.; B 146; H 1.

33. Necklace (Mal. tail leher): beg (pr. begg), (generally of a creeper called tentām, Mal. urat batu), Sem. Kēdāh. [Jarat bāk, "necklace."]

34. NECKLACE: benghār (beng-hār), Sem. Stev.

35. NECKLACE: menulang (menoolang), Sem. Stev.


37. NECKLACE: dōkōh, Bedu. II.; dōkōh, Serang [Mal. dokoh]; N 23; R 133; T 170; and see B 96-99.


39. NEGRITO (Mal. Sēmang or Pangan): The wild Semangs are called Pie hōp (pr. almost Plā); F 231. They are said never to eat rice or see strangers, and live in Ulu Plā and Ulu Ayer Temengor, North Perak, Sem. Kēdāh. Name of a Sēmang deity: Pēlē (Play), Sem. Stev.

NEGRIITO: M 24. 25. Neighbour: N 22; S 198.

40. NÉNGGIRI (district in South Kēlāntan): Brok. Sem. Clīf. [It is inhabited by Sakai tribes, whom the other

Sakais call Sēnoi Brok. Recent estimates, possibly exaggerated, have put the numbers of the Sakais inhabiting this single district as high as 10,000. No specimens of their dialect are at present on record.]

41. NEPHEW: tēmūn (tōmōn), Sām.; C 102. [Bahnar mom; Khmer kemnoii (kmuoy); Mon kmiin; Cham kāmūt, kāmīn, kāmōn; Radaīh mūon; KhaBi mon, moni, "nephew," "niece"; Stieng mon "nephews"; Achin. kēmūn agam, "nephew"; kēmūn inong, "niece."]

NERVE: M 219.


(δ) Nest: charong, Ben. New.; sārak or sārag, Sak. Kor. Gb. Arrow cases in blowpipe quiver: saran, Sak. Ra. Crownlike arrangement in blowpipe quiver (to keep the wadding in its place): sarang selmōi sarān selmōi), Sak. Ra. [Mal. sarang]. [Some of these words seem to represent sarong rather than sarang.]

43. Net, casting-; pēnībar (pēnībar), Pant. Kap. Joh. [Mal. tebar, "to cast (a net)."]


ABORIGINAL DIALECTS

Never : F 120; N 67; N 69-71.
Never mind : N 66; N 69.


53. News: hê-áp, e.g. jélêk (jélêrk) hê-áp, "what is the news?" or "how do you do?" Sen. Cliff.; W 77 (?=S 263).


55. Next: A 46.


Night: G 68; G 74; P 143, 144; A 125.
Night: D 16-30; D 39.
Night, last: Y 30.
Night-bird: S 525.


61. Nine: lang, Sem. Scott. [Both these are probably fictitious.]


Nipple: B 385, 386.


yet (Mal. belum): neng or neng ... seng, ex. neng yë chi báb seng, Mal. sahya belum makan nasi, "I have not yet eaten (rice)," Pang. U. Aring; B 145.


70. Never: taprêna (taprûna), Söm.; (ta-prôna), Sak. Ra.; prênah (or pênah) ngôt, Bes. Sep. [Mal. tiada pênhah]; N 67.


72. Don't (Mal. jangan): aked, ex. aked hagid, "don't be afraid"; aked kass or aked têhâh, "don't do it," Sem. Jarum. [? = N 73].

73. Do not: duk gu, Sak. I. Lou; daagu, Sak. U. Kam.; aga, e.g. aga cha (teha) nado, "don't eat this," Sak. Korb. Lias; ago, e.g. ago chip (techip), "don't go away"; ka, e.g. ka itu (itou), "don't be afraid," Sak. Korb. Lias. Particle used in conjunction with wish, "do not" (F 121): ga, Sen. Clif.


75. Don't: swim, Jak. Malac.

76. Don't: jangan, e.g. "don't stop here," jangan di-tunggui dêni, Jak. Malac. [Mal. jangan].

77. I don't know (Mal. ta' tahu; éntah): achah, Pang. Belimb.

78. I don't know: lek or ya-lek, Pang. Belimb. [? cf. C 160].

79. Uncertain [the word is used in answer to questions, and means "I don't know"]: én-tâ (un'-tar), Ment. Stev. [Mal. éntah].

80. Not to want; not to wish: ti; tim (tee; tim), Belend. Stev.

81. Don't like; don't want: émboh, Bes. Songs.


83. No more: yul (yul), Sak. Kerb.; A 63; F 115.

84. There is not: kêsî (kussi), Mant. Bér.


86. Not yet (Mal. belum); I don't know (Mal. éntah): è-ù, Sen. Clif.

87. Not yet: chedah, e.g. "I have not eaten yet," chedah osh mâkan; "it is not yet cooked," chedah osh mâsik, Jak. Malac. Not yet (Mal. belum); more; still (Mal. lagi); já-ô, Sen. Clif.

88. Nowhere in particular: cha' tiba, Jac. Malac. [in answer to the question "where are you going?"]; W 82.

No: D 123; F 115; F 117; F 120-122.

No matter: F 121.

No more: A 63; F 115.

89. Nôd the head, to; pákèngkùg (pkngkg), Sem. Buk. Max. [? cf. Mal. anggok, "to nod"; or Bahmar ngul, "to nod the head affirmatively."] See also B 177 and S 221.

ling, "to shout"; cf. Central Nicobar
kang, "sound."

91. NOISE: (a) ruh, Bes. Sep. A. I. Cry; rū', Bes. Songs. To roar (as a
tiger): rū, e.g. ā'ā ru, "the tiger
Songs. To roar (of a tiger = Mal.
méngaum): ya-yūl, Pang. U. Aring,
(Mal. méngaum): o'ā'ēh (u'ā'ēh),
Sem. Buk. Max. [The o' or u' is the
3rd person singular pronoun.] To
snore: kangeru', Bes. A. I.; tērōk,
Kena. I. [Mon pāru [bāru], "noise,
"sound"; phāru, tāmrū [dāmrū],
"sound"; Khmer rō [rō], "to
roar"; cf. Mon krāh, trāh [drah],
"to roar"); Niohōn krōu; Lave
brâu, "to shout"; cf. Achein.
gēro-gēro, "to snore," "to snort.
"
(b) Noise (Mal. buni): eng-a-rok,
Sak. Blanj. Cliff. To say: ngrō,
Sak. Ra.; mar-ro, Sak. Plu's Cliff;
tēgō (teighō), Sak. Kerb.; eng-
a-rok; bé-eng-a-rok, Sak. Blanj.
Cliff. To speak: rō, Sak. Kor. Gh.; ngrō,
To talk: eng-a-rok, Sak. Blanj.
Cliff. [7 cf. C 10.]
(c) Noise: liok, e.g. liok budek hā,
"this boy is making a noise," Bes.
Buk. Max.; K 52; T 51; T 115;
V 15; V 21.

92. Noise of water boiling; noise of
thunder: găbōi, Batu. II.

Cliff.; D 106 [cf. S 359.]

94. NOON: D 33-35; D 39; D 42, 43;
H 140, 141; M 100.

95. NOOSE (Mal. jērat): ān tanjol (really
a Malay word usually applied to
a small noose at the end of a rod
and line), Bes. K. L. [Mal. tanjol].

96. NORTH: ben-lad (pr. ben-ladd) said
to = Mal. utara, "north," but doubt-
ful, Sem. Kedah; ben-lad or bang-
lad (pr. ben-ladd or bang-ladd)?
Sem. Plu's.

97. NORTH: kěnľa (kōnľa), Sōm. [cf.
H 82].

98. NORTH: tārā, e.g. buah 'tārā,
utara]; D 33.

99. NOSE: mōk? (molih), Or. Beramb.;
New.; (mulek), Sem. Jur. And.,
Rob.; (neak; muk), Sem. Ked. Mar.;
mūh (mūh), Seriting; (mūh), Bes.
Her; mūh, Buk. U. Lang., Bes. Sep.
A. I.; mū (mō), bed. Chiong; mūh,
Bera., U. Chier.; (mouh), Sōm.; (mouh),
Sak. Sel. Da.; mū, Bes. Malac.;
(mū), Sem. Per.; mū; nū, Sem. K.
Kan.; mū, U. Ind.; (mou), Sak.
Kerb.; mōh (methi), Sak. Br. Low;
(mer), Sak. Croix; mōh (mūh), Sem.
Buk. Max.; mōh, Sem. U. Sel.,
Sem. Cliff., Sak. Blanj. Sw.; emoh,
Tan. U. Lang.; mēo, Sak. Martin;
mō? (mō 'nasai'), Sem. Martin; mō,
U. Kel.; mōn, Sak. Kor. Gh.; mā-u
(mā-u), Pang. Jalar; mā, Sak. U.
Kam.; māh (pr. māh), Sem. Kadah,
(moru), Lēbīr; māh, Sem. Beg.,
Max.; mā (mar), Sem. Sōe; māh (māh),
Sak. Ro.; (moung), Ben. New.;
mā (mā), Sak. U. Bert.; mōkā,
Tembi; mōh, Seru, Darat; mōh [or māh],
Jelas; P 178. Noise ornament: mōa,
Sak. Kor. Gh. Eyebrow: mūh,
Kena. II. Face: māh, Darat; E 83.
Snout (of animals): māh (māh), Sem.
Pa. Max. Trunk of elephant: mū,
Bes. Sep. Point (Mal. uong); māh,
tāk, Sak. U. Kam.; H 15. Nostrils
(Mal. lebang hidong): 'mnop (or
'empong) māh, Sem. Plu's; H 108;
hendeng māh, Sem. Kedah; hēndu-
eng māh (hīnduing māh), Sem.
Pa. Max.; senīdiing 'num (sening 'n-
mū), Sem. K. Kēn.; H 107; hōmoh,
Sem. Nostril: hayang moh (hājan-
mō), U. Kel. Noise-ornament (usuallýt a porcu-
pine quill): hayang mō (hājano),
Sem. (?). Mikluke-Maely, 2 Straits
Journ. 214. [This seems wrong, cf.
M 119. ] Nostril: anman mō?
(ammanmō), U. Ind.; rug-mū,
Sem. Malac. Part between the no-
strils: chēng-mū, Bes. Malac. Car-
tilage or bone of the nose: kīng
māh (kiung māh), Sem. Pa. Max.;
kīng mū (kiung mū), Sem. Buk.
Max. Tip of the nose: kūmū
(kūmūn 'mū), Sem. K. Kēn.;
huēng māh (hūing māh), Sem.
Pa. Max.; ujong annmō (ujing annmū),
Sem. Buk. Max. Cold in the
head; mucous discharge from the
nose: hāmoh (hāmōh), Sem. Buk.
Max.; hēmāh (simhī), Sem. Pa.
Max. Mucous discharge from the
nose: hēmāh (hemh), Sem. Pa.
comparative vocabulary of

Max., Sem. Bak. Max. [Mon muh, "nose," "end of a cape or promontory"; Bahauer muh, "nose," "point"; Boloven, Nâkôp, Alak, Lave müh; Kasengmüh; Sue, Sieng, Halang müh; Târang müh; Sedang müh; Phuong, Khun Mü; Annam müh; Lemet müh (mous); Cvoi, Prou müh (mus); and the compound forms Sieng tromh; Khmer chremôh [chrânum'ù]. The connection of the following has been doubted, but seems probable:—Central and Southern Nicobar müh; Shom Ph mahû; Teresa Châréra müh; Car Nicobar el-müh. Cf. Khasi ka khumut; Santali mú; Kurku mú—all meaning "nose"; cf. Mon khâmô [khámhow], "nasal mucus."]


Nose ornament: N 98.

Nostrii: H 107; N 98; N 102.

Not: A 4; D 123; F 117; F 120, 121; G 68; N 66-68. Do not: N 72-76; N 85. Not to know: K 64. Not yet: F 115; F 129, 121; N 85-87; T 86. There is not: N 66; N 84.


Notch, to: C 299.

Notched: I 40.


Nothing: F 120.


111. Now: käl, Sak. Kerb. [cf. Khmer kal [kál]; Sieng kal, "time"; but this is an Indian loan-word; cf. Mal. kala.; cf. M 178.]

112. Now: tadin, Kena. II. [Mal. tadi].

113. Now: sakârang (sakâkhang), Darok; sakârang īka' (sakârang īkâk), Galâng; T 93 [Mal. sakârang]; A 47; N 49; N 51; Q 5; T 86.


Nowhere: N 88.

115. Numerical coefficient: dênu', e.g. "three houses," ni'dênu' dük, Sak. U. Bert. [cf. Centr. Nicobar danai (danôi), num. coeff. of "ships," etc.]. F 283; H 153; M 23; M 68; O 27; O 29; P 193; T 3; T 5; T 99.

Numerals: see One. Two, etc.

Numerous: M 40-46.

Nurse. to (in the lap): T 60.

Nut: B 102.


O


2. Oak (spec. Mal. bêrang babi), Quercus velutina [cor: bi-ang], Sem. Bak. Max. (so for other species Sem. Bak. Max. has b. padi', b. lotong, which have corresponding Malay names) [Mal. bêrangan].

Oar: P 4-8; S 399.

Oath: G 20.

Obey. to: F 211.


Observe. to: S 72; S 83-85.

Obstacle: O 4, 5.

Obstinate: P 64.

Obtain. to: C 48.

Occiput: H 2.

4. Occupied (Mal. aral [šic]): ngonala [?] (nonala), Sôm.

5. Occupied: aral, Sak. Ra., Sak.
On to: A 8.
On top: A 7; A 7; E 19; F 29; N 25; O 26.
Onak: T 94.
Once (formerly): N 51.


29. One: hnoi, Bes. Malac.; mōi (mōi), Bes. Her.; mōi, Ken. I., Serling; mōi, Pal., U. Ind.; mōi, Sak. Sel. Da.; moe, U. Tem.; mui, Bes. Sep. A. I., e.g. mui 'kur mah, "a single man," Bes. Sep.; (mōi), Ben. Nēw.; (mōe), Bers. Stev.; mū-e, U. Cher.; mūe, Buk. U. Lang.; H 167; S 346. [Mon mūa [mwa'i]; Khmer mūi [mī]; mo [mā]; Stieng mūi; Bahnar mōn (mōn); mīng, Phnong mūi; Alak mōi; Boloven, Nākkōn mūi; So, Nānkhang mūi; Ch'rū mūy; Mī mue; Ka, Chong moe; Samrē moe; mooi; Halang mōi; T'ARENG, KASENG, KON TU, Sü, Sedang, For, XONG mōi; LAVE, COUI, PRAB, KHMUS, HUEI, Hin mūi; Lemet mūi? (mus), mo? (mos)? "one."]

30. One: (a) sēmlār, Sak. Jér.
(b) One: sa'ang, Sem. Ij.; sang, Sem. Scott [doubtful].

(d) One: sato' (sotok), Galang; satu, Ben. New., Mantr. Malac., Ják. Malac. [other numerals as in Malay also], Leibir, Kerbat. To assemble: bōsatā (bōsotk), Sak. Re.; cētā (techāou), Söm. [Mal. sa; satu].

One (indefinite sense): T 51.


35. Only (Mal. sēhā) : ken (apparently short for nengken), Sem. Plus.
Single; solitary (Mal. sa'orang): nai ngēn-ken = "only one," cp. dūwā ken, "only two," and tigā ken, "only three," etc., Sem. Plus.


37. Only: néya (nō-yē), Söm. [Mal. hnya].

38. Only: sājā (sādāj), Sak. Ra. [Mal. sahajā]. [Cf. I 33 for another meaning of the Malay word, or a homonym.]

39. Only; unintentionally: habat; abat, e.g. chakap (xiakap) abat, "he only says so," Mant. Bor.; R 63.


41. Open, to: (a) ya' pāg (pr. ya' pāgg), Sem. Plus; nēk pok (nōk-pok), Söm. [Khmer bōk (pōk)], Stieng, Alak, Boloven, Kaseng, Lave, Nia'hōn pōk; Sud bō; Churu pō;
Cham pöh; jarai pih; Mon pâk [pâk], "to open."

(6) To open: bûka' (bûkak), Tembi, Serau. To unite: bûkak (boukiai), Maut. Bor. [Mal. bûka].

42. OPEN, to: pâng' (?), Bes. Sep.; p'rang (?), Bes. K. L.


45. OPEN, to: raiat; raiap; mëraiap (mêraiap), Pant. Kap. Joh.

46. OPEN, to: so, Sak. Ro. To open (intransitive): E 79, 80.

47. OPEN, to, or swell (of a blossom): chërabong, Bes. K. Lang.

Opening: H 107.

Oppose, to: A 17.

Oppress, to: P 210.

Orang utan: M 73; M 140.

Orange (colour): B 249; R 51; R 53.


50. ORCHID: têekng, Bes. Sep.

51. ORCHID, spec. Arundina densa: pëhanyar (p'haniyar), Jak. Lem.


55. ORDER, to: padoys, Bes. A. I.; (Mal. pësankan or sampaikan): dûis (dûis) or dûîh (dûiû), padoys or padoys, e.g. Batin padoys hâ-ûn, "the Batin ordered me," Bes. K. L.; To command: padoys, e.g. Batin padoys hâ-ûn, "the Batin ordered me," Bes. A. I.

55A. ORDER, 1; I command: en suroh, Jelai [Mal. suroh].


Order, to: C 10; O 52-55; S 101.


60. Other: nana-mer, Sak. Kerb. [Probably distinct from O 28, which belongs to a different group of dialects.] [? Cf. Mol. tânâh (tânâh); Bahrnar anai, nai, "other."]

61. Other: lain, Serau, Sak. Ra. [Mal. lain]; A 93; A 121.


64. OTTER: bâbô' (bum'), Sem. Pa. Max.: ké-bôka', Sem. Cliff. [? Cf. Mon. phe' (phea); Khmer phé [phe]; Cham bêhé, bhai; Bahrnar phô (phây), "otter."]

65. OTTER, a kind of: jerong, Bes. K. L.; B 103; D 137; D 143; M 136.

Our: W 52.

66. OUT: outside: koh, Bes. A. I. To go out: koh; kuh, Bes. Sep. To exude: koh, e.g. koh gêtâ, "to exude sap," Bes. A. I.


69. Without (Mal. lukar): mos, Sem. Craw. Hist., Sem. Klapr. [Klaproth gives "sans" as the meaning, having apparently misunderstood Crawford, who gives "lukar" as the Malay equivalent of his "without,"}


4. **Packet**; *B.* 459, 460.


8. **Oar**; pêngowet (pingowet), *Pant.*

9. **Oar**; pêngowet (*pingowet*). *Pant.*


PADDLE: *S.* 399.

Paddle, to: *P.* 5, 6.


PADDY-bird: *pâdi-bird; F.* 257.


Sultan of Pahang: *P.* 33.


FAIL: *S.* 149.

Pain: *S.* 185-187.


Painful: *S.* 187.


PAIR: *O.* 28.


Palisade: *F.* 79.

19. **Palm** (*of hand*): këng (*k'ng*), *Sem. Stev.*


Palm (of hand): N 3.


Palm-cabbage: chêmbek (chmbik), Sem. Buk. Max.; chengkeh (?), Bes. A. I. [See B 183.]

Palm, young (edible): rumûk, Sak. Tap. [No doubt palm-cabbage is meant]; [= cf. Mal. umbut].

Palm-cloth: S 149, 150.

Palm-sheath: S 149, 150.


Pandanus (spec. Mal. rasoh ayer), Pandanus rassau (?): rasu bâteoh (rsu bühüh), Sem. Buk. Max.; W 30 [Mal. rasau; rasoh].

Pangolin: A 113-115.

Panther: T 120-133.

Papaya (fruit), Carica papaya: betêk, Mantr. Malac.; pêtik; ple’ pêtik (plek pêtik), Tembi; (plek petik), Serau; ple’ pêtikn (plek petikn), Jelai; (plek petikn), Darat; F 282 [Mal. bêtêk].


Paralysis: D 124.

Parang (chopper): C 122-126; C 152.

Parang-parang (fish): S 140.

Parasite: L 32; P 129.

Parcel: P 1-3.


Parents: M 189.


Part; piece; portion: chapê; chapâ (tchape; tchápê), Sak. Kerb.; chapê; chîpâ (chîpê; tchîpê), Sak. Ra. [= P 36].

Part; piece; portion: kêpik (kôpik), Sôm. [Mal. kêping]; cf. F 180.

Partly: S 198.

Partridge, Malay, Rhizothera: gun-teng; chim gunting, Bes. K. L. [Mal. sau-lanting or burong sorong lanting].

Pass, to: broyt, Bes. Sep. A. I. To pass (trans. and intrans.): brâyt; broyt, Bes. Songs.


Past: B 165; F 115; F 123; N 50, 51; P 39.

Path: C 216; G 41, 42; G 49; S 280.

Path, mark indicating the [apparently something serving as a sign-
41. **Patience**: rusing (rousín), Sóm.; S 222.

42. **Pattern**; picture: achu, Sak. U. Kam. [Mal. achi]. [= T 243B.]

43. **Pay, to**: méneyar (mónéyar). Sóm.; bayár; Sak. Ra.; bayár, Sak. Kerb. [Mal. bayar].

44. **Payong**, daun (palm spec.), Teysmannia altifrons: sagáluk, Ment. Her. 11.

44A. **Peace** be unto you! hail! (a prefix to prayers addressed to spirits = Mal. salamat): sëmbat? (sembat), Sak. Hale. [Probably = Mal. sëmbah; O 6.]

45. **Peacock**; jahôt? (jahote), Sem. New.


**Peak**; H 48; H 84; H 95-97; H 99, 100.

47. **Peek**, to: C 295, 296.


49. **Peel, to**: C 142.


51. **Peeling-knife**: K 47.

52. **Peer forward, to (?)**: yob-yob, ex. ó' yob-yob krâ (explained as = jengó', "to peer forward"); "he, the kéra monkey, peers forward.", Sem. Kedah.

53. **Pelican** (spec. Mal. burong undan), Peliécinus onocrotalus or Malacocisí: pipau (pipôk or pipân), Sem. Pa. Max.

54. **Penetrate, to** (i.e. to stick into = Mal. lêkât); ya'-mpeg, Pang. U. Aring; ya-hempeg, Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal. [Perhaps = C 47.]

55. **Penetrate, to**: rentang, Bes. Songs.; C 296.


Kuhn also compares Khâsi tiöh, 'lohi; Sântalí làh; Ho lôj; Munda lâe, "penis." It may be doubted whether these are in any way related to the somewhat similar words meaning "male," "man." The connection of Khmer kedâ (pr. kêda?) [ktaå], "penis," seems doubtful.

57. **Penis**: butoh (buth), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. butoh]; E 36; M 219; U 27.

58. **People** (?); men (?): lumâm (lou-mâm); lumom (loumom), Sak. Ra. (? cf. W 77 (c)); M 23.


60. **Pêrah**, buah (fruit spec.): suying, Sem. Buk. Max.

61. **Pêrah**, buah; piah (pih), Sem. Pa. Max.; pra', Sak. U. Bert. A food made from the seeds of the pêrah tree: serûm prah, Sak. Hale ("serûm" is explained as anything squeezed into a joint of bamboo) [Mal. pêrah].

62. **Perch**. to: A 55, 56; C 52.


64. **Perfume**; G 71; V 12.

65. **Perfume**; S 295.

66. **Perfume** may be: kênid jî, Sak. U. Kam.


68. **Perfume**; jalâ (djalâ), Sém. K. Ken.; W 78.

69. **Peril**; D 50; F 48.


71. **Permission**; G 42.


73. **Perspiration**; S 533-537; W 30.

74. **Perspire. to (?)**: kâluech (klûih), Sem. Buk. Max. [Doublful and probably wrong, being no doubt merely the first word of Mal. kâlar pehôl; cf. O 67.]

75. **Perverse, to be**: pehêau (?), Bes. A. I.

76. **Pestle** (Mal. antan) rentik, Tembi.

77. **Pestle**; kênôb; kênî? (kenukh), Serau.
Pétaí (fruit-tree) : B 45.

65. Pétaling (tree), Ochamostachys menyoe-


Phleqmg : M 213.

Pick, to : C 50 ; P 68 ; P 148-150.


68. Pick up, to : hi chôd, Sak. U. Kam.; (Mal. pungut) : chôd, Tembi ; lechêdu, Serau. To pick (Mal. pêtik) : toâêt, e.g. toâêt bungâ', "to pick flowers", Bes. K. L. To pluck : tooty, Bes. Sep. A. I. To pluck out (Mal. chabut) : ya-tús (pr. tôss), Pang. U. Aring. [Cf. Bahnang duet, "to pluck out."]

69. Pick up, to : lebes ; sebes, Mant. Bor. [The last appears to be a misprint, as the first occurs in the revised copy. I doubt the connection of this word with S 63.] B 396-400 ; C 50 ; P 149.

Picture : P 42.

70. Piece : to' (tu'?), Sem. Buk. Max. ; E 83 ; P 35 ; 36 ; S 280.

71. Pierre, to : lun, Sem. Pa. Max. ; C 396 ; E 64 ; T 103, 104.


77. Pig : bis, U. Pat. [P 88].

78. Pig : lû, Sak. U. Kam. ; ëu (iou), Sak. Ra. Many pigs eat the sugar-cane (here) : kôm bê löy [?] becha (bechak) boi, Krau Em. [P = P 83]. [Sûë li, "pig" ; li, "wild boar" ; Tareng altû ; Sue li, ali ; Se allik (alice) ; Nampang ali ; Cûô lik (lic), "pig" ; Palaung le (lê) ; Mon klik, "hog".]

79. Pig : iu (iou), Sak. Ra. [Probably a misprint for P 78.]


83. Pig : ja-lo', Bera ; jûlu, Sèrîng. Wild pig : jalu, Mantr. Malac, Mya. [P = P 78 or P 90].

84. Pig : sêrôî, Kena. I.

risim, *Mantr. Malac. Nya.* [the term must not be used when hunting them].
Wild hog: *résam (russam), Ben. New.* [cf. *Tareng ruisol,* "wild boar."]


87. **Pig:** wild: *dál, Sak. Kor. Gê.* [cf. *P 82*.
88. **Pig:** wild: *mès, Bland. K. Lang.* [cf. *P 77.*]
89. **Pig:** wild: *tekil, Mantr. Malac. Cha.*


91. **Pig:** cry of wild: *dret-dret-dret*, *Bes. Songs.*


96. **Pigeon**, spec. (?): *chim jànggöng, Bes. Sep.*; *B 216.

97. **Pigeon**, spec. (?): *chim jànghsi; chim jangsi, Bes. Sep.*; *B 216.

98. **Pigeon**, spec. (?): *me-el, Sem. Stev.* [Supposed, acc. to V.-Stevens, by the *Sêmans to be the companion of a mythical female divinity called "Simej," sister of "Plé."] *B 216; D 153.*

**Pillar:** *P 191-195.


(b) **Pillow:** *kê-nêl-chol (pr. *kênelcholl), Sem. Plus; kênelchol, Sem. Kadak.* [cf. *Bonhr kôñol,* "pillow" (apparently from kol, "head." There is another word kôñol, from akôn, "to lean upon"); cf. *P 101* and *H 46.*]

(c) **Pillow:** *chêng-kol, Tem. Cl.*


**Pinech:** *P 108.

104. **Pinch, to** (*Mal. chubit*): *ya-ton; ex. toin beli "wet=Mal. chubit paha kiri* (*proverb), itt. "to pinch the left leg," *i.e. it affects the right one also, Pang. Galus.*

106. Pinch, to: chépén (tchöpén), Söm.; pit, Sak. Ra. To pinch; to squeeze: mâchépit (mchápit), Sem. Buk. Max. Prawn; betel-nut cutter: pénýpet (p'nyipt), Pant. Kap. Joh. Scorpion: pénipet (p'nyipt), Pant. Kap, Mad. [Mal. sêpit; but cf. also Bahnor chöpet, pèt, "to pinch (with the fingers)"; Sièng pèt, apięt, "to get the fingers pinched"; Khmer tebiêt [ipiet], "to hold (by pinching)"; chhpit [ehhbit], "holding with the tips of the fingers (?)"] and see P 209 B.; ? cf. also P 105.

107. Pinch, to: pinyät? (pignët), Sak. Kerh.; kechít, Mantr. Malac. [Cf. Bahnor hit (nêt), niet, "to squeeze with the fingers"; Mal. pinghit, "to pinch."]


112. Pipe for water, etc.: tênglór (tenglö), Sak. U. Kam.
Pipe, to: W 97.
Pipeclay: E 12.


Pit: D 66.
Pit of stomach: S 460.
Pitch: R 80.

Pith: M 58; S 234.

117. Pitted with holes: B 175.


(b) Tracks; footprints: dël, Sen. Cliff.; dìl juk, Sak. Blanj. Cliff.; F 220. [Sièng til; Bohナー del; Annam tich, "tracks," "mark."]
(e) Spoor or track (Mal. bëkas): têrôh (ô mèr-tôôh), e.g. têrôh nyah, "tiger's track," têrôh kàshà, "deer track," Pong. U. Aring.

120. Place: temped (pr. temped), Sem. Plus; tampât, Sak. Ra. [Mal. tempat].

121. Plain (land); surface: tebal, Sem. Stev. [? Cf. E 12; and Khmer veal [wâl], "meat", "skin."]

122. Plain (land); plant: pléma (plôma), Söm. (? Mal. lemâh).

123. Plain (land); padeng (pading), Sem. Buk. Max.; padang, Ben. New. [Mal. padâng]; E 12; E 17; G 66; H 14; L 62; S 57.

124. Plant, to: emberfereh (emberfereh), Sak. Ra.

125. Plant, to: emberfereh (emberfereh), Sak. Ra.

126. Plant, to: emberfereh (emberfereh), Sak. Ra.


128. Plant spec.: a fragrant stemmed plant with an aroid-like dark mauve-coloured leaf, whose stem is shredded up with the thumb-nail, to within a few inches of the base of the stem, and worn in the girdle to avert "sakit bêlakang" (back-ache), rêtut, Sem. Plus.

130. Plant used for dyeing yellow: deom, Sem. Stev.
131. PLANT used for mat-making: sahlāk (sahlēk), Sak. Ra.
132. Plant, to: tāp[n], Tembi; pētōm, Bes. K. Lang.; métōng; pētōng; métōpm, Bes. Sep. A. I.; métōng, Bes. Malāc. To plant or bury (Mal. tanam): ya-tam, Sem. Plus. 'To sow (Mal. tabor): ya' tūb (pr. tūbb), ex. ya' tūb bāb, 'to sow rice,' Sem. Jarum; ya' tūb or ya' tūp (pr. tūbb or tūpp), ex. ya' tūp bā', 'to sow rice,' Sem. Plus. Plant [plantation?] (Mal. tanaman): nomtap, Sōm. [Bot. tōp; Mon tā [tuw]; Niahōn ndām; Lave dām; Alak ntām; Khmer dām [tām]; Bāhnar pōtām, "to plant"; Sīteng tam, "to plant," "to sow"; Bāhnar tōp (tāp), "to thrust into the earth," "to make holes for seed" (cf. Alak tāp; Bāhnar tōm (tām), "to Pierce"); cf. Mon tāp [tuip]; Sīteng tāp; Chrá tōp; Tārenk kētāp; Kāsing tūp, "to bury." There are apparently two allied roots, with somewhat similar meanings: tōp and tōm.]
134. PLANT, to: chengārā (tchengeārē), Sak. Ra. [cf. C 296]; D 66; D 108; D 134. Plantain: B 41-49; F 284; H 126; U 20.
135. PLANTATION: gōkul (gōkūl), Or. Hu. Joh. I.; C 153; C 155; F 94; P 132.
136A. PLATE: piring [Mal. piring].
137. PLATES, leaves used as, by the wild tribes in Kelantan: ternok, Pang. U. Aring.
139. PLAY, to: knīn-ka, Sōm.
140. PLAY, to: chachi (techatchi), Sak. Kerb.
142. PLAY, to; to disport oneself: dē, ex. ə' dē, ə' dē, ə' sayong sāgēnē b jelmol, "he disports himself, he soars (?) on every mountain," Sem. Plus [Mal. sindir; but this seems improbable].
144. PLEASANT: sērōt, Jak. Mad. [cf. G 74]; G 65; G 67; R 125; S 539.
146. Pleasure: G 29; G 65; J 12; W 107b. Pleiarides: S 436.
148. PLUMP - PLUMP (onomatop. of falling): jībang-jībuk, Bes. Songs.
149. Plough, to: merimpa', Bes. Songs.
150. PLUCK, TO; to pick: mūnos or mēnos, Sak. Kor. Gb. To pick up (Mal. pungat): imois [and imrois (sic)], Tembi; P 67-69.
152. PLUG in a flute: senumi (sennoomee), Sem. Stev.
153. Plump: F 34; F 36, 37.
157. Point: dot; angke' (angki'), Sem. Buk. Max.; E 63; E 65; E 83; N 98; P 212. Point of arrow or sword: B 295-301; B 354.
158. Point of shoulder: S 169; S 171.
159. Point, to (Mal. tunjōk): (a) sālāh, Bes. A. I.; sālā or sōlō, Bes. K. L. (b) To show; to teach: tūlā? (toulē); tonlī? (tonlē), Sōm. To teach: tēlī, Sem. K. Ken. To guide: tonlē (ton-lē), Sōm.


158. Pointed: tujah-tujah, Bes. Songs; C 296.


160. Poison (Mal. rachun): kênêlep (kônlêp), Sôm.


162. Poison, blowpipe arrow:- pênlash? (punlash), Tum. Stev.

163. Poison, arrow: (a) chêngrä' (chngrá'), Sak. U. Kam.; chîngrä? (tišîrè), Sak. Ra.; B 232; B 291; (spec. Mal. ipuh akar); chîngrä chiong chiong? (tišîrè tsiong tsiong), Sak. Morg. [prob. Sak. Ra.]; R 37; (Mal. ipuh kayu): chîngrä? jehu (tišîrè djehou), Sak. Morg. (Ra.?); T 211. Poisonous: mangechêngrä' (mangchngrä') Sak. U. Kam. [Cf. Boloven prei; Niahôn prei; Alôk pâtêi; Halang pôjrei, "arrow-poison."]


164. Poison, arrow: (a) chish, Bers. Stev.; chish, Ment. Her. II.; chish, Bes. Malac. Ingredient of arrow-poison (Mal. ipoh): ches, Bes. K. Lang. Upas: chês; chêh, Bes. Sep. A. I. Ipoh (poison-tree): ches; cheh, Bes. A. I. To dip the arrow in the ipoh juice: châh (chêh), Steving. [Chrâu juch; shueh; Kômer chhîvês [chhwees; chhwi], chhvêch [chhweh], "arrow-poison."]


169. Poison plant, arrow- (Mal. "lekhyer"); also (apparently) the professional poison-maker amongst the Pangans: kînel (kinell), Pang. Stev.


174. Poison, ingredient of arrow- malai, Bes. K. Lang.; P 164. Aralidiurn pinnaatifidum or Thevetia meriifolia? etc. [see vol. i. p. 600]; malai; ches malai or balai, Bes. A. I.; P 164. Arrow-poison: ipoh malai? (ipoh mallay), Newbold, i. 399. Perhaps also cf. the ingredients of the Pangan arrow-poison, "blay" bêsâr, b. kêchîl, b. hitam, of which the Pangan names are said to be "taloon" P 173. "kannet" P 163, and "greear" P 173A respectively, Pang. Stev. For other names of ingredients of arrow-poison, see vol. i. p. 598 seq.; T 245.

To pound or batter: bentöm, Bes. K. L. To strike (Mal. pukol): ya-töm, Pang. U. Aring. [Mal. hantam; hentam; but cf. also Bahnar tém, 'to hammer.' ]


205. Pour, to: têle, e.g., têle' dôô, 'to pour water,' Bes. A. I. [? = T. 106].


To pour: F 11; F 13.
To pour out: B 81.

Power: A 187.


Pray, to: A 165.

Precede, to: A 6; B 145.

Precipice: L 150; S 445.

Precipitous: D 64; S 445.


Pregnant: B 160; E 27; F 282.

Present, at: N 106.

Present, to: G 29-38.

Presently: I 10; M 122.


To oppress: kenan, Bes. Songs. To strangle: têkôöm, Bes. Sep. A. I. [Mal. têkan, "to press."]

Pretty: G 63; G 65, 66; G 71, 72; H 63.


211. Price: hêgâ (hêgâ), Sak. Ra. [Mal. harga; hêgâ]; D 60, 61.

212. Prick: sharp point (Ger. Stachel); tang, Sem. Stev.; B 121.

Prick, to: C 296.


216. Probably: branîkali (branîkali), Sôm., Sak. Ra. [Mal. barangkali].

Proceed, to: B 145.

Procure, to: A 53.

Procure, to: C 20; C 48; F 103.

Profit: G 2.

217. Promise, to: janjî, Sak. U. Kam. 
To agree; to make an agreement: janjî (janjîk); bêrjanjî (berjanjîk), Serau. I agree: en bêrjanyit, jelai [Mal. janjî].

Prone: L 69-72.

Proof: C 147, 148.

218. Prop; to support: suyô'? or suyong? (sûîî), Sem. Buk. Max. 
Prop; support: mêsiong (mûng), Sem. Buk. Max.; S 452, 453.

Proper: E 73; S 482.

Prostrate; L 66.

Protect, to: A 57.

Protruding: G 58.


Pruritus: I 45-53.

Psoriasis: I 46-53.

Pubes: H 2.


COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF

PULL, to: nènke (nönké), Sôm. To pull; to drag; to pull out; to pluck out; to snatch: mäking (ming), Sem. Buk. Max. To pull; to drag; ting, Sem. Pa. Max. To pull out; to pluck out; to snatch: tek (tik), Sem. Pa. Max. [? = P 231]. There are several distinct roots here: cf. Mon tàng [tàng], "to pull."

PULL, TO: jàk, Sak. U. Kam.; (djèk), Sak. Ra.; jeng, Tembi. To pull out: kajuk; juk, Bes. A. I.; e.g. "to draw a knife from its sheath." jok, Bes. Songs. To draw: jàk (djèk), Sak. Ra. [The Fr. is "attirer," = to draw to oneself, but the Mal. equivalent is "pakèm," which was probably added subsequently, by mistake, perhaps by confusion with Eng. "attire"; cf. C 50; E 76.] [cf. Chrâu jät, "to pull."]

PULL, TO: aHIR (èHIR), Sak. Kerb. [cf. S 492].

PULL, TO: helai, Mantr. Malac. To pull; to draw; to hilai, Manl. Bor.; (kilag), Mantr. Cast. [perhaps a misprint for "hilay"]. [Mal. leda.]

PULL, TO: tarik³, Serau [or Tombi²]; karet, Serau [Mal. terek³].


PULL OUT, TO: hitak, Sak. U. Kam.; e.g. "to draw a knife from its sheath," bentak, Bes. Songs. To extract or pull up (Mal. chabut): ya’ chin-tag (pr. chin-tagg or chin-tagg), Sem. Plus; ya’ sin-tag (pr. sin-tagg or sin-tagg), Sem. Jarum [Mal. sëntak].

Pulse: A 150, 151; V 8.

Pummoi: L 103.

Pumpkin, gourd (Fr. citrouille): (Mal. labu) = simu (siinou), Sak. Ra.


Punggai (tree), Calostegia Griffithii: bengâng, Bes. A. I.; bengâng, Bes. Songs.

Pupil (of eye): E 83, 84.

Puppy: D 143; D 146.

Purple (Mal. ungu): berâgi, Tembi, Serau; W 98.

Purr, TO: S 328.

Pursue, TO: B 257; F 210.


Push, TO: nyinohak? (ni-no-hak), Sôm.; nowok (nowok), Sak. Kerb.

Push, TO: chëp (chëp), Sak. Ra. To push aside; toward off: machah (machi), Sem. Buk. Max. [cf. C 296].


242A. Push, to (Mal. sorong): suruk*, Tembi, Serau; sôruk*; Serau [Mal. sorong].


244. Scab (or incrustation) of wound, probably (Mal. kërupering): kulit? or kumit or kungit [the reading is doubtful], Sem. Buk, Max.


250. Put on, to: pêtlk, Sering.


254. Puteh (proper name): W 104.

255. Putrefy, to: S 292; S 457, 458.


Python: S 310; S 320-323.

Q

1. Quarrel: bèklei (beuklei), Sak. Kerb.; (beuklei), Sak. Ra. To contend with; to fight: gnâhei; gnâhi, Bes. Sep. A. I., e.g. g. hang-kikê, "fight with him." To quarrel: ngahi, Bes. Sep.; bêrklahei (berklahei), Serau [Mal. kalahi].

2. Quarrel: lënalik (Roanalik), Söm. Quarrel, to: A 17; Q 1.

3. Quarter, to: bentê, Bes. Songs [Mal. bantai]; C 299.

Quartz: S 465.

3A. Quartz or crystal: langseng, Sering, Bedu. II.

4. Question, to: hérãh; sërah, Bes. A. I.; A 162-169.


7. Quick: rapid: (a) cheldik (icheldik). Quick: swift: chërdâ (ichôrdî), Sak.
Kerb.; chindik (tchindik), Sak. Ra. [but cf. H 31]. [? Cf. Swé dich; Bahmar deh, "quick."]

(b) Quickly: chédas, Pang. U. Aring.


9. Quick; swift: bégas, Bes. Sep. A. I.

10. Quick; swift (Fr. actif): chépat (tehópat) Sak. Ra. [Mal. chépat, "quick"].

11. Quick; swift: chip dras (tchip-dras), Söm.; G 42; dras, Ment. Stev.

Quick; swiftly: Pr. Vivement; dèras (déras), Söm. [Mal. deras].

12. Quick; quickly: kráh, e.g. kráh-kráh, Pang. Belimb.; Quickly: rapidly: fast: krás or le-krás or bukrás (pr. krás), e.g. chèp ba-kráis or le-krás = Mal. jalan lékas, "go quickly," Sem. Plus. [? = Mal. kéras, "hard," H 33, or = Q 14.]


Quickness: jônghong (junchung), Sem. Pa. Max.; B 470; R 201.

Quid: C 90.


Quiet: C 17; S 202; S 204; S 222, 223.

Quill (of porcupine): T 94. 95.

Quite: C 152; G 168.

17. Quiver (Mal. tempat damak): gâh, Sem. Kedah; gâh (in full, gâh tenlad; B 354), Sem. Plus; gâ (gor), Sem. Stev.; go; (gho), Sôm. Bamboo tubes [used for several magical purposes]: ga (gar); gu, Sem. Stev. [? Cf. Andamanese Beada gôb-da; gôp-da; Bâle gôp, "bamboo water-vessel."]


Quiver: lög (lög; log'n ?), Sem. K. Ken. Arrow-case [= quiver?]; luk, Ment. Her. II.; telâk, Ment. Her. I. [Khem. klak or kelak [klàk], "small tubular box"; Stieng kalâp, "case" (Fr. étui); ? cf. Mon palang, "bottle."]


23. Quiver (or case), (applied both to a small bamboo tobacco receptacle and to the dart-quiver): géumbung, Pang. Belimb.


25. Quiver; cap of blowpipe:- lekaypar, Tum. Stev.

26. Arrow cases in blowpipe quiver: sê punâi (söpopuënë; sôpouënë), Sak. Kerb.


R

Race: W 62.

1. Radish, Chinese, Raphanus caudatus:


4. RAge: A 80.


6. Rain: lésem (pr. le-se'mn), Sem. Jarum; lésem (pr. le-se'm), Sem. Plus; lésám, Sorting; lésom, Bedu. II. Fine rain; drizzle: anchém, Bes. Sep. Rainy season: làsáp; làsáp, Sak. Kur. Gb. [I'heciana rasâm; Ida'an, Dusam, Dali Dusam rasam; Dusam of Kimeras yesam; Biraya lasám, rasam; Kadayan àsâm; Tidong àsâm, "rain").

7. Rain: (a) mi, e.g. "rain and sunshine at the same time," mi jalaung (mi-djalag'n), Sem. K. Ken.; mi, Sörn.; mi, Sem. Per.; mi, Kran Két. [Bahuar, Stieng mi; Central, Teressa, Chouwa Nicolot amth, "rain", "to rain"; Phnom mi? (mis); Chhau mi; Sedangme, "rain", Alák, Kaseung mi; Lave mi "to rain"; perhaps = R 8.]


8. Rain: gémá, Bes. Malac.; gémáh; gémár, Bes. Sep. A. I.; gémá (gemah), Buk. U. Lang., Bes. Bell.; (gémáh), Sak. Sel. Da.; (gumar), Bes. New.; gémá (gémáh), Bes. Her.; kemeh, Pont. Kap. Her.; kemëh, Pont. Kap. Log.; rumëh, Pont. Kap. Sim. Drizzle: gémár banchi, Bes. Sep. A. I.; R 13? [Chong koma; Xong kama; Car Nicolor körmëh; Samé kameaka (kameaca-a); Por kameaka (kameaca); Cwoi, Sue na; Ka nea; Prow mo; Annam mëa; Bohoven, Halang mëa; Chevu mì; Kuy Dee mar, "rain"); Boloven mëa; Niakh mëa; Halang mìa, "to rain"; ? = R 7.]

9. Rain: water: par, Kena. I. [Long Kiput; Lelak prar; Narom perar; Dalì, Lemëng perar, "rain"]; Achin. prél, "drizzling rain."]


11. Rain: rëbeh, Kena II.; R 12. [Minang, Mal. râbîh; Mal. rëbas, "drizzle."]


15. Rain, drizzling: rînyei, Bes. Songs; R 12 [Mal. rénnuyal].


Rainstorm: R 12.

19. Raise, to; unjet, Bes. A. I.; D 66; H 83. To raise oneself: S 429.

20. Rambai (fruit, tree), Baccaraea motleyana (?): pâloh (pahut), Sem. Pa.
COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF

Max.; pěli, Sem., Buk., Max.; (spec. Mal. r. anying?); pāloh tēur (pau thur), Sem., Pa., Max.; pěli tēur (pīli thur), Sem., Buk., Max.; ? E 37; (spec. Mal. r. tēlor); pāloh māko’ (pauh mku), Sem., Pa., Max.; pēli māko’ (pīli mku’), Sem., Buk., Max.; E 34; (spec. Mal. r. wangi); pāloh wangi (pauh uangi); Sem., Pa., Max.; pēli wangi (pēli uangi), Sem., Buk., Max.

20A. Rambai (fruit, tree): rambai, Serau [Mal. rambai].

21. Rambai daun (tree spec.), Galearia phebocarpa: yā’ mākan hālo’ (ia’makn halu’), Sem., Buk., Max. [There seems to be some blunder here; the words look like a verbal phrase, not a specific name.]


[Probably for buluan, formed from Mal. bulu, H 4; as rambutan from rambut, H 3; but perhaps cf. Mon babun, “wild rambutan.”]


Rancid: S. 292.

Rapid: Q 5-15.


Rare: O 8; R 31.


Rash (on the skin): I 45-53.

32. Rat: bū, Sem. Stev. [? Cf. Sulu ámbau; or Tareng abel; Kon Tu bōl, “rat.”]

Ambang bulan): kédong ambang bulan (kdung ambang bulan), Sem. 
Buk. Max.: kané—the following rats are mentioned as varieties:
1. k. lékan (bamboo rat); B 40; 2. k. hubî'; 3. k. grong iká (or "curly-
tailed" rat?), which attacks the padi; 4. k. rébuk or rébuk or rébi—
Bes. K. L. Mouse; rat (spec. Mal. t. padi); kédong padi (kdung padi),
Sem. Buk. Max. Squirrel (Mal. tuapi); kédeg, Sem. Jarun. [Mon 
knii, gni; Stieng kônéi; Bohnar kônéi, "rat", "mouse"; Sedang kônéi; Sud kenai; Halang kanya? (kanbé): Prou, Phong kané; Cuo phny; Bówen khâné; Lave khâné; 
Chríu könat? ? cf. Khmer kândôr (pr. kondor) [kântur]; Old Khmer 
kon, "rat." There seem to be two words, one with -d, the other 
with -ur.]

34. RAT: langski (langsê), Kena. I.; hênhchit (hnhchêit), Kena. II.; 
mênchêt, Bedu. II.; mënti, Jak. Malac; mantî, Bed. Chiong; 
mëuté? (muttik), Ben. New; chochoi, Rasa. Mouse: châi? 
(dscha-š), Sem. K. Ken. [Minangk. Mal. manchit (pr. manchi); But 
monsi.]

this last originally had tekus], Sem. 
Blanj. Sw., Maxtr. Malac. (tikous), 
Söm., Sak. Kerb. [Mal. tikus]; 
M 136; T 173.

(spec. Mal. rotan ayer): látaiik teu? 
Mal. rotan batu tunggal), Calamus 
insignis(è); látaiik bâtu (lataik bâtu), 
gétah), Calamus didymophyllum: 
látaiik krâ hênjâ' (lataik krâ hnjâ'). 
kawan) látaiik büm (lataik büm), 
manik) látaiik mânîk (lataik manik), 
rumput): látaiik rumput (lataik 
Mal. rotan sabut), Demonorop's 
kryptis: látaiik sabut (lataik sabut), 
rotan samambu), Calamus scipontum: 
látaiik kida' (lataik kid'), Sem. Pa. 
Max. Rattan (spec. Mal. rotan 
scipontum), Korthalsia scaphigera: látaiik 
Max.; (spec. Mal. rotan suki): látaiik 
suki (lataik suki), Sem. Pa. Max.; 
(spec. Mal. rotan udang): látaiik 
udang (lataik udang), Sem. Pa. Max. 
Root? (Mal. akar): látaiik (lataik), 
Sem. Pa. Max. [Perhaps látaiik 
is to be pronounced latai? ? Cf. Khmer 
loďa [látạ] "climbing rattan."]

37. RATTAN: (a) choit (tchôit), Sak. 
Tap.; chôk, Sak. U. Kam., 
Sak. U. Bert.; chûk, Sak. Em.; 
chôg, Serau; chôkî, Jelai; 
chôk, Darat; chông, chong, 
Tembi; chôk, Sen. Cl.; chôkng; 
chôkng, Bes. Sep. A. I.; chióng 
(choîou), Sak. Ra.; chong, Bes. Bell.; 
sîng (sêng), Bedu. II.; sek(?), Krau 
Tem.; siâu, Kena. I. Rattan (spec. 
Mal. rotan tawar): sing (sing), Sem. 
Buk. Max.; (spec. Mal. rotan 
ilang); chông lâng, Tembi.; (spec. 
Mal. rotan tunggal): chông tabar, 
Tembi. Rattan for stone axes: 
îchôg (ee-choîg), Sem. Stev. Cane 
(rattan): chôk, Sak. U. Kam. 
Climbing rattan: chyông, Bes. Malac.; 
Onak (climber), Zizyphus colophon: 
song (sung), Sem. Buk. Max.; 
B 196; P 163. Root: chôk, 
Sak. Sung.; chôkî, Sen. Cl.; 
chôkng, Bes. Sep. A. I.; íoign, Bes. 
chong, Tang. U. Lang.; Buk. U. 
Rope; string: chôkng, Bes. Sep. A. I. 
Rattan rope: chong, Bes. K. Lang.; 
T 94; W 66; Y 4. Tapico roots: 
ubi chien, Sak. Hale; ¥ 13. Yam 
(Mal. ubi akar): chun (chun). 
Sak. Kerb. Yam (Mal. ubi): chah, 
Sen. Cliff.; (Mal. kéladî): chahák 
(tchahâk), Sak. Ra. [Mon chuk 
[juk], "rope"; chuk krop [juk 
grup]; "creeper, used for tying"; 
So shâ (chânh): Love khâshên, 
"climbing rattan."]

(b) Root: chin chuk, Sak. Blanj. 
Sw.; chin chu, Sak. Blanj. Cliff. 
(c) Climbing rattan: changtênh? 
(tchânh-teîgu), Sak. Ra. Root: 
tengtek, Sak. Br. Low; tengtak, 
Sak. Croîx; tengtâk (têntâk), Sak. 
Kerb.; tendûk or deadâk, Sak. Ker. 
Gb.; chanteng, Sak. Plus Cliff. 
Tap-root: châdêng (ching), Sem. 
Buk. Max. Buttress-root (Mal. 
banir): châtek; chatekî, Tembi. 
(d) Root: jêmôk (jêmôk), Serting;
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jemil, Rasa. Branching root : chitmāk or chilmāk (?), Sem. Pā. Max. [Kānus chmō (tchemu), "rope"; Boloven chmō; Lave jumū, "climbing rattan." It is to be noted that the Mal. akar means both "root" and "climbing rattan." Hence possible confusion.]

33. RATTAN : (a) dē-rē, U. Cher.; dērā (dērē), Serting; dren, Or. Hu. Joh. I.; dē, Bera. [Boloven, Naihān rā; Halang, re; Bahnar herē, hōrē; Steng reh (rē), "rattan"; Jarai kere, "climbing rattan."]


40. RATTAN : rotan, Montr. Malac., Jok. Malac. [Mal. rotan]; B 213; R 173; R 183; V 8.

41. RATTAN, dragon's blood (Mal. rotan jěrnan), Daemonorops draco or D. propinquus (?): hadlud (had-loud), Sem. Stev.; hānlid, Sem. Pā. Max.; aweh hānlid (auih hnlid), Sem. Buk. Max.

41A. RATTAN (spec. Mal. rotan udang), a red variety : chōng hák, Tembi; chōng hák, Serva; R 37; (spec. Mal. rotan ular), haag [or hoog?], Tembi.

41B. RATTAN (spec. Mal. rotan tanah), chōng teniu, Serva; teniu, Tembi; R 37.

41C. RATTAN (spec. Mal. rotan sēni), sētāg (stāg); chōng sētōk (chōng stōk); chōng sōk, Tembi; chōng sētōg (chōng shtōg), Serva; R 37.

41D. RATTAN (spec. Mal. rotan tungi-gal), chōng riau, Serva; R 37.
41E. RATTAN (spec. Mol. rotan- manang): manang; mânang, Tembi [Mal. manang].

42. Raw, to: D 158.

43. Raw (Mal. mentah): pênya (pr. pênyaas), Sem. Jarum; U 19 (= S 349).

44. Raw; green (in taste [sic]): meët (me-ët), Jak. Sembr. [cf. Mal. mentah].


50. Red; gêchang, Bes. A. I.; têchàng, Bes. Makac.

51. Red; merah, Bes. Bell. [Mal. merah]; B 236; B 247; C 177; S 38.


53. Reflection (physical): S 159.

54. Refuse, to [this is wrongly entered here: it means "to crave for”]: punan, Bes. K. Lang. [Mal. kêm-panan, as to which see Klinkert, s.v.]

55. To refuse: D 231.


57. To break (Mal. patah): pâs (pass), Sôm. To break up: hêmâpa (hmpak), Sem. Pa. Max. To leave: ham-phess, ex. ham-phess bâ-ka’un, "left behind," Pang. Belîmîh.; B 165; W 78. To remain; to be left: ya’ impes ka-têkôh or ba-têkôh (pr. 'impess ba-têkôh), Sem. Plus.; A 46. [cf. Mal. hêmpas, but it seems probable that we have here two distinct words meaning respectively (1) to leave, and (2) to break; the
latter may be related to the Malay word.]
To reject: F 120.
Relate, to: S 365.
Release, to: T 9.
61. Release itself, to (i.e. of a snare): plēs, Bes. A. I. [Cf. Achin, ploh (plos), “to make loose”; Bahnhar leh, “to release itself” (of a snare).]
Reluctant: L 30.
To remain: B 88-90; F 21; R 60; S 222.
Remainder: R 62.
Remedy: C 292.
64. Remember, to: lēnoka (lōnoka), Sōm.
65. Remember, to: ipod, Sak. Kerb.
67. Remember, to: (a) ya’ ēnah (pr. ēnahh), Sem. Plus [cf. F 58]. To remember; to recollect (Mal. ingat): inged, e.g. inged kēlanges (Mal. ingat hati), “to remember in one’s heart,” Pang. Sam.; ingat, Krau Em. To mind (think of): ingat, Sak. U. Kam. [Mal. ingat, “to remember.”] (b) To look for: pēringat (p’ringat); méringat (m’ringat), Pant. Kap. Joh. To be: méngringat (m’ngringat), Pant. Kap. Joh. [The connection of these last words seems doubtful.]
To remember: A 23: K 62.
Remembrance: K 62.
Remnant: M 179a; T 33.
68. Remove, to: hēndeh (hindih), Sem. Buk. Max. [P. Mal. undur]; G 43; M 210; T 107; T 113.
Rend, to: T 32-39.
Renew, to: N 52.
Repartee: A 96.
Repeat, to: R 70.
Repeatedly: G 43.
Repose: F 12; R 82; W 5.
Reside, to: R 63.
75. Resin (Mal. gētah damar): langkin, Kena. I.
77. Resin, from Mal. kangar (?): tree: tīnghe (tinghay), Sem. Stev.
79. Resin, from the kēdondong tree (Mal. damar kijai), which is put on the end of the blowpipe: sēŋkāt, Mantr. Mlac. Nya.

82. Rest; repose: aqënhil (nôn-hêl, Sôm. [? = S 222 + infix -oru]); W 5: To go to rest: F 12.


86. RETURN, TO: bëbaleh (beubaleh), Mentr. Bor.; cf. T 255 [Mal. balik].


To return: C 219; F 103; G 42; T 253, 254.


Female rhinoceros: hagap, Sem. Per.; R 39. [Schmidt compares Mon sëri, etc., Khmer romfâs (râmás), etc.; but the connection is by no means obvious. Nor does an alterna-
tive connection, which might be suggested, with the Javanese warak, 
Mal. badak, seem much more likely. 
Schmidt's juxtaposition of the sèrit and ràmdæ groups seems to pre-
suppose that the latter are infix formations from a root ras of 
which there seems no evidence. His further comparison with Chom limon, 
eq., is clearly wrong, this being a Malayon word properly meaning 
"elephant," from lima, "hand," as to which see E 50a.]
91. Rhinoceros: bachi-kop, Sak. 
Kint. [± R 90].
Her.; sêngkrat (s'nakr). Pant. Kap. 
Jak. Lem. [Possibly (but doubtfully) 
cf. Mon sêrit [sirt]; Khnus ret; 
Lemet het, 'rhinoceros'; ± cf. R 89.]
94. Rhinoceros: rêsêki, Jak. Malac.; 
rêsêki (russi), Ben. Nea.; (risaki), 
Jok. Rafl. As.; (vesaki), Jok. Rafl.
95. Rhinoceros: têkho (tékho), Kenia. 
s.; kékol (?), Bes. A. 1., Bes. K. L.
96. Rhinoceros: badasang (badag'n), 
Sem. K. Ken.; badag, Sem. Per.; 
badak, Bes. Malac., Mantr. Malac.; 
bâdak, Bes. Her.; bâda, Sak. Ra.; 
bôdok (beudeuk), Galang; bêdêk, 
Barok [Mal. badak]; B 110; E 51.
97. Rhinoceros, cry of: impit-impit, 
Bes. Songs.
98. Rhinoceros horn: chumbu, Bes. 
Songs [Mal. sumbu].
Rhinoceros-bird: H 130.
99. Rhododendron, dwarf: kodok, 
Bes. K. Lang. [Mal. këduduk].
Riks or side (Mal. rusok); pà-û, 
at side of (Mal. sabehah); bà-pau, 
Sem. Plus. [Cf. Mon. phâ, 
"side."]
102. Rib: side (Mal. rusok): cherôsh, 
Tembi; chê-rious, Sem. Cliff.; chéris, 
Jelai. Armpit: cheris; chéris, 
Serau. Rib (of human body) side 
(of hill): chérus (tchôrósus), Sak. 
Ra.; B 336. Side (of a hill?): 
chêlo (tchôlo), Sak. Ra. [The 
word is doubtful: probably it means 
"to descend"; D 95.]
103. Rhis; side (Mal. rusok): tê-bal 
(pr. têball), Sem. Kedah. Side (of 
body); flâñk: têbat (tî), Sem. Pa. 
Max., Sem. Buk. Max. Rib:

yâng têbal (tâng tbl), Sem. Buk. 
Max.; jâs têbal (ji's tbl), Sem. 
Pa. Max.; B 336. False rib? 
(Mal. rusok muda): tûleng têbal 
(tuling tbl), Sem. Buk. Max.; B 
339; têbal mûda' (tbl mud'), Sem. 
Pa. Max.; Y 43.
103A. Rib: (Mal. rusok): klaap, Serau. 
Spleen (Mal. kura): klap, Tembi; 
S 187.

Rice: E 27; E 37.
104. Rice in the husk (Mal. padi): 
nêstus (? = boiled rice), Sem. Kedah.
[± R 106].
106. Rice (Mal. padi): (a) bê', Sem. 
Lias; bár, Sak. Tapp.; bâh, Tan. 
U. Lang.; bâh, Serau, Darat; bâ, 
Sak. U. Kam.; bâ, Sak. Ton. 
Kam., Krau Tem.; (bak), Krau 
Em.; bâ'-bâ', Bera; bâbâ' (bâbak), 
Serting. [Alak, Bahnar, Stêng 
ba; Kaseng mba; Sûbûh; Sedang 
bau, man; Sedang, Halang mao, 
"rice in the husk."]
(b) Rice (Mal. padi): bê; bêh, Bes. 
Sep. A. 1.; bê, Bes. K. Lang.; 
bê (bêk), Ben. Nea.; bî (bik), Ben. Nea. 
Husked rice (Mal. bêras): bê', Bes. 
Malac.; bê (bee), Sak. Sel. Da.; 
Rice [state undefined]: bê, Sem. 
Jur. Nea. [the last gives Mal. bêras 
as the equivalent, i.e. "husked rice"].

[Cl. Phnong, Prow phê; Ka peh, 
"rice"; Boloven, Niahôn phâ; 
Lave phê; Stêng phê; Sedang 
phê; Halang pê, peh; Alak pahêi; 
Bahnar phê, phê; Kaeng pai dik, 
"husked rice"; Churu phê; Chrau 
phê; Prouns pe, "rice in the husk."]
(c) Boiled rice (Mal. nasi): bê', 
Sem. Plus; bê, Sem. Jarn., 
Pang. U. Aring; bêt, Pang. K. 
Aring; E 26, 27; G 30; O 34.
107. Rice (in the husk): sî, Sâm., 
Sak. Korb.; saâsa (sasbô), Sak. Ra.; 
chahái, Kenia. 1.; che' (chek), Ben. 
Nea.; sahasi, Kasa. [Lave, Niahôn, 
Boloven châ, "rice in the husk."]
Max.; padi; padi, Ben. Nea.; 
F 283, 284; [spec. Mal. padi 
and tak]: padi lebêk (padi 
lûk), Sem. Buk. Max.; padi nung- 
kal? (padi nungi), Sem. Pa. 
Max.; [spec. Mal. padi bentang 
âlas?]: padi sëntâp (padi snêt), Sem.
110. RICE, husked (Mal. béras): mangkayd (pr. mangkayd), Sem. Javan.

111. RICE, husked (Mal. béras): bi-on (pr. bi-o0h), Sem. Skot; bayun, Sem. Per. [? = R 113; or cf. Niahkén, puan; Chráu, Siéng piéng; Chvar biang; Mow pông [pang], "cooked rice"; Táreng apon, "husked rice."]

112. RICE, husked (Mal. béras): hê-ká', Sem. Plus; ung-kök, Krua Ket; ré-k'a, Krua Tem. [Chong ruko; Samré, Por roko; Cuoí angkau (ang cau), "rice"; Paluang lakau (lakow), rekao; Khâsi khâu; Khmer angka [angkâr?]; Komuus rongko (rongko); Komâl tá-kao; Wa kâo, "husked rice"; Sue rangko (rangko), "rice in husk."]


114. RICE, husked: yavum, Ben. New.


116. RICE, boiled (Mal. nasi): chêrá, Ken. I. [?= R 115].

117. RICE, boiled (Mal. nasi): ran, Krua Ket; rau, Krua Tem. [?= R 113].

118. RICE, boiled: brêjek, Sorting.


121. RICE, glutinous (spec. Mal. pulut merah): bunga lânsâ (junga or tunga? lûsa), Sem. Buk. Max. [? = F 190; L 104].

To cook rice: C 238.

122. Rice-bag: B 12-1.

123. Rice-field, wet: M 217.


sèdıp): haleg, ex. haleg-leh bā̀̀ bḕ̀ tḕ (Mal. sèdàp-laḥ nāsī ini), "good is this rice (to eat)," Pang. U. Aring.

126. RICH (fat)=F.34.


127A. RIDAN: lidan, Bes. Songs [Mal. ridan].


128A. RIGHT (opp. to left): čhēnōu, Serau.

129. Right (opp. to left): ma ting mun (matingmoun), Sak. Kerb. [A 176; H 15].


130A. RIGHT (opp. to wrong): S 482, 493; T 240.


133. Rind: S 236.


133A. Ring: aliŋ, Darat; aliŋ (aliŋ); Jelai. [Lampong ali, "ring."]


137A. Ripe (of fruit): nung, Krau Tem.; nong, Tembi; nep; nōm, Darat; nīm, Sak. U. Kam.; nīm, Sak. Gua; hnum, Bes. Malac.; hndum, Bes. Songs. Ripe fruit: ple (plek) nōp; Jelai. To cook: nōm, Sak. Ra. [Bahruŋ dum, "ripe" (also = "red"); Stieŋ ndum, dum; Khmer tīm [dum]; Boloven, Niâbôm, Halang dum; Lâ̄c dum; Alâk dum; Mon duh, "ripe."]

137A. Ripe: 'ngkâ̄ń [n'kâ̄ń], Sem. K. Ken.


139. Ripe: pāsēg (pasik), Sem. Buk. Max.; tā̄seg (tasik), Sem. Pa,
Max.; taseg, ex. taseg kēbōk tun.

that fruit is ripe," Sem. Plus;

140. Rise, to: bangun (bunghoono), Ment. Stev. [Mal. bangun]; A 6; A 131, 132; A 155, 156; A 190, 191; B 202; G 15; L 79.


Small river: sungi machiaing (soungi matchiaing), Sak. Ra.; S 282 [Mal. sungai].

River: T 242; W 27-30; W 33-34; W 39, 40.

144. River, small: talok, Jak. Malaic. [? Mal. Ar. tal'ok, "tributary."]


146. River-Bank: tērēs (Tērēs), Jak. Ba. Pa., Jak. Len. [cf. Achin. tērēs (apparently means a sudden deepening in the bed of a river, a hole with steep sides).]

Headwater of river: A 6; W 30. Reach of river: B 173.


River-bed: W 41.


150. River, mouth of: M 206, 207; W 30.

Rivulet: R 143; W 27-30.

Road: C 216; G 41-43; G 49, 50; S 481; W 11.


155. Roast, to: manggan, Bes. Her.; hamenggang, Barok [Mal. panggang]; B 465, 466; B 468.

156. Rock: hel (?), Bes. A. I.; S 461, 462; S 465.


158. Rock, to: sending, Bes. Songs.

159. Rock, to: seungit, Bes. Songs; M 212; S 129-131.


162. Roll, to (a cigarette): gulon (ghoulon), Sak. Kerb. [Mal. gulong].


165. Roof: (a) baliṣing (balīn), Sem. K. Ken. [? = A 9].

(a) Roof: pēltas, Kena. I. [But? cf. Mal. pelās, "protective charm"; it may be originally a Pantang word.]


167. Roof; thatch (Mal. atap): kē-rob, Sak. Plus Cliff.; kārob
COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF


Kap. Her. [Mal. runguk, "over-arch, overspreading."]

169. Roof, top of (Mal. lubong):  
kên-dril, Sen. Cliff.  
Roof of mouth: P 18.

170. Room: gêrempâ (górempê), Sak. Kerb.

171. Room: dîni, Söm.

172. Room: bilé, Sak. Ra.; billig, Tembi; bilik, Darat, Jelai [Mal.  
bilek].

Bow-string: yâo, Söm. Rattan; rope;  
string: yaô, Söm. Rope or string (Mal. tali): yô or yau, Sem. Kedah.  
[? Cf. Mon rôh [ruih]; Khêm rûs, "root"].


175. Root: (a) akor, Sak. U. Kam.; akar (akâkh), Barôk. Snake:  
Root (below ground): jangka,  

176. Root (below ground), (Mal. umbi):  
bâhâo' (bha'u or bh'au), Sem. Pa. Max.  
Beginning; origin: bêho'  

177. Roots? on the surface: purus,  
Bes. Songs.

178. Root, buttress-, or strut of tree  
(Mal. banir): dépâg, Pang. U. Aring; dé-pak, Kerbat; dapak  
(danak? or dapak?), Sem. Buk. Max. Palm-frond: tâpâg (said to=  
Mal. pêlêpah), ex. tapâg têlêntor gayor, "the palm-fronds sway to  

179. Root, buttress:- chakih, Bes. K. L.;  
châki, Bes. A. 1.

180. Root, buttress-: têng, Bes. Songs.

181. Root, buttress-: bânâ (bana),  

182. Root, a species of magic: chên-  
duai, Bes. K. Lang. Witchcraft  
(especialty love-charms working at a distance): chênduiwai (chênduaiwai),  
Sak. U. Bert. [Mal. chênduai].

Root, to: D 107.

Rope: D 98; R 37-41; R 173.

183. Rope; string: tali, Sak. Ra.  
Rattan: tali, Sak. Kerb.; ta-li,  
U. Tem.; tali' (tâlikh), tali' (talik),  
Tembi; (spec. Mal. rotan ilang);  
tali' lôk', Tembi. Belt (Mal. tali  
ikat pînggang): tali' gel (pr. gell),  
Pang. U. Aring, Bowstring: penali,  
Sem. Stev.; tali, Sem. K. Ken.;  
Perineum? or urethra? (Mal. tali  
ayer): tâli bêthô (tali btiuhi), Sem.  
Buk. Max. Waistcloth: tâle (tahley)  
in MS. of Sem. U. Sel.]; N 16;  
N 42; W 30; [Mal. tali].

184. Rose-apple  
(spec. Mal. jambu  
yer chinî, Eugenia Caryophyllæa);  
(spec. Mal. jambu yer merah);  
jambu mêra' (jambu miri), Sem. Buk.  
Max.; (spec. Mal. jambu yer mawar),  
Eugenia jambos; jambu  
mâwâr (jambu mawar), Sem. Buk.  
Max.; (spec. Mal. jambu bol),  
Eugenia malaccensis; jambu bâr  
(jambu br), Sem. Buk. Max.; (spec.  
Mal. jambu pêrawa); jambu pêra-  
was (jambu praunas), Sem. Buk. Max.  
[Mal. jambul].

Rosin: R 72-80.

185. Rot, to: tembâ, Bes. Songs [Mal.  
timbus?].

186. Rotten  
(of texture)? : bêhu?  
burok, "rotten"; or perhaps  
Khêm pûk [buk]; Bhanar bûk,  
"rotten" [of wood]]; O 15.

Rotten (putrid): H 116; S 292.


188. Rough; uneven: gisa, Sem. Buk.  
Max. [cf. Mal. kasap]; T 57.

189. Round (Mal. bulat): (a) terkel (pr.  
terr-kell), Sem. Jarum; telki, Sem.  
Plus.  
(b) bêlgul, Tembi [and Serau?];  
bênhul, Serau.

190. Round: terleu (pr. terr-leau),  
Sem. Jarum; têliaw (tiu or tiu?);  
Aring; tôlau, Pang. Sam, Pang.  
Gal. Round; circular; spherical;  
roundness: têliaw (tiu), Sem. Buk.  
Max. [cf. F 118].

191. Round: (a) bûnthok, Bes. Sep., Bes.  
K. L. [see M 164; and cf. Mal.  
bêntok, "curved," "rounded";  
numerical coefficient for rings and  
the like; Binju Dayak buntêr;  
Mal., Manyan (Mamian), Sampit  
buntar; Katingan buntir, "round."]  
(b) Round: bulat, Sak. Kor. Gb.;  
bulat, Bes. Bell. Whole: bulat, Bes.  
Songs [Mal. bulat, "round"]; B  
175; R 160.


Roundness: R 190.

Row, to: P 5, 6; P 8-10.

194. Rub, to (Mal. gosokus): ya' sor (pr. ya' sor), Sem. Kedah; gersoyd (pr. gêr-soyyd), ex. ò' gersoyd tele-moyn, "when rubbed it grows soft," Pang. Teliah; gösöyi, Bes. Songs; kelasî (elaisî), Manir. Cast.; menggèsî? (mîngki' or mîngkîsi?), Sem. Buk. Max. To stroke (Mal. gosokus): ya-sôl, Pang. Sam, Pang. Gal.; pusoi, ex. pusoi kuchi'îng, "to stroke a cat," Bes. Sep. To rub two sticks for fire: gasing, Ment. Her. I. [These seem to be remotely related to the Mal. gosokus; gesek; gisar; gisir. But cf. Khmîr chât [jût]; Mon jôt [juit]; Stîengjût, juch; Bahnar shut (xut); tshut (xut); Tareng suah; Jarai sût, "to wipe"; Golaven, Niahôn chût; Love sût; Halang sût sach, "to rub"; and see C 142 and S 144, 145. Curiously similar are the Andamanese Biâda jît kë; Bohjigiyab chöt kan, "to rub."]


Rudder: B 6.

Ruler: C 294; H 62.

Rumour: N 52.

Rump: L 127.


200. Run, to: jarr; âm-jarr, Sen. Cliff.; jär (djarr), Sak. Martin. I run: en jâar, Jelai. Run near [to something or to the speaker?]: jarat nyon, Jelai. Don't run away into the jungle! aga jör ma' (mak) serak, Jelai. [Cf. Bahnar jâk, "to run away."]


201A. Run, to: arai, Serau [R 202].


203. Run along, to: ting-tung (said to=Mal. mêniti dahah), ex. ò' ting-tung, "he runs along (the branches)," Sem. Kedah.

To run away: A 42.

Run (of ladder): L 2.

Rush, to: T 108.

204. Rush upon, to: nêkam, Bes. Sep. [Mal. térkam].


205A. Rust: kayat (kajat), Sem. K. Ken. [Mal. karat].

206. Rustle, to: prau, Bes. Songs [Mal. bôrdérfau].

207. Rustle, to (Germ. rauschen): bos, Sak. Kor. Gb.

Rusty: I 37; R 205-205A.

S


3. Sad: sorrowful: sôrpur (sôrpour), Sâm.


5. Sad: sorrowful: susa (soussa), Sak. Ra. To have suspicions; suspicious; jealousy: sum susah (sum sush), Sem. Pa. Max.; B 380 [Mal. susah].

Sadj: H 116.


Sakai: M 23; M 26.


9. Salak, a palm whose shredded leaves are used for headresses to avert or cure headaches: dä'-yô or dä'-yok, Sem. Plus.


Salt: S 13-16; S 18.

Salutation: D 42; E 83; G 115; F 44A.


cheber chingoit, Darat [?]. Gutta-percha (Mal. gétah talan): cheber jahu, Darat; chebor nyatoh? (nyatókh), Sak. Em.


Sapling: C 101.

33. Satawar hutan (flower spec.): hungah ponggoh, Bes. K. Lang.; F 190.

Sated: G 75; S 34; 35.

34. Satiated (with food): (a) kë-nët, Sen. Chiff. (b) Satisfied; sated: kenyan or kenyang, ex. tangkë bâh ò' kenyan, Pàng. Téliang [Mal. kényang or kanyang].


Satisfied: G 75; H 116; S 34.

Savage: H 116.

Saying: C 254; N 91; S 359-366.

Scab: G 41; I 45-53; P 244; 245.

Scalded: B 172.


Scanty: R 31.

37. Scar; cicatrice: bâla' (balk), Sem. Buk. Max.; G 41; P 118.


Scattered: R 31.


Scent; smell: wâs (wass), Sem. Stev. [very doubtful].


Scented: S 41; S 923; S 295.

Sciatica: L 127; S 186.

Scimitar: K 47.

Scoop up, to: S 50; S 399.

42. Scorch, to: layu, Bes. Songs.

Scorched: têkî, Bes. Malac.


45. Scorer with patterns: kluu bunga', Bes. Songs; F 190.

46. Scorpion: manghai (mânhai), Sak. Kerh.; mânghoi (mânhoi), Sak. Ra.; mangâi; mangâi, Sak. U. Bert.; mangâi, Tembi; Seraw; mângai, Jelai. [? = S 42].


53. Scratch, to (or a claw?), (Mal. châkar; garu; kâit): ujas ches? (aujs chis), Sem. Buk. Max.; S 50.

Scramble: S 175.

Scramble, to: C 285.

Screen: B 462.


Scrotum: E 56.

Scrub: B 438-443.


For this last? cf. S 13.]
56. **SEA**: nadōih (nah-dō-ih), Sak. Sel. Da.

57. **SEA**: (a) bawau; bau-wau, Bes. Sep. A. I.; bawau, Bes. Malac. ; V 23.
   (b) **Sea**: bâruh, Jak. Max.; bâruh, Jak. Sim. Plain; flat country: bârōk, Sak. Tôp.; bârō', Sak. Martin. Valley (Mal. lembah): bârō'? (bârōk), Sak. Em. Shore (Mal. pantai): bâro'? (barok), e.g. sal gun barok, "to go down to the shore," Kerdau; D 63. [Mal. baroh, "low ground," "sea-coast," "sea."]

58. **SEA**: sabōq; sabugu, Ben. New. [Doubtless misprinted, but what word is intended is not clear. Schmidt suggests "sabau," cf. S 57, see 'quere.]


- **SEA**: W 30; W 32; W 34.
- **Sea-breeze**: W 109.
- **Sea-green**: W 93.

**Sealing-wax palm**: A 127.

60. **Search, to**: to look for: kâih, Sak. U. Kam. To seek: ya hō-kō' (or hō-kōp), [said to be used if looking for anything close at hand, whereas job is used if looking for things far off], Pang. U. Aring; hikeep, Kran Em.; kâke' (kakek); kâke, Serau; kâih, Sak. U. Bert.; kâke' (kake); Sak. Ra.; kâ' (kē), Sak. Kerb.; kē', Sem. Cliff. I seek: hinkâke, Darat; jehelke, Jelai. [Does not this last mean, "what (do you seek)?"] A 58. [= S 62 or S 83? ; cf. Mon ke [kew], "to aim at."]


62. **Search, to**: to look (for something which is far off); ya-jop, Pang. U. Aring.

63. **Search, to**: to seek: in-bâs; in-bâs, Sem. K. Ken.; nesbâtis (nésô-bis); nestâs, Söm. [See P 69.]

64. **Search, to**: to seek: pepiong, Bes. Songs. [Meaning doubtful.]


**Seasick**: V 22-24.


67. **Season**: kêtikâ (kôtikâ), Söm. ; tikâ, Sak. Kerb. [Mal. kêtikâ.]

68. **Season**: dry: bârak; bérak, Sak. Kor. Gb. Rainy season: R 6; R 14.

69. **Sèbarau** (sèbaroh or sèbarau), (fish spec.), Barbus hexostichus: sèbâu? (siba), Sem. Pa. Max. Freshwater fish spec.: sèbarau, Jak. Max. [Mal. sèbarau; sèbarau].

**Secret**: Q 16.

**Secretre, to (pus)**: P 239.

70. **Sèdeg** (spec. Mal. mèndèrong), Seirurus grossus; këtëmboh (ktmbuh), Sem. Buk. Max.


72. **See, to**: to observe (Mal. tengôk), ya-tod, Pang. U. Aring. To see: pêl-tot [or pêl-toi?], Lebir.

73. **See, to**: tan-dî (?) Krau Tem.

74. **See, to**: jê-lai (?), Sak. Gni.; jê-lô, Kran Tem. [= S 78; cf. Tânggol kôlai, "to perceive."]

75. **See, to**: (a) déng, Sem. Beg.; déng, Sem. Martin ; teng, Ben. New.; indâng? (indâ'k); indâ'gihn, Sem. K. Ken. To stare; to gaze at: déng (ding), Sem. Pa. Max.; mädéng (mding), Sem. Buk. Max. To look: to stare: mädîng mî'î (miding mîjî), Sem. Buk. Max.; G 39; cf. L 74. [Old Khmer dang: Khmer phûng [phàng]; pdang [phàng]; Xong tang; Samrê, Por teang; Cham pâió; "see"; [cf. Mon theng, "to be visible."]

(b) To see: inêng; nêng, Serau; nêng, Sem. Cliff.; nêng, Sem. Cl.; Sak. Blaj. Cl.; nêng, Sak. Rim.; neh, Tem. Cl.; Sak. Plas., 4 N. Q. 102; nêng, Sak. Martin. I see: enêng, Jelai. Seen: pînông (pân-nung), Kêna. Sêv. He is seen (i.e. he appears; he looks): hi-nâng,


77. SEE, TO: têlekh (t’lekh); pênêlekh (p’nellék), Pant. Kap. Len. [Mal. tilek; but cf. also S 79.]


80. SEE, TO: pêgâreh, Jak. Malac.

81. SEE, TO: nyâ (njo’), Sak. Kor. Gb. To look at; to see (Mal. pandang): té-nya’u, Sen. Cliffs.; perjoi, Serau. [There is a Malay word tinjau, “to look into the distance” (as from a watch-tower). Connection doubtful.]

82. SEE, TO: kâf; kai’; kayl; kaye’, e.g. k. dinalop, “seeing a long way off,” Ben. A.; kai’ (kayik), Bac. Songs; kayl, e.g. “do you see or not?” kayl ngôt, Bac. Malac. To look: kayl’, Bac. Malac.; kay’ (kayek), Bac. Songs [S = S 60].

83. SEE, TO; to observe: bâk (bâkou), Sak. Ra.

84. SEE, TO; to observe: trala, Sak. Kerb.


89. Seed (Mal. biji): sap-sipec or sap-syepe, Sem. Ketab.


93. Seed: bâlal, Kena. I. [Cl. Mal. buïâl, “ear (of grain),” but cf. also R 191.]

94. A. Seed: bêni, Sak. Sung. [Mal. bêni]; E 83; F 283, 284; R 113; S 469. Human seed: S 98.


96. Seek, to: C 51; S 60-64.


98. Sêmang: M 24; 25; N 39.


102. Send, TO, for (things): bêsêd (besid), Sak. U. Kam. [Mal. pêsan]; C 13; 14.

**Sêpam** (tree spec.): P 223.


**Separate, to:** bila' (bil'), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. bêlah, “to split,” or beda, “difference”?] C 295; D 127; D 130; S 104.

**Sépat** (fish spec.): Trichopsis tri-chopterus: sêkeng (sking), Sem. Pa. Max.

**Sêraya** (tree spec.): D 188.


**Sêrdang:** kérpau, Bes. A. I. [Mal. képau].

**Serious:** H 68.

**Serve food, to:** P 138. [Note.—There are no Nos. 109-118, these numbers having been omitted by inadvertence in the numbering of the paragraphs.]

**Set, to** (of the sun): tiba, Sak. U. Kam.; D 35. [Jav. tiba, cf. Mal. rébah, “to fall.”]

**Set, to** (trans.): K 5.

To set a snare or trap: C 30; E 67.

To set down: H 153.

To set up: S 429.

**Settle down, to:** I 19.

**Seven:** sunto, Sem. Scott.

**Seven:** pèt, Sak. Sel. Da. [Both these are very doubtful.]

**Seven:** tempo, U. Ind. [Mon thâpah [tâpah, thâpah]; Bahmar tâpoh; Sêng po'h; Hucî pha; Suk pho; Churu, Kasong po'h; Ka po'h; Taren po'h; Kon-Tu', Suê tapôl; Halang tape; Selang tope; Nanhang, Hin, Cui thopîl; Phnong, Prow po's; So thphoûl; Lemu'll pul; Chrio po'h; Boloven, po'h, pa'h; Niaho'n po'h; Alak po'h; Lave po'h, “seven.”]


**Severe:** R 132.


**Sexual intercourse:** C 242; P 66; P 219; S 249.

**Shade:** tudu', Sak. U. Kam. [Mal. têdo'h].

**Shadow:** kalbo, Sem. Beg.; kalbo Ben. New.


128. **Shadow:** ba'en (ba'in), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. baiyang].

**Shady:** D 22, 23.

**Shat** (of arrow or spear): B 183; E 83; S 367.

130. **Shake, to:** [nyûk, Sak. U. Kam.; yoh, Serau; hõ'gô', Bes. A. I. To rock: ngeg-ngog, ex. ò ngeg-ngog ka-jemol, “it rocks and sways upon the mountains” (?), Pang. Teliang.

131. **Shake, to;** to vibrate: ma'kuing, Sem. Buk. Max. Rocking to and fro: kuing chênde' (kuing chênd'), Sem. Buk. Max. [Probably to be read gueng, from Mal. guong; cf. S 531; W 110.]

**Shake, to:** R 157-159; S 529-532; W 110.

To shake hands: C 49; E 57.

**Shall** (auxiliary): W 8, 9; W 14-18.

132. **Shall:** bot (bu'), Sem. Buk. Max.

133. **Shallow** (iupa), Tembi.

134. **Shallow:** jëpê', Bes. Sep. A. I. [cf. Mal. chetek].

135. **Shallow:** dengkel, Mantr. Malac. [Mal. dangkal], D 182; E 12; L 150; S 280; S 282.

136. **Shame:** see A 158.

137. **Shape** (Mal. rupa): re-nis (?), Sak. Blauj. Cliff.


**Shape:** U 6. To take shape: A 79.

139. **Share, to:** bëtagi (bôbagi), Sak. Ra. [Mal. bahagi]; G 29.


tamarafalk penajam, Ben. New.; F 221; [Mal. tajam].

Sharpen: C 296; P 157, 158.


144. Sharpener, to: sheg, Sak. Plus Cliff.; chi, Sak. Blanj. Cliff.; chiri', Sak. U. Kem.; johet, Bes. A. I.; sid, Tembl. Whetstone: sidned, Tembl. To file (to file the teeth = Mal. berasah gibi): la-hid (pr. lä-hiid), Sem. Plus; set, Sak. Tan. Ram. [Bahmar shiek (xiek), 'sharpened.'] [It is curious that the Andamanese equivalents are somewhat similar, e.g. Beada, Bate' jit; Puchikvar chêt; Jwau Kôl chëat, 'to sharpen.']


146. Sharpener, to: ya' gos (pr. goss), Sem. Jarum, Sem. Plus; C 296.

147. Sharp-pointed: runching, Bes. Songs [Mal. runching].

She: H 39-45; T 52, 53; T 86.


Shed: F 52; H 11; H 153.


152A. Shell [or snail] (Mal. siput): kakebe, Tembl.


Shell (of tortoise): S 236.


Shell-fish: S 151, 152; S 154-156.

Shift, to: B 384.

Shin: A 133.

Shin-bone: A 133; B 336; B 339; K 40.


Shining: B 395; D 41.

159. Shining surface; reflection (Germ. Glanz; Abbild): kenai? (kenîgh), Sem. Stev.


162. Shoot (of plant): lemçong, Bes. Songs [? cf. B 33]; B 446; E 64.

Shoot, to: B 256, 257; G 42, 43.


164. Shoot, to, with a bow: wêk, Sen. Cl.


Shooting star: S 436.

166. Shooting up (of plants): tôbet (tebt or thêt), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. têbet]; H 35.
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Shore: D 180; S 57; S 65.


Short time: Q 5.

Shorten, to: S 280.


172. Shoulder, point of the: baying (batuung), Sem. BUK. Max.


177. Shut, to: téning (tining), Sem. BUK. Max.


To shout: C 10; C 285; C 287, 288; W 97.

Shove, to: F 21; P 240-242.


To show: P 154-156; T 30.

Shrike: D 172, 173.


188. SICK; fever: kajet, Ben. New. [Possibly connected with the last preceding; but cf. Chinese (of Fuhkien) koa’-jët (pr. koajët).]

190. Sick; ill: sakit, Söm., Jak. Malac.; saket habat; sakit abat, Mant. Bor. Bad: makit, Sem. Beg., Ben. New. [This word appears in some Malay languages as a variant of Mal. sakit, 'unwell,' from which it appears to be formed by means of the infix -en- (= sēmakit); e.g. Selung maket, 'painful'; makit, 'sick.']


Sick: L 127; U 22.
Sick (i.e. to vomit): V 22-24.

Near: over against: neighbour; lu'n (? or lung? (loufū) Sak. Ra. Towards: lōn [in the phrase lēbi nya lōn kēntām (lēbi nya lōn kōntām), 'further off, to the right']; Sak. Ra.; sed cf. A 9; nanglā' (in phrase nanglā' Kēlantan (? = banglang or nanglang) = Mal. sābelah Kēlantan; or is it a totally different word?), Sem. Kedah.


199. SIDE: ibut (abitut), Sem. Buk. Max.; R 100; R 102, 103.


201. Sigh; to sigh: sētīa' (stiak), Sem. Pa. Max.

201A. Sigh, TO: loō; lo-o, Sem. K. Ken.

Sign: S 348.
To make signs; C 8.

Signpost: P. 40.


204A. Silk: sētēra'? (strak), Tembi, Serau (?), Jelai [Mal. sutēra].

205. Silly; foolish: rampah, Kena. Stev.


Stupid: mingūng, Sak. Kor. Gh.

Stupid; very unpleasant: bingug, Sen. K. Ken.

Idiot; ngengao? (nē'no), Sak. Kerb.; mingo (miho), Sak. Ra.; bingu (binou), Söm.

Ugly: bingug (bino'ung), Sak. Kerb.

[Mal. bingug; but cf. also Boloven ngök ngō; Nāhōng ngök ngō; Alāk nīng ngō, 'imbecile'; Stieng jōngū, 'stupid.']


F 219; S 506, 507.

208. Silver (Mal. perak): ēyal, Sem.


Silver: C 241; M 125; W 101.

Since: F 276; T 51.

Sinew: J 10; V 8.


(c) To sing: jeluakh, Tembi; berjulakh, Serau; berjolakh, Serau [or Tembi?]; ju-lakh; bê-ju-lakh; nyê-lo-lakh; nyê-lo-lakh, Sem. Cliff. (d) To sing: bedodon, Mantr. Cast.


213. Sing, to: séoi; hêoi, Bes. A. L.; siboh, Mantr. Cast. To chant ceremoniously (incantations, songs, etc.), (Mal. sawai; bér sawai): séoi; hêoi; Bes. K. L. To chant: sewe (?), ex. yê séwe ka-kêpal, képal chan, képal génâmîng; “I sing of fruits, the fruit of the chan, the fruit of the génâmîng,” Pang. Tellang. Song: poem; séoi, Bes. K. Lang.; hêoi, Bes. K. Lang. [? Mal. sawai; I cannot find this word in the dictionaries.]

214. Sing, to: si-wang, Kerbat [Mal. sewang].

215. Sing, to: surau (Mal. sawai), ex. ná’ lengyang ná’ surau, “will dance (?) and sing,” Pang. Sai [Mal. sorak or suara?].


217. Sing, to: nanyi (nanji), Sem. K. Ken.; nynanyi (fahreni), Söm. [Mal. nyanyi].

Single: B 1-3; O 35.


218. Siol, burong (bird spec.): goroi1, Mantr. Malac.; A 129.

Sister: B 410-421; B 424; B 406-430; C 101.

219. Sister, younger: ml-ml, Or. Trang; Y 41.

Sister-in-law: B 418, 419; L 29.


Calm; quiet (Mal. têdôh):
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(b) Cap of blowpipe quiver: tutôp (toutôp), Sak. Ra. Quiver: tutôp (toutôp), Sak. Ra. [Quere this last meaning.] [These last may be from Mal. tutâp, “to shut,” S râ.] Pith (of which butt of arrow is made): tuto, Mantr. Malac. Cha.

235. SKIN: (a) chîlôk, SertiQ. Bark: chêlîk (chêlôk), SertiQ. Bedu. II. [? Cf. Doloûen shrût (xruôt); Niahôn suât, “skin.”]

(b) Skin: lihôk, Darat.

236. SKIN: (a) lantok, e.g. chok lantok, “to poke off (i.e. remove) the skin of an animal preparatory to cooking,” Bes. K. L. To skin: lantok; chôh lantok, lit. “pierce skin,” Bes. Sep. A. I. Bark (of tree): lantok, Kena. II.; lantok lôkông; T 207, e.g. lantok banti, “mêrâni bark” ; lantok tengkol, “pullai bark,” Bes. Sep.; antok, Bes. Songs.

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Bers. A. 1. Scales (of fish): ketong,


Skin: C 198; P 47. Skin, to: S 236.

Skin-disease: I. 46-53.

237A. Skirt: sárang, Tembí; sárúk, Jelai [Mal. sarong].


Skull: B 336.


Sky: A 8; C 184; C 186; D 22; D 33; D 35; D 39; J 76; T 116; W 109.


245. SLANTING, TO BE: tépê' (tip')., Sem. Buk. Max. [2 = E 33].


Siap: P 21.

Slap, to: P 21.

Slata (of thatch): H 159.

Slay, to: D 48.

Sleep: S 247-257.

To talk in sleep: D 158.


249. Sleep, to: sê-log, Tem. Cl.; sêlog, Sak. Kerb. Gb.; selog, Sak. Br. Low.; sêlog, Sak. Croix; (slogh), Sak. Kerb.; sêlog; sêlog, e.g. "can I sleep (here)?" bûlî em sêlog, "I am going to sleep," yahià em sêlog, Tembî; sêlog, Kend. I. To lie down (Mal. baring): sê-log, Sak. Plus Cliff. Copulation: sê-log (sêlog or sêlog), Sak. Kor. Gb. [Khmer lakh [lak]; luk]; Halang luk (lak), "to sleep"; (cf. Mon hling and perhaps the second syllable of Old Khmer tekla; Xong tekla, and the first of Sad langnet?); also Stieng lakh, "to sleep."
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"Cl. Centr. Nicobar iteakla; Chavara itiakla, "sleepy." All these go with the (a) forms: the connection of the (ê) forms is doubtful.]

251. SLEEP, TO; to sit: mërapat (m'rapat), Paut. Kap. Joh. Bed: têmpat mërapat (t'mpat m'rapat), Paut. Kap. Joh.; P 119. [Malay spirit language mërapat bintang, "to sleep" (where bintang, "stars," is a metaphor for "eyes," and mërapat means "to bring close together"; hence = "to close the eyes"); v. Malay Magic, p. 646.]

252. SLEEP; to sleep: chidor, Bent. Neo. To sleep: tidor, Mantr. Malâc., Jak. Malâc.; tindo, Rusa. [Malay tidor; Sea Dayak, Balun tindo; Malak tidor; Sibuyan tindoak; Malauan tido, "to sleep."]


254. SLEEPY, TO BE: pëngui (?) or pëpui (?), Sem. Pa. Max. [? = S 255.]

255. SLEEPY, TO BE: ngôp-ngôp (ngê p'ngôp), Sem. Cliff.

256. SLEEPY, TO BE: antu (antu'), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. antok].

257. Asleep: reliah, Söm.; lêna (lêna), Sak. Ra. [Mal. lena].

Sleeping - place: B 128 - 132; S 250.

Sleepy; to be sleepy: S 250; S 253-256.

258. Slender: ramping, Bes. Songs [Mal. ramping].


261. Slice, to: siang, Bes. Songs.

Slime: D 114; M 217, 218; W 30.

262. Slip, to: (a) yiok slach (yiok slaty), Sak. U. Kam. Slippery: slach (slaty), Sak. U. Kam.; slach (slaty), Sak. U. Bert.; bësëlet (b'slet), Paut. Kap. Joh. Smooth: sëlêg, Tembî; (slêg), Serau. [Cl. Mon talt, "to be slippery"

"kâlit, "smooth," slipper" (but also kohlîn, "slimy," and khalôt, "to slip out")].


Slippery: S 262.

Slit (in tube of musical instrument): M 222.


267. Slot; i.e. the animal so called (Mal. kongkang): tampil, Sem. Jumon, Sem. Plus.


274. Slow, to be: lëwar, Bes. Songs. [Cf. Alak lávai, "slowly."]

275. SLOWLY: manon, Sak. Ra.

276. SLOWLY: chip dëna (tehíp-dëna), Söm.; G 42.

277. SLOWLY: plechen (pleuhen), Sak. Kerö; plähát, Sak. Martin; plahát [sic]; Serau; ech chip plahát, Tembi; chiplehat, Jetal; G 42. Slowly; softly: plahad-plahid, Sak. U. Kam. [Mal. pérlahan-pérlahan; A chin. pélêhén, "slowly," "sedately."]

278. SLOWLY: C 261; T 147.

279. SLOWLY: G 43; S 271-273; W 5.

280. SLOWLY: G 43; C 162.

281. SMALL (Mal. këchil): jëreau (the eau or eao is a complex vowel sound not unlike English meow, but intensified: like the pronunciation of "cow" in East Anglia), Sem. Kedah.
282. SMALL: (a) sen, Sem. K. Ken.; esët? (esent), Sem. Per.; chët (tchóuat), Bes. Her.; chët, Bes. Malac.; W 29. Less: ësëng (ëssën), Söm. To want (i.e. to be in want of): ësëng (ëssën), Söm. (b) Small (Mal. këchil): kasut (pr. kâ-sutt), Sem. Kadah; kangut (or does this mean grandchild?), Sem. Kadah; kachök? (gadjök), Sak. Kor. Gb. [cf. S 284].

283. SMALL: hedët, Bes. Sep. A. I.; ("bhasa kasar" as distinct from kenen [S 280]), Bes. K. L.; hedet, Bes. Malac.; hedith, Bes. Bell. [Cf. Achin. dit, "small"; "a little"; Phung dék; Kout, Chréai dét; Churop dech; Mon dot, "small."
Stinking smell: bahu cho'ut, Bes. Sep.; S 292. Smell; perfume (Mal. baun-baun); bahu lo'om, Bes. Sep.; S 41 [Mal. bau]; S 40, 41.

Smell, to: D 165; N 101; S 292-295.

Smelling: S 292-295.


296A. Smile, to: segān, Krau Em. [cf. D 122.]

Smite, to: C 293; S 495-497.


300. Smoke blowing, to: D 129, 130; D 165.


Smoke, to: C 129, 130; D 165.


306. **Smooth**; greasy: kēhe (khē), Sem. *Buk. Max.*; B 308; G 40; L 62, 63; S 262.

307. **Smooth, to**: S 304.

308. **Smother**; bēnam, Bes. *Songs*.


311. **Snake** (Mal. ular daun): kop le' [for ekob le'] (kupli'), Sem. *Buk. Max.*; L 32.


315. **Snake** spp.: līllīh, Kena.' 1.; galait Kasa.

Snake small: jēlēle, Bes. *Chiong.*


318. **Snake**, green, with white tail: uwar kemomul, Jak. *Malac.*


Snap, to: *B* 372-374.

Snapped: *T* 112.


- Snatch, to: *C* 48; *P* 226.

326. Sneeeze, to: champul, *Kena. I.*

326A. Sneeze, to: râmîch? (râmîgh), *Tembi; ramoh, Seriu; B* 258; *S* 294.

Sniff, to: *S* 293.


To snore: *N* 91.


Snout: *M* 203; *N* 98.

So: *T* 51-54; *T* 85, 86.

So long as: *O* 21.

330. Soar, to (*Mal. mêlayang*): say-ong, ex. ôô dê, ôô dê, ôô sayong sâgêneb jemol, "he disports himself, he soars on every hill" (probably refers to the kite), *Sem. Plus* [cf. *Mal. layang].


333. Soft: tôlêjayn or lôjôyn or lôjayn (? with prefix tô-), *Sem. Kodah.*


Softly: *S* 277.

Soil: *E* 12.


Soldier: B 439; F 260.

Sole (of foot): F 226; P 20, 21.

Solid: strong, Sing. Buk. Max.; F 34.

Solitary: tènúng, Bes. Songs.

Somewhat: tungle, in the expression, chi ng tungle, "rogue elephant," E 49, Sak. U. Bert. [Mal. tùnggal]; Q 27; O 34, 35.

Some: B 87.

Sometimes: huel-huel, Söm.

Some-times: kadá-kadák, Sak. Ra. [Mal. kadang-kadang]; Q 5; T 51; T 54.

Son: hek, Ment. Her. II.; B 419; C 101-108; M 18; M 20.

Son-in-law: L 25.


Soon: mui kéjap alo, Bes. Sep. A. I. [literally "one wink more"] [Mal. kéjap].

Sóres: S 54.

Sorrowful: S 3-5.

Sort: K 32.

Soul (Mal. sëmanjat): râ-bun (pr. râ-buh); Sem. Kedah; râ-wei, Sem. Plus; B 389.

Sound: sign, pagam, Jak. Mad.; N 90, 91; V 21.

Sour (Mal. masam): pêchás (pr. pê-chas), Sem. Kedah, Sem. Jarum; pechus (pr. pe-chuss), Sem. Plus; pêchás (pêchus), Sem. Pa. Max.: buchúi (bouchhoui), Sak. Kerk. [Kèmer chat; Sìeng chat, "bitter"; Mon phyat (phyuyt), "astringent" (cf. phyah, "sour"); see B 195 and G 5A.]

Sour: kôr (or kohr), Sak. Tap.: A 24, 25.

Source (of river): R 147, 148; W 30.

South: élier, Söm. [Mal. hilir, "downstream"]; D 33; D 96; F 12.

Sow: P 73-90.

Sow to: F 132.

Space: B 403.

Intervening space: T 54.


Span: C 89.; F 21.


Spatula (or upas poison): ken-pal (pr. ken pall), Sem. Plus; pal (pr. pall), Sem. Kedah; pál, Sak. Kerk. [Cf. C 125.]

Spatula (for upas poison): génâhâr (ghonèhér), Sak. Ra.


Speak, to: choh, Sem. Beg.; ichoh, Bes. New. To say; to speak; cho (chò), Sem. Pa. Max. Name (Mal. nama): choh; choh or chà, ex. luwe chok lô-ôh, or luwe chok lô-ôh, "what is the name of this" (chok is probably a verb meaning "to call"; i.e. "what (do you) call this?"); Sem. Kedah; choh (chor), Sem. Stev. Talk: choh (chuh), Sem. Pa. Max. [Cf. Sieng cheh, "body", "name"]; Alêh chò; Boloven, Niahôn, Lave chakmat, "name."]


Speak, to: lun (loun), Sak. Ra. [Cf. S 485]. To speak to; to accost: lun, Sem. Pa. Max. [Cf. Mon kâleân (gîlanł), "a word"; Sìeng lâh, "to speak."]


371. **SPEAR:** bēmban, *Bedu. II.* [*Mal. bēmban, Clinogyne (from the shape of its leaf?)*]; B 121; B 350; E 83.

372. **SPEAR** (*wooden*): ku-yang, *Ment. Her. I.*


374. **SPEAR:** tikam, *Galung* [*Mal. tikam, “to stab”*].

**SPEAR, to:** C 296; S 373. 374.

**Species:** K 32

**Speech:** L 11; S 364.

**Spherical:** R 190.


376. **Spider:** (a) pēlek (plik), *Sem. Buk. Max.*; N 42. [Cf. B 73, where the word is (probably wrongly) given with the meaning “bat.”]

(b) Spider: manōng, *Serav* [and, perhaps, maneng *Tembi*?]; deng tāpung, *Jelai*.


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379. SPIDER: jama'king, Bes. A. L.; jamang, Bes. K. L.


380a. SPIDER: glau, Tembi. [S = S 380]

381. SPIDER's WEB: bōk'ng jama'king, Bes. A. L.; bōng or bōk'ng jamang, Bes. K. L.; S 379. Spider (?): bōng, Mantr. Malac. Cha. [Stiegl beng; Kaminer ping [bīng]; Mon ayeu pheng [ayau pheng]; yea phaing [yau phuing] [swid.], "spider."]


383. SPIRAL: R 133, 134; R 193.

384. SPIRIT: D 161; G 16-21.


386. SPIRIT, evil: pa'-re', Bera.

387. SPIRIT, familiar: pemprāt, Bes. Songs.

388. SPIRIT: pēlē', Bes. Songs [Mal. pelēsit].


391. SPIT, to: (a) mālīoh (mliuh or mliur?), Sem. Pa. Max. [Mal. liur].


392. SPIT: S 389; S 391.

393. SPITLED: liūn, Bes. Songs.


396. SPLOECE, to: B 213; J 8.

397. SPLOL, to (e.g. wood): bāk, Sak. Kor. Gh.; bahan, Bes. Songs. To spoil; to destroy: pōh (puh), Sem. Pa. Max.

398. SPLOL, to (?): māka yata'? (makai-ak), Sem. Buk. Max. [Probably two words, viz. māka = Mal. mēraka and yatak = Mal. retak, which are given as equivalents]; B 373; D 126; G 29.

399. SPOIL, to: D 7; D 59; S 395.


401. SPOON: kuār (or cuār), Sak. Kor. Gh.


405. SPOOR: P 118; T 195-197.


409. SPOT FIRE, to: pānchār us (pncrh us), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. panchār].


411. SPREADING: rendang, Bes. Songs. [Mal. rendang, "leafy."]

412. SPRING (of water): E 83; W 29, 30.
426. Squirrel (?); a small mammal (?), ténakól, ex. ledhdur sauau tenakól. Pamg. Sai; C 136; M 135; R 33: Flying squirrel: L 53-56; S 417.

Stab. to: C 295, 296.

Stag: D 68, 69; D 72; F 218.

426A. Stag, a kind of [the word is an epithet applied to large animals]: ménuang, Bes. Songs [Mal. bén-unang].

Stair: L 1, 2.


428. Stalk, to; benchop, Bes. Songs.


432. Stand on end, to; (of hair): dau kletê Bes. A. I.; H 1.

Standing: S 429.

437. **Star**: jelūt (djelūt), Sem. K. Ken.
439. **Stay, to**: tunggui, e.g. jangan dibunggu dēn, "don't stop here," Jak. Malac.; tungol, Mantr. Malac. [Mal. tunggu].
440. **Steal, to**: sēg, Sen. Cliff; negsāg (neg-sēg), Sūm.; si-sik, Sak. Blanj. Cliff; sēdā, Serau. I steal: eng sitā, Darat; G 43.
441. **Steal, to**: mongkor, e.g. "he is intending to steal," ye hēnāk mongkor, Jak. Malac. [ Cf. Batak tangko; Nias manago; Sambit menakau; Katungan ngakau; Sibōp makau; Lirong, Ba Malî mekau; Long Pokou mekau. If this etymology is correct, it involves the existence of a verbal prefix mcapable of absorbing the initial letter of the root. This occurs i. a. in Tagalog and Selung, as well as in some of these Borneo dialects.]
443. **Steal, to**: rampas, Sak. Kerb.; Sak. Ra. [Mal. rampas, "to rob"]; G 42.
444. **Steel** for striking fire (Mal. bēsi): si-yab (pr. si-yabh), Sem. Plus; siab, Tcbub; S 465.
446. **Steer, to**: P 9, 10.
463. STONE: tê-muh, U. Cher; tê-mu, U. Tem.; tmu, U. Kel.; gmu, Pel., U. Ind. [Mon tmi [tmâ]; tmân]; Stieng tômâù; Xong tmo; Sme, Nanhang tamao; Tareng, Kon Tu, Bôlevon tâmô; Bahnar tômô; Kaseng tamô; Halang mô; Chong tamôk; Por thnom-o; Ka tameo; Prou tama; Somrô thmô; Cuo tamau; Khmer thmâ; Châráu t'mô; Alâk, Lave tâmo; Sedang 'mu, hmu; Pâlaung mau; Khâi mâu; "stone."


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Stork: E 38.


Story: S 363.

Stout: B 212; E 34; H 32; R 193; S 501.


Straightness: S 483.

485. Strait. a: sēngpēnгалat (s'ngp'ng-


490. **String.**

492. **Stream.**

494. **Streamlet.**

495. **Stream.**

497. **Stretcher, to**: B 404; D 66; L 33; S 405.

498. **Stretch, to**: B 404; D 66; L 33; S 405.

499. **Strengthen, to**: B 404; D 66; L 33; S 405.

500. **Strong** (Mal. kuat or gagah): la'amoh, Sem. Jarn. [cf. Mal. gagah].


503. **Strong** (Mal. kuat); swift (Mal. déras): kô-ôt, Sem. Cliff. Strong (Mal. kuat); känchong): kuat, Seran. Strong (Mal. kuat); swift (Mal. lékas): kuat, Seran. Accustomed (Mal. biaje): kuwad, Seran. To endure fatigue well; kuat (kouat), Sak. Ra. [Mal. kuat; "strong."]

504. **Stubborn; stiff**: gerchas-gerchas, Bes. Song.


506. **Stupefied**: D 56. 

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Subsequently: A 46.
Substitute, to: B 484.
Suck, to: B 385; D 165.
Suckle, to: B 385, 386.
Suffer, to: P 14.
Sufficient: E 70, 71; F 122.
509. Prefix, enclitic (to verbs, etc.): leh, Bes. K. Lang. [Mal. lah.]
512. Sugar: gula, Sak. Tap.; gula (goulà), Söm., Sak. Ra.; gula (goulã), Sak. Kerb.; gula, Darat; gülü, Jelal; B 136 [Mal. gula]; H 122; S 14.
(b) Sugar-cane: sau, Kena I.
514. Sugar-cane: bos, Sorting, Bes. Malac.; bohs; bois, Bes. K. Lang.; boys; büys; büs, Bes. Sep. A. I.; büs, Sen. Cliff.; bush (bousch), Sak. Ra.; bush; büus; büus adu, Tembi; buush, Serau [or Tembi?]; büus, Serau; büus, Jelal; büs, Darat; bush bêthik (bous bëthik), Sak. Kerb.; buh, Ben. New. (spec. Mal. tebu lat): buus krauk, Serau; P 78. [? Cf. Mon bau; Khmer âmpou [âbou], "sugar-cane"?; cf. S 515. But the connection between these words is somewhat mysterious.]
Sultan of Johor: P 33.
Sultan of Pahang: P 33.
Summon, to: C 9; S 178.
Sun: D 33-35; D 38, 39; D 43; E 83; L 76.
517A. Sun: mëhedâh, Sem. Martin. [? Perhaps for mëketoh = D 33.]
Sundy: A 95.
Sunset: D 33; D 35; D 43.
Sunset: limpas? (limpace), Mantr. Cast.; D 16; D 33; D 35; S 119.
520. Support: prop = P 218; S 452, 453.
Support, to: B 112; P 218.
Surf: S 479.
Surface: P 122.
Surround, to: R 192.
Suspicion: S 5.
524. Suspicions, to have; suspicious; jealousy: këndâh? (kñdh), Sem. Buk. Max.
Suspicions: S 5; S 524.
Swag: to, to: S 529.
525A. Swallow: latlang, Tembi? [and Seran?]. [Mal. layang].
Khmer lép; Bñnhn rûôn; Sêng rûôn; Châm rûôn; Tareng, Jarâi lon; Syâ rûôn; Chûru rûôn, "to swallow"; Bñnhn rûôn, "a mouthful" (or quantity which can be swallowed at one gulp); cf. Mal. télan; Dayâk telen; Batak, Bisaya tolon; Tagal. Ionlon; Balinese
lênlêni, which may contain the same root, viz. lêni or lôn; but Mon: ngit; Selang nonprofit; Annam nuôt, "to swallow," seem to explain some of these forms better.


527A. Swamp (Mal. paya): sawah; danôk, Sak. Em. [cf. Biaj. Dayak, Lawangan, Siang danum, "water."]


530. SWAY AND FRO, TO (Mal. oing): wo’ (wok), Sem. Pa. Max.

531. SWAY AND FRO, TO: gayor, etc. tapag tendor gayor, "the leaf-stem of the têpus sways to and fro," etc. tendor masing gayor, "to and fro in various wise," Pang. Teliang [cf. Mal. goyang; S 131; W 110].

532. SWAYING; waving: glu-glai, Bes. Songs.


535. Sweet: (a) pud, Sem. K. Ken.

536. Sweet: bedebuk, Bedu. II. [cf. H 142].

536. Sweet: pêlôh (plu’h), Sem. Buk. Max.; W 34. To sweet: plô, Sak. Ra. [Mal. pêlû]; H 141; R 13; W 30.

537. Sweet, to: rôôi, Sêm. [Achin. roô (or rëâu)?], "sweet."); H 141; P 63; S 533; S 536.

538. Sweep, to: sapul, Mon. Malac.; sapoï, Mon. Bor.; sapu, Serau; P 100; W 109 [Mal. sapul]. [Is W 124 ultimately connected with this?]


SWEET: S 41.

Sweet potato: Y 16-19.

Sweet-smelling: S 292.


Swelling: B 175; S 187; S 541.

SWELLING OF THE EYE: D 56; E 5.

Swift: A 17; G 42; Q 5-15; R 201; S 503; W 109.

Swiftness: Q 5-15.

542. Swim, to (Mal. bêrêngâng): ya kênejœur, Bes. Plus; kijûaj (kjeojoje), Sem. Stev. [Cf. Central and Southern Nicobar kichal, "to swim."]


544. Swim, to: loi, Sen. Cliff.; lînî, Tembî, Selau (?), Dorat; niloi, Selau. I dare to swim here: eng bêrani (branik) enîloî, Krau Em.; F 49. [Sel. Boloven loi; Jari loi; Annam loi; Halang jelô; jaloî; Bahnar glôî (?); Cham Iwai, chaluel, "to swim"; Mon tâloa dầk [talai dâk], "to tread water"; perhaps = B 80]. B 80; C 273; P 5.

Swine: P 73-90.

Swoon: S 540.

545. Swoop, to: berklambau, Bes. Songs.


Sword: C 132; E 83; K 47; S 367.


**Syphilis**: U 9.

**T**

1. **Taban** (a kind of wild fruit-tree), [presumably the gutta-percha tree, *Dichopis gutta*]: irarah, *Tembì, Seran.* Taban fruit (used as food): pîlô (pîlôk) lârâh or irarah, *Tembì.*


2. **Tagut**: burong (bird spec.): tâgut; chim tâgut, *Bes. K. L.* [Mal. tagut].

**Tahi babi** (weed spec.): D 114.


4. **Tail**: nî, *Söm.*


**Tainted**: M 232.


8. **Take, to**: ma-amîl *Mantr. Malac.* [Mal. ambil]; B 396; B 400; C 30; C 48-52.

To take away: B 396; G 42.

To take hold of: H 166; S 548.

To take off: O 44.


10. **Take up, to**: sâyit, *Kena. I.*; B 396; C 30; C 32.


**Talk** C 235; S 359.

**Talk, to** K 63; N 90, 91; S 360.

To talk slowly: S 438.

**Talkative**: M 202.

**Tail**: B 202; D 66; F 29.

**Tamarind**: A 25.


**Tap**, to: S 495.

**Tapering**: C 299.

**Tapioca**: F 170; R 37; T 211; Y 1; Y 4; Y 13; Y 15, 16.

25A. **TAPIoca**, a food made out of the tubers of a wild plant: koyi (koyee), *Sak. Hale*.


29. **Taste**, to; to try the taste of: mætæk (mtîk), *Sem. Buk. Max.* [This is identical in form with *S 250.*] D 165; F 57, 58.

**Tasteless**: F 261; R 44.

**Tasty**: G 74.


31A. **Teal**, blibis, *Kerdau [Mal. bãlibis]*.

**Tear**: E 83.


35. **Tear**, to: teng, *Sak. U. Kam.*; tekêg; tekêk, *Seru*. [Central Nusier ok-tek-hanga, "to tear cloth (warp-wise)."


(b) To tear *(intrans.)*: ruyt, *Bes. A. I.* To tear *(trans.)*: tenguruy; *truyt?*

40. **Tembe** *(tribal name)*: T 41, 42.


42. **Têmiawu** *(name of Northern Sakais)*: Têmi-he', *Sak. Cl*.


**Tempest**: S 476-480; W 109.

**Temples**: C 83, 84; F 224; F 228.

44. **Ten** *(Mal. sapuloh)*: nteb *(or énteb)*, *(this was twice given me as = qæn, though the intervening numerals were not known, but quære)*, *Sak. Kedah*; hopâ, *Sak. Sel. Da.* [Khmer dâp [tâp], "ten."]


**Tender**: S 334.
Tendon Achillis: C 6; V 8; W 147.


47A. Tépus (wild ginger): apush, Tembî; lempus, Tembî, Darat; lēmpus, Jelai [cf. Mal. tēpus.]


Testicles: E 36. 37.


50A. Thank, to: dahil, Sem. K. Ken.


(f) This: no-'no', Serting. Here: ānu, Sak. Kor. Gb.; ahnu (ah-nou), Sōm.; ānu (anou), Sak. Kerb.; anā, Sak. Kerb.; R 83; S 222; T 51.

(g) Thence: from there: ha' chēnān (ha' chin), Sem. Pa. Max.


(1) Ā certain one: ānu", Bes. Sep. [Mal. anu].


55. Thatch: B 184; H 159; L 34; R 164-168.
Then: A 71; D 17; D 19; T 86.
Thence: T 51; T 86.
There: D 66; G 42; R 83; T 51-54; T 86.
There is: B 87; B 95.
Thereupon: T 51-54.
They: H 39-45; M 26; T 51; T 53. 54.


57. Thick: sú-ok, Bes. K. L.


COThought to haus, wat, bodlad paheng? to Hither S to to pikir, ho'an Kasetig bio, iho' hara-lihh. beio, lempak", 16mpaw, lempah, F paha, chekat, Buttocks ble, Stieng, Y G

Hence Sak. jet, de ta-hoh, ns61, nano", sSt^, chili-ang, naho, smooth C or hgteh makat Kurku: b61u jit isok", sapat b61o' b61k, p6k6r, b66 Halang Boloven tshe'i Igmpa? tgraga' dai-6h hetc lempah, yakoh lipis, yakoh lipis, lipis (lippis), Sem. K. Ken. [Mal. nipsis]: D 182; F 105; S 280; S 282; S 284; V 40.


77. Think. to; to believe: pikir, Sôm.; Sak. Ra., Sak. Kerb., Serau, Krau Em.; pékér, Sak. Ra. [Mal. Ar. pikir].

78. Think. to; (a) ya-kô' (doubtful), Pang. U. Aring. (b) 'To think; thought; to reckon: sangkâ' (sngka'), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. sangka].

79. Think. to; to estimate; to reckon: agâ' (arga'), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. agak]; F 58.

To think of: C 16; R 67.


83. Thirsty: têrâgâ' (têrâgak), Manir. Malac. [Mal. dahaga]; T 82.

Thirteen: E 55.


91. This: timi, Ben. New.

92. This: yak, Ják. Mad.; jak, Ják. Lem.

93. This: ika' (ikak), Galang; H 45; N 113. [Minangké. Mal. iko, "this."] T 51-53.

Thither: G 42; G 47; T 51-54.


(b) Thorn: nélar (n'lar), Pant. Kap. Joh.


Thou: H 180; T 52, 53; T 86; Y 32-38.

Thought: T 78.


96A. Thread: beunang, Tembi [Mal. bëñang].


98. Three: diu, U. Pat. [Both words doubtful.]


[See pp. 456, 459, supra.]

100. Three: empang, Sem. Plus; pat, Sem. Sadang; ëm-pet, U. Tem.; ëm-pe', U. Cher.; bëmpia? (himpék), Serting; ëmpë (ëmpë), Bes. Her.; ampeh, Sak. S. Da.; 'mpè, Bes. Sep. A. I.; 'mpë (mpë), Pat., U. Ind.; 'mpë, Bes. Mulac.; ëmpë (impë), Bers. Stev.; (amen), Ben. New.; ëmpë? (bëk), Ken. I. [Mon pé; Khmer byï; Bahnar peng; Siæng pei; Alak pei; Bahner; Hâlang, Sëdang pé; Nêakôn, Lave pé; Ka, Chong peh; Prou, Phnong pé; Kaseng bâ; Kon Tu bë; Tarenge bê, "three."]


Three-cornered: C 245.

102. Throat: (a) lëkhum (lêkhum), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. Ar. holkum, lêkum.]


104. **Through; to pierce through:** pulau (pulut), **Sem.** **Buk. Max.**

105. **Throw to (?):** lunjan, ex., mā-lunjan kleng gin kiadah, "(I want) to throw (it) among the maidens," **Sem. Kedah.**

106. **Throw, to (Mal. champak):** ya-aloi, Pang. U. Aring; loi; ma-loi, e.g. yeh ma-loi mahum (mahoom) pe met katop, "I throw blood up to the sun" (a magic formula accompanying the action described), **Sem. Stev.; I 1; B 249; D 33.**


107. **Throw, to:** huib, **Sem. Buk. Max.**; kawen, ex. kawen kayel, "to angle," **Bes. K. L.** To throw away: wēh, **Sem. Cl.;** wēh, Jak. Malac.; e.g. "throw it away over there," wēh ng kiuh, Jak. Malac.; mā-nuet (mhnut), **Sem. Buk. Max.;** kawin, **Bes. A. I.** To throw away; to remove: huib, **Sem. Buk. Max.**


[Halang kāngen, kawēn, "To throw"; Khmer krewéng [kra-wen], "to throw away"; Mōn weng pāi [weng pāi], "to reject." ]

108. **Throw, to:** (a) ya-mābihi (imābihi or īmābihi), **Sem. Buk. Max.** To throw away: būs (bers), **Sak. Blanj. Cliffs.** [Achín. bos, "to throw away."]

(b) To throw: pig, **Sak. Kerb.** To hurl; to rush: pio (pink), **Sem. Pa. Max.**

109. **Throw, to:** (Mal. lempar): rem-bok, **Sem. Cliffs.**

110. **Throw, to:** pangkā (pañ-kā), **Sām.** To throw; to hurl: pongkāl (pungkāl), **Sem. Buk. Max.** To cast away (Mal. buang): ya-pangkā, Pang. Sam. Pang. Gal.

111. **Throw, to:** bēdāl (bdl), **Sem. Pa. Max.**

112. **Throw, to:** gash, **Sak. Ra.** To throw away: gās, **Sak. Lāngk.;** 4 N. Q. 103; gas, **Tem. Cl.;** Sak. Blanj. Cl., **Sem. Slim;** Serau. To throw far away: gas ennuya (gas ennynak), Jelai. To break (Mal. patah): gash (gash), **Sak. Ra.** To break (trans.): tegōt. **Bes. A. I.** Snapped: tēgōt, **Bes. Songs** [but cf. F 20].

To throw: F 21.

To throw away: F 21; R 60.

113. **Throw away, to; to remove:** kuang, **Sem. Pa. Max.** To hurl down (Mal. ēmpas [for ēmpas]): mā-chung (mehung), **Sem. Buk. Max.**

114. **Throw down, to:** champak pēkāl, **Bes. Songs.** [Mal. champak, "to throw away."]

**Thrust, to:** P 242.

115. **Thud, with a:** perteng, **Bes. Songs.**

With a resounding thud: denting-denting, **Bes. Songs.**

**Thump:** E 42; F 109, 110; H 14, 15; M 192.


Thunder: god (of the Pangan): kai (klee), **Sem. Stev.**


117. **Thunder:** tinjum (pr. tin-juhm), **Sem. Kedah;** lemgum (pr. lem-gumām), **Sem. Plus.**

118. **Thunder:** engku, **Sak. Br. Low;** (enekou), Sak. Croix; ngkūh, Sak. U. Kam., Sak. U. Bert.; engkū (enkū), Sak. Blanj. Sru.; (unkū), Tan. U. Lang.; (nungka) [probably the original MS. had ungkuk], **Sak. Chen.;** endro ungkuk, **Durat.** To thunder (Mal. bērghurō): engkup, Serau. Noise of thunder (Mal. buniy gah, gurōh): rīh ungkup, Serau; N 91.

118A. **Thunder:** tagar, **Rasa.** [Mal. tagar, "thunderclap"; ? cf. (more remotely) Khmer phkōr [phgār]; Mon thako [thagūi], "thunder." ]

119. **Thunder:** kērēntah, **Kenia. II.;** Sorting, Bed. Chiong; gērēntah, **Bedu. II.;** (gerēntah), **Sak. Sel. Da.;** gāntar, **Sem. New.** Thunderbolt: gēntah, **Bes. A. I.** Thunderclap (Mal. pētir): gērēntah, **Bedu. I.** [? Mal. guntur, "thunder."]

120. **Thunder:** (a) gārōng, **Bes. A. I.;** garōng, **Bes. K. L.** To thunder: garōng, **Bes. K. L.** [2 Cf.
Cham gron; Brao grem; Radai gram; Bahaw gron (grám); Kaseng krüm, "‘thunder’; Halang gron; Jaraí gron; Boloven brao kröm; Niahaño lü krüm; Alak brah krüm; Love krüm krc, = Fr. “foudre.”)

(b) Thunder: gurho (gukho), Jarok, gurho, Bes. Malac., Jak. Malac. [Mal. gurho; this and T 119 may conceivably be variants, on quasi-Krama principles, of one word.]


122. THUNDER: abú, Kena. I.; F 124; G 130; N 92.

123. Tick: anañit, Bes. A. I.

124. Tick, to? [the Malay equivalent given is kli (for géli, which has two meanings, ‘‘aversion’’ and ‘‘to tickle’’)]; baj (blij), Sem. Buk. Max.; bêved (bidid), Sem. Pa. Max. Ilich (Mal. kudis); behidn, Tembi. Itching (Mal. gatal); behên, Tembi. To itch and wish to scratch oneself; gatad behe; em gi behet [or behetn], Semi.


128. Tiger (Mal. rimau); ong, ex. ná yé leau ka-ong (Mal. mak sahaya habis de’srimau), ‘my mother was eaten up by a tiger,’’ Sem. Kedah; ong, U. Pat.; aum? (oum), Ben. New.; 0, U. Kel.; 0, Kerät; K 31.


jubo’ (djou-hôk), Sûm. [cf. Chrâu jau].


(g) Tiger: tiasm, U. Ind.


(i) Tiger-cat (Mal. rimau akar); yod (pr. yodd), Sem. Plus.

(j) Tiger-cat (Mal. rimau akar); chang-rod (pr. chang-wood), Sem. Kedah.

(k) Tiger-cat: chantel, Bedu. II; Wild cat: chakul, Jak. Malac.; (spec. Mal. rimau akar); chantel, Bedu. I; Tiger-cat; sédet, Kena. I.


(e) **Tiger**: po-don, Bera; pödagn (pödögn), *Serting; podögn, e.g. proverbial curse: cha' podögn, ‘may you be eaten by a tiger!’ Semilai coll. Nya. Tiger-cat: podögn, *Serting.


134. **Tiger**: wèp? (wèp (nasal)), *U. Cher. [T 137].

135. **Tiger**: kla', *Kraa Kela, Kraa Tem.; kra', Sak. Guii. Wild cat: kēlāra, *Mantr. Malac. [Mom. Bokhar, Sedang kula; Khmer kula; Kassang kli, kli; Suè kala; Holang kli; Botwën kli; Sthenag kli; Cwoi kola (cola); Pron klo (clo); Bravou klo; Sathaal cuba; Dhenvij kula; Sinbhun Kol garum kula; Mundala kula, ‘tiger.’]

136. **Tiger**: (a) ongkau, *Ment. Her. II.; ménahar kengkub, Serau.

(b) **Tiger**: ménahar ngentat, *Sak. Em.; ménahar ngentat, Seranu.

(c) **Tiger**: ompot, Rasa.


**Tiger-cat**: T 129-133: T 135; T 140.


**Timber**: T 207; T 210, 211.


142. **Tin**: tech, *Sak. Sel. Da. [Cf. Khmer dék [tök], ‘iron.’]


**Tinos** (of deer): B 351.

**Tip**: E 65; N 98.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF

21). [ Cf. Khmer khchhl [khvil], "lazy."


kebô, Jak. Malac.


To: A 6; A 178; O 26; C 219.

To the ground: E 12.

To the top: A 8.

Toad: C 72-74; F 268; F 270, 271.


156. Tobacco (Sakai): bêr-nol; bër-nor; brêl-nor. Sen. Clif.

Tobacco - cutting appliance: T 144.

Tobacco-plant: T 155, 156.

To-day: D 16; D 19; D 33; D 35; D 42, 43; S 345; T 86.

Toe: F 109; F 112; F 220; N 1-3.

Toe-nail: N 1-3; S 141.

Together: A 62; A 64; A 79; M 42.

To bring together: A 170.

157. Together with (Mal. bêrsama-sana): chêlah, ex. chêlah gin kiahdah, "together with the young maidens," cp. chêlah wong sad, "among the young sad plants"? Sem. Kedah. With; together with


To-morrow: A 72; D 33; D 36; D 43; M 175-179.

158. To-morrow, the day after: duák', Jak. Ba. Pa.

159. To-morrow, the day after: lusâ', Pang. U. Aring; lusâ' (loucâ), Som., Sak. Ra. [Mal. lusa]; D 37; D 42; M 178; O 21.


161. To-morrow, three days after: tubin, Pang. U. Aring [Mal. tubin].

162. To-morrow, four days after: telung, Pang. U. Aring.

Tongs, bamboo: B 38.

163. Tongue: lê-pêh, U. Cher.; lê-pes, U. Tem.; lépûs (lépûs), Serling; lipes, U. Ind. [Stieng lôpiêt]; Kasong apiat; Bakûn lôpiêt, rôpiêt; Churû lampiet, biat; Chrû lôpiêt; Boloven, Nhiûn piant; Alak kâpet; Laze apiet; Halang piet; Sodang rôpiêt; "tongue."


166. **Tongue**: tamara pok, **Ben. New.**

[A very doubtful word; cf. F 221; perhaps to be read rapok; if so, perhaps = T 163; cf. F 5.]

**To-night**: D 16; D 19.

**Too**: A 71; T 85.

167. **Tooth** (***Mal. gigi**): jangkō', **Sem. Jarum, Sem. Plus.**


Broken teeth: hēu hēu, **Sem. Buk. Max.**; hus hius nāi (hus hius nāi), **Sem. Buk. Max.**. Mouth: nīs, **U. Pat.**.


169. **Tooth**; chērā, **Kena. 1**.


To bite: lēmōn, **Sak. U. Kam.**. To grind the teeth? (Mal. tēkērat gigi?): i’ lēmōn (afilamōn), **Sem. Pa. Max.**. Toothache: mēj’ lamuing (mēj’ lamuing); mēj’ lamuing (mēj’ lamuing), **Sem. Pa. Max.**. Toothache: mēj’ lamuing (mēj’ lamuing); mēj’ lamuing (mēj’ lamuing), **Sem. Pa. Max.**. Necklace made of monkeys' and other animals' teeth: lamōn, **Sem. K. Ken.**. Snake (not poisonous): limon, **Sem. Stev.**.

171. **Tooth**: rangam, **Ben. New.**


**Tooth**; A 12; B 228; M 119.

**Tooth** of comb: E 83.

To cleanse the teeth: C 145.

**Toothache**: T 168; T 170.

**Top**: A 5; B 347; F 29; H 46.

**Top** of roof: R 169.

**Top** of tree: T 216.

**Top, on**: A 5·7; N 25; O 26.

174. **Torch**; tras, **Sak. Top.**
tóm chī (v. T 211); Prou

122. Tree: pokon, Kena. II., Bedu. III.; pokon, Mantr. Malac., Or. Lout; pokon kâyu’ (pokon kâyuk), Bedu. II.; pohon kâyu, Jak. Loun.; T 211. Wood: pohon, Kena I. [Mal. pohon, “tree.”]

123. Tree: (a) poko, Ben. Nea. [Mal. pokok].

(b) Tree: tangkul (pangkhal), Blau. Ren.; T 60. [Mal. pangkal, “foot (or thick end of tree),” possibly connected with the foregoing on quasi-Krama principles?]


125. Tree, large: guî, Sem. Lj.


127. Tree, a kind of, whose bark is used for making cloth: jêrê, Sem. Kedah.

128. Tree, a kind of, whose leaves are stuck in the teeth of women’s combs: hüchong, Pang. U. Aring.

129. Tree, species producing wadding: jek (djék), Sak. Kerb.


133. Tree spec.: siâjoi or chisiâjoi, Pang. Teliang. [Doubtful meaning: probably means “to turn” or “to dangle.”]


228. Tremble, to; to shiver: krûk, Bes. Sep. [Mon kâność [gâruik], "to shake"; Khmer kâkrûk [kâkrûk], "vibration," "movement."]

229. Tremble, to: gôtôr (ghôtôr), Sak. Ra. [Mal. gêtôr]; C 205; F 48; P 25, 26.

Trembling: V 15.


Triangle: C 245.

231. Tribe: kal, Sem. Klapr. [This is one of the words that show that Klaproth had some other source of information besides Crawford's list. What it was is unknown, and its value is more than doubtful.]

Tributary (stream): W 27-30; W 40.


Trouble, in: S 186.


Trousers: sârong bingkai (bingkèi), Pant. Kap. Log.; C 171; S 237A.

235. True (Mal. bënar or sunggoh); badin (pr. ba-dîn), Sem. Jaran, Sem. Plus.


Trunk (elephant's): N 98.

242. Trunk (of tree), (Fr. haste): batang (batâi), Sak. Ra. Stem of tree (Mal. batang): batang, Tembi; T 211; W 30.


Trunk (of tree): P 193; S 448; T 203; T 207; T 210-213.

Trust, to: M 71.

Truth: T 249.

Truthfulness: T 249.


244A. Try, to: chenóā (dchenobā), Sem. K. Ken.; chòbā (chobak), Krau Em. [Mal. choba].

244B. Try, to: achu, Serau. Try again: achulah sib hêla, Serau. I will begin (Mal. sahaya bëmûnu): him ber-hêchû, Darat [Mal. achu] [= P 42].


245. Tube (the root is used as an ingredient in blowpipe arrow poison): jënu', Bes. A. I.; [jenu], Bes. K. Lang. [Cf. Akin. tua jënum, "a fish poison" (prob. Derris).]

Tube (of blowpipe): D 66.

Tuber: Y 1-21.

Tuft (of hair): H 7.


246A. Tukas (a tree producing wadding): tukas, Bes. Sep. A. I. [Mal. tukas].

Tumior (tribal name=Tëmiâ): T 41, 42.

247. Tuman (fresh-water fish spec.), Barbus pholomio: tûmann, Jak. Mal. [Mal. tuman].


Tupaia: M 135; S 417-426.

Turbid (water): W 30.

249. Turmeric (Mal. kunyet), Curcuma longa (?): tus (tius), Sem. Buk. Max.

249A. Turmeric: renêt, Serau.


251. Turn, to: welwal (welwaul), Sak. Kerb. To turn round (?): telêwul, Pang. Teling. [Beheur ual, "to return"; Kämër vol [wal], vil [wil], "to turn"; Cham vil; ? cf. also Stieng ual, "to bend"; uil, "to encircle animals with a view to taking them." But here the connection of meaning seems to go
with Bahnar uin, "curve"; uing, "revolving"; ut uing, "rolling into a circle or spiral"; cf. B 175? Achin. woi, woi, "to return"; Boloven viel; Alak wai, wir; Central Nicobar wial-hata, "to turn."

252. TURN, to: 'ngku (nkou), Sak. Kerb.; 'ngkuh (nkouch), Sak. Ka.

253. TURN, to; to return (Mal. balik): né-mah, Sak. Plus Cliff.

254. TURN, to; to return (Mal. balik): lös, Sak. Blianji. Cliff.


TURN OUT, to: O 67; T 54.

Turtle (reptile): T 176; T 187.


259. Twelve: piätuk (pee-a-took), Sak. Sel. Da. [very doubtful]; E 55.


261. Twenty: ng, Kena. II.; T 45.

Twenty-one: T 45.


264. Twist, to (Mal. pîntal): ya së (pr. sîr), e.g. twist string, Sem. Kedah.

265. Twist, to: lâmër (pr. làmnâr), o-lâmër (of the twisted têrap-bark used for bowstrings), Sem. Plus.

266. Twist, to; ya' pin-tcl (pr. pîntell), Sem. Jarum [Mal. pîntal].

267. Twist, to; to spin: këkal (kll), Sem. Pa. Max.; këlîl (kllîl), Sem. Buk. Max.; (Mal. lîlit); lakh, Serau. [? Cf. Central Nicobar thain-hanga, 'to twist (fibres).']


269. Two: wang, Sem. Scott [very doubtful].


271. Two: mai, U. Tem.; ma', U. Cher., Bes. Sep.; màh, Sak. Sel. Da.; hmà, Bes. Her.; mà, Bes. Malac.; mar, Bes. New. Jak. Stev.; hmîbûr; mlîbûr; mar, Bes. Sep. A. I. The second (Mal. yang ka-dua): maár, Serau; T 45. [Môn tâ; Khmer pîr [bir]; Old Khmer bar [inscriptions wyar]; Bahnar, Sétang, Churu, Chédû; Phong, Ka, Chong, Tareng, Ka-seng, Kon Tu, Sû, Halang, Alak, Lave bar; Boloven bûr; Jia-hûn ban; Braou, Cuôir par; Prou baar; Samre pæar; Por por; Sedang bæh, "two."]


273. Two: sar, Kena. I.; T 45; T 270.


Typhoon: S 480.
1. **Ugly** (Mal. ododh): meh or mē, Sem. Jarum.


3. **Ugly** (=S 292 (b)).


5. **Ugly**: niu? (ni-naiq), Sak. Blanj. Cliff; nenet (ne-néét), Sak. Ra.; nit, Darat; nētu, Jelat. Dirty: nednāt (nednět), Sak. Ra. [Mon nget; Niahon nguo, 'dirty'.]

6. **Ugly in Shape**: rupa kēje (rup k'je), Sem. Buk. Max. [Mal. kēji]; B 8, 9; G 68; H 63; S 206; S 292.


10. **Ulceration**: A 12-14; A 16; I 45.

11. **Uncle**: nglāw (nglóu), Po-Klo; nyu? oder ngu? (ngou), Som.

12. **Uncle**: nāhājok (nāhājok), Sak. Kerb.


14. **Uncle**: B 410; F 40; F 43, 44; O 23; V 43.

15. **Uncle**: B 422-44; U 19.


18. **Underneath**: B 165; D 96; E 12.


20. **Understand, to**: ihuol (ihuol), Sak. Kerb. [see P. 155]. [? Cf. Khmer yol (yal). "to see", "to understand"; baniol (pañyal), "to make another understand."]

21. **Understand, to**: ērtī (ērtī), Sak. Ra.; ōti, Sak. Ra.; rēthi (reuthi), Mant. Bor. [Mal. ērtī; ērtī (sometimes pronounced rēti)].


23. **Undo, to**: O 41; O 44.

24. **Uneven**: F 29; R 183.

25. **Unhappy**: H 38.

26. **Unimportant**: F 120.

27. **Unintentionally**: O 39.

28. **Unlucky** (Mal. ta' mujār): majār (pr. majarr), ex. majār mē' tun (Mal. ta' mujār mu itu), 'you are unlucky', "Sem. Plus.

29. **Unmarried** : bujeng, e.g. 'are you unmarried?' bujeng na' doh Kērdau [Mal. bjang]; B 1-3.

30. **Unpleasant**: S 206.


Unripe: R 43. 44; V 42-43.
Unsuccessful: F 121.
Untie, to: O 41; O 44.
Until: C 219; T 86.
Untrue: L 31.

Unwilling: N 80-82.
Up country: A 5; A 9; G 42; T 86.
To go up country: A 154.
Upas: B 232; P 163-166.
Upper arm: A 134, 137.

Upside down: F 11, 12.

24. Upstream (Mal. ulu): tom, Sak. Guai. [See under T 203. The connection is doubtful but possible.]


26A. Upstream, to go: galah, Tembi, Darat; galah (galakh), Serau. [Mal. galah, "pole" (used for "punting" boats upstream).]

Upwards: A 6; A 9; F 29.
Urāt batu (fungus spec.): G 25.
Uretīra: P 62; R 183.
Urine, to: U 27, 28; W 29.


28. Urine; to urinate: kocho, Jak. Malac. [Mal. kēnushing].

29. Use (Mal. guna): chēnāra (tehōn-ara), Sōm. [Mal. chara. It should apparently mean "usage," therefore].

30. Usi: gunā (gounā), Sak. Ra.; gunu (gouna), Sak. Kerb.; gunā (gūnā), Tembi. Useful: bērgunā (bērgunā), Darat [Mal. guna].

31. Use, to: pakei (pakei), Sak. Ra., Sak. Kerb. To wear: pakei (pakei), Sōm. To use [or to wear] (Mal. pakei); pakai, Tembi; am berhakei, Darat. Clothes: pakei, Bes. New. [Mal. pakei, "to use," "to wear"; pakaian, "clothing."]

Utenisi: T 195.

32. Uvula (Mal. anak tēkāk): kīnōg, Sem. Plus; T 102; T 165.

V

Vagina: P 219-222.


2. Valley: dālik, I. Kēna. I.

3. Valley: lēbāh (lēmbāh), Sak. Ra. [Mal. lēmbāh]; E 12; P 109; S 57; W 62.

Value: B 484.


8. Vein or pulse (Mal. mād): urēd,


23. **Vomit, to**: bul (boul), Sak. Re. Sick: bul, e.g. bul bauwau, "seasick"; bul pê, "sick from eating poisonous fruit," Bes. Sep. A. I. Poisonous: bul, Bes. Songs. [Bauhar bul, "drunk" "drunkennesse"; Khmer pël [bul], "vegetable poison," "effect of narcotics" (and, in combination, "nausea"); Sarteli bul; Stieng bînul (binhul), "drunk"; Bahmar bûnul (bônul), "poisonous"; Mon bâlù, "to be intoxicated"; Boloven bul; Nia'hôn bu;...
Wadding: B 284-290; C 42.
Tree: producing wadding: T 207, 208; T 219.

Wade, to: C 216.

Wag, to: F 27.

2. Wag: gaji (gadjí), Söm. [Mal. gaji]; G 3.


Waist-cloth: C 171-183; E 76; G 25-27; P 251; R 183.

5. Wait, to (Mal. nanti): pönch, Sen. Cliff.; pon, Sak. Ra.; poi-an'a, Söm. [for the apparent suffix cf. S 222 and T 51]; epoi (époi), Sak. Kerb. Wait a bit! (Mal. nanti dahulu) ; eponiuet, Tembi; poi'no (poinok), Jelai; pötna, Durat. Slowly: pépoï, Bet. Sep. A. T.; hipoi, Bes. Malac. Rest: repose: penpon (nanti) [sic], Sak. Ra.; pegpöi (nanti) [sic], Sak. Kerb. [The Malay equivalent is given as "sômáñ-en," which I do not understand; possibly "sëmang" or "kasén-anang" is meant.] To stop (intrans.): aponi (époii), Sak. Kerb.; pon, in the phrase, an ok ukum pon sip iñ sëñûi, "I gave the order to stop (and) get ready (as) the day (was turning) to night," Sak. Ra. [Bakmar pón, "to rest," "to stop.""]


engbok ma senoi, Jenai. I want tobacco: am hod bakau, Krau Em.
[There seems to be no connection between groups (a) and (b).]

Hist. Want; will (aux. ?): un-mê', Krau Tem. [Bahnar mêt, met, kûmet: Prou moot; Boloven, Niatôn môt; Love ngömô, 'to love'; cf. Mon mîk-ku [mîk-gwâ], 'to desire to obtain'.]

16. WANT, to; shall; will [Mal. mahu; hêndak]: áu, Sen. Clîff. [Cf. Halang wah; Bahnar, Sêdang oua, 'to wish', 'to want'.]


Not to want: N 80-82.
To be in want of: S 281, 282.
Wanting: F 117; N 69.
War: F 97.

Warily: C 260.
Warm: H 142.


(b) Wasp or hornet (Mal. kêrawai): oikomud, Tembi; oikomud, Serau. A species of hornet found in brushing: oikomût, Serau; akomût [?], Sak. Em. [? Cf. B 143, or more probably H 135 + W 25 (a)].

Watch, to: A 131; A 193; S 250.


Spring: jai dông (dscheîg’n), Sem.


31. Water: wig weh, Ben. New. [Very doubtful; perhaps Newbold took it by mistake from the Andamanese column in Anderson's Comparative Vocabulary, where "mig-way" is given as "water."]


Water: E 27; E 83; F 1; F 185; 29; S 324.


Water, to: B 81.


Waterfall: R 29; 30; R 30.

Watersnake: S 310.


44. Wave, to: alai, Bes. Songs.
45. Wave, to: rai; kirai; mengirai, Bes. Songs; cf. P 8 [Mal. kirai]; S 529-532.
46. WAVE TO AND FRO, TO: kēau-plĕkau, Bes. Songs.

Waving about: D 14.


50. Wax: lanchat, Keru. I. [This may be connected with the following by some such curious relation as that which subsists between, e.g., kēlapa and kērambl, or the Jaw. wali and wangsul; cf. C 57; C 200; D 149; E 51; W 101.]


54. We: 'ma, Bes. Melac. [2 cf. M 23].
55. We: kami, Jak. Melac. [Mal. kami].
56. We: kitā, Sak. Ra. [Mal. kita]; I 1-4; M 26.

57. Weak: bubo (or buba, arnib ?), Sem. Beg.

58. WREAK: arnib, Sem. Beg. [See the preceding; both, being unsupported by other authorities, are very doubtful. Is there a confusion between Mel. lēteh "weak," and lētak "to put"? the word bubo (cf. Mal. buboh, "to put") suggests something of the kind.]

59. Weak: mēn-tēn, Keru.
60. Weak: beh alah, Jak. Ba. Pa., Jak. Sēm. Feeble; bē-ālah, Jak. Mad. [The first syllable is a negative (F 121); so the rest of the word probably means "strong"; cf. W 64.]


62. Weak: lēgop (lēgop), Sak. Kerb. Valley (Mal. lēmbah): lēgup (lēgoup), Sōm.; lēgop (lēgop), Sak. Kerb. Race (Mal. lombā): legop (lēgop), Sak. Ra. [There is evidently a blunder here, due to the similarity of the Mal. words lēmah, lēmbah, and lombā; some at least of these meanings are wrong. De Morgan introduces further confusion by translating lombā by the French "race," whereas it means the English "race," (i.e. competition).]


66. Weak: to, U 36.


69. Weak, to: hidas, e.g. hidas chōkng, "to weave rattan," Bes. Sep.; P 125, 126.

70. Web, spider's: S 381.


72. Week: D 17.

73. Weep, to: C 254-286; S 175.

74. Well (adv.): G 65-67; G 69; G 71, 72.


77. Well in health: semboh, Barék [Mal. sēmboh]; C 205; C 227; G 65.


**West wind**: W 114.


74. **Wet** (Mal. basah): (a) tēkō (tēkō), *Bes. Her.; tekā, Bes. Malac.; tekā; tēkhā, Bes. A. I.; tēkhā (tēkhō), *Serhting; tēkhā (tēkhō), Kena. I. Flood (in a river); inundation: tekū, *Bes. Sep.*

(b) **Foul**: tekām, *Bes. Songs.*


(b) **Wet**: bi-jog, *Sem. Cl.*

(c) **Wet**: gē-set, *Sak. Gmati; gē-sē (?), *Krau Tem.*; s'ek, Kena. II. [cf. D 115 and M 215].

(d) **Wet**: basāh (basāhν), *Ment. Her. I.; basāh, Jak. Malac.; bēsēh, *Barok [Mal. basah].*


(b) How is this? rēclock hawi, Tembi; di rēclock ok, Serau. What’s the news? rēclock ga, Serau. Of what kind? rēclock, Darat. What is the custom of the hill men? adat kei [or ker?] sānōi (snoi) rēclock [or rēlak], Jelai. Do thus: rēclock, Serau. [This appears to be wrong; all the other instances are interrogative.]


siamma punia, Ben. New. [Sea Dayak, nama, "what."]

(b) How many: bērip i jēngōi (britip i jēngōi), Sak. U. Kam.; mērip (mrēp), e.g. "how many houses?" dūk mērip (dūk mrēp), Sak. U. Bert. How many: how much (Mal. bērapa): ma'-ripa, Sen. Cliff.; (Mal. bērapa banyak): ma'-ripa kēm-nyūm, Sen. Cliff.; nāl rip, Sak. Tep.; mērip; bērip, Sak. Blanj. Cliff.; brim, Sak. Ru.; bēripa, Bes. Malac., Mantr. Malac., Jok. Malac. How many: marok kumnum, Tembi. How many fowls have you killed (lit. cut)? pupa marin [or marim]? he gōn, Krau Em. How many handfuls of tobacco do you want? mari kēnām háe hōt bāko', Jelai. How many men live in this house? marin [or maris] kēmān sēnō dōng dō, Jelat. How many families live here? he pedih marin he gōi, Krau Em. [Another supposed version of this, which I cannot make out, reads apparently: tempat dris naar klanim, Krau Em.; it looks like the answer to the preceding question.] [No equivalent given; perhaps it means, "How many of you are there in the jungle?"] marin he kōp ōm bak, Krau Em. How many days' journey is it to ——? we [or ne?] hari (harik) marin bēm hen, Krau Em. How much do you plant here? [or how many of you plant here?]: marin he ched pēdh, Krau Em. What is the price of the resin? mērīga horga tārem, Kerda. When you come to Kuala Lipis, come to my house! marin he chip ma chebā Lipis, ma dūng ēng, Krau Em. [? Cf. Mal. bērapa, "how much."]


83. Where (interrog.): [really "whither"]: pat, e.g. "where are you going?" chip pat, Krau Ket. [Cf. Achin. pat, "where."]


85. Where (interrog.): [really "whither"]: anop; e.g. "where are you going?" a-nop eng, U. Cher. [?= W 84]?

86. Where are you going? ko na timbo, Tan. Sug. [i.e. whither].


91. When (interrog.): jēmbal (jumbl), Sem. Pa. Max.


93. When (was she) brought to bed? ampu lalas, Sak. J. Low. Who (interrog.): bo, Sen. Cliff.; bo i mān, Sak. U. Kam. Who is this person? bū li [or bu li] mai dē' (dēdir or dedik?), Jelai. What is your name? bū li nāl jījī, Serau. Which is the rich man's house? bū li dōn (or dek or de) kaya' (kayak), Jelai. [Bahmar bu; Sīueng bōn, "who."]
94. Who: kadé, Sorting.
95. Who: sigun, Kena. I. [?= W 89 + M 26].
   When: M 179; T 36; W 77, 78; W 01-93.
   Whence: W 77, 78; W 31, 82.
   Where: W 77, 78; W 31-83; Y 33.
   Wherever: W 31.
   Whether: W 87.
   Whetstone: S 144; S 465.
   Which: W 78; W 82.
97. Whine, to (as a dog): (a) sê-it; sêrê-it, Bes. A. I. To cry (shout): sêngi (sônâ), Sak. Ra. [Cf. F 49].
Whisker: B 116; H 2.
Whistle, to: W 97.
   Whiteness? (a form of disease): bêlakun (blakun), Sem. Po. Max.
   Blind in one eye: bekn sambâlah (bkn sbllb), Sem. Po. Max.
   Green: bègiik (bògiêk), Sak. Kérb.
   Green; purple: biôg, Serau. Clear; transparent: biôg, Tembi. [Kon Tu. Boloven, Niabon, Lave, Kaseung, bôk; Alak bôk; Halang tábôk; Sûl bôk; Churu bôk; Brauw bâäk; Prou baak (baac); Annam bach, "white"; Sieng bôk, "white," "grey"; kôngbôk, "white," "clean"; Bahnar bâk, "white" (of skin), "clean"; Mon po [bu], "white" (of paper or cloth).]
   White man: pêntôi (p'ntoi); pêntôi (p'ntoi), Pant. Kap. Joh.
forms appear to be variants of the following, the relation between "pentol, pemuntol" (with infix -en-) on the one side and "puthe" on the other being like that of the Krâma and Ngoko forms in Javanese. Cf. C 200, etc.]


White: D 41; U 20, 21.

White ant: A 104, 105; A 110, 111.

Whither: W 77, 78; W 81-83.

Whiz: W 97.

Who: W 77-90; W 93-95.

Whole, the: pêliuh (pluuh), Sem. Pa. Max.


Whori of hair: N 18.

Whose: W 79.

Why: W 77-79.

Widow: bad': baun; bau-an, Sem. K. Kên.; B 9; C 71; W 150.

Wickerwork: B 69.

Wide: B 212; B 403, 404; B 406.

Widely spaced: R 31.


Widower: W 104.

Width: B 403; B 406.

Wife: F 60-64; F 67; F 69; F 73; F 77; H 179, 180; M 49. Dead wife: W 104.

Wife's grandfather: G 83.


Wilderness: F 238; Q 19.

107A. Will (Fr. volonté): maduh (madouh), Sem. Klapr.

107B. Will; pleasure: mëjen, Jak. Mad.

Will (auxiliary): W 8, 9; W 14-18.

108. Win, to: mënang, Sak. U. Kam.; menah, Seran [Mal. mënang].


(b) Wind: parug, Sak. Kr. Low. (paroug), Sak. Croix; parauk? (pah - rêsk), Sak. Croix; paröp, Sak. Kerb. [The Malay equivalent is given as "ribut," but the French as "gale," which means "seabees"; cf. S 479. There is clearly some confusion here, and possibly the word = Mal. kurap, but as the Sakai words were collected through the medium of Malay, I think it is more probable that the meaning "storm" is right, and that the French equivalent was subsequently added in error, probably with the assistance of an Englishman whose knowledge of French was imperfect.]

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF


110. WIND: gēmuuyong (gumuyong), Ben. New. [Cf. Mal. goyang, "to sway, shake," cf S 131; S 531.]


113. WIND: air (Mal. angin): kād (pr. kādd), Sem. Kedah; B 256; B 390; R 12; S 478-480.


115. WINDOW: tēnikās (tōnikēs), Sak. Kērb.

116. WINDOW: nechong (netchōn), Sōm. [? Mal. natang]; D 151.


118. WING (of bird): (a) pick? (bieg), Sem. K. Ken.

(b) kempi'ng, Bes. A. I.; kēpāk, Mantr. Malac. [Mal. kēpāk].


120. Wink: mà' bēlāi (ma' blāi). Sem. Buk. Max. [This seems to be a verbal form = "to wink."]


Wink: S 346.

122. Wink, to: petpet (pēpet), Sem. Buk. Max.; C 8; C 89; S 253.

Winnow, to: B 256.

Winter: S 66.


124. Wipe, to (Mal. sapu): ya' pōs (pr. pōs), Sem. Jarum. To brush or wipe (Mal. sapu): tamp-hās, Bes. K. L.; tamphās; tampoys, Bes. Sep. [Kūmer bōs [pos]; Stieng pūh; Bahnar shōpuh (śōpuh), "to sweep," "to brush." See also S 538, and cf. Mon sāpōn, "to rub with the hand to relieve pain"; sāpot, "to stroke gently with the hand"; Bahnar pōt, "to stroke"; Stieng pōt, rōpōt; [Kūmer bāt [pōt], "to rub."] P 105; S 538.


125A. Wise: budi (budik), Sarau; med-budi, Tembi; berbūlī, Jelai. [Mal. budi, "wisdom."] H 63.

Wise man: C 164; G 91.


Witchcraft: R 182.


127. With (Mal. bersama-sama): eb (pr. ebb), ex. chōp ebb yē (Mal. 'gi dēngau aku), "go with me" (qū. does it mean "follow," Mal. ikut aku?), Sem. Kedah.

128. With: bamoyā; bāmanyā or bāmey (bāmoyi; bāmanyā; bāmanyā, Sak. Kor. Gē.

129. With; by reason of: och, Jaē.
the original shows that a letter has dropped out in printing), Sem. Beg.
To do: kreja, Ben. New. [Mal. kērja].
Wk: B 90; C 152.
Work, to: D 132, 133; W 138, 139.
World: E 11; E 13.
Worm: A 139; B 143; D 142.
140. Worm, big: chaching, Bes. K. L.
Disease caused by worms: pias
chaching (pias chaching), Sem. Buk.
Max.; S 186; mejē' chaching? (mji'
[Mal. chaching].

141. Worm, small: nyenyet, Bes.
K. L.
Worn out: O 21.
141A. Worship, to: sembaiong [Mal.
sèmbahyang].
142. Wound: pā (pa), Sem. Pa. Max.;
G 41.
142A. Wound: piūk, Tembi.
143. Wound: lu-ka', Sen. Cl.; luka,
Tembi; lūka' (lūkak), Jelai. Corpse
(Mal. bangkai): lōka' (lōkak),
Seran [? whether connected with
the preceding]. [Mal. luka]; B 247;
G 41; P 14; S 185, 186.
Wound, to: C 152.
144. Wrap up, to: makélab (mklb or
mskb?), Sem. Buk. Max. To
envelop (Ger. wickeln): kālō
(gūlō), Sak. Kor. Gb.
145. Wrap up, to: sem-pul, Sak. Plus
Knotted string: sinipol, Sem. Stev.
[Mal. simipul].
Wrinkled: W 21.
146. Wrist: = A 134.
147. Wrist: (a) ngil, Sem. Pa. Max.;
yangil (janggil), Sem. K. Ken.
Ankle (Mal. buku kaki or lali):
gehāl (pr. ge-hall) chan, Sem.
Kedah; F 220; A 134 [? cf. C 3].
(b) Wrist: kēlkēn, Sak. Ra.
Ankle: kēlkē, Sem. Stev.; kēlkē,
Serau; kēlkē chan, Sem. Kedah;
kēlkē jūkā, Darat; kēlkē jūkā,
Jelai. Tendon Achillīs: kōn jākā
(kēnjākā), Serau; F 220. Elbow:
kēlkē, Sak. Kor. Gb.; kēlkē,
Tembi.
(c) Wrist (Mal. buku tangan):
kēmkam chas, Sem. Jarum; kēm-
Finger-joint: kēnychā (kncha), Sem.
Pa. Max.
Ankle: ekuleh jūk, Tan. U. Lang.;
F 220.

Malac. ; P 109 [Mal. ulação]; A 77-
79; A 178; B 396; T 157.
130. Withered (of a limb): kēmā (kma),
Buk. Max.
131. Withered: faded (of leaves, etc.):
Max.
Within: E 76; I 14.
Without: N 67; O 69.
131A. Woman: bālē, Darat [cf. F 69].
Mother; baloi, Sem. Papiér; F 60-
67; F 69; F 71-73; F 76; M 194.
Joh. Marriage: bēbisan (b'bsan),
pantus kotol, Pant. Kap. Joh.;
D 53; M 16. Cat: bisan iang, Pant.
jungkar (bisan jungkar), Pant.
Kap. Joh. The Camphor Spirit:
bisan, Jakun of Johor (Lake and
40). [C 106; G 130; T 213,
where the word occurs, appear to
show that it is used in the sense of
"creature," "person." In D 98
it means "bird." Mal. besan, bisan,
the title of relationship of two per-
sons whose respective children have
intermarried, seems to be a distinct
word.]
Dead woman: W 104.
Max.; E 34.
Wood: F 170; T 205; T 207;
T 210-212; T 214.
Burnt wood: T 214.
Piece of wood: B 101; S 448.
Wood (i.e. forest): F 230-242.
Wooden stick: S 453.
Wood-oil: T 207; W 30.
134. Woodpecker (Mal. burong tukang):
bēlato' (blatu'), Sem. Buk. Max.;
[Mal. belato].
135. Woodpecker: tingtong (tintung),
136. Woodpecker: tēredom (t'redom),
Jak. Lem.; tērōm (t'reom), Jak.
137. Work (Mal. kērja): gēvē, Sem.
Kedah; nga'o, Bes. Sep. [cf. Jev.,
Sund. gawē, "to do," "to make";
but cf. also D 133.]
138. Work; to do: tēlāp (tlp), Sem.
Pa. Max.
139. Work: kāyā' (kāyā'), Tembi;
lērja' (jērjak), Serau; Work; to
Max. To work: kēja (k. jā [sic]}
Wrotch: A 82.

Y

3. Yam; a kind of edible root or tuber (Mal. ubi): hau, Pang. Belimb. A variety which is boiled and eaten (Mal. ubi tanjong): ha-u, Sem. Kedah.
(b) Yam (Mal. kéládi): réból, Seriting.
14. Yam, a kind of (Mal. ubi kapor): a poisonous variety which has to be pounded fine, and have lime mixed with it to become edible: kláb. Sem. Kedah.
20. YAM.wild: klā-wong (pr. klā-wông), Sem. Sket.
21a. YAM (Mal. kēmbili or kēmili): (a) kēmili (kēmili), Tembi, Darat, Jelai; kēmili' (kēmilik), Serau [Mal. kēledek].
(b) kēmarung (kemarung), Sak. Em.
Ye: Y 32-38.
Yellow: G 112; R 51-53; R 55; W 98.
Yellowish white: W 101.
31. Yesterday: kēmari' (kēmākhik), Jak. Sem.; kēmari' (kēmahik), Jak. Mad. Before: kāmoi, Kena. I.; kēmarin, Galang [Mal. kēmarin]; D 16, 17; D 19; D 30; D 39; D 43; M 179; N 110.
VOCABULARY OF ABORIGINAL DIALECTS


38. You (sing.): dikau, Temiang; diko' (dikok), Galang; ko, Tan. Sag.; diko, Or. Laut. Thou or you (sing. and plur.?): kau (kou), Ben. New. You; your: kau punia (kou punia), Ben. New. [Mal. engkau, dikau, kau]; G 86; H 180; I 5; T 52; T 86.


Young: B 306; B 448; C 102; 106; G 28; M 16; U 20. Young (of animals), the: C 101-106; D 68; W 24.

Younger brother: B 413; B 419; B 423; B 428.

Younger sister: B 413; B 418; B 428, 429; S 220; Y 41.

Youngest of a family: C 102; Y 40.

Your: Y 34; Y 38.

Youth, a: B 365; M 16; Y 41, 42.
SUPPLEMENTARY LIST

The following words and sentences have not been included in the Comparative Vocabulary. In many cases no translations are available.

Sémang of Kélah.

1. baber, apparently = "recently" [v. A 96].
2. chichoi, e.g. ô' chichoi nayā' pagi [v. 9 infra].
3. hamaleng, apparently a kind of bamboo, e.g. pédèr hamaleng; v. 11 infra.
4. kélédeng, apparently = "to wear the nose-quinll."
5. kenlok, "married" [? = M 21; v. A 96].
6. lembrem, e.g. yë lembrem purai.
7. mawā, e.g. làgu mawā.
8. mawong, e.g. ô' sindē nayā' pagi mawong-lah.
9. nayā' [? = Mal. ménayak(?)], e.g. ô' chichoi nayā' pagi, ô' sindē nayā' pētang, "he (the crocodile) awaits his prey (?) at early dawn, he disports himself in the evening."
10. nguku, name of a species of tree, Mal. sēraya(?).
11. pédèr (pr. pédarr), "over" (?) [? = N 19].
12. pengasoh, e.g. pengasoh chigar, explained as = tom bōo, "a big water" or "flood."
13. purai [v. 6 supra].
14. selampah = Mal. sampah, e.g. sēlut selampah.
15. sēmē, apparently a kind of bamboo [v. B 28].
16. tēchawog, "to hoot" (?).
17. tēchegwong, e.g. ô chichoi tēchegwong lang jelmol.
18. tēladhud, "to dress for a dance" (?).

Pagan of Télīang.

23. ampē', e.g. yē suka' k'ling ampē', "I love the sound of the (?)".
24. babar (pr. babarr), e.g. kawau tenabol wong babarr.
25. bēhukau (? = jēlukau, 36 infra); v. 33 infra.
26. bio', e.g. kēnbi' bio' kē-ā.
27. chag (pr. chagg), e.g. chag dog kentu'? (?).
28. chalag; v. 22 supra [? = L 115].
29. chelput; v. 37 infra.
30. chiangul, "young shoots" (?).
31. dekamparr, e.g. tēchedeg pēsakau dekamparr.
32. òlōpō, e.g. òlōpō tējabus.
33. ewanteng, e.g. ewanteng bēhukau [v. 25 supra]; ewanteng wanteng ka-waś'dd pōmon leau.
34. hewi, e.g. hewi tēkēšeluan.
35. jamī, e.g. kleng jamī ka pinggalōng.
36. jēlukau [v. 25 supra and 47, 57 infra].
37. kākuh, e.g. chelput kui, kui kākuh.
38. kē-ā; v. 26 supra.
39. kēnbi'; v. 26 supra.
40. kentu'; v. 27 supra.
41. kespat (or kaspas ?), e.g. tēbālyif kespat kui.
42. kēlayāh (pr. kēlayahh) [v. F 284].
43. pedbōd, "to swallow" (?), e.g. 'gi pedbōd s'alu (but see A 73, where another meaning is suggested).
44. pengleng, e.g. pengleng kui hamang pī bai.
45. pēsakau; v. 31 supra.
46. pinggalōng; v. 35 supra.
47. pohod, e.g. pohod māh jēlukau.

675
48. pomōn; *v. 33 supra.
49. sad (*pr. sadd), apparently a kind of root [*probably = Y 1*], e.g. pi bai sadd pi bai tākob, "go and dig sadd; go and dig for yams." 
50. tangkös, "to fall from a tree (as a ripe fruit)" (=? = Mal. gugor, e.g. o’ tangkös lang rengal, "it falls from the end of the spray.")
51. tēbelyī; *v. 41 supra.
52. tējābus; *v. 32 supra.
53. tēkēsh̄un; *v. 34 supra.
54. tēlentor; tēlentor (*pr. tēlentorr*); tēlentul, e.g. tēlentor batang tēmēnyusun, "the stem bends (?) as its leaves shoot up" [*Mal. lēntor*].
55. tēmēnyusun, "to shoot up (of leaves)"; *v. 54 supra.
56. tēpahōt (=47 supra), e.g. lunjan klēng tēpahōt.
57. tēpēkong, e.g. tēpēkong jēhukau.
58. tērēnjāk; tērēnjā (e.g. lunjan klēng tērēnjak.
59. tingleng, "to look up" (?), e.g. ō’ tingleng, ō’ tangkös lang rengal.
60. tūmpēs, e.g. tūmpēs klēng tēlōtūt.

Pāngan of Ulu Aring.

60A. mah ngōg ketu, yē chōp. *Mal. sahaya yang pērgi, awak yang tinggal, "you are going to stay here, I am going away" [cf. S 221].

Sēmang or Pāngan (dialect not specified) (Skēaf).

61. penguh, "to throw."

Maxwell’s Sēmang Dialects.

64. mā’bo’ (mā’bu’), "to stammer" (?), *Sem. Buk. Max.* (Mal. gapaŋ’).)
65. māchētoh (mχtuh), "to gape (noisily)," *Sem. Buk. Max.* (Mal. tēbēlaha’).
66. set (sc), "vulva," *Sem. Buk. Max.* [*N 18*].

Clifford’s Sēnoi.

68. chē-nērug [probably to be read chē-nēng = chēng], no meaning given.
69. chi-lōn, no meaning given.
70. go-lāp, no meaning given.

Sakai of Ulu Tumbling.

71. chigar, explained as = tēlādas [I do not know this word (? = "water-fall")].

Sakai of Ulu Chōrs.

72. jē-rūm (=jērōm), explained as = tēlādas [probably = R 29].

Sakai of Sungai Raya.

73. banding (tandīn), "to be visible" (?) [=? S 75].

Specimens from De Morgan in "L’Homme" (1885), vol. ii. p. 578 seq.

74. Formerly I killed a tiger: nu-neng mih nēgchōp ni jūhok (nou-neñi mih nōg-tchop ni djōu-hok), Sōmang; mate aye aḥchilok nei mānu (matē ayē eḥchilok nei māmou), Sakai of Kōrū; chānu an piān nanu mânu (tehānu an piān nanu māmou), Sakai of Sungai Raya.1

75. To-morrow he will eat chicken: sēlōpu-his diop chēhā máquina (sō-loupo-his diop teché-teché mà-nou), Sōmang; siwāl hān (? = chēhā manok) (siwāl hān teché-teché manok), Sakai of Kōrū; hupul hā chēhā pō (hou-poul ē teché-teché pō), Sakai of Sungai Raya.

76. The chief, perspiring, crosses the mountain like a monkey: tuōh bēkāt chāpchip jelmol mōi reuḥ (toōh bōkēt teché-tchep djēmol mōi réuḥ), [no dialect specified, probably Sōmang].

1 Words of Various Dialects, extracted from Martin’s “Inlandstämme.”

77. āga, "back-basket," Sēnoi (?), p. 746 [= B 69].
78. bulu chana (bulu chisiana), "bamboo internode in which rice is cooked,” Sēnoi, p. 798 [Mal. buluh, “bamboo” + E 27 (6)].
79. chēntok (tschēntok), "bamboo musical percussion - instrument,”

1 De Morgan adds that these sentences are given in the Malay order, which is used by the Sakais, especially in parts where they frequent Malays, but that sometimes the verb with its subject is thrown back to the end of the sentence, e.g. "numung ni jūhok mih nēgchōp." One can also say "numung mih ni jūhok nēgchōp"; but the word indicating the tense always remains at the beginning.

On this I would observe that these syntactical observations await confirmation.
SUPPLEMENTARY LIST 767

Senoi, p. 821 [= Stevens' Sémang
tuntong (toontong)].
80. chiek noi (tschiok noi), "nose-
ornament (of bamboo, put through
the cartilage)," Senoi, p. 696 [= C
296 + N 98].
81. chiek ta (tschiok ta), "car-cylinder,"
Senoi, p. 696 [= C 296 + E 6].
82. délok, "tobacco-box," Senoi, p. 798
[= P 175; see also Q 20 and 89
infra.
684.
84. dulo os, "matches," Senoi, p. 740
[cf. F 124].
85. galú, "headband (of bark cloth,
mostly of Antiaris toxicaria)," Senoi,
p. 692.
86. ganto, "poison-box (of bamboo),"
Senoi, p. 770.
87. ginás, "small-pox demon," Senoi,
p. 942.
88. hantu duri, "axe-haft," Béladas,
p. 797 [the expression is Malay,
presumably it is the name of the wood,
not the haft; ? Mal. hantu, "ghost";
duri, "thorn"]).
89. jélök, "poison-box (of bamboo),"
Bésisi, p. 770 [= P 172, and see 82
supra].
91. kleb, "yams prepared into a dough
and roasted," Sémang, p. 723.
92. krenor, "bast-beater (of palm-
wood)," Senoi, p. 687.
93. krui, "married women's girdle (of
string)," Senoi (Cerrutti), p. 683.
94. kulet dol, "headband," Sénôi of
Batang Padang, p. 693.
95. lanchang, "white and black seeds of
Coix lacryma" (Mal. jelal), Béladas,
p. 699.
96. lat, (1) "ceremonial headband (for
men)" (Stevens), p. 694; (2)
"women's loincloth," Sénôi of
Batang Padang, p. 690 [= E
76].
770.
98. rul, "ceremonial headband (for
women)" (Stevens), p. 694.
99. sabaring, species of tree the rind
of which is used for making cloth
(Favre), p. 688.
100. slampet (slampet), species of tree
the rind of which is used for making
cloth (De la Croix), p. 688.
101. sëmkar (sme-kar), "instrument
used for skin-painting," Stevens'
Sémang, p. 709.
103. sumpeh, 104. sun-tak, "Arnotto,
700.
106. ta-kú, species of tree the rind of
which is used for making cloth
(Cerrutti), p. 688.
107. têlu, "bamboo bracelet," Senoi,
p. 700.
108. úlák, "trap (to catch rats, etc.),"
Senoi, p. 795.

Miscellaneous Words and Phrases from
Skult's MSS.

Bésisi.
109. akar pénurun tupai, and 110. akar
samungha', two kinds of leaf-charms
carried in the quiver.
111. atami, "to trample, to walk along"
(Mal. mémfiti).
112. bá', "to," e.g. bá' ngar, "for-
wards"; bá' cêlóñ, "backwards"
[A 176].
113. bâ-a', a species of tree (? Mal. jêla).
114. babar, "two together," e.g. chok
babar, "to go, two together" [T
271].
115. balan, "bridge (?) of the musical
instrument called banjeng" [= M
229].
116. bangku malang, "poison vessel"
[S 149].
117. bantu, "to assist," e.g. bantu ha-
oy, "help me!" [Mal. bantu].
118. basong domok, "butt-end of dart"
[= B 304].
119. beh hépo, "to retard" [W 5].
120. chemeh, name of a plant (?)?
121. chéngat, Mal. mêmèlas [= M 88].
122. dôi-dôi, "to watch" (Mal. jaga).
123. hindik, "to shake" (?).
124. jélök, "poison-case" (see 82, 89)
[= P 175].
125. jengróh blau, "rod for boring out
knots in the blowpipe bamboo"
[= B 260 or B 281].
126. juk, "to tear up or tear away,"
127. kachek, "to thrust into" (Mal.
chachak) [cf. C 296].
128. kâh, "to go out," "to depart," e.g.
'mpâi kâh, "just gone out"
[= O 66].
129. lá-chêk, "bright" [= L 92].
130. 'mpâi lek de' getek, "just got up
from sleep.
131. 'mpâk or 'mpâ, "civet-cat" [= C
135].
132. nó-oís, "evening," e.g. aré nó-oís
[= A 45, cf. D 28].
133. pandong domok, "stump of a
dart."
134. pape', "three together," e.g. chok pape', "to go, three together" [T 100].
135. pekong, "ulcer" [Mal. pekong].
136. pëngkèl, "landing place" [=T 213].
137. pëît, "arrow-cases in quiver" [=Q 27].
138. pûn, apparently an interjection.
139. tèbông, "mouthpiece of blowpipe" [=B 272]; tèbông lôk, "cap of quiver."
140. tègòt, "to break," "to snap" (Mal. putus).
141. tèngsâhm, "morning" [=M 179].
142. tìh gênde', "thumb"; v. H 15.
143. tom bentôl, "shaft of a dart" [B 151].
144. chêlau, "storm" [=S 478].
145. chahob, "storm."
146. tabong têlâ', "quiver for darts" [Q 22].

De Castelnaud's Mantra.
147. chochoin? (tchío-tchoine), explained by Fr. "plumer."
148. gintel, Fr. "rayer."

Miscellaneous Words from Logan's "Journal of the Indian Archipelago."
149. ampì, ampe, ampet, "three," Bènua, xi. 171 [=T 100].
150. awan, "sky" [or "cloud"?], Sabimba, xi. 268 [Mal. awan, awang].
152. bo, mo, "thou," Sèmang, N.S. iii. 165.
153. ein, eing, en, "I," Sèmang, N.S. iii. 165.
154. gir, "hog," Bèsisi, iv. 346 [=P 74].
155. hale, "house," Sèmang, xi. 263 [=H 151].
156. koi, "head," Bènua, xi. 223 [=H 49].
157. ne, "one," Sèmang, xi. 174 [=O 27].
158. pake, "bird" [or "fowl"?], Bènua, xi. App. 5.
159. peng, "mouth," Bèsisi, xi. 227 [=M 202].
GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

The following notes are merely a brief abstract, giving just enough information to make the materials contained in the Comparative Vocabulary intelligible.

Spelling and Phonology.—The greater part of the materials have been spelt by the collectors according to methods based on the system of Romanised Malay which has been more or less generally in use in the Straits Settlements during the last thirty years, and has recently been put into more definite shape and received the sanction of Government approval.

Vowels.—In this system the vowels in use are a, e, i, o, u, and ö, and the diphthongs ai and au. The first five are described as having the Italian values; ö is the indeterminate vowel (something like the English a in villa, attend, German e in Gabe, and French e in le, que), and the diphthongs are sounded much as English i in I and ow in cow respectively. Though sufficient for the practical purpose of writing Malay in Roman letters, this system does not adequately represent all the niceties of Malay phonetics. Moreover, "Italian values" is an ambiguous description, e.g. it fails to distinguish between open and close o (and ö).

Rather than invent a completely new orthography, I have preferred to follow my sources in adapting this conventional system. For the aboriginal dialects the above vowel-symbols are quite insufficient, and the scheme has to be expanded somewhat as follows:—a, ö, e, i, ö, o, u, ö, n, and ö. The approximate equivalents in English for the first seven of these vowels are contained in the English words far, fair(y), fate, feet, fall, fool, fool; the eighth probably covers several distinct sounds, varying from the sound contained in the English fur, through French peur to French peu, but for the present it has not been found possible to separate these in our materials; the ninth is very near the French u, German ü; the tenth has already been explained.

Dr. R. J. Lloyd, who has had the advantage of hearing the Sêmang and Pangan songs reproduced phonographically, finds the above vowels in them, except ö (which apparently does not occur in these texts), and with the addition of a nasalised vowel, ë (= our ë), which he describes as very like the French vowel in sèu, but somewhat less open in articulation. He identifies the ö with French eu in feu, and the ö with the vowel in the English sèu. De Morgan distinguishes, as in French, between two kinds of a, one less open than the other; it has not been possible to represent this distinction throughout (though it may be correct) as the other collectors have not indicated it.

Long and Short Vowels.—The simple vowels (except ö which is short) can be short or long. In the latter case they are (or should be) marked with the mark

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1 Rarely also uö and oö.
2 This vowel is very common in Sêmang and Bêsi, somewhat rare in the other dialects. The next is decidedly rare, but occurs in Sakai and elsewhere.
3 He remarks that the sounds are purer than in English, as in Italian and French.
4 He gives a (papa), â (gâteau), à (doutte, patte), à (nougat).
of length (—) or (Λ); some collectors use the one mark, some the other, and their choice has not been interfered with. When short, these vowels are not so easily distinguished as when long; it is pretty certain that e often does duty for the short form of â and o for that of â. It is doubtful whether the whole series really exists with the short quantities. Nor is it known whether the short vowels agree in quality with the corresponding long ones (as in French) or differ from them in being more open (as in English). Some collectors, besides marking long vowels with a long mark and leaving most short ones unmarked, put a short mark (‘) on very short ones (other than e), thus indicating that there are in some dialects three degrees of length. This may very well be the case; but the whole question of quantity requires further minute investigation. It is probable that unmarked vowels in closed syllables are to be regarded as short in almost all cases.

Initial e (especially before a nasal followed by an explosive) and medial i (especially between an explosive and a liquid) are sometimes, when it is intended to indicate that the vowel is hardly audible or that the following consonant is really syllabic, represented by some collectors by (').

There is very little difference in sound between the open variety of â when short and ë, but it is not certain that the two are identical. The latter should not occur in the (accented) final syllable of a word, but â should be used.

Diphthongs.—Dr. Lloyd finds in the phonographic records the diphthongs ai, au, and āi (which last will generally be found spelt oi in our materials, as in English oil). But there are others, e.g. ei, perhaps also a real ei, closer than āi, ui (and uc), ao (almost, if not quite, the same as au), eu (or āu), oo (nearly the same as the last), and probably eu and ei (which are the English vowel sounds in so and say respectively). The pronunciation of these diphthongs requires no explanation, as it follows from that of their component simple vowels.

It must not be assumed that, in all cases where two vowels follow in succession, they form a diphthong; but it is difficult to be sure when they do and when not. Probably when the second vowel is marked with an accent (of emphasis) they do not, but when the first vowel is so marked they do. Luering observes that in Ulu Kampar Sakai the finals ai, ao (our au), oi, and ui are almost pronounced as if the latter vowel had become the consonant y or w respectively. This description leaves no doubt that these are real diphthongs. On the other hand, Clifford’s mode of spelling, e.g. ku-i, “head,” ku-i, “language,” seems to indicate that the last word is not a diphthong, even if (which is doubtful) the former is. The word for “head” is in several dialects a real diphthong, but perhaps not in Clifford’s Sénoi dialect.

Skeat sometimes writes the -i diphthongs with y, to indicate that (like in Ulu Kampar Sakai above) the second half is almost consonantal. Occasionally, to emphasise this fact, he puts the y as a small letter above the line.

The dieresis (‘) is sometimes used over the second vowel (but not when it is o or u)¹ to negative the idea of a diphthong.

Nasalised Vowels.—Some of the vowels can be nasalised. Perhaps the commonest are ā, French an in avant, ā (often written ë²) closer than French in in fin, and ā, more open than French on; but ā and ū, corresponding to the ordinary i and u, ā, almost French un, and ā, probably a little closer than French on, also occur. These nasalised vowels are found both in open and closed syllables. The nasalisation appears to be more or less ad libitum: in some cases different speakers pronounce the same word with or without nasalisation. The nasalised vowels are common in Séman, Jakun, and Southern Sakai, rare in the other Sakai subdivisions.

¹ I am not sure that some collectors have not inadvertently sometimes used it over ū and u.

² Probably there is also a true ë, closer than ā, but the authorities do not distinguish these clearly.
**Checked Vowels.**—As finals the vowels are frequently found in a checked or abrupt form. There is a rather sudden breaking off of the breath, which is probably checked by contraction of the glottis. In Malay this generally represents a decayed final -k, usually still rendered in writing by -k, -k, or by the hanzah. In the aboriginal dialects it often appears to be merely the result of the forcible throwing of the accent on to the final vowel. Apparently all the simple vowels (except r) can be so checked, and the check can come after a long vowel (when so marked), but usually it is after a short one. It is indicated in spelling by the apostrophe (') after the final vowel. Under the influence of Malay orthography some collectors have indicated it by a -k or -k. This throws doubt on the genuineness of many of the final k's in the Vocabulary.

**Consonants.**—The consonants occurring in native Malay words are the following: -k, g, ng, ch, j, ny, t, d, n, p, b, m, h, y, r, l, s, and w. Ng is the simple sound in English sing, singer (not the compound sound in finger, which is represented by ngg); ny is like the French gn, almost the sound written ni in English ouiou; g is the sound in English give; ch and j are pronounced rather more with the point and less with the blade of the tongue than the English sounds in church and judge, but the difference is not very audible; s is the sound in sin (not in his).

All these consonants occur in the aboriginal dialects. The sonants g, d, b, and the palatals ch, j, ny, which cannot be finals in standard Malay, are often finals in the aboriginal dialects, and accordingly ny has often to be represented by n. These two symbols are therefore to be considered identical. It has already been observed that final k is to be pronounced as k (contrary to modern standard Malay usage); likewise initial (as well as final) h is to be distinctly, though not harshly, sounded.

It is probable that the pronunciation of some of these sounds varies slightly in different aboriginal dialects. According to Dr. Lloyd, the Sémang and Pangan consonants occurring in the text of the songs (k, g, ng, ch, j, t, d, n, p, b, m, h, y, r, l, s, w) are identical with those of the Kelantan and Patani Malay dialect (except that the latter apparently had no w), and, on the same authority, the d and l (and probably the t and n) of this Malay dialect are "dorsal" in articulation, that is, they are produced by the application of the blade of the tongue to the upper teeth, as in French, and not by the application of the tip of the tongue to the upper gums as in English.

The r (in the Patani and Kelantan Malay phonographic records) was well trilled, but the record was not crisp enough to show whether the trill was a tongue-trill like the Scotch, or a uvular trill as in Parisian French. Skeat thought was commonly uvular. (It is to be observed that there are marked differences between the pronunciation of r in different Malay dialects; in Penang and Kedah it is far more distinctly guttural than in Malacca.)

In the aboriginal dialects there appear to be several kinds of r. In Sakai Clifford and De Morgan notice two, one of which is apparently not far removed from a clearly trilled English r (formed therefore with the point of the tongue fairly forward in the mouth). The other, which they represent by r, r, is apparently like the Parisian or German r, formed in the throat by trilling the uvula. It is apparently somewhat like Arabic ghain (ئ). In the Jakun and Mentra dialects of Malacca I have noticed an r which appears to be formed by putting the tongue into the position for the French j and then slightly trilling the preceding vowel into an -i diphthong.

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1 It would seem that the glottal check is sometimes heard before initial vowels (as in German). In the few cases where this has been noted it is represented by (').

2 The palatals tend to turn the

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3 There is yet another symbol: before another palatal the collectors follow the Malay usage in writing n. I have left this unchanged.
the uvula (probably). Anyhow it is a very slightly trilled sound, and in Jakun represents the / of corresponding Malay words. Apparently this is what Newbold means by his s. It is near to Arabic ghain, but not identical. Perhaps it is identical with the sound described by Morgan (in L'Homme) as intermediate between / and r.

In Mentra there is a voiceless r which I have written rh. It bears the same relation to most r's that f does to v or vok to w. It represents the Malay r of corresponding words, at least when emphasis is thrown on the syllable in which it occurs. It is probably guttural and very near to the Arabic fricative guttural kh (_), for Hervey represents it by kh.

Whether the Arabic sound (_) occurs in the aboriginal dialects is doubtful. Apparently a strong k (rendered h and hh) like the Arabic h (_) does occur, as a final, as well as the ordinary h.

Sh, found in Sakai, probably partakes of the peculiar character of ch and f, and is not quite identical with our sh, but less broad, approaching in sound (if not in mode of formation) the German ch (in ich). It often interchanges as a final with s. There is no corresponding voiced letter (sh) in these dialects. Z and f occur very rarely, the latter as a final in Sémang (Newbold's use of it in Jakun is probably an error for f), the former as a very rare initial in Sakai, and habitually for final s in the Galas dialect of Sémang. There is no v: an occasional v given by some collectors is a mistake for n or w. 'Ts is a doubtful variant of ch and s. Dz appears as a very rare variant of final d.

Aspirated Consonants.—Unlike Malay, these dialects occasionally aspirate k, t, and p. Luering recognised kh and th in Ulu Kampar Sakai, and in Besisi (and elsewhere) ph also occurs. These are real aspirates (compared by Luering to the sounds in "ink-horn," "ant-hill") not fricatives like the Arabic kh, Scotch ch, and English th. It is doubtful whether they have a distinct etymological origin or are the mere result of emphatic pronunciation (as in the Irish rendering of English). In Besisi I believe I have heard the same word pronounced with an ordinary and an aspirated consonant, apparently ad libitum. Such combinations as kn, hm are probably syllabic and to be pronounced hün, hêm, etc.

Checked or Half-Consonants.—Sometimes final consonants are checked in the utterance: there is no off-glide, only the first half of the consonant is heard. These have been represented by small letters above the line. They are hard to distinguish from one another (hence the curious mutations of final -k, -t, -p, in the various dialects) and from the glottal stop which closes the checked or abrupt vowels. I do not know whether Miklucho-Maclay, by his softly pronounced finals, means these checked consonants or (as Schmidt considers) palatalised or nasalised ones.

Doubled Final Consonants.—In Sémang Skent often doubles the final consonant of (accented ?) syllables to indicate that, as in English, it was (as he heard it) strongly pronounced and prolonged. (The preceding vowel is probably always short in such cases.)

Disintegrated Nasals.—In addition to the ordinary nasal consonants ng, ny (ḥ), n, and m, there are found (as finals) sounds which may perhaps be described as consisting of a checked or half-consonant which, instead of breaking off, turns into the corresponding nasal. Thus the Sénoi word ḍa, "hand," as pronounced by Clifford in my hearing, begins as if one were going to say the English word Turk (in standard southern English, not Scotch, pronunciation); and the half-finished ḍ is changed into a ng, which is not, however, a separate syllable. Apparently the proper position of the mouth is taken up, and a sound is formed, before the nasal passage is opened, instead of these two movements being simultaneous as in the ordinary nasals. These latter interchange with the disintegrated nasals, which are evidently sometimes directly due to emphasis.
The intrusive half-consonant (as I consider it) appears to vary in force in different dialects, so that while some collectors (especially in Sêmang and Besisi) have written, e.g., -sng or -ng, others (especially in Senoi) have written -kŋ⁴;¹ the nasal part of the consonant seeming to dwindle till, e.g. in some Sakai dialects, only a simple -k is left.

Thus there is a regular series of variants ng, ŋng, ُng, kŋ (really kŋg), kŋ, and similarly for n and m. I have left these different spellings unchanged, as they may represent slight differences of sound. The disintegrated ny (ii) sometimes strikes the observer as ŋ, dŋ, or ُŋ, sometimes as ngŋ (a palatalised ng).

Etymologically these disintegrated nasals usually represent the Malay and Mon-Khmer ordinary nasals.

The habit of disintegrating the nasals is by no means confined to the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula. The Dayaks of Western Borneo are said² to use kn, tn, and pm for the ng, n, and m of the corresponding Malay words. Both there and in the Peninsula these peculiar nasals appear to be a product of careless, slovenly articulation.

In some of Emeric's words the disintegrated nasal represents the simple explosive of the typical Mon-Khmer and aboriginal form, and it may be doubted whether his rendering is always strictly correct.

Accent.—The data with regard to accent and emphasis are very meagre. De Morgan prints the strongly accented part of a word in clarendon and the rest in ordinary type, except "very short" syllables, which he prints in italics.³ Most collectors fail to mark the accentuated syllable, but it will often be found indicated by an acute accent (') in the spelling I have adopted. As a rule, the accent in all the aboriginal dialects appears to fall on the final syllable. This is most marked, however, in Sakai,⁴ where the final syllable is apparently the real root of the word, but the tendency is also traceable in Jakun, even in words of Malayan affinity. This is contrary to Malay usage, but, as in Achinese and Cham, is probably due to Mon-Khmer influence.

In Sêmang the accent is much weaker than in Sakai, perhaps even weaker than in Malay. Dr. Lloyd remarks that in the Negrito songs the same word sometimes appears in different places with a different accentuation. Although, as in Sakai (with which Sêmang has so many words of Mon-Khmer affinity in common), the accent in Sêmang is usually on the final syllable, yet in some other disyllables and polysyllables Sêmang acccents the penultimate, and apparently in many cases the stress is almost evenly distributed, much as in French and Japanese.

General Characteristics.—Sakai has relatively more monosyllabic or quasi-monosyllabic words (of the iambic type, with the accent on the final syllable) than either Sêmang or the Jakun dialects, another instance of the closer approximation of Sakai to the Mon-Khmer type. It is also harsher, more consonantal, and apparently more emphatically pronounced.

There is no evidence of the use of tones in these dialects to differentiate

¹ The small n is, of course, merely a conventional symbol for nasalisation, and stands for ng, n, or m, as the case may be.
² J. I. A. vol. ii. p. xlix, where it is also stated that these Dayaks use ng for Malay ngg (as do the aborigines of the south of the Peninsula, who also have n for nd and m for md).
³ Vaughan-Stevens also puts some letters in italics, but whether to indicate shortness of quantity, absence of accent, or what else, appears to be unexplained.
⁴ The monosyllabism of pronunciation in Sakai insisted on by Clifford (but not by other collectors) is probably to be connected with the prevalent tendency to accentuate the last syllable, which thus acquires more relative importance, and (to a person familiar with the normal Malay accentuation) suggests a splitting of the word into two monosyllables.
words of otherwise similar sound, but much, the same effect is produced by means of their very delicate vowel differentiation and their numerous range of final consonants.

*Word-Structure.*—On this point see p. 447, *supra*, so far as words of Mon-Khmer affinity are concerned. Typical Semang and Jakun words do not lend themselves so readily to the analysis there indicated.

The precise import of the prefixes and infixes, as well as their number and origin, require further investigation. The common verbal prefixes are Semang *ma*-, Sakai *dm*.- (*dm*.), *w*-, *w*-+a consonant anticipating the final consonant of the root (this last seems to be typical of Northern Sakai, but appears also to occur in Semang, and may be of Semang origin), *hi*, *ki*, and Besisi *ka*. *Pa*-(with its variants *pi*, *pi*-, etc.) and *ta*- (*tan*-, *t*-, *teng*-) in several dialects form causal and sometimes transitive verbs. In Besisi *na*- and *ta*- form adjectival and adverbial demonstratives. There appear to be many other prefixes.

The commonest infixes are *-dm*.- (*am*-, *um*-) and *-in*- (*bn*-, *an*-). It is curious that these (like some of the prefixes) are common to the Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian families, still more curious that Semang and Northern Sakai frequently use the *-in*- infix in words of Malayan affinity, though it is as good as non-existent in Malay itself.

The Jakun dialects use Malayan prefixes and suffixes, not, however, always absolutely identical with their ordinary Malay forms: *meng-* is sometimes represented by *ma*-, *ber*- by *ba*-, *di* is not necessarily passive in Jakun.

Reduplication and repetition (regular and with variations) are frequently used as modes of word-formation in the aboriginal dialects.

Apart from these methods of formation, words undergo no changes of form; such matters as gender, number, person, tense, mood, voice, etc., have to be determined, when necessary, by the help of separate auxiliary words, while the relations of words to one another in a sentence is to a great extent defined by their syntactical order.

*Parts of Speech and Syntax.*—The parts of speech are not divided by hard and fast lines: many words can be used in several different capacities, the syntactical order showing in what capacity they appear. But a word may be felt to be primarily of one part of speech. Thus the words used to determine gender are normally used as adjectives, being put after the name of the person or animal whose gender is to be defined; but words describing a thing as big or small (adult or young) of its kind, being the equivalents for "mother" and "child," are primarily substantives and usually prefixed, though they may on occasion be put in apposition to (and then follow) the generic name (F 255-258: I 14, 15; W 27-30).

The leading rule of syntax is that the word indicating the chief object of thought is put first and is followed immediately by the words which qualify or define it. Thus attributive adjectives, and substantives used as adjectives, follow the substantive they qualify. The instances are very numerous throughout the Vocabulary and the relations very various: e.g. the second substantive may give the specific differentia, the description by location or ownership or particular purpose or some leading peculiarity, etc. Personal pronouns put after a sub-

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1 Semang takes such a concrete view of the verb that it often represents the subject (already expressed by a substantive) afresh by means of a pronoun immediately preceding the verb (A 182; B 59; B 228). So, too, in giving the equivalent of a Malay verb (which is abstract and impersonal) a Semang will generally prefix *ya-* or *ü*, the pronoun of the 1st or 3rd person, to the verb itself.

2 *E.g.* B 89; F 116; F 122, 123; W 9; W 14; W 18.

3 *E.g.* *kom* (C 48) forms a sort of passive.

4 This includes the numerous uses of the genitive (or possessive) and also apposition.
stantive represent our possessive pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns “this” and “that,” when qualifying a substantive, follow it like other adjectives.

If an adjective is defined by a substantive, restricting its reference to a particular sphere, the same rule is observed (B 243; B 325; M 107).

Like most Far Eastern languages the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula often annex to their numerals certain words which roughly express the genus (or some general characteristic) of the things enumerated. The numeral and this numeral coefficient then go closely together and form an inseparable word group, which may either follow (F 283) or precede (N 115) the substantive that represents the things enumerated (see the references collected at N 115). Apparently the use of these coefficients is not obligatory (as in Chinese) but optional (as in Mon). Occasionally the mere numeral is put directly before (M 136) and sometimes after (T 170) the substantive.

In general the subject (with its qualifying words, if any) comes first and precedes the verb, which in its turn precedes the object (direct or indirect, or both, in that order; A 116), or the instrumental (S 496) or locative (R 63) or agent (if the verb has a passive sense; C 52; F 118).

But occasionally the predicate, whether an adjective (B 202; G 111; R 125; R 139; U 18) or verb (C 142; F 10; F 54) is treated as the leading idea and put first. Very rarely is the object thus thrown forward (C 166; K 5; M 76). Adverbs are apparently allowed a good deal of latitude as regards their position: they sometimes stand first in the sentence (Q 5), or before the verb (A 177; B 94), or after it (A 162). When they affect an adjective (or another adverb) they sometimes precede (H 153), but more often follow it (V 10; V 12, 13). Prepositions precede the word with which they are in special relation. Conjunctions hardly occur, and though there is a complicated array of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns and pronominal adjectives and adverbs, there appear to be in Sakai and Semang no true relatives.

1 In interrogative sentences inversion appears to be common.
PHOTOGRAPHS ILLUSTRATING LOCAL GROUPS.

KELANTAN.

E. SEMANG (OR PANGAN), KULAMA ARING, KELANTAN.

R. H. TAYLOR, SOLO, NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES.
KEDAH-RAMAN.

Skeat.

Group of Semang or Pangan at Jarum, Kedah-Raman Border.

KEDAH.

Skeat.

Semang of Siong, Kedah.
SKULL OF SEMANG SKELETON, AS VIEWED FROM ABOVE.

Procured at Ulu Siong, Kedah.

SKULL OF SEMANG SKELETON—SIDE VIEW.

Belonging to skeleton procured at Ulu Siong, Kedah.
PERAK.

Semang of Grit (or Janing).

Semang of Grit (or Janing).
Semang of Grit (or Janing).

Semang of Grit (or Janing).
Sakai of Kerbu or Korbu, Perak.
SAKAI FAMILY, ULU BIKUM, NEAR BIDOR.
Ulu Berang, Perak. A very old Sakal.

Asked his age, he said, pointing to some very big durian trees, "When these durian trees were planted I was a little boy."
Group of Aborigines, Berang, Perak.
Batin or Tribal Chief (on left) with his following, Bukit Prual.
The Batin's eldest son, Sungei Ledong, near Kuala Selih, Ulu Klang.
Group Bukit Lanjan, Selangor.
GROUP AT AYER ITAM ON THE KLING RIVER ABOVE DAMANSARA, HALF-WAY BETWEEN DAMANSARA AND KUCHING.
Sakai, Lepoh, Ulu Langat, about four miles up the Langat from Kluni.
Group at Ulu Lui in Ulu Langat, showing felled trees in front of dwellings.
Group at Ulu Lui, in the Ulu of the Langat River.
ULU LUI, ULU LANGAT (TAKEN AT 6.15 P.M.).
Group at Dusun Tua, Kajang, Selangor.
Group at Sungei Cheow, on the Langat (Ulu Langat District).
Aborigines drawn up in "War" Formation (!), at Jugra, Kuala Langat.

This photograph is included on account of its technical excellence as a photograph; it need hardly be observed that this particular grouping is due to the
Group of Blandas, Kuala Langat.
Taken on the right bank of the Langat River in Selangor, a few miles above Jugra.
The woman in the centre is gracefully draped, but in a most unusual manner.

PAHANG.

Group of Jakun, with Chief on extreme Right, Kuantan.
Jakun of Kuantan, Pahang, sitting down, with Chief holding Blowpipe of the rare Kuantan Pattern.

(See p. 326, ante.)
Aboriginal Woman supposed to be Seventy Years Old,
Kuantan, Pahang.
Group of Ulu Jelai Sakai, Pahang, a tribe of pure Sakai type.
Group of Aborigines, Ulu Kluh, Pahang.
NEGRI SEMBILAN.

A JUKRAH (SUBORDINATE CHIEF), HILLS NORTH OF SABAHIAN, SENGHI UONG.

MAN, WIFE, AND CHILD, JUKRAH TYPE, HILLS NORTH OF SABAHIAN, SENGHI UONG.
Jakun, Hills north of Seremban, Sungei Ujong.

Knocker.

Jakun Women, Hills north of Seremban, Sungei Ujong.

Knocker.
JAKUN, Hills north of Seremban, Sungei Ujong.

GROUP TAKEN IN JUNGLE, JELERU.
Jakun Boys, Hills north of Seremban,
Sungei Ujong.

Jakun Women, Hills north of Seremban,
Sungei Ujong.
Group of Jakun, Malacca District.
THREE JAKUN BOYS, ULU BATU PAHAT, JOHOR.
Note.- These rubbings are taken from blowpipes in the Skeat Collection at Cambridge, which are there labelled S.I.A., S.I.B., etc. Here for the purpose of identification only the differentiating letter is recorded. Nos. 5 and 14 (and perhaps No. 7) represent the Lotong monkey.

I should perhaps explain that these rubbings were made for me some two or three years back by the kind favour of the Archaeological Museum authorities at Cambridge, and that they are here included as likely to be of some assistance to future investigators. At the time of going to press, I have just received rubbings of the three Semang blowpipes since added to the collection. Two of these three are decorated with concentric ring-lines only (like the Semang arrows). The third also has chevrons roughly indicated by dotted lines.

1, 2, 3, B; 4, 5, C; 6, F
RUBBINGS FROM BESISI AND BLANDAS BLOWPIPES.

Note. These rubbings are taken from blowpipes in the Skeat Collection at Cambridge, which are there labelled S.I.A., S.I.B., etc. Here for the purpose of identification only the differentiating letter is recorded.

Rubbings from Besik and Blundas Blowpipes.

Note.—These rubbings are taken from blowpipes in the Skeat Collection at Cambridge, which are there labelled S.E.A., S.B.B., etc. Here for the purpose of identification only the differentiating letter is recorded.

14, 15, 16, J; 17, 18, 19, 20, K.

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RUBBINGS FROM BENISI AND BLANDAS BLOWPIPES.

Note.—These rubbings are taken from blowpipes in the Skeat Collection at Cambridge, which are there labelled S.I.A., S.I.B., etc. Here for the purpose of identification only the differentiating letter is recorded.

N.B.—No. 30 is a drawing to show the pattern of No. 29, which, as in some other of these blowpipe decorations, is so faintly incised as to be very difficult to reproduce distinctly.

1, 22, K; 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, L; 28, 29, 30, 31, M.
RUBBINGS FROM BESISI AND FLANDAS BLOWPIPES.

Note. — These rubbings are taken from blowpipes in the Skeat Collection at Cambridge, which are there labelled S.I.A., S.I.B., etc. Here for the purpose of identification only the differentiating letter is recorded.

32: M; 33, 34, 35, 36; Q: 37, 38, 39; R: 40, S.
RUBBINGS FROM BENSI AND BLANDAS BLOWPIPES.

Note. — These rubbings are taken from blowpipes in the Skeat Collection at Cambridge, which are there labelled S.I.A., S.I.B., etc. Here for the purpose of identification only the differentiating letter is recorded.

41, 42, 43, 44, 45; 46, V; 47, 48, 49; W.
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Agar-agar: edible sea-weed, i. 199
Akar bahar: black coral [lit. “root of the sea”], i. 158
Akar kakap: “spy” creeper (Dioscorea orbiculata), i. 134
Akar mérian: mérian creeper (Diosco- rota bracteata), ii. 16
Akar pénurun tupai: “bringer-down of squirrels” creeper (unidentified), used as a charm in blowpipe shooting, i. 314
Akar samuga: a creeper (unidentified) used as a charm in blowpipe shooting, i. 315
Anchup (a variant of, or mistake for “anchak”): tray (for holding sacrifices or offerings to the spirits), ii. 98
Andam: trimmed, cut into the form of a fringe (of hair, e.g. that of the bride at a wedding), ii. 81 n.
Anu: the name given to a band worn by Sakai women, ii. 8
Ara: a “fig”-tree or ficus, i. 143
Asam k’lubi: name of a tree with edible fruit (Zalacca conferta), i. 123, 124
Babi utan: the wild pig (Sus indicus), i. 135; ii. 21; varieties of, ibid.
Bagan: a temporary shed; a landing-stage, i. 199
Bagi: said by Vaughan-Stevens to be the name given to the topknot by Semang, sed quære, i. 147
Baju: the short Malayan “coat” or jacket, i. 160
Bakau: mangrove, ii. 26 [but ‘bakau’ also = ‘flower’ in Semang]
Balai: tribal hall, audience chamber of a chief (the official meeting-place of a village or aboriginal encampment), ii. 189
Baning: a large land-tortoise, ii. 21; varieties of the land-tortoise, ibid.
Banir: the “strut” or buttress of a tree, i. 370
Banjeng: an aboriginal “guitar” or stringed bamboo—that used by the Besisi, ii. 117
Basong: light pith-like or cork-like wood cut from the roots of the “pulai”-tree, i. 306
Batu aki: the name of a stone (cornelian or agate?), i. 158
Batu kawi: “kawi”-stone (? cinnabar, Wilkinson), ground up and used for making a red body-paint, ii. 45
Batu lintar: the “all-dreaded” thunderstone or thunderbolt, really the stone implements used by some unknown race (not aboriginal) in the Malay Peninsula, i. 244
Bédak: cosmetic (usually made of powdered rice mixed with perfume), ii. 51
Bégák: a kind of fish (unidentified), ii. 21
Belush: spear (originally of bamboo), i. 270 n.
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Bengarat (sic ? sengarat): a kind of fish (unidentified), ii. 21
Bér-jin: to be-devil, or rather to exorcise one devil through another, ii. 296
Bér-salong: to perform the leaf-cell cure (from “salong” = “leaf-chamber” or “cell”), ii. 295
Bér-sawai: to chant (especially an invocation to spirits), ii. 295, 306
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B'ladau or behladau: a kind of (tiger's-claw shaped) knife, ii. 191
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B'lian or belian: Magician or Weteriger, ii. 132
B'long or belong: a (Malayan) adze or hatchet, i. 269
B'lukar or belukar: secondary growth or Underwood, i. 119, 369, 516
Bolos: a spear; cp. Belâsh, i. 270
B'ruang or bêruang: a bear (Urus malayanus), i. 135
Bujam: a (Malayan) pouch or wallet, i. 124
Bukau: a foot-hill, i. 545
Bukil: a hill, i. 545
Buloh kasap: the "rough" bamboo (Ochlandra ridleyi, Gamble), i. 223
Buluh bêtong: the "big" (or "giant") bamboo (? Dendrocalamus flagellifer, Munro), i. 118
Buluh Bohal: a kind of bamboo; the exact meaning of Bohal is doubtful, i. 510
Buluh Perindu: the "Yearning Bamboo," or love-plant, also the "Aolian Bamboo," ii. 170
Bunglei: wild ginger (Zingiber cassumunar, Zingiberaceae), ii.
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Busong: a form of ascites, ii. 21
Chalong: a tree (unidentified), i. 142
Chambai: a kind of wild "sirih" or betel-leaf chewed as a stimulant (? Pellionia javonica="chambai batu"), i. 122, 125
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Chandan: a tree producing a kind of eaglewood or lignum aloes; see Gharu, i. 232
Chawat: a jointcloth, i. 160
Cheh chas: a hand-stick or wand (used in dancing), i. 131
Chêmat: the connecting piece that joins the two portions of the interior tube of a blowpipe, i. 307
Chêmpêdak: a fruit (Artocarpus polyphema or maingay), i. 369
Chêmp'long, chêmpêlong, or champlong: an aboriginal "dug-out" canoe, i. 390
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Chêngat: the polishing (process) applied to blowpipes, i. 311
Chenlai: a creeper used by the Semang at parturition, but unidentified, ii. 2
Chidwad: a (Semang) method of climbing trees (Vaughan-Stevens), i. 51
Chika, chikah, or sinekah: a kind of monkey classed with the "lotong," ii. 291
Chim-iui: the Bird (that) Brings (souls), the soul-bird (unidentified: Vaughan-Stevens), ii. 4, 6
Chin-beg: the bêrtam-palm, g.v., ii. 3
Chinduai (also chingkwi, chingkwoi, chinweh, etc.): the name of an exceedingly rare plant, said to be a powerful love-charm; the love-charm itself, ii. 289
Chingkwi or chingkwoi, ii. 311, 326; see Chenduai
Chingkwoi, ii. 311; see Chinduai
Chin-karr: sticks used in applying face-paint (Sakai), ii. 47
Chinweh or chinweh, ii. 60; see Chinduai
Chit-mât: a birth-bamboo (Vaughan-Stevens), ii. 2
Chor: a name-mark? (Vaughan-Stevens), i. 460
Chucho: probably "chuchor atap" (Calamus castanens, Griff.), the leaves of which are used for thatch, i. 192, 194
Dâmâk: a blowpipe dart, names of parts, i. 310
Damar or dammar: tree-gum or resin ("produced by trees of the order Dipterocarpaceae and a few others," Ridley), i. 112, 131; torches, 232
Dâpor: a box-hearth (of the Malay type); a hearth for a wood-fire, i. 184
Datoh or Dato': grandfather, chief, ii. 302
Dokoh: a necklace, i. 153
Durian: a durian (Durio zibethinus), i. 134 n.
Gadong: a wild yam (Dioscorea demorun, or demona, Dioscoreaceae), i. 115 n., 293
Gah [gar], gob [gor], go' (or gâ?): a bamboo receptacle made from a single internode, i. 405-406
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Gajah: an elephant (Elephas indicus), i. 135
Gantang: a dry measure, varying much according to locality, but roughly corresponding to a gallon, i. 238
Garing: a kind of basket, i. 191
Gasing kundê: a kind of Malayan top (game), i. 75
Gnage: a cave or cavern, a rock-shelter or hollow place, i. 545
Gèlar: name or title, ii. 16
Gèlugor: the gelugor-fruit (Garcinia atroviridis), i. 119
Gëndang: a (Malayan) drum, ii. 168
Gëringan: a large water-lizard (Hydrosaurus), ii. 21
Gëtah: viscous sap, guuta; the gutta-tree, i. 131; see Bhasa
Gharu: eaglewood or lignum aloes; usually produced by Aquilaria malaccensis, i. 232; see Bhasa and Chandan
Gila: madness, eccentricity, ii. 217
Gô', goh, gor, ga', i. 405-406; see Gah
Golok: a Malayan woodman's knife or chopper, i. 269
Gomuto': the sugar-palm (probably Arenga saccharifera, L. is intended), i. 385
Guntong: a hill-locked basin or "tarn," i. 545

Hantu: a spirit or demon, ii. 301
Hantu Pémbruru: the Demon Hunter, ii. 310
Hapoi: leaves lashed across the uprights of the Semang shelter, i. 177
Hasta: a cubit, ii. 78

Ijok: the thick black woody fibres of the sugar-palm, ii. 22
Ipoh akâr: the ipoh or upas creeper (Strychnos tinctae, Bl. Loganiaceae), i. 286
Ipoh kayu (also pohun or poko' ipoh): the ipoh or upas-tree (Antiaris toxicaria), i. 302
Ipoh, poison, names of ingredients, i. 318, 602

Jala: a (Malay) casting-net, i. 219
Jambu k'lat (or këlat): a jungle tree (Eleocarpus parvifolius, Wall.), i. 193
Jêhu: wood, timber; posts or pillars, i. 177
Jêlok: a small bamboo tube or receptacle for the upas poison, i. 312
Jêlotong: a big jungle-tree (Dyera maingayi, D. costulata), i. 321; ii. 108
Jengrôh or jengrôk: a boring-rod or spike, used in the manufacture of blowpipes, i. 307
Jênû' (Malay "tuba"): a well-known plant-poison used for stupefying fish (Derris elliptica), i. 311
Jinang: the title of a Jakun chief, next in order to the Batin, i. 507.
Jiwa: life, vitality, ii. 1
Jog: the Semang custom of breaking camp on the fifth day (Vaughan-Stevens), i. 173 n.
Jongka: wooden trestles, i. 178
Jukrah: an (aboriginal) Malayan chief or headman, next but one in authority to the Batin, i. 506

Kabong: the sugar-palm, also called "ärenau" or "nau" (Arenga saccharifera), i. 114
Kachau: mëngachau: to stir up or splash, i. 219
Kadumpa: sic ? kadampang (Sterculia parviflora, Roxb.), i. 134 n.
Kajang: awning (of palm-leaf), i. 187
Kalana (also këlanà and k'lanà): an edible root (Dioscorea deflecta, Hook.), i. 134, 372
Kalog: a kind of wild pepper (Piper caninum), i. 125
Kalogkang (unidentified), i. 135
Kambing: the name of a medicinal plant (unidentified), ii. 353
Kanchil: a tragulus or chevrotin, ii. 340
Kâpayang: (spelt "piyung" by V.-St.) a jungle-tree (Pangium edule, Mig., Bixineæ), i. 120
Kasar: coarse, i. 59; also rough, vulgar (of speech)
Kasi: a tree the leaves of which were chewed as a substitute for betel (Gomphia Hookeri, Planch.), i. 133
Kasum or kësom (? Polygonum flaccedum, Polygonaceae): i. 124; also ibid. n.
Katapa: sic ? katapang (Terminalia catappa, L.), i. 134 n.
Kati: a Malay weight; 1/4 lbs. av., i. 238
Kayu (pass.): wood or tree
Kayu këlondang or gëlondang: a sort of wooden gong, ii. 361
Kayu k'lat: the k'lat tree (Eugenia sp.), of the section Syzygium, and other trees resembling them (Myrtaceæ), Ridley); k'lat= "astringent," "rough to the palate," i. 123
Kayu panamas: a herbal remedy (unidentified), ii. 335
Kayu-yet: a herbal remedy (unidentified), ii. 353
Këdal: a skin disease (of the feet and hands), i. 106 n.
Kélawe: a tree (?) not yet identified, i. 142
Kélmyang: (either Chamaecladon, Homalomena, or Alpinia conchigera, Griff.), ii. 13
Kélonang or gélonang. See Kayu
Kenaij: ? glitter or brightness (V.-St.), i. 450
Kéng-chin, kening-uhn, etc. (variously spelt by V.-St. and his editors): ringlines (decorations), i. 403
Kená: tapioca-root. See Kayu
Képhah: an edible marine bivalve (Capsa sp.), i. 219
Képau: a kind of fan-palm (Livistona kingii, Hook. fil., Palmæ), ii. 107
Képong: a tree whose bark is used in hut-building (Shorea macroptera, Dyer, Dipterocarpaceæ), i. 188
Képuk: a rice-bin, i. 348
Kéranting or k'ranting (also koruntong, etc.): a stringed bamboo or "guitar," ii. 142
Kijang: a roe-deer (Cervulus muntjac), i. 135
Kijing: a musel, i. 219
Kijauj (V.-St. "kejoojie"): to swim, i. 51. See Vocab. S 542
K'laná. See Kalana
Kleb: a kind of wild yam, i. 115
K'ledang or keledang: a wild fruit-tree (Artocarpus lanceolata, Roxb., Urticaceæ), i. 134
K'ledek or keledek: the sweet potato, i. 126
K'lupeng (sic, ? k'lupeng): a game (V.-St.), i. 64
Koko (unidentified), i. 135
Kor-loi mellói: the name given by Vaughan-Stevens to the (Semang) blood-throwing ceremony, ii. 205 n.
Kowetniss: the name given by Vaughan-Stevens to the "tuntong" (or "tuang-tuung") ceremony, i. 411
Koyi: a preparation of paste made by specially treating certain wild tubers to remove their poison i. 121
K'ra or kéra: a monkey (Macacus cynomolagus), i. 135
Krakap chama: the stem-leaves of the "chamba" (wild betel-vine), i. 493
Kràng or kérang: the "cockle"-shell, i. 219
K'rantí, ii. 170; a variant of k'ranting, a stringed bamboo (guitar) or "ban-jeng," q.v.
Kunu or kuwu (also kuang): the argus pheasant, i. 216
Kubong: the flying squirrel (Galéopithecus), i. 135
Kudis: the "itch," i. 102
Kulim: a jungle-tree (Sorocarpus borneensis) whose leaves smell of onions, and are used as seasoning, i. 123
Kunyit: turmeric (Curcuma longa, L., Scitamineæ), i. 195
Kura-kura. See Baning
Kurap: a skin-disease, i. 100, 102, 105
Ladang: a clearing (or plantation) in the forest, i. 119, 512
Lampang: a plant furnishing one of the ingredients of the Sakai dart-poison (Strychnos maingayi, Clarke), i. 303
Langkap: a kind of palm (Arenga obtusifolia, Mart.), i. 324
Le'nya hubi' (Mal. lilit ubi): lit. the coils of a yam-plant, i. 493
Lèkè: a plant used in preparing the Sakai dart-poison (Amorphophallus praehiana, Hook. fil., and allied species, Aróideæ), i. 289
Lémak képiting: "crabs'-fat," name of a plant, unidentified, but possibly the same as "lémak kétam," which has the same meaning (Melochia corchorifolia, L., Sterculiaceæ), i. 268
Lëmbing: a spear, i. 270
Lo'id (or loydd): a bow, i. 252
Lök: a bamboo quiver or case (for darts), i. 314
Lokan: a large edible marine bivalve, i. 219
Lotong: the spectacled monkey (Semnopithecus obscurus), i. 135, 309
Loya' or loyak: a plant (unidentified), i. 188
Lu'ig (V.-St. "loig"): said by Vaughan-Stevens to mean "climb in general," i. 51
Ma-cheb: said to mean the "grasp of the hands" (V.-St.), i. 51
Main jo'oh: drinking game or feast (of the aborigines) peculiar to the season when the fruit is ripe, ii. 76, 145 n.
Malok: according to Klinkert a big flying "cat" [vliegende kat], probably a flying lemur or squirrel; not in Wilkinson's Dictionary, i. 135
Mangos (i.e. manggis) utan: the wild mangostin, i. 134 n.
Mata lang: "hawk's eyes," the name of a pattern, i. 276
Mènplas rimau: the "tiger's-tongue" (i.e. rough-leaved) polishing plant (Tetrapera macrophylla, Hook. fil., Dilleniaceæ), i. 282
Mèndéra: "man" or "men," i. 73 n.
Mèngachau sëmbilang: to "splash for" sëmbilang fish, i. 219
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Méranti: a hardwood timber tree, generally a Shorea (Dipterocarpae), i. 392
Mérian: a plant used at parturition (Dissocheta bracteata), ii. 10
Minyak babi: "pork-oil," i.e. hog's grease, i. 241
Mong-dar (V.-St.): a plant (unidentified), ii. 67
Mos (V.-St.): apparently a kind of flower (Ixora sp.); the name given (mistakenly) by Vaughan-Stevens to a particular panel of the commoner comb-pattern, i. 398
Musang: the civet-cat (Paradoxurus hermaphroditus and viverra), i. 135
Musim: season, i. 393

Nakhoda: native captain or master of a vessel, i. 513
Nangān or ti-nangān (V.-St. "nangarn" or "tee-nangarn"): to climb with a rope, i. 51
Nasi lèmang: rice cooked and carried in a green bamboo, i. 113
Nibong-palm: a hardwood palm used in hut-building (Onosperma tigillaria, Griff., Palmeae), i. 134 n.
Nóm: a kind of fish (unidentified), ii. 21
Nyani: a spirit or demon, ii. 241
Nyawa: life or spirit, ii. 206

Onak: the long thorny "whip" growing at the end of the leaf of the wait-a-bit creeper or rattan, i. 128
Orang (Mal.): man or person. Ex. "Orang Utan" = lit. "man of the forest." For a list of combinations of this word with others, v. pt. i. ch. i.

Padi: rice (Oryza sativa), especially unhusked as distinct from husked rice ("b'ras"); or cooked rice ("nasi"), i. 344; names of, 368.
Palas: a kind of palm (Licuala peltata), i. 146
Pantang: privileged or "taboo," ii. 21; "bhasa pantang," taboo language, see Bhasa
Parang: the Malay woodman's knife orucher, i. 269
Pasal: Ardisia odontophylla, Wall. (Myristiceae), i. 134 n.
Pawer (V.-St.): a flower (unidentified); the name given (mistakenly) by Vaughan-Stevens to a particular panel of the commoner comb-pattern, i. 398, 399
Pédas chanchang: a kind of pungent seasoning, i. 124
Pédas jintan: lit. jintan pepper, i.e. "cummin," i. 124

Pélima (short for Mal. penglima; from "lima," an old Malayan word for "hand"): a subordinate executive chief, the headman of a Semang settlement, i. 494
Pénaga: a hardwood tree (Calophyllum sp.), i. 257, 325
Penghulu: a subordinate consultative chief; from "hulu," an old Malayan word for "head," i. 497
Pengkong: the "uprights" of a Semang shelter, i. 177
Pénitāh: a burial bamboo, the "credentials" supposed to be buried with the dead; said to be derived from Mal. utah (pénitāh)? i. 410
Pènurn tupei: "Bringer-down of Squirrels," a plant (unidentified), i. 314, 315
Penyu: the green turtle (Chelone mydas), ii. 21; varieties of, ibid.
Pèrabong: the "ridge-piece" of the thatch of a native hut, i. 188
Pèrgam: the Imperial pigeon, i. 135
Pètaling: a hardwood timber-tree (Ochostachys amentea, Mast.), i. 193
"Pichod," i. 468
Pìjat-pìjat: Besisi name for the Gymnura, i. 216
Pikul: a Malay weight=100 katis; i. 238; see Kati
Pìnding: the buckle of a native belt, i. 160
Pisau: knife, i. 269
Piyung: See Kapayang
Plandok or pèlandok: the mouse-deer, a kind of chevrotin, i. 135
P'rah or pérāh: a tree whose fruit is edible when cooked (? Mezettia leptopoda, Oliver), i. 372
P'rioh (sic): a kind of esculent root (? Peria sp.), i. 314, 372
P'rual or pèrual: a plant forming one of the ingredients of the Sakai dart-poison (Captopella flavescens), i. 303
Puchok rébong: growing shoots of the bamboo; the name of a pattern, the chevron, i. 276
Pulai: a big jungle-tree (Alstonia scholaris), i. 186; ii. 193
Pulau: island, e.g. P. Buah, "Island of Fruits," ii. 321
Puleh or puliuh: to return to life, i. 267
Pumpun sarang: lit. the "nesting" sandworm, i. 217
Punai: the "green" pigeon (Osmateron vernans), i. 135
Putto: the name of an obsolete order of Semang chiefs (V.-St.), i. 494

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Rambut ayer (V.-St.): lit. "watered" (i.e. smooth and wavy?) hair, i. 59
Ranggam: a kind of palm (unidentified), i. 206
Rantei babi: lit. pig's chain, a fabulous chain or talisman believed to be rarely worn by the wild-boar, and (when obtained by natives) to possess immense magical virtue, ii. 353 n.
Rattan: see roban, i. 131
Rëbana: a native tambourine, ii. 168
Redan or ridan: a wild fruit-tree (Nepthelium glabrum), i. 134 n.
Rëngoin: the "jew's-harp" of the aborigines, ii. 168 n.
Rëntak balei: to drum (with the feet, in dancing, on the floor of) the tribal hall; to dance, ii. 141
Rëtut: name of a plant (Hornstedtia hemispherica), ii. 125
Roko': a native cigarette (in palm-leaf wrapper), i. 128
Rotan or rattan: the calamus (or Daemonorops) the cane-producing creeper. The rattans are of many kinds, e.g. the "rotan lang" or hawk's rattan, "rotan dahan" or branch rattan, "rotan séga" (the best variety), and "rotan jernang" or dragon's-blood rattan, i. 146; r. lang, 283
Rusa: the sambhur or sambar deer (Rusa aristotelis), i. 135
Sabaring: a bark loin-cloth, i. 161 n.
Sabtal- (sic? sandal) wood: a remedy for sciatica (unidentified), ii. 353
Salerik tupee: a plant (unidentified); see Penurun tupee
Salek: a coiled girdle (Pangian), ii. 58
Sangkun (V.-St. "sungkun"): a censer, i. 345
Sapu-tangan: a handkerchief, i. 160
Sarong (lit. "wrapper"): the Malay national dress, really a sort of long kilt, usually of a kind of plaid pattern, i. 160
Satathun angin: a wind-year (lit. "year of wind"), i. 393
Saya. See Ular
Sébáru: a kind of fish (Lates boggil), ii. 21
Sêko: millet (Panicum italicum), i. 111
Sédang: the wild bull (Bos gaurus), i. 175
Sélampit: a loin-cloth, i. 151
Séligi: a pointed throwing-stick or "squirrel," i. 201 n., 304
Sëlart: short native drawers of the Malay pattern, i. 160
Sêmilang: an edible fish found in tidal waters and furnished with highly poisonous spines (Plotosus canis), i. 218
Sémiblù: a splinter or sliver, ii. 6
Sèmbor sirih: to "blow" betel-leaf out of the mouth on to the skin of a sick person for healing purposes, as is done by Malay magicians, ii. 231
Sèmeng: a kind of bamboo said to be specially used for the manufacture of combs (V.-St.), i. 424
Sèmika' (V.-St. "smee-kar"): a small but peculiar form of knife used for severing the umbilical cord. It is furnished with a double row of saw-teeth, and these teeth may give it its name ("sèmika"="si'ka" or "si'kat" with infix "m"). ii. 9. Cp. Smikar
Sèngkalan: a native spice-block or platter, i. 121
Sèntong: a back-basket (for jungle produce), i. 191
Sèrdang: a tall kind of fan-palm (Livistona cochinchinensis), i. 366
Sèrkap: said to be a kind of "fish"-spear; but usually a kind of basket-work hand-scoop for fish, i. 335
Sèrum p'rah: p'rah-fruit paste, i. 121
Sèrûyan: title of a Sakai chief, i. 500
Sìamang: a kind of ape, ii. 290
Sìmapo: a fruit (unidentified, but possibly Simpoh dillenia sp.), i. 134 n.
S'löw: according to Vaughan-Stevens the name of a plant; but perhaps a corruption of "sélak" or "séla"=leaf (Sakai), ii. 260
Smikar ("smeek-kar"): a comb-like implement used in applying face-paint; see sèmika', ii. 47
Sñahut: title of an obsolete order of Semang chiefs (V.-St.) inferior to the "Putto," i. 494
Sokyet: short bamboo sticks used in pairs and struck upon each other to produce the effect of castanets, ii. 255
Sorong-lanting or sau-lanting: the Malayan partridge, i. 216
Subang: ear-studs (of a Malay virgin) discarded at marriage; leaf-rings (decoration), i. 159
Suku: division (lit. "quarter"), company, clan (in N. Semblian only), i. 68
Sulùr lobak: shoots of the lobak (Lowia grandiflora), i. 149
Sumpitan: blowpipe, names of parts, i. 316-317
Tabong télâ': dart-querier, i. 306
Tahil: the name of a Malay (originally
a Chinese) weight, about $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. av., i. 239
Tabong (V.-St.'s spelling for tabong?): a bamboo vessel or birth-bamboo, carried by pregnant women (perhaps analogous to the bamboo marriage-token worn by women in some parts of India), i. 410
Tampoi: a well-known jungle fruit, also used for brewing a species of liquor drunk at aboriginal feasts (Baccaurea malayana, Hook. fil., Euphorbiaceae), i. 134
Tam-tum = tøntom, q.v., i. 146
Tangkal: a charm (especially an amulet), but frequently used (as in English) for a spoken invocation or spell, i. 153
Tapa: said to mean a kind of knife (V.-St.), sed gu., ii. 6
Tarek api: matches (lit. "pull-fires"), i. 111
Tarok: a spear, i. 270 n.
Tebong (or Tabong?) lòk: the covering (or lid) of the Besiari dart-quer, i. 314
Tèkan badan k'luar: to manipulate by pressure (in child-birth), lit. "press body outwards," ii. 258
Tekub: a rhinoceros-bird (V.-St.), i. 277
Temakâh: a kind of hardwood tree (unidentified) from which the Semang bows are made, i. 271
Tentom: a girdle (Semang) of "rock-vein fibre" ("urat batu"), i. 380
Tenwad: said to mean "blowpipe patterns" (V.-St.), i. 465
Til-il-tapa: said to be the smaller argus pheasant (V.-St.), sed gu., ii. 6
Ti-nangàn (V.-St., "Tee-nungarn"): to climb with a rope, i. 51
Tinbon (V.-St., "tinborn"): to climb a tree flat-footed, i. 51
Tin-leig: said to mean a comb (V.-St.), i. 426
Tin-wég: said to mean the fifth or central panel of a comb-pattern, i. 426
Tiong: the mynah-bird (Mainatus javanensis), i. 135
Tisi: the Besiari name for the ceremony of exorcism, ii. 295
To': short for Dato', q.v.
Tomán: a kind of fish, one of the Snakeheads (Ophiocephalus striatus), ii. 21
Triap or térap: the tree from which bark-cloth is usually made; a sort of wild bread-fruit (Artocarpus kunstleri, Hook. fil., Urticaceae), i. 159, 210
Tripang or téripang: the bëche-de-mer or sea-slug (Holothurion), i. 199
Tr'umba or tèrumba: a tribal genealogy in the form of a song or chant, ii. 130
Tuai or tuwai (= pènuwai): an implement for reaping rice in the Malay fashion, i. 351
Tuba: the well-known fish-poison of the Malays, obtained from Derrius elliptica, i. 206
Tuju; to point; a "pointing" or "sending" (in magic), ii. 199
Tukas: a palm that furnishes the fluff or down employed by the aborigines as tinder and as a wadding behind the blowpipe dart (Caryota Griffithii or Caryota mitty), i. 260
Tuntong or tuang-tuang: a bamboo cylinder with a mouth-hole used as a couch, i. 411; also a kind of turtle (Callagur picta) whose shell is sometimes used as a gong, ii. 21
Tupai or Tupei: a squirrel, i. 135
Ubi kapor: a kind of wild yam used for food by the Semang, i. 115
Ubi kayu: tapioca, i. 131
Ubi takob: an edible root or tuber, i. 115
Ubi tanjong: an edible tuber, i. 115
Ular: a snake, i. 130
Ular bakau: a "mangrove" snake, i. 216
Ular sawa: a python, ii. 154, 155
Upas. See Ipoh
Urat batu (in full "akar urat batu"): the rock-vein creeper; really the rhizomorph of a fungus, i. 140, 142 n., 151 n.
Uri: a caul, ii. 3
Wong loy'd: an arrow (lit. child of the bow), employed by Semang only, i. 271

THE END
