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Some obscure Austroasiatic borrowings in Indonesian and Old Malay

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Initially, the distribution areas of Austroasiatic and Austronesian languages had been assumed to border on each other in Southeast Asia

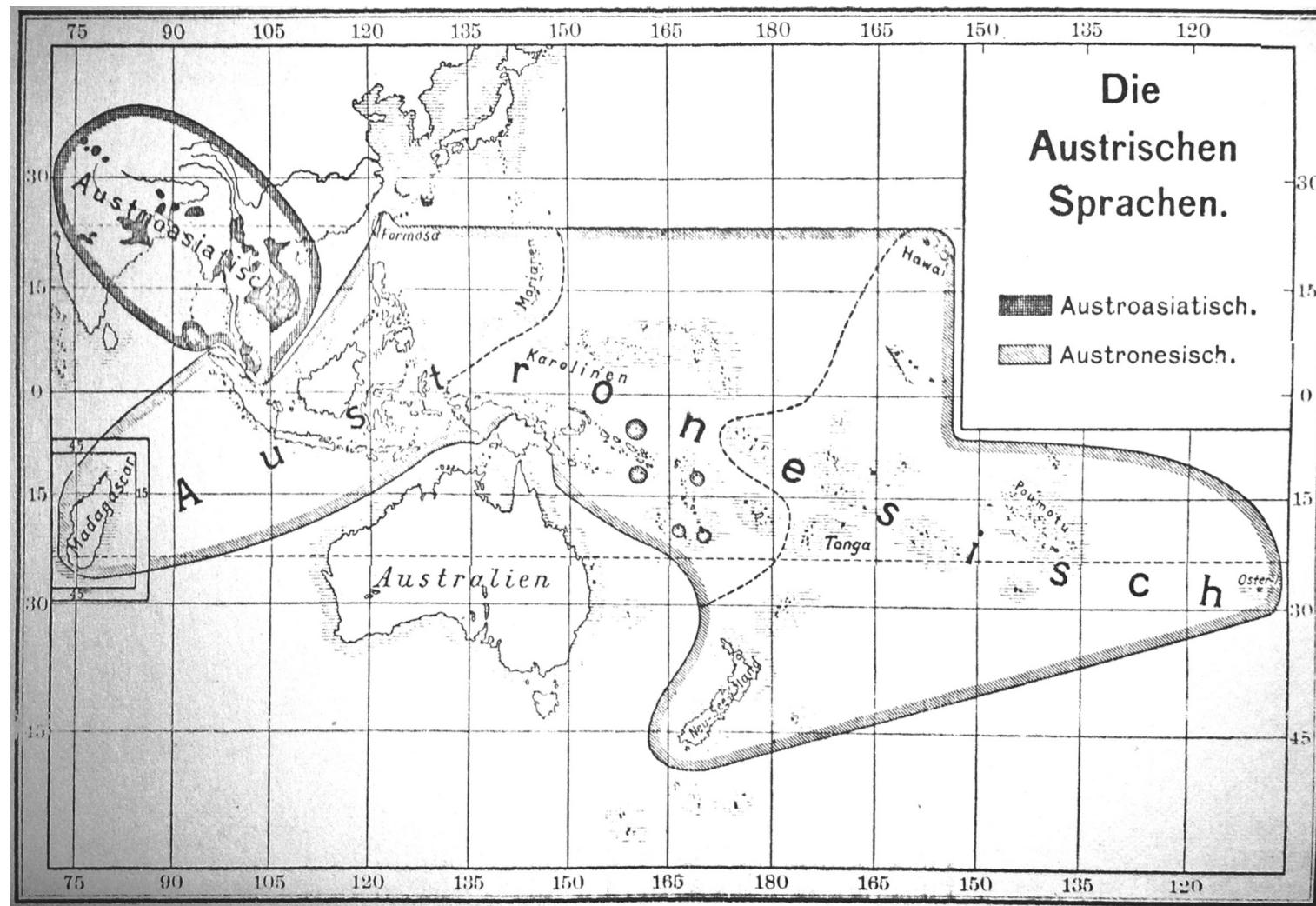
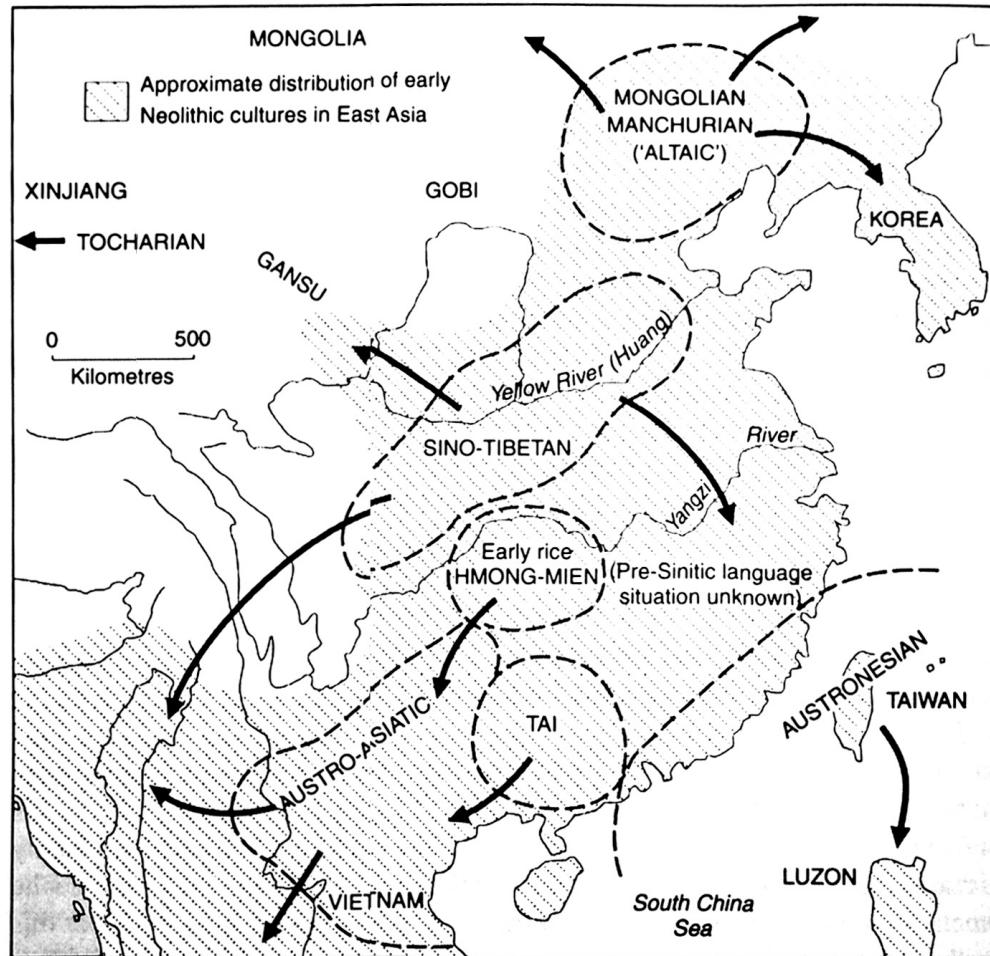


Fig. 3 (p. 82)

W[ilhelm] Schmidt, "Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens". *Archiv für Anthropologie* 33, 59–106 (1906).

Later results of archaeological and linguistic research led to the insight, that the Austronesian homeland had been further north, in Taiwan and the Chinese mainland that faced it. Contacts with Austroasiatic must have run over a northern route.



Map 1.1 (p. 26)

Peter Bellwood, “Examining the farming/language dispersal hypothesis in the East Asian context”. In L. Sagart, R. Blench, A. Sanchez-Mazas (eds.), *The peopling of East Asia*. RoutledgeCurzon (2005)

2.1. ‘Eye’

Mly. *mata* ‘eye’ < PMP **mata* < PAn *maCa** >**

> RukMg. *mača*, BunTd. *mata?*, Ilk., BtkTb. *mata*, Mny. *mate*, Mks., Smb. *mata*, Brm. *mata-n*, Bgt., Sam. *mata* ‘eye’;

PAA **ma’d* ‘eye’ >

(1) > Munda: Khr. *mɔ́d*, Mdr. *mέd*, Sor. *mad-ən* ‘eye’;

> Nicobar: NicCt. [oəl]-*ma:t*, Ncr. ?*uál-mát* ~ ?*u-mát* ‘eye’;

> Mon-Khm.: OMon *mat*, Kuy *màt*, Chr. *mat* ‘eye’, Mng. *mat_{D2}* ‘eye, face’, Vnm. *mat_{D2}* (< **mat*) ‘face’;

> Aslian: Tmr. *mad*, Sml. *mɔ́t* ‘eye’;

(2) > Mon-Khm. *χ-*mat* > Khs. *khmat*, Vnm. *mat_{D1}* (< **hmat*) ‘eye’

PKD **mCā* ‘eye’ > Ahom *tā*, Thai *tā_{A1}*, Wuming Tai *rā_{A1}*, Saek *prā_{A1}*, Li-Ngam Sui *da_{A1}*, Lati *mču_{A1}*, Hlai *tša_{A1}* ‘eye’;

PAA=Proto-Austroasiatic; PAn = Proto-Austronesian, PKD = Proto-Kra-Daic; PMP = Proto-Malayo-Polynesian.
=> developed to; => was borrowed as; => derived or inflected morphologically to; * = is a reconstructed form.

2.2. ‘Bone’

Mly. *tulanj* ‘bone’ < PMP *tuqəlaŋ < PAn *Cuqəlaŋ >

- > Kkb. čuʔúanə, Pai. čuqəlat, TbwAb. tuʔlay, Ach. tuluəŋ, MlgBl. tólaŋə, Cmr. toʔlay, Nkn. tuhala ‘bone’, Sam. *tula-iʔu* lit. ‘bone of the tail’

PAA *jəʔāŋ >

- > Munda: Stl., Mdr., Bhr. *jaŋ* ‘bone, kernel’, Khr. *jaŋ*, Prg. *zaŋ* ‘bone’;
- > Mon-Khm: KmuYu. čəʔaŋ, Prk. siʔaŋ ‘bone’; →
→ *jə⟨n⟩ʔāŋ > Rng. čənʔaŋ, Lmt.. čəŋʔaŋ ‘bone’;
- > Aslian: Sml. *jəʔæŋ*, Smn. *jəʔāŋ*, Tmr. *jəʔāk* ‘bone’.

2.3. ‘This’

Mly. *ini* ‘this’ < PMP * *ini* < PAn **ini[H]* >

> Sed. ?*ini?*, RukMg. *k-iní*, Cmr. *ini*, Mun. *ini*, Srw. *ini*, Ngg. *ini* ‘this’,
MlgMe. *ini*, Ulw. *ini* ‘that’,

PAA **ni?* ~ **nih* ~ **ne* ‘this’ >

> Munda: Mdr. *ini?* ‘he’, Stl., Bhr. *ini* ‘he there, this one’, Sor. *en'nē* ‘such as
this’, Krk. *ini* ‘this’, *ene-n* ‘here’;
> Nicobar: NicCt. *əne* ‘that’;
> Mon-Khm.: Kuy *nì:*, Stg. *nī*, Mng. *ni_{B2}* ‘this’;
> Aslian: “Mantr. Malac.” *ni-n*, “Belend. Stev., Jak. Stev.” *nī*, “Jak. Malac.” *dě-*
ni ‘here’:

**PKD **n[ə]ih* ‘this’ > Ahom *nai*, Thai *nī_{C2}*, Lingam Sui *nai_{C2}*, Hlai *nei[ŋ]*, Laha *nəi[ŋ]*
‘this’; ⇒ (?) Vnm. *nay_{A2}* ‘this’**

2.4. ‘Bow, Arrow’

Ml. *panah* ‘arrow’ < PMP ~~x~~panaq < **PAn ~~x~~panaq ‘bow [and arrow]’ >**
> Sai. *p-um-änä?*, Kkb. *mua-paná?*, Tso. *pono* ‘to shoot a bow’, Pai. *panaq*,
Ami *panáq*, Ach. *panah*, Ilk. *pana* ‘arrow’, LpgKr. *panah* ‘bow [and
arrow]’, CamPh. *panih*, Fut. *fana* ‘bow’, Sik. *pana*, Ngg. *vana* ‘shoot’;

PAA *a'g >

- (1) > Munda: Khr. *k-a?*, Stl. *a'k*, Mdr., Bhr., Krk. *a?* ‘bow’
- (2) > Aslian: Snm. *āg* ‘bow’;
- (3) > Mon-Khm.: Pal. *ă*, Rng. *ak*₁, Stg. *ak*, Chr. *a*, Dnw. *ak*, Sre *a?* ‘bow’;

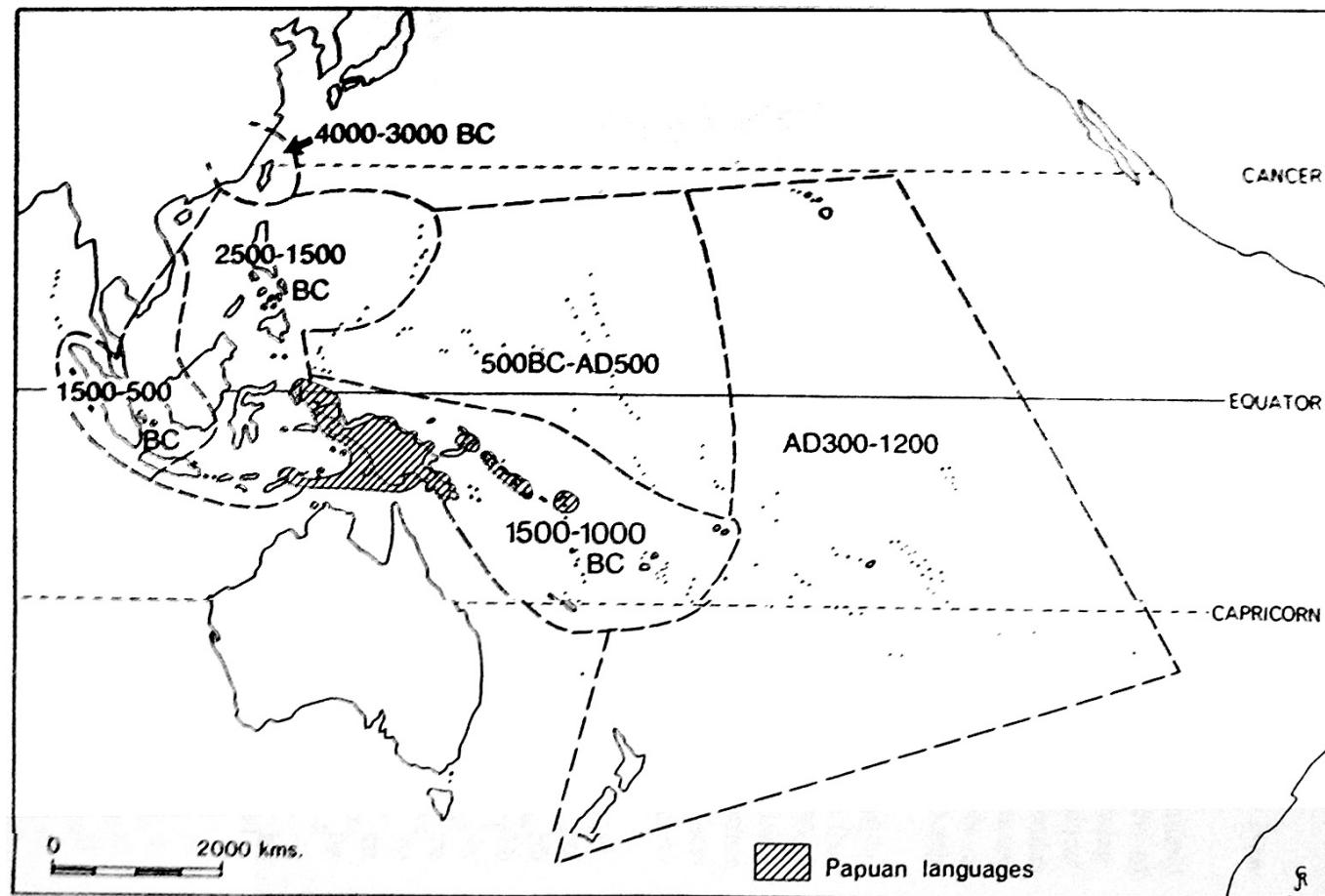
→ **PMK *sn-a'k > OKhm. *snak*, Stg., Lvn. *sənā*, Kuy *snā*,**

Vnm. *nā*_{B1} (< **hnā?* < **snā?*) ‘crossbow’; ⇒

- (a) ⇒ **PAn ~~x~~pa-naq** (see above);
- (b) ⇒ **PKD ~~x~~hna?** > Thai *nā*_{B1} ‘crossbow’, Lingam Sui *hna*_{B1} ‘bow’;
- (c) ⇒ **PHM ~~x~~hna?** > Mien *hna*_{B1}, Mun *na*_{B1} ‘crossbow’
- (d) ⇒ Chinese *nǔ* = *nu*_{B1} 鴛 (< ^h*na?*) ‘crossbow’

PMK = Proto-Mon-Khmer; PHM = Proto-Hmong-Mien

After a pause from 2500 till 1500 BCE during which the ancestor language of Malay was separated from the Austroasiatic dispersal area, contact was resumed in Southeast Asia.



Map 4 (p. 112)

Andrew Pawley, “Chasing rainbows: implications for the rapid dispersal of Austronesian languages for subgrouping and reconstruction”.

In E. Zeitoun, P.J. Li (eds.), *Selected Papers from 8-ICAL*. Taipei: Academia sinica (1999)

3.1. ‘Carabao’

Mly. *kərbaw* ‘carabao’ < PMJ ×keRbaw >

- (A) > Lpg. *kibaw* ‘carabao’;
- (B) > OJav., Jav. *kəbo* ‘carabao’ ⇒ Snd. *kəbo*,
Bal. *kəbo* ‘carabao’;
- (C) ≈ **MlyVern. *kərbaw* ~ *kərəbaw*** ⇒
 - (a) ⇒ BtkTb. *horbo*, Smb. *karamboa*, Spr.
karbo, Mny. *karəwaw*, MrtTm.
karabaw, Tdn. *kərwow*, MnWb.
kərəvəw, BisHg. *karabáw*, Tgl.
kalabáw ‘carabao’; ⇒
via Bis. *karabáw* ⇒
 - (x) ⇒ Kvl. *kravau* ‘carabao’;
 - (y) ⇒ Cmr. *karabáo* ‘carabao’;
 - (z) ⇒ Spanish (⇒) English, Italian
carabao, New Latin
[*Bubalus*] *carabanensis*;
 - (b) ⇒ Dutch. *karbouw* ‘carabao’;
 - (c) via Malay personnel ⇒
⇒ Fji. *karavau* ‘cow’;



PMJ = Proto-Malayo-Javanic.

3.1. ‘Carabao’ (continued)

PAA *Gəruayk >

(1) > *Gəruay? >

- (a) > Munda: Gta. *hrwe?* ‘draught animal’, also
MT ə/u: Gtb. *gula’j*, Jng. *orai*, Khr. *orej* ‘bullock’;
- (b) ⇒ PB *Gluai > OBrm. *klwai*, Arakan *kywe*, Taungyo *kywa* ‘carabao’;
- (c) ⇒ PKC a.o. *[]luai > Siyin *loai*, Lushei *loi*; Jingpho *əloi* ‘carabao’
- (d) ⇒ PKD *yrwāy > Ahom *khrai*, Thai *khwāi*_{A2}, Buyi *wāi*_{A2}, Lingam Sui *kwi*_{A2},
Laqua *hài*, Gelao *ua*, Lati *kuá* ‘carabao’

(2) > *Gəruak (a) > *Gərok >

- (x) > Munda: Stl. *ɔrɔk* ‘cow’;
- (y) > Mon-Khm.: Hal. *hɔrok*, Ñhn. *krok*, Ktu. *kərak* ‘cow’;
- (b) > (MT ə/u) *gurak > Pal. *kra?*, Wa *krak* ‘carabao’;

(3) > *grəbʌy > Khm. *krəbʌy*, Stg. *krəpuu*, Chr. *gəpū*, Sre *rəpu*, Sdg. *kopaw*, Kco. *krəbaø* ,
Jeh. *kapiaw* a.o. ‘carabao’, that apparently include precursors of:

- (a) ⇒ **PMJ ×keRbau > Mly.** (see above);
- (b) ⇒ PAC ×kabau > Ach. *kubuə*, CamPh. *kapaw*₂, Rgl. *kabau*, Jar.
kəbau, Rde. *kəbaw*, Cru. *kəbāu* ‘carabao’;
- (c) ⇒ Mad. *kərbhuy* ‘carabao’;

MT *a/b* = metathesis *a...b > b...a*; PAC = Proto-Acheho-Chamic; PB = Proto-Burmic; PKC = Proto-Kuki-Chi.

3.2. ‘Kite, Hawk, Eagle’



Elang hitam
Ictinaetus malayensis



Elang Jawa
Spizaetus bartelsi



Elang merah
Haliastur indus

Mly. *həlaŋ* ~ *?əlaŋ* ~ *laŋ* ‘kite, hawk, eagle’ < PMJ **qelaŋ* >
> OJav *həlaŋ*, Snd. *hulaŋ*, Mad. *laŋ* ‘eagle, hawk’,
Mkn. *kəlāŋ* ‘bird of prey, hawk’;

PAA **lāŋ* ‘large bird of prey’ >

- (I) > Munda: Sor. *ə'laŋ-ən* ‘kite’;
(II) > ** ka-lāŋ* >

(1) > Mon-Khm.: Khm. *khlaen* ‘kite’, Sre *klaŋ*, Bhn. *klāŋ* ‘hawk’, Rng. *klaŋ*₁ ‘kite, eagle’;

(2) > Nicobar: NicCt. *kəlāŋ* ‘white-bellied sea-eagle’, Ncr. *kaláŋ* ‘vulture’;

(3) > Aslian: Smy. *kəlak* ‘kite’, Ktb. *kəlaŋ*, ‘white eagle’;

from (1), some perhaps from (2):

(a) => OBrm. *lāŋ-tă*, Jingpho *kālan* ‘vulture’ (Headley 1976:459);

(b) => Hmong-Mien: **klaŋ?* > Hmong *tlaŋ*_{B1}, Kanao *hlε*_{B1}, Mun *klaŋ*_{B1} ‘kite, hawk’

(c) => PMJ **qelaŋ* > Mly. (see above)

(d) => PAC **kalāŋ* > Ach. *kluəŋ* ‘kite’, CamPh. *kalaŋ*, Jar. *klaŋ*, Rde. *tlaŋ*, Cru. *kalāŋ* ‘kite, hawk, bird of prey’

4.1. ‘Silver’



Mly. *pəra?* [~ **pira?*] ‘silver, money’ ⇒

⇒ OJav. *pirak*, Jav. *perak*, BtkTb. *pirak*, Mks. *pəra?*, Bac. *perak*, Ilk. *pirak*, Tgl. *pilak* ‘silver, money’, MlgMe. *firakə* ‘tin’, and see below;

[perhaps PAA ***paik** ‘split, break, chop’ >

> Khr. *pi'j*, OMon *pāk*, Khm. *baek*, Bhn. *pāk*, Sdg. *pək* ‘break, chop’ →]

OKhm *prak* ‘silver’ ⇒

(a) ⇒ Lvn. *prak*, Stg. *prāk*, Koh. *pria?*, Bru. *prá?* ‘silver’

(b) ⇒ OCam. *pirak* ‘silver’ (inscriptions XII[C] and XVII at Mýson);

PAC **pirak* > Ach. *pira?*, CamPh. *parya?*, Rde. *prak* ‘silver, money’;

(c) ⇒ **Mly. *pəra?* ~ **pira?***, see above, a.o. ⇒ Tgl. *pilak* ‘silver, money’ ⇒

⇒ Paz. *pīla*, Sai. *pa-pila?*, Sed. *pila?* ‘money’

4.2. ‘Gold’

OMly. *mas* ‘gold’ (Sabokingking [Telaga Batu] Naga inscription, lines 9 and 11) >

> **Mly.** ?*əmas* ~ *mas* ‘gold’; ⇒

⇒ BtkTb. ’ɔmas, OJav., Snd. əmas ~ mas, Bal. həmas ~ mas, Nga. amas, Mks. ammasa?, Sgr. masə? ‘gold’ (Mahdi 1994:191)

PMK *yās ‘shine’ → *y-m-ās >

> OMon *yimās*, OKhm īmās ‘shining, shiny [e.g. gold]’ →

→ **OKhm** *mās* ‘gold’ ⇒

(a) ⇒ Sre *māh*, Hal. *mah*, Bhn. *mayh*, etc. ‘gold’;

(b) ⇒ OCam. *māh* ‘gold’ (e.g. inscription XVII at Mýson),

PAC ×māh ~ ×mah > Ach. *muīh* ~ *muīh*, Jar. *mah*, Cru. *mīh*,
CamPh. *mīh* ‘gold’;

(c) ⇒ **OMly.** *mas* > **Mly.** ?*əmas* ~ *mas*, see above.



4.3. ‘Village, Rural Community’

Mly. *dusun* ‘village’ (originally ‘rural community?’):

- (1) → *Dusun* ‘hilly region between the Malay-inhabited lowlands and Karo highlands’;
- (2) → *Dusun* ‘left-bank region in the upper Barito river basin, its inhabitants and their language’;
- (3) → *Dusun* ‘hinterland region, inhabitants and their language, in Sabah’;
- (4) ⇒ *dusun* ‘socio-political administrative unit amongst the Kerinci and the Rejang’;
- (5) ⇒ Jav. *dusun* ‘[kråmå style] village land common’ ⇒
⇒ Bal. *dusun* ‘village, rural’;
- (6) ⇒ Snd. *dusun*, Mks. *rusuŋ* ‘unsophisticated, boorish’

OMon *dūŋ* ~ *duŋ* ‘polity, [tribal community?]’ + *sun* ‘five’ = ‘five polities’

- (a) ⇒ Chinese *Dùnxùn* (頓遜) ~ *Diǎnsūn* (典孫) ‘polity in the Kra Isthmus or Malayan Peninsula’;
- (b) ⇒ **Mly. *dusun*** (see above)

Liángshū:

‘More than 3000 *lǐ* [c. 1700 km] from the southern border [of *Fúnán*] is the kingdom *Dùnxùn* situated on a maritime mountain-path [海崎 *hǎi qí*].’

4.4. ‘Prince, Duke’

OMly [*daŋ*] *karayān* ‘high title’, (3× in the Sang Hyang Wintang/Gandasuli inscription)

[← *ka-...-an* + *raya* < *Raya ‘big’ >

> Mly. *raya* ‘grand, festive’, BtkTb. *rea*, Nga. *hai* ‘big’] ⇒

⇒ OJav. [*ra-*]*karayān* ~ [*ra-*]*kryan* ‘high title’;

OKhm. *kloñ* ‘high title’ [← *k-* + *loñ* ‘pre-eminent, grand’] ⇒

⇒ OCam. *klauñ* ‘high title’;

⇒ Chin. *kūnlún* (崑崙) ‘high title in Funan and Champa’;

⇒ OMly. [calque] *karayān* ‘high title’ (see above).

Wan Zhen, *Tàipíng yùlǎn* (3rd cent. CE):

‘The kingdom of *Fúnán* lies over 3,000 *lǐ* [c. 1700 km.] West of *Lìnyì* The high officials to the right and left of the king are all called *kūnlún*.’

‘*Dùnxùn* is a dependency of *Fúnán*, the king is called *kūnlún*.’

4.5. ‘Canon’

Mly. *məriam* ~ **MlyVern.** *məriəm* ‘canon’ ⇒

⇒ Ach. *muriam* ~ *muruyam*, BtkTb. *mariam*, Snd. *mariəm*, Jav. *mriəm*,
Bal. *mariəm*, Mad. *mariəm* ~ *məreəm*, SskPr. *məriəm* ‘canon’;

Khm. *kămphl៥η meriəm* ‘canon’, lit. ‘firearm huge’ ←

← *kăm-* + *phl៥η* ‘fire’ & *me-* + *riəm* ‘eminent, senior’

5.1. ‘Armpit’

MlyVern. *kεlεk* ‘armpit’ ⇒ Snd., Jav., Mny. *kεlεk*, MlgMe. *hélikə* ‘armpit’; besides
Mly. *kətia?* ‘armpit’;

[Archaic Chi. *ziak > Middle Chi. iäk (腋, mod. *yè* ~ *yi*) ‘armpit’ ⇔]

PMK *iak ~ *iæk ~ *aik >

(1) > KmuYu. *ɛk* ~ *k⟨əl⟩?*-*ɛk*, Pal. *ya?*, Rng. *yak*₂, Bhn. [bɔk] *āk*, Dnw. *k‘a-*
yɛk, Vnm. *nāc*_{D1} (< *hn-āc < *kn-āyk) ‘armpit’; ⇒

(a) ⇒ Mly. *kət-ia?* (see above);

(b) ⇒ PCh *xa-āk* > CamPh. *paa?*, Rde. *p⟨al⟩ak*, Jar. *pə?a?* ‘armpit’

(2) → PMK *k⟨əl⟩-iak ~ *k⟨əl⟩-iæk ~ *k⟨əl⟩-aik > KmuYu. *kəl?ɛk*, Khm.
kliək, Wa *klaɪ?* ‘armpit’; ⇒

⇒ MlyVern. *kεlεk* (see above);

Tgl. *kilik* ‘to carry [e.g. a baby] against the hips’, *kili-kili* for ‘armpit’;

BisCb. *iluk* ‘armpit’ < *[q]irek

PCh = Proto-Chamic.

5.2. ‘Belly, Stomach’

Mly. *pərut* ‘belly, stomach’

≈ Ach. *pruət* ‘id.’;

PMK *rūc >

(1) > Mon-Khm.: Kuy *rūač* ‘belly’, Vnm. *ruot_{D2}* ‘intestine’;

(2) → *p-rūc >

Mon-Khm.: Stg. *prōč* ‘belly’, Sre *proc* ‘intestine’; ⇒

⇒ PCh. ^x*pruac* > CamPh. *proy?* [written *pruəč*], Jar. *prōai?* ~ *prūai?*,
Rgl. *prōay*, Rde. *proc* ‘belly, stomach, intestine’

⇒ Mly. *pərut* ‘belly, stomach’ (see above);

5.3. ‘Crab’

Mly. *kətam* ‘crab’ < PMal. *kətam > Ibn. *kətam* ‘crab’;

PEAA *ktām >

- (1) > Aslian: Sem. *kəntem* ‘crab’;
- (2) > Mon-Khm.: Khm. *kdām*, Kuy *ktām* ~ *tām*, Bhn., Hal. *kxiām*, Jeh *katām*, Sre *tām*, Khs. *tham* ‘crab’
 - ⇒ Ach. *guutuəm* ‘crab’;
 - ⇒ Mkn. *kətam* ~ *kətām* ‘crab’;
 - ⇒ **PMal.** *kətam > **Mly.** *kətam* (see above);

PEAA = Proto-Eastern-Austroasitic; PMal = Proto-Malayic.

5.4. ‘Peacock’

Mly. *mara?* ‘peacock’

- (a) ≡ Ach. *m̥ra?* ‘peacock’;
- (b) ⇒ Snd., Jav. *m̥rak* ‘peacock’;

PAA *m[̥]raək >

- (1) > Munda: Khr. *ma'ra?*, Stl., Mdr. *mara?*, Krk. *mara* ‘peacock’;
- (2) > Mon-Khm.: OMon. *mrek*, Sre *bra*, Pal. *phra? ~ bra?* ‘peacock’;
 - ⇒ PCh **əmrāk* > CamPh. *amra?* ~ *mra?* [written *amrak* ~ *mrak*], Rde. *amrak*, Rgl. *amrā* ‘peacock’;
 - ⇒ **Mly. *mara?* ‘peacock’** (see above);

5.5. ‘Ant’

Mly. *səmut* ‘ant’ ⇒

⇒ BtkKr. *semut*, Jav. *səmut* ‘ant’

PAA ***muy?** ~ ***mūy?** ‘ant’ >

(1) > Munda: Stl. , Mdr. *mu'j*, Bhr. *mu'j* ~ *mui*, Khr. *mu'j-da?*, Sor. *mu'j-dān*, ~ *mui-dān* ~ *mud-dān* ‘ant’;

(2) > **PMK** ***mūyc** →

→ **PMK** ***s-mūyc** > Alk. *samoč*, Khm. *s⟨r⟩əmaoč*, Kuy *smōč*, Bhn. *hmōč*, Nhn. *moč*, Sdg. *hmōi* ‘ant’, Vnm. *moi_{B1}* (< **hmoi?*) ‘white ant’;

(a) ⇒ **PKS** ×*mət* & **PD** ×*mot* > Lingam Sui, Mak *mət_{D2}*, Thai *mot_{D2}*, Khamti *mot* ‘ant’;

(b) ⇒ Cam. *hmōč* ‘ant’;

(c) ⇒ **Mly.** *səmut* ‘ant’ (see above).

PKS = Proto-Kam-Sui; PD = Proto-Daic (= “Proto-Tai”).

6.1. ‘Cogon grass’ (*Imperata cylindrica*)

Mly. *alanj-alanj* ~ *lalanj* ‘cogon grass’ < PMal. **alanj-alanj* > Ibn. *lalanj* ‘cogon grass’;
⇒ Jav. *alanj-alanj* ‘cogon grass’

PAA **laŋ* ‘long grass, thatch’ >

(1) > PWAA **a-laŋ* >

> Munda: Khr. *ɔlɔŋ* ‘long grass’, Gtb. *vloŋ*, Prg. *alanj-an* ‘jungle grass’, Sor. *əlanj-an* ~ *aləŋ-an* ‘jungle grass, thatch’, Gtb. *alāŋ* ‘to thatch a house’; ⇒

(a) ⇒ PMal. **alanj-alanj* → **lalanj* > Mly. *alanj-alanj* ~ *lalanj*, Ibn. *lalanj* (see above)

(b) ⇒ PACH **nalāŋ* > Ach. *nluəŋ* ‘k.o. grass’, Cam. *ralāŋ*, Jar. *həlāŋ*, Rgl. *rɤlak* ‘thatching grass’;

(2) > PEAA **p-laŋ* >

> Mon-Khm.: OKhm. *plāŋ*, Rng. *plaŋ*₁ ‘thatching grass’, Khs. *phlaŋ* ~ *'laŋ* ‘grass’;

> Aslian: “Bes. A.I.” *plokŋ* ‘leaf’, “Krau Tem.” *pluoŋ* ‘thatch roof’, “Bes. Malac”.
pəlɔŋ ‘roof’;

6.2. ‘Horse’

Mly. *kuda* ‘horse’

⇒ Jav. *kudå* ‘[kråmå style] horse’

Munda: Ddy. *kurtīa*, Prg. *kurta*, Sor. *kudtā-n* ~ *kurtā-n* ‘horse’

7.1. ‘Twin’

Mly. *kəmbar* ‘twin’ ⇒

⇒ Ach. *kumbuə*, BtkTb. *hombar*, Snd., Jav. *kəmbar*, Mad. *kəmbhar*, Mks. *kambara* ?, Tgl. *kambal* ‘twins’

PAA *b[]-?ār ‘two’ >

- (1) > Munda: Khr. *u-*’*bar*, Stl., Bhr. *bar* ~ *bar-ea*, Mdr. *bar* ~ *bar-ea* ‘two’;
- (2) > Mon-Khm. *[b-]?*ār* > -OMon ’*bār*, Sre *bar*, Hlg *bār*, Bhn. ’*bār*, Rng. *ar*₁, Mng. *hal*, Vnm. *hāy*_{A1} ‘two’;
- (3) > **Aslian** *[h ən-]bār > “Bes.Sep.A.I.” *h'mbar* ~ *mar*, Temiar *nar*, Mah Meri *hmāh*, Semaq Beri *mar* ‘two’; ⇒
 - (a) ⇒ Mly. *kəmbar* ‘twin’ (see above);
 - (b) ⇒ Jav. *kəbar* ‘be double’;

7.2. ‘Sheet [of]’

Mly. *həlay* ‘sheet [count-word for garments, cloth, paper]’ ⇒
⇒ OJav. *hlay*, Snd. *hulay* ‘[count-word for garments, cloth, paper]’

PAA *la? ‘leaf’ >

(1) > Munda: Khr. *u'-la?*, Sor. *'ō-lā-n*, Prg. *ō-lā* ‘leaf’

(2) **PEAA** *la? → *s-la? ‘leaf’ >

(a) > Mon-Khm.: Khs. *sla*, Kuy. *slā*, Bhn. *hlā*, Pal. *hla*, Rng. *la?*₁,
Vnm. *la*_{B1} (< **hla*_{B1}) ‘leaf’;

(b) > Aslian: Ksu., Jeh., Men. *hali?*, Mtl. *haliy?*, Cwg. *hale?*, Snm.,
Tmr., Smy. *səlā?*, Sbm., Lnh. *səla?*, Jht. *hla?* ‘leaf’

⇒ **Mly.** *həlay* (see above).

7.3. ‘Snake Fruit’

Mly. *sala?* ‘snake fruit’

PAA *la? > PEAA *s-la? ‘leaf’ see previous example (7.2.)



7.4. ‘Mangrove Tree’

Mly. *bakaw* ‘mangrove tree’

PAA *ba[k]a[-aw] (?) ‘flower’ >

- (1) > Munda: Bhr., Stl. *baha*, Mdr. *baha ~ baa*, Prg. *tar-bā* ‘flower’;
- (2) > Mon-Khm.: OMon *pkāw*, Stg. *kāo* ‘flower’;
- (3) > Aslian : Men., Sml., Smn. *bākaw* ‘flower’;



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