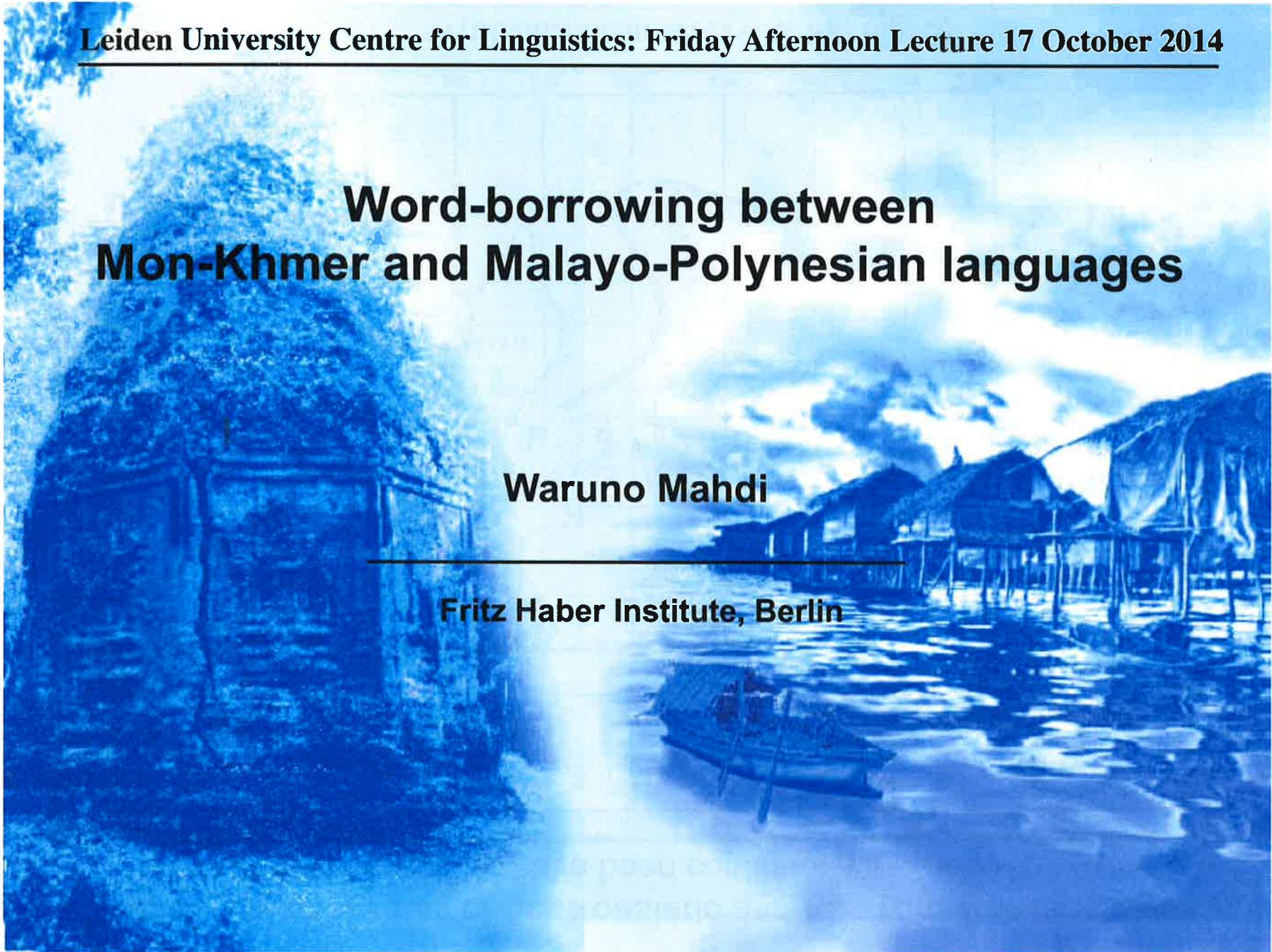


Leiden University Centre for Linguistics: Friday Afternoon Lecture 17 October 2014

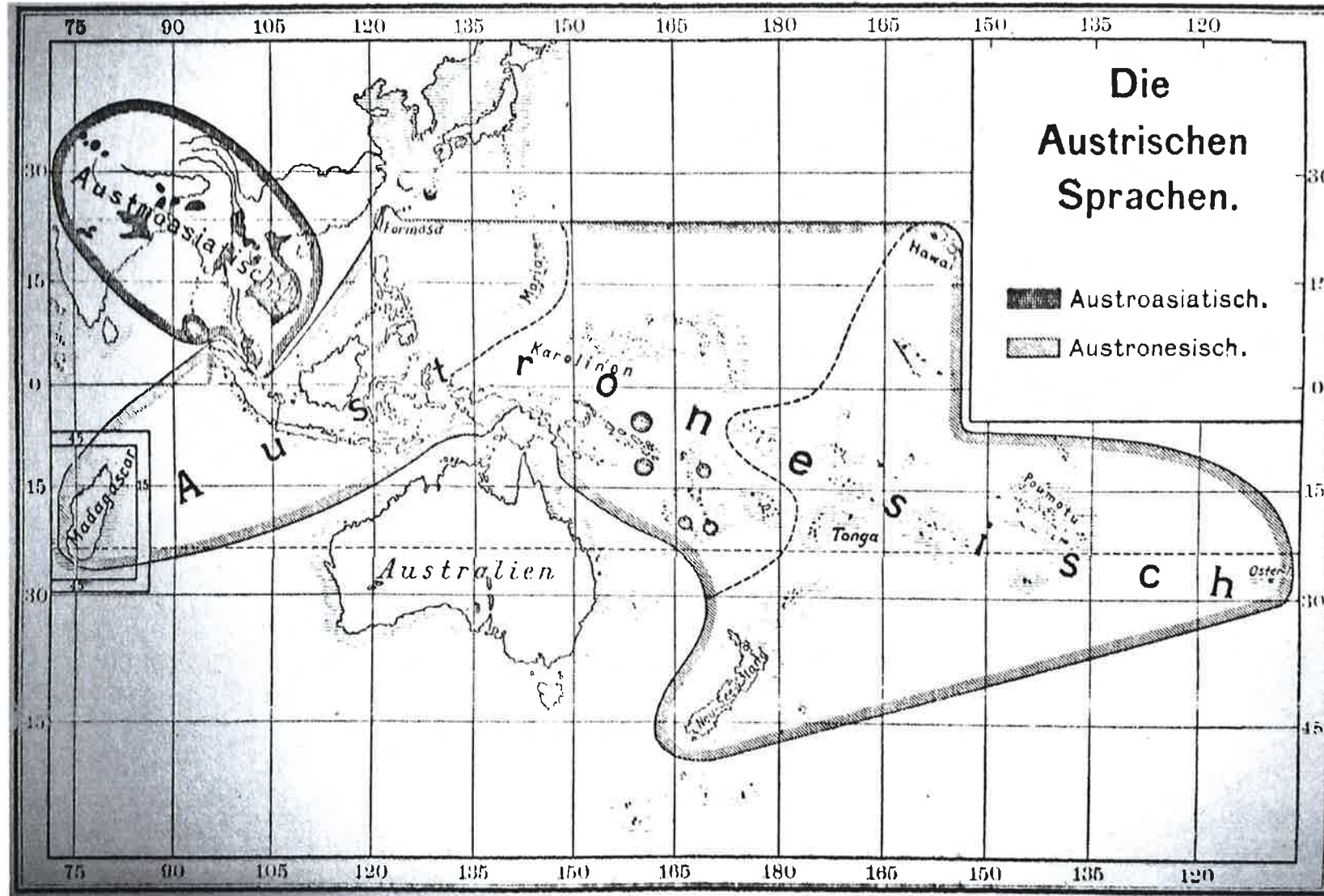
Word-borrowing between Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian languages

Waruno Mahdi

Fritz Haber Institute, Berlin

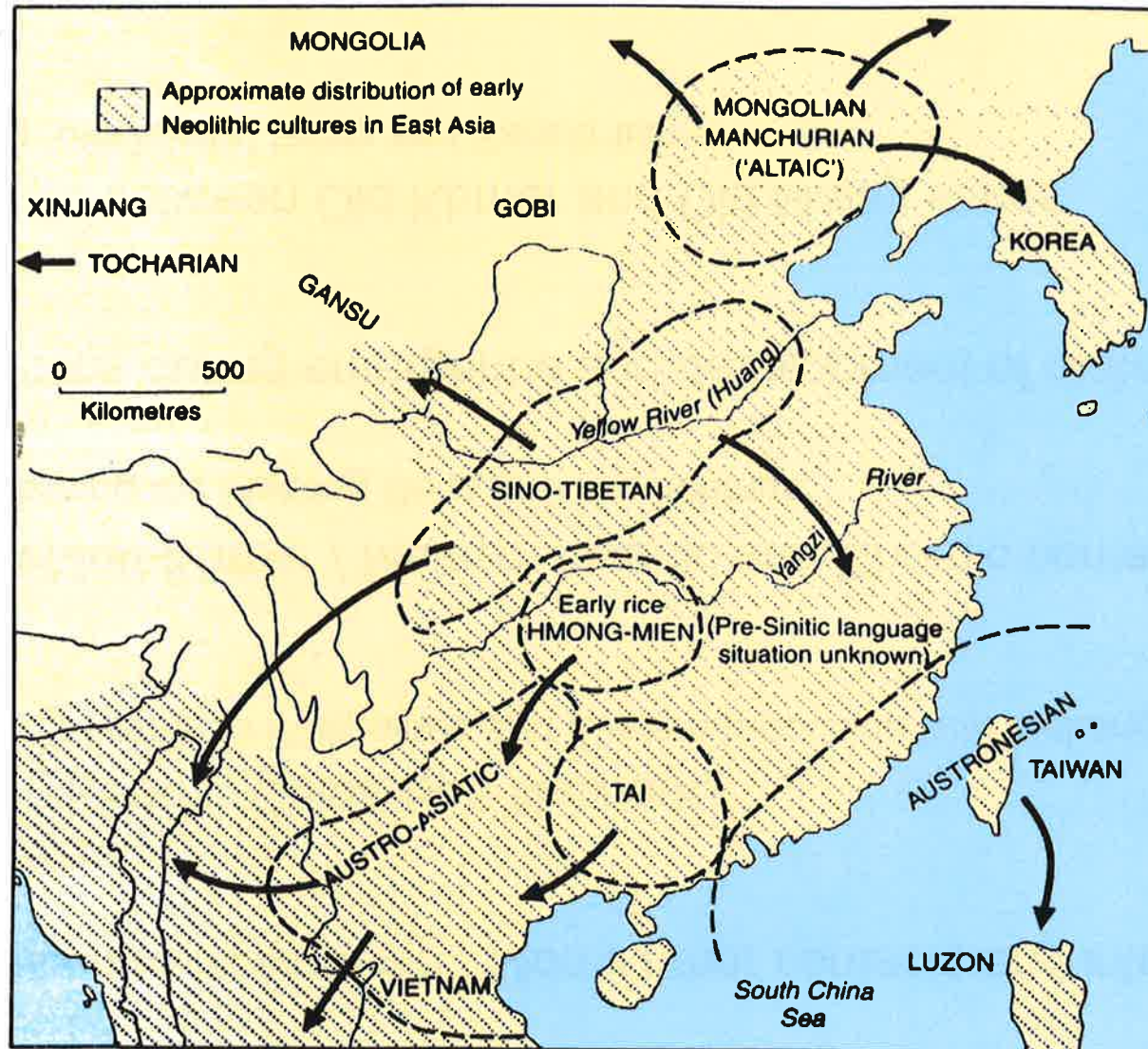


Original dispersal areas of **Austroasiatic** and **Austronesian** languages were **at first** thought to have been contiguous in Southeast Asia



W[ilhelm] Schmidt (1906: 82, Fig. 3).

Currently “mainstream” views place the origins of Austroasiatic, Austronesian and some other language phyla in East Asia

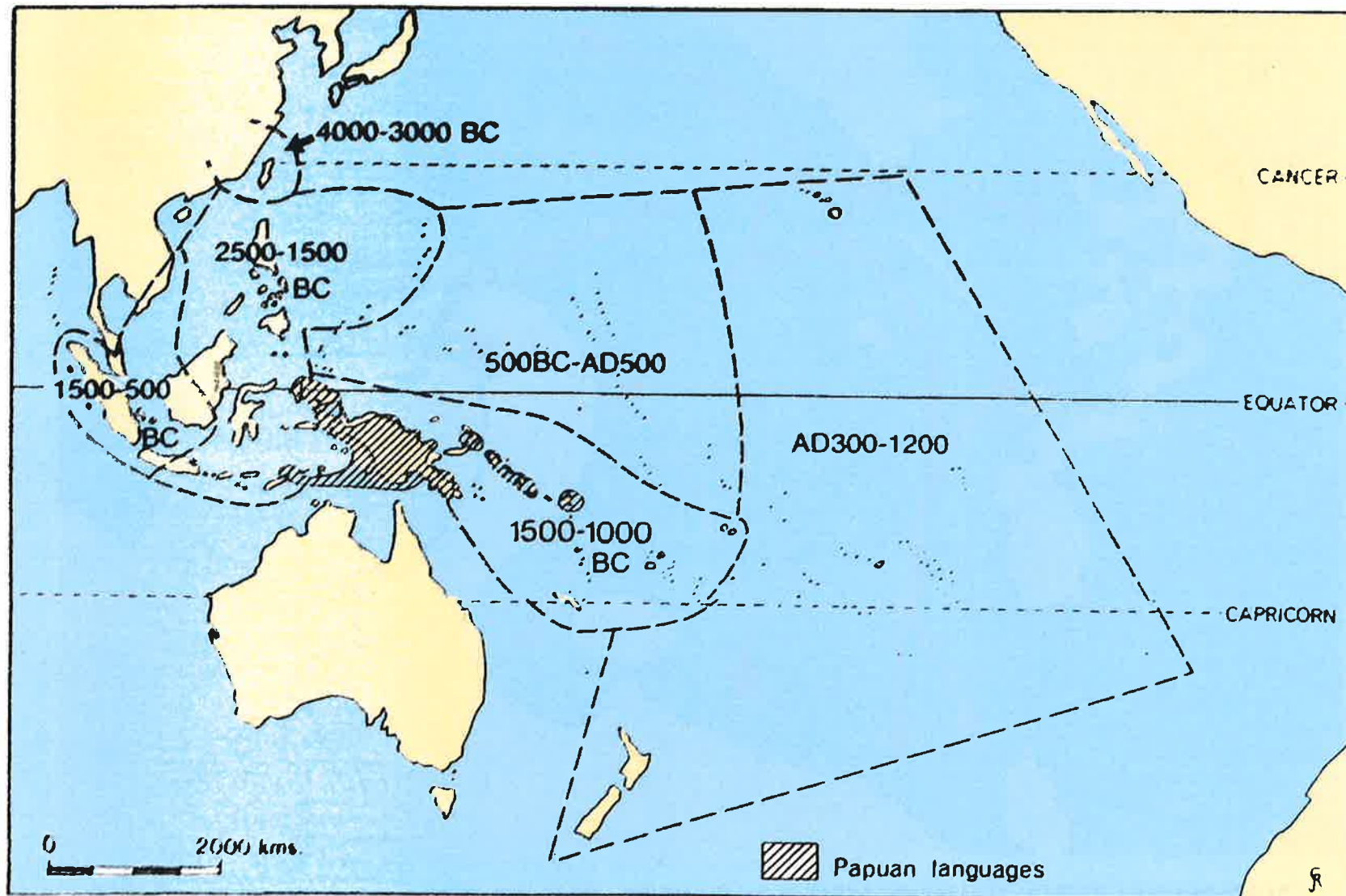


Peter Bellwood (2005: 26, Map 1.1)

Phases of Malayo-Polynesian / Mon-Khmer contacts and interaction

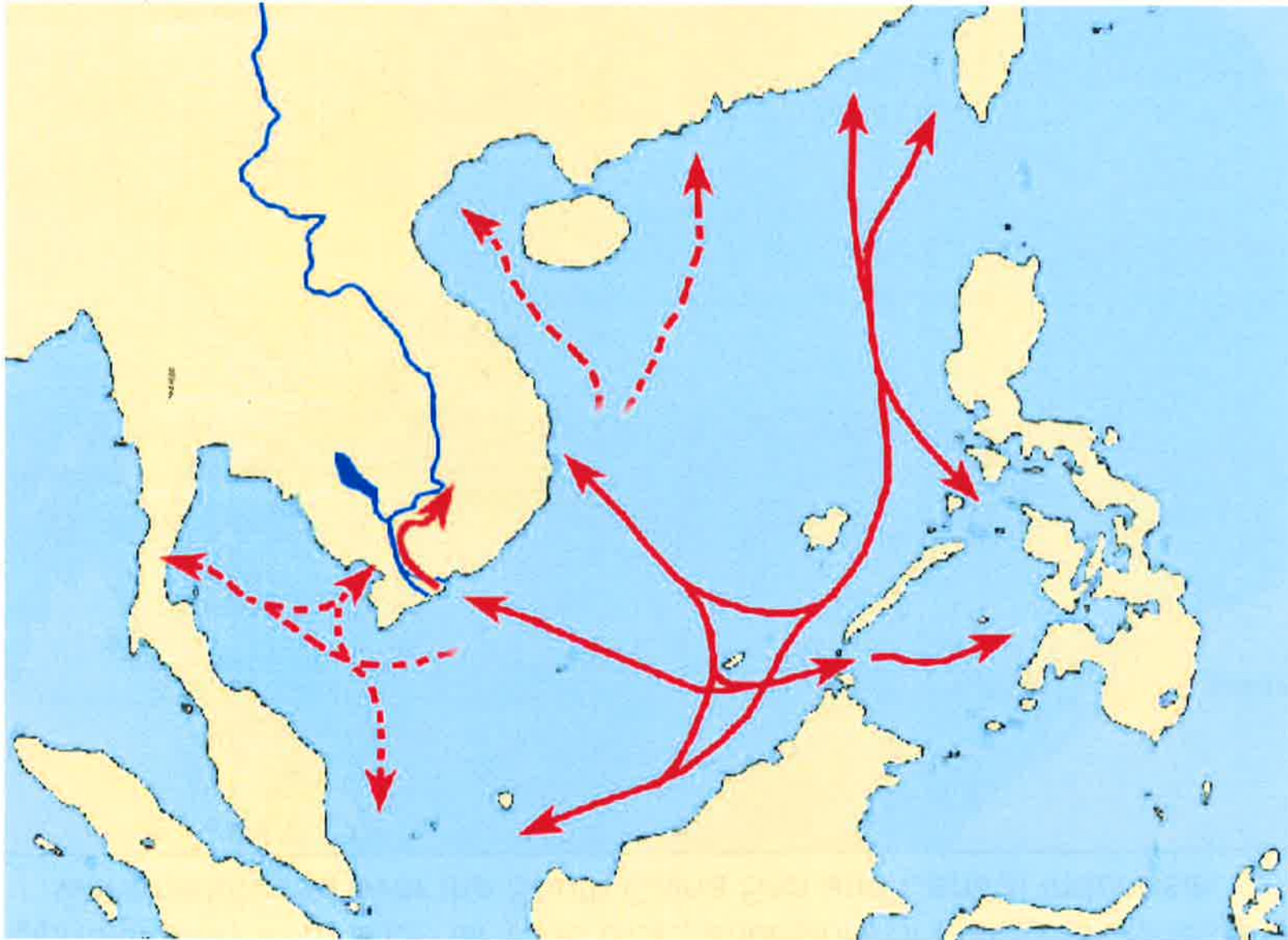
- (1) the Trans-South-China-Sea Network,
involving Taiwan, the Philippines and Eastern Indochina with Mekong basin;
- (2) earliest Mon-Khmer / Malayo-Javanic and Chamic contact area,
encompassing the Mekong Delta and Kra Isthmus;
- (3) interactions during emergence and development of statehood;
- (4) exchange between Old Khmer and Old Malay states,
including “officialese” terms and Sanskritisms.

Approximately from 2500 till 1500 BCE, ancestors of Malayo-Polynesians were distributed over the South China Sea and Central Indonesia.

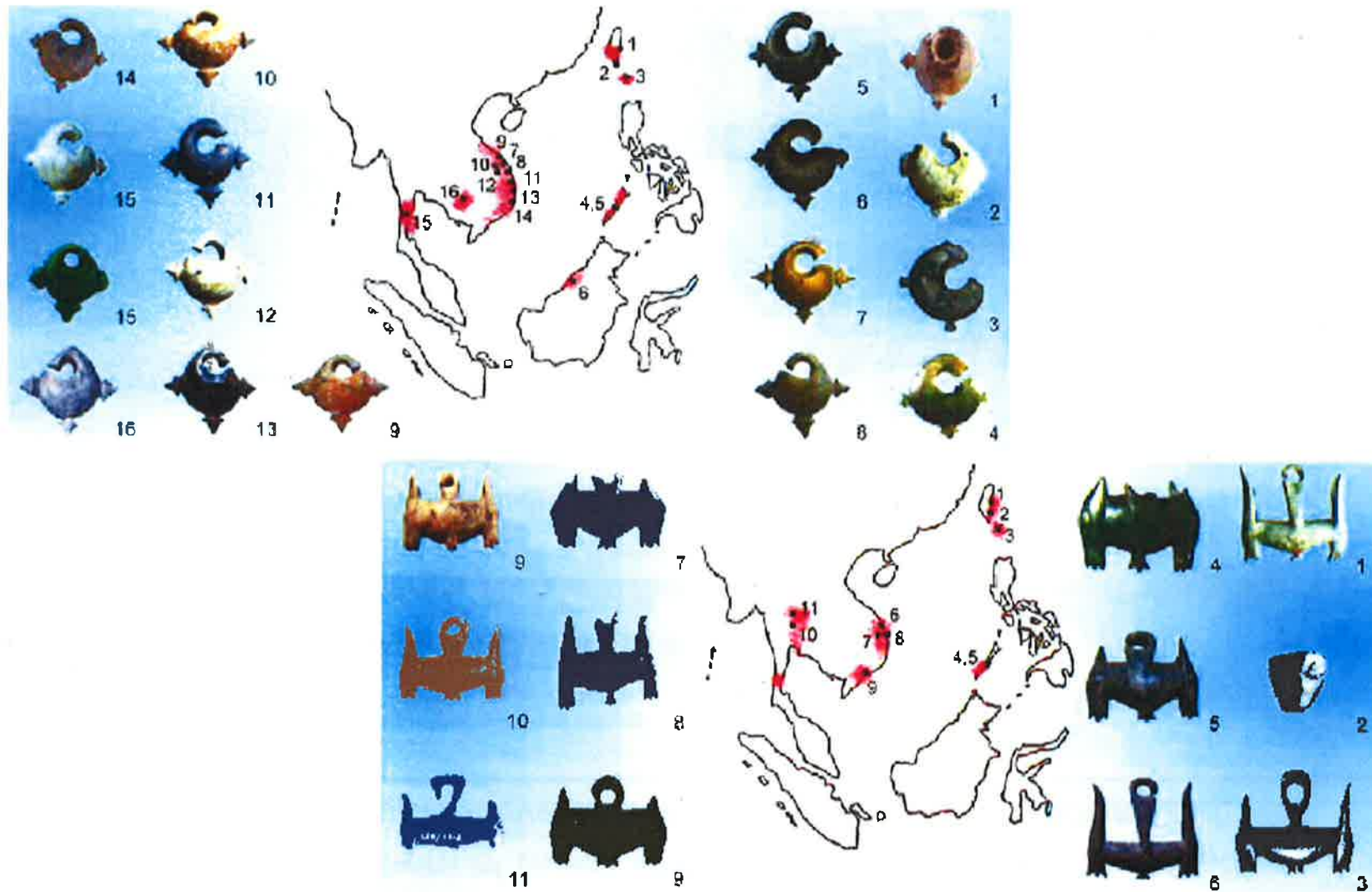


Andrew Pawley (1999: 112, Map 4)

Approximate routes of the **Trans-South-China-Sea Network**



Some archaeological evidence for a Trans-South-China-Sea Network



Hsiao-chun Hung & Peter Bellwood (2010: 236–7, Fig-s 2.1–2)

The Trans-South-China-Sea Network is apparently the scene in which the custom of burial in **boat-shaped coffins** emerged, with subsequent development of the **ship-of-the-dead** cult

Early AN *qabaŋ ‘boat’ >

> Kanakanabu *abaŋu*, Siraya *avaŋ* (Taiwan);

Tirurai *'avaŋ*, West-Bukidnon Manobo *'avaŋ*, Ilanun *awaŋ* (Philippines)

Central-Bahnaric Mnong-Sre dialects:

Biat baŋ, Sre *gəbaŋ* ‘coffin’ .



Niah cave (Sarawak)

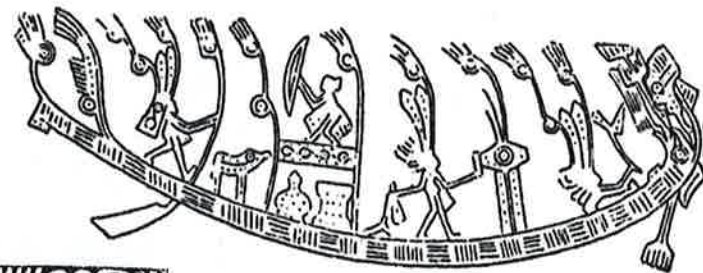
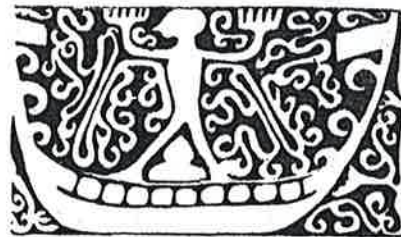


image on a bronze drum
(Ngọc-lũ, Vietnam)



carved bamboo
(Cendrawasih Bay, W. Papua)

A word for 'banana'

**baRat ~ *balat ~ *balak* 'banana' >

- > Kapampangan *balat*, Isneg *bāgat*, Bikol *batag*, Ifugao *bālat* (Philippines);
Tanjong/Kanowit *balat*, Melanau *balak*, Bintulu *balak*, Lara'/Bekati' *barak*
(Sarawak).

**pərāt ~ *pəriāt* 'banana' >

- > Bru: *priat*_B, Sou *pariat*, Halang *priat*, Chrau *prīt*,
Bahnar *prīt*, Kui *prīt*_L;
- > (Old & Modern) Mon *brāt*, Nyahkur/Chaobon *phrāt*_B



The 'betel leaf', main ingredient of a betel chewing quid

The most widespread term for 'betel leaf' apparently originated from an Early Central-East Malayo-Polynesian dialect chain:

×bulu 'betel leaf' >

- > Bimanese *bulu*, Belu *furu-k*, Wetar *huru* (SE Indonesia);
Siassi *ful*, Gedaged *fu* (North PNG);
Belau *ke-búi*, Chamorro *pu-pulu* (Near Micronesia)



Passing through the Philippines and Sulawesi,
it left a substrate trace there in the languages:

Philippinic ×buyuq 'betel leaf' >

- > Cebuano *búyu'*, Mansaka *buyu'*, Mamanwa *bozo'* (Philippines);
Tarakan, Bulungan, Tinggalan *buyu*, Tabun, Balait *buyo*
(Sabah & East Kalimantan);
Bolaang-Mongondou *o-buyu'*, Buol *buyu*, Tontoli *biu* (North Sulawesi)

South Sulawesi ×ba-bulu > *ba[w]ulu 'betel leaf' >

- > Sa'dan, Sausu *baulu*, Mandar *buulu*, Pitu-Ulunna-Salu *bahulu*, Parigi *bolu*;

Multi-phased transmission of the word for **betel** through Indochina

**bulu* 'betel' is borrowed into Mon-Khmer languages in several variations:

(1) simple; or with (2) post-glottalization; (3) nasal prefixation; (4) diphthonguization

1) ⇒ **blu* > Thèng, Khu *blu*, Riang-Lang *plu*₂, Wa *pu*₂, Palaung *plu* ;
> Thai-Kadai **blū*_{A2} > Thai *phlū*_{A2}, Shan *pū*_{A2} ;
> Early Middle Chinese **buəluw* (扶留) > modern *fúliú* ;

2) ⇒ **blu?* > Mon *hə-plu'*, Lawa (dial.) *plu'* ~ *phlu'*, Korat Niakuol *a-plu'* ;
> Aslian: Sakai dialects *blük* ~ *blok* ~ *blök* ;

3) ⇒ **m-blu* > Kuy *mphlū*, Khmer *mlū*, Stieng, Chrau, Biat *mlu*, Bru *m(an)lùə* ;

4) ⇒ **bləw* > Bahnar, Rongao *bələw*,
Early Vietnamese *bləw*_{A2} > modern *trầu*; [*tɬaw*_{A2}];
⇒ Central Thai-Kadai (Tho-Nung) **[l]blaw*_{A2} ;
⇒ Batak **bəlau* > Karo *bəlo*, Gayo *blo* .

It was also borrowed back into Malayo-Polynesian **Batak** languages



A specific word for **areca** (nut/palm) has a more recent history

Early Malayo-Polynesian terms for 'areca' were not transmitted into Mon-Khmer, but only a later Malayo-Chamic & Mokenic term with restricted distribution.

Proto-Malayo-Chamo-Mokenic **pinan̄* 'areca' >

> Proto-Acheho-Chamic **pinān̄* > Achehnese *pinw̄n̄*, Cham *pan̄iŋ*,
Roglai *pinān̄*, Jarai *pənan̄*, Chru *pənān̄*,
Rade *mənan̄* ;

> Proto-Mokenic **penān̄* > Moklen, Ko'-Surin Moken *penān̄*,
Rawai Moken *penān̄* ;

> Proto-Malayic **pinan̄* > Minangkabau, Banjarese *pinan̄*,
Malay *pinan̄* ⇒

⇒ Toba, Karo *pinan̄*,

Sundanese, Javanese *pinan̄*, Madurese *penan̄*,

Ngaju, Maanyan, Tarakan *pinan̄* ;

a few borrowings into Indochina, but also to China:

⇒ Katuic: **pən̄hān̄* > Bru *pənan̄*₁, Katu *pənan̄* ;

⇒ Early Middle Chinese **pjin lan̄* (檳榔), modern *bīnláng* ;



And a word for (slaked) **lime**, third ingredient of a chewing quid



Early West-Hesperonesian *kapuR 'lime' >



> [Cham *kapu*], Moken *kapūn*, Karo *kapur*,
Kelabit *kapor*, Ma'anyan *kapuy*,
Malay *kapur* ⇒

⇒ Central Sulawesi: Sa'dan *kapu'*;
Nusa Tenggara: Sumba *kāpu* ;
Central Maluku: Piru *kapul-e* ;

Early distribution up the Mekong was restricted:

⇒ Tongking: Mĩ-søn Mưong *pol*, Kha *pun*,
Early Vietnamese **Kpol*_{A1} , modern *vôi* ;
but resumed after emergence of early statehood:

Southwest and South Indochina:

⇒ Middle Mon *gapuiw*, modern *həpɔ* ;

⇒ Old Khmer *kāmpur* ~ *kāmpor* ⇒

⇒ Stieng *kəmuɔɔr*, Kuy *mphɔɔr*

Resin of the *Styrax Benzoin* and the derived aromatic

A Batak-to-Malayic borrowing here is phonologically possible;
a borrowing in the reverse direction rather unlikely.

Early Batak **kaminzən* >

?↕

> Dairi *kəmenjən*, Toba *haminjon*, Alas *kəminjin* ;

Early Malayic **kaməñan* > Malay *kəməñan* ⇒

⇒ Cham *kaməñan*,

Javanese *məñan*, Makassarese *kamanñan*,

Tausug *kamañan*, Tagalog *kamangyán*;

⇒ Khmer *kəmñan*, [Old Mon *kamñān* (?)] ⇒

⇒ Thai *kamyan*, Lao *kamñan*, Black Tai *yáng* ~ *yāne* ;

⇒ Late Middle Chinese **kim-nja:n* (金顏), modern *jīnyèn*.



The similarity of the first two syllables with

Old Egyptian *qami* (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒) ‘resin’ is intriguing.

A resinous material in a 2nd century sarcophagus at Hawara in Fayoum, Egypt, contained benzoic acid.

Sesame

The cultigen was introduced from India, either first to Sumatra, or to Indochina

Early Batak and Malayo-Chamic *ləŋa? ‘sesame’ >

- > Toba *loŋa*, Karo *leŋa*, Malay *ləŋa*, Iban *ləŋa*,
- Jarai *rəŋa*, North Rəglai *ləŋā*, Rade *eŋu*, Phanrang Cham *liŋé ~ lané*,
- Haroi *ləŋa ~ ləŋaw* ;



Malay *ləŋa* ⇒ Javanese *ləŋā*,
Makassar *lanŋa*, Bugis *ləŋŋa*,
Sangir *ləŋa*, Tagalog *liŋa*.

Early Mon-Khmer *ləŋā? ~ *ləŋaw :



- { *ləŋā? > Chrau *rəŋā*, Biat *rŋā*, Kammu-Yuan *ləŋà*.
- Palaung *ləŋa*, Danaw *ləŋ₁ŋa₂* ‘sesame’,
- Bahnar *rəŋā* ‘white-seeded sesame’;
- { *ləŋaw > Old Khmer *lŋo*, modern *lŋo*,
- Middle Mon *lanau*, modern *ləŋea* ‘sesame’,
- Bahnar *rəŋow* ‘black-seeded sesame’.



From 'draught animal' to 'carabao (water buffalo)'

Early Austroasiatic *gərɯay? >

(1a) > *γərɯay? > Munda: Geta' *hrwe* 'draught animal';

(1b) > *γəuray? > Munda: Gutob *gula*'j, Juang *orai*, Kharia *orej* 'bullock';

(2a) > *γərɯak > *γərok >

> Munda: Santali *ɔɔk* 'cow';

> Mon-Khmer: Halang *hyrok*, N̄iahon *krək* 'cow';

(2b) > *gərak > Katu *kərak*, Palaung *kra*', Wa *krak* 'carabao';

A specific Mon-Khmer development is transmitted three times to West Hesperonesia:

(3) Early Mon-Khmer *grəbɯy >

> Khmer *krəbɯy*, Stieng *krɛpɯ*, Chrau *gəpū*, Sre *rəpu*,
Sedang *koraw*, Kancho *krəbao*, Jeh *kapɪaw* 'carabao';

(a) ⇒ **Proto-Malayo-Javanic** *kəRbau (see next slide);

(b) ⇒ **Proto-Acheho-Chamic** *kabau >

> Acheh *kubwə*, Phanrang Cham *kapaw*₂, Rəglai *kabau*,
Jarai *kəbau*, Radé *kəbaw*, Chru *kəbāu* 'carabao';

(c) ⇒ Madurese *kərbhuy* 'carabao';



Malay-speakers transmit *carabao* around the Archipelago

The Mon-Khmer borrowing into Proto-Malayo-Javanic is directly inherited in languages of West Indonesia; further dispersal proceeded exclusively via Malay.

Proto-Malayo-Javanic *kəRbaw ‘carabao’ >

(1) > Lampung *kibaw* ;

(2) > [Old] Javavese *kəbo* ⇒ Sundanese *kəbo*’, Balinese *kəbo* ;

(3) > Malay *kərbaw*, Vernacular Malay *kərbaw* ~ *kərabaw* ⇒

(a) ⇒ Toba Batak *hərbo*, Sumba *karamboa*, Saparua *karbo*,
Ma’anyan *karəwaw*, Timugon Murut *karabaw*,
Tondano *kərwow*, West-Bukidnon Manobo *kəranəw*,
Tagalog *kalabáw*, Hiligaynon Bisaya *karabáw* ⇒

⇒ Kavalan *kravau*;

⇒ Chamorro *karabáo* ‘carabao’.



(b) ⇒ Fji. *karavau* ‘cow’.

Enclose, pen in, cage

Proto-Malayo-Javanic *kuDuŋ ‘wrap-around, enclose’ >



- > Malay *kuduŋ* ~ *k(ə)uduŋ*, Sundanese *kuduŋ*, Balinese *kuḍuŋ* ‘veil’,
Madurese *kəḍuŋ* ‘wear over one's head’,
Kroé-Lampung *kuduŋ* ‘penned, closed in’,
(Old) Javanese *kuruŋ* ‘enclose, pen up’, *kuruŋ-an* ‘cage’.

Exchange of cognates between Malay and Javanese:

Malay *kuduŋ* ⇒ Old Javanese *kuḍuŋ* ‘veil, hood’;

(Old) Javanese *kuruŋ* ⇒ Malay *kuruŋ* ‘enclose, pen in’ ⇒

⇒ **Common Malayic ×*kuruŋ***



Javano-Malay form then serves
as precursor for borrowed words
along the entire maritime route
via the Strait of Makassar and the
Philippines (next slide):

idem ditto (continued)

Common Malayic ×*kurun* >

- > Toba-Batak *hurun* 'put in captivity',
Ngaju-Dayak *kuron* 'penned, enclosed',
Merina-Malagasy *húrună* 'confined, enclosed',
Makassar *kurun* 'enclosed cabin in a boat', *aŋ-kurun* 'cage chickens',
Tagalog *kulón* 'pen, enclosure', *baŋ-kulón* 'trap',
Ilokano, Bikol *kurún* 'stockade', Tausug *ku:ŋ-an* 'cage',
Tsou *t-h-i-krunu* 'walls around pig pen', *re-krunv-a* 'mosquito net'.



It is also transmitted to Mon-Khmer languages:

⇒ Early Mon-Khmer ×*krun* >



- > Mon *kran* 'store, shut up, imprison',
Khmer *kron* 'catch by placing a net, pot, etc, over',
Biat *kron* 'shut up', Stieng *k(ənd)rūŋ* 'to pen [pigs]',
Jeh *trūŋ ~ krūŋ* 'to pen [fowl in basket]',
Kontum-Bahnar *k(ənd)run* 'chicken coop'.

A word for **Chaff, Husk** (of Rice)

Proto-Mon-Khmer *s-kām? ‘chaff’ >



> Bru *sakām*₁, Pakoh *ʔəkām*₁, Mon *kam*, Palaung *kham*,
Riang-Lang *kham*₁, Khmer *ʔəŋ-kām*, Kammu-Yuan *həŋ-kām*,
pre-Vietnamese **kāmʔ*_{B1}, modern *cám*;

⇒ Malay *səkam*, Achehnese *sɨkwəm*.

Wet rice- (paddy-) fields

{ Peninsular Malay *bəndaŋ* ‘stretch of many paddy-fields’
{ Old Mon *bnəŋ* ‘unit of paddy-land’

{ Old Khmer *raləŋ* ‘a stripe of rice-field’
{ Malay *rəlun* ‘unit of land area, 1.33 acre’



Chinese *Dùnxùn* ~ Malay *dusun*

Chinese Annals of the Liang [Dynasty] (梁書 *Liángshū*):

Dùnxùn (頓遜) ‘polity in the Kra Isthmus or Malayan Peninsula’

‘More than 3000 *lǐ* from the southern border [of 扶南 *Fúnán*] is the kingdom of *Dùnxùn* (頓遜), situated on a maritime mountain-path (海崎 *hǎi qí*).’

The *Liángshū* also mentions five ‘kings’ in *Dùnxùn*.



Old Mon *ḍuṅ* ~ *ḍuŋ* ‘polity, [tribal community?]’;

+ *sun* ‘five’ →

→ **ḍuṅsun* ‘five polities [five communities]’ ⇒

⇒ Malay *dusun*. (see → next slide):



Malay *dusun* (continued)

Malay *dusun* 'village' (originally 'rural community?'):

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) → <i>Dusun</i> 'hilly region before Karo highlands (N. Sumatra)'; | (5) > Roon Malay <i>dusun</i> 'inland, forest'; |
| (2) → <i>Dusun</i> 'Upper Barito left-bank, its inhabitants, and language'; | (6) ⇒ Sundanese <i>dusun</i> ,
Makassarese <i>rusun</i>
'unsophisticated, boorish'; |
| (3) → <i>Dusun</i> 'Sabah hinterland region, inhabitants and language'; | (7) ⇒ [<i>krāmā</i> style] Javanese <i>dusun</i>
'village land common'; |
| (4) ⇒ <i>dusun</i> 'Kerinci and Rejang administrative unit (W. Sum.)'; | (8) ⇒ Balinese <i>dusun</i> 'village, rural'. |



Silver = Money

Early Austroasiatic *paik ‘split, break, chop’ >

> Kharia *pi’j*, Old Mon *pāk*, Khmer *baek*, Bahnar *păk*, Sedang *pek* ;

→ *p⟨r⟩ak [?]

The latter derivation is uncertain, but believed to be precursor of the word for ‘silver’

Old Khmer *prak* ‘silver’ ⇒

1) ⇒ Loven *prak*, Jaru *prak*, Stieng *prāk*, Köho *pria’*, So *para’*,
Katu *pra’*, Bru *prá’*, Ngeu *pla’* ‘silver’;

2) ⇒ Old Cham. *pirak* ⇒ *pirak >

> Aceh *pira’*, Phanrang Cham *parya’*, Radé *prak*

‘silver, money’;

3) ⇒ Malay *perak* ~ **pirak* ⇒

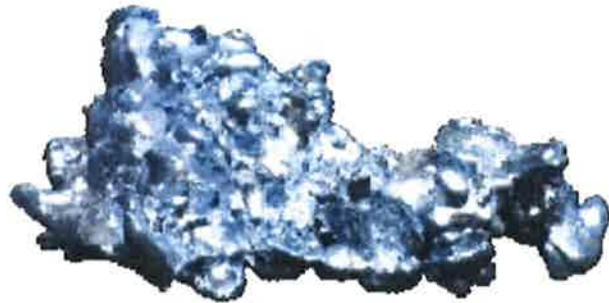
⇒ Old Javanese *pirak*, Toba *pirak*,

Tarakan *perak*, Makassarese *pera’*, Tonsea *perak*,

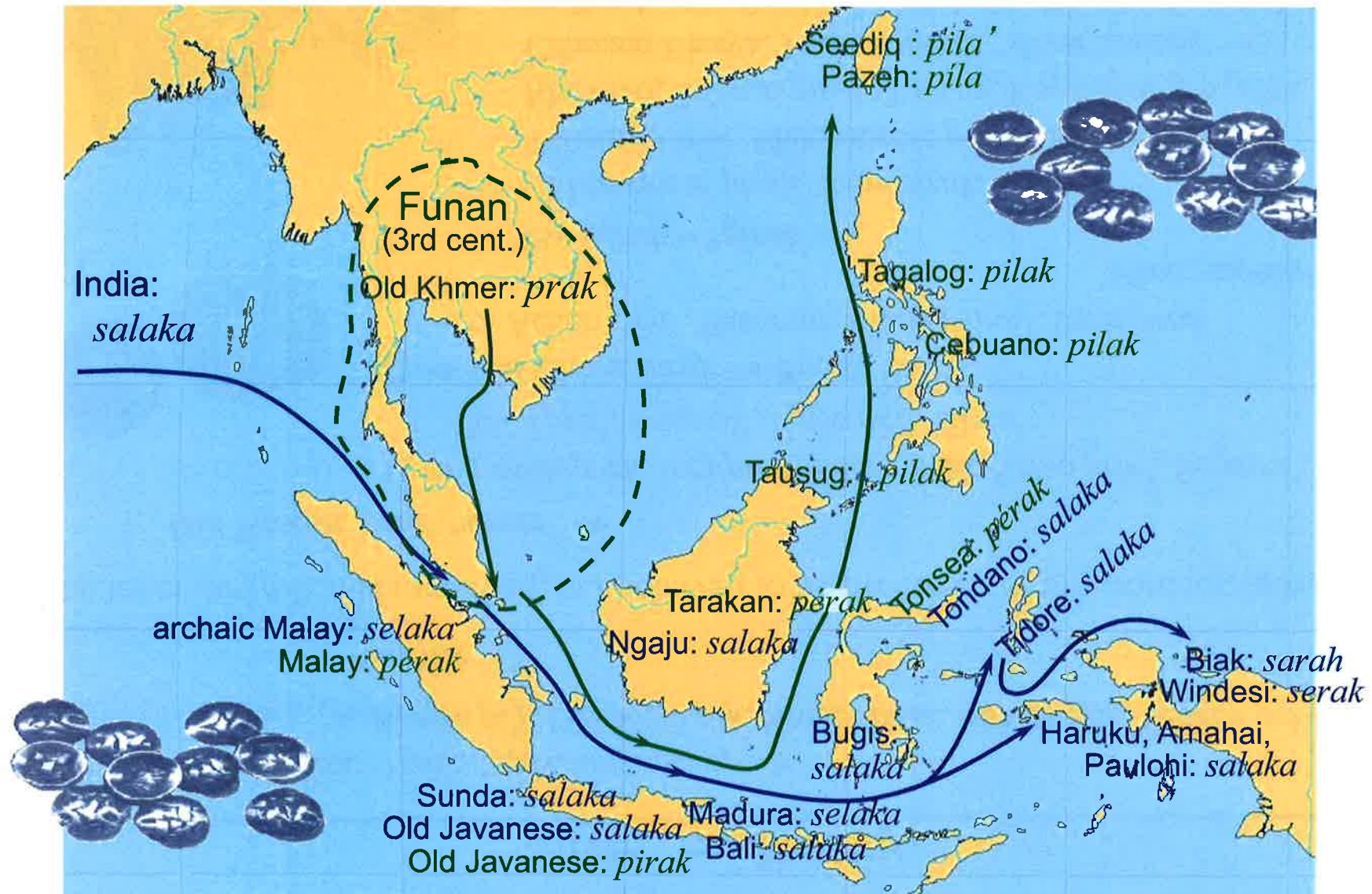
Maranao, Ilokano *pirak*, Tausug, Kapampangan *pilak*,

Cebuano Bisaya, Tagalog *pilak* ‘silver, money’ ⇒

⇒ Pazeh *pīla*, Saisiat *pa-pila’*, Seediq *pila’* ‘money’



The Malay word for 'money, silver' changed from *salaka* to *pérak* c. 300 CE. Distribution of loaned forms allow dating Malay navigation on various routes.



Gold ≠ Mace

[Proto-Mon-Khmer *yās ‘shine’ → *y⟨m⟩ās ‘shining, shiny’ >

> Old Mon *yimās*, Old Khmer *īmās* ‘shining, shiny [like gold]’ →

→ Old Khmer *mās* ‘gold’ ⇒

1) ⇒ Sre *māih*, Halang *mah*, Bahnar *mayh* ;

2) ⇒ Old Cham *māh* ⇒ *māh ~ *mah >

> Acheh *mwih* ~ *muwh*, Jarai *mah*, Chru *mīh*,
Phanrang Cham *méh* ;

3) ⇒ Old Malay *mas* ‘gold’ >

> Malay *mas* ~ *əmas* ⇒ *mas ~ *əmas >

> Toba *omas*, Old Javanese, Sundanese *mas* ~ *əmas*,
Balinese *mas* ~ *həmas*, Ngaju *amas*,
Makassarese *ammaša*’, Sangir *masə*’.



This is apparently not cognate with the following set:

Sanskrit *māṣa* ‘a bean; a weight used for gold’ (> Hindi, Urdu *māśā*) ⇒

⇒ Old Khmer *mās* ⇒ Malay *mas* ~ *əmas*

(⇒ Dutch *maes* ⇒ English *mace*);



A word for ‘grandesse’ and its Malayan calque

Old Khmer *loñ* ‘pre-eminent, grand’ → *k-loñ* →

→ *kloñ* ~ *khloñ* ‘high title’ ⇒

⇒ Old Cham *kluñ* [*klaun*] ‘high title’

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

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

(Wan Zhen, cited in the *Tàipíng yùlǎn* [太平御覽] ‘Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era’)



Proto-Hesperonesian *Raya ‘big, great’ >

> Old Malay *raya* ‘grand, festive’ → *ka-raya-an* →

→ [*ḍaŋ*] *karayān* ‘high title’ ⇒

⇒ Old Javanese [*ra-*]*karayān* ~ [*ra-*]*kryan* ‘high title’;

(Old Javanese *ra-*, Old Malay *ḍa-ŋ* < *Da)

ancestor → deity

Proto-West-Hesperonesian *qian >

- > Sundanese *ɛyan* 'grandparent',
Minangkabau *pu-yan* 'great-grandmother',
Malay *mo-yan* 'great-grandparent, ancestor',
mən-d-ian 'the deceased, the late',
Merina Malagasy *rá-zană* 'ancestor',
Toba-Batak *ian* 'majesty';



- > Old Cham *yan*, Old Malay *h[i]yan*, Old Javanese *hyan* 'deity' →
→ Old Javanese *di-hyan* 'deceased, passed away', *ra-hyan* 'royal honorific';
Javanese *ka-hyan-an* 'Asgard, Olympus';



→ high title

Old Malay *pu-nta hiyan* 'high title',

Old Cham *po yan* 'high title' ⇒ Old Khmer *pu yan* 'high title'.

put hands together → pay obeissance

Old Khmer *vah* ‘to meet, touch’ → *saṃ-vah* ‘pay obeissance, put palms together’ ⇒

⇒ **sambah* > Cham, Old Javanese *sambah*; Malay *sambah* ⇒

⇒ **səmbah* > Toba *somba*, Madurese *səmbá*,
Sundanese, Javanese, Balinese *səmbah*,
Ngaju *sembah*, Tagalog *simba* ~ *samba* ;



→ pray

**səmbah* ‘pay obeissance’ + **qiaŋ* ‘deity’ >

> Malay *səmbahyaŋ* ‘pray, prayer’ ⇒ **səmbahyaŋ* >

> Sundanese *səmbahiaŋ* ~ *səmbahyaŋ*,

Javanese *səmbahyaŋ* ~ *səmbayaŋ*,

Minangkabau *sumbayaŋ*, Makassarese *sambayaŋ* ;

high-sea ship

(Old) Khmer: Pre-Angkorian *samvo* >
> Angkorian *samvau* >
> modern *sampyŋw* 'ship'.

Old Malay *samvau* 'ship' ⇒

⇒ Malagasy *sambo* 'ship', Swahili *sambu* 'boat';

? —————> Binongko *sambo* 'k.o. boat';

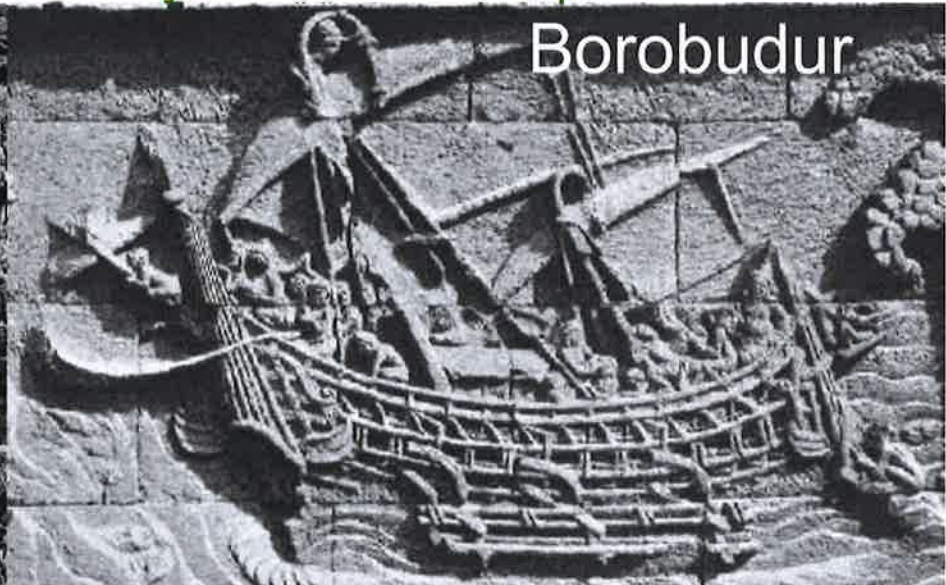
Acheh *sambo*' ← Arabic *sanbuq* ~ *sunbūq* 'k.o. boat'

Cham warship:



Bayon

Malayo-Javanic seaship:



Borobudur

a word for **to fast**, i.e. refrain from taking meals

Sanskrit *upavâsa* ‘fast (not eat)’ ⇒

⇒ Old Javanese *upawasa* ⇒ Balinese *upawasâ* ‘fast (not eat)’;

⇒ Malay *puasa* ⇒ Javanese *p[u]âsâ*, Balinese *puasâ*,
Toba-Batak *puasa*, Lampung *puasa*,
Sundanese *puasa*’, Madurese *puwasa*, Bugis *puasa*’,
Tausug *puasa*, Cebuano *pu’âsa* ‘fast (not eat)’;

⇒ Old Khmer: *pvas* ‘To turn sacred, become religious’ >
> Middle Khmer *buəs*;



and more, but

There are many more borrowings, particularly from Mon-Khmer languages into Acheho-Chamic and Malayic languages, many of which represent a **Mon-Khmer lexical substrate**. They are generally well known, and **will not be discussed here**.

These include Malay *semut* 'ant', *merak* 'peacock', *kembar* 'twin', etc.

There are even more **Sanskritisms**, shared by Mon-Khmer and West Malayo-Polynesian languages, representing parallel borrowings from Sanskrit or Prakrit, which **escape the scope of this discussion**.

I will therefore stop here



Thank you

Dank je wel ♦ Terima kasih

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